

## 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 CAÇIM BEJARANO HIJO DE EHMED HIJO DE  
ALFAQUÍ CAÇIM HIJO DEL SAIH 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.<sup>1</sup> of this treatise.

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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 furusiyya, 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 Zeki 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 London 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

tise. Flügel 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 Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad Ghānim b. Muḥammad b. Zakarīya al-Andalusī, and he was called in Spanish, Rivas <sup>2</sup>. 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. There after 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 <sup>3</sup>.

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 بالمعجم بالرياش (sic). Flügel hesitated over the solecism *mu'ajjām*, which he took to be a proper name «Miedschām». It is probably simply a vulgar graphy for *mu'ajjām*. Such graphies were by no means unknown amongst Spanish Arabic speakers, c. f. M. Alarcón, «Carta de Abenaboo en árabe granadino», in *Miscelanea de Estudios y textos árabes*, Madrid 1915, especially p. 709. Flügel went on to amend رباش to رياش. In view of our interpretation of *mu'ajjām* 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 *ayanī* as meaning that it was composed in *aljamia*, «al-ædjami 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, *aljamia* was mainly a Peninsular phenomenon. Aḥmad ben Qāsim himself wrote Spanish in the normal way. Ibraīm ben Aḥmad 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 *aljamia*.

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*, Vol. VI. Madrid 1889. Ms. No. LXIX.), although the ms. is *not* in *aljamia* (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 Aḥmad bnu Qāsim Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Faḥīh Qāsim Ibn al-Shaikh al-Hajarī al-Andalusī, whereas in the Spanish ms. of Bologna, he appears as Ehmed ben Caçim Bejarano hijo de Ehmed hijo de alfaquí Caçim hijo del Saih el Hhachari andalus. 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. Aḥmad 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 Aḥmad 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.

Aḥmad 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. Dozy, *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 Morocco 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 Naṣrid 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 Aḥmad 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 Aḥmad b. Qāsīm 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.

Aḥmad b. Qāsīm 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/ ʿAbd 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, Muḥammad (IV) al-Saghir (1045-1064) we are led to believe that Aḥmad b. Qāsīm left Marrakesh before Muḥammad 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. Qāsīm left Marrakesh and went to Salce 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-Ujhūrī (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-Ujhūrī had made the *Hajj* in his company, for the phraseology is ambiguous: «The Imān ʿAlī al-Ujhūrī asked me in Egypt, after we had returned from Mecca . . .» This we may simply be intended to refer to Aḥmad b. Qāsīm and his travelling companions, and not refer to him and the *Shaikh* at all. At all events he knew al-Ujhūrī in Egypt, and was asked by him to write a book describing his experiences in France. We observe that Aḥmad b. Qāsīm 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-Maqqarī entitled *Al-Jāmiʿ lil tawārikh ʿalā bilād il-Andalus*. This title is not listed by Brockelmann, but it seems reasonably clear that Aḥmad b. Qāsīm 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-l-Muḥāsīn Murād Dey had come to power. Murād ruled 1637-1640, so that we may put the arrival of Aḥmad b. Qāsīm 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 transla-

tion of a *khuṭba* for *Ramaḍan*. He does not mention the author's name, so that we can only speculate whether this «sermón que hizo en arábiga un gran sabio, se entiende que fué en los fines del mes de ramadán» was the work of his friend al-Ujhūrī «Fi faḍa'il shahr Ramaḍan» mentioned in *G. A. L.* loc. cit. This translation we find was commissioned by yet another Morisco, one Muḥammad Rubio. Aḥmad b. Qāsim 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 rromāce 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 mss. 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 Aḥmad b. Qasim, especially the «Coronica y relacion de la esclarecida deçendencia xarifal... 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-ʿizz wa'l-manāfiʿ* 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.

## ARABIC TEXT

ARABIC MS. VIENNA 1412, (FLUGEL) PP. 163-171 (SEE G. A. L. II, 465)

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَصَلَّى عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا ، مَوْلَانَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ ، سَلَامٌ  
تَسْلَامِيَا  
وَرَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنِ الْخُلَفَاءِ الرَّشِيدِينَ وَمَنْ تَابِعَهُمْ بِإِحْسَانِ الرِّيَومِ  
الدين امين

وبعد فيقول العبد الفقير المعترف بذنب المحب في المسلمين ودعابهم  
احمد بن قاسم ابن احمد ابن الفقيه قاسم ابن الشيخ الحجري الاندسى  
قد جيت من بلاد الاندلس الى مدينة مراکش حرسها الله قبل هذا  
التأريخ بنحو اربعين سنة ثم جيت منها الى قصبة سلي ورباطها وركبت  
البحر هنالك بنية الحج وقضى الله الحاجة باداء الفريضة بمكة المشرفة  
وبيت الله الحرام والوقوف في مواضع السنية الشريفة المشروعة للمناسك  
نسئل الله القبول وبعد اداء الفرض مشينا الى المدينة وسامنا فيها على افضل  
من ظهر على وجه الارض وبعد ان ولينا الى مدينة تونس حرسها الله  
طلب منى اخونا وحبينا في الله المؤلف للكتاب ان ترجمه من اللسان  
العجمى بالعربية لانه علم ان بمدينة مراکش كنت ترجمان السلطان  
مولاي زيدان ابن السلطان احمد ابن مولاي محمد الشيخ الشريف الحسنى  
رحمهم الله سنين عديدة وكاتب سره باللسان العجمى وكذلك ترجمت  
للسلطانين اولاده رحمهم الله وعفى عنهم ولما طالعت الكتاب العجمى  
الذى كتبه الرئيس صولفه بجط يده ورايت بنيته الصالحة ان الكتاب يكون  
فيه نفعاً للمسلمين وعونا لهم على الكفارة المشركين وان النبى صلعم  
قال اذا مات المرء انقطع عمله الا من ثلاثة صدقة جارية وعلم ينتفع به  
الناس وولد صالح يدعو له وان المؤلف ذكر فيه ان هو لم يقصد به  
نفعاً للدنيا الا عند الله سبحانه فيكون الكتاب صدقة جارية وايضا عاملاً

يَتَتَفَعُونَ بِهِ النَّاسَ فَعَزَمْتَ عَلَى تَعْرِيبِهِ وَتَوَكَّلْتَ عَلَى اللَّهِ فِيهِ وَيَسِّرْ لِي  
السَّبَابَ لَهُ الشُّكْرَ الدَّائِمَ عَلَى نِعْمِهِ وَاحْسَانِهِ وَعَلَى هِدَايَتِهِ وَأَعَانَتِهِ وَامْتِنَانِهِ  
وَقَدْ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ كَانَتْ لَهُ دَعْوَةٌ صَالِحَةٌ فَلْيَدْعُهَا لِلْأَمِيرِ  
اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي أَسْأَلُكَ بِاسْمَائِكَ الْحَسَنِيَّ مَا عَلِمْتَ مِنْهَا وَمَا لَا أَعْلَمُ وَبِاسْمَائِكَ  
السَّرِيعَةِ الْحَيَّةِ الَّتِي فَتَحْتَ بِهَا خَزَائِنَ رَحْمَتِكَ وَخَوَاتِمَ أَرَادَتِكَ وَسُرْعَةَ  
أَجَابَتِكَ وَبِفَضْلِ سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَرَسُولِكَ أَنْ تَنْصُرَ مَوْلَانَا أَمِيرَ  
الْمُؤْمِنِينَ نَاصِرَ الدِّينِ وَخَلِيفَةَ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ سُلْطَانَ السُّلْطَانِينَ الْإِسْلَامِ (و)  
الدِّينِ هُوَ مَوْلَانَا [164] السُّلْطَانَ مَرَادِ ابْنِ السُّلْطَانِينَ الْعُثْمَانِيِّ رَحِمَهُمُ اللَّهُ  
تَعَالَى وَأَعْلَى دَرَجَتِهِمْ فِي أَعْلَى عَالَمِينَ سُلْطَانَ الْبَرِّينِ وَمِصْرَ وَالشَّامَ وَالْعِرَاقَ  
وَخُدَيْمَ الْحَرَمِيِّينَ وَأَيَّدَهُ اللَّهُ بِعَزِيزِ نَصْرِهِ وَأَمَدَهُ بِمُعَوْنَتِهِ وَبَسْرَهُ وَخَلْدَ جَمِيلِ  
ذِكْرِهِ وَنَصْرِهِ وَجُنُودِهِ فِي ذَهَابِهِ وَأَيَّابِهِ بِفَضْلِ أَوْلِيَاءِ اللَّهِ وَأَهْلِ دِينِهِ وَكِتَابِهِ  
وَعَطَاهُ رَضَى السُّلْطَانِينَ أَبِيهِ الْمَرْحُومِ بِكَرَمِ اللَّهِ وَاجْدَادِهِ الذَّيْفِ اشْهَرِ  
اللَّهُ بَرَكَاتِهِمْ فِي أَرْضِهِ وَبِلَادِهِ حَتَّى حَصَلَتْ الرُّوعَةُ الْمُرُوثَةُ خَوْفًا مِنْهُمْ فِي  
قُلُوبِ النَّصَارَى الْمُشْرِكِينَ الْكُفَّارِ أَهْلِكْهُمْ اللَّهُ وَأَبْنَاهُمْ وَأَخْزِهِمْ وَخَذَلْهُمْ  
وَدَمَارْهُمْ أَشَدَّ الدَّمَارِ وَقَدْ شَاهَدْتُ فِي كَثِيرٍ مِنْ بِلَادِهِمْ وَكُتُبِهِمْ وَتَحَقَّقْتُ  
مِنْ خَاصَّتِهِمْ وَعَامَّتِهِمْ أَنَّ الْخَوْفَ الَّذِي فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ مِنْهُمْ لَمْ يَفَارِقْهُمْ فِي  
الْيَلِّ [sic] وَالنَّهَارِ وَانْقَطَعَ رَجَائُهُمُ الَّذِي كَانُوا يَرْجُونَ أَنْ الدَّوْلَةَ الْعُثْمَانِيَّةَ  
يَكُونُ انْقِرَاضُهَا عِنْدَ السَّادِسِ عَشَرَ مِنْ سُلْطَانِيَّتِهِمْ وَاسْتَدَلُّوا بِذَلِكَ مِنْ  
قَوْلِ يَحْيَى الْحَوْرِيِّ الَّذِي كَتَبَ رُبْعَ الْإِنْجِيلِ ثُمَّ كَتَبَ كِتَابًا مَرْمُوزًا يُسَمَّى  
بِقَلْبِشَ فَنَاقَلُوهُ بَعْضُ رَمُوزِهِ عَلَى مَقْتَضَى عَرْضِهِمْ وَمَرَادِهِمْ فَظَهَرَ اللَّهُ  
بِالْبُرْهَانِ أَنَّ قَوْلَهُمْ كَانَ بِاطْلَا وَزُورًا إِذْ هُوَ السُّلْطَانُ الْمَوْجُودُ الْآنَ أَيَّدَهُ  
اللَّهُ وَنَصْرَهُ عَلَيْهِمُ الثَّامِنَ عَشَرَ مِنَ السُّلْطَانِينَ جَازَ الْحِسَابَ وَظَهَرَ الْغُلْطُ فِيمَا  
تَوَلَّوهُ مِنَ الْكِتَابِ وَأَيْضًا تَقُولُ النَّصَارَى أَعْنَى مَنْ أَكْبَرَهُمْ عِلْمَانُهُمْ أَنَّ  
لِلْإِنْجِيلِ ثَلَاثَ بَرَكَاتٍ ظَاهِرَةٍ لِأَنَّ قَالُوا سِرَّةً مِنْهَا أَنَّ بَرَكَاتِهِ هُوَ يَشْغَلُ اللَّهُ

السلاطين العثمانيين عنهم قال الله العظيم في كتابه العزيز ادعوني استجب  
 لكم وقال رسول الله صلعم الدعاء جند من جنود الله وقال ابن عطاء  
 الله مهمى الهمك الله الدعاء اعلم انه اراد ان يعطيك اللهم اجعل البركة  
 والعز الدائم والتمكين في الدولة العثمانية والسلطنة الدائمة في اولادهم  
 الى يوم الدين واجعلهم تابعين لدين الله وسنة رسوله والنفع لهم  
 وللمسلمين امين واجعل الكفار تحت قعرهم مغلوبين ومهزومين وارضهم  
 وبلادهم ارثا وغنيمة لمدمنين بفضل سيدنا ومولانا محمد عليه افضل الصلاه  
 والسلام امين يا رب العالمين اللهم انصر جميع السلاطين المسلمين على  
 الكفار والخارجين والمتبذعين اجعل الغر الدائم والعدل في من هو امير  
 على اهل الاسلام والدين امين يا رب العالمين وقد ابتدأت في ترجمة  
 الكتاب هذا بعد ان تولى الامر بتونس [165] المحروسة فخر الامراء ومالك  
 زمام الفضلاء والكبراء ابو المحاسن مراد داي دام الله عزه واسعد ايامه  
 وقد ازال المناكر وغيرها ومن المشهورة منها ديار الحجر التي كانت قبل  
 توليته لبيعه وقد قال رسول الله صلعم جعل الشر كله في بيت وجعل  
 الحجر مفتاحه وقال صلعم مد من الحجر كعابد وثن ومن جملة ما رايت  
 وتغيرت من اجل ذلك تغييرا كبيرا ان في الجامع السني الشهير البركة  
 والثنا والذكر في الدنيا وهو جامع الزيتونة والامام يخطب الاولاد يلعبون  
 في داخله ويرفعون اصواتهم حتى من كان قريبا منهم لا يفهم ما يقول  
 الامام في خطبته بسببهم وقال الله تعالى وتحسبونه 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 ومنعهم من ذلك  
 واحسن فيه زاده الله احسانا وثباتا في الدنيا والاخرة وايضا ازاح من  
 طريق ما كان فيه من الوعر بسبب الكدا او اشرح الناظرين بروية  
 البحر بعد الخروج من مدينة مالا كان قبل واعظم الكدا منها كانت قريبا

جدا من باب البحر واعلا من صوره حتى ان العدو لو بلغ اليها واراد  
 الدخول الى مدينة فكان يسهل عليه ذلك بوجودها ويشهد بذلك كل من  
 رآها من اهل العقول والتدبير للحروب قبل زولها وايضا عمل في نفع  
 المسلمين بنيانا عظيما في مرسى بنى زرت يتعجب منه كل من يراه وبعث  
 الى عمله الرئيس المهندس الذى ظهر على يديه في الجزائر الخير الكثير  
 في اصلاح المرسى وجلب الماء الكثير اليها وبين الديار ما لا كان قبيل  
 وهو الحاج موسى شهر بجميره الاندلسى الغرناطى دارا فهو الذى وقف  
 لاصلاح المرسى بنى زرت على امر الداي السعيد اسعد الله واصلح كما  
 احتج فيها لدخول السفن الاغربية والمنع من الكفار وايضا الداي السعيد  
 امر ببنيان حصن في غار الملح ليمنع النصارى من الدخول في المرسى وتستأمن  
 فيها سفن المسلمين وهو من النفع العظيم للاسلام لان النصارى ترمى  
 فيها بالاغربية والسفن وياخذون المسلمين وسفنهم وقد ظهرت البركة  
 والنعم والرخا في هذه ايامه السعيدة ومما اتفق له في ما مضى في اليوم  
 لعشرين من شهر رمضان من عام ربع وثلاثين والى انه كان قبطان على  
 ست من اغربية تونس في البحر وخرجت خمسة من اغربية مالطة من  
 صقلية وجاءت في طلبهم ووقع الحرب العظيم بينهم ومات من الجانبين  
 [166] خلق كثير ونصر الله القبطان والمسلمين عليهم واخذوا من الكفار  
 غريبن الواحد يسمى ببطرونة الذى ينوب عن قرب القبطان  
 الاخر كان اسمه شان فرنسيسق وغلب الغرب الذى كان فيه القبطان  
 النصرانى حتى عزم على اخذه وهرب ومشى ووجد في الغريبن نحو  
 الخمس مائة مسلما واسعدهم الله به اذ انقدهم من الاسر وايضا كان بين واد  
 الملح الذى هو بين بنى زرت وطبرقه حصن بناه النصارى الفرنج  
 بالاذن لاجرا القمح والسمن وغير ذلك من بلاد المسلمين  
 الى بلاد الكفار وداموا على ذلك سنين عديدة ومن اجل كثرة الزرع

الذى كانوا يخرجون ضاق الحال بالمسلمين الجورين للحصن ولما تولى الامر  
الداى السعين منهم من ذلك ولم يبق للنصارى طمعا فيما كان قبل  
فكل ما عمل الداى السعيد فى نفع المسلمين يرى خيره فى الدنيا والاخرة  
ان شاء الله تعالى نسئل الله سبحانه ان يقبل عمله ويعينه ومن جملة بركاته  
ان اختتمت تعريب الكتاب وتخليصه وما اضاف اليه المؤلف وظهرلى  
انه اول كتاب ولف [sic] بالعربية فى هذا الفن والله اعلم وهو ايضا من  
سعادته وبركاته ان ظهر فى ايامه السعيدة وبما ذكرنا نستدل على نيته  
الصالحة اللهم انفعنا للمسلمين بصلاحه واعنه على القيام بحقوق المسلمين  
ورده بركة فى نفسه وماله واولاده واعطنا واعطه ما طلبنا من الخير  
والزيادة واختم علينا وعليه وعلى مولفه الكتاب بخواتم السعادة وبعد  
ان اشتغلت بعض الايام بترجمة الكتاب توقفت من اجل اسما المدافع  
وما يتعلق بها لانها لم تعرف لها اسما عربية حتى اطرحت القلم وارتدت  
ان اتركه ثم تذكرت فى الحين الرايا رايتها ليلة قبل ذلك اليوم كنت  
اقرا فى النوم قوله تعالى للذين يجلسون ويأمرون الناس بالبخل وتقوى  
عزمت على ترك البخل من نفسى واشتغلت به وسهل الله علي من تلك  
الساعة حتى اختتمته وكنت اذا اشكل على شىء من الكتاب نسئل الله  
الرئيس مؤلفه ويبين لى فى الحين بيانا شافيا كل ما نسئله عليه وعلمت  
ان كل ما ذكر وكتب هو عنده بالقول والفعل من الكمال للمترجم الذى  
يترجم من لغة الى اخرى ان يعرف ما يترجمه ومعانه ان امكنه وفى اليوم  
الذى عزمت على تمام تعريب الكتاب فقت عن النوم عند الصبح ولساق  
يقول قوله تعالى اليوم اكملت لكم دينكم واتممت عليكم نعمتى ورضيت  
لكم الاسلام ديناً وفهمت من الاية الكريمة ان الله [167] تبارك  
وتعالى قبل الكتاب ورضيه نسئل سبحانه ان ينفعنا به فى الدنيا والاخرة  
وللمسلمين بفضل سيدنا محمد صعم عبده ورسوله وسميت الكتاب باذن

الرئيس مؤلفه كتاب العز والمنافع للمجاهدين في سبيل الله بالمدافع  
واعلم ان الجهاد ركن عظيم في الاسلام حتى قال رسول الله صلعم ما توطأت  
قوم على ترك الجهاد الا ابتلاهم الله فيما بينهم وقد شهد هذا في الدنيا  
والجهاد فيه خير كثير اذا كان من النبي صلعم قولاً وفعلاً وشاهد بنفسه  
نحو عشرين غزوة تابعا لما امره الله تعالى به وكذلك اصحابه رضى الله  
عنهم وانظر ماذا استفتحوا وانظر ما ملكوا وكذلك بعض ملوك المسلمين  
رحمهم الله فانهم عليهم في الدنيا والاخرة حتى قتلوا الكفار المشركين  
لتكون كلمة الله هي العليا ونصرهم وثبت اقدامهم بالوقوف مع ما امر الله  
به في دينه الحق واتباع سنة رسوله وقد قال الله تبارك وتعالى ان  
تنصروا الله ينصركم ويثبت اقدامكم وقد صح من كتب التواريخ التي  
اجمعها العلامة الشيخ احمد المقرئ في كتابه بمصر في الكتاب الجامع  
للتواريخ على بلاد الاندلس اعادها الله الى الاسلام ان المنصور ابن ابي  
عامر كان بمدينة قرطبة وغزى اثنين وخمسين غزوة للكفار في ست  
وعشرين سنة وكان في كل عام يغزو غزوتين واحدة في زمن الصيف  
واخر في زمن الشتاء ولا انهزم ايد رحمه الله ومما طالعت في تونس في  
كتاب قديم يسمى بمشكات المصاييح قال في باب اعداد الجهاد عن عقبة  
ابن عامر رضى الله عنه قال سمعت رسول الله صلعم وهو على المنبر  
يقول واعدوا ما استطعتم من قوة الا ان القوة الرمي الا ان القوة الرمي  
الا ان القوة الرمي والا مسلم وعنه قال سمعت رسول الله صلعم يقول  
ستفتح عليكم الروم ويكفيكم الله فلا يعجز احدكم ان يلهوا باسهومه  
رواه مسلم وعنه قال سمعت رسول الله صلعم من على الرمي ثم تركه  
فليس منا او قد عصي رواه مسلم وعن ابي هريرة قال قال رسول  
الله صلعم ان في جنة مائة درجة اعدها الله للمجاهدين في سبيل الله ما  
بين الدرجتين كما بين السماء والارض وعنه [168] قال قال رسول الله

صلعم المجاهدين في سبيل الله كمثل الصائم القائم القانت بايات الله لا يفتر من صيام ولا حلوة حتى يرجع المجاهد في سبيل الله متفق عليه وعن انس قال قال رسول الله صلعم لعدوت في سبيل الله او روت خير من الدنيا وما فيها متفق عليه وعن سلمان الفارسي قال سمعت رسول الله صلعم يقول رباط يوم وليلة خير من صيام شهر لعمله وقيامه وان مات جرى عليه عمله الذي كان يمله واخرى عليه رزقه وامن الفتان رواه مسلم وعن ابي عبيس قال قال رسول الله صلعم ما اغبرت قدما عندي في سبيل الله فتمسه النار رواه البخاري وعن ابي هريرة رضى الله عنه ان رسول الله صلعم قام لا يجتمع كافر وقائله في النار ابداً رواه مسلم وعن زيد بن خالد ان رسول الله صلعم قال من جهز غاريا في سبيل الله فقد غزا ومن خلف غاريا في اهله فقد غزا متفق عليه وعن بريدة قال قال رسول الله صلعم حرمت نساء المجاهدين على القاعدتين كحزمت امها نهنم وما من رجل من القاعدتين يخلف رجلا من المجاهدين في اهله فيخونه فيهم الا وفق يوم القيامة فياخذ من عمله مشاً فما طنك رواه مسلم وعن جابر بن سمرة قال قال رسول الله صلعم لن يبرح هذا الدين قائماً يقاتل عليه عصابة من المسلمين حتى تقوم الساعة رواه مسلم وعن انس قال قال رسول الله صلعم ما من احد يدخل الجنة يحب ان يرجع الى الدنيا وله ما في الارض من شىء الا الشهيد يتمنى ان يرجع الى الدنيا فيقتل عشر مرات لما يرى من الكرمات متفق عليه وعن ابي موسى قال جاء رجل الى النبي صلعم فقال الرجل يقاتل للمغنم والرجل يقاتل للذكر الرجل يقاتل ليرى مكانه فمن في سبيل الله قال من قاتل لتكون كلمة الله العلياً فهو في سبيل الله متفق عليه انتهى والاحاديث كثيرة في هذا المعنى

وقد كان للسلطان مولاي زيدان رحمه الله بمدينة مراکش وهي دار

السلطنة المغربية من المدافع شئ كثير حتى ان مولاي عبد الله ابن اخيه مولاي الشيخ سلطان فاس احرك عليه عام خمسة عشر سنة والف وقرينا منها وامر مولاي زيدان باخراج المدافع للمحلة وسمعت من غير واحد ان الجملة [169] كانت ثمانين مدفعا وبعد ذلك بزمن كان في خدمته نصراني قبطان فرنج اسمه سمندرس وكان مدافعي ومهندس وذكر يوما للسلطان شيئاً من اسرار فن المدافع واظن انه كان في شان المسطرة العدديّة المذكورة في هذا الكتاب ان يخط رطل من ميزان كورة يزيد عليه خطوطا ويعرف ميزان كل كورة من المسطرة وامره ان تاتي بها حتى ذلك الحساب والعمل من الخطوط التي في المسطرة وكان يكرمه على ذلك ويقبل عليه فكيف لو وجد هذا الكتاب بالعربية وقد ابدلت جهدي وانضحت قدر ما استطعت في هذه الترجمة فان جاء بيد من هو ابلغ مني في هذا الفن [و] وجد منا التقصير في بعض الاشياء وتحقق منها فخيتي له ان يمهيا بالقلم ولا باللسان وان قال قائل كيف عملت تقرا بالا عجمية وقد ورد ان لا يشتغل الانسان الا بما يعنيه فاقول اعلم ان اول ما تكلمت به ببلاد الاندلس كان بالعربية فتعلمنا القراءة الاعجمية للاخذ والعطى ثم الهمني الله سبحانه ان اخرج من تلك البلاد الى بلاد المسلمين ولما تحققت الى الكفار كانوا في الثغور يبحثون كل من يرد عليهم لتعلمهم يجدون اندلسيا مخفيا ليحكموا فيه لانهم كانوا منغوم من الثغور ليلا يهربون الى بلاد المسلمين فجلست سنين نتعلم الكلام والاخذ في كتبهم ليحسبون اني منهم اذا نمشي الى بلادهم للخروج منها لبلاد الاسلام ولما ان جيت الى البلاد التي هي على حاشية البحر حيث هو الحرس الشديد وجلست بينهم ولم يشكوا في بما راوا مني من الكلام والحال والكتابة وجيت من بينهم الى بلاد المسلمين وبهذه النية تعلمت وبلغت في كتبهم ولكل امر ما توى ثم رايت ان

بسبب التعليم انه كان بنية القرب من الله ببلاد المسلمين يفتح لى بذلك العلم المنهى عنه ببيان الملوك المسدودة عن كثير من الناس وايضا ترجمة هذا الكتاب يكون فيه ان شاء الله نفعا للمسلمين وايضا طلب منى الشيخ الامة على الاجهورى بمصر بعد ان جئنا من مكة المشرفة ان اعمل كتابا مما وقع لى من المناظرات ببلاد الفرنج لاني سفرت اليها باذن السلطان من مراکش لقضاء اغراض وجاء الى القسيسون الرهبان يتكلمون معى فى دينهم يشركونه ويعيبون ديننا فقرأت الانجيل [170] وغيره بسببهم لنرد عليهم من كتبهم فنصرنى الله عليهم مرارا عديدة وقال لى قاضى المسلمين بمراكش العلامة الحير عيسى ابن عبد الرحمن السكتى ان الجهاد يكون بمهاربة الكفار وبالرد عليهم فيما يقولون من الكذوب فى ديننا ودينهم وفرحت بذلك اذ جاهدنا معهم ثم جاني اليهود ببلاد فرنجة وبلاد فلنضس لاني بعد ان قضيت اغراض سفرت اليها هى بلاد جوفية يرتفع القطب الشمالى عليها اثنين وخمسين درجة وكان اليهود يشكرون دينهم فوجدت القورية مكتوبه بالكلام الاعجبي وقرأتها كلها وهى اربع وعشرين كتابا ووجدت فيها فى مواضع كثيرة ما ترد عليهم منها موافقا لدينا كما وجدت فى الانجيل والحمد لله الذى وفقنا وهدانا وجعلنا مسلمين وقد علت التكاب الذى طلب منى العالم بمصر السعيدة وسميته ناصر الدين على قعم الكافرين وكتبت منه هنالك نسخ ولا بلغت لما قلت الا بسبب اننا تعلمت القراءة الاعجمية بنية الخروج من بلاد الكفار الى هذه الديار نستل الله العظيم بفضل سيدنا محمد صعم النبي الكريم ان يطفى بي فى الدارين وجميع المسلمين امين والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على سيدنا ومولانا محمد واله وصحبه وسلم تسليمًا وهذا ما كتب المفتى السيد احمد الشريف الحنفى بعد مطالعة جميع الكتاب الحمد لله مشيد كلماته بسيوف اولى الجهاد ومولى نعمته لصنوف اهل الاجتهاد

ومستدل رحمة على الشهداء السعداء من عباد الصلاة والسلام على من  
 شد الله ببيان اطناب الايمان وعلى اله واصحابه ليوت السرى وفيوت  
 القرى الاعيان وبعد فقد طلب منى المترجم احمد بن قاسم بن احمد ابن  
 الفقيه قاسم ابن الشيخ الحجرى الاندلسى وفقه الله لرضاه وجزاة خير  
 الجزا وفاه مترجم هذا الكتاب المسمى بكتاب العز والمنافع لمجاهدين  
 فى سبيل الله بالات الحروب والمدافع تاليف الرئيس ابراهيم بن احمد بن  
 غانم بن محمد بن زكريا الاندلسى رحم الله والديه واحسن اليهما مطالعته  
 فطالعه ووجدت فيه نفعا للمسلمين [171] وارشادا للعالمين والمتعلمين من  
 اهل صناعة المدافع ورمات المسلمين الفقير احمد الشريف الحنفى عامله  
 الله بلطفه الحنفى بمنه كرمه الحمد لله ومما قاله العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى  
 عبد الرحمان مسعود الجبالى مرعبا فى هذا الكتاب بحال عجلة الوضع  
 عنده

من العده اذا ها امنا وعدا	هذا المدافع عنا كل مهلكم
نهج الحروب على شكل وما عهدا	اهد لنا حكما تبدي لمتنا
بل ساقها فاضل بدا لها عددا	من المدافع قبلا من ايمتنا
تشقى العليل ليدى الفتح والرشدا	فهاكها منه فى ذالسفر ظاهرة
فاستخرجت حكما كانت لها عددا	من دون منشئه راقى عدوبته
ارمى الرمات فريد العصر مجتهدا	هو المعلم ابراهيم الاندلسى
مفتى الانام لقد اسد اله مددا	انظر الخط امام سيدى قرىش
قامت لديه علوم الدرر واجتهد	لازل مرتقيا نهج البلاعة ما
من كان تابعه ابد النارشدا	ثم الصلاة على جدله وعلى
من العدو واذا ما امنا وعدا	فهو المدافع عنا كل مهلكة

تمت النسخة المباركة لهذا الكتاب فى السادس عشر من ذى القعدة

عام خمسين والف على يد العبد المذنب الراجي عفو الله وعفرائه محمد  
حوجه بن احمد المترحم للكتاب بن قاسم بن احمد بن الفقيه قاسم بن  
الشيخ الحجري الاندلسي كتبه في مدينة تونس حرسها الله للرئيس  
المولف للكتاب تقبل الله منه وصلى الله على سيدنا وعلى مولانا محمد وعلى  
اله وصبه وسلم تسليما

## TRANSLATION

In the Name of Allah the Merciful (etc.)

The humble and contrite believer Aḥmad ben Qāsim Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Faḥīh Qāsim Ibn al-Shaikh al Hajari al Andalusī says as follows:

I came from the land of al-Andalus to the city of Marrākesh (may God keep it safe) about forty years before the present date <sup>1</sup>. 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 Marrākesh I had been interpreter for many years to Muley Zaidan <sup>2</sup>, son of the Sultan Aḥmad Ibn Muley Muḥammad al Hasani, 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 <sup>3</sup>, his sons, may Allah rest their souls, and pardon them. Now when I perused the book written in the foreign tongue that the *raīs* (captain) had composed and written out in his own hand, and when I saw

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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.

2. Sultan of Morocco, 1016-1039/1607-1629.

3. Presumably 'Abd al-Malik Abū-l-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 *raḥamahum allatut* 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.

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 ninety-nine 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 <sup>4</sup> 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

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4. Murād IV, 1032-1049/1623-1640.

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 <sup>5</sup> 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 Qurān 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 <sup>6</sup> 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 Qurān, «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 Muḥammad, 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. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty*, Oxford 1956), but the 15th Sultan, Muṣṭafa I, had a short second reign in 1622-3 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 Abū-l Muḥāsini Murād Dey <sup>7</sup> (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 it was 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 *Sunnī* 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 <sup>8</sup>, «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 Baḥr*) 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 (*Rāis*) who in Algiers demonstrated his ability in putting the harbour in order. He brought

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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-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī. 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 Gar 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 Ramaḍan 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. Allah granted victory to the captain and to the Muslims. They took two galleys from the Christians. One, called Patrona, 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 joyous to be set free.

Also there was near Wādī'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 Allah Almighty. I pray Allah 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 Allah 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 <sup>9</sup> «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» <sup>10</sup>. 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 <sup>11</sup>, «*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. (Fl.)

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 Sanna (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 Maqqari <sup>12</sup> 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-Mansūr (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 Masābih* <sup>13</sup>, where in the chapter on the preparation of the holy war there is a tradition related on the authority of «Uqba Ibn '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

12. G.A.L. II. 296. S. II. 407. This title does not figure among al-Maqqari's listed works, but Ahmad b. Qāsim would seem to have been referring to *Nafh al-Tib* where Almanzor's raids are mentioned in almost the same words. See *Nafh* ed. 'Abd al-Hamid, Cairo 1367/9/1949. Vol. I, p. 378, last line.

13. G.A.L. II. 364. The author is al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, fl. c. 737/1336. Edited in Calcutta in 1938 by Al Ha, Maulana Fazlul Karim under the title of *Al-Hadis. An English translation and commentary with vowel pointed Arabic text of Mishkāt ul Masābih.*

is in shooting (Tradition according to Muslim) <sup>14</sup>. And another tradition on the same authority says, «I heard the Prophet of Allah say, «The Rūm 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).<sup>15</sup> 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) <sup>16</sup>.

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 *Jihād* (Holy War). It is as far from one mansion to another as it is from Heaven to Earth.» <sup>17</sup> 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) <sup>18</sup>.

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) <sup>19</sup>.

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) <sup>20</sup>.

Abu 'Abs 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 Bukhāri) <sup>21</sup>.

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

Zayd bnu Khālid reported that the Prophet said, «If anyone

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14, 15 and 16. See Al-Hadis, Book 2, p. 371.

17 and 18. Op. cit. p. 343.

19. Op. cit. p. 344.

20, 21 and 22. Op. cit. p. 345.

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) <sup>23</sup>.

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) <sup>24</sup>.

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) <sup>25</sup>.

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) <sup>26</sup>.

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) <sup>27</sup>.

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 'Abdallah <sup>28</sup>, his nephew, son of Muley Sheikh, Sultan of Fez, revolted against him in 1015

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<sup>23</sup> and <sup>24</sup>. Op. cit. p. 346.

<sup>25</sup> and <sup>26</sup>. Op. cit. p. 347.

<sup>27</sup>. Op. cit. p. 353.

<sup>28</sup>. For this 'Abdallah's place in the Sherifian family tree, see de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845*, Ière série Anglaterrre, tome I, p. 256. Planche III. He is No. 31 in the genealogical table.

(1606)<sup>29</sup> 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<sup>30</sup>, 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.

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

30. Antoine de Sallettes, sieur de Saint Mandrier, see, de Castries, *Sources*, Ière série, Angleterre, tome II, p. 505, note 3, and Ière série, France, tome III, pp XXXIX-XLVI. 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 <sup>31</sup> 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 Abdarraḥman 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» <sup>32</sup>, 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-

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31. See G.A.L. II. 317.

32. Nāṣir al-dīn 'alā-l-qawm il-kafirin. 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 Muḥammad 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»<sup>33</sup>, compiled by Rais Ibrāhīm bnu Ghānim bnu Muḥammad bnu Zakariya al-Andalusī, may Allah have mercy on his parents, has requestd me to examine it I have read it and found it of great use to Muslims, and a iuide 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 Dhu l Qa'da of 1050 (27th Feb. 1641) by the hand of Muhammad Khoja, son of the translator of the book, Ahmad bnu Qasim bnu Ahmad bnu-al-Faqih, Qasim bnu al-Shaikh al-Hajari al-Andalusī. He wrote it in the city of Tunis. may Allah protect it, for the author of the book, may God accept him, blessings on Muḥammad, etc.

*L. P. Harvey*

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33. Kitāb al-iz wal manāfi' il mujāhidin fi sabīl illah bi alat il-ḥurūb wa'l madāfi'.

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