

FUENTES ARÁBICO-HISPANAS, 35

AḤMAD IBN QĀSIM AL-ḤAJARĪ
(d. after 1640)

KITĀB NĀṢIR AL-DĪN
°ALĀ 'L-QAWM AL-KĀFIRĪN

(THE SUPPORTER OF RELIGION AGAINST THE INFIDELS)



General introduction, critical edition and annotated translation,
re-edited, revised, and updated in the light of recent
publications and the primitive version found in the hitherto
unknown manuscript preserved in al-Azhar by

P. S. VAN KONINGSVELD, Q. AL-SAMARRAI,
and G. A. WIEGERS

CONSEJO SUPERIOR DE INVESTIGACIONES CIENTÍFICAS

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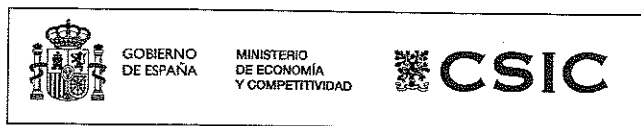
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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

Al-Ḥajarī's *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿalā ʾl-qawm al-kāfirīn* is a unique eyewitness-report and an impressive record of personal memory in several respects. First of all, it is a primary source for the social and cultural history of Spain's late sixteenth-century's crypto-Muslims, the Moriscos, and their later vicissitudes in North Africa and the Ottoman Empire after their expulsion (1609-1614). In the second place, it provides many otherwise unknown data concerning the contacts between the Islamic world, especially North Africa, and Western Europe during the early decades of the seventeenth century. In the third place, it provides in great detail the views of a Muslim scholar of Iberian background about several European societies (especially Spain, France and the Netherlands), including their social habits and religious ideas and practices. This view is based on direct observations and personal contacts with many outstanding personalities. In the fourth place, it stands out as an original piece of Islamic-anti-Christian polemic. Finally, the work is an important source for the history of the spoken language of North Africa, in particular among the Moriscos in their Diaspora.

Sixteen years have passed since the first edition of this text was published (see below note 27). Many new studies have appeared which have shed new light on our text, and several new sources have come to light which have enabled us to update our work, even though the most important discovery, that of the primitive version of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn* preserved in al-Azhar has not obliged us to abandon the Dār al-kutub manuscript as our basic text. The Azhar manuscript is the first version of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn* which al-Ḥajarī, at the advice of the Malīkite scholar al-

TRANSLATION

THE BOOK OF THE SUPPORTER OF RELIGION
AGAINST THE INFIDELS
OR
THE UNSHEATHED SWORD
AGAINST EVERYONE WHO DISBELIEVES

COMPOSED BY

THE NEEEDY SHAYKH AḤMAD IBN QĀSIM IBN AḤMAD
IBN AL-FAQĪH QĀSIM IBN AL-SHAYKH AL-ḤAJARĪ
AL-ANDALUSĪ

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Him I ask for assistance!

May God bless our lord and master Muḥammad, his family and his companions, and grant them peace! Praise be to God alone. May God bless our lord Muḥammad, His servant and messenger! May God be pleased with his family, his companions, and those who follow him in his religion!

To the point now! Aḥmad ibn Qāsim ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Faqīh Qāsim ibn al-Shaykh al-Ḥajarī al-Andalusī, the servant who is in need of the Exalted God, who hopes for His grace and mercy through the intercession of His prophet who is mentioned in His

books, the most excellent of which is His venerated Word in His Qur'an, says:

One of the blessings the Exalted God bestowed upon me was that He made me a Muslim in the land of the infidels, ever since I was aware of myself, through my blessed parents — may the Exalted God have mercy upon them — and their guidance. God had created in my heart a longing to leave the lands of al-Andalus in order to emigrate to the Exalted God and His messenger and to enter the land of the Muslims¹. God realized [this] purpose and [fulfilled this] wish and brought me to the City of Marrakesh in Morocco². Twelve years later the Exalted God released the Muslim Andalusians who were [still] living in [Al-Andalus] under the oppression and rule of the Christians, when the Sultan of the country called Philip III ordered /f 2r/ all of them to leave his country³.

During their exodus, it befell to many of the Andalusian Muslims that the Christians robbed them at sea. Most of these were French seamen whom they had hired and paid their fares in order to take them safe and sound to the land of the Muslims. Every captain cheated them on his own ship. After having taken their belongings from them, they disembarked them on one of the islands of the lands of the Muslims. [The] robbed [passengers] of four of those ships were disembarked at Morocco⁴. The Berber Muslims treated the Andalusians well and they went to the City of Marrakesh, which is the residence of the sultans of Morocco. They asked permission from Sultan Moulāy Zaydān, son of Sultan

¹ On the doctrine of the *hijra*, see, for example, M.I. Fierro, "La emigración en el Islam: Conceptos antiguos, nuevos problemas", in *Awraq* 12 (1991), pp. 11-41; P.S. van Koningsveld and G.A. Wieggers, "The Islamic Statute of the Mudejars in the Light of a New Source", in *Al-Qanṭara*, XVII (1996), pp. 19-58; J.N. Hendrickson, *The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate. Al-Wansharī's Asnā al-matājir reconsidered*. PhD Dissertation, Emory University, Atlanta, 2009.

² In 1007/1599, see below, chapter 3.

³ The expulsion of the Moriscos, a process which began in September 1609 with the expulsion of the Moriscos of Valencia and was concluded in 1614.

⁴ As al-Ḥajarī explains in the Bologna manuscript (B), f. 156r (apud Wieggers, *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance*, p. 38), they were people from Córdoba, Hornachos, Ecija, and Sanlúcar de Barrameda.

Moulāy Aḥmad, son of Sultan Moulāy al-Shaykh al-Sharīf al-Hasanī, to send [on a mission] some of their companions with a man from among the Andalusians who had already been living in the City of Marrakesh before them. They agreed I should go together with their companions. The Sultan gave us an [official] letter and we went to Asafi, a city lying at the ocean, where we embarked. We arrived in France, where I had many /f 2v/ discussions with their learned priests, monks, and judges concerning the [various existing] religions. [For this purpose] I had to read the Gospel they possess nowadays and other of their books, in order to find materials to refute them and to nullify their arguments⁵. God made me victorious over them numerous times.

Later, when I had returned to Marrakesh, I related to some friends certain stories and disputes and the answers I had given to [my opponents]. Several Muslim scholars asked me to compile a book about that [subject], but the work did not materialize until our blessed shaykh in the country of Egypt — may God protect it! — viz. the great scholar whose learning is widely praised in various countries, Shaykh ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad, called Zayn, son

⁵ Al-Ḥajarī apologetically stresses that he had been reading the Christian sources for polemical purposes only. This idea must be connected to earlier debates, especially in Egypt (where he was writing the original version of his book) during the 9th/15th century about the problem of whether or not Muslims were permitted to read and quote the Bible and other ancient Christian and Jewish sources. Diametrically opposed views were defended by different scholars and their supporting groups. Al-Biqāʿī (died 885/1480), who had quoted such sources extensively in his *Tafsīr* entitled *Naẓm al-durar fī tanāsub al-āy wa-l-suwar*, was vehemently attacked for this reason by his contemporary, the famous Shafīʿite scholar, al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497). He defended himself against these attacks in a special (as yet unpublished) pamphlet entitled *al-aqwāl al-qawīma fī ḥukm al-naql min al-kutub al-qadīma* (cf. GAL II, 142 n.º 1). In this pamphlet, he argues that the perusal of Christian and Jewish sources is permitted, if serving the purpose of defending the truth of Islam and refuting the claims of Christians and Jews. See also the information about these disputes by Aḥmad Bābā al-Timbuktī in his *Nayl al-ibtihāj*. The version which al-Ḥajarī consulted was probably the Spanish translation by Cipriano de Valera, published in London in 1602, as appears from chapter 13. On the use of Valera's works by Protestant captives in North Africa see N. Ohanna, "Heterodoxos en cautiverio: De Cipriano de Valera a los protestantes de África", *Hispanic Review* 80, 1 (2012), pp. 21-40.

of the great scholar Shaykh °Abd al-Rahmān al-Ujhūrī al-Mālikī⁶, ordered me [to do so]. I complied with his [order] by [writing] more than he had asked and I compiled the book in the form of a travel account which I entitled “The Journey of al-Shihāb⁷ towards the Meeting with his Loved Ones”⁸.

In [this work] I mentioned, first of all, the country of al-Andalus: in what place of the inhabited world it is situated, the lands adjacent to it, the latitude and longitude of its area, the [degree of] latitude of the North Pole in relation to it and the degree of its longitude /f 3r/ with relation to the world which commences from the Eternal Islands called nowadays the Canaries⁹. After this, I mentioned the old races that inhabited it before the Muslims entered it, as well as the precise year and the events of its conquest [by them]. Subsequently, I mentioned some of the pious Sultans who fought for the sake of Islam, together with some letters of Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb. Then I related the time it was in the hands of the Muslims until the Christians took over the whole of it¹⁰. After this, I dealt with the situation of the Muslims among the Christians after they had forced them to embrace their religion. They were [in fact] serving two religions: the religion of the Christians openly and that of the Muslims in secret. The infidels imposed a harsh penalty on whoever manifested any Islamic practice: they [even] burned some of them. This was their situation, as I witnessed it during more than twenty years before my departure from it.

I also mentioned my experiences in the City of Granada with the archbishop¹¹ when deciphering the parchment, written in Arabic

⁶ He was born in 967/1559 in Ujhūr (North of Cairo) and died in 1066/1656 in Cairo, cf. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn*, vol. 5, pp. 207-208. GAL II, 317; S II, 437.

⁷ Viz. Shihāb al-Dīn, the *laqab* of the author.

⁸ Arabic: *Riḥlat al-shihāb ilā liqāʾ al-aḥbāb*.

⁹ See EI², s.v. al-Djazāʾir al-Khālida (article by D.M. Dunlop).

¹⁰ So far, the original arrangement of the book seems to have relied heavily upon al-Maqqarī's *Nafḥ al-nīb*, a reason, perhaps, why al-Ujhūrī asked the author to compile an extract, in which he would concentrate on matters not to be found in other sources, and especially on his disputes with the Christians.

¹¹ Pedro Vaca de Quiñones y Castro, see for further details below, chapter 1.

and Spanish, with statements of John (who had written the [last] quarter of the Gospel) about the events which were to happen /f 3v/ before the world should come to an end. In addition, [I mentioned] something which was contained in the books which were found underneath the earth in the year 1003 of the Hijra or close to it¹², written on leaves of lead in Arabic, [dating] from the time of our lord Jesus —peace be upon him— or close to it.

[I also dealt with] the events of my departure from the Christians and with the way in which God bestowed His favour upon me by safely liberating me from them through His grace. I also related the reasons mentioned by the Sultan of the Christians which made him expel the Muslims from his country. In addition, I [related] the [marvellous things] I saw during my journeys to the east, west, and south, together with the discussions and disputes I had with [Christian scholars], priests, monks, and their leaders concerning the matters of [... in] their country, [viz.] France and the Netherlands, and also [my disputes] with the Jews.

The said travel account was read to the already-mentioned virtuous shaykh who, in Egypt, ordered me to compile the book. When he saw I intended to return to the land of the Maghrib, from which I had come in order to comply with the duty [of the pilgrimage to Mecca] and to visit the most excellent person to have [ever] appeared on the face of the earth¹³, when time was running short, to write a copy of it for him, in accordance with my [original] intention, he ordered me /f 4r/ to make a concise extract of it in which I would mention [only] the religious disputes I had with the Christians. So here I start, with God's help, to write down in these leaves the disputes I had and every question which God inspired me to answer promptly and spontaneously. I shall quote the texts from [their] books together with the proof [refuting] them. If I have time left before my departure from Egypt, I shall also copy from the travel account my experiences with the Jewish scholars in the countries already mentioned. Because of them I read the Old Testament which consists of twenty-four books: the

¹² 16 September 1594 - 5 September 1595; A: “in the year 1000 or close to it”. The first findings of Lead Plates took place in February 1595, see Alonso, *Los apócrifos del Sacromonte*, p. 59.

¹³ I.e. the Prophet Muḥammad.

first five concerning the matters of their religion and the rest of the books concerning their historical events. I found them translated from Hebrew into the Spanish language I know¹⁴. [Through them] the Exalted God increased my conviction and love of the religion of Islam. That was one of the graces bestowed upon me by the Exalted God. We ask Him —praised be He— by virtue of the dignity of our lord Muḥammad —may God bless him and grant him peace!— that He will grant me His grace in both worlds and that He will end my life, as well as the life of those who read or listen to this book, with [eternal] bliss and that He will beneficently favour him who ordered me to write it, with whatever blessing He may wish, and that He will support all the Muslims against /f 4v/ the infidels.

I have entitled it “The Book of the Supporter of Religion Against the Infidels”¹⁵ or “The Unsheathed Sword against Everyone who Disbelieves”, and I wrote it in thirteen chapters:

Chapter one relates my experiences with the archbishop of Granada concerning the parchment found in the old tower. [It contains] also something about the books found in the Trench of Paradise¹⁶ in the neighbourhood of the City of Granada, written in Arabic on leaves of lead, [dating] from the period shortly after our lord Jesus —peace be upon him.

Chapter two concerning my arrival in the land of the Muslims and my vicissitudes during my departure from among the Christians, when I was rescued from them by the grace of the Exalted God, after I had been exposed to perdition on their hands.

Chapter three concerning my arrival in the City of Marrakesh and the reason why I went to France after having stayed in the land of the Muslims for twelve years.

Chapter four concerning my journey over the ocean and my arrival in France, at the Harbour of Blessing, called among them “Havre-de-Grâce”¹⁷, and, afterwards, at the City of Rouen and the events that took place there.

¹⁴ Sc. in the edition by Valera, published in 1602.

¹⁵ Here ends the introduction in A, thus omitting the Table of Contents.

¹⁶ Ar. Khandaq al-janna, translation of Sp. Valparaíso, as the Sacromonte was called at the time, see Alonso, *Los Apócrifos del Sacromonte*, p. 57.

¹⁷ Nowadays, Le Havre.

Chapter five /f 5r/ concerning my arrival at the City of Paris, the residence of the Sultan of France, relating its condition and size, and about the disputes I had with some Christians.

Chapter six concerning my visit, with the letters of the Sultan, to the Judge of the Andalusians and the Chief Judge in the City of Bordeaux, mentioning [at the same time] the new elements added by each pope to the religion of the Christians, together with the story of Pope Joan who was a woman and, consequently, was disgraced by God in the presence of the people.

Chapter seven concerning my return to Paris and the religious disputes I had with the Christian scholars.

Chapter eight concerning my arrival in Olonne and my vicissitudes there.

Chapter nine concerning my arrival at the City of Bordeaux and the disputes I had there with the Christian priests, monks and judges, [relating at the same time] how I reached the goal I had set.

Chapter ten concerning the disputes with the Jews in France and the Netherlands.

Chapter eleven relating my arrival in the Netherlands and my vicissitudes there.

Chapter twelve concerning my vicissitudes in Egypt with a learned monk who was steeped /f 5v/ in the various branches of their sciences.

Chapter thirteen relating the graces God bestowed upon me in al-Andalus and elsewhere.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

وبه نستعين

صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا وَمَوْلَانَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيمًا (1)
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَحْدَهُ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا (2) مُحَمَّدٍ عَبْدِهِ وَرَسُولِهِ وَرَضِيَ
اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَنْ آلِهِ وَاصْحَابِهِ وَعَنِ التَّابِعِينَ لَهُ فِي دِينِهِ.

وبعد:

فَيَقُولُ الْعَبْدُ الْفَقِيرُ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى؛ الرَّاجِي (3) عَفْوَهُ وَغُفْرَانَهُ وَرَحْمَتَهُ
بِشَفَاعَةِ نَبِيِّهِ الْمَذْكُورِ فِي كُتُبِهِ وَأَفْضَلِهَا كَلَامُهُ الْعَزِيزُ فِي قُرْآنِهِ؛ أَحْمَدُ
بْنُ قَاسِمِ بْنِ أَحْمَدَ ابْنِ الْفَقِيهِ قَاسِمِ بْنِ الشَّيْخِ الْحَجْرِيِّ الْأَنْدَلُسِيِّ:
مِنْ نِعَمِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى عَلَيَّ أَنْ (4) جَعَلَنِي مُسْلِمًا فِي بِلَادِ الْكُفَّارِ مُنْذُ

1 كل عبارة التصلية لم ترد في ز.

2 ز: ومولانا.

3 ز: الراجي رحمة وعفوه وشفاعته نبيه.

4 ز: بان.

أَعْرِفُ نَفْسِي بِبَرَكََةِ الْوَالِدَيْنِ - رَحِمَهُمَا اللَّهُ تَعَالَى - [و] (1) إِرْشَادِهِمَا
 وَقَدْ جَعَلَ اللَّهُ فِي قَلْبِي مَحَبَّةً لِلْخُرُوجِ [من بلاد] إِيْدِ الْإِنْدَلُسِ مُهَاجِرًا إِلَى
 اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَرَسُولِهِ وَالْقُدُومِ إِلَى [ب]-بِلَادِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ (2). وَقَضَى اللَّهُ
 تَعَالَى (3) الْغَرَضَ وَالْمُرَادَ وَبَلَّغَنَا إِلَى مَدِينَةِ مَرَّاكُشَ بِالْمَغْرِبِ. وَبَعْدَ ذَلِكَ
 بِإِثْنَتَيْ عَشْرَةَ سَنَةً فَرَّجَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَلَى الْإِنْدَلُسِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ الَّذِينَ كَانُوا
 فِيهَا تَحْتَ قَهْرِ النَّصَارَى وَحُكْمِهِمْ فَأَمَرَ (4) [2] عَلَيْهِمْ سُلْطَانُ
 الْبِلَادِ (5) الْمُسَمَّى بِبَلْبِ الثَّلَاثِ مَنْ اسْمُهُ بِالْخُرُوجِ جَمِيعًا مِنْ بِلَادِهِ.

وَأَتَّفَقَ لِكَثِيرٍ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ (6) الْإِنْدَلُسِ عِنْدَ خُرُوجِهِمْ أَنْ نَهَبَهُمْ فِي
 الْبَحْرِ النَّصَارَى وَأَكْثَرَهُمْ الْفَرَنْجِ الْبَحْرِيَّةِ الَّذِينَ أَكْثَرُوهُمْ وَدَفَعُوا
 لَهُمْ أُجْرَتَهُمْ عَلَى أَنْ يَبْلُغُوهُمْ فِي عَافِيَةٍ وَأَمَانٍ إِلَى بِلَادِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ؛

1 ما بين المعقوفتين ضائع في الأصل لتمزق الورقة أو لطمس النص والتصحيح هنا وبعده
 من ز.

2 ز: الاسلام.

3 لم ترد في ز.

4 ز: بان امر.

5 في ز: بأن أمر عليهم سلطان قلب.

6 ز: مسلمين الأندلس.

وَخَانُوهُمْ كُلَّ وَاحِدٍ مِنَ الرُّيَّاسِ فِي سَفِينَتِهِ (1)؛ وَبَعْدَ أَخْذِ كُلِّمَا كَانَ
 لَهُمْ أَخْرَجُوهُمْ فِي بَعْضِ الْجُزُرِ مِنْ بِلَادِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَارْبَعَةً مِنْ تِلْكَ
 السُّفُنِ الْمُنْهَوِيَّةِ خَرَجَتْ بِالْمَغْرِبِ الْإِقْصَى فَأَحْسَنَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ الْبَرْبِرُ
 بِالْإِنْدَلُسِ (2) وَجَاءُوا إِلَى مَدِينَةِ مَرَّاكُشَ - وَهِيَ دَارُ سَلَاطِينَ الْمَغْرِبِ
 - وَطَلَبُوا مِنَ السُّلْطَانِ مَوْلَايَ زَيْدَانَ بْنِ السُّلْطَانِ مَوْلَايَ أَحْمَدَ ابْنَ
 السُّلْطَانِ مَوْلَايَ مُحَمَّدِ الشَّيْخِ الشَّرِيفِ الْحَسَنِيِّ أَنْ يَأْذَنَ لَهُمْ فِي إِرْسَالِ
 بَعْضٍ مِنْ أَصْحَابِهِمْ مَعَ رَجُلٍ [من] (3) الْإِنْدَلُسِ الَّذِينَ كَانُوا قَبْلَهُمْ
 يَتِلْكَ الْمَدِينَةَ وَأَتَّفَقَ نَظَرُهُمْ أَنْ نَمْشِيَ بِأَصْحَابِهِمْ؛ وَأَعْطَانَا السُّلْطَانُ
 كِتَابَهُ وَدَهَبْنَا إِلَى أَسْفِ - هِيَ مَدِينَةٌ عَلَى الْبَحْرِ الْمُحِيطِ (4) - وَفِيهَا
 رَكْبُنَا (5) وَبَلَّغْنَا إِلَى بِلَادِ الْفَرَنْجِ، وَوَقَعَ لِي كَلَامٌ [2ب] كَثِيرٌ مَعَ
 عُلَمَائِهِمْ مِنَ الْقَسِيسِيِّينَ وَالرُّهْبَانَ وَالْقُضَاةِ فِي شَأْنِ الْإِدْيَانِ وَاحْتَجَّتْ

1 ز: وخانوهم كل واحد في سفينته.

2 ز: البربر إليهم.

3 الكلمة ساقطة في الأصل بفعل تمزق الورقة والإضافة من ز.

4 المحيط: لم ترد في ز.

5 ز: ركبنا البحر المحيط.

اقرأ الإنجيل الذي بأيديهم الآن ومنه ومن غيره من كتبهم وجدت ما نردّ عليهم ونبطل حججهم⁽¹⁾ ونصّرني الله تعالى عليهم مراراً عديدةً.

وذكرت بعد ذلك حين وليت إلى مراكش شيئاً من الحكايات والمناظرات والأجوبة مني اليهم لبعض الإخوان وطلب مني غير واحد من علماء المسلمين⁽²⁾ أن أعمل تأليفاً بذلك. ولم يتفق العمل إلى أن أمرني شيخنا وبركتنا بمضر المحروسة بالله وهو العلامة الشهير علمه وثناؤه في الأقطار والبلدان: الشيخ علي بن محمد المدعو زين⁽³⁾ ابن العلامة الشيخ عبد الرحمن الأجهوري المالكي⁽⁴⁾ فأجبت⁽⁵⁾ه بأكثر مما طلبه، وجعلت التأليف رحلت سميتها ب: رحلت

¹ ز: حجاجهم.

² لم ترد هذه الكلمة في ز.

³ ز: زين العابدين.

⁴ هو نور الدين أبو الإرشاد المتوفى سنة 1066هـ/1656م، انظر عنه: معجم المؤلفين

207/7 مع مصادر ترجمته.

⁵ ز: فاجبتهم... طلبوا.

الشهاب إلى لقاء الأحباب، وذكرت [فيها]⁽¹⁾ أولاً: بلاد الأندلس في أي موضع هي من معمور الدنيا والأقطار المجاورة اليها والعرض⁽²⁾ والطول في صقعها وعرض ارتفاع القطب الشمالي عليها ودراج طولها [3أ] من الدنيا الذي هو ابتداءؤه⁽³⁾ من الجزر الخالدات المسماة الآن ب: قناريه؛ ثم ذكرت من سكنها من الأجناس القديمة قبل دخول المسلمين إليها وفي أي سنة كان افتتاحها وما اتفق في أخذها؛ ثم ذكرت بعض الملوك الصالحين المجاهدين وأيضاً⁽⁴⁾ بعض رسائل لسان الدين بن الخطيب؛ ثم ذكرت الزمن الذي كانت بأيدي⁽⁵⁾ المسلمين إلى أن احتوت النصارى على جميعها. ثم ذكرت كيف كان حال المسلمين بين النصارى بعد أن أدخلوهم جميعاً كرهاً منهم في دينهم؛ وكانوا يعبدون دينين: دين النصارى جهراً ودين

¹ الكلمة مطموسة في الأصل في التصوير ولم ترد في ز.

² لم ترد في ز.

³ ز: الذي من ابتداء اوله.

⁴ لم ترد في ز.

⁵ ز: الزمان الذي بقيت المسلمين.

المُسلمين في حَفَاءِ مِنَ النَّاسِ؛ وَإِذَا ظَهَرَ عَلَى أَحَدِ شَيْءٍ مِنْ عَمَلِ
المُسلمينَ يَحْكُمُونَ فِيهِمُ الكُفَّارَ الحُكْمَ القَوِيَّ [و] يَحْرِقُونَ بَعْضَهُمْ؛
كَمَا شَاهَدْتُ حَاهِمًا أَكْثَرَ مِنْ عَشْرِينَ سَنَةً قَبْلَ خُرُوجِي مِنْهَا.

وَإيضاً ذَكَرْتُ مَا اتَّفَقَ لِي بِمَدِينَةِ غَرْنَاطَةَ مَعَ القَسِيْسِ الكَبِيرِ فِي قِرَاءَةِ
الرَّقِّ المُكْتُوبِ بِالعَرَبِيَّةِ وَالعَجَمِيَّةِ فِيهَا ذَكَرَ يُوْحَنَّا الَّذِي كَتَبَ رُبْعَ
الانجِيلِ فِيهَا يَكُونُ [3ب] وَيُحَدِّثُ فِي الدُّنْيَا إِلَى أَنْ تُفَنَّا؛ وَإيضاً شَيْئاً
مِمَّا كَانَ مَكْتُوباً فِي الكُتُبِ الَّتِي وُجِدَتْ تَحْتَ الأَرْضِ فِي تَارِيخِ الألفِ
وثلَاثِ سِنِينَ (1) مِنَ الهِجْرَةِ أَوْ قَرِيباً مِنْهَا مَكْتُوبَةٌ فِي وَرَقِ الأَنَكِ
بِالعَرَبِيَّةِ مِنْ عَهْدِ سَيِّدِنَا عِيسَى - عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ - أَوْ قَرِيباً مِنْهُ؛

وَمَا اتَّفَقَ لَنَا فِي الخُرُوجِ مِنْ بَيْنِ النُّصَارَى وَكَيْفَ لَطَفَ اللهُ بِنَا
وَفَكَّنَا مِنْهُمْ سَالِمِينَ بِفَضْلِهِ. وَذَكَرْنَا أيضاً الأَسْبَابَ الَّتِي قَالَ سُلْطَانُ
النُّصَارَى أَنَّهَا حَمَلَتْهُ عَلَى إِخْرَاجِ المُسلمينَ مِنْ بِلَادِهِ؛ وَإيضاً مَا رَأَيْتُ فِي
أَسْفَارِي وَرِحْلَتِي المَشْرِقِيَّةِ وَالْمَغْرِبِيَّةِ وَالْجُوفِيَّةِ مِنَ [العجائب] (2) وَمَا

1 ز: ألف سنة.

2 مطموس في الأصل والإضافة من ز.

وَقَعَ لِي مِنَ الكَلَامِ وَالمُنَاطَرَاتِ مَعَ النُّصَارَى [العلماء] (1) وَالقَسِيْسِينَ
وَالرُّهْبَانَ وَأكَابِرَهُمْ فِي أُمُورِ [الدين بـ] بِلَادِهِمُ الفَرَنْجِ وَبِلَادِ
فَلَنْضُسَ (2)؛ وَإيضاً مَعَ اليَهُودِ.

[وقرأ]ت (3) الرِّحْلَةَ المَذْكُورَةَ عَلَى الشَّيْخِ الفَاضِلِ المَذْكُورِ [الذي
أمرني بِبُوضَرِ بِعَمَلِ الكِتَابِ، وَمَا (4) رَأَيْتُ عَازِماً عَلَى الرُّجُوعِ [إلى
بِلَادِ] المَغْرِبِ الَّتِي جِئْنَا مِنْهَا لِإِدَاءِ الفَرَضِ وَزِيَارَةِ [أفـ] ضَلِّ مَنْ ظَهَرَ
عَلَى وَجْهِ الأَرْضِ وَالمُوقْتُ ضَاقِقِ، [أَن] أَكْتُبَ لَهُ مِنْهَا نَسْخَةً - كَمَا
كَانَ فِي عَرَضِي - أَمْرِي [4] أُنْ أَخْتَصِرُ مِنْهَا نُبْذَةً لَطِيفَةً (5) وَنَذُكُرُ مَا
وَقَعَ لِي مِنَ الكَلَامِ فِي الدِّينِ مَعَ النُّصَارَى. وَهَذَا أَنَا إِشْرَعُ بِعَوْنِ اللهِ
أَكْتُبُ فِي هَذِهِ الوَرَقَاتِ (6) مَا وَقَعَ لِي مِنَ المُنَاطَرَاتِ، وَكُلَّ مَسْئَلَةٍ
أَهَمَّنِي اللهُ تَعَالَى بِالجَوَابِ عَلَيْهَا فِي الحِينِ عَلَى البِدِيَّةِ؛ وَأَذُكُرُ

1 مطموس في الأصل والإضافة من ز.

2 ز: ببلاد الفرنج وفلنضس.

3 ز: وكنت أقرأ الرحلة، وفي الأصل: "ت اقرا"، وشطب الحجري على "اقرا".

4 في ز: ورآني.

5 "نبذة لطيفة" ليست في ز.

6 ز: في هذه الورق.

نُصِصَهَا مِنَ الْكُتُبِ بِرُهَايَئِهَا؛ وَإِنْ كَانَ لِي وَقْتُ قَبْلِ الرَّحِيلِ مِنْ مِصْرَ نَكْتُبُ مِنَ الرَّحْلَةِ أَيْضًا مَا وَقَعَ لِي مَعَ عُلَمَاءِ الْيَهُودِ بِالْبِلَادِ الْمَذْكُورَةِ؛ وَبِسَبَبِهِمْ⁽¹⁾ قَرَأْتُ التَّوْرَةَ الَّتِي هِيَ أَرْبَعٌ وَعِشْرُونَ كِتَابًا: الْخُمْسَةَ الْأَوَائِلَ فِي أُمُورِ دِينِهِمْ وَالْبَاقِي مِنَ الْكُتُبِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ؛ وَجَدْتُهَا مُتَرْجَمَةً مِنَ الْعِبْرَانِي إِلَى الْعَجَمِي الَّذِي نَعْرِفُهُ، وَزَادَنِي اللَّهُ تَعَالَى يَقِينًا وَحُبَّةً فِي دِينِ الْإِسْلَامِ وَذَلِكَ مِمَّا أَنْعَمَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى بِهِ عَلَيَّ. نَسْتَلُّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ بِجَاهِ سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ - صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ - أَنْ يُلْطَفَ بِي فِي الدَّارَيْنِ وَأَنْ يَجْتَمَ لِي⁽²⁾ بِالسَّعَادَةِ وَلِيَنْ يَقْرَأَ فِي هَذَا الْكِتَابِ أَوْ يَسْمِعُهُ⁽³⁾ وَأَنْ يُحْصِيَ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ مَنْ أَمَرَنِي بِكُتُبِهِ بِمَا يَشَاءُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ وَخَيْرِهِ وَإِحْسَانِهِ وَأَنْ يُنْصِرَ جَمِيعَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ عَلَى [4ب] الْقَوْمِ الْكَافِرِينَ⁽⁴⁾.

¹ ز: لأن بسببهم.

² ز: وأن يجتم لي بخواتم السعادة.

³ ز: ولمن يقرأ هذه الورق أو يسمعها.

⁴ ز: آمين وسميته ناصر الدين على القوم الكافرين.

وَقَدْ سَمَّيْتُ الْكِتَابَ بِ: نَاصِرِ الدِّينِ عَلَى الْقَوْمِ الْكَافِرِينَ⁽¹⁾ وَهُوَ: السَّيْفُ الْأَشْهَرُ عَلَى كُلِّ مَنْ كَفَرَ وَجَعَلْتَهُ ثَلَاثَةَ عَشَرَ بَابًا⁽²⁾:

البَابُ الْأَوَّلُ: فِي ذِكْرِ مَا وَقَعَ لِي بِمَدِينَةِ غَرْنَاطَةَ مَعَ الْقَسِيسِ الْكَبِيرِ فِي شَأْنِ الرَّقِّ الَّذِي وُجِدَ فِي الصُّومَةِ الْقَدِيمَةِ وَشَيْءٌ مِنَ الْكُتُبِ الَّتِي وَجِدْتُ فِي خَنْدَقِ الْجَنَّةِ بِقُرْبِ مَدِينَةِ غَرْنَاطَةَ مَكْتُوبَةٌ بِالْعَرَبِيَّةِ فِي وَرَقٍ مِنْ رِصَاصٍ مِنَ الزَّمَنِ الْقَرِيبِ بَعْدَ سَيِّدِنَا عِيسَى - عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ -.

البَابُ الثَّانِي: فِي قُدُومِنَا إِلَى بِلَادِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ، وَمَا اتَّفَقَ لَنَا عِنْدَ خُرُوجِنَا مِنْ بَيْنِ النَّصَارَى سَالِمِينَ مِنْهُمْ بَعْدَ أَنْ كُنَّا فِي أَيْدِيهِمْ مُتَعَرِّضِينَ لِلْهَلَاكِ بِلُطْفٍ مِنَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى.

البَابُ الثَّلَاثُ: فِي بُلُوغِنَا إِلَى مَدِينَةِ مَرَّاكُشَ، وَمَا كَانَ السَّبَبَ إِلَى أَنْ مَشَيْتُ إِلَى بِلَادِ الْفَرَنْجِ بَعْدَ أَنْ جَلَسْتُ بِبِلَادِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ إِثْنَتَيْ عَشْرَةَ سَنَةً.

¹ هنا تنتهي مقدمة الكتاب في ز.

² وقد سميت الكتاب ... وجعلته ثلاثة عشر باباً، لم ترد في ز.