

‘Alī al-Sharīf and the jihād in al-Andalus. An investigation*

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The Nubdha-manuscript and the Nuzhat al-ḥādī

The confrontation with ‘Alī al-Sharīf was the result of the examination of a manuscript with historical texts on the history of al-Andalus, the *Nubdhat al-‘aṣr fī akhbār mulūk Banī Naṣr*. (1) The manuscript got its title from the first part, the story of the last years of the kingdom of Granada, its fall and the emigration of many of its inhabitants to North Africa. Traditionally it has been attributed to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, because this title is mentioned among his works. (2) But as this famous *wazīr* of the kingdom of Granada lived in the 8th/14th century, it is obvious that he cannot have been the author. The name of the real author has not yet come to light. This part of the manuscript has been published more than once. (3) Several of the manuscripts contain two other texts, a very short one on the emigration to North Africa, published as well (4), and an unpublished text entitled: *Wa-min takmīl zahr al-riyād lil-imām Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Qanṭrī al-Qaṣrī*. This turned out to be related to al-Maqqarī’s *Azhār al-riyād*. (5) The text of the *Takmīl* follows the first book of the *Azhār al-riyād*, but set in a more logical historical sequence and without some less relevant digressions. Several poems are given in longer versions, for instance the famous appeal to the Turkish sultan Bayazet. (6) The last pages before the closing phrases contain a poem by Ibn Abī l-Rabī‘ with accompanying story that was not found in al-Maqqarī’s *Azhār al-riyād*, nor in his *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*. The author of the *Takmīl*, Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Qanṭrī al-Qaṣrī, whose dates are not known, belonged to a family of savants in al-Qṣar al-kabīr. (7) Of the manuscripts I studied, T, the one in private possession in Morocco, dates from around 1800 and must be considered the oldest one thus far known. (8) The *Takmīl* consequently has been written after the publication of al-Maqqarī’s *Azhār al-riyād* between 1014-27/1605-1617 and before 1800. This is an unfortunate long interval.

I found a shorter version of the poem by Ibn Abī l-Rabī‘ in the *Nuzhat al-ḥādī* by al-Ifrānī, within the larger framework of the early history of the ‘Alawite dynasty. (9) This author based his history largely on earlier works, but as his source for the poem he cites ancient letters. The *Nuzha* was published in 1726 or slightly earlier. (10) Al-Nāṣirī used this work as his source for the *Kitāb al-istiḳṣā’*, which was published in 1894 and served as basis for many later histories of Morocco. (11) The version of the poem in the *Takmīl* and that in the *Nuzha* are evidently based on the same source, but are independent of each other. The one in the *Takmīl* being more extended, it could not have been copied from the *Nuzha*. On the other hand there are details in the *Nuzha* that have not been copied from the *Takmīl*. That means that the date of the *Takmīl* is of lesser importance and that they may be considered as of equal value to begin with.

The story

The story in the manuscripts of the *Takmīl* reads as follows (12):

“From what the most learned shaykh, the shaykh of the Islām Ibn Abī l-Rabī^c al-Andalusī al-Gharnāfī adressed to the shaykh, the venerable, the fighter, the pious, the ascetic, the leader of the Holy Caravan of the pilgrimage to the sacred house of God and the visit to the tomb of his prophet Muḥammad (the best prayer and the purest peace be on him) Sīdī Muḥammad son of the holy, venerable, chaste shaykh Sīdī Abū Ibrāhīm (may God have mercy on him) to let it be heard by his master the lion, the heroic Mawlānā ‘Alī al-Sharīf, the qaṣīda that they (sic!) sent to the two of them to praise them both. Here it follows, complete and unabridged:

1 You, leader of the holy caravan, traversing steppe and sandy desert
 straight is your path, well-being and safety you meet
2 Day and night you keep on travelling with passion
 and on your way you watch sunrises like flowers
3 You carry - may God protect you - to that place of safety
 greetings from a man in love kindled by memories
4 And what concerns the tribal homes of Sijilmāsa
 those are the homes collecting might and pride
5 Give those tents and those who live there greetings
 of a lover not enduring to be separate from them
6 My love for them is flowing even in my toes and fingers
 and circulating in my bones, my blood, my hair
7 Those are places of faith, well-being and right guidance
 and how many bodies called full moon are rising in their sky?
8 They are folk that never cause their company annoyance
 the scent of blossom spreads among them as a perfume
9 Say: “You people of the qibla”, and the highborn lords
 whenever called upon were quick to send their troops
10 Praised be especially Abū ‘Abd Allāh, as soon as you call him
 you bring about good fortune where there was bad luck
11 That scion of Abū Ishāq, the honour of a father (13)
 who has bequeathed a chaste, responsible and pious line
12 Was it not he who answered the call of the men of Tangier
 and collected immediately all the people of the West?
13 And what a heavy loss he did inflict on the infidel
 who died not by the sword did so from fear
14 The bulwark of faith he became that smiling shows its teeth
 and the enemy he caused a face glum of sadness
15 Happiness and approval from God he so obtained
 and Eden’s garden is the treasure awaiting him in all eternity
16 Say: You fairest of men, who took piety as emblem
 and competed with Sirius in his own dwellingplace
17 Everybody in the West has lost his courage, as I see,
 and al-Andalus is hoping for your ascent to save them
18 And beautiful Granada did call to you: Please come
 with your white banner to save the red fortress (Alhambra)
19 For all their hopes, it seems, are placed in you
 of adult and infant and roundbreasted virgin alike
20- So realise this people’s hope and listen to their wish
 and all kinds of favour, happiness and reward will be yours

21- Through your splendid troops they hope they will get harmony
restoration of the very house and continuity
22- Woe to him who settled in the land of Andalus
while everyone claims to have a right to kingship
23 Bring them to us, since you still are the protector of the faith,
footsoldiers and horsemen, splendid like hawks
24 Protectors, scorning injustice, all glorious
generous men who compete with the rain, the river and the flood
25 Take for example the way you love the grandson of the prophet
the descendant of his son-in-law 'Alī, who ranks higher than Saturn
26 Abū l-Ḥasan, al-mawlā al-sharīf who shone, the likeness of
the sun of victory over the West, in the desert (Sahara)
27 On the horizons of the hearts wonders appeared
by which he, as by magic, robbed their throats
28- In his Yanbū^ʿ his burning wood shone to your grandfather
there he lit his fires and looked for happiness
29- He sought shelter with his grandfather's grandfather
and became his devoted wazīr and sincere support
30- There your grandfather obtained his power and enjoyed
eminence, even in his tents he met support
31- And in cultivated places where it is a pleasure to be
and at resting-places on journeys and nighttrips
32- But your grandfather, knowing good from evil, left his company
and joined the party of God who granted him publicly a victory
33- And he preferred one that respected the Qur'ān, living or dead,
for he helped him when alive and was his neighbour in the grave
34- This was the delightful behaviour of Abū Ibrāhīm,
for what he urged upon and what he praised was all for God
35- He who possesses the two regions still protects our borders
and feeds with the enemies' corpses the owl and the vulture
36 He is the hawk no matter how much everyone clinks as a bunch of bells,
a lion when teeth and claws bite firmly
37 He is the helper if the mill of war turns to the young men
and the mild rain in case the rainclouds don't let fall a drop
38 He attacked the Christians and destroyed them all
he fought them fiercely and made many prisoners
39 In Tangier was a good place to die for a group of men
by their victory they hope to be rewarded for its possession
40 He called them from the farthest Sūs: "Come!" and they saddled
their shorthaired brisk reddishbrown horses
41- They came as the mirror of the death they afflict
the love of success justified the bitter drink
42- Light were they as though birds had begun to carry them
and the moist earth underneath they left filled with embers
43- And when he looked at the cavalry of the enemy one evening
they had transformed into a troop that showed its joy at its departure
44- That night they went to sleep as bedouins, and in the morning
those were deceived that had not been cautious in the war

45 For those horsemen had attacked while the sun rose
and the enemy had inflicted on God's people heavy losses
46 No wonder that he who was nearest to those lions of Sharā
kept back of these rows of teeth a little distance
47 Help, Abū Ḥasan, your neighbour who is
deploring his hardships, and save your Algeciras
48 For by intervening with the infidel you destroy their tyrants
and satiate wild animals and vultures with their corpses
49 The purpose of the infidel is to own our necks
by destruction of our cultivated fields and fruits
50 Our houses in every fort and every village
call out to you for help in a situation of distress
51 Keep, with God's help, what still rests of it,
for the infidel has nearly succeeded in uprooting this land
52 How many weak persons are there, not able to move their bodies
and old men with ages over a hundred and ten
53 And young ladies, brown and white like marble statues
and infants in their cradles, not knowing good and bad
54 How many pulpits meant for preaching and prayers
and mosques for divine service and reading of the Qur'ān
55 And chairs where professors take their seats
to fill our breasts with what enlightens us
56 And graves of descendants of the Companions erected there
and all those unkempt saints dressed in rags
57 They all call you from afar to the West and good service,
hurry to us, for the infidel people has shown us oppression
58 Do a second good service like the one you have done before
so that this Alphonse witnesses your great effect
59 You know very well, praise be to God!
what Muṣṭafā has said on the military expedition
60 For it was God who inspired this splendid: "How much I want
that I were killed, for revived, how much more I would kill!"
61 And the verses that are in the Qur'ān
are like the morningsun that travels brightly in a cloudless sky
62 Take them, may God give you good guidance, a virgin whose breasts
diffuse a nice perfume, to lead her as a gift to your mansion
63 And take from me to the noble lords a greeting
that crossed a sea from al-Andalus to the West
64 Help, servants of God, help the other shore
that is embraced by misery and oppressed by adversity
65 For you are a mighty army for us, we long to you,
please quickly direct your course to us
66 Let us praise the best of creatures and the best guide
Muḥammad, sent with the glorious community
67 And his family and companions, and those who follow their path
and those whose target is victory for the people of Islam

He has applied himself (may God have mercy on him) to the task that was entrusted to him, and he did what was expected of him and what he could, and thereafter he returned to his country, his home, his roots and his children. When they somewhat later heard that Mawlānā ‘Alī al-Sharīf had decided to make the pilgrimage to the sacred house of God and to visit the tomb of his prophet Muḥammad (the best prayer and the purest peace be on him), this matter overpowered them and they were not content with a random figure to replace him. Thus they sent the most illustrious unequalled author and unsurpassed reciter, the eminent writer Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Abī Sharīf al-Rundī (may God have mercy on him), to men venerated by the people of Fez to ask them to show them their sympathy by advising Mawlānā ‘Alī al-Sharīf to help them, from fear that he longed back to his country with his master the shaykh Sīdī Muḥammad b. Abī Ibrāhīm, his helper and supporter. Ṣāliḥ b. Abī Sharīf brought the letters, among them the address, and stood at the door of the Qarawiyyīn-mosque in the Idrissite-town, reciting his following composition:

1 Nothing is completely perfect
 so let no one be misled by the good life etc. (14)

There were gathered from the people of Fez religious leaders and learned moslms, like the shaykh, the faqīh, the model, Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ikrimī, and the shaykh, the preacher of the Al-Andalus-mosque the eminent Abū l-Ḥasan Sīdī ‘Alī Marshīsh, and the faqīh and teacher Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Jalāl, and the faqīh Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Sarrāj, and the faqīh Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad al-Māwāsī, and the faqīh Abū l-Faḍl Sīdī Rāshid b. Rāshid al-Walīdī, and the illustrious faqīh Sīdī Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Jazūlī, and the illustrious venerable fighter (al-murābiṭ) Abū Zayd Sīdī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān son of the venerable shaykh Sīdī Muḥammad the younger, the author of the Ruq‘a, and the faqīh, the blessing, the muftī and chief judge Abū Muḥammad Sīdī ‘Abd Allāh b. Sīdī Muḥammad b. Mu‘ṭā al-‘Abdūsī, and the great men of Fez and the popular saints. They wrote a letter to the good fighter (al-murābiṭ) Abū ‘Abd Allāh Sīdī Muḥammad Sīdī Abū Ibrāhīm, wherein they asked him to try to win the sympathy of Mawlānā ‘Alī al-Sharīf so that he would come to them, perhaps it was in his power to cure the fever that had befallen the people of al-Andalus. And he succeeded to let Mawlānā ‘Alī al-Sharīf (may God be pleased with him) change his ambition and to direct him to do that. He decided to swallow those dangers and to travel those kingdoms. The devine decree and God’s decision, both plunging people into calamities and chasing birds from their nests, triumphed over him and let him be constantly triumphant until God chose for him what befell him and took him into his mercy. Might and power are with God.”

In the Nuzhat al-ḥādī the story is, as said, embedded in the history of the ‘Alawite-dynasty. First the genealogy of this family of sharīfs is given, and an account of how and why Abu Ibrāhīm of Sijilmāsa brought al-Ḥasan b. Qāsim, the great-grandfather of ‘Alī al-Sharīf, to the Maghrib. This is followed by the biography of ‘Alī al-Sharīf: (15)

“ He was a saintly man, whose prayer was answered, who multiplied religious endowments and pious gifts, a pilgrim and fighter of the Holy War, gifted with high ambition and beneficial behaviour. He travelled once to Fez and lived there a long time, his house was in the quarter known as the Jazā’ Abī ‘Āmir on the Andalusian shore of Fez. He kept there a dwelling. He also lived some time in the village Ṣafrū, where he left behind landed property and buildings until the present time. And he stayed some time in the place Jaras al-dīn, at two and a half miles from Sijilmāsa, where he also left (property). He undertook several times the journey to the shore of the peninsula of al-Andalus to wage the Holy War. He stayed there a long time, then he travelled to Sijilmāsa. The people of al-Andalus wrote letters to him to ask

him to return and incited him to take care of the Holy War. They explained to him the weakness of the peninsula, that there was no one to mobilize the hearts. At the time he still was with them they had tried to tempt him by offering him to be their king, to pay him homage and pledge to obey and support him. But being ascetic and pious he disliked all this and turned his gaze off the beauty of this world, may God be pleased with him. I found several letters sent to him by the learned men of Granada, may God make it again a domain of Islām, inciting him to cross the sea to them and to make speed to protect the territory of Islām. They mentioned that all the people of Granada, learned and holy men and military commanders, had imposed upon themselves to pay a large sum of their private capital, over and above the taxes imposed by the sultan, for the sake of the Holy Warriors coming with him from the Maghrib. They adorned him in one of those letters as follows: “To the heroic lion, the pivot of the circle of knights of Islām, the valiant hero, the fierce lion and bold killer, the pious man, the vanguard of the army of the Holy War, the most courageous, the assurer of victory in this land, he who hurries to satisfy the wishes of the lord of the worshippers, Abū l-Ḥasan mawlānā al-sharīf”. And they wrote to the learned men of Fez to ask them to incite Mawlānā ‘Alī to cross the sea, and the learned men of Fez did so and urged him to hasten to help them. They reminded him of the merit of the Holy War and that it was the best action of piety. One of the reasons that prevented him from helping the people of Granada was that he had decided to go on pilgrimage. Therefore they said to him in one of the letters: “Replace this intended pilgrimage you have set your mind on and are determined to perform, and cross instead the sea to wage Holy War, for Holy War, may God the Elevated give you luck, has in the opinion of the people in the West better merits than the pilgrimage, as Ibn Rushd, may God bless him, advised when asked. There was extensive discussion on it in his answers and this led him to his opinion about it.” The person who wrote him in the name of all the learned men of Granada was, among others, the shaykh al-mawwāq, the imām Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Sarrāḥ, the chief judge. Among the shaykhs in Fez who wrote him were the shaykh Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ikrimī, shaykh of the imām Ibn Ghāzī, and Abū l-‘Abbās al-Māwāsī, he who explained the Rawḍ, and Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Raqī‘ī (or al-Ruqī‘ī?), the famous master of poetry, and others, may God be pleased with them, whose name we did not mention for shortness sake. In one of those letters they enclosed a famous poem in praise of mawlānā ‘Alī al-Sharīf and his eminent companion Abū ‘Abd Allāh sīdī Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-‘Amrī (or al-‘Umarī or al-‘Imrī?). They urged them both to give a positive answer. The poem was composed by the very learned Abū l-Rabī‘ al-Gharnāṭī.”

Then follows a 52-line poem.

“Through these sweet-voiced detailed letters it is known that Mawlānā ‘Alī al-Sharīf was famous in his time, heading all the people of his country. He was highly esteemed by them, his house was honoured long since and considered leading. He continued (may God have mercy on him and be content with him) indefatigably to do good, striving to obtain obedience and he divided his life between ḥajj and jihād.”

The biography continues with his exploits in the Sudān and about his sons, that were born later in his life after a long childless period.

Both stories tell the same event, or chain of events, the most important difference being that al-Ifrānī does not mention the poet Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Abī Sharīf al-Rundī and his poem. Neither of the texts contains a date, but al-Nāṣirī, after having quoted the poem, said that he thought that the battle of Tangier, to which there are allusions in the poem, was the one fought in 841/1437. (16) This has become the traditional view, adhered to by Henri

Terrasse in his *Histoire du Maroc*, although he considered the early history of the ‘Alawite sharīfs as very confused, by Abun-Nasr in his *History of the Maghrib*, by a recent textbook on the history of Morocco (17) and which I made mine in the article I wrote about the manuscripts. On closer inspection, however, the text of the *Takmīl* inspired some doubts about the correctness of the dating of the jihād of ‘Alī al-Sharīf.

The poets Ibn Abī l-Rabī‘ and Ṣāliḥ b. Sharīf and the addressed in Fez

In good journalistic work, the questions who, when, where and why must be answered to get a good story. Historians cannot do with less. To begin with, who were the poets named in the *Takmīl*? They had several things in common, besides their Andalusian descent and eminence in their respective fields.

With Ibn Abī l-Rabī‘ al-Gharnāṭī al-Andalusī (*Takmīl*) or Abū l-Rabī‘ al-Gharnāṭī (*Nuzha*) no other person can be meant than Abū l-Ḥusayn ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Abī l-Rabī‘. He was born in Sevilla in 599/1202 and was educated in that town. (18) When it was conquered by the Castilians in 646/1248, with active support of Muḥammad I of Granada, he fled to Ceuta, where he lived under the protection of the local rulers, the Banū l-‘Azfī. (19) He had no connection with Granada and did not call himself al-Gharnāṭī, rather al-Ishbīlī, but maybe this al-Gharnāṭī has been added to his name in Morocco or points to the origin of his family. He was a grammarian of great renown, who passed his life studying and teaching. Although his interest in social life was restricted, he kept up lively contacts with fellow scientists, as witnesses a dispute he had with Mālik b. al-Muraḥḥal, who worked at the court of Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-Marīnī. (20) He himself is not known as a poet, but he lived in the circle of poets like this Mālik b. al-Muraḥḥal, whose origin was in Ceuta. And since every educated man, and a specialist in language in particular, was supposed to write poetry, the art can not have been strange to him. He died in Ceuta in 688/1289.

Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Abī Sharīf al-Rundī must be identical with Abū l-Ṭayyib (or Abū l-Baqā‘) Ṣāliḥ b. Sharīf al-Rundī. He was born in Sevilla in 601/1204, also fled that town in 646/1248 and lived in Ceuta until his death in 684/1285. Ibn al-Khaṭīb included his biography in the *Iḥāṭa* because he visited the court in Granada several times. (21) Ṣāliḥ b. Sharīf al-Rundī wrote a handbook on poetry, a kind of “The complete poet”, quoted lavishly by Ibn al-Khaṭīb. His eternal fame however is based on the *nūniyya*, a poem mourning the sad fate of al-Andalus, cited in the *Takmīl* in a longer version than the one that was transmitted in the al-Dhakhīra al-saniyya, written between 710 and 732/1310 and 1331, in Ibn ‘Idhārī’s al-Bayān al-mughrib, completed in 712/1312 and by al-Maqqarī. (22) Ibn al-Khaṭīb does not quote this poem. As he was not the man to overlook information that was without any doubt accessible in his time, he must have left it out deliberately. (23)

The learned men in Fez who were asked to act as intermediary, nine persons in the *Takmīl* and only three in al-Ifrānī’s *Nuzha*, offered a way to find out when Ibn Abī l-Rabī‘ and Ṣāliḥ b. Sharīf al-Rundī fulfilled their missions. Historical treatises on the history of Fez contain very often lists of important functionaries, but unfortunately they show up big gaps for the later 7th/13th century. (24) From the *Jadhwat al-iqtibās fī dhikr man ḥalla min al-‘lām madīnat Fās* by Aḥmad b. al-Qāḍī, which contains a great number of short biographical notices, I learned that most of these learned and respected men did indeed belong to families that had official positions in Fez for generations. (25) I could identify one person: the faqīh Abū l-Faḍl Sīdī Rāshid b. Rāshid al-Walīdī, mentioned only in the *Takmīl*. He wrote a book:

Al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām (Lawful and unlawful) and was a specialist on the mudawwana. He died in 675 (between 15-6-1276 and 4-6-1277). (26)

This establishes a date ante quem. So now it is appropriate to look at the historical circumstances in Morocco and in al-Andalus around this time.

The historical background (27)

In Morocco the Marīnid-dynasty had replaced the Almohads. The reigning sultan, Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb (656-685 /1258-1286), succeeded in stabilizing his kingdom after many campaigns in all parts of its territory. (28) In 665/1267 he attacked Tangier for the first time (29), in 672/1273 he succeeded in conquering it from its ruler, Abū l-Qāsim al-‘Azfī of Ceuta. He brought also Ceuta itself under his domination, and although it kept a measure of independence, this gave him easy access to al-Andalus. (30) His most dangerous opponent was Yaghmurāsan b. Zayyān b. ‘Abd al-Wādd. After many campaigns against him he besieged his stronghold Sijilmāsa in 673/1274, making use of a kind of guns, a fact that thusfar has not attracted much attention. (31) After the surrender of the town Yaghmurāsan made peace with him and retired to Tlemcen, but was always ready to conspire against him. Then at last Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb felt free to devote himself to the jihād in al-Andalus and crossed the sea four times for that purpose. (32)

Granada also had a new dynasty, the Banū l-Aḥmar or Naṣrids, in the process of establishing itself after disastrous wars that had led to the loss of many important towns. (33) The founder of the dynasty Muḥammad I (629-71/1232-73) had had to face many difficulties. Especially the revolt of the Mudejars, christians living under muslim rule, in 664/1264 caused a severe crisis, in the course of which he got help from Morocco, not by the sultan but by private fighters. (34) Finally the problem was solved by a treaty, negotiated by his son and heir, with the Castilian king Alfonso X el Sabio. After the death of Muḥammad I, his son and successor Muḥammad II had a difficult start, as “a sea of revolt overflowed him”, in the words of Ibn al-Khaṭīb. (35) His main opponents were the Banu Ashqīlūla, from the outset associated with the dynasty as commanders of the army and tied to them by marriagebonds. Their basis was in the south, in Málaga, Guadix and Gomares. (36) Muḥammad I had already tried to break their power, but Muḥammad II, who for unknown reasons hated them, eschewed no means to reach this goal. He even accepted help from Alfonso X and did not hesitate to take advantage of revolting Castilian noblemen. So there existed a complicated web of alliances and counter-alliances between four parties in al-Andalus: the sultan of Granada, the king of Castile, the Banū Ashqīlūla and the Castilian rebels, and two parties in Morocco: the Marīnid sultan and Yaghmurāsan b. ‘Abd al-Wādd of Tlemcen. Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb’s participation in the Holy War was looked upon with suspicion in Granada. Too much Moroccan influence might lead to loss of independence.

Who commissioned the poems and why

Within this framework we must consider the appeal to Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Ibrāhīm and ‘Alī al-Sharīf to come to the rescue of al-Andalus. From the text of the Takmīl it appears that it must have been a private affair and not one of the many appeals of the Banū l-Aḥmar to Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb. That the poem was not written by the court poet confirms this. (37) To pay jihād-fighters, as suggested in the Nuzha, was common practice until the point of arousing jealousy, as even their christian opponents knew. (38) The Nuzha states that the

‘ulamā’ of Granada were behind this move and arouses the thought that there existed an opposition to the sultan looking for another ruler to take his place. As there were revolts, this might be true, there existed an opposition, and that it had adherents even in Granada itself is likely, but not confirmed by the sources.

The unknown inviters wanted a sharīf and not a random person to help them. In this period the Marīnid sultan Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb had become aware of the use he could make of the prestige of sharīfs and had a sharīf with him on jihād to profit from his baraka. (39) Also in al-Andalus the legitimacy of the rulers was enhanced by their religious image. (40) Muḥammad I had the cognomen al-shaykh, Muḥammad II was called al-faqīh. The Banu Ashqīlūla had even in 666/1267-8 caused a crisis in Málaga by embracing a heretic, Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī, who ended his days on a cross in Granada. (41) It is, therefore, not exceptional that such an appeal was directed to a man with religious authority. But neither in the official Marīnid chronicles of the time nor in the unofficial history is there any trace of these particular persons or their actions. (42) There is only the report on al-Tāhurtī, who went to al-Andalus to mediate (in vain) between the sultan and the Banū Ashqīlūla in 669/1270-1, but about his identity we are not informed. (43)

The characteristics of Ibn Abī l-Rabī’s poem show that it has been written for a special occasion. It is a historical poem and very different in tone from the elegiac poetry of Ṣāliḥ b. Sharīf al-Rundī and of other comparable poems of the time. There are two periods that candidate as possible dates, the first around 662/1264, and the second around 671/1273. The first date is connected with the revolt of the Mudejars in al-Andalus in 662/1264 and its sequels. But if we take into account the reference to the siege of Tangier in the poem, it cannot have been before 665. It is conceivable that Ṣāliḥ b. Sharīf al-Rundī wrote his famous poem at the occasion of this crisis. Nowhere in the sources a date is given, but it might be no coincidence that in two major Moroccan chronicles of the period, the al-Dhakhīra al-sanniyya and the al-Bayān al-mughrib, it is cited in connection with the treaty between Alfonso X and Muḥammad I in 665/1266-7. Muḥammad I sacrificed more than a hundred fortified places in order to outmanoeuvre the Banū Ashqīlūla. (44) That this cynical policy was not understood and led to severe criticism by the theologians is only what could have been expected. And it explains why Ibn al-Khaṭīb left out this poem: he did not want to remind his principals of this shameful behaviour.

The second period of acute crisis in al-Andalus was after the death in 671/jan 1273 of sultan Muhammad I. Muḥammad II, who already had been the architect of the scandalous 665-treaty, was again negotiating with the king of Castile. His relation with the Banu Ashqīlūla was very tense, they had every reason not to trust him. The reference to the siege of Tangier must in that case be to the second siege in 672/sept 1273. It is described in the Moroccan chronicles in words that very much resemble the phrases in Ibn Abī l-Rabī’s poem. (45) We are told that after a three month’s fruitless siege Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb was on the point of leaving when suddenly at nightfall a group of archers betrayed their lord and let the besiegers enter the town. There was a carnage during the night, in the morning soldiers and civilians hiding their weapons got a safe-conduct. The poem describes this event from within, it seems. Since Ibn Abī l-Rabī lived in Ceuta, he might have had information from people present in Tangier with Abū l-Qāsim b. al-‘Azfī.

In 673 (Shawwāl)/1275, both the sultan of Granada and the Banū Ashqīlūla asked Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb for help by means of letters and poems describing the miserable situation in al-Andalus. (46) The al-Dakhīra al-sanniyya has preserved much of this poetry. Even Ibn

Khaldūn, who usually did not ornate his story with poems, made an exception in this case, indicating that there was something special or new about it. (47)

Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb, after having subdued Sijilmāsa, spent some time in Salé preparing for the jihād. During this time, Abū l-Qāsim b. al-‘Azfi came to Fez to join him. Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb came in haste back to the town, gave him audience and sent him back to Ceuta to prepare ships for the crossing. (48) It is tempting to think that Ibn al-‘Azfi had Ṣāliḥ b. Sharīf al-Rundī in his suite and that it was at this occasion that he recited his poem at the door of the Qarawiyyīn-mosque. If this is right, Ibn Abī l-Rabī‘ must have composed and sent his poem on an earlier moment, but after 672/sept 1273. But as there are no data, this is no more than a phantasy about what might have been.

The question which of the parties involved in the problems of al-Andalus had asked Ibn Abī l-Rabī‘ and Ṣāliḥ b. Sharīf al-Rundī to address ‘Alī al-Sharīf cannot be answered with this information. It was most probably not a party in favour of Muḥammad II, either as heir apparent or as king, but how many opponents he had is not known, thanks to the discrete reports of Ibn al-Khaṭīb. The Banū Ashqīlūla are of course suitable candidates, since their position was at times very delicate. But there might have been other groups of discontented people as well.

It is remarkable that both poets involved lived at the time in Ceuta. Could Abū l-Qāsim b. al-‘Azfi have had a hand in it, or was it sheer coincidence, one wonders.

The author of the Nuzha and the identity of ‘Alī al-Sharīf and Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Ibrāhīm

The text in the Takmīl contains very little information about ‘Alī al-Sharīf and his companion Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Ibrāhīm and none about their exploits in al-Andalus. Ibn Abī Ibrāhīm is described as leader of the Mecca-caravan. About ‘Alī nothing is said besides that he was pious, comparable to a lion and that he did what he was asked to do. Where he lived, what he did, it is all very mysterious.

From the poem we can gather more information. There was a connection with Sijilmāsa, a source of the true faith (verse 4). Perhaps it was the place where Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Ibrāhīm lived and where the poem was to be delivered. His grandfather went to Yanbū‘, the dwellingplace of the descendants of ‘Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet, and after a life of pleasure he converted to a devote way of living (verses 28-34). Abū ‘Abd Allāh himself loved Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī, al-mawlā al-sharīf, descendant of the Prophet (verses 25-6), fought fiercely to protect the faith (verses 13-4) and went to help defend Tangier (verse 12). ‘Alī al-Sharīf was asked to rescue the Andalusians of imminent danger (verse 17), was urged to save Algeciras (verse 47), went to the rescue of Tangier (verses 39-46), and the people of Granada appealed to him to bring back harmony, which is an indication of internal conflicts (verses 18-23).

We must look now to the Nuzhat al-hādī of al-Ifrānī. His story is much more detailed, but is it reliable? As we have seen, his sources were letters that are no longer available, and which he quotes in a manner that differs very much from the Takmīl. We must first compare his version of the poem with the longer one in the Takmīl. When we take as basis the sequence of the Nuzha and the verse-numbers of the Takmīl, we get the following result: 1-9, a combination of 10/25, 26-27, 36-40, 45-47, 10-19, 23-24, 49, 48, 50, 52-56, 57 I, 57 II, 58-67. The verses 20-23, 28-35 and 41-44 are missing, respectively a reference to civil war in al-Andalus, the

story of Yanbū^ʿ and part of the story of Tangier. There are many textvariants, especially in the places where the sequence is different. The difference in sequence must be considered as deliberate and cannot be due to the mistakes of a copyist, as there is no system in it. The effect is that most of the poem is now about ʿAlī al-Sharīf, the verses that in the longer version are clearly connected with Abū Ibrāhīm now being tied to ʿAlī.

It is my theory that the Takmīl has the (most) correct version, and that al-Ifrānī carefully rearranged the poem. He wanted to write a history of the beginnings of the ʿAlawite dynasty in Morocco, and since he had only a very few data he made a mix of popular legend connected with certain places of worship, genealogical science and this poem. His problem was that the approved genealogy taken from reliable authors was too short. (49) Between the sultan al-Sharīf, who reigned from 1041-5/1631-5 and ʿAlī al-Sharīf there were only four generations. Therefore, he placed ʿAlī al-Sharīf and Muḥammad b. Abī Ibrāhīm in the 9th/15th century, though he is careful not to give any date. Every trace of earlier events had to be removed, and as he knew the relevant sources, he knew what to leave out. The story of Yanbū^ʿ is such a case, because it is clearly said that the grandfather of Ibn Abī Ibrāhīm went to Yanbū^ʿ, which is conflicting with the advent in the Maghrib of the great-grandfather of ʿAlī al-Sharīf in the 7th/13th century. From the suppressed verses about Tangier it could be understood that this town was not attacked by christians but by muslims. I guess that Ṣāliḥ b. Sharīf al-Rundī's reputation was another problem, and since his poem does not contain precise historical information, it could be left out. That was different in the case of Ibn Abī l-Rabī^ʿ's poem, for that was an important unknown source. Many details in ʿAlī al-Sharīf's biography are taken from the poem, even from the suppressed verses. Maybe this scientist, whose name was not given correctly, had been forgotten in the 18th century so that it was not obvious that he could not have written a poem about men that lived more than a century after his death. Other details in the biography might be authentic, for instance about the money that was set apart for the warriors. But that ʿAlī al-Sharīf was offered to be king sounds unlikely. The person of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Sarrāj (with the variants al-Sarrāh and al-Sarh) must also be considered as part of al-Ifrānī's attempt to adapt the facts to his view. This man is named by the Takmīl among the faqīhs of Fez whereas al-Ifrānī places him in Granada as shaykh al-mawwāq and chief judge. Of course al-Ifrānī knew the history of Granada and the role of the Banū l-Sarrāj in the civil wars of the 9th/15th century. He might have had that in mind when he created the image of the theologians of Granada inviting a sharīf in order to save the country from the chaos. But the Banū l-Sarrāj were not prominent in the 7th/13th century. The name al-mawwāq is mentioned several times in a Moroccan context, but what it means or stands for has remained hidden so far. The translator of al-Nāṣirī suggests that it was an educational institution by translating professor of al-Mawwāq for shaykh al-mawwāq. (50) To look at it the other way round, is it conceivable that the author of the Takmīl, al-Qanṭrī al-Qaṣrī, used the Nuzha or an unknown comparable source as his basis to rewrite the poem to fit his view of history? In that case, he would have had to invent many new verses. Specialists of poetry might try to analyse which poem is the most coherent from the point of view of style. It might be argued that this author invented the appeal by Ṣāliḥ b. Sharīf al-Rundī, but even if that is the case, then two data point to the 7th/13th century. Al-Ifrānī is supposed to have had a motive to construct an adapted version, whereas the main concern of al-Qanṭrī al-Qaṣrī seems to have been to give more complete versions of already known poetry. In the case of Ṣāliḥ b. Sharīf al-Rundī the result is doubtful, the new lines do not have the same force as the traditional ones. In the case of Ibn Abī l-Rabī^ʿ he has offered the better version as far as I can see. If this is accepted, the history of the ʿAlawite dynasty can be traced back to

the 7th/13th century, but at the cost of a large gap in the genealogy in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Notes

* I want to express my gratitude to Professor dr P. Sj. van Koningsveld of Leiden University, Dept. of Religious Studies, for having provided me with a photocopy of a manuscript in private property in Morocco, and Dr G.J. van Gelder of Groningen University, Institute of Languages and Cultures of the Middle East, for his help in translating the poem.

1 Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 10.784 (henceforward called L), from the legacy of E. Lévi-Provençal. The privately owned Moroccan manuscript of the same work I call ms. T because it has a connection with Tetuan. These two manuscripts, of which ms. T is the oldest and most reliable, are at the basis of my investigation. I have not seen the manuscript in Rabat (ms. R), General Library nr. K 1177 (Muh\$ammad al-Manûnî, *al-Mas\$âdir al-%arabiyya li-ta'rîkh al-Maghrib*, I, Rabat, 1404/1983, nr. 286, p. 132). It seems there is another manuscript in the library of the Qarawiyyîn-mosque in Fez (Mohamed B.A. Benchekroun, *La vie intellectuelle Marocaine sous les Mérinides et les Watt\$âsides (XIIIe XIVE XVe XVIe siècles)*, Rabat, 1974, p. 274), but I have not yet succeeded in having this confirmed. The one in the Escorial (ms. E), códice 1877 (Braulio Justel Calabozo, *La real biblioteca de El Escorial y sus manuscritos árabes. Sinopsis histórico-descriptiva*, Madrid, 1978, p. 257) does not contain the text I study in this paper. For further details see my "A manuscript on the history of Muslim Granada: the Nubdhat al-%as\$r fî akhbâr mulûk Banî Nas\$r and other texts" (forthcoming).

2 Ibn al-Khat\$îb, *Kitâb al-ih\$ât\$a fî akhbâr Gharnât\$a*, ed. by Muh\$ammad Abû %Abd Allâh %Inân, 4 vols., Cairo 1973-8, IV, pp. 459-62. A discussion of all his works in his biography by Benchekroun, *La vie intellectuelle*, pp. 265-76. Ah\$mad Mukhtâr al-%Abbâdî, "Mu'allafât Lisân al-dîn b. al-Khat\$îb", *Hespéris*, 46 (1959) 247-53 is far from complete.

3 Marc. Jos. Müller, *Die letzten Zeiten von Granada*, München, 1863. A. Bustani and C. Quirós (transl.), *Fragmento de la época sobre noticias de los Reyes Nazarites o Capitulación de Granada y Emigración de los Andaluces a Marruecos* (Kitâb Nubdhat al-%as\$r fî akhbâr mulûk Banî Nas\$r), Larache, 1940.

4 Bustani, *Fragmento*, pp. 46-9, translation pp. 54-9.

5 Shihâb al-dîn Ah\$mad b. Muh\$ammad al-Maqqarî, *Azhâr al-riyâd\$fî akhbâr %Iyâd\$f*, ed. by Mus\$t\$afâ al-Saqqâ, Ibrâhîm al-Abyârî and %Abd al-H\$âfiz\$ Shalabî, 3 vols., Cairo, 1939-42.

6 A short text has been published by James T. Monroe, "A Curious Morisco Appeal to the Ottoman Empire, *Al-Andalus*, 31 (1966) 281-303. Translation in Mercedes García Arenal, *Los Moriscos*, Madrid, 1975, pp. 33-41.

7 Muh\$ammad b. %Abd al-Rah\$mân Ben Khalîfa, *al-Qs\$ar al-Kabîr, a%lâm adabiyya %ilmîyya ta'rîkhiyya*, Tangier, 1994, pp. 73-77. This is based on Abû %Abd Allâh Muh\$ammad b. al-T\$ayyib b. %Abd al-Salâm al-H\$asanî al-Qâdirî, *Nashr al-mathânî li-ahl al-qarn al-h\$âdî %ashr wa-*

l-thânî, transl. as “Nachr al-Mathânî de Mouhammed al-Qâdirî” by Graulle, Meillard, Michaux, Bellaire, 2 vols., *Archives Marocaines*, 21 and 24 (1913-17) I 144. The name mentioned there as the author of the *Takmil* does not correspond exactly with the name as given in mss. T and L, therefore I suppose he must have been another member of the same family whose dates are unknown.

8 A photograph of the colophon of ms.T, that was the one Bustani, *Fragmento*, used for his edition, has been published by him as Modelo núm. 4, Fin del Códice B.

9 Muh\$ammad b. %Abd Allâh al-Ifrânî, *Nuzhat al-h\$âdî*, edited by O.Houdas, *Nozhet-elhâdi - Histoire de la dynastie Saadienne au Maroc (1511-1670)*, Publications de l’Ecole de langues vivantes orientales, series III vol. 2, Paris, 1888, pp. 287-98. Translation by O.Houdas, series III vol. 3, Paris, 1889, pp. 477-95.

10 E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfas*, Paris, 1922, p. 121.

11 Ah\$mad b. Khâlid al- Nâs\$irî al-Salawî, *Kitâb al-istiqsâ’ li-akhbâr duwal al-maghrib al-aqsâ*, 4 parts in 2 vols., Cairo, 1894 (I used a set dated 1912), IV, pp. 4-7, and the same, 2 ed., 9 bks. in 3 vols., Casablanca, 1954-6, III, pp. 3-12. Translation of part IV of the 1st edition by E. Fumey: Ah\$med b. Khâled Ennâsirî Esslâoui, “Chronique de la dynastie Alaoui du Maroc”, *Archives Marocaines*, 9-10 (1906-7), 9, 8-14. Many of the events described in this article are also to be found in the *Kitâb al-istiqsâ’*, but since this chronicle was written so much later I preferred to cite only the more contemporaneous works.

12 In ms. L: folio’s 52v-54v. In ms. T: pp. 87-94. The marked verses are not to be found in the *Nuzha* and the *Kitâb al-istiqsâ’*. As far as I understand, the verses 1-15 are addressed to Ibn Abî Ibrâhîm, 16-25 are intended to be said to %Alî al-Sharîf, 26-35 are again addressing Ibn Abî Ibrâhîm and 36 to the end are directed to %Alî al-Sharîf.

13 The *kunya* Abû Ishâq is usually given to persons called Ibrâhîm, so this name is probably used as an alternative for the same family. In the same way in verse 10 Abû %Abd Allâh replaces Muh\$ammad en in verse 47 Abû H\$asan replaces %Alî.

14 In the mss. only the first verse is cited, because the complete poem of 62 verses had already been given on folio’s 45r-46v of ms. L, pp. 65-9 of ms. T. The shorter version of 43 verses of the poem is found in %Alî Ibn Abî Zar% al-Fâsî, *Al-dhakhîra al-saniyya fî ta’rikh al-dawla al-marîniyya*, ed. by Mohammed Bencheneb, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d’Alger, vol. 57, Algiers, 1920, pp. 127-9; in Ibn %Idhârî, *al-Bayân al-mughrib fî akhbâr al-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib*, ed. by A. Huici Miranda, Muh\$ammad Ibn Tâwit and Muh\$ammad Ibrâhîm al-Kattânî, vol. III 2, Tetuan, 1963, pp. 470-1 (only 18 verses, because the ms. was damaged); in al-Maqqarî, *Azhâr al-riyâd\$*, I, pp. 47-50; in Ah\$mad Abû l-%Abbâs al-Maqqarî, *Nafh\$ al-t\$îb fî ghushn al-Andalus al-rat\$îb*, 8 vols., ed. by Ih\$sân %Abbâs, Beirut, 1968, IV, pp. 486-91. Al-Maqqarî added here the remark that more verses were known, but that he did not consider them authentic (pp. 488-9). Text and translation of the short version have been published by J.T.Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, Berkeley etc., 1974, pp. 332-7, from which the first verse has been quoted here. %Abd Allâh Kanûn, “Abû l-

Baqâ' al-Rundî wa-kitâbuhu 'al-Wâfi fî nazm al-qawâfi'", *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos de Madrid*, 6 (1958) 206-20 (Ar.), published from a manuscript in the General Library in Tetuan the lines, with only slight variations, that are in the manuscripts discussed here.

15 Al- Ifrânî, *Nuzhat al-h\$âdî*, pp. 293-7 and the translation, pp. 486-492.

16 Al- Nâsîrî, *Kitâb al-istiqsâ'*, 1912, IV, p. 6, transl. 1906, p. 14.

17 Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, 2 vols., Casablanca, 1949-50, II, pp. 239-40 and note 1.

Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1975, pp. 224-5. Ibrâhîm

H\$arakât, *al-Maghrib %abra al-ta'rîkh*, 3 vols., Casablanca, 1405/1985, III, p. 18.

18 Benchekroun, *La vie intellectuelle*, pp. 123-5. P. Chalmeta, "Le Barnâmaj d'Ibn Abî l-Rabî'," *Arabica*, 15 (1986) 183-208.

19 On Ceuta and the Banû l-%Azafî see Charles E. Dufourcq, "La question de Ceuta au XIIIe siècle," *Hespéris*, 42 (1955) 67-127, and by the same author *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghreb aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles. De la bataille de Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) à l'avènement du sultan mérinide Abou-l-Hasan (1331)*, Paris, 1966.

20 About the dispute with Mâlik b. al-Murah\$hal, see Muh\$ammad b. Ja%far al-Kattânî, *Salwat al-anfâs wa-muh\$âdathât al-akyâs bi-man uqbira min al-%ulamâ' wa-l-s\$ulah\$â' bi-Fâs*, Lith., 3 vols., 1316, Fez, pp. 99-110. For his position at the Marînid court see %Abd al-Rah\$mân b. Khaldûn, *Kitâb al-%Ibar wa-dîwân al-mubtada' wa-l-khabar fî ayyâm al-%Arab wa-l-%Ajam wa-l-Barbar*, Bûlâq ed., VII, pp. 198-200. See also the biography of his brother in law, a citizen of Ceuta, Ibrâhîm b. Abî Bakr b. %Abd Allâh b. Mûsâ al-Ans\$ârî in Ibn al-Khat\$îb, *Ih\$ât\$a*, I, pp. 334-7. Mâlik b. al-Murah\$hal was a very distinguished scholar, his student Abû Ish\$âq Ibrâhîm al-Ghâfiqî studied also with Ibn Abî l-Rabî%, whom he succeeded as *qâd\$î* of Ceuta, see Abû l-H\$asan %Alî b. %Abd Allâh al-Nubâhî, *Kitâb al-marqaba al-%ulyâ fî-man yastah\$iqu al-qad\$â wa-l-futyâ*, ed. by E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo, 1948, pp. 133-4.

21 Brockelmann, *GAL*, S I, p. 860 (nr. 14) and S II, p. 925 (nr. 110). %Abd Allâh Kanûn, "Abû l-Baqâ' al-Rundî". Ibn al-Khat\$îb, *Ih\$ât\$a*, III, pp. 360-382.

22 See note 14. The dates of the works are taken from Maya Shatzmiller, *L'historiographie Mérinide. Ibn Khaldûn et ses contemporains*, Leiden, 1982.

23 Ibn al-Khat\$îb, *Ih\$ât\$a*, III, p. 382, note, and %Abd Allâh Kanûn, "Abû l-Baqâ' al-Rundî", p. 213.

24 Abû l-Walîd Ismâ'îl Ibn al-Ah\$mar, *Histoire des Benî Merîn, rois de Fâs, intitulée Rawd\$at en-nisrîn (fî dawlat Banî Marîn)*, ed. by G. Bouali and G. Marçais, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, vol. 55, Paris, 1917. Abû l-H\$asan %Alî al-Jaznâ'î, *Zahrât al-âs (La fleur du myrte) traitant de la fondation de la ville de Fès*, ed. by Alfred Bel, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, vol. 59, Algiers, 1923. Ah\$mad b. al-Qâd\$î al-Maknâsî, *Jadhwat al-iqtibâs fî dhikr man h\$alla min al-a%âm madînat Fâs*, 2 vols., Rabat, 1973-4, p. 61 (continuous pagination).

25 See for instance for al-%Ikrîmî, *Jadhwa*, pp. 239, 243; for Marshîsh, *Jadhwa*, p. 406; for

Jalâl, *Jadhwa*, pp. 324-5; for Sarrâj/Sarrâh\$, *Jadhwa*, p. 123; for al-Mâwâsî, *Jadhwa*, pp. 126, 131, 502 and Benchekroun, *La vie intellectuelle*, p. 421; for al-Jazûlî, *Jadhwa*, pp. 401-2 and 554 and also al-Nubâhî, *al-Marqaba al-%ulyâ*, pp. 135-6. Most of them lived earlier or much later.

26 *Jadhwa*, pp. 196-7.

27 For the general background I used Rachel Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides (1232-1492)*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1990. L.P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500*. Chicago and London, 1990. Very useful was also H.L. Beck, *Idrîs de kleine en de Idrîsidische shurafâ' in Fâs tijdens de Marînieden*, (Diss.) Leiden, 1984, translated as Herman L. Beck, *L'image d'Idrîs II, ses descendants de Fâs et la politique sharîfienne des sultans marînides (656-869/1258-1465)*, Leiden, 1989.

28 His biography in %Alî Ibn Abî Zar% al-Fâsî, *al-Anîs al-mut\$rib bi-rawd\$ al-qirt\$âs fî akhbâr mulûk al-maghrîb wa-ta'rîkh madînat Fâs*, Rabat, 1973, pp. 297-9, followed by his exploits in Morocco and in al-Andalus.

29 *Al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, p. 130; not in the *Rawd\$ al-qirt\$âs* .

30 For the second siege of Tangier and the surrender of Ceuta, see *al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, pp. 155-7 and *Rawd\$ al-qirt\$âs*, pp. 311-2.

31 *Al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, pp. 157-9. *Rawd\$ al-qirt\$âs*, pp. 312-3. See also Aafje Heuvink, *Sidjilmâsa, een verdwenen stad*, Groningen, 1987, pp. 71-2, Ibn Khaldûn, %Ibar, VII, pp. 188-9 and R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires Arabes*, Leyden, 1881, II, p. 774 s. v. *handama*. I-S. Allouche, "Un texte relatif aux premiers canons", *Hespéris*, 32 (1945) 81-4, quoted the conclusion of earlier authors that Ibn Khaldûn had committed an anachronism in this case, not being aware that almost contemporaneous texts confirm this story.

32 *Al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, p. 159. *Rawd\$ al-qirt\$âs*, pp. 312-3.

33 The main source for the history of this period is Ibn al-Khat\$îb, *al-Lamh\$a al-badriyya fî l-dawla al-Nas\$riyya*, ed. by Muh\$îbb al-Dîn al-Khat\$îb, 3rd ed., Beirut, 1980, pp. 42-60. Biographies of Muh\$ammad I and II in the *Ih\$ât\$a*, II 92-101 and I 564-74. On the value of Ibn al-Khat\$îb as historian, see Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, pp. 28-9.

34 Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, p. 33. María Jesús Rubiera de Epalza, "Los Banû Escallola, la dinastía que no fue", *Andalucía Islámica*, vol. II-III (1983) 85-94, p. 89.

35 Ibn al-Khat\$îb, *Ih\$ât\$a*, I, p. 565.

36 Lisân al-dîn b. al-Khat\$îb, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane extraite du Kitâb a%âm al-a%lâm*, ed. by E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat, 1934, pp. 330-6, translated by I.S.Allouche, "La révolte des Banû Ashqîlûla contre le sultan Nas\$rite Muh\$ammad II d'après le *Kitâb a%âm al-a%lâm* d'Ibn al-Khat\$îb", *Hespéris*, 25 (1938) 1-11. The biographies of %Abd Allâh b. %Alî (second generation) in *Ih\$ât\$a*, III, pp. 382-3, and of his brother's son %Abd Allâh b. Ibrâhîm (third generation) in *Ih\$ât\$a*, III, pp. 376-9. The biography of this brother Abû Ish\$âq Ibrâhîm b. %Alî (second generation) is referred to, but is lacking in the printed edition. See also Rubiera, "Los Banû Escallola". Ibn Khaldûn,

%Ibar , gives somewhat different information, which is taken account of by Allouche in his translation.

37 Ibn Khaldûn, *%Ibar*, VII, pp. 198-200 mentions an exchange of poems by Abû Fâris %Abd al-%Azîz and Mâlik b. al-Murah\$hal (see on him note 20) as court poets of Abû Yûsuf Ya%qûb, and Abû %Umar b. al-Murâbit\$ as the court poet of Muh\$ammad II b. al-Ah\$mar. .

38 Rubiera, “Los Banû Escallola”, p. 89.

39 Beck, *Idrîs de kleine*, pp. 154 and 139.

40 Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, pp. 26-31 stresses the religious base of the Nas\$rid sultans and their state.

41 Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, pp. 34-5, based on Ah\$mad al-Qashtâlî, *Tuh\$fat al-mughtarib bi-bilâd al-maghrib fî karâmât al-shaykh Abî Marwân*, ed. by Fernando de la Granja under the title *Milagros de Abû Marwân al-Yuh\$ânîsî*, Madrid, 1974, p. 81. About *faqîhs* who fled Málaga see Rubiera, “Los Banû Escallola”, p. 94, based on al-Nubâhî, *al-Marqaba al-%ulyâ*, pp. 127-8 and 137-8.

42 Besides the official chronicles like the *al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya* and the *Rawd\$ al-qirt\$âs* I consulted Ibn %Idhârî, *al-Bayân al-mughrib*, III 2, and the anonymous *Mafâkhir al-Barbar*, ed. by E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat, 1934.

43 *Al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, p. 142.

44 Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane*, p. 65. Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, pp. 51-4.

45 *Al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, p. 127 and *al-Bayân al-mughrib*, III 2, pp. 470-1.

46 *Al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, pp. 155-7 and *Rawd\$ al-qirt\$âs*, pp. 311-2.

47 *Al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, pp. 159-65 and *Rawd\$ al-qirt\$âs*, p. 313.

48 The poem by Abû %Umar b. al-Murâbit\$, Muh\$ammad II's court poet, is given *in extenso* by Ibn Khaldûn, *%Ibar*, VII, pp. 198-200 (ed. Beirut 1968, VII, pp. 409-14). The first verse is cited by Ibn al-Khat\$îb, *Ih\$ât\$a*, I, pp. 570-1, he calls the poet Abû %Amr. Of the other poems only the first verses are given by Ibn Khaldûn.

49 *Al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, p. 159 and Ibn Khaldûn, *%Ibar*, VII, p. 189.

50 *Al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, p. 185.

51 G. Salmon, “Les Chorfa Filâla et Djilâla de Fès. D'après Ibn at\$-T\$ayyib Al-Qâdirî”, *Archives Marocaines*, 3 (1905) 97-118, with genealogical tables.

52 Art. Ibn al-Sarrâdj by J.D.Latham in *EI* 2. For Sarrâj/Sarrâh\$ see Ibn al-Qâd\$î, *Jadhwa*, p.124 and for *mawwâq* the same pp. 106 and 517, 319 and 517-8. al-Nâs\$îrî, *Kitâb al-istiqsâ'*, the translation by Fumey in *Archives Marocaines*, 9 (1906) 9.

Appendix: Arabic text

ومما خاطب به الشيخ العلامة شيخ الاسلام ابن ابي الربيع الاندلسي الغرناطي الشيخ الصالح المجاهد *
الورع الزاهد * شيخ الركب النبوي لحج بيت الله الحرام * وزيارة ضريح نبيه محمد عليه افضل الصلاة وازكى
السلام * سيدي محمد بن الشيخ الولي الصالح الزكي سيدي ابي ابراهيم رحمه الله يسمع صاحبه الضرغام *
مولانا عليا الشريف الهمام * القصيدة التي بعثوا بها اليهما في مدحهما وهي هذه على الوفاء والتمام *

١	ايا راكبا يطوى المفاوز والقفرا	رشدت ولقيت السلامة والخيرا
٢	ترحل وجد السير يوما وليلة	وسافر تجد ما فى مطالعها زهرا
٣	تحمل حماك الله منى الى الحمى	تحية مشتاق تهيجه الذكر
٤	وام ديار الحى من سجلماسة	فتلك ديار تجمع العز والفخرا
٥	وسلم على تلك الخيام واهلها	سلام محب لم يطق عنهم صبرا
٦	فعندى لهم حب سرى فى جوارحى	وما زاج منى العظم والدم والشعرا
٧	فتلك بقاع الدين والخير والهدى	فكم مرتقى فى سماها سمي بدرا *
٨	هم القوم لا يشقى بهم جلساؤهم	يضوع عبير الزهر من بينهم نشرا
٩	وقل يا اهيل القبلة السادة الاولى	اذاما دعوا فى حادث اسرعوا النفرا
١٠	وخص ابا عبد الالاه وُلد به	به تجلب السراء فى حادث الضرا
١١	سليل ابي اسحاق اكرم به ابا	لقد خلف الفرع الزكى الرضى * البرا
١٢	اليس الذى لبي ندا اهل طنجة	وجمع اهل الغرب من حينه طرا
١٣	واوقع بالكفار اى وقية	فمن لم يمت بالسيف مات لها ذعرا
١٤	واصبح ثغر الدين اشنب باسما	وارهق وجه الكفر من حزن قترا
١٥	ونال من الله السعادة والرضى	وجنة عدن فى المعاد له ذخرا
١٦	وقل ايها العدل الذى اتخذ التقى	شعارا وسامى فى منازلها الشعرا
١٧	ارى كل من فى الغرب اصبح قاطنا *	واندلس ترجوا بطلعتك النصرا
١٨	وغرنة الغراء نادتك اقبلن	برايتك البيضاء كى تنصر الحمرا
١٩	فسكانها وقف عليك رجاؤهم	كبيرهم والطفل والكاعب العذرا
٢٠	فحقق رجاء القوم واسمح بطلب	تحز كل فضل والسعادة والاجرا
٢١	بغرتك الغراء يرجون الفة	واصلاح ذات اليبين والنصر والسيرا
٢٢	ويامن من فى ارض اندلس ثوى	ويذعن كل الناس للملك الامرا
٢٣	فجئنا بهم لا زلت للدين حاميا	رجالا وفرسانا غطارفة غرا
٢٤	حماة اباة الضيم من كل ماجد	كريم يبارى الغيث والسييل والسجرا
٢٥	كحكيم سبط النبى بن صهره	على الذى يعلوا على زحل قدرا
٢٦	ابى الحسن المولى الشريف الذى به	على الغرب شمس النصر اشرق بالصحرا
٢٧	ولاحت بافاق القلوب عجائب	بها سلب الالباب تحسبها سحرا
٢٨	بينبوعه بانث لجدك جذوه	بها اقتسب الانوار والتمس السرا
٢٩	وأوى بجد جده فغدى له	وزيرا باخلاص وشد له ازرا
٣٠	هنالك نال العز جدك واستمى	سماء التقى حتى باضرايه ازرا
٣١	وفى حضر يحلوا به متبركا	وفى سفر حين المقييل وفى المسرا
٣٢	وجدكم الفاروق فارق حزبه	ورافق حزب الله ينصره جهرا
٣٣	وأثر ذا الفرقان حيا وميتا	فأزره دنيا وجاوره قبرا

قلله ما اغرا عليه وما اطرا	كذا ابو ابراهيم مع حسن الرضى	٣٤
ويطعم من هام العدا الهام والنسرا	وما زال ذا الغطريف يحمى ثغورنا	٣٥
هزبر اذاما انشب الناب والظفرا	هو الصقر مهمى اهتز كل مجلج	٣٦
وغيث اذاما المزن ما امطرت قطرا	هو الغوث ان دارت رحى الحرب للفتى	٣٧
وجد لهم قتلا وشد لهم اسرا	اغار على الاعلاج فاجتاح جمعها	٣٨
بنصرتها ترجوا من الملك الاجرا	بطنجة قد طاب الممات لزمرة	٣٩
من الصافنات الجرد عادية شقرا	دعاها بادنى السوس قوموا فاسرجوا	٤٠
وحب المزايا سوغ الشرب المرا	فسارت سرايا للمنايا تزورها	٤١
وخلت الثرى من تحتها ملئت جمرا	خفافا كان الطير اضحت تقلها	٤٢
غدت عنقا تبدوا على سيرها البشرا	ولما راي خيل العدو عشية	٤٣
وقد خاب من فى الحرب لم ياخذ الحذرا	وفى ليلها امست بوادى فاصبحت	٤٤
وارهق اهل الله اعداؤه خسرا	فهبت ركاب القوم والشمس اشرفت	٤٥
ليوث الشرى ان عاد من حبها شبرا	ولا عجب ان الاولى هو منهم	٤٦
ابا حسن وانصر جزيرتك الخضرا	اجر جارك اللهفان من غمراته	٤٧
وتشبع من قتلاهم الوحش والطيبرا	فيا لك للكفار تقنى طغاتهم	٤٨
باهلاكهم فى ارضنا الحرث والثمرا	لقد طمع الكفار ملك رقابنا	٤٩
تتاديك غوثا من خطوب اتت تترا	منازلنا من كل حصن وقرية	٥٠
فقد كاد ان يستاصل الكفر ذا البرا	تدارك بعون الله منها بقية	٥١
وشيوخ بها اربى على مائة عشا *	وكم من ضعيف لا حراك بجسمه	٥٢
وصبية مهد لا تعى النفع والضرا	وسمر وبيض من اوانس كالدماء	٥٣
ومسجد دين للصلاة وللأقرا	ومنبر جمع للخطابة والدعا	٥٤
تصدر يملى ما يضىء لنا الصدرا	وكرسى علم مقعد لمهذب	٥٥
وكل ولى الشعث لايس طمرا	واجداث ابناء الصحابة فوقها	٥٦
اجرنا فاهل الكفر قد اظهروا الجورا *	تتاديك من بعد لقرب وقربة	٥٧
ليبصر هذا الفنش فعلتك الكبرا	وثن باخرى مثل تلك التى مضت	٥٨
على المصطفى فى الغزو من خبر خبرا	وانتم بحمد الله تدررون ما اتى	٥٩
قُتلت فاحيا ثم اقتل كم مرا	قلله ما اسنى وددت لو اننى	٦٠
كشمس الضحى فى الصحو سافرة غرا	وما فى كتاب الله من اية اتت	٦١
يضوع شذا تهدي لمغناكم عطرا	فخذها هداك الله عذراء جيبها	٦٢
من اندلس للغرب قد عبرت بحرا	وتبلغ عنى للكرام تحية	٦٣
احاطت بها الباساء واشتدت الضرا	فغوثة عباد الله غوثا لعدوة	٦٤
تشوفنا فاستعجلوا نحونا السيرا	فانتم لنا الجند القوى ونحوكم	٦٥
محمد المبعوث بالملة اليسرا	ونثنى على خير البرية والهدى	٦٦
ومن لذوى الاسلام من قصد النصرا	وآل وصحب ثم تال لنهجهم	٦٧

* ٧ ذكرنا Corrected in margin from

*١١ Not in L

*١٧ قانطا as in the Nuzha fits better

*٥٢ Not in L

*٥٧ Not in L

وقد توجه رحمه الله لما ندب اليه * وفعل منه ما قدر له وقدر عليه * وآب بعد ذلك لبلاده * ووطنه واصله واولاده *
ولما سمعوا بعد ذلك بمدة بان مولانا عليا الشريف قد عزم على حج بيت الله الحرام * وزيارة ضريح نبيه محمد
عليه افضل الصلاة وازكى السلام * صالحهم الامر * وما قنعوا فى ذلك عوضا منه بزيد و لا عمرو * فوجهوا
الامجد الذى فى الانشاء لا يجارى * وفى الانشاد لا يبارى * وهو الاديب الفاضل ابو محمد صالح بن ابي
شريف الرندى رحمه الله مستحرمين باهل فاس يستعطفون لهم بفتواهم مولانا عليا الشريف لينصرهم خوف
حنينه لوطنه مع صاحبه الشيخ سيدي محمد بن ابي ابراهيم زنده وعضده فبلغ صالح بن ابي شريف الكتاب *
وفيهم الخطاب * ووقف بباب جامع القرويين من المدينة الادريسية منشدا من انشائه ما نصه ***

One line of this poem has been placed here, the other lines are on p. 65-69 of the Takmil.

١	لكل شيء اذا ما تم نقصان	١	فلا يغر بطيب العيش انسان
٢	هى الامور كما شاهدتها دول	٢	من سره زمن ساءته ازمان
٣	وهذه الدار لا تبقى على احد	٣	ولا يدوم على حال بها شان
٤	يمزق الدهر حتما كل سابقة	٤	اذا نبت مشرفيات وخرسان
٥	ويبقى كل سيف للفناء ولو	٥	كان ابن ذى يزن والغمد غمدان
٦	اين الملوك ذوالتيجان من يمن	٦	واين منهم اكاليل وتيجان
٧	واين ما شاده شداد فى ارم	٧	واين ما ساسه فى الفرس ساسان
٨	واين ما حازه قارون من ذهب	٨	واين عاد وشداد وقحطان
٩	اتى على الكل امر لا مرد له	٩	حتى قضوا فكان القوم ما كان
١٠	وصار ما كان من ملك ومن ملل	١٠	كما حكى عن خيال الطيف وسنان
١١	دار الزمان على دارا وقائله	١١	واما كسرى فما آواه ايوان
١٢	كانما الصعب لم يسهل له سبب	١٢	يوما ولا ملك الدنيا سليمان
١٣	فجائع الدهر انواع منوعة	١٣	وللزمان مسرات واحزان
١٤	وللحوادث سلوان يهونها	١٤	ولا لما حل بالاسلام سلوان
١٥	دهى الجزيرة امر لا عزاء له	١٥	هوى له احد وانهد ثهلان
١٦	اصابها العين فى الاسلام فامتحت	١٦	حتى خلت منه اقطار وبلدان
١٧	فسل بلنسية ما شان مرسية	١٧	واين شاطبة واين جيان
١٨	واين قرطبة دار العلوم فكم	١٨	من عالم قد سما له فيها شان
١٩-	واين حمص وما تحويه من نزه	١٩-	نهرها العذب قياض وملان
٢٠-	واين غرناطة دار الجهاد فكم	٢٠-	سد الشرى وهم من الحرب فرسان
٢١-	واين حمراؤها العليا وزخرفها	٢١-	كانها من جنان الخلد عدنان
٢٢-	والماء يجري بساحات القصور بها	٢٢-	قد حف جدولها زهر وريحان
٢٣-	واين جامعها المشهور كم تليت	٢٣-	فى كل وقت به آى وقرآن
٢٤-	وعالم كان يبدى للمجهول هدى	٢٤-	مدرس وله فى العلم تبيان
٢٥-	وعابد خاشع اليه مبتهل	٢٥-	والدمع منه على الخدين طوقان
٢٦-	ووادى شلين يحكى فى تحنشه	٢٦-	سيوف هند له فى الجو لمعان
٢٧-	واين بسطة دار الزعفران فهل	٢٧-	راى شبيها لها فى الحسن انسان
٢٨-	كذا المرية دار الصالحين فكم	٢٨-	قطب بها علم غوث له شان
٢٩-	واين مالقة مرسى المراكب كم	٢٩-	ارست بساحلها فلك وغربان

وذى فنون له حدق وتبيان	وكم بداخلها من شاعر فطن	٣٠-
وجنة حولها نهر وبستان	وكم بخارجها من منزل فرج	٣١-
وان يا قوم ابطال وفرسان	واين جارتها الزهر او قبتها	٣٢-
بدا له فى العدا فتك وامعان	وكم شجاع زعيم فى الوغا بطل	٣٣-
تبكيه من ارضه اهل وولدان	كم جدلت يده من كافر فعدت	٣٤-
ورد توحيدها شرك وطغيان	ووادى آش غدت بالكفر عامرة	٣٥-
عسى البقاء اذا لم تيق اركان	قواعد كنّ اركان البلاد فما	٣٦
كما بكى لفراق الالف هيمان	تبكى الحنيفية البيضاء من اسف	٣٧
قد افقرت ولها بالكفر عمران	على ديار من الاسلام خالية	٣٨
فيهن الا نواقس وصلبان	حيث المساجد صارت كنائس ما	٣٩
حتى المنابر ترثى وهى عيدان	حتى المحارب تبكى وهى جامدة	٤٠
ان كنت فى سينة فالدهر يقظان	يا غافلا وله فى الدهر موعظة	٤١
ابعد حمص تغر المرء اوطان	وماشيا مرحا يلهيه موطنه	٤٢
وما لها مع طول الدهر نسيان	تلك المصيبة انست ما تقدمها	٤٣
ادرك بسيفك اهل الكفر لا كان	يا ايها الملك الحمراء رايته	٤٤-
كانها فى مجال السبق عقبان	وراكبين عتاق الخيل ضامرة	٤٥
كانها فى ظلام النقع نيران	وحاملين سيوف الهند مرهفة	٤٦
لهم باوطانها عز وسلطان	وراتعين وراء البحر فى دعة	٤٧
فقد سرى بحديث القوم ركبان	اعندكم نبا من علم اندلس	٤٨
اسرى وقتلى فما يهتز انسان	كم يستغيثوا بنى المستضعفين وهم *	٤٩
وانتم يا عباد الله اخاوان	ما ذا التقاطع فى الاسلام بينكم	٥٠
اما على الخير انصار واعوان	الا نفوس ابية لها همم	٥١
احال حالهم كفر وطغيان	من ذا لذلة قوم بعد عزهم	٥٢
واليوم هم فى بلاد الكفر عبدان	بالامس كانوا ملوكا فى منازلهم	٥٣
عليهم من ثياب الذل اللوان	فلو تراهم حيارى لا دليل لهم	٥٤
لهالك الامر واستهوتك احزان	ولو نظرت بكاهم عند بيعهم	٥٥
كما تفرق ارواح وابدان	يا رب ام وطفل حيل بينهما	٥٦
كانما هى لؤلؤ ومرجان	وظفلة ما رات الشمس اذ طلعت	٥٧
والعين باكية والقلب حيران	يقودها العلج للمكروه مكرهه	٥٨
ان كان فى القلب اسلام وايمان	لمثل هذا يذوب القلب من كمد	٥٩
تزخرفت جنة الماوى بها شان	هل للجهاد بها من طالب فلقد	٦٠-
فازت لعمرى بهذا الفضل شجعان	واشرف الحور والولدان تحق كما	٦١-
ما هب ريح الصبا واهتز اغصان	ثم الصلاة على المختار من مضر	٦٢-

*٤٩ confused, needs correction

(الى اخره) فاجتمع من اهل فاس ايمة الدين و علماء المسلمين كالشيخ الفقيه القدوة ابى عبد الله العكرمى والشيخ الخطيب بجامع الاندلس الفاضل ابى الحسن سيدى على مرشيش والفقيه المدرس ابى عبد الله بن جلال والفقيه ابى عبد الله السراج والفقيه ابى العباس احمد الماواسى والفقيه ابى الفضل سيدى راشد بن راشد الوليدى والفقيه الاجل سيدى محمد بن عبد الرزاق الجزولى والفقيه الاجل الصالح المرابط ابى زيد

سیدی عبد الرحمان بن الشیخ الصالح سیدی محمد المدعو الصغیر صاحب الرقعة والفقیه البرکة المفتی قاضی
القضاة ابی محمد سیدی عبد الله بن سیدی محمد بن معطى العبدوسى وكبراء فاس وصلحاء الناس وکتبوا
للمرابط الخیر ابی عبد الله سیدی محمد سیدی ابی ابراهیم کتابا یرغبون الیه فیه ان یرستعطف مولانا علیا
الشریف لیاتی الیهم عسی ان یکون علی یده کشف ما نزل باهل الاندلس من الحمى فصرف مولانا علیا
الشریف رضی الله عنه همته ووجه وجهته لذلك * وعزم علی التهام تلك المهالك * وسلوك تلك الممالك * فغلب علیه
القضاء والقدر الموقعان فی المکاره * والمنفران الطیر عن اوکاره * واستمر به حال غلبته * الی ان اختار الله له
ما لده ونقله الی رحمته * والحوال والقوة بلله *