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 ALFAQUI 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. 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 XIIth 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 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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tise. Flügel has given a very full notice of one at Vienna (Die Arabi­chen 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. Āḥmad Gānim b. Muḥammad b. Zakariya al-Andalusi, and he was called in Spanish, Rivas. 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 by 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.

of the Verhandlungen in which Ahmed Zeki Bey's communication appeared. It was 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 the shēr al-muqajjam (sic). Flügel hesitated over the solecism muqajjām, which he took to be a proper name «Midschām». It is probably simply a vulgar graphy for muqajjām. Such graphies were by no means unknown amongst Spanish Arabic speakers, c. f. M. Alarcón, «Carta de Abenaboo en arabe granadino», in Miscelanea de Estudios y textos árabes, Madrid 1915, especially p. 709. Flügel went on to amend Rivas to Rivas. In view of our interpretation of muqajjām 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 saryani as meaning that it was composed in aljamiya, «al-ajjamī 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. Āḥmad ben Qāsim himself wrote Spanish in the normal way. Ibrāhīm ben Āḥmad 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 or 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 aljamiya (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 Āḥmad bnu Qāsim Ibn Āḥmad Ibn al-Faqīh Qāsim Ibn al-Shaikh al-Hajari al-Andalusi, whereas in the Spanish ms. of Bologna, he appears as Ehmed ben Cačim Bejarano hijo de Ehmed hijo de alfaquí Cačim hijo del Saih el Hhachari andaluṣ. 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. Āḥmad the author) knew that in the city of Marrakesh I had been interpreter for many years to Mulev Zaidan... in the same way I was interpreter to the two Sultans his sons.»

We may reconstruct the main outlines of Āḥmad 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.

Āḥmad 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 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 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 (1606-1607). 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 Al'ı̄ma'd 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.

Al'ı̄ma'd 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/ ‘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, Muḥammad (IV) al-Saghir (1045-1064) we are led to believe that Al'ı̄ma'd 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. Qāsim 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-Ujhūri (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-Ujhūri had made the Hajj in his company, for the phraseology is ambiguous: «The Imām ʿAlī al-Ujhūri asked me in Egypt, after we had returned from Mecca ...» This 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-Ujhūri 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 Abū ʿAlī Abū al-Maqqari entitled Al-Jāmiʿ al-tawārikh ala bilad il-Andalus. This title is not listed by Brockelmann, but it seems reasonably clear that Aḥmad b. Qāsim is referring to Najḥ 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-Muḥāsin Mūrād 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 transla-
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 arávigo un gran sabio, se entiende que fue en los fines del mes de ramadán* was the work of his friend al-Ujhūrī *Fi faqā'īl shahr Ramaḍān* mentioned in *G. A. L.* loc. cit. This translation we find was commissioned by yet another Morisco, one Muḥammad Rubio. Ṭāḥā b. Ḥādiμ 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 rromâçe 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 Rabadān'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.s. 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 decendencia 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 hadith 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-ṣīz waʾl-munāfī 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 واله ، سلم

رسالتي

ورضي الله عن الخلفاء الرشدين ومر تابعهم باحسن الربوه

الدين امين

وبعد فيقول العبد الفقير المعترف بذنب الله في المسلمین ودعاه

امحمد بن قاسم ابن احمد ابن الفقيه قاسم ابن الشيخ الحجري الأندسی

قد جفت من بلاد الأندلس الى مدينة مراكش حرسها الله قبل هذا

التأریخ نحو أربعین سنة ثم جيت منها الى قصبة سلو ورباطها وركبت

البحر هنالك بنيه الحج وقضى الله الحاجة باما الفريضة بمکة المشروفة

وبيت الله الحرام والوقوف في موضع السند السهیة الشریفة المشروعة للناس

 роль الله القبول وبعده اد أظرف مشينا الى المدينة وساننا فيها على أفضل

في ظهر على وجه الأرض وبعد ان ولينا الى مدينة تونس حرسها الله

طلب مني اخونا وحيبينا في الله المولف للمكتاب ان اترجمه من اللسان

العجمي بالعربية لانه علمه ان بمدينة مراكش كنت ترجمان السلطان

ولى زيدان ابن السلطان احمد ابن مولای مهد السیف ال sherif الحسین

رحمه الله سنين عديدة وكاتب سره باللسان العجمي وكذلك ترجمت

للسلطانين اولاد رحمه الله وعنهم وما طالعت الكتاب العجمي

الذي كتبه الرئيس صولفه بخط يده ورباعته بنيته الصالحة ان الكتاب يكون

فيه نفعا للمسلمین وعونا لهم على الكفارة المشرکین وان النبي صلی

قال إذا مات المرء انقطع عمله الا من ثلاثة صدقة جارية وعلم يباع به

الناس وولد صالح يدعو له وان المولف ذكر فيه ان هو لم يقصد به

نفعا للدنيا الا عند الله سبحانه وتعالی كتاب صدقة جارية وايضا عامة

ARABIC TEXT

يتنفون به الناس فعزمت على تعريه وتوكلت على الله فيه ويسر لي السبب له الشكر الدائم على نفسه واعتنائه، وعلى خلالته وإعتنائه، وقد قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من سباق له دعوة صالحة فليدعو للأمير الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أسئلة الحسناء ما علبت منها وما لا علم وبعضاً من السريعة الأعمية التي فتحت بها خزائن رجعتك وخواتم أرادتك وسرعة اجابتك وبفضل سيدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم إن تنصر مولانا امير المومنين ناصر الدين وخليفة رب العالمين سلطان سلطان الإسلام (و) الديني هو مولانا [164]، السلطان مراد ابن السلاطين العثمانين رحمه الله تعالى وأعلى درجتهم في أعلى مليكته سلطان السلاطين البرين ومصر والشام والعراقين، وخديم الحرمين، وايده الله يعزز نصره ومده بمعتنة ويسره خلد جميل ذكره ونصره وحنوه في دهابه وايده بفضل أولين الله واهل دينه وكتباه وعطاه رضى السلاطين إله المرحم بكرم الله واجداده الذي يغدبر الله بركاتهم في ارضه وبلاده، حتى حصلت الروعة المروعة خوفاً منهم في قلوب النصارى المشركين الكفار أهلكم سلطان السلاطين وابناؤهم واحزهم وخذلهم ودمارهم اشتد الدمار وقد شاهدت في كثير من بلادهم وكبتهم وهزتهم، ومن خاصتهم واعتهم أن الخوف الذي في قلوبهم منهم لم يفاقهم في سُلْطَانِ [sic] والنهار، وانقطع رجاهه الذي كانوا يرجعونه ان الدولة العثمانية يكون انقراضها عند السادس عشر من سلاطينهم واستدلو بذلك من قول يحيى الحورى الذي كتب ربع أنجيل، ثم كتب كتاباً مروماً يسمى بقبلش فناووا بعض رموزه على مقتضى أرضتهم ومرادهم فاظهر الله بالبرهان أن قولهم كان باطلًا وزوراً إذ هو السلطان الموجود الآن إيه الله ونصره عليهم الثامن عشر من السلاطين جاز الحساب وظن الغلط فيما تولوه من الكتاب وأيضاً تقول النصارى أعتى من أكبرهم عماماتهم أن أҮلنجيل ثلاث بركات ظاهره لأن قالوا سرة منها ان بركاته هو يشعل الله
السلاطين العثمانيين عنهم قال الله العظيم في كتابه العزيز: "ادعوني استجب لكم وقال رسول الله صل الله الدعا جند من جنود الله وقال ابن عطاء الله مهدى الهمك الله الدعا اعلم أنه اراد أن يعطيك الله اجعل البركة والمزمور الدائم والتمكين في الدولة العثمانية والسلطة الدائمة في أولادهم إلى يوم الدين واجعلهم تابعين لدينه الله وسنة رسوله والفع لهم وللمسلمين امين واجعل الكفار تحت قهرهم مغلوبين ومهزومين وارضهم وللأمم آذان وحنيمة للمؤمنين بفضل سيدنا ومولانا محمد عليه اصل الصلاة والسلام أمين يا رب العليم اللهم انصر جميع السلاطين المسلمين على الكفار والخليجين والمتبهدتين اجعل الغر الدائم والعدل في من هو امر على اهل الإسلام والدين امين يا رب العليم وقد ابتدأت في ترجمة الكتاب هذا بعد ان تولى الامام بتونس [65] الخروج فأثر الأمر وملك زمام الفضلا والكبار أبو الحسن مراد داني أدام الله عزه واسعد ايامه وقد ازال المناكر وغيرا ومن المشهورة منها ديار الجمر التي كانت قبل توليته لبيمه وقد قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم جعل الشر كله في بيت وجعل المهر مقاتله وقال صل الله عليه وسلم مد من الحمر كعاد وثمن ومن جملة ما رايت وتغيرت من اجل ذلك تصيرا كبيرا ان في الجامع السن الشهير البركة والثنا والذكر في الدنيا وهو جامع الزينونة والامام يخطب الأولاد يلعبون في داخله ويرفعون أصواتهم حتى من كان قريبا منهم لا يفهم ما يقول الامام في خطبته بسبيهم وقال الله تعالى وحسبه هينما وهو عند الله عظيم ولم نر فقط في كل ما دخلت من بلاد المسلمين ولا سمعت به مثل هذا العمل في الجوامع في ساعة الخطبة ولا في غيرها ومنهم من ذلك واجس فيهم زاد الله احسانا وثباتا في الدنيا والاخرة وأيضا ازاح من طريق ما كان فيه من الوعر بسبب الكذا او أشر الناظرين بروية البحر بعد الخروج من مدينة مالا. كان قبل وعظم الكذا منها كانت قريبًا.
جداً من باب البحر واعلاً من صوره حتى أن العدو لم يبلغ إليها وارد الدخول إلى مدينة فكان يسهل عليه ذلك بوجودها ويشهد بذلك كل من رآها من اهل العقول والتدبير للحروب قبل زوالها وابيض العمل في نفع المسلمين بنيانا عظيما في مرسى بني زرت يعجب منه كل من يراه ويعد، 
ألى عمله الرئيس المهندس الذي ظهر على يديه في الجزائر الكبير في إصلاح المرسى وجلب الماء الكبير إليها وبين الديار ما لا كان قبلي، وهو الحاج موسى شهر بجبايره الابتدائي الفرناطي داراً فهو الذي وقف لإصلاح المرسى بني زرت على أمر الديانة السعيد أحمد الله واصبح كاملاً احتض فيها لدخول السفن كالغربية والمفعن من الكفار وأيضاً الداعي السعيد امربيسيان حصن في عرقلما ليمنع النصارى من الدخول في المرسى وتستأمن فيها سفن المسلمين وهو من النفع العظيم للإسلام لأن النصارى تردى فيها بالغربية والسفن وياخذن أنسامهم وسفنهم وقديمهم البركة والنعم والإعاقة في هذه الأيام البعيدة مما اتفق له في ما مضى في اليوم لعشرين من شهر رمضان من عام ربع وثلاثين والذك أن كان قبطان على سنت من إغربية تونس في البحر وخرجت خمسة من إغربية مالطة من صقلية واجات في طلبهم ووقع الحرب العظيم بينهم ومات من الجانبين [166] خلق كثير ونصر الله القبطان والمسلمين عليهم وأخذوا من الكفار غربيين الواحد يسمى بيطرونة الذي ينوب عن قرب القبطان، لا خبر من شان فرنسيش وغلب الغرب الذي كان فيه القبطان النصارى حتى عزم على اخذه وهرب ويشي ووجد في الغربين نحو الجنس ماهية مسالم واعدهم الله به إذ انقطع من لاس وابيض كان بين واد الملح الذي هو بني زرت وطرقه حصن بناء النصارى الفرنج بالذن لاخراج القمح والمست وغير ذلك من بلاد المسمى فت الى بلاد الكفار وداموا على ذلك سنين عديدة ومن أجل كشقر الزرع
الذي كانوا خرجون ضاقت الحال بالساسمين الجربون للتلصين وما تولي لأمر
الدعا السبع منهم من ذلك ولم يبق للنصاري طمعا فيما كان قبل
فكرة ما عمل الدعا السعيد في نفع الساسمين برى خبره في الدنيا والآخرة
أن شاء الله تعالى نسبه أنه يقبل عمله ويعينه ومن حجة بركاته
ان اختتمت تعريب الكتاب وتخلصه وما اضاف إليه المؤلف وظهر
انه أول كتاب ولف [sic] بالعربية في هذا الفن والله اعلم وهو أيضا من
سعادةه وبركاته ان ظهر في أيامه السعيدة وما ذكرنا نستدل على نيته
الصلح الله أفضأل الساسمين بصلاحه وأعنه على القيام بحقوق الساسمين
ورده بركة في نفسه وماله وأولاده وأعنه واعظة مما طبنت من المير
والزيادة واختتم عليا وعلى مؤلفه الكتاب بخواص السعادة وبعد
ان اشتملت بعض الأيام بتربية الكتاب توقفت من أجل اسما المذائع
وما يتعلق بها لا أنها لم تعرف لها اسماء عربية حتى اطرحت القيم واردت
ان اتكره ثم ذكرت في الحق الرايا رأيتها ليلة قبل ذلك اليوم كنت
اقرأ في النوم قوله تعالى للذين يبجلون ويأمون الناس بالبخيل وتقوى
عزمي على ترك البخل من نفسى واشتملت به وسهل الله علي من تلك
الساعة حتى اقتسمته وكنت اذا اشتكى على شئ من الكتاب نسبه الله
الرئيس مؤلفه ويبين لي في الحق بيانا شافيا كل ما نسأله عليه وعلت
ان كل ما ذكر وكتب هو عنده بالقول والفعل من الكمال للمترجم الذي
يترجم من لغة الى أخرى ان يعرف ما يترجم وتعانه ان امكنته وفي اليوم
الذي عزمت على تمام تعريب الكتاب فقت عن النوم عند الصبح ولسانى
يقول قوله تعالى اليوم اكملت لكم دينكم واهتمت عليكم نعمت ورضيت
لكم إسلام دينا وفهمت من كلية الكريمة ايت الله [167] تبارك
وتعالى قبل الكتاب ورضيه نسأت سبئانه ان ينفعنا به في الدنيا والآخرة
والساسمين بفضل سيدنا محمد صعه عليه ورسوله وسبيت الكتاب باذن
الرئيس مولده كتاب العز والمنافق للمجاهدين في سبيل الله بالمدافع.

واعلم أن الجهاد ركن عظيم في الإسلام حتى قال رسول الله صلعم ما توطأت قوم على ترك الجهاد إلا ابتعث الله فيما بينهم وقد شهد هذا في الدنيا والجهاد فيه خير كبير إذا كان من النبي صلعم قوله وفعلًا وشاهد بنفسه نحو عشرين عزوة تابعة لما أمره الله تعالى به وكذلك أصحابه رضي الله عنهم وانظر ما أستفجروا وانظر ما ملكوا وكذلك بعض ملوك المسلمين رحمهم الله فإنهم عليهم في الدنيا والآخرة حتى قتلوا الكفار المشركين لنكون كلمة الله في العليا ونصرهم وثبت أقدامهم بالوقوف مع ما أمر الله به في دينه الحق واتباع سنة رسوله وقد قال الله تعالى و تعالى ابن عمير الله تبارك وتعالى أن تنصروا الله ينصركم وثبت أقدامكم وقد صح من كتب التواريخ التي اجمعها العلامة الشيخ أحمد المقرئ في كتابه بمصر في الكتب الجامع للتاريخ على بلاد الأندلس اعادها الله إلى الإسلام بن المنصور ابن أبي عمير كان بمدينة قرطبة وزى اثنين وخمسين غزوة للكفار في ست وعشرين سنة وكان في كل عام يغزو غزوهين واحدة في زمن الصيف وآخر في زمن الشتاء ولا إنهزم أي رجل الله ووما طالت في تونس في كتاب قديم يسمى بمشкат المصابيح قال في باب إعداد الجهاد عن عقبة ابن عامر رضي الله عنه قال سمعت رسول الله صلعم وهو على المنبر يقول واعدوا ما استطعتم من قوة إلا أن القوة الرمى إلا القوة الرمى إلا أن القوة الرمى ولا مسلم وله سمعت رسول الله صلعم يقول ستفتح عليكم الروم ويكفيكم الله فلا يعجز أحدكم إن يلهمه بإنه يركبه بإنه يركبه بإنه يركبه بإنه يركبه فإنه يركبه فإنه يركبه فإنه يركبه فإنه يركبه فليس منا فأ قد عصى رواه مسلم وعن ابن هريرة قال قال رسول الله صلعم أن في جنة مائة درجة أعدها الله للمجاهدين في سبيل الله ما بين الدرجتين كما بين السماء والأرض وله [163] قال قال رسول الله
صلعم المجاهدين في سبيل الله كمثل الصائم القائم القائم بآيات الله لا يفتق
من صيام ولا حلوة حتى يرجع المجاهد في سبيل الله متفوق عليه وعنه
انس قال قال رسول الله صلعم لمغدوت في سبيل الله أو روت خير من
الدنيا وما فيها متفوق عليه وعن سلمان الفارسي قال سمعت رسول الله
صلعم يقول رباه يوم ليلة خير من صيام شهر لعمله وقيامه وان مات
جري عليه عمله الذي كان يمله وآخره عليه رزقه وأمن الفتان
رواه مسلم وعن أبي عيسى قال قال رسول الله صلعم ما ابطرت قدما عندي
في سبيل الله فتسمه النار رواه البخاري وعنه بن هريرة رضى الله عنه
ان رسول الله صلعم قام لا يجتمع كافر وقاتلته في النار ابداً رواه
مسلم وعن زيد بن خالد أن رسول الله صلعم قال من جبه غاريا في
سبيل الله فقد غزا ومن خلف غاريا في اهله فقد غزا متفوق عليه وعن
بريدة قال قال رسول الله صلعم حرمت نساء المجاهدين على القاعدين كجزم
امها فنهم وما من رجل من القاعدين يخلف رجلا من المجاهدين في اهله
فيكونه فيهم الا وفق يوم القيامة فبأخذ من عمله مشاه فما طنكل رواه
مسلم وعن جابر بن سمرة قال قال رسول الله صلعم لن يبرح هذا الدين
فائزا يقاتل عليه عصابه من المسلمين حتى تقوم الساعة رواه مسلم وعن
اناس قال قال رسول الله صلعم ما من احد يدخل الجنة يجب ان يرجع
الدنيا وله ما في الأرض من شيء الا الشهيد يتمى ان يرجع الى
الدنيا فيقتل عشر مرات لما برى من الكرمات متفوق عليه وعن أبي
mosa قال جا’ رجل الى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال الرجل يقاتل للمغنم والرجل
يقاتل للذكر الرجل يقاتل لبرى مكانه فمن في سبيل الله قال من قائل
لتكون كلمة الله العليا فهو في سبيل الله متفوق عليه انتهى ولاحاديث
كبريه في هذا المعنى

وقد كان للسلطان مولاي زيدان رحمه الله بمدينة مراكش وهي دار
السلطنة المغربية من المدافع شيء كثير حتى أن مولاي عبد الله ابن أخيه مولاي الشيخ سلطان قاس احترق عليه عام خمسة عشر سنة وفاف وقرينا منها وامر مولاي زيدان باخراج المدافع للمحطة وسعت من غير واحد أن الجملة [69] كانت ثمانيين مدعو وبعد ذلك بزمن كاف في خدمته فناضل قبطان فرنج اسمه سندرس وكان مدافع ومهدحد وذكر يوما للسلطان شيئا من اسرار المدافع واظن أنه كان في شان المسطرة العديدة المذكورة في هذا الكتاب أن يخط رطل من ميزان كورة يزيد عليه خطوطا ويعرف ميزان كل كورة من المسطرة وأمره أن تأتي بها حتى ذلك الحساب والعمل من الخطوط التي في المسطرة وكان يكرمه على ذلك ويبقى عليه فكيف لو وجد هذا الكتاب بالعربية وقد أبدلت جهدي وانضعت قد ما استطعت في هذه الترجمة فان جاء بيد من هو ابلغ مني في هذا الفن [و] وجد وما التقصير في بعض الأشياء وتحقق منها ففيه له أن يمهله بالقلم ولا باللغان وان قال قائل كيف عملت تقرأ بالاعجمية وقد ورد ان لا يشتعل الإنسان إلا بما يغنيه فافقول أعلم ان اول ما تكلمت به بلاد الإندلس كان بالعربية فتعلمنا القراءة الإنجليزية للاخد والعطي ثم الهندي الله سبحانه ان اخرج من تلك البلاد الى البلاد المسلمين وما تحققت الى الكفار كانوا في الغور يبحثون كل من يرد عليهم لتلهم يجدون أندلسيا مخفي ليحكموا فيه لأنهم كانوا منهوهم من الغور ليلا يهربون الى البلاد المسلمين فجلست سنين نتعلم السكالام ولاخد في كتبهم ليحذرون أنق منهم إذا نشأ على بلادهم للخروج منها بلاد الإسلام وما أن حيت الى البلاد التي هي على حاشية البحر حيث هو الحرس الشديد وجلس بينهم ولم يشكو في بما رأوا من السكالام والخلال والكتابة وجيت من بينهم الى بلاد المسلمين وبهذه الديئة تعلمت ولغت في كتبهم ولكل أمر ما توعي ثم رايتي أن
بسبب التعليم أنه كان بنية القرب من الله ببلاد المسلمين يفتح له بذلك
العلم المهنى عنه ببيان الملوك المسودة عن كثير من الناس وأيضاً ترجمة
هذا الكتاب يكون فيه ان شاء الله نفعاً للمسلين وأيضاً طلب منى
الشيخ الامام على الاهجري بسريرت ان جثنا من مكة المشرفة ان اعمل
كتابا مما وقع لي من المناظرات ببلاد الفرنجة لأن سفرت إليها بآذن
السلطان من مراكش لقضايا اعراض وجا ول القسيسون الرهبان يشكون
معى في دينهم يشعرون ويعيبون ديننا فجرا الحجات الانجيل [170] وغيره يشكون
زرد عليهم من كتبهم فنصن الله عليهم مراراً عديدة وقال لي قاضى
المسلين بمراكش الامام الخير عيسى ابن عبد الرحمن السكى ان الجهاد
يكون بينهم الكفار وبارد عليهم فيما يقولون من الكذوب في ديننا
ودينهم وفرحت بذلك إذ جاهدنا معهم ثم جاني اليهود ببلاد فرنجة وبلاد
فلندس لانه بعد ان قضيت اعراض سفرت إليها هو بلد جوفية يرتفع
القطب الشمالي عليها خمسين درجة وكان اليهود يشعرون دينهم
فوجدت القوية مكتوبة بالكلام الاعجبي وقرأنها كلها وهي أربع
وعشرين كتابا ووجدت فيها في مواعظ كثيرة ما زرد عليهم منها موافقا
لدينا كما وجدت في الانجيل والخليج وجمعنا مسلمين وقد علمت الكتاب الذي طلب منى العالم بمصر السعيدة وسميته
ناصر الدين على قمم الكافرين وكتب منه هكذا نسخ ولا بلغت لما
قلت لا بسبب انها تعبد القراءة الاعجية بنية الجزائر من بلاد
الكفار إلى هذه الديار نساله الظلم بفضل سيدنا محمد صل الله عليه وسلم
ان يلفظ بي في الادارين جميع المسلمين امين والخليج رب العالمين
وصلى الله على سيدنا ومولانا محمد وإله وصحابه وسلم تسليماً وهذا مما
كتب المفتي السيد أحمد الشريف الحكيم بعد مطالعة جميع الكتب الجدد
الله مساعد كلمته بسبوك أول الجهاد ومولى نعمته لصنواف اهل الجهاد

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{blacktext}
وتمتكن ورشته على الشهداء السعداء من عباد الصلاة والسلام على مبتدئ الله ببيان اطلاع الأبيان وعلى الله وصاحبه نباه السري وفيه، القرآن الاعيان، وبعد فقد طلب منه المتزوج أحمد بن قاسم بن أحمد ابن الفقية قاسم ابن الشيخ الحجري الاندلسي وفاته الله لرضاه وجزاء خبر الجزا وفاته متزوج هذا الكتاب المسمى بكتاب المز والمنافع لمجاهدين في سبيل الله بالات الحروب والدفاع تاليف الرئيس ابراهيم بن أحمد بن غانم بن محمد بن زكريا الاندلسي رحم الله وذلده وحصن اليهم مطالعته فطلعته ووجدته فيه نفعا لبي السلمين (17) وارشادا للعلماء والتعلمين من اهل صناعة المدافع ورمان المسلمين الفقيه احمد الشريف الحنفي عامله الله بلطفه المتنبي بهبته كرهه الحلم الله وهم قاله العبد القرن الى الله تعالى عبد الرحمن مسعود الجبالي عربا في هذا الكتاب بحال عجلة الوضع عنده من العده اذا ها امنا وعدا، هذا الدافع عنا كل مهلكة اهد النا حكما تبدى للتنا من الدافع قبل من ايمتنا فهاكها منه في دلالك ظاهرة من دون مشبه راقت عذوبة هو المعلم ابراهيم الاندلسي انظر الخط امام سيدى قريش لازل مرتقيا حطب البلاء ما ثم الصلاة على جدله وعلى فهو الدافع عنا كل مهلكة تمت النسخة المباركه لهذا الكتاب في السادس عشر من في العشرة
عام خمسين وخمسين على يد عبد المذنب الرازي عفو الله وعفراه محمد حوجه بن أحمد المزحج للكتاب بن قاسم بن أحمد بن الفقيه قاسم بن الشيخ المجري الادلسي كتبه في مدينة فنوس حرسها الله للرئيس المؤلف للكتاب تقبل الله منه وصلى الله على سيدنا وعلى مولانا محمد وعلى الله وصبه وسلم تسليماً
TRANSLATION

In the Name of Allah the Merciful (etc.)

The humble and contrite believer Aḥmad ben Ḍāsim Ibn Aḥmad Ḍīn al-Faṣih Ḍāsim Ibn al-Shaikh al Ḍajari al Andalusi says as follows:

I came from the land of al-Andalus to the city of Marrāḵesh (may God keep it safe) about forty years before the present date. 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 Marrāḵesh I had been interpreter for many years to Muley Zaidan, 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, 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

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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.


3. Presumably 'Abd al-Malik Abū-1Marwān, who came to the throne in 1019/1629, and al-Walid, who reigned 1044-1045/1634-1635. As Aḥmad b. Ḍāsim 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.
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 4, son of the Ottomar: 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 de­
stroyed, 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. More­
over 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 ete­
ral 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

⁵. 'Uthmān II 1027-1031/1618-1622.
⁶. Murād IV was, strictly speaking, the 17th in line (see A. D. Ander­
son, The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty, Oxford 1956), but the 15th
Sultan, Musaṭa 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 Muḥāsin Murād Dey ⁷ (the noblest of Amirs, 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 Sunni communal mosque, well-known for its holiness and renowned throughout the world, the Zaytuna mosque, while the imān 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 imān 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 (Raʾis) 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-Hajj Musà kno\- wn as Jamiro al-Andalusì al-Ghar\- nàti. He un- 
dertook the repair of the port at Bizerta on the orders of the Dey, 
may Allah make him content, he also set in order everything ne- 
necessary for ships and galleys to put in there and to repel the un- 
believers. Furthermore the Dey gave orders for the building of a 
fortress in Gar al-Malà (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 Rama\- ñan of the year 1034 (27th June 
1625). He was «Captain» of a squadron of six of the Tunisian ga- 

dleys when they put to sea. Five Maltese galleys put out from Si- 
cily and gave chase. A fierce battle ensued and on both sides very 
many died. Allah granted victory to the captain and to the Mus-

lims. They took two galleys from the Christians. One, called Pa-

trona, was acting as flag-ship, the other was called San Francisco. 
He was so successful in his attack on the galley in which the Chris-
tian commander was sailing that he thought he would be able to 
capture him, but the Christian fled and got away. In the two cap-
tured vessels were found about 500 Muslims, who were exceed-

ingly joyous to be set free.

Also there was near Wàdi'l-Mallà which lies between Bizerta 
and Tabarqa, a castle built by the Frankish Christians with per-
mission 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 
got 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 ëdid 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 ap-
pendices. He explained to me that this is the first book to be com-
posed in Arabic on this subject (though Allah knows best). What
we have mentioned is sufficient to indicate the purity of his mot-
ives.

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 translat-
on 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 '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 Ra'is 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 great
est use for one who is translating from one language to another
if he understands what he is translating, and the meaning if possi-
ble. 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 under-
stood 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 Ra'is who wrote
it 11, «Handbook for those who undertake the Holy War with ar-
tillery».

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

9. Quran. 4:41 (Hf.)
10. Quran. 5:5. (Ff.)
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-Maqqari 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 Masbih, 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...»

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12. G.A.L. II. 296, S. II. 407 This title does not figure among al-Maqqari's listed works, but Ahmad b Qasim would seem to have been referring to Nafl al-Tib where Almanzor's raids are mentioned in almost the same words. See Nafl 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 Rūm will seek to win the day over you, but Allah will be your helper, 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 Jihād (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 Qurʾān 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 Sulaymān 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 Ṣabs 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) 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 bnu Khālid reported that the Prophet said, «If anyone

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ärins 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 Judgement 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 ūAbdallah 28, his nephew, son of Muley Sheikh, Sultan of Fez, revolted against him in 1015

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28. For this ūAbdallah's place in the Sherifian family tree, see de Castries, Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845, 1ère série Anglaterre, tome I, p. 256. Planches III. He is No. 31 in the genealogical table.
(1606) 29 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 30, 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-coats 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. Anglatterre, tome II, especially, A True Historical discourse... Chaps. 12, 13, 14, 15, reprinted on pp. 361-375.
30. Antoines de Sallettes, sien de Saint Mandrier, see, de Castries, Sources, Ière série. Anglatterre, tome II, p. 505, 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 Ujuri 31 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» 32, 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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32. Nāṣir al-dīn alâ-l-qawm il-kāfirin. 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 fur-
nished 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 Qas-
im Ibn al-Shaiikh 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» 33, compiled by Rais Ibrahim
bnu Ghânim bnu Muḥammad bnu 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
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-Shaiikh 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 Muḥam-
mad, etc.

L. P. Harvey

33 Kitab al-ḥiz wal manāfī līl mujāhidin fi sabil illah bi alat il-ḥurūb
wal madāfī'.

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