THE MORISCO WHO WAS MULEY ZAIDAN'S SPANISH INTERPRETER

AHMAD BNU QASIM IBN AL-FAQIH QASIM IBN AL-SHAIKH AL-HAJARI AL-ANDALUSI, ALIAS EHMED BEN CAČIM BEJARANO HIJO DE EHMED HIJO DE ALFAQUI CAČIM HIJO DEL SAIIH EL HHACHARI ANDALUZ

THE Spanish-born Muslim who forms the subject of this study is known to us from two sources. One is a translation which he made from Spanish into Arabic of a manual of gunnery, itself written by another Morisco who was commandant of the Tunisian fortress of La Goulette. There exist at least six mss. ¹ of this treat-

¹. Brockelmann in his Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur. II, 465, and Supplementband II, 714, mentions three mss., the one at Vienna and two in Algiers. Ahmed Zeki Bey in a communication to the XIIIth International Congress of Orientalists held at Hamburg in 1902 (see Verhandlungen publ. Leiden. 1904. pp. 285-6) described the work from mss. at Vienna, Constantinople and Algiers. We have not been able to trace this Constantinople ms. Dr. Abdur Rahman Zaky in an article, «Military Literature of the Arabs» in Islamic Culture, Vol. XXX, 1956, p. 163, mentions a ms. in the National Library, Cairo (Dar al-Kutub al-misriyya raqm 97 furuslyya, according to Dr. A. R. Zaky).

Further information on this Cairo ms. given by Dr. Zaky in an Arabic foot note is confusing. He says that Ahmed Zeky Bey’s remarks on the work to the Hamburg Congress were based on the Cairo ms. This is possible, although it is strange that he should not have mentioned the fact in his communication. But Dr. Zaky further says that the Cairo ms. was published in Leiden in 1904. We have been able to find no trace of any such edition, and it seems that Dr. Zaky must have been thinking of the date of publication

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Fliigel has given a very full notice of one at Vienna (Die Arabischen Persischen und Türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien, 2. Band, p. 477 No. 1412), although, very naturally, he gives more space to the author than to the translator. The author is, in fact, a very interesting person. His name was Ibrahim b. Ahmad Ghânim b. Muhammad b. Zaka-riya al-Andalusi, and he was called in Spanish, Rivas 2. Having been expelled from Granada as a Morisco (presumably in 1570), he settled in Seville, where he came to have a great affection for seafaring. He sailed with the silver-galleons to the West Indies, and seems to have picked up the art of gunnery from the troops carried on these ships. The Edict of Expulsion (of 1609) found him in prison, and it was with difficulty that he was able to get away to Tunis, where he was warmly welcomed the reigning Dey, Uthman. Thereafter further adventures as a corsair, he was given command of La Goulette, where he found the gunners so ignorant that he was moved to compose his Spanish manual of instructions 3.

of the Verhandlungen in which Ahmed Zeki Bey's communication appeared. It was the Verhandlungen and not the ms. which was published in 1904, Dr. S. M. Stern informs us that there is yet another ms. of this work in the Chester Beatty collection.

2. This last phrase has been something of a stumbling-block. The Arabic is الشهير بالمجام بالرياض. Fliigel hesitated over the solecism muṣaṣṣaṣ, which he took to be a proper name «Miedschâm». It is probably simply a vulgar graphy for muṣaṣṣaṣ. Such graphies were by no means unknown amongst Spanish Arabic speakers, c. f. M. Alarcón, «Carta de Abenaaboo en arabe granadino», in Miscelanea de Estudios y textos árabes, Madrid 1915, especially p. 709. Fliigel went on to amend رياض to رياض. In view of our interpretation of muṣaṣṣaṣ as «known in the foreign (i. e. Spanish) tongue as...» there is no justification for amending the reading. We may read Rivas, a perfectly possible Spanish name, or perhaps with the imāla we should read Rives.

3. Ahmed Zeki Bey (op. cit.) interprets the statement that the manual was composed in carani as meaning that it was composed in aljamiya, «al-ajami d. h. in spanischer Sprache, aber mit arabischen Buchstaben geschrieben.» There seems to us no reason to suppose that this was so, in fact it would seem unlikely. Most of the works that have come down to us from Spanish-speakers writing in North Africa are in Spanish in Latin characters, aljamiya was mainly a Peninsular phenomenon. Ahmad ben Qâsim himself wrote Spanish in the normal way. Ibrahim ben Ahmad based his manual on Spanish works, probably left behind from the Spanish occupation, and it would have been far easier for him to write the technical terms in Spanish than in aljamiya.
But his translator is also equally worthy of attention, and, moreover, we do not know him from one book only, for besides an autobiographical appendix which he wrote to his translation of the manual of gunnery (here given according to the text of the Vienna ms. Flügel 1412), we also hear of him in a Spanish ms. preserved in the Library of Bologna University (ms. 565). This ms. was described by Saavedra in his «Indice de la Literatura Aljamiada» (Memorias de la Real Academia Española, Vo1. VI. Madrid 1889. Ms. No. LXIX.), although the ms. is not in aljamiá (i.e. Spanish in Arabic characters) but in a clear 16th century Spanish hand, with only the bismillahis, etc. in Arabic in Arabic characters. These two works do not seem to have been connected hitherto.

According to the Vienna ms. the translator's name was Ahmad bnu Qāsim Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Faqīh Qāsim Ibn al-Shaikh al-Hajari al-Andalusi, whereas in the Spanish ms. of Bologna, he appears as Ehmed ben Caqim Bejarano hijo de Ehmed hijo de alfaqui Caqim hijo del Saih el Hhachari andaluz. Any shadow of doubt that these two are one and the same person is completely removed by the statement in the Bologna ms. (p. 168) that «fue ynterprete del Rey Muley Zeidan y de sus hijos» which agrees with the Arabic of Vienna 1412 (p. 163) where we read that «he (i.e. Ibrahim b. Ahmad the author) knew that in the city of Marrakesh I had been interpreter for many years to Muley Zaidan... in the same way I was interpreter to the two Sultans his sons.»

We may reconstruct the main outlines of Ahmad b. Qasim's biography from the indications furnished in the two works mentioned, especially from his autobiographical appendix to Ibrahim b. Ahamad's work on gunnery. In no case does any detail given in one source conflict with anything in the other.

Ahmad b. Qasim does not tell us where he was born, except to say that it was in Spain, and that there his mother tongue was Arabic (Vienna p. 169). This makes us suspect that it was in the Kingdoms of Granada or of Valencia, for these were almost the only areas where Arabic was commonly spoken in the Peninsula in the 16th century. If the frontier by which he left Spain (thughur) is to be identified with Aragon (c.f. Dory, Supplément aux Dictionnaires s. v. thaghr), it would seem more likely that he came from Valencia. However, he would appear to have left Spain by sea, and not by land via France, for he makes no mention of France in recoun-
ting his escape. This together with the fact that he went to Morroco perhaps indicates that he came from Granada. In the Spanish ms. Bologna 565 he gives himself a Spanish surname, Bejarano. This was a common practice among the Muslims of Spain, who often seem to have used a family name of Spanish origin in combination with other Arabic names, for example a Muḥammad Rubio is mentioned in the same ms., while the Vanegas family of course played a very important part in the history of the last years of the Nasrid dynasty in Granada. «Bejarano» would indicate that his family originated in Bejar, which is in the province of Salamanca. It does not necessarily indicate that he personally came from there, especially as it would seem most unlikely that he could have learnt Arabic as his first language in that part of the Peninsula in the 16th century. However, perhaps we should reject this claim of his; to have had Arabic as his mother tongue; his Muslim pride may have prompted him to say that he learnt Arabic before Spanish when the opposite was the case.

We do not know when Ṣālim b. Qāsim was born, but if we assume that he cannot have come to his decision to escape from Spain while still a very young child, and also remember that he says he subsequently spent many years studying Spanish, we may conclude that he was about of, perhaps eighteen when he escaped. As he says that he left Spain about forty years before translating the manual of gunnery, and as we know from p. 163 of the Vienna ms. that this took place in 1048/1638, we can surmise that he was born about 1580.

As just mentioned, he puts his flight from Spain as about forty years before his translation of the manual. This gives us a choice of two dates, according to whether we reckon forty lunar or forty solar years. 1048 minus 40 would give us 1008 (1599-1600) or 1638 minus 40 would give 1598 (1006-1007). He made his way to the city of Marrakesh, where he does not seem to have experienced any great difficulty in finding a living, his command of Spanish standing him in good stead. «I afterwards realised that by reason of the studies I had undertaken... there were opened to me, because of this forbidden knowledge, the doors of princes that were shut to most people.»

Eventually he was appointed Spanish interpreter and Private Secretary to Muley Zaidan the Sherifian Sultan, who had a long and somewhat difficult reign 1016-1039.
He does not say exactly when he entered Muley Zaidan's service, but we must assume that it was not immediately upon the Sultan's accession, for he seems somewhat uncertain about events in the early years of the reign. However this may be, we find Ahmad b. Qasim in Paris «by leave of Muley Zaidan» (Vienna p. 169) in early Rab. I 1021/ early May 1612 (Bologna p. 152). The very fact that he was able to make the journey, together with the letter that he wrote from Paris to «los andaluces que asistían o bibían en Costantinopla» indicates that he enjoyed some sort of diplomatic privilege, if not that he was actually on a mission.

Whatever his business in France, we know for certain that he visited Paris and the court (Bologna p. 152), and that he there became involved in religious disputations with monks and priests, and there, he claims, he read the Gospels and other works. His business concluded, he went on to Flanders, where he had further disputes with Jews, and read the Old Testament (Torah). This Torah was in Spanish: he does not say what language the Gospels and other books were in, but as we have no indication that he was literate in French or Latin, we may suppose that they were in Spanish too. There had been several editions of the Old and New Testaments in Spanish by this date, so there is nothing surprising in his finding Spanish Bibles available, especially as many of them were printed and published in the Low Countries. He does not mention the fact, but it is of course most probable that the Jews with whom he had dealings were Sephardic Spanish-speakers. This would account for the existence of a Spanish Torah among them.

Ahmad b. Qasim does not tell us why he went to Flanders. Perhaps it was to take ship for Morocco, for the Low Countries had a busy commerce with North Africa at this time, and he does not mention returning to France on his way home.

After this he must have been in the service of Muley Zaidan, and of his two sons 1/ Abd al-Malik Abu'l-Marwan who came to the throne 1039/1629 and 2/ al-Walid who reigned 1044/1634-1635. As he does not mention the third son who reigned, Muhammad (IV) al-Saghir (1045-1064) we are led to believe that Ahmad b. Qasim left Marrakesh before Muhammad came to the throne, but after the accession of al-Walid i.e. in 1044 or 1045 (1634 or 1635).

This dating is confirmed by the statement in the Bologna
ms. p. 168 that he went on the Pilgrimage «después que pasó de España treinta y seis años» i.e. 1598 or 1599 plus 36 = 1634 or 1635. Aḥmad b. Qāsim left Marrakesh and went to Salee and Rabat, to take ship for the Pilgrimage to Mecca.

He does not give us his route on the outward journey, but on completing the rites of the Hajj and visiting Medina, he went to Egypt. He would seem to have made this journey from Mecca to Egypt in the company of ʿAlī al-Uḫūrī (Vienna p. 169), who must be the Mālikī shaikh of al-Azhar mentioned in Brockelmann G. A. L. II p. 317. It is not absolutely certain that al-Uḫūrī had made the Hajj in his company, for the phraseology is ambiguous: «The Iman ʿAlī al-Uḫūrī asked me in Egypt, after we had returned from Mecca ...» This we may simply be intended to refer to Aḥmad b. Qāsim and his travelling companions, and not refer to him and the Shaikh at all. At all events he knew al-Uḫūrī in Egypt, and was asked by him to write a book describing his experiences in France. We observe that Aḥmad b. Qāsim mixed with the intellectual élite of his day in Egypt, and was well considered by them. He also mentions that while in Egypt he read a book by Aḥmad al-Maqqari entitled Al-Jāmiʿ lil tawārikh ʿala bilād il-Andalus. This title is not listed by Brockelmann, but it seems reasonably clear that Aḥmad b. Qāsim is referring to Nafh al-Tib.

From Egypt he turned westwards to Tunis, and there he seems to have stayed. At least we find no further mention of any travels, and, moreover in 1050/1641 his son Muḥammad Khoja is acting as his copyist, so that he would seem to have had at least part of his family with him in Tunis. We can date his arrival in this city approximately. On p. 163 of the Vienna ms. we learn «After we had come to the city of Tunis, our spiritual brother and friend, the author of the book, entreated me to translate it from Spanish into Arabic.» This does not seem to indicate any very long interval between his arrival in Tunis and his undertaking the translation. This task we learn (Vienna ms. p. 164 at the bottom), was undertaken after Abū I-Muḥāsin Murād Dey had come to power. Murad ruled 1637-1640, so that we may put the arrival of Aḥmad b. Qāsim in Tunis as about 1637. We do know the exact date of the completion of the translation, 25th July 1638 (Vienna p. 156 21st Rab. I. 1042).

He next turned his attention to translating from Arabic into Spanish, for in Bologna ms. 565 we find him making a tránsla-
tion of a *khujba* for *Ramadan*. He does not mention the author’s name, so that we can only speculate whether this «sermón que hizo en aráigo un gran sabio, se entiende que fue en los fines del mes de ramadán» was the work of his friend al-Ujhari «Fi faṣail shahr Ramadán» mentioned in G. A. L. loc. cit. This translation we find was commissioned by yet another Morisco, one Muḥammad Rubio. Ahmad b. Qasim explains that he made this translation because most of the Andalusians understood Spanish better than literary Arabic. «Conozco que los más de los andaluces españoles entienden más bien la lengua de româce que la lengua gramatical arábiga en que están escritas  » (Bologna p. 116). That a book should be produced in Spanish in Tunis in the 17th century should not surprise us. Tunisia was an area where the Moriscos were well received after their expulsion from Spain, and we know of many villages that were Morisco settlements, and which preserve a certain Spanish *cachet* to the present day. Joseph Morgan, who was sometime chancellor to the British Consulate in Algiers mentions Muslims of Spanish origin in Tunisia in his little work «Mohometism fully explained» London 1723-7. He it was who brought to England the ms. of Mohammed Rabadán’s Spanish poem (now B. M. Harl. 7501 publ. J. R. A. S. 1867-72, another ms. of this same work written in Tunis in 1606 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). Morgan also mentions having seen and copied part of a Spanish work by one Abdalquerim Ali Perez (Morgan op. cit.). Jaime Oliver Asín has discussed this centre of Spanish culture in Tunis in an article in the first volume of *Al-Andalus* «Un morisco de Túnez admirador de Lope». There is moreover a little group of ms. in Spanish in Spanish characters in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (9074, 9534, 9653, 9654, 9655) that are all works on Muslim doctrine of North African origin.

The other passages in the Bologna ms. are in different hands but some at least are probably works of Ahmad b. Qasim, especially the «Coronica y relacion de la esclarecida deependencia xarifa... y otras cosas... traducidas de arabigo en castellano en tunez año de 1049» (1639) (Bologna ff. 1-116), for this is precisely the sort of text that would interest a man who had been in Sherifian service for most of his life.

Here then, we see how a member of the persecuted Morisco minority of Spain was able, when in a Muslim society, to develop his talents and successfully hold high appointments. Once in
North Africa, the Moriscos frequently found that the more advanced material culture they had acquired in Spain gave them an advantage over their North African-born fellow Muslims. We have a glimpse of a caste of Spanish-born North African functionaries, Ahmad ben Qasim, the state secretary, Ibrahim ben Ahmad, the master gunner, Jamiro al-Andalusi, the architect, together with Europeans, renegades from Christianity, like St. Mandrier, the master gunner and engineer in Morocco, and even Usta Murad Dey, the Genoese ruler of Tunis, 1637-1640. This is an aspect of the «Expansion of Europe» which has been little remarked upon, and has, indeed, gone almost unnoticed because in North Africa it was only the techniques of Europe that were adopted, and in their ways of thought these men seem to have been pious Muslims with no innovations to make. Ahmad ben Qasim is concerned to legitimise the science of artillery by reference to ahadit concerning archery, and thus we leap back a thousand years from the world of the European Counter-Reformation to the world of the foundation of Islam.

This was a critical point in the history of Islamic culture. To the Muslims, for long possessed of a superior material culture to that of Europe, it was now clear that Europe was ahead in techniques, and yet the lead was not so great that the Muslim world could not have made up the lost ground. The treatise on gunnery, «the first of its kind in Arabic, but God knows best» if it had not been an isolated phenomenon, but had been followed by other technical works, might have served to maintain a scientific and industrial equilibrium between Islam and Christendom. Of course it did not, the Kitāb al-kīz wa-l-munāfiq is a literary and scientific curiosity which had no repercussions, and it is only now in the 20th century that Arab-speakers are beginning to plan to make up the technical leeway of five hundred years.

This gives a strangely contemporaneous note to the complaint of our interpreter Ahmad ben Qasim Bejarano, who struggled with technical terms and almost despaired «because no Arabic words existed for them». He was right, and it is only in our own days that the gap is being bridged.
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى على سيدنا مولانا محمد وآله وسلم

تسلما

ورضي الله عن الخلفاء الراشدين ومن تابعهم باحسن الريو

الدين امين

وبعد يقول العبد المثير المثير بذنب الله في المسلمين ودعمهم

أحمد بن قاسم ابن احمد ابن الفقيه قاسم ابن الشيخ المجرب الابنادي
قد جمعت من بلاد الاندلس الى مدينة مراكش حرسها الله قبل هذا
السأريخ بنحو اربعين سنة ثم جمعت منها الى قصبة سلي ورباطها وركبت
البحر هناك بنيه المج دخى وقضاء الله الحاجة بما الفريضة بسكة المشرفة
وبعثت الله الحرام والوقوف في مواضع السنة الشرفية المشروعة للناس
نسحل الله القبول وبعد ادا الفضيحة مشينا الى المدينة وسانيها فيها الى أفضل
من ظهر على وجه الأرض وبعد ان ولينا الى مدينة تونس حرسها الله
طلب مني اخونا وجببينا في الله الولف للكتاب ان اترجمه من اللسان
العجمي بالعربية لأنه علم ان بمدينة مراكش كنت تترجم السلطان
مولد زيدان ابن السلطان احمد ابن مولاي مجد الشيخ الشريف الحسيني
رحمهم الله سنين عديدة وكتاب سره باللسان العجمي وكذلك ترجمت
للسلطانين اولاده رحمهم الله وعفوا عنهم وما طلعت الكتاب العجمي
الذي كتبه الرئيس صوفته بخط وراءة وعليه الصالحة ان الكتاب يكون
فيه نفعا للمسلمين وعونا لهم على الكفارة المشركين وان النبي صلى
قال إذا ما ات مرت انقطع عمله الا من ثلاثة صدقة جارية وعلم يتفنعن به
الناس وولد صالح يدعوا له وان المولف ذكر فيه ان هو لم يقصد به
نفعا للدنيا الا عند الله سبحةه فيكون الكتاب صدقة جارية وأيضا عاما
يتوكلون عليه الناس فعزمت على تعريبه وتوكلت عليه فيو في السباب له الشكر الدائم على نعيمه وإحسانه وعلى هديته وأعانته وامتنانه.
وقد قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من حكمة له دعوة صالحة فليدعوا لله
اللهم أن أرسلك بالسلع الحسن ما علنت منها وما لا أعلم وباسمه
السريعة البينة التي فتحت بها خزائن رحمتك وخواتم ارادتك وسرعه
واجبك وبفضل سيدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم أن تنصر مولانا أمير
المؤمنين ناصر الدين وخلافة رب العالمين سلطان سلطانين الإسلام (و)
الدين هو مولانا [64] السلطان مراد ابن السلطان السليمان رحمهم الله
تعال واعلى درجتهم في أعلى علبين سلطان البرين ومصر والشام والعراقين
وخدام الحرمين وأيده الله يعزى نصره وأمته بعوته وسبره وخلد جليل
ذكره ونصره وجنوده في ذهابه وأيده بفضل أولياء الله وأهل دينه وكتابه
وعطاه رضى السليمان ابن المرحوم بكربم الله واجداد الندين أشعري
الله بركاتهم في ارضه وبلاده حتى حرمت الروعة المروعة خوفا منه في
قلوب الخنشاء المشركين الكفار اهلكهم الله وابنهم وأخزهم وخدلهم
ومارهم اشد الدمار وقد شاهدت في كثير من بلادهم وكتبهم وتحقت
من خاصتهم وعامتهم ان الخوف الذي في قلوبهم منهم لم يفارقهم في
الليل [sic] والنهار وانقطع رجاهم الذي كانوا يرجونه ان الدولة العثمانية
يكون انقراضها عند السادس عشر من سلطانيهم واستدلو بذلك من
قول يعني الحواري الذي كتب ربع النجيل ثم كتب كتابا مروزا يسبي
بقلبنا فسأروا بعض رموزه على مقتضى عرضهم ومراهم فظهر الله
بالبرهان ان قولهم كان باطلا وزورا اذ هو السلطان الموجود الان ايده
الله ونصره عليهم الثامن عشر من السليمان جاز الحساب وظهر الفعل فيما
تولوا من الكتاب وأيضا تقول النصارى اعل من اكبرهم عمالهم ان
النجيل ثلاث بركات ظاهره لان قالوا سرة منها ان بركانه هو يشغل الله

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السلاطين العثمانيين عنهم قال الله العزيز أدعوني استجب لكم وقال رسول الله صلِّم الدها جند من جنده الله وقال ابن عطاء الله مهنيكم الله الدعا اعلم ان اراد ان يعطيك اللهم اجعل البركة والعز الدائم والتمكين في الدولة العثمانية والسلطنة الدائمة في أولادهم الى يوم الدين واجعلهم تابعين لديف الله وسنة رسوله والنفع لهم وللمسامين امين واجعل الكفار تحت قهرهم مغلوبين ومهزومين وارضهم ولهم ما أرضاه ائته وغيرها والمدنين بفضل سيدنا ومولانا محمد عليه افضل الصلاة والسلام امين يا رب العالمين اللهم انصرجعب السلاطين المسلمين على الكفار والخارجين والمتبدين اجعل الفجر الدائم والعدل في من هو امير على اهل الإسلام والدين امين يا رب العالمين وقد ابتدا في ترجمة الكتاب هذا بعد ان تولى الأمر بتونس[65] المرووة فخر الأمراً ومن ذلك زمام الفضلا والكبراء أبو الحسن مراد داي دام الله عزه واسعد ايامه وقد ازال المناكر وغيرها ومن المشهورة منها دير الأهر التي كانت قبل توليته لبيبه وقد قال رسله صلِّم جعل الشر كله في بيت وجعل الشر مقتاحه وقال صلِّم مدي من الأهر كعبد وثمن ومن جملة ما رايت وتغيرت من اجل ذلك تغييرا كبيرا ان في الجامع السني الشهير الработка والدا والذكر في الدنيا وهو جامع الزيتونة واللام يخطب للأولاد يلببون في داخله ويرفعون اصواتهم حتى من كان قريبهم منهم لا يفهم ما يقول اللام في خطبه بسبيهم وقال الله تعالى وتعبدنه هينا وهو عند الله عظيم ولم نر قط في كل ما دخلت من بلاد المسلمين ولا سمعت بمثل هذا العمل في الجوامع في ساعة الخطبة ولا في غيرها ومنهم من ذلك واحسن فيه زاده الله احسانا وثباتا في الدنيا والاخرة وايضا ازاح مث طريق ما كان فيه من الوعر بسبب الكبدا او اشر الناظرين بروية البحر بعد الخروج من مدينة مالا كان قبل واعظم الكبدا منها كانت قريبا
جاء من باب البحر وأعلا من صورة حتى أن العدو لم يبلغ إلىها واراد الدخول إلى المدينة فكان يسل عليه ذلك بوجودها ويشهد بذلك كل من راها من أهل العقول والتذبب للحروب قبلاً وسبلاً وقاصداً في نفع المسلمين بتعاليم عظيمة في مرسى بني زرت يتعجب منه كل من يراه وبعث إلى عمله الرئيسي الهندس ذلك ظاهر على يديه في الجزائر المير الكبير في إصلاح المرسى وجلب الماء الكثير إليها وبين الدمار ما لا كان قابل وهو الحاج موسى شهزجير كأنداسلي الغزني ماراً هو الذي وقف لإصلاح المرسى بني زرت على أمر الراشد اسعد الله وأصحاً كما احتج فيها لدخول السفن للغربية ولمنع من الكفاف وأيضاً إداول السيد امربيان حصن في غاراللح ليمنع النصارى من الدخول في المرسى ومستأمن فيها سفن المسلمين وهو من النفع العظيم للإسلام لأن النصارى ترمي فيها بالغربية والسفن ويخذون المسلمين وسفنهم وقاعدتهم البركة والنعم والرخا في هذه أيامه السعيدة وما أتفق له في ما مضى في اليوم لعشرين من شهر رمضان من عام ربع وثلاثين والفان فالله كان قبطان على ست من أغرية تونس في البحر وخرجت خمسة من أغرية مالطة من صقلية وجات في طلحهم ووقع الحرب العظيم بينهم وقات من الجانبين [66] خلق كثير ونصر الله القبطان والمسلمين علىهم واخذوا من كفاف غربين الواحد يسمى ببطرونة الذي ينوب عن قرب القبطان لا خير ان شاء الله. فمضيق وقلب الغرب الذي كان فيه القبطان النصارى حتى عزم على دخله وحرص وشئ ووجد في الغربين نحو الخمس مائة مسماً واسعهم الله به إذ أتفهم من كلار وأيضاً كان بين واد البح الذي هو بين بني زرت وطبرقه حصن بناء النصارى الفرنج بالذين لاخراج القمح والسمن وغير ذلك من بلاد المسلمين فان بلاد الكفار وداموا على ذلك سنين غدياً ومن أجل كثر الزرع
الذي كانوا خرجون ضاغ اللال بالمسالمين الجورين للمحصن وما تولى الأدار
الدائر السعين منهم من ذلك ولم يبق للناسر طمعا فيما كان قبلا
فكلما عمل الدائر السعيد في نفع المسالمين برأ خبره في الدنيا والاخرة
أن شاء الله تعالى نستله الله سبحانه أن يقبل عمله ويعينه ومن جملة بركاته
ان اختتمت تعريب الكتاب وكيلصبه وما أضاف إليه المؤلف وظهرلي
انه أول كتاب ولف [sic] بالعربيه في هذا الفن والله اعلم وهو ایضا من
سماعته وبركاته ان ظهر في ايامه السعيدة وما ذكرنا نستدل على نبته
الصلالة اللهم أفزعنا للمسلمين بصلاحة واعتنى على القيام بحروف المسلمين
ورده بركة في نفسه وله وأولاده واعطنا واعطه ماما طلبنا من الخبر
والزيادة واختتم علينا وعلى مولفه الكتاب بخواتم السعاده وبعد
ان اشغلت بعض اللايبات بترجمه الكتاب توقفت من أجل اسماء المدائع
 وما يتعلق بها لانها لم تعرف لها اسماء عربية حتى اطهرت القلم واردت
ان اثرته ثم ذكرت في المحم الرايا راجتها ليله قبل ذلك اليوم كنت
اقرأ في النوم قوله تعالى للذين يجلون ويأمرن الناس بالبلخ ويتقوى
عزمى على ترك البخل من نفسى واتشغلت به وسئل الله على من تلك
الساعة حتى اختتمته وكنت اذا اشكل على شيء من الكتاب نستل الله
الرئيس مؤلفه ويبين لي في الحين بيانانا شافيا كل ما نستبه عليه وعلت
ان كل ما ذكر وكتب هو عند بالقول والفعل من الكمال للمترجم الذي
يترجم من لغة الى اخرى ان يعرف ما يترجمه ومعانه ان امكنه وفي اليوم
الذي عزمت على تمام تعريب الكتاب فقت عن النوم عند الصبح ونسان
يقول قوله تعالى اليوم انكملت لكم دينكم وأنتم على الله نعتمى ورضيت
لكم لاهل السلام دينا وفهمت من كلية الكريمة ابن الله [167] تبارك
و تعالى قيل الكتاب ورضيه نستل سبئانه ان ينفعنا به في الدنيا والاخرة
والمسلمين بفضل سيدنا محمد صعم عبده ورسوله وسميت الكتاب باذن
الرئيس مولاه كتاب العز والمكافج للمجاهدين في سبيل الله بالمدافع.
واعلم أن الجهاد ركن عظيم في الإسلام حتى قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: " أعطى واعظم ما توطئ لغزوة تابعة لما أمره الله تعالى به وكذلك أصحابه من أولئك الذين عشرين سنة رضي الله عنهم وانظر ما استفتحوا وانظر ما همها وكذلك بعض ملوك المسلمين: رحمة الله فأنهم عليهم في الدنيا والآخرة حتى قتلوا السكفار المشكرين لتكون كلمة الله هي العليا ونصرهم وثبت اقدامهم بالوقوف مع ما أمر الله به في دينه الحق واتباع سنة رسوله وقد قال الله تعالى و تعالى "انتصروا الله ينصركم وثبت اقدامكم" وقد صح من كتب التواريخ التي اجمعها العالمة الشيخ أحمد المقرى في كتابه بمسرة بالمصر في التواريخ الجامع للتواصل على بلاد الانتداس أعداها الله إلى الإسلام أن المصلوب ابن أبي عمرو كان بمدينة قرطبة وغزى اثنين وخمسين غزوة للسكفار في ست عشر سنوات وكان في كل عام يغزو غزوة واحدة في زمن الصيف واخر في زمن الشتاء ولا انهزم أبد رجله الله وما طالت في تونس في كتاب قديم يسمى بثبات الصواب قال في باب إعداد الجهاد عن عقبة ابن عامر رضي الله عنه قال سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وهو على المنبر يقول واعدوا ما استطعتم من قوة إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرمية إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة الرومي إلا أن القوة روهم ويكفيكم الله فلا يعجز أحدكم إن يلهوا بسومه رواه مسلم وعنه قال سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من على الرمية ثم تركه فيليس وما قد عصى رواه مسلم وعن ابن هريرة قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أن في جنة مأة درجة أعداها الله للمجاهدين في سبيل الله ما بين الدرجتين ما بين السماء والأرض وعنه [168] قال قال رسول الله
صدام المجاهدين في سبيل الله كمثل الصائم القائم القائم بآيات الله لا يقتر
من صيام ولا حلوة حتى يرجع المجاهد في سبيل الله متفق عليه وقص
انس قال قال رسول الله صل الله مغودت في سبيل الله أو روحت خير م
الدنيا وما فيها متفق عليه وعن سلمان الفارسي قال سمعت رسول الله
صلعم يقول رباط يوم وليلة خبر من صيام شهر لعمله وقيامه وان مات
جري على عمله الذي كان يملأ وآخرية عليه رزقه وابن الفتان
رواه مسلم وعن أبي عيسى قال قال رسول الله صلعم ما اخبرت قدما
في سبيل الله فتنس النار رواه البخاري وعن أبي هريرة رضي الله عنه
ان رسول الله صلعم قال لا يجعل كافر وقائه في النار ابدا رواه
مسلم وعن زيد بن خالد ان رسول الله صلعم قال من جهر غاريا في
 سبيل الله فقد فا ومن خلف غاريا في اهله فقد غزا متفق عليه وعن
بريدة قال قال رسول الله صلعم حرمت ناس المجاهدين على التفاهم كحد زم
امها ننهم وما من رجل من التفاهم يخلف رجلا من المجاهدين في اهله
فيكونه فهم الا وفق يوم القيامة فبأخذ من عمله مشا مما طلق رواه
مسلم وعن جابر بن سمرة قال قال رسول الله صلعم لن يرح هذا الدين
قائلًا يقاتل عليه عصابة من المسلمين حتى تقوم الساعة رواه مسلم وعن
إنس قال قال رسول الله صلعم ما من أحد يدخل الجنة يجب ان يرجع
إلى الدنيا وله ما في الأرض من شيء لا الشهيد يدمعان ان يرجع الى
 الدنيا فيقتل عشر مرات لما يرى من الكرامات متفق عليه وعن ابن
موسى قال جاء رجل الى النبي صلى الله وسلم فقال الرجل يقاتل للغنم والرجل
يقاتل للذكر الرجل يقاتل ليربي مكانه فمن في سبيل الله قال من قائل
تكون كلبه الله العليا فهو في سبيل الله متفق عليه انتهى ولاحاديث
كثيره في هذا المعنى
وصدح كان للسلطان مولاي زيدان رحمة الله بمدينة مراكش وهي دار
السلطنة الغربية من المدافع شيء كبير حتى أن مولاي عبد الله ابن أخيه
مولاي الشيخ سلطان قاس أنركه عليه عام خمسة عشر سنة والف وقرينا
منها وأمر مولاي زيدان بآخر المدافع للحالة وسمعته من غير
واحد ان الجملة [67] كانت ثمانيين مداها وبعد ذلك بزمن كاذب في
خدمته نصران قبطان فرنج اسمه سندس وككان مدافع ومهندسة
وذكر يوماً للسلطان شيئاً من أسرار من المدافع وافط ان كان في شأن
المصرية العددية المذكورة في هذا الكتاب أن يخط رطل من ميزان كورة
يزيد عليه خطوطا ويعرف ميزان كل كورة من المصرية وامره ان تأتي
بها حتى ذلك الحساب والعمل من الخطوط التي في المصرية وكان
يكرمه على ذلك ويقبل عليه كيف لو وجد هذا الكتاب بالعربية
وقد ابدت جهدي واضحت قد ما استطعت في هذه الترجمة فان جا
بد من هو ابلغ مني في هذا الفن [و] وجد ما التقدير في بعض الأشياج
وجهل منا ففيه له أن يمهله بقلم ولا بالسان وإن قال قائل كيف
تعملت تقرأ بالعجمية وقد ورد ان لا يشتمل الإنسان الا ما يعنه
فإذ أفعال من ان أول ما تكلمت به بلاد الأندلس كان بالعربية فتعلمنا
القراءة العجمية للأخذ والعطي ثم الهيلهي الله سبحته أن أخرج من تلك
البلاد إلى بلاد المسلمين ونا تحققت إلى الكفر كانوا في الغور يجرون
كل من يرد عليهم تعلمهم يجدون أندلسيا مخدراً ليتحكموا فيه لانهم كانوا
منوهم من الغور ليلهرون الي بلاد المسلمين فجست سنين تعلم
السكلام وانخذ في كتبهم ليحسنون أفئتهم إذا نمشى الي بلادهم
للخروج منها بلاد الإسلام وما ان جيت الي البلاد التي هي على
هاشيته البحر حيث هو الحرس الشديد وجلس بينهم ولم يشكو في بما
راوا من السكلام والخيل والكتابة وجيته من بينهم الي بلاد المسلمين
وبهذه النية تمت وبلغت في كتبهم وكل أمر ما توقي ثم رأيت أن
درباب التعليم أنه كان بنياء القرب من الله ببلاد المسلمين يفتح لي بذلك العلم المنهى عنه ببيان الملوك المسودة عن كثير من الناس وأيضاً ترجمة هذا الكتاب يكون فيه أن شاء الله نفعاً للمسلمين وأيضاً طلب مني الشيخ الامه على الأقولحي بصرف ابعد ان جنادا من مكة المشترقة ان اعمل كتاباً مما وقع إلى من المناظرات ببلاد الفرنجة كان سافرت إليها بائدون السلطان من مراكش لقصه اغراض وجاً إلى القسيسون الرهبان يتكمون معى في دينهم يشركون ويعيبون ديننا قرأت الأنجيل [170] وغيرها بسبيهم لنرد عليهم من كتبهم فنصرن الله عليهم مراراً عديدة وقال لي قاضي المسلمين بمرشح العامرة الخير عيسى ابن عبد الرحمن السكنتي ان الجمهور يكون بمجرمة الكفار وبالرد عليهم فيما يقولون من الكندوب في ديننا ودؤبنما وفرحوا بذلك اذ جاهمنا معهم ثم جاني اليهود ببلاد الفرنجة وبلاد فلسطين لان بعد ان قضيت اغراض سفرت إليها هي بلاد جوفية يرفع القطب الشمالي عليها اثنياً خمسين مرة وكان اليهود يشكون دينهم فوجدت القرية مكتوبة بالكلام الأعمجي وقرأتها كلها وهى اربع وعشرين كتاباً ووجدت فيها في مواضع كثيرة ما نرد عليهم منها موفقاً لدينا كما وجدت في الانجيل والمجد لله الذي وقفاً وهدانا وجعلنا المسلمين وقد علم الكتاب الذي طلب مني العالم ببصر السعيدة وسميته ناصر الدين على قم الكفارين وكتب منه هنالك نسخ ولا بلغت لما قلت الا بسبي اتنا تعلم القراءة الاعجمية بنيه المروحة من بلاد الكفار الى هذه الديار نستعل الله العظيم بفضل سيدنا محمد صرع النبي الكريم ان يلفت بي في الدارين وجميع المسلمين امين وحبد الله زب العالمين وصلى الله على سيدنا ومولانا محمد وله وصية وسلم تسليماً وهذا ما كتب الملته سيد الشريف الحنفي بعد مطالمة جميع الكتابات الهجرية في حسن كلماته يسيوف أواى الجهاد وموالي نعمته لصنوف اهل الاجتهاد
ويستدل رحمة على الشهداء السعداء من عباد الصلاة والسلام على مثبٍ
شد الله بينان اطلاب الأمان وعلى الله وصاحبه ليوت السرية وفيتوت
القري الأعيان وبعد فقد طلب منه الترجم أحمد بن قاسم بن أحمد ابن
الفقيه قاسم ابن الشيخ الحجري الإندلسى وفقه الله فرضه وزجّة خير
الجزا وفاته ترجم هذا الكتاب المسبي بكتاب الفز والدعا الفائز لمجاهمين
في سبيل الله بالائت الحروب والمدافع تأليف الرئيس إبراهيم بن أحمد بن
غامان بن محمد بن زكرياء، الإندلسى حكم الله والديه وأحسن البه مطالعته
فطالت ووجدت فيه نفعا للفاسفين [17] وارشادا للمتعلمين والمتعلمين من
اصلّ صناعة المدافع ورمات المسلمين الفقيه أحمد الشريف الحنفي عامله
الله بلطفه الحنفي ب interesse كرمه الحمد الله وما قاله العبد الفقر إلى الله تعالى
عبد الرحمن مسعود الجبالي مربعا في هذا الكتاب بحال عجلة الوضع
عفده

من العده إذاها امنا وعضا
هذا المدافع عن كل مهلكم
اهد النا حكما نبدي للكلن
من المدافع قبل من أيمنا
فثكها منه في فالسر ظاهرة
من دون مشتقه راقت عذوبتها
هو المعلم إبراهيم الإندلسى
انظر الخط أمام سيدي قريش
لازل مرتفقا نهج البلاعة ما
ثم الصلاة على جدله وعلى
فهو المدافع عنا كل مهلكة

تمت النسخة المباركة لهذا الكتاب في السادس عشر من ذي القعدة

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عام خمسين والد على يد عبد المدنب الراجي عفو الله وعفرائه محمد حوجه بن أحمد المتنح للكتاب بن قاسم بن أحمد بن الفقيه قاسم بن الشيخ الحجري البدلي صفتته في مدينة تونس حرسها الله للرئيس المؤلف للكتاب قبل الله منه وصلى الله علي سيدنا وعلى ولانا محمد وعلي الله وصحبه وسلم تسليماً
TRANSLATION

In the Name of Allah the Merciful (etc.)

The humble and contrite believer Aḥmad ben Qāsim Ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Faqīḥ Qāsim Ibn al-Shaikh al Hajārī al Andalusi says as follows:

I came from the land of al-Andalus to the city of Marrakesh (may God keep it safe) about forty years before the present date 1. I then left it and went to the Casbah of Salce and to Rabat. There I took ship, intending to make the Pilgrimage. Allah vouch­safed that I was able to pay the debt of obligation at Mecca, that noble city, in the sacred house of Allah, and to abide in the exalted holy places consecrated to sacrifice. I pray God will receive many prayers. After completing the rites of the Pilgrimage we went to Medina and offered up our prayers there over the noblest man who has appeared on the face of the earth.

After we had come back to the city of Tunis (may God keep it safe), our spiritual brother and friend, the author of this book entreated me to translate it from the foreign (Spanish) language into Arabic. This was because he knew that in the city of Marrakesh I had been interpreter for many years to Muley Zaidan 2, son of the Sultan Aḥmad Ibn Muley Muḥammad al Hasanī, the Sage, the Noble one, may Allah rest his soul, and I was also his Private Secretary for the Foreign (i. e. Spanish) Language. In the same way I was interpreter to the two Sultans 3, his sons, may Allah rest their souls, and pardon them. Now when I perused the book written in the foreign tongue that the rais (captain) had composed and written out in his own hand, and when I saw

1. According to page 156 of this ms. the book was composed in Spanish between 1040 and 1042 A. H. (1630-1632 A. D.). The translation of the original Spanish version into Arabic was completed in 1048/1638.


3. Presumably 'Abd al-Malik Abūl-Marwān, who came to the throne in 1019/1629, and al-Walid, who reigned 1044-1045/1634-1635. As Aḥmad b. Qāsim does not mention the third son of Muley Zaidan, Muḥammad IV (al­-Asghar), who reigned from 1045-1064, we may suppose that he left on his Pilgrimage before he came to the throne, i. e. 1044-1045/1634-1635. The addition of the formula rahamahum allalut to the mention of the father and his two sons correctly indicates that they were dead at the time of the making of the translation, 1048/1638.

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how excellent was his intention viz. that it should serve to the advantage of the Muslims and to help them against the polytheist Unbelievers (for the Prophet, on whom be blessing and peace, said, «when a man dies, his good works are brought to an end, except these three:— a dowry given to a slave girl, and knowledge from which the people may derive advantage, and a righteous son who shall pray for him», and indeed the author says in the book that he did not expect to derive profit from it in this world, but rather in the sight of Allah Almighty, and so the book may be considered as a dowry given to a slave girl, and as knowledge from which the people may draw profit), I therefore resolved to put the book into Arabic. Allah entrusted the work to me, and confided to me the beginnings, thanks be to Him, Eternal in His Grace and bounty and generosity and help and benevolence.

For the Prophet (etc) has said: whoso can make a sound prayer, let him pray for his Prince «O Allah I beseech You by Your ninetynine names, those I know and those I do not know, and by Your potent names by which are opened the treasure chests of Your mercy and broken the seals of Your will and hastened the speed of your reply, I pray, for the sake of the excellence of our Lord Muḥammad (etc.) who was Your slave and Your Prophet that You bestow the victory on our Sovereign Lord the Caliph, the defender of the faith and Vicar of the Lord of the two worlds, Sultan of all the Sultans of Islam. our Master the Sultan Murād 4, son of the Ottoman Sultans, on whom may God have mercy and exalt to the highest mansion in heaven, sultan of the two continents and of Egypt and Syria and both Iraqs, keeper of the Holy Places, may God strengthen his arm by the might of His Victory, and extend his realm with His aid and gladden him and make him to abide in the mention of His name, and assist him and his armies to victory in their going out, and in their return, for the sake of the holy men of God and the men of religion and of His scripture. May He give him the sanction of the sultans, his parents, blessed with the grace of Allah and of his forefathers whose renown God spread abroad in the earth so that finally fear of them was handed down in the hearts of the unbelieving Christian

polytheists, the which may Allah send with their children to perdition and confound and afflict them with the most dreadful of disasters. Now I have myself seen in very many Christian lands and in Christian books and I have noticed among their ruling classes and among the common people that they are beset, night and day, by a ceaseless fear (of the Ottoman Sultans). Because of them the hope of the Christians that the Ottoman Empire would be brought to an end with the sixteenth Sultan ⁵ has been destroyed, although they quoted on that subject the saying of St. John the disciple who wrote the fourth gospel, and then an allegorical book called Boqalibshi (the Apocalypse). They adduced certain of his prophecies for their own purposes, (for Allah demonstrated in the Qur'an that their words are but vanity and lies.) The sultan who is in power today, may God strengthen him and give him the victory, is ⁶ the eighteenth Sultan, the total has been passed and the error in their interpretation of the scripture exposed. Moreover the Christians (i. e. their leaders and learned men) say that for the Gospel there are three explicit graces; they said that in secret there was a blessing which was that Allah would divert the Ottoman Sultans from them. Allah said in the Qur'an, «Pray to me and I will answer», and the Prophet of God said, «Prayer is one of God's armies.» He (The Prophet), said «O son of the bounty of God, so often as God shall inspire you with prayer, know that he wishes to impart this to you.» O my God, blessings and might eternal upon the Ottoman Empire and the Sultanate ever continuing among their descendants until the Day of Judgement. May they be followers of God's religion and of the practice of the Prophet. May they and the Muslims prosper. Amen. I pray the unbelievers may be conquered under their yoke and utterly routed, their lands become the heritage and the booty of those who continued to pray in the name of our Lord Muhammad, on whom be the greatest of blessings. Amen, O Lord of the Two Worlds. O Allah make victorious all Muslim sultans over the unbelievers, the heretics, the bringers of innovations. I pray that whoso be Prince of the

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⁵. 'Uthmān II 1027-1031/1618-1622.
⁶. Murād IV was, strictly speaking, the 17th in line (see A. D. A'der-son, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty*, Oxford 1956), but the 15th Sultan, Mustafā I, had a short second reign in 1622 after the 16th Sultan. If this is counted as a separate reign, Murād was the 18th Ottoman ruler.
Muslim People and Religion may have eternal might and justice.
Amen, O Lord of the Two Worlds.»

Now I began the translation of this book after Abî-l Muḥāsin Murād Dey 7 (the noblest of Amīrs, ruler among the excellent and the mighty) came to power in Tunis, may God make his rule eternal and make his days joyous. He was the one who put an end to many unseemly things, and so forth, among the best-known of which was the Winehouses that one could formerly enter to buy wine, in spite of what the Prophet said, «He put all evil in a house and made wine its key», and again, «A measure of wine is like an idolater.» Of all the things that I have seen and by which I have been greatly vexed was the fact that in the Sunni communal mosque, well-known for its holiness and renowned throughout the world, the Zaytuna mosque, while the imām was giving his sermon, the children were playing outside it, raising their voices so loud that if anyone were near them, he could not make out what the imām was saying in his sermon. Yet Allah Almighty has said 8, «You think it is a slight matter, but to Allah it is very grave». And I have never seen in all the Muslim lands I have visited, nor have I ever heard of such a thing in the main mosques at the hour of the sermon or at any other time. Murād Dey forbade them to do it, and improved matters, may Allah increase his benefit and his continuance in this world and in the next. He also levelled the places in the road that were bumpy by reason of the sand dunes, and gave clear view of the sea as one came out of the town, which was not so before.

The biggest irregularity of terrain concerned was very near to the Sea Gate (Bab al Bahr) and higher than the walls, so that if the enemy had got that far, and wished to break into the city, it would have been very easy for him, because this mound was there. All men skilled in the wars who saw it before the mound was done away with bore witness to the danger. Moreover for the benefit of the Muslims he had many fine buildings constructed in the port of Bizerta that are the wonder of all that see them. He sent to carry out this work the Engineer Captain (Rais) who in Algiers demonstrated his ability in putting the harbour in order. He brought

7. Ustā Murād Dey. 1637-1640. A Genoese renegade who fortified Porto Farina, which he peopled with Spanish Moors. (E.I. s.v. Tunisia.)
8. Quran, Sura 24.14. (Flügel.)
a plenteous water —supply there and to the new edifices. This was al-Hājj Musa known as Jamiro al-Andalusi al-Gharraṭī. He undertook the repair of the port at Bizerta on the orders of the Dey, may Allah make him content, he also set in order everything necessary for ships and galleys to put in there and to repel the unbelievers. Furthermore the Dey gave orders for the building of a fortress in Car al-Malḥ (Salt Cave) to prevent the Christians from entering the harbour, and to provide a haven there for Muslim vessels. This was all of the greatest advantage to Islam, because the Christians used to attack with galleys and boats there, and capture the Muslims and their vessels. His good fortune and wealth were displayed in these his actions and in what happened to him in the events of the twentieth Ramadān of the year 1034 (27th June 1625). He was «Captain» of a squadron of six of the Tunisian galleys when they put to sea. Five Maltese galleys put out from Sicily and gave chase. A fierce battle ensued and on both sides very many died. Allāh granted victory to the captain and to the Muslims. They took two galleys from the Christians. One, called Patrōna, was acting as flag-ship, the other was called San Francisco. He was so successful in his attack on the galley in which the Christian commander was sailing that he thought he would be able to capture him, but the Christian fled and got away. In the two captured vessels were found about 500 Muslims, who were exceedingly joyful to be set free.

Also there was near Wādi'l-Malḥ which lies between Bizerta and Tabarqa, a castle built by the Frankish Christians with permission so as to be able to ship out wheat, butter, and other things, i.e. taking things from the Muslim lands to Christian lands. This state of affairs lasted many years, and by reason of the great quantity of grain they exported, the Muslims living near the fort went short. When the Dey came to power he forbade them to continue and the Christians lost the hopes that they had formerly held. All that the Dey did demonstrated his goodness in this world, and the next, so please Allāh Almighty. I pray Allāh that his good actions may prove acceptable and that He may aid him.

Among all his other benefactions is that I have been able to finish the translation of this book and edit it with the author's appendices. He explained to me that this is the first book to be composed in Arabic on this subject (though Allāh knows best). What
we have mentioned is sufficient to indicate the purity of his motives.

O Allah make us of use to Muslims in his righteousness and help him to vindicate the rights of the Muslims, and return to him (a reward) for his goodness, both in himself and his wealth and in his family, give him and us the wealth and prosperity we seek, and grant eternal felicity to us and him and to the author of the book.

After having occupied myself some days with the translation of the book, I gave up the task because of the technical terms of gunnery and connected subjects, for no Arabic words existed for them, so that I cast my pen aside and determined to leave it. But then I called to mind dreams that I had had previously in which I read in my sleep the Word of Allah ⁹ «for those who were mean and recommended meanness to others.» This strengthened my determination to abandon meanness myself. I set to work and from that hour Allah made my way an easy one until I finished. If I ever had any doubts I would ask the Raïs to explain the matter to me, which he did, giving direct explanations to all my queries. I came to see that everything mentioned and written in the book has a practical and verbal explanation, and that it is of the greatest use for one who is translating from one language to another if he understands what he is translating, and the meaning if possible. The day I decided to complete the translation of the book into Arabic I arose from sleep in the morning with these words from the Quran on my lips, «Today we have completed for you your religion, and have perfected our goodness towards you, and it has pleased us to grant you Islam as your religion» ¹⁰. I understood from this verse that Allah Almighty accepted the book and was pleased with it. I pray Allah it may be of profit to us in this world and the next, and of use to the Muslims, by the grace of Muhammad our Master, on whom be blessing and peace.

I have entitled the book, with the leave of the Raïs who wrote it ¹¹, «Handbook for those who undertake the Holy War with artillery».

The Holy War has always been one of the pillars of our faith.

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⁹. Quran. 4.41 (Fl.)
¹⁰. Quran. 5.5. (Pl.)
¹¹. Kitāb al-izz wa'l-manāfi' lil-mujahidin fi sabil illah bi'l-madafi'.
The Prophet even, on whom be blessing and peace, said, «No tribe ever abandoned the regular exercise of the Holy War but it has come to naught.» Of this there have been many examples in this world, and Holy War is of great benefit, and there are sayings and actions of our Prophet to support this view, for he personally took part in about 20 raids in accordance with the orders of God. His companions likewise, may God grant them his grace, and one has only to consider their conquests and the lands they occupied. Similarly with some Muslim rulers, Allah rest their souls, who kept up the Holy War in this world and the next, killing unbelievers to exalt the word of Allah, who granted them the victory and strengthened their feet by having them walk in His ways and follow the Sunna (practice) of his Prophet, who has said, «Allah Almighty said, «If you aid Allah, He will aid you, and will set your feet firmly on the earth.»»

In the history books which have been compiled by the illustrious scholar Ahmad al Maqqa’ri 12 in his book which is in Egypt «Complete History of the land of Spain» (Al jami‘ li tawarikh ‘ala bilad il-Andalus.), may Allah return it to Islam, it is stated that Al-Mansur (i. e. Almanzor) Ibn Abi-Amir was in the city of Cordova and made fifty-two raids against the unbelievers in the course of twenty-six years. Each year he raided twice, once in summer and again in winter, and he was never defeated.

Among the ancient works I have consulted at Tunis is one called Mishkat al Masabih 13, where in the chapter on the preparation of the holy war there is a tradition related on the authority of «Uqba Ibn Abi-Amir, the companion who said, «I heard the Prophet, on whom be blessing and peace, say, while he was in the pulpit, «Prepare for them what strength you can; behold, strength is in shooting, behold strength is in shooting, behold strength

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12. G.A.L. II. 296. S. II. 407. This title does not figure among al-Maqa’ri’s listed works, but Ahad b. Oasim would seem to have been referring to Na’fi al-Tib where Almanzor’s raids are mentioned in almost the same words. See Na’fi ed. ‘Abd al-Hamid, Cairo 1367.9/1949. Vol. I, p. 378, last line.

is in shooting (Tradition according to Muslim) 14. And another tradition on the same authority says, «I heard the Prophet of Allah say, «The Rûm will seek to win the day over you, but Allah will be your help, so none of you should be weak in archery with his arrows.» (Muslim). 15 Yet another tradition on the same authority says, «He who is accustomed to shooting, and then abandons it, is not one of us, —or according to another version— is accustomed to shooting, and then abandons it, is disobedient». (Muslim) 16.

According to Abu Huraira, the Prophet of Allah said, «There are a hundred different mansions in Paradise, which Allah has prepared for those who fight the Jihâd (Holy War). It is as far from one mansion to another as it is from Heaven to Earth.» 17 Abu Huraira also reported the following tradition: the Prophet of Allah said «A man fighting the Holy War is like one who keeps his fast and rouses himself in prayer to the verses of Allah's Quran without interrupting his fast or his prayers till the warrior comes back from the Holy War» (agreed) 18.

Another tradition on the authority of Anas says that the Prophet of Allah said, «To go out in the morning to fight the Holy War or to go in the evening is better than the world and everything in it» (agreed) 19.

From Sulaiman al-Farisi there is a tradition, «I heard the Prophet of Allah saying: To serve at one's post on the Holy War for one day and one night is better than to have fasted for a month with all the attendant good works and prayers. If a man dies while serving, he receives the benefit of what he had been doing; and as much again, and sustenance, and he will be safe from mischief-makers». (Muslim) 20.

Abu 'Abd said that the Prophet said, «No servant of mine who has got his feet dusty on the path of the Holy War will have them touched by Hell-fire.» (Al Bukhâri) 21.

According to Abu Huraira the Prophet said, «No unbeliever and the man that killed him will ever meet in Hell-fire.» (Muslim) 22.

Zayd bn Khâlid reported that the Prophet said, «If anyone

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arms a man for a raid in the Holy War, it is as though he himself had made a raid, and if any man takes up the family responsibilities of another who is away on the Holy War, it is as though he himself were at war.» (agreed) 23.

Buraida said that the Prophet said, «The wives of those away on service in the Holy War are to be considered as sacrosanct by those who have stayed behind, as if they were their own mothers. And if it should happen that a man who had not gone out to the Holy War and who had undertaken to look after the family of one who had gone out, should betray the fighting man’s trust, when Judgment Day comes, he will have to stand waiting while his good deeds are taken away from him. What do you expect?» (Muslim) 24.

Jābir bnu Samura reported a tradition that the Prophet said, «There will always be a group of Muslims to fight for their faith until the Last Hour comes». (Muslim) 25.

According to Anas, the Prophet said, «No one who enters Paradise would want to come back to the world, even to possess everything on earth, except for a martyr in the Holy War who would wish to return to meet his martyrdom ten times over for the sake of the blessings it will bring him». (Agreed) 26.

Abū Mūsā said that a man came to the Prophet and said, «One man went out to fight for the sake of the booty, and another to gain renown, and yet another to show off his position, who then was fighting in the path of Allah (in the Holy War)? The Prophet replied, «Whoever fights to exalt the Word of Allah is in the path of Allah (agreed) 27.

This is the end, but there are very many other traditions in the same sense.

Sultan Muley Zaidan had a great deal of artillery at Marrakesh, capital of the Maghreb. When Muley ʿAbdallāh 28, his nephew, son of Muley Sheikh, Sultan of Fez, revolted against him in 1015

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28. For this ʿAbdallāh’s place in the Sherifian family tree, see de Castrics, Les sources inédites de l’histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845, 1ère série Anglaterre, tome I, p. 256. Pianche III. He is No. 31 in the genealogical table.
(1606) or thereabouts, Muley Zaidan gave orders to bring up the artillery to the camp. I have it on more than one authority that the complete train consisted of eighty cannons.

Some time later there was a Christian Captain in his service. He was a Frenchman called Smandirs, a master gunner and engineer. One day he told the Sultan certain of the secrets of the art of gunnery... (the Arabic text here is obscure). For this the Sultan praised him, and made him a close companion. If this book had then existed in Arabic how would such a thing have been possible? I have done what I can to remedy my ignorance in this translation, but if it should come into the hands of one who knows more about this art than I, and he finds points where I have failed, and notices them, it would be a good action on his part to correct them in writing or orally.

If anyone should say, «How do you know how to read Spanish, when a man should only busy himself with what concerns him?» My answer is that the language I first spoke in Spain was Arabic, but we learnt to read Spanish by constant intercourse. Then Allah inspired me with the idea of leaving that country for the lands of the Muslims. Now when I found out that the unbelievers at the frontiers made a practice of investigating everyone that passed to see if they could find a Spanish Muslim in disguise, so as to be able to send him for trial, (for they had forbidden Muslims to approach the frontiers so as to prevent them from fleeing to Muslim territory) I studied for many years to learn their speech and to pick up their writing, so that, when I came to their country on my way to Muslim lands to escape, they would think me one of them. When I reached the sea-coasts where there was a strong coastguard. I stayed among them, and nothing they saw in me gave them any cause to doubt, either in my speech or my manners, or my way of writing.

29. For these civil wars in Morocco, see de Castries, Sources, Ière série. Anglaterre, tome II, especially, A True Historical discourse..., Chaps. 12, 13, 14, 15, reprinted on pp. 361-375.

30. Antoines de Sallettes, sieur de Saint Mandrier, see, de Castries, Sources, Ière série. Anglaterre, tome II, p. 595, note 3, and Ière série, France, tome III, pp XXXIX-XLVII. He entered Muley Zaidan's service on August 6th, 1614, and was beheaded after an attempt to escape, April 14th, 1626. He sometimes spelt his name St. Mandriés, see Sources, Ière série, France, tome III, p. 19.
I came from their country to Muslim territory, and it was for this purpose that I studied and attained proficiency in their way of writing—and all men are to be judged by their intentions. I afterwards realised that by reason of the studies I had undertaken with purpose of drawing near to Allah and to be able to approach the land of the Muslims, there were opened to me, because of this forbidden knowledge, the doors of princes that were shut to many people, also the translation of this book which, Allah willing, will be of great benefit to the Muslims. Moreover the Chief Imam Ali al Ujhuri asked me in Egypt, after we had returned from Mecca, that I should write a book about what had befallen me that was outstanding in the land of France, for I made a journey there on business with the leave of the Sultan of Morocco. Priests in orders there came to talk with me about their religion, which they praised, and they cast blame on our religion, so I read the Gospels and other works, so as to be able to answer them from their own scripture, and God gave me the victory over them time and time again.

In Morocco the Cadi of the Muslims 'Isa Ibn Abdarrahman al-Sakati said to me, «The Jihad consists of making war on the unbelievers and in giving them an answer for all the lies they spread about our religion and about their own». Because of that I rejoiced when we disputed with them.

The Jews came to me both in France and Flanders, for after I had concluded my business I travelled there. It is a northerly land dominated by the celestial Pole, and it is situated in latitude fifty-two degrees. The Jews praised their religion, but I found the Torah written in Spanish, and I read it all, and it consists of twenty-four books; I found in it in many places material with which to answer them in defence of our religion as I had found in the Gospels, praise be to Allah, Who guided us and made us Muslims, I have finished the book that the scholar sought from me in Egypt, and I have called it «The Conqueror of Religion against the Unbelievers» and I have written out a copy of it here, and I have not achieved all this except by reason of my learning to read Spanish, for the purpose of escaping from the territory of the Unbe-

22 Nāṣir al-dīn al-ālāl-qawm il-kafīrin. I can find no trace of this book in any bibliography.
liever to this land. I pray by the Grace of Muhammad, the Holy Prophet, that Allah may deal kindly with me in both this world, and the next, and also with all Muslims. Amen. Praise be to Allah, Lord of the Two Worlds. Blessing and peace on Muhammad and his family and Companions.

This is what the Mufti, Sayyid Ahmad al Sharif al-Hanafi wrote after reading the whole book. "Praise be to Allah, who has furnished his words with the swords of those who undertake the Holy War and has bestowed his good fortune on all grades of them. He has given his peace to the martyrs for the faith of those who perform the prayers. Greetings to the most holy Prophet, his family and companions."

The interpreter Ahmad ben Qasim ben Ahmad Ibn al-Faqih Qasim Ibn al-Shaikh al-Hajari al-Andalusi, (may Allah grant him grace and bestow on him the best of gifts) who has translated this book called "Handbook for those engaged in the Holy War by the use of Artillery and Cannons" compiled by Ra‘is Ibrahim ben Ghanim ben Muhammad ben Zakariya al-Andalusi, may Allah have mercy on his parents, has requested me to examine it. I have read it and found it of great use to Muslims, and a guide to men of learning and to Muslim students of artillery and gunnery.

The Faqir Amad al Sharif al Hanafi."

May Allah deal with him with grace and favour, Praise be to Allah.

The copying of this manuscript was completed on the 16th of Dhul Qa‘da of 1050 (27th Feb. 1641) by the hand of Muhammad Khoja, son of the translator of the book, Ahmad ben Qasim ben Ahmad ben-al-Faqih, Qasim ben al-Shaikh al-Hajari al-Andalusi. He wrote it in the city of Tunis, may Allah protect it, for the author of the book, may God accept him, blessings on Muhammad, etc.

L. P. Harvey

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