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ART. VIII.—*Translation from the Original Arabic of an Account of many Expeditions conducted by the Sultan of Burnu, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali, against various Tribes his Neighbours, other than the Bulāla, &c., inhabitants of the land of Kānim. Translated by J. W. REDHOUSE, Esq., and communicated by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs.*

PREFACE.

IN the name of God the compassionate, the merciful; and may God look favourably upon our prince and prophet Mohammed the elect, the prince of those who preceded as of those who come after him, the messenger sent in victory and conquest, with glad tidings and warnings, to all the spheres of creation; may God look favourably upon him and upon his family, the just, the good, the pure, as also upon his companions, his household, his posterity, and the universality of the church who have responded to his call.

Praise be to God who first originated existence by His wisdom, and commanded that obedience be shown to Himself and to His prophet (may God look favourably upon him, and grant him peace), as an establishment of His evidence, and as the crowning work of His grace. He created of His power and will two mates of every thing, as He has manifestly declared in His scripture revealed to His best creature. He formed of water all living things, that they might believe; he excited their attention by the effects of His creative power, that they might surely know. And after having called all things into existence, he preferred the children of Adam to honour, and he confirmed this by what they built, which shall not be laid waste by the artifice of any demolisher. He divided them into two conditions, salvation and perdition, by a pervading decree of providence, one class for heaven, one class for the fire of hell. He is not to be questioned as to what He does, neither can any one retard the execution of His command. Nothing, even the weight of a mote, on earth, or in the firmament is divorced

from His extensive knowledge. He knows every furtive glance of the eyes, and what is concealed in breasts, and in His hand is the incoming and the outgoing of every matter. He is the first and the last, the outside and the inside, the origin and the result; He is the loving, the mindful of services, the rewarder, the punisher, the giver, the preventer, the guide, the confounder, the acceptor of penitence, the merciful, the mighty, and the pardoner. O our brethren, resigned ones of Islām, God has created us and you among those who shall inherit paradise, (of which the Kur 'ān says) "*they shall therein be everlasting;*" and has sheltered us and you from the wrath of our Lord and from the torment of hell. He is the hearer of prayer, Amen. There is no power or ability except by God, the highest, the very great. There is no God but He, the Lord of the throne, the beneficent.

Know ye, then, that what stirred us to the composition of this work at the present time, is a book which we have seen, the compilation of the elder, the legist, Mesfermā-'Umer, son of 'Othmān, in the reign of his Sultan, the just, righteous, pious, brave, intrepid king, Idris, son of 'Alī, son of Ahmed, son of 'Othmān, son of Idris, the pilgrim to the sacred house of God (may God bless the realm of his grandchildren, his state, and his majesty, to the day of the last trumpet; Amen). When, therefore, we became acquainted with that composition, dated from the expedition against Sim, the incidents and accidents of which are therein related, we formed the design to perform a similar work to it on the reign of our Sultan, who is the legist, the just, pious, religious, righteous, faithful to his engagements, and brave king, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, son of Idris, son of 'Alī, son of Ahmed, son of 'Othmān, son of Idris, the pilgrim to the sacred house of God, of the lineage of Umā, son of 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, and of the stock of Seyf, son of Dhī-Yezn, of the pith of Kureysh, and of the marrow of Himir (may God bless his successor with a great blessing, for the sake of the prince of mankind, Muhammed the elect, and his posterity, upon him and upon them may God look favourably and grant peace, for He is our trust, and a very present help in trouble).

The high priest Ahmed, son of Furtū, of the tribe of Muhammed, son of Māni, commenced writing this book on a Sunday, the third day from the end of God's month Réjeb the single, in the city of Burni. We have not done this out of vainglory, or hypocrisy, or dissimulation, or pride; but as a work due from a successor as following in the footsteps of his forerunners, and as a noble undertaking, even though we are one of the vile. God is the governor

of secret motives, and the pardoner of sins. To relate the benefits we receive is a species of thanksgiving, to conceal them totally is ingratitude. To every period its men, and the rise of every one is according to his creed and his watching for opportunity. The chief quality of leadership is the jewel of equity, by which is justified the obedience of every man to his leader; he precedes them and they follow him, and he guides them to heaven by their reins, after their registers are given into their right hands, and after their being congratulated on account of their salvation and their belief, their having stood upright for their final sentence to be passed, and their knowledge of every kind of retribution for or against them. The virtue of equity is well known, its exercise by a king for one day is equal to sixty years spent in prayer; its mentioners are numerous. The incentives to sovereignty and to the fulfilment of its duties are innumerable, nor can the various passages of Scripture which bear testimony thereto be fully fathomed. The house in which there is an unjust monarch is better than one altogether void of a monarch. (Examples exist of the noun "monarch" being feminine; there are even proofs of such use in the language of the Arabians, as, for instance, the following distich:

" Verily I shall see thee flying from the tyranny
 " Of this (hæc) monarch—I say: Certainly." •

If this matter be so, how much more will it be true as applied to a just king, in whose heart is the fear of God, and whose injunctions or prohibitions are obeyed according as God gives him power to enforce them. This is why we have undertaken to commemorate the acts and deeds of our Sultan, and what he performed in the time of his reign, whether military expeditions, war against unbelievers, defending the frontiers, or making the highways safe for travelling merchants. We are not equal to the task of recounting his numerous qualities and his abundant perfections; were we to exert ourselves to the utmost in such an endeavour, we should not be able to give a description of the tithe thereof, even in a long space of time. How can any one be able to enumerate his acts when, in one single year, he undertook many expeditions? If the whole of the numerous body of the learned were to unite together to commemorate the same, they would fail in the attempt, and even if they were to relate the whole of his expeditions without any omission whatever, they would not know for certain their order, which took place anteriorly and which afterwards.

Our Sultan Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, son of Idris, accustomed himself to model his conduct upon that of our Prince and our Lord, Muhammed the elect (may the favourings of God and His benedictions be upon him and on all the prophets) during his wars against unbelievers, which he (may God favour and bless him) followed up as a special profession, and in which God (be His praises sung and His name exalted) directed him, and assisted him in all his endeavours, and strengthened him, and helped him to follow the straight path, and exalted him. Look, therefore, unto what the Lord (may His name be exalted and glorified) enabled him to perform, according as we have heard related by our elders who are gone before us, wonderful acts and astonishing administrations, such as no one had been equal to since the retreat of the Sultan Dāwūd the Pilgrim, son of Nikālīh, to the realm of Burnūh¹ until now. We will relate, according to our ability and our weakness, some of the things which we know, for we are incompetent to describe the greater part, even as we have often explained to you before now; for what are these matters and what are you? They relate to what he performed against the tribe of Sew², in obedience to what God (may He be exalted) commanded respecting war with the unbelievers, who were near neighbours of the Muslimin, and at enmity against them. Also, to what he did to the people of the town of Emsekā³, the fortifications of which are said to have been dug before the fortifications of our town, which were dug by the Sultan 'Alī, son of Ahmed. Also, what he did to the people of Kenuh,⁴ when they built in their country many forts, in the design of acting treacherously towards the land of Burnūh, against which they organized plundering expeditions, making spoil of whatever they found, fleeing afterwards to their forts and strongholds, where they placed themselves in security with all that they had in their possession, until such time as he undertook to attack them, out of his high resolve and exalted determination, demolishing and devastating the whole of their buildings without leaving a single one, except the great fortress named Delā only. Also, what he performed when he led an expedition against the tribe of Berber, until the land in its wide extent became straightened unto them, and dearth weighed upon them; so that, arising therefrom, they could find no pasture, nor place to inhabit, in the whole

¹ Burnū is written in various ways by the author. The translator has thought it necessary to follow him.—J. W. R.

² Saw?

³ Musgo?

⁴ Kano?

breadth thereof. Also what he performed in respect to a journey to the town of Eghrem, and to the regions of the Kewār, such as Emer, and the mountain called Eyemma, on which were the enemy of the tribe of Tubu, whom he slew, and whose posterity he took captive, returning thence in triumph and in joy to the town of Fewāni, and to Bulma, where he halted and remained a few days, and where the inhabitants of the town of Jādū came to him with blood-horses as presents to him on their part, since they feared him, and offered their submission until they gained admittance to his presence, and returned from thence under his protection. Look ye, then, again at his journey to the sacred House of God, in order to attain unto the most exalted degree, after having abandoned the beloved sovereignty and the desired majesty, upon the whole of which he turned his back, lending himself as an acceptable loan to his Lord (whose praise be sung), and he performed the pilgrimage, and visited the city of the chosen prophet (upon him be the favour and benediction of the One, the Subduer, so long as the alternation of day and night is repeated); he also took the blessed opportunity to visit (the tombs of) the just, the men from whom were received the word, the blessed (may the satisfaction of the Lord be upon them and His esteem be near them). After that he purchased a house and a palm-grove in the ennobled city, where he took up his abode as a simple worshipper, in hopes of meriting the great reward from the Lord of Majesty. After that, again he turned his steps towards the region of Burnū; and when he reached a town called Burāk, he put to death every one in it who fought against him. These people were powerful, but they became so very much weakened in consequence of this that they became subjects after having long been masters.

Among the various things which God (be He exalted), in His favour, beneficence, and goodness, enabled him to obtain, was the existence of certain Turkish musketeers in his service, and the great number of his born slaves, instructed and cunning in the art of using the musket;¹ so much so, that he was able to combat the people of the town of Emsekā with muskets alone, without using any other kind of weapons, until God (be He exalted) gave him the victory over them, and he seized upon all they possessed.

One of the most astonishing of his good qualities was his prohibition and prevention of scandal by the open practice of

¹ After the pilgrimage to Mecca, the Sultan must have known fire-arms. I therefore translate "musket," and not "cross-bow," which the word "*bunduk*" means as well.—J. W. R.

fornication, so that no open practicer thereof was to be seen in his days; whereas, before that time, the people made no difficulty on the subject, by night or by day, in secret or openly, as though it were in honour among them, and they were violently inclined thereto. He extirpated this and destroyed it, and the countenance of the age became lustrous; he corrected as much as he was able the outward manners of the people, for the secret things pertain unto God, in whose hand is the guidance to right and the seduction to wrong, the giving and the depriving.

Another of the most noble of his customs was his inciting the people to submit themselves to the judgments of the holy law, instead of recurring to worldly government, in their disputes and in their transactions, whether the subject be great or small; whereas, according to what we have heard related, the preponderating voice was formerly that of the chieftains, not of the doctors of the holy law.

Another point is the pains he took to extirpate wrong and malice, treachery and intestine war, from among the Muslimīn, as they had existed between the two tribes of Kubur and Kī, who were constantly committing acts of warfare against each other by way of reprisals; but when our Sultan succeeded to the throne, he prohibited this in the most peremptory manner; so much so, that they became like brothers, loving one another in God.

An enterprise of his, worthy of mention, is his progress, in one single expedition, to the countries of Ghamerkū, Merkī, Kubsh, and to the rocks of Hajar-Mitukuh, and Hajar-Humd.

He further came against the inhabitants of the rocks Hajar-Zebedū and Hajar-Gharasa, who were named the Ghāmū, and who were united (in blood?) with the children of the Sultan Dāwūd, with their grandchildren, and with their relatives. In former times they had been used to make forays into the land of Burnūh, slaying the men, and carrying off the women and children. In the time of our Sultan, however (may God, whose name be exalted, grant him honour in both worlds), he destroyed their confederacy, and broke up their union, excepting such as he confirmed and permitted to inhabit those parts; so that the people of the tribe of Ghāmū, residing among those rocks, submitted themselves universally to his dominion, without dispute and without quarrel.

Also, when the tribe of Ghizm,¹ people of Muklum, Ghamazen, and other places, of the Ghizm nation, lying in the direction of those two, manifested a spirit of haughtiness and obduracy, our

¹ Ngussum?

Sultan went forth against them, accompanied by numbers and in every way prepared, and he cut down their corn and set fire to their dwellings, in the rainy season ; thus did he press upon them to devastate their country, so that they submitted to him and became obedient to him, placing themselves under his rule, and he furnished them with a measure of food, by the might and power of God.

Again, the tribe of Ghizm, dwelling towards the west, and named the Bināwā, could never be persuaded to desist from carrying people away captives from the land of the Muslimīn, or from committing depredations therein ; they would not depart from their evil deeds, but they adopted the castles of the tribe of Bedih as their strongholds, their retreats, and their places of concealment for the plunder they seized, in their perfidious dealings towards the Muslimīn, which they practised by night and by day, without rest or intermission. So when our Sultan succeeded to the sovereignty, he and his chief Vezīr Kursū imagined an excellent plan for putting a stop to their perfidy and unjust actions ; and thereupon they left their evil doings, some of them attaching themselves to our Sultan, some to the Vezīr Kursū, some to others of the chieftains who followed our Sultan to the war ; while the rest of them embraced a settled life, established themselves in a fixed place, and devoted themselves to the pursuits of agriculture and husbandry.

Another of his great exploits is that which he brought about and performed in respect to the tribe of Sew, who dwelt towards the east on the shore of the great river (lake?) Thād, and were known as the Tetāla. Formerly, these were an extremely vicious and wicked race, and it is said of them that they used to provide themselves with water in skins,¹ or some kind of vessels, and then, taking their weapons and their shields, would set out for the populous and cultivated parts of the Muslimīn country, in the design of committing depredations therein, some of them travelling a distance of two or three days' journey, more or less. But when the days of our Sultan came, he prevented them most efficiently from these deeds, and subjected them to many kinds of serious injuries, so that they became subdued, submissive, and abject, some of their towns being laid waste and made utterly desolate.

Know, O brethren, that we have made manifest to you our incompetency, and represented to you our inadequacy to penetrate fully into the acts of our Sultan which he did during the time of

¹ The word here used, bukhas, is not known to the translator.—J. W. R.

his reign, to pourtray them with the pen or by the motion of our fingers; how then shall we be able and competent to do this in respect to his adapting his actions to the greater portion of what is in the Scripture, and in the acts of the prophet, particularly in respect to the customs of war on God's account, which he undertook for the noble cause of God and His abundant reward. For this reason we have reduced the relation of the whole of his military expeditions to what we have expounded in this compilation alone, excepting the expeditions against the tribe of Bulāla separately; which latter we intend also to narrate, if God so will it, showing the principal part of his actions towards that tribe, in an uniform manner, clear and explicit, according to what we know positively of the results of all that we may describe relating to the expeditions which he carried through by the aid and support of God.

We propose now to append to every particular feature of the political acts of our Sultan Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, son of Idrīs, a few anecdotes having a natural connection therewith, and divided by classes, from the subject of the tribe of Sew-Ghafatā to that of Sew-Tetālā, in detail and distinctly, if God will it, so that people of information may know the real state of the case respecting his numerous exploits and the true nature of his wars with the enemies of God; also with what stratagems he combated them, with what cunning he destroyed them, and in what way he arrived at the victory over them all, and at their slaughter. Thus will we follow up the track of what we have done in this book, if God (whose name be extolled) will it, as far as we were spectators of the same, or have heard related. Perfect knowledge belongs to God alone, as does also the complete power of decision.

After completing what we here contemplate, we will compose, if God (whose name be extolled) will it, a relation of what is connected with the affairs of the country of Kānim, in a separate treatise, according to what we witnessed and took note of in our journeyings and travels, in the same manner as was done by the elder, the legist, Mesfermā-'Umer, son of 'Othmān, according to what he knew, in the days of his Sultan, Idrīs, son of 'Alī, son of Ahmed. We have divested ourselves of every kind of doubt that the acts of our Sultan Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, are more important and considerable than the acts of his grandfather, and, if God (whose name be extolled) will it, we will make manifest the reasons why they are more important, when we treat on that matter, so that no one who becomes acquainted with our book

shall remain in ignorance of the same, with the aid and assistance of God our Lord (whose name be extolled), and with his help, and favour, and will; He is our trust, and a very present help in trouble; neither is there any power or ability, except through God most high and most great.

CHAPTER I.

EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE TRIBE OF SEW-GHAFATĀ.

THE time is now come for us to turn to the history of the Sew-Ghafatā, of which we have already made mention; and afterwards we will relate all the particulars of the various tribes that we have mentioned, placing them in a regular series, as we have done in first naming them.

Know then that the relative condition of children, fathers, and forefathers, ancestors in a remoter degree, may be in one of three categories. Some children are in a superior condition to that of their forefathers, and surpass them by attaining to a manifest degree of excellence, and an evident state of merit, while some fall short of their ancestors in a degree that admits of no cavil, and others again resemble their progenitors in regard to their general condition, without having advanced a step or lost any ground. These latter are like a casting which fits into its mould, or like a shoe placed alongside of its fellow, whereas the first-mentioned superiority is an act of grace from God (whose praise be sung, and whose name be extolled) unto His servant, and a portion unto him for the enlargement of his fortune and his inheritance, even as He has explained it in His holy scripture, in the passage relating to His prophets (upon whom be salutation and peace), and also in other passages, so that language is incompetent to make comments thereupon.

Now we have been eye-witnesses of the fact that God (whose name be glorified), out of His very grace and favour, included the condition of our Sultan in this first category; since he brought about and manifested in the time of his sovereignty things the existence of which we had never heard mentioned in the days of any other monarch (may God augment his might and majesty, his excellence, and his posterity, to the end of time).

Even when it is admitted concerning any one, that he is fully

equal to his compeers from amongst his tribe or nation, this is certainly a subject of honest pride to him; we can therefore have no doubt on the subject when he is superior to his fellows, excelling them in adversity and in prosperity. Has not Ibnu-Dureyd spoken in his book in the following manner:

“Of all things which a child of man can acquire, I have been possessed;
“Whereas, of man, there remains after him but his good name?”

and has it not been said also in the same sense:

“Man, after his existence, is but a subject of conversation;
“Be thou therefore a good subject for those who mention thee.”?

and so in truth is it in this matter.

Now our Sultan, the commander of the believers, and representative of the Lord of the universe, the visitor to the two sacred places, Idris, son of 'Alī, son of Idris (may God grant him honour in this life and in the next), when he determined upon making war against the enemy of the tribe of Sew-Ghafatā, and resolved upon destroying them and exterminating them, built a large city opposite to the town of Demesekh, and appointed therein as commanders Shatīma-Biri-Ghatrāma and his son Ejima Ghazma, son of Biri. He arranged four gates for the city, and nominated a warden to each gate; he also established therein a garrison of his soldiers, and commanded every one of his chieftains and leaders who had the ability, and whose valour was known, to build therein houses and to place there a portion of their followers, horsemen with coats of mail and cuirasses. After completing all this, he named the city “the Great Fortress” (Sensa-'l-Kebīra). The inhabitants thereof, who dwelt therein, were men of energy and activity, who never ceased, early or late, from making tours in quest of the enemy, persevering in so doing until God (may His name be glorified) enabled them to destroy his strongholds.

Our Sultan built also a second city to the north of the castle, opposite to the southern fortress, an extensive city, and established therein Shikema-Bumū, arranging two gates to it, the eastern gate and the western gate; more than these he did not make. He strengthened Shikema-Bumū with a great number of his servants of the tribe of Kirdi, so that the city became insufficient to accommodate the throng. So Shikema and those who were with him went in search of the enemy of the tribe of Ghafatā, early and late, without negligence or sluggishness, without carelessness or fail; and they ceased not to act thus until God rent the ramparts of the polytheists and destroyed the strongholds of the wicked.

And when our Sultan had rested from the building of these two afore-mentioned cities, he turned his attention to the means of utterly destroying the nation of unjust dealers. So he sent forth heralds among the whole nation, proclaiming that they should come to him with axes and bucklers, and weapons, with abundant provisions, and that no one should remain behind, whether doctors of law and divinity, or herdsmen, or merchants, so that they might cut down the trees to the north and to the south, and thereby leave no retreat in which the heathen could fortify themselves; and that no excuse would be listened to for holding back from this service, except on the part of invalids who were utterly unable to perform a journey, such as old men bent with age, or the sick, and on the part of women and female slaves. He also commanded the heralds to proclaim in every market-place in Burnū,¹ that the people were to come to him prepared and equipped to complete what he had resolved upon. And the people heard, and obeyed, and complied with what he desired.

When news of this matter was spread abroad, and reached the ears of the polytheists, they came together in great numbers, and those who were of kindred tribes to them joined them also, although they were under subjection to the Sultan and paid the customary tribute, which they then threw up, in order, by collecting together, to prevent the destruction of their trees. The Sultan paid no attention to their assembling, but marched against them with his army, horse and foot, until he reached their trees and their strongholds; this was in the summer season. He then drew up the shieldsmen and bucklersmen in front of the army in ranks; behind these he placed the horsemen clad in coats of mail with armour on their steeds, and not unarmed, also in ranks, and further to the rear again he ranged the axemen behind the horsemen, so that they might cut down the trees in full security as to their persons, and safe from the malice and assaults of the heathen. Mixed with these were the musicians, playing on the lute, the tambourine, the horn, the flute, and other kinds of instruments of amusement and recreation, so as to cheer the body in the cutting down of the trees, and to create mirth and activity, drowning the sense of fatigue.

While our people were thus singularly occupied in carrying out this curious stratagem, the enemy came and attacked them with darts and javelins; they combated a long while, and God (may His name be glorified) gave patience to the Muslimin and firmness to

¹ Burnū.

their feet, so that the enemy could not hinder them from cutting down the trees. Sing, therefore, the praises of God, the Unique, the Subduer.

When the autumn came and the rains fell, and their seed-corn shot forth and grew up, and looked beautiful, and was near being ripe, the Sultan, the Commander of the believers, Idris the Pilgrim (may God grant him honour, as also to his armies), went forth against them, and destroyed their cornfields, leaving nothing whatever standing in them.

Thus the Sultan ceased not to harass them in three different manners; he cut down their trees in the summer, their corn in the autumn, and carried on predatory incursions against them in the winter, until it became insufferable for the heathen to remain any longer in their strongholds. So they abandoned the districts which had been thus devastated, and transferred themselves to other places.

And the next year, when the time was come for cutting down the trees, the Sultan Idris, the Pilgrim, came up, according to his custom, intending to cut down their trees in the town of Māyeh; and the polytheists assembled together, their breasts filled with rage, and they fought a severe battle with the Muslimīn, so that they prevented them from destroying the trees, and the Muslimīn returned to their napping places; at this the polytheists rejoiced on that day with an exceeding great joy, since their trees were not cut down. And they mightily desired to preserve their trees, and imagined that their attack had procured them a great advantage; so they returned to their habitations. But when the Muslimīn reached their napping place, the Commander of the believers was exceedingly wroth with them, and asked how they could do such a thing. So when the Muslimīn acquired precise knowledge of the wrath of their Commander, they were grieved at it extremely, and when the morning dawned they went out against the stronghold of the enemy to cut down the trees. Upon this, the pagans hastened to drive them away, designing to repeat their doings of the day before. With this view they made a most furious attack upon the Muslimīn, who, however, paid no attention to them, but continued the work of cutting down the trees. They then resorted to stratagem in their attack, and divided into numerous parties, who rushed upon our people in different directions; but this also brought them no advantage. Our troops now began to assemble, the horsemen with the archers who had come from the western country :—

“ Lo ! they have an assemblage like the back of the porcupine,
 “ A collection of bows united to their arrows.”

also the bucklersmen. And each leader took up a separate station, and the cutting down of the trees was continued, nor did our people turn back until a long while afterwards, when the sun was high. Thus did they cut down the trees on the second day and on the third, until the whole were destroyed from about the stronghold of Māyeh and that of Bedemh, so that in a short time they arrived at Termuwā ; the Muslimīn being astonished at the rapidity with which the trees had been cut down in so short a time, while the enemy were utterly confounded.

The Sultan now divided his army, and gave permission to each division to return home to attend to their ploughs until the season should arrive which was proper for cutting down trees, or for destroying corn-fields, or for carrying on forays against the enemy, as has already been narrated. And when the enemy fully comprehended the three kinds of compulsion which were thus unintermittingly brought to bear upon them, they became utterly averse to the planting of any corn whatever, unless in such fields as were surrounded on all sides by long reservoirs of water. Thus then was fully established the victory of the Sultan over the men of blasphemy, and the advantage of the household of faith, its chiefs, its leaders, its followers, and its horsemen, when a stop was put to the tillage of the enemy, upon which depended the duration of their existence. Every one then who dwelt in the land of Burnū longed for the destruction of the enemy's strongholds, whereas, previously to this time no such expectation had ever entered the heart of one of them, excepting the Sultan Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, who had disposed the means for its accomplishment, and had trusted in his Lord (whose name be glorified) for the fulfilment and facilitating of the same, who had been accepted by his Divine Master (to whom be all honour and glory), and endowed with wonderful judgment, and a successful power of organization. There is no one among the people of the age who can oppose him or dispute with him ; but on the contrary, all obey him and submit to him, complying with the injunctions of the acts of the Prophet and of the Scripture.

Not one of the household of faith, great or small, and none of the congregation of the heathen, had imagined it possible to extirpate those extensive groves, and upon this had the enemy foolishly grounded his calculations to such a degree, that twice they had come up against the Great Fortress to fight with the Sultan. The

first time they came, they retraced their steps without any meeting taking place between the two armies; for the Sovereign Master (may His Majesty be exalted and His perfection be glorified) sent the thunderbolt of fear into the hearts of the idolaters, people who doubt. Afterwards, they came up the second time, and the two armies met, when God confounded their troops, according to His faithful promise in His eloquent scripture; so they were defeated, and took to flight, retreating to the place whence they had set out, and were followed by the Muslimin, as many as were there, killing and wounding them. Their slain were very numerous, and they were left as the trunks of palm-trees overthrown.

After these events, the Sultan never ceased from harassing them with warfare, and with cutting down the rest of the tragacanth trees, by night and by day, with his slaves and with his free followers. So when their distress became exceedingly great, they came in a great body to the Sultan, making supplications, and offering submission and obedience, abject, and imploring forgiveness, saying "We are thy slaves, thy captives, the same as thy slaves who accompany thee, who obey thy every command; cause us to dwell in whatever place thou wilt." The Sultan was then lodging in the town of Demesekh, and he said to the High Priest Ahmed, the author of these memoirs, "Write down the names of the whole of these people in a public register." So they were brought to him, and he wrote down the name of every one of them, with his distinguishing characteristics, one by one, and completed the registry of them, and counted them. The Sultan, then, with his penetrating mind and sagacious intellect, imagined a new line of policy, and an appropriate system of action, such that never before was the like seen, by the reason that, with the help of God (whose name be glorified) he was a truly wise man. In consequence, he divided them into separate companies, and sent them to different places, some to the town of Dubûshekh, some to the town of Ghâzer,¹ some to Zembem. Thus he dispersed them separately to out-of-the-way distant places.

He then recommenced his work of cutting down the trees, so that he might entirely extirpate the remnant of their groves. And he cut down as many as God (whose name be glorified) had predestined; after which he gave permission to his troops to return to their homes, that is, to such as still remained in that country after the Sultan had gone forth to the holy war. So they went to their own cities, all but the chiefs, the leaders, and the guards, who

¹ Gider?

never leave the Sultan, night or day, while he is in the field on his military expeditions; these remained with him after the departure of the whole of the common people.

The Sultan next proceeded with these followers towards the city of Keblū, that is, near to it; he there divided his chiefs and leaders, sending Kighamma-Muhammed-Kedà, which in Arabic means 'Abdu-'l-Kadīm (*servant of the Ancient of days*), to the town of Dubūshekh, with his troops, on a Saturday, to slay the pagans of the Ghafatā tribe; he dispatched Jīrīma-Ibrāhīm, with his people to the town of Zembem, and Mulimer-'Abdu-'llāh-Hafnū, with his followers, to Ghāzer, to kill the enemies on a Saturday. He also sent Yerīma-Ghuti, with his clan, to the town of Ghurū; he sent Shikema-Muhammed, son of Ferkma, with his attendants, in the direction of Ghamkā, to put to the sword the pagan enemies who dwelt towards the north from the sea (*qu., river or lake?*). And he gave his commands to every one of them to slay the enemies dwelling in the places to which he was sending them, on the Saturday, without deferring it to another day. So each of them set out for the place to which he was ordered, on the Thursday.

After the Sultan had arranged these matters, as we have related, he came to Keblū, where he performed his congregational public devotions of the Friday; and when the night descended upon him, and he had performed the night prayer, he departed with such of his forces as were with him, marching in the dark moonless night towards the east, in the direction of the town of Māmukh. When the dawn appeared, and the time of morning prayer was come, being nigh to the said town of Māmukh, he alighted and performed his prayer; after which he mounted his steed and led his followers to the pillage of the infidels who dwelt therein. They slew the inhabitants with a most serious slaughter, none of them escaping but those whose hour of death was not come.

Having completed this slaughter and carnage, he turned his rein towards the north, and travelled until he halted in the middle of the forenoon at Demesekh on his return. His commanders also, whom he had sent to different places with orders to slay the pagans, carried out his injunctions to the letter, putting the inhabitants to the sword on the Saturday, in the same way that the commander of the believers had done on his part. So the morning was a sad one for those who had been denounced, and sorrowful was the latter end of the unbelievers.

Such are the true rules of action for kings, whom God has appointed for the execution of what is right and the extirpation of

what is wrong, who follow the book of God (may His name be glorified) the All-wise, and the acts of His holy prophet (upon whom, and upon whose lineage, be the most perfect ascriptions of peace and salutation); and in conformity with these safe guides of conduct, the Sultan Idris the Pilgrim drove out his enemies of the tribe of Sew-Ghafatā, ridding the regions of Burnū of their presence, by which he conformed himself to the recommendation of our apostle and prophet, Muhammed (may God look upon him with favour, and grant him peace), as the companions of the prophet had conformed themselves before him, and those also who succeeded them. Again, from his scrupulous attention to perform the precept of the scripture and of the acts of Muhammed, he referred the discussion or decision of all matters to the learned doctors of the law and divinity, and hung his halter upon their necks in every design (may the omniscient Ruler of all things reward him with a rich recompense in this world and in the next).

We will now return to the history of the limits of the cutting down of the trees. The trees of our enemies commenced, to the south of the sea (*river*, or *lake*), at the town of Kesdir (or Kessidr), as far as the town of Kirki, or the town of Bedna; to the north of the sea (*lake*, or *river*), at the town of Ghatwa, or of Daghambi, as far as the town of Dibā, or of Kuwekwa. All this extent was swarming with our enemies, the unbelievers of the tribe of Ghafatā, who never relaxed from acting treacherously towards the land of Burnū, night or day, according to this their custom from of old, until the time of the reign of our Sultan Idris the Pilgrim (whom may God prefer to honour in this world and also in the next), when God (whose name be glorified) facilitated unto our great King Idris the Pilgrim the destruction of those Ghafatā enemies in various ways.

For instance, when the Sultan alighted at the town of Bedruguhuh pursuing his well-known custom of cutting down the groves of the enemy, with the whole of his forces, horse and foot, bucklersmen and archers, musketmen, axemen, and others in great numbers, they began to cut down the trees there, and extirpated them in a few days. And when he resolved to disperse his troops to their several homes, on a Thursday, he commanded his chiefs and leaders to slay the tribe from Ghidamh towards every district and every direction; so they put them to death until the number of the slain could not be known.

Again, as the Sultan was once returning from an expedition against Kenuh towards Burnū, and had travelled until he halted at

the town of Rūni in the forenoon, he passed his napping time there also; and when the afternoon was past he set out again with his forces in an easterly direction in quest of the enemy who were in the interior of the Great Fortress, so that he might put them to the sword and rid the fortress of them. Accordingly, he came upon them unawares, by the aid and succour of God, finding them in great numbers, of whom not one escaped by becoming aware of his approach; so he slew them all, even to the last man, without leaving one alive; he even put to death the man Bagha, who had passed backwards and forwards between them and the Muslimīn. So they were utterly destroyed. And the distress of the enemy reached such an extremity that they dispersed themselves among places inhabited by people of Burnū of the tribe of Tūreh and others, in order to save their lives by this stratagem. But when our Sultan gained intelligence thereof, he sent out his officers to make inquiry concerning them in the villages, commanding them to slay every one of them that they could find; and they did so.

Then these people understood that the land of Burnū was too confined for them, as they could find therein no place for residence or for refuge. Upon which they left the country of Burnū, and retired to the fastnesses which they had still remaining in the district of Bekedwā and others lying towards the east. The Sultan followed after them, with the Muslimīn, and, according to the old system, cut down their trees, and made forays upon them; the scouts and the foremost of our horsemen came up with them, and slew all the unbelievers they could find unawares. So they were routed, and fled, and shut themselves up in their strongholds. The remainder of our army then came up, and our Sultan alighted in the town of Bekedwā, so that the Muslimīn were collected in a body; after which, they sallied forth in search of the pagan habitations, in order to build Muslim houses in their stead, so as to have a shelter from the eyes of men, from the wind, and from the heat of the sun. Upon this the enemy took to setting their houses on fire themselves, from that time, before the Muslimīn had fired any of them; for fear fell upon their hearts, as it is written in the page of the revelation of the Lord most glorious; thus they went in dread of the Muslimīn, the obedient people of the Lord of heaven and earth. Arrant cowardice was also sent upon them, and baseless panic, to such a degree that they could no longer distinguish a he-camel from a she-camel, a cow from a bull, a ewe from a ram, a goat from a sheep, or a lamb from a kid; they became so that they

knew not the number of the days, of the months, or of the years, even as the poet Būsīrī says :

“ The nights pass, but they know not the number thereof,
“ Nor which belong not to the nights of the sacred months.”

And after these things, the Sultan marched from that place, and dispersed his army, according as he had done in his first expedition.

One of the surprising acts of our Sultan consisted in his commanding the inhabitants of the Great Fortress to come up in the direction of the misbelievers on such and such a day, so as to deceive and mislead them, causing them to suppose the design of attacking them was entertained when it was not so in reality ; but the object was to get them to leave their stronghold and come out into the open country, without any real fighting taking place, so that perhaps an opportunity might be found of getting between them and their stronghold, and of thus defeating them. So those inhabitants attended to this injunction and complied with the command, taking up their weapons of war, and coming against the enemy as had been arranged by the Sultan. And accordingly the misbelievers came out of their stronghold against them, upon which, our people, of their own accord, made a show of taking to flight, and the misbelievers pursued them into the plains, in such manner that when they came close up with them, these inhabitants of the Great Fortress retired further back in the design of alluring them forwards, and waiting for the Sultan to make his appearance. The misbelievers did not in the slightest degree detect the stratagem or device, but continued in total ignorance of it until the Commander of the believers, Idrīs the Pilgrim, marched from the town of Ghayawā towards day-dawn, and advanced in the direction of the enemy at an accelerated pace, taking the lower road which skirts the stronghold and passes between it and where its inhabitants had advanced to. Thus he advanced with that part of his forces which he had taken with him. So when he approached near to the stronghold, the people of the Great Fortress beheld the cloud of dust and column of black dust ; upon which they charged the misbelievers with great violence, being rejoiced at the arrival of the Sultan. On the other hand, when the sinners saw behind them the dust raised by the Sultan in the air, they fully and perfectly comprehended its meaning, and turned their faces towards the stronghold of their safety ; but the Sultan with his troops

intercepted the road between them and the stronghold, and on that day in which God (may His name be glorified) gave the victory to the Sultan, not one of them escaped, not even the man who, being an atheist, had sometimes joined the Muslimin, and again gone over to the misbelievers, who was named Muhammed, son of Maghuwa, who was killed among the last of his tribe as he was fleeing towards the stronghold. So the Sultan obtained in that place a most signal triumph, and the whole army of the Muslimin rejoiced exceedingly, returning in the evening to their Fortress, which they entered in the beginning of the nightfall. Behold ye then this surprising plan and astonishing stratagem of this politic prince, this noble monarch! Neither did our relative circumstances alter, by day or by night, until rock or stronghold became too much straitened for them; such were his modes of action.

According to what we have heard narrated by persons worthy of credence, the servants of the Sultan who resided in the town of the Fortress (Sensenh), people of the tribe of Kerda, bucklersmen, marching on foot, and not horsemen, used to cover their bodies with the leaves of trees, and sit in the path of the misbelievers, waiting their passage and approach; if they were adult men, they used to kill them at once, but if women or children, they would carry them off, sparing their lives in the design of selling them.

It is also said, that some of these servants of the Sultan would go by night to the town of the misbelievers when they were asleep and reposing, so as to take the enemy unawares, and this to a degree such that a further residence in those parts became very difficult for them, especially with the scarcity of provisions which had fallen upon them; so that their insides were, like their skins, exposed to the effects of our hostilities, through the hunger which they suffered. Such was their state, and such their condition, until the time came when they were definitively and utterly routed.

And when the year was come in which God (may He be lauded and glorified) had decreed their expulsion from their stronghold, through His assistance and will, the Commander of the believers, and representative of the Lord of the universe, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali, came up with the whole of his forces, in the same way that the polytheists also collected together all their strength to oppose him. He halted at the town of Bedkurū, or near thereto, and the Muslimin commenced their work of cutting down the trees that remained; the enemy came forth to prevent them from doing so, but they were not successful in their endeavour. So each day

they expended their strength and their energies in attempting some new device, but they failed in whatever they undertook. At length they gathered all together in a grand council, in which it was deliberated and agreed upon to attack the Muslimin with their whole strength by night when they should be asleep. So when the night came and people had retired to their couches to sleep, and when sound and motion were stilled in the camp, they came upon the east side of the Muslim array in great numbers, and rushed upon them, wounding some of those they encountered. The troops stationed in that quarter of the camp were soon in motion, but those distributed over the remainder of the encampment did not stir, or take any notice of the enemy's arrival at that hour wherein they had expected to obtain a victory over us. When the enemy perceived this by a kind of instinct, they turned back, and in the morning were pursued by the Sultan and his troops, who followed them up closely. At length the two bodies came in sight of each other, and the Muslimin charged the enemy, who were routed and took to flight without any attempt at a rally, and retired into their stronghold. The Sultan then passed through the town of the tribe of Dughūta, where he put to the sword those who had rebelled and acted treacherously. Afterwards the whole of the Ghafatā people who were in the stronghold, came out therefrom, without one remaining behind, and they departed and went over to other tribes of the enemy, of their own race, namely, the tribe of Sew-Tetālā, among whom they took up their abode, and in whose territory they built themselves houses, and dwelt there a short time.

But when the rainy season was come, they would make incursions into the land of Burnū, in the design of committing depredations and making havoc, returning again to the Tetālā country as soon as the rains were over. Such ceased not to be their practice, going and coming backwards and forwards between Tetālā and Burnū. As soon, however, as our Sultan was informed of this new feature, he followed them into the country of the Tetālā, with his forces; and when they comprehended that the Sultan was not likely to leave them undisturbed in that place, they were seized with fear, and emigrated as fugitives in a body to Menderā,¹ taking up their abode between the country of Menderā and that of Ghamerkū, in a district named Berera, which they adopted as a home and as a stronghold.

News of these people having established themselves in the

¹ Wandala?

above-named place, soon reached the ears of the great king, the brilliant Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God grant him honour now and hereafter), he completed his preparations, and marched against them with his army, encountered them in the country they had thus chosen, and slew of them in the battle so great a number, that none could compute the amount of the killed, unless it be God himself; after which time, the camping place of this people became of as little consideration as the motes in the air. The Sultan returned with his forces to Burnū in safety, laden with spoil, joyful, and of good cheer. Those infidels, after this expedition, could not rest in any part of the country, but a part of them, the tribe of Dughūtiḥ, small in numbers, migrated to the land of Kānim.

This is what I have been able to ascertain relating to the events connected with the tribe of Ghafatā, and no person has kept a memoir of what took place between them and our Sultan; for which reason we have kept within narrow bounds, mentioning only a few circumstances out of a host of facts, according to our ability and deficiency. May abundant thanksgivings be offered unto God, whose name be extolled, for he is an excellent Lord, and a perfect helper.

CHAPTER II.

EXPEDITION AGAINST EMSIKĀ, AND PASSAGE BY MENDERĀ, GHAMERKŪ, AND MERGHIL.

WITH the permission of God (whose name be glorified) we shall now turn to the description and relation of the history of the land of Emsikā.¹

The inhabitants of the country of Emsikā are not of one single tribe, but they are a mixed people, comprising various races. They have no permanent prince, but they built a fortress or stockade, to the east of the country of Menderā, surrounding the same with a long ditch. They then became insolent and oppressive, obstinate and self-esteemed, in a high degree, persisting in this conduct for a long space of time, neither had it ever entered into the mind of any man to attempt to destroy the virus of their perversity, or even to temper it; and they were never tired or backward in

¹ Musgu ?

committing injuries upon the people, without end and without ceasing.

We have heard it affirmed by persons of knowledge and veracity, that Kighama, son of Burzī, and the Sultan 'Alī, sovereign of Yemtil, used to join together and undertake military expeditions in alliance against every country, the inhabitants of which were misbelievers, excepting only the country of Emsikā. They refrained from attacking this country, and were repugnant thereto, only by reason of the obstinacy with which the inhabitants fought, and because of the difficult nature of their strongholds. Such was the degree of power to which this people had formerly reached, and which they retained all the days of the Sultan 'Alī, son of Ahmed.

And when the days of the reign of our Sultan Idrīs were come (may God, whose name be glorified, grant him honour now and hereafter), he was astonished at the position occupied by the inhabitants of that country, at their extreme insolence, overbearing, and waywardness. So he went up against them, with the grace of the Universal Benefactor, in company with the sovereign of Yemtil, to ascertain their circumstances, their stratagems, their mode of warfare, and their refractory spirit. So when they had posted themselves in the neighbourhood of the fortress of that people, fighting ensued between the two parties without delay or procrastination. And the battle between that people and the Muslimīn was very severe, so that they prevented the latter from reducing their fortress. Upon which, the Sultan departed from them at that time, returning with his forces to his own country, as did also the sovereign of Yemtil on his part, and the matter was allowed by the Sultan to stand over for a few years, on account of a scheme which he imagined.

When the time approached, however, in which God (whose name be glorified) had decreed their destruction on the preserved tablet of fate, the Sultan ordered his horses to be picketed in the spot called Ghūkā¹, according to the custom established in the country of Ghūkā, in order to feed them up and fatten them. The time being come, they were loosened from their pickets, and passed in review before the Sultan, who caused them to be exercised for a few days; after which, he marched from Ghūkā in God's month of Rejeb the solitary, after performing his noon and afternoon prayers. He travelled in the evening in the direction of the town of Seda, which is a place of assemblage for the army, when the bases of the

¹ Kukawa.

conditions of service are first agreed upon. He alighted there in the forenoon of the second day, and remained there two nights, during which the whole of his forces were assembled around him from every quarter of the country; he marched on the third day, advancing towards the misbelieving tribe of Tetālā, and passing in his journey near to the people of the town of Tewātih, who were taken by surprise, and were all put to death, none escaping but such as were absent from the town, or those whose allotted term was not yet come.

The Sultan then quitted the regions inhabited by the Tetālā and marched towards Emsikā, nor did he cease from journeying during several days, until he had reached the town of Kāsa,¹ and then Senghayā (or Senfeyā), near to Emsikā. When the Lord most great caused the bright morning to dawn, the Sultan and his army moved forwards and arrived at Emsikā in the forenoon, when the inhabitants, perceiving the dust raised by the Muslimīn ascending towards the sky, mounted on to the roofs of their houses and the highest parts of their fortifications, in order to observe what the Muslimīn were doing, and to report the same. So when our troops perceived that the misbelieving polytheists were aware of our approach they wished to send their skirmishers against them. The Sultan, however, prohibited the execution of this idea, commanding them to wait patiently and act with circumspection. He then passed on in the direction of the fortress, opposite thereto, and going beyond round by the south side of it, halted near the east gate, at a distance of about a heat of a horse in exercise.

When the Sultan had thus alighted, the whole army unsaddled their horses and beasts of burden in that same place, where he and they all passed the night until dawn of day. The inhabitants of Emsikā thereupon added insolence to insolence, and obstinacy to obstinacy, and wickedness to wickedness; they commenced shouting and rejoicing and merry-making, not exhibiting any signs of uneasiness at the arrival of the Prince and his army against them; for they reposed full confidence in the determination with which they were accustomed to fight, and in the strength of their fortress. It is even related that they taunted the Muslimīn by saying to them: "You are as you were, and we have not changed our original qualities; neither side has been subjected to alteration of any kind, and nothing shall see the inside of our castle and fortress, unless it be the birds." Such was the tenor of their addresses to our people.

Later in the day the Commander of the believers came forward

¹ Waza?

towards the fortress in the design of seriously engaging them; so they mounted on to their battlements, and threw a perfect shower of darts and arrows against us. Not one of the Muslimin could stand up on any side of the fortress without becoming a mark for their arrows, and their hard stones which break men's heads when they strike them; for the fortress was well filled with people. The Sultan then commanded the Muslimin to fill up the ditch which surrounded the place, with the stalks of millet which they cultivate for their food; and this plan was persevered in with great ardour for two or three days. But as soon as the Muslimin returned to their quarters in the evening, the enemy came out and carried away all the stalks that had been thrown into the ditch, so that nothing remained. Much time having been thus lost, the Sultan commanded the whole army to change its position, and to take up fresh quarters near the fortress on the north side; this they did, and these occurrences took place in God's month of Sha'bān.

The morning following this change of position, the Muslimin came forth in the design of filling the ditch of the fortress. And the trumpet was sounded, and the flute and all kinds of instruments of music, in the interior of the place, the inhabitants of which made every sort of preparation to combat the Muslimin, exerting themselves to increase their resistance by various tricks and stratagems. The first and most formidable of these consisted in a house in which fire was kindled; the second, poisoned arrows; the third, pots filled with the excrement of pole-cats; the fourth, indurated clay, which, when it strikes the head breaks or smashes it; the fifth, darts as weapons; the sixth, long spears, such as they alone are accustomed to use. These weapons were only a part of their means of defence, nor did they relax in their combats night or day; and if any part of their ramparts was damaged on any occasion a spear's length, and the Muslimin tried to obtain entrance thence into the fortress and possession of the same, they would openly repair the damage with clay in the very faces of the Muslimin, who were unable to prevent it.

In consequence of these proceedings, the Sultan ordered the troops to cut down some tall trees, with which to construct three platforms on the three sides around the fortress, so that musketeers might mount upon these and fire in the easiest and most advantageous manner upon the enemy occupying the sinuosities of the ramparts; and this was done according to his commands. He next excited the troops to fill the ditch of the fortress with earth instead of millet stalks; this also they complied with and performed, until

they had filled up a good proportion of the ditch with earth, and the spot had become a level piece of ground. They then commenced demolishing and breaking down the ramparts themselves with hatchets and axes, until they made a considerable breach in the wall of the fortress. Thus did they press and distress the enemy.

The Commander of the believers, the representative of the Lord of the universe, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God, whose name be glorified, grant him honour in this world and in the next), was a Prince of sound judgment and possessing great sagacity of view. An instance of this was the order he issued to the whole of his army not to take precedence of the musketeers in throwing missile weapons, lest their stock of weapons should be expended and they themselves remain unarmed, and also that the stock of weapons in the possession of the misbelievers should become exhausted, and they should remain empty-handed, when it would be easy to triumph over them. Results proved the truth of these considerations; for the misbelievers commenced to throw large quantities of darts and arrows against the Muslimīn, while our people occupied themselves diligently with collecting together every weapon with which they were assailed, and brought them all to the Prince. What numbers there were of them! None could tell the quantity but God (whose name be glorified).

At length the enemy exhausted their stock of darts, none remaining in their possession; and upon that the misbelievers collected together all the blacksmiths who were in the fortress, demanding their assistance in the manufacture of darts, and the Muslimīn who were outside of the fortress could hear the din of the strokes of the hammers upon the great post (which is underground, and which is of iron, grafted upon a root,) as they forged new missiles. They then recommenced shooting at us with these new arrows smeared over with clay (for the stock of original poisoned arrows was exhausted) to frighten the Muslimīn and make them suppose they were poisoned.

When the Muslimīn, after filling up the ditch of the fortress, commenced breaking down the wall thereof with axes and hatchets, they soon threw down a portion of it on the western face, which the defenders were not able to repair; and after a short while they demolished an angle, and also destroyed a piece in the middle. Upon this, the misbelievers were troubled in their minds, lost their wits, and remained bewildered and terrified. The day was then waxen old, little remained ere it also would fall in ruins, and ultimately, the sun set. This was on Saturday, the 30th and last day of the

month Sha'bān, and, after sunset, the new moon of Ramazan was descried, being seen from that very place. The Sultan, therefore, performed his sunset prayer in that spot, and felt a disinclination to retire from thence; he, therefore, gave orders for a tent to be erected, saying he would pass the night in the midst of his troops. He also commanded the big drum to be struck at different times, so as to alarm the misbelievers; and God sent great fear upon their hearts, and exceeding timidity. They were seized with trembling and agitation, and in that moonless night they fled from the fortress, being pursued by the Muslimīn, who slew their men, and made captives of their women and children, using all diligence and making every effort, without sloth or delay, so that but few of the misbelievers escaped. The Muslimīn afterwards returned in the middle of the night in safety, with much booty, victorious and rejoicing; no one having been hurt among them, excepting only one man, known as Ejiyema, son of Kelī, who fell a martyr to the cause of religion in some part of the night (may God grant him His pardoning grace).

The Muslimīn then passed the night in the intention of observing the fast on the morrow. And when the day broke, the prince commanded his people to cut down the trees that were within the fortress; which they did, leaving not one. Many of the enemy were killed inside the fortress, more than could be counted, so that the stench of the slain and of the carcasses was very grievous to our people in our camp. The Sultan then commanded his troops to collect all the adult male captives of the misbelievers into one place, and when they were so collected, he ordered them to be slaughtered by his Kurdish servants, who performed his bidding, so that not one was left alive.

The Sultan then gave permission, by beat of drum, for the return homewards. He broke up his camp and led his troops from Emsikā after the news and the fame of all the particulars relating to this expedition had been spread abroad and reported, concerning what had happened to those rebellious, sinful, obstinate, and perverse wretches, so that tidings of the same reached the four points of the compass, and the dwellers far and near became acquainted with the facts, and recognized the prowess of our active monarch. The inhabitants of every quarter came out to meet him, bringing many presents, and giving assurances of respect and submission, wherever they were, and wherever they dwelt, when he destroyed that fortress which had resisted every one before him, and when he gained possession thereof, and made it as

the dust scattered abroad. And they who brought these presents, did not cease to pay tribute, according to ancient custom, every year, and they added obedience to obedience, while the Muslimīn who were present had full cognizance of every thing which we have here related.

This is what has come to our knowledge in relation to the town of Emsikā and our great Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim (to whom may God grant honour now and hereafter). We are not able to relate the whole of his acts towards them, by reason of our deficiencies and incapacity, as we have previously expressed to you, so as not to require repetition, which breeds repugnance.

When our Sultan, the Commander of the believers, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God grant him honour now and hereafter), took his departure from Emsikā with his forces, he took the road towards the west, in the design of coming upon his enemies in Ghamerkū. He did not, however, divulge this to the army, but confined it within his own breast, the supposition of the Muslimīn being that he intended to return to Burnū, without any different idea occurring to them. They advanced then in this fashion; and when they had passed by Menderā, he marched secretly in a moonless night with his forces, at a rapid pace, arriving thus at Behwā of Ghamerkū, taking the inhabitants by surprise. He put them to the sword, making their families captive, without its being known how many were killed of the enemy or were made captive of their families, unless it be by God (whose name be glorified).

According to what we have heard from persons whose word can be relied on, no one had ever made war on Ghamerkū, neither the Sultan of Yemtiḥ, nor the Sultan of Magheyh, nor the Sultan of Menderā, nor any one else, openly; but only such as held that people a secret grudge and acted by stealth in the hope of taking them unawares. If it was known that they had obtained intelligence of the design, and were prepared, the invader would retire in flight to the place from whence he had come, so that they should not overtake him and subject him to harm. These were the relations subsisting between the whole race of Sultans and the country of Ghamerkū. In fact, according to what has been related to us concerning them, the falcon never pounces upon the chicks of the hens of Ghamerkū, from fear of the great numbers of the inhabitants, and of their poisoned arrows; thus have we heard people express their opinions.

When our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim (may God grant him honour now and hereafter), halted in the forenoon with the forces of the

Muslimin, they took no notice of the valorous bearing and great numbers of the inhabitants of Ghamerkū, but they napped there, passed the night there, and marched on the second day in search of them, without a single one of them being seen, those misbelievers having taken to flight in order to save their lives, leaving empty and desert their populous towns.

The Sultan then marched in the direction of the country of Merghi,¹ swerving therefrom afterwards, and taking the direction of Burnū, until he reached the great city of Burni-Delā, when the whole army dispersed to their homes in joy and hilarity with the spoils and booty which they had been able to acquire.

CHAPTER III.

EXPEDITION AGAINST KŪNU, OR KUNUH.

It is proper that we should now enter upon the relation of the affairs of the country of Kūnu, with the permission of Him who, when He wills a matter, and says: "Be," it is.

When the inhabitants of the country of Kunuh² intended to deceive, circumvent, and act treacherously towards the land of Burnū, they invented a new thing which had not existed in the days of their fathers and forefathers of old; they built also in their country many fortresses; namely, one at the town of Kerzā, one at the town of Kelmésenh, a third at the town of Mejiyah, a fourth at the town of Ekluya, a fifth was the fortress called Dulūh, the sixth the fortress named Ewezākih, the seventh the fortress known as Ejyajiya, the eighth, as Sa'iyā, the ninth, the great fortress called Féléki or (Ghaléki), with others besides, the names of which are not known; also one of them was the castle called Key.

Upon this our Prince, the Commander of the believers, Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God grant him honour here and hereafter), gave orders for the trees to be cut down in the country of Key. This was carried out with a firm intention and a singleness of purpose, as were those said fortresses demolished. It was brought about by reason of the evil design conceived by the inhabitants of Kunuh, of the wickedness they committed, when they imagined deceit against the land of Burnū, and built the

¹ Marghi?

² Variant.

fortresses mentioned above, and had made incursions into the land of Burnū, fleeing into the nearest of these their strongholds with what they had plundered from the Muslimin, and secreting themselves with their booty before they could be reached by their pursuers from among the people of Burnū, who would then return without having come up with them. Such was the mode of their treachery in all the quarters of the Muslimin, going to and fro between the two countries, without tiring and without intermission.

And when our great Sultan Idris the Pilgrim became aware of their evil deeds, their deceit, and the crookedness of their counsels, he imagined a salutary scheme for the demolition of the whole of their fortresses, upon which he consulted with his warriors, who approved the plan. He therefore commanded them to make themselves ready, and they made provision of axes, hatchets, and all kinds of instruments for cutting and demolishing; after which, they set out towards Kunuh, and the first of their acts there was the demolition of the fortress of Mejiya.

When the Sultan and the Muslimin approached their country, they commenced a desultory kind of warfare against us with arrows and darts, which they discharged in great numbers, so that serious combats took place between them and the Muslimin. After that the Sultan ordered the musketeers to fire a volley upon them all together, which was done with alacrity and in full obedience. This caused them to fall back from us in confusion, and at nightfall they fled into the desert, pursued by the Muslimin warriors, who found much booty and many of the enemy who were weak and infirm. After securing their booty, our people returned to the fortress, and demolished it; so that Mejiya became as the surface of the ground and as an empty plain. And on their return they perceived within the precincts of the fortress many of the slain, both man and beast, lying about; and the Sultan gave orders to march onwards to some other fortress, giving the signal for moving by beat of drum. They therefore marched, and advanced against each of the fortresses, the names of which we have already given in a preceding page. They found the whole deserted, without a single inhabitant, who had dispersed in all directions so soon as news reached them of the fate of the town of Mejiya, and of what had happened to it at the hands of the Muslimin. Our people set about demolishing those fortresses, and they utterly destroyed them, so that not one was left in the land of Kunuh.

Then were the Muslimin, people of the country of Burnū, overwhelmed with joy and gladness, inasmuch as God (may His

name be glorified) had enabled them to destroy the remainder of those fortresses without fighting, without difficulty, without trouble. And there remained none of the new fortresses which had been called into existence in the view of treachery and for strategical considerations. On the contrary, they had all become like the dust raised into the air, or like yesterday, which is past and gone. The fortress of Delà alone remained; and there descended upon the people of Kunuh a deep grief and an intense sorrow, such that God only (may His name be glorified) knows and estimates, the Lord of praise, the God of Majesty. After this the people of Burnū carried several times military incursions into that country, one of which is known as the expedition of Mejefni.

This is what we had to say respecting our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, and what happened between him and the inhabitants of Kunuh, according to what we had understood with our imperfect mind and bewildered intellect. May God grant him honour here and hereafter; He it is who hearkens unto our requests, and fulfils our petitions.

CHAPTER IV.

EXPEDITION AGAINST THE BERBERS CALLED TÉWĀRIK.

WE now proceed to relate what occurred between our Sultan and the Tewārik, who make war on the agriculturist, the depredators, the thieves, who act perfidiously towards the Muslimin, committing havoc in the land, and will not mend their ways, attacking them by night and by day, without intermission. We will also recount the method by which he proceeded to put a stop to their depredations, and to prevent their artifices, their stratagems, and their obstinate opposition, until he had cast them into the ditch of contrition, and given rest to the Muslimin under the shadow of ease and security.

Our Sultan Idris, the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God grant him honour now and hereafter), led in person three military expeditions against the Tewārik; and his Lord (whose name be glorified) gave him power to slay his enemies, besides the expeditions of his chiefs, his leaders, and his people of the tribe of Kelewith, and others; so that, after his expeditions, the tribe of the Berbers became submissive to him, and sought after his justice.

Of these three expeditions which we have named, the first is called the expedition of Siktela, or Butris; the second, the expedition of Denkir, or Terghifa; and the third, the expedition between the town of Ehir¹ and the town of Tādus.

When our Sultan went forth in full preparation for the expedition of Sektela, the inhabitants of that place took flight to the deserts, with their women, their children, and their property. The Sultan followed on their tracks, came up with them towards evening, a little before sunset, and put to death there nine persons of the chief among the combatants of renown. And according to the information given to us, these nine were of the boldest and most zealous among them, men who would not flee from any mortal creature, who swore so before God, that so long as they had life they would not go away. Thus was it related to us in the news brought by the people, both before and after their slaughter; but, in spite of this, God (whose name be glorified) struck them, in his grace and favour, with extreme fear and exceeding cowardice, when our Sultan marched against them; so that they fled from their country. This, however, helped them not; for they perished in one place, without a survivor, and they became like unto nine of the people of the prophet Sālih (upon whom be peace), of whom God (whose name be glorified) makes mention in His sacred Scripture. So, having slain these men, he took captive their women, their children, and their property, returning therewith to Burnū with his army in safety, laden with spoil, victorious, and rejoicing. The chieftains and the guards became rich with what they received from the Sultan out of the fifth of the spoils.

In his expedition against the inhabitants of Denkir, he marched against them, after the necessary preparations, from the town of Kuliya or Lestera, and reached their station in two days' journey; coming upon them in the day time, in the middle of the forenoon. They drew up in battle array with their bucklers, and the Muslimin charged them vigorously on both flanks, right and left, so that they broke through the middle of their line and penetrated to their rear; which, when the enemy saw it, caused them to fall into confusion and take to flight, pursued by the Muslim troops, who slew them and overthrew them with their weapons, until none could tell the amount of their slain, save God (whose name be glorified). No loss befell the Muslimin in this action except one man, a Turk, named 'Ali-Ghār, who was killed.

After this, the great Sultan Idris, the Pilgrim (may God grant

¹ Air!

him honour now and hereafter), turned on one side, and halted for napping time about the period when the sun makes no change in the lengths of the shadows of objects, with the booty which had fallen into his hands, victorious and happy, successful and pleased. He divided this spoil in the midst of the enemy's country, as a taunt and insult to them, as a wound to their pride and arrogance, and in order to give more speedy cause of rejoicing to the hearts of the Muslimīn, as is recommended in passages of holy writ, to which it is needless to make more direct allusion, or to cite textually. The said our Sultan walked in the clear and manifest path indicated in scripture, in the acts of the prophet, and in the doctrines of the learned divines, in all that he did and in all that he undertook, never departing from one of those three guides, or forsaking them, or turning away his face from following them; this is known to those who were familiar with him, and is not unknown to the author, who was one of his contemporaries. Among other things indicative of his virtue may be cited the works which he instituted in his reign by building mosques of clay, whereas before his time they used to be constructed of reeds. He took this circumstance into his serious consideration, and became convinced that it would be preferable and more proper to effect this change; so he caused the whole of the mosques to be pulled down which had been built in the city of Burnū, and rebuilt them of clay, being persuaded as he was of the facilities which attend upon religion, as is declared in the scripture, and in the sayings of the prophet; neither did he seek in these actions for any other thing than the all-sufficient reward promised by the Lord of glory, whose name be extolled, and whose command be exalted.

Another of the circumstances which shed lustre on his reign, is the plan he carried into execution in the question of large-sized ships, with a view to advance the prosperity of the Muslimīn, and facilitate their passing the lakes and rivers in a short space of time and with complete ease and comfort. In days of yore, these ships consisted in trunks of trees hollowed out, such as are used by cattle-drovers as troughs for watering their cattle, and in the barbarous idiom of Burnū were named "*ghafrā*." Whenever the ruler of the day had occasion to pass a river or lake with his troops, he never could accomplish it under two or three days, even though the sailors and shipmen should exert themselves to the utmost of their strength and power. But when the days of the reign of our Sultan Idris the Pilgrim were come (may God grant him honour now and hereafter), he abandoned those trunks of trees, and con-

structed large-sized vessels, so that the people could cross the water with great celerity, while each single vessel, too, was capable of taking on board a great number of persons.

Again, he organized and prepared, for the better execution of the duties of his troops and gallant warriors, a number of camels both for riding and for carrying burthens, whether of provisions, or the necessaries of the soldiers, so that the fatigues of the march should be made lighter to them. In former days, the bulk of the cattle used in warfare and in military expeditions, was composed of oxen, geldings, mules, and donkeys, none of the people at that time making use of any great number of camels for carrying burdens. For this cause, they used to suffer very much on their march while crossing arid tracts where water was not to be found. When, therefore, our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may the Lord of goodness grant him honour now and hereafter), succeeded to the sovereignty, he ordered the chiefs, leaders, and guards, with all who had the ability, to buy camels, so as to diminish the inconveniences of marches and journeys, which are at best but varieties of vexation and trouble, as is stated in our standard moralists. This arrangement was one of the justest of his perceptions and one of the most advantageous of his plans and inventions; had it not been for this, it never would have been possible for the chieftains to march to the town of Agrem, or to the towns of the regions of Durkuh.

The wonderful actions of our Sultan, similar to these which we have related here, are very numerous; we have restricted ourselves to mentioning a few, omitting the greater part, so as not to be prolix and not to cause tediousness. People of judgment who are in possession of a knowledge of the facts, are cognizant of the truth that beyond this pool there is an extensive ocean.

We will return now to what remains to be related of our original theme, the wars against the Berbers, and proceed to mention that our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, marched from the town of Etrebissa, of Kutussih, towards the country of the Berbers, in person, with his army, until he had passed beyond the town of Ghamarmah, using all diligence by the way, with determination and caution. He came up with the greater part of the inhabitants of Ehir¹ in extensive cornfields between the town of Tedessa and the town of Ehir; and he slew the men even to the last, so that not one of them escaped, except those whose fate was not yet sealed. He then turned back, and marched until he

¹ Air?

halted at the town of Zibedū, from whence he proceeded to the town of Sussūbākī¹, remaining there a few days, and returning from thence to the town of Muniyū,² and to the town of Kilirī, where also he remained a few days, and then returned to the country of Burnū, the whole of these events occurring in one and the same year.

However, the Tewārik people had come, before the occurrence of these events, with their assembly of the Telazz tribe and others, in great numbers, demanding of our Sultan that he should march out against them to battle. So when our Sultan heard of their assembling, he being then encamped in the town of Kessimbū, he refused to go out against them in person, by reason of his light estimation of them, and in order to show how trifling and despicable he considered them. He therefore kept quiet himself in that town, and appointed his chief Vezir Kursū, as Captain over the Muslim host, ordering him to go forth against them. The meeting of the two forces was immediate, for they and the Berbers met each other in the place called Aghalwa, the fires of war becoming kindled, and the Tewārik displaying against the Muslimīn considerable firmness for a short time, after which they turned their faces and fled in disorder, pursued by the forces of the Muslimīn, who slew great numbers of them. No one knows the number of those slain, save God alone (may His name be exalted), while none of the Muslimīn were killed, excepting one servitor alone, whose name was Nasr, son of Seleki. The Muslimīn took great quantities of spoil, consisting in camels, slaves, weapons of war, &c., with which they were exceedingly pleased. While they were yet staying in that spot with all these acquisitions, their Prince made his appearance among them, and found them triumphant and rejoicing.

After this, the Sultan commanded that every inhabitant of the country, whether of the tribe of Ketitih, or others, should make incursions against the lands of the Berbers, at all seasons, by night as well as by day, until they should depart from the dominions of Burnū, and go far away into the most distant wildernesses. So when the people heard these injunctions of the Sultan, they set, with all their might and main, about the execution thereof, by carrying on forays against the Berbers, morning, noon, and night; so that, by reason of their multiplied expeditions they drove them out entirely, and expelled them to remote parts; insomuch that extreme misery and privation befell them and their property, and they were forced to beg that war should cease between them and

¹ Baki?

² Muniyū.

the Muslimin, never to happen again. Thus, by reason of their losing their pasture-grounds, and suffering various kinds of evil, they were brought to demand peace of the Sultan in the most humble and abject manner, in order that their cattle should not be totally destroyed, and they themselves perish in consequence. Peace was therefore concluded between him and them, and permission was granted to them to return to the parts of the country from which they had been driven. This course was adopted by the Sultan in compliance with what is inculcated in the Scripture, the word of which is truth and justice, and in reliance upon the God of all created beings. The Berber shepherds became thus obedient and submissive subjects of the Sultan, paying no attention to the lord of Ehir,¹ or caring anything about him; on the contrary, they contracted allegiance to the Sultan, and abandoned that of the lord of Ehir completely. This is what remains in our recollection of the events which occurred between our Sultan and the Berbers. From God (whose name be exalted) comes all success, and He it is who vouchsafes unto us our companions.

CHAPTER V.

EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE RULER OF MERGHI,² AGAINST THE USURPER OF MENDERĀ,³ THE VARIOUS MARAUDING TRIBES OF GHIZIM,⁴ THE TRIBE OF TETĀLĀ, THE TOWNS OF KUSUR AND SEBELFUTUH, ELARIBA, GHAZEZLIH, &C.

PASS we now on to the relation of what concerns the ruler of Merghi-Magheyh.⁵ The ruler of Merghi, who was named Edweh, had been accustomed to follow our Sultan in all his military expeditions, in the same manner as the chieftains of our land of Burnū. Upon this footing were we with him a certain inconsiderable time, after which he became refractory, and rebelled, showing a haughty and self-sufficient spirit, utterly refraining from following the Sultan. As often as the Sultan required his attendance, so often did he persevere in his refusal; whereupon the Sultan set out in quest of him, and marched to Kufsih, to the rocks called Hajar-Mitkuh, and to those called Hajar-Humdi, where he found

¹ Air?

² Marghi.

³ Wandala?

⁴ Ngussum?

⁵ Molghoy?

the chief wife of the ruler, named Kumsu, and everything that she had with her of the nature of abundant stores of provisions. After that, the great King, Idris the Pilgrim, turned back again, having thus cut up the root of the plottings and designs of the ruler, and took up his abode in the ancient city. The ruler of Merghi then came to the city of Burni, and entered into the presence, and sat down opposite the Sultan in a kneeling position, and recumbent, casting earth upon his head with his two hands together, humbling himself and exhibiting signs of penitence.

Similar to this was what our Sultan did to the usurping prince of Menderā, when he drove out and dethroned his nephew, the son of his own brother, expelling him from the country. The dethroned and expelled prince came to our Sultan for shelter and protection, imploring aid and assistance against his uncle, the unjust one, who had stript him of his sovereignty, invested himself with the purple, and seated himself on the throne; this assistance being a carrying out of the last wishes of the father conveyed to our Sultan while he yet lived, and a performance of the same now that he was dead.

The source of this matter, according as we have been able to collect it from reliable narrations, was as follows: This dispossessed Prince of Menderā, who came to our Sultan praying for assistance, had been left by his father, while yet alive, under the protection of our Sultan, because he feared that, after his death, his brother, the son of his father, with his adherents, would humiliate the youth. This guardianship was accepted by our Sultan, and when the anticipated evil treatment of the youth occurred, and he applied to our Sultan for assistance, the monarch set out in person, after completing his preparatives, with his troops, and marched to the great town of Kirāwā; and when the inhabitants thereof saw the array of the Muslimīn approaching against them in broad daylight, they fled with the unjust usurper, their chief, to the great and extensive rocks which lie westward from Kirāwā, and ascended to the summit of the same, so that the army of the Muslimīn were not able to attack them, or even to come near them, by reason of their thus sheltering themselves. The Sultan returned, therefore, to his own city.

But, when a year had revolved and the following season was come, he set out again with his forces in search of the usurper and his party, whom he found on the summits of the same mountains as in the year preceding. Then it was that our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, conceived an admirable project, and resolved upon establishing

himself by the side of the mountain for a long space of time, so that the enemy should be made to feel the dire effects of famine and other sufferings. As soon as this project became evident to the besieged, they were terrified, and came down from the tops of the rocks to the plain, and presented themselves before him. His heart then relented and his wrath was appeased, when he saw that God had fulfilled his desire, and had increased unto him His favour and His manifold benefits. The Muslimin, too, were very much rejoiced at this success, and they restored the dispossessed Prince to the throne of his kingdom.

Behold, then, my brethren, what this Sultan, our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, did on this occasion; how he carried out the dying request of a misbeliever after his death. Remark also his actions in respect of the Muslimin, upon whom he bestows his munificence and his liberalities, equally upon all, without departing from what is just in the case of any one of them, or preferring one person over the others; on the contrary, he treats them all with equal goodness, so that none can calculate that such a one is more in favour with the prince than himself. These are the customs and the acts of our Sultan on all occasions and in every instance. May God establish his kingdom in his children and his children's children till the last trump shall sound, and grant him honour now and hereafter with joy and gladness as his companions.

We have already related in a former part of this work our Sultan's marching, during a single campaign, against several places in the country of Ghamerghū, and in the country of Merghi, the country of Kufsa, the country of Mitkuh, and the country of Humdih, in quest of the ruler of Merghi. He did this only in order to distress that prince in the place of his sojourn, and force him to return to himself when longer resistance would be productive of increased suffering. We have now, therefore, to relate the matter concerning Ghamzena and the inhabitants of the town of Makulma, with those of the town of Dūrā¹, of the tribe of Ghizim,² who, when the number of their horses was increased, used to transgress all bounds and commit all kinds of excesses, carrying their depredations into the surrounding parts, and their marauding expeditions against the peasantry. Such was their custom in days gone by, and latterly they made no distinction between one person and another, but included all in one common exposure to their inroads.

When the Commander of the believers learnt this state of things,

¹ Dora.

² Ngussum ?

by the rumours spread abroad concerning their evil practices, he marched against them with his numerous forces fully equipped, at the season when their corn had attained its full height, and the troops cut down the whole of their corn, without sparing any; neither did the Sultan desist from devastating the whole of their crops, even the millet and the sesame, until several years had passed away in this manner, he often destroying in one day on his arrival in their country what it had cost them a long while to prepare and cultivate. There is no injury that can be inflicted upon an enemy that is more severely felt than the destruction of his cornfields; and for this reason the Sultan invented that mode of annoyance by the exercise of his great sagacity.

Among other things that have come to our knowledge in connection with this subject is the following:—The Vezīr Kursū, son of Hārūn, went forth with a numerous and sufficient army against the town of Mukulum, which he surrounded in a moonless night, slaying many of the inhabitants, carrying others away captive, and returning home after having thus inflicted upon that place a calamity greater than can be described by the pen of the historian. In spite of this, however, they would not be admonished, even as they refused to be admonished by the yearly destruction of their means of sustenance, which was inflicted upon them without intermission and without fail. But when the Sultan increased unto them the calamities which it was customary with him to inflict, by adding thereto the terror of military expeditions against them, they humbled themselves and submitted, acknowledging themselves anew his obedient subjects, who contribute every year a fixed quantity of corn.

These are the various points of information which we have gathered up concerning the history of the above-mentioned people of Ghizim, as the facts occurred in the days of the reign of our Sovereign, Idris the Pilgrim, to whom may God grant honour now and hereafter, for to God belongs the granting of the means of all true success.

We shall now enter upon the relation of the occurrences which happened to the tribes of Ghizim, inhabitants of the west, and known by the name of Bināwa. According to information which we have obtained, the hostile tribe of Ghizim which goes by the name of Bināwa, is more relentless than the inhabitants of Ghamzena, than the inhabitants of Makulum, than the inhabitants of Daurā,¹ and others, by reason of their frequent intercourse with

¹ Dora or Dawra ?

the Muslimin, and by reason of the inveteracy of their daring to commit depredations in the land; also from the fact that they are personally acquainted with the whole country, and have no need of spies and intelligencers. If they determine upon taking their midday nap or their night's repose in the vicinity of a village belonging to the Muslimin, they do so wherever they may chance to be, caring for nobody; when, on the other hand, they resolve to start from any place after having rested themselves from the heat of the day, or after a night's repose, whether in a body, or in scattered order, they call for their chief whom they have appointed over themselves to lead them to sin and wickedness, they make him accompany them, and they march with him through the land of Burnū.

According to what we have heard related on the subject of their doings in the time of the reign of the Sultan 'Abdu-'llāh, son of Dūnma, their chief, named Ghamrū, used to follow the tribe of Felātiyya, his troops forming part of their array, and they used to issue publicly and by day from the town of Ghamzā for the purpose of pillage, travelling towards the west, and afterwards return to that town without fear for the consequences. In those days, the King, sovereign of Burnū, used to live in the town of Kitlā, the governor of which was named Kuluyma-Dūna, son of Hārūn, who ruled at that time over the part which lies to the north of the sea (river?), while Fukūma-'Abdu-'llāh, son of Fukuma, governed the southern part as lieutenant for the Sultan. Each of these governors ruled his own district, but the Bināwa people cared not the least for either of them. They harassed the inhabitants of the land to such a degree that at last these latter dared not travel on the roads, and all communication was interrupted between Burnū and the town of Fāghih,¹ no person being able to journey from east to west, or in the contrary direction. When any one wished to travel in either of those directions, he was obliged to make a great circuit towards the north, and so gain in an indirect manner the place to which he was travelling. These were the circumstances to which travellers were exposed, whether merchants or others, and whether in small or in large bodies, so long as the excess of these depredations lasted on the part of the Bināwa people; there was no possibility for the Muslimin to travel by the high road, until the time came when our Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, succeeded to the throne (may his Lord grant him honour, and facilitate unto him the objects of his endeavour).

¹ Fika?

When this prince succeeded to the supreme command over the kingdom of Burnū, very little time elapsed before the chief of the tribe, named Ghamrū, came and made his submission, and embraced the faith of Islām at his hands. After him, the individual named Nasr, and surnamed Bulut, embraced Islamism also, with a few of his family. The greater proportion of the Bināwa people would not, however, embrace the faith, because they were in fear of being made to feel the ill effects of their former misdemeanours and their recent evil acts. The above-mentioned Ghamrū, their chief, died not long after his conversion; but Nasr, surnamed Bulut, came to the chief Vezīr Kursū, and remained attached to his suite, as the good fruits of his conversion. Having thus been enrolled among the household and social circle of the Vezīr, he was consulted as to the best stratagem by which victory and success might be achieved over the Bināwa people, who continued to persist in their sin and rebellion. Now when he heard this address from the Vezīr, he was struck with amazement, and turning towards him, said: "How can you consult me on that point, who am of the tribe of Ghizim, and thou also art of the same? This matter is a trifle, a thing of no account, if God (whose name be exalted) so will it." So they agreed to go forth; and they went forth, the Vezīr and the aforementioned Nasr, and halted in a place where there were trees and plants. From thence they sent to collect the people of the tribe of Bināwa who were scattered over the plain occupied in committing depredations; and every one who came to them was made to swear true and sincere allegiance, taking his oath upon the sacred book in the usual form, so soon as his sincerity was attested by acts indicative of the same. In the case of those who were doubted, mildness and consideration were employed, until they entered the path of salvation. Such was the plan he put into operation in the case of this tribe, and from that time forth the whole of the inimical tribe of Bināwa abstained from the commission of sin and wickedness, even to the individual named Ferseskuh.¹ Righteousness and good conduct were exhibited by the whole of them, while some became champions of the faith, and others merchants, so that God (whose name be extolled) again made the roads safe between the east and the west, and every one was enabled to travel by the high road, without swerving therefrom, or having to make long and troublesome circuits. These circumstances are what we know of the matters relating to the tribe of Bināwa, as far as we are able to describe or to recollect them, God is our refuge, and a present help in trouble.

¹ Qy. Francisco?

Among the most remarkable enterprises of our Sultan Idrīs the Pilgrim, was what he performed in the destruction of the four fortresses, or towns of Māwa, Agham, Bānī, and Ghajambanā,¹ each of which was strongly fortified, and inhabited by people of the tribe of Ghizim. These people acted rebelliously and obstinately, walking in the ways of perversity, wickedness, and exceeding mischief. They put their trust in two things; firstly, the great numbers of the men of their tribe who shot poisoned arrows; and lastly, the strength of their fortresses. These two things were their incentives to act rebelliously and as enemies, even as was the case in days of old with the misbelievers their predecessors, as is notorious to all who have eyes wherewith to see and behold.

Now, when our Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may his Lord grant him honour), became aware of their rebellion and wickedness, he made up his mind to march to the town of Māwa after performing the prayer of the Feast² in the town of Mukulū. The reason why the prayer of the Feast was performed in that town, was that the Sultan had remained as long as God willed in the town of Kessimwa, marching from thence with his forces, and halting in the town of Ghayewā; when God caused the next morning to appear, he marched with his troops and halted at Kebluwā, and he continued journeying towards the south until he halted at Merkubā, where he passed two or three days. He then marched from thence and journeyed until he halted at the town of Disī, from whence he passed on to Mewā, where he halted, and then journeyed to the town of Ghaja-Ghajima; neither did he cease to advance until he reached the town of Fika, where he encamped. In this journey, the Sultan Idrīs the Pilgrim visited the natural curiosity of the waters called by the name of Jinjina, after passing beyond Fika. He returned from thence in the direction of Sedih, which place he reached in a few days, and led his troops against it. They found a great booty and a sufficiency of spoil; and from thence he led the troops towards the north, arriving at Dharā, Ebulā, Ghamzana, and Mukulum. Here he encamped with his troops for the space of the month of Ramazān the great in worthiness, and remained in this town, organizing predatory and kidnapping excursions, until the month was finished, and the services of the Feast were performed. This is the reason why he performed the services of the Feast in that town.

Return we now to our original purpose of relating one of the

¹ Gujeba?

² Muhammedan festival immediately subsequent to the fast of Ramazan.

transactions of our Sultan with the tribe of Ghizim. So soon as our Sultan Idris the Pilgrim had performed the prayer of the Feast in that town, he tarried there no longer, but set out with his troops for the town of Māwa, after sending to Burnū whatever he had chanced to seize in the shape of booty. He travelled the whole of one day and halted on the plain, so that we reached the town of Māwa with him in the middle of the forenoon on the day following. And as soon as the tribe drew near to us from their fortress, they began at once to engage our troops in fight, without shewing any fear of us, by reason of their being in ignorance of our qualities, and of their firm reliance upon their fortress. Had they clearly known what sort of enterprises we were in the habit of carrying out, they would never have ventured out of their stronghold. So the Muslimīn met them in the fight which they had commenced, and the two armies were mingled, our troops shooting at them with darts and arrows without intermission: and pressing them by showering missiles upon them without rest or interval. Our troops behaved with the firmness of fidelity, and our musketeers began to pour in their volleys upon them, firing altogether, paying no attention to their courage or fierceness. When the enemy perceived this, they fled in haste towards their fortress, pursued by our people, who surrounded the place on all sides; which, when the enemy became aware of it, caused them to falter and threw them into extreme perplexity, as they saw that the approach to their town was cut off, and that it was useless for them to turn their thoughts to escaping in any direction; for the flames of war raged fiercely around them, and all that were struck by a musket-ball fell straightway dead, even the cattle and the horses. Then the whole of their cattle broke loose, frightened and terrified; and all that came out of the fortress were seized by our men, and driven away to our own tents and huts as spoil and booty, neither did this state of things alter until the fortress was entirely stripped of its cattle. As to their women and young children, all who, through fear and cowardice, came out from the fortress, were taken possession of in the same manner as the cattle: while the men became divided into two classes, one of which was stationed at the gate of the fortress, or near it, or opposite to it, ready for war and battle, until they were slain with the musket-balls, in an instant, as though they had had poison given them to drink. How fearful then was the fight with muskets; for whoever was struck with one of the balls, was either wounded or killed, or had a limb broken. Thus perished every brave and courageous

man among them so soon as he stood forward; while the cowards and the vile slunk back to the rear, or hid themselves away, lest they should be perceived by the musketeers, and lest these should slay them as they had slain the men of courage. In this manner they waited for the advent of the darkness, with such of the women and children as remained, according to the sense of these lines of Ibn-Yakūt in his work on the subject of praise:

“The brave among them tasted destruction; their cowards
“Found the hill-country and the plains too narrow for flight.”

These watchers for the darkening of night remained in the fortress until the night set in, when they might get away.

As for the Muslimīn, when they expressed a wish to turn back and disperse to their several tents, the great leader Idrīs, son of Jum'ā, prevented them, the important post of the Vezirate being then held by his elder brother, Kursū, son of Hārūn. The troops gave ear, therefore, to the words of the leader, and conformed thereto, remaining near the fortress, and watching for the egress of the fugitives. Accordingly, when the end of the evening twilight was come, they emerged from the fortress by one gate, with their women and children, and took to flight; which circumstance being perceived by the Muslimīn forces, they furiously attacked the fugitives, and charged them with one accord. Upon this, the men hastened their speed in flight, abandoning the women and children to captivity and to the hand of the spoiler. Our people ceased not from making them prisoners and capturing them so long as any remained, very few escaping. Joy and gladness prevailed in our camp to a very great degree, and this success was taken as a fortunate omen for the reduction of the remaining fortresses. They then returned to their tents by night, and passed the rest of the hours of darkness in mirth and glee.

In the morning the Sultan gave the signal to march by the beat of drum. Upon which they set forth, and took the direction of the town of Agham, reaching it before the hour of noon. On the instant of the Sultan's alighting from his horse, he commanded the trumpeter, named Mūlema-Nasr, to call the troops together by a blast of his instrument. This was done immediately, and all the men, cavalry, and shieldsmen, flocked together in haste and in great numbers, without fail and without delay, the sick and infirm alone remaining behind who were quite unable to go forth to battle. So the Muslimīn arrayed themselves under their Sultan against the fortress in which the enemy was to be found, and they disposed

their forces without loss of time. On the other hand, the misbelievers of Agham, when they saw the Muslimīn, shut themselves up in their fortress, with the intention of doing battle, taking up their arms, and opposing us by throwing poisoned arrows. Our musketeers then commenced to ply them with their balls, and broke their ranks by firing into them; upon which they took to their heels and fled in disorder, the greater part of them being soon put to death, though some of them escaped by flight through the great extent of the fortress of Agham. As for the women and children, they were made captives by the Muslimīn as spoil, and the same things happened here as had occurred at Māwa. Our people, laden with booty, returned to their camping ground before sunset, in gladness of heart; neither did they suffer so much fatigue here as they had experienced before Māwa by being occupied in the work of pillage during the night; on the contrary they slept peaceably the whole time.

In the morning the signal was given to march, by the command being issued for the great drum to be beat, and our people made haste to set out. Our Sultan marched with his troops towards the west, and continued to advance until he had reached the town of Bānī before the hour of noon. But when the misbelievers, the inhabitants of the town, perceived the halting of the Muslimīn against them, they refused to come forth out of their stronghold to fight, lest they should be exposed to the same evils as the people of Māwa when they came forth to drive away our troops who were advancing against them, but were not able to drive them away, being vanquished themselves and driven back in confusion and in shame. The people of Bānī were like the wise man who takes example by the experience of others; so they remained within their fortress and stood to their arms, even their poisoned arrows. When this became known to the Muslimīn, they prepared themselves for the assault, and arrayed the shieldsmen and musketeers in due order, marching against the fortress, and approaching close to it. The enemy thereupon set to work most assiduously at shooting their arrows, which resembled swarms of locusts spread abroad, or clouds which pour out rain; the Muslimīn, however, paid no attention to these, relying upon the assistance usually granted to themselves, and on the favour generally shown to their Sultan, by the Lord most merciful, and encouraged by the success they had already met with in their attack upon the two captured fortresses of the town of Māwa and the town of Agham.

As for the chieftain and leader Idris, son of Hārūn, we saw no

one exert himself in this undertaking against the fortress of Bānī like he did. Among other things, he it was who drew up the order of our forces; in doing which, he placed the shieldsmen in the front, and the musketeers in their rear, he himself, and the horsemen who accompanied him, taking up a position on a line with the musketeers, or somewhat further back, facing towards the fortress, and paying no attention to any other direction, so that no injury should befall his forces. So our people continued to advance, and the polytheists to hold their fortress. But when these heathen became sorely pressed, they retired into a narrow and circumscribed part of the fortress, where no one could see them, and hid themselves there with their weapons, in expectation of the approach of night, that they might then make their escape, as the inhabitants of Māwa had done. Thereupon, the great leader Idrīs, son of Hārūn, took up his station with his troops in expectation of events, according as he had done in the case of the fortress of Māwa; so that as the evil-doers had contemplated making use of the night as a veil for their flight and a means of escape, so also the Muslimīn arranged a stratagem opposed to their wiles; this consisted in waiting for them to come out of their stronghold, and then attacking them. The two parties remained, therefore, in this state of expectancy until the shades of night fell; the heathen then prepared themselves for flight, with such of their women and children as had hitherto escaped being made captives. The Muslimīn were, however, made aware of their design by their movements and by the hum of voices in the midst of the fortress. They prepared themselves, therefore, accordingly, with sincere zeal and unmixed fervour; and when the enemy came forth in great numbers, a mixed multitude of men and women, the Muslimīn attacked them with great fury and most destructive vigour, so that they dispersed the crowd, and broke up any kind of organization that was left among them, pursuing them to a great distance, putting to death their males, and taking captive their families. Of the misbelievers very few escaped, and such only whose hour was not yet come, but whom God (may His name be glorified) led into safety by His almighty power and by His divine will, as was determined of old in His omniscience. As for the women and children, they became our prey and booty; and of the Muslimīn none were slain excepting one man named Bermūma, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, of the followers of Māghūmih-Mūlima, who fell a martyr to his faith on that night as he was pursuing the enemy. May the mercy of God be upon him.

When morning dawned with the divine permission and the almighty command, the Sultan Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God grant him honour in this world and hereafter), gave orders for marching, according to his well-known custom, by beat of drums, and took the direction towards the fortress of 'Ajambenā.¹ So he mounted, and the whole of the people mounted; and he journeyed on the road to that country with them, and arrived there. It was a strong fortress, larger than the two former, the fortress of the town of Māwa and the fortress of the town of Bānī. The town of Agham is of very great extent, but in point of the great numbers of stockades and the strength of its fortress, 'Ajambenā was superior to Agham, if God so will. Verily God knows best.

Now when our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim (may God grant him honour in this world and the next), reached the town of 'Ajambenā with his troops, and disposed himself to fight against the people and combat with them, God, out of His favour and mercy, cast among the inhabitants a violent dissension, so that they became divided into two parties, by reason of the disunion of two great men, the speech of each of whom contradicted the speech of the other at the council, since the one wished submission to be made to the Sultan without fighting or dispute, and the other recommended a vigorous resistance. These two grandees separated themselves with their partisans; those who desired to submit quitted the town with their wives and children, retiring to a place distant from the fortress, and remaining there; whereas those who were stubborn and refused to submit, stayed behind in the fortress with the intention of defending it by arms.

According to what we heard related at the time, the fighting men of the enemy polluted their bodies and limbs with dung and blood as a preventative against musket wounds; and in this state they entered upon the business of fighting with our people from within the fortress. Our commander-in-chief disposed our army of shields-men and musketeers after the former method and the preceding plan; and we saw no one among the Muslimīn who strove that day with an energy equal to the ardour of our commander-in-chief. More was done in point of severity of fighting in this fortress than had occurred in any of the three former places, Māwa, Agham, or Bānī, and the misbelievers of Ghajambenā fancied in their minds that they were superior in point of fighting to the inhabitants of Māwa, those of Agham, or those of Bānī, and reckoned that their arrows were more to be dreaded than the

¹ Ghajambenā.

arrows of those people. It was their sin and wickedness which led them into this erroneous self-sufficiency; otherwise they never would have resolved to fight against our Sultan, after the inhabitants of their town had divided themselves into two parties. For this reason also, our commander added valour to valour and energy to energy, taking greater pains than had been taken before against the other fortresses. So the enemy stood in a row in the midst of the fortress, shooting their arrows and their darts against the Muslimin. The commander then ordered our shieldsmen to close their shields together and remain motionless, and the musketeers to fire on the misbelievers, and press them, and redouble their efforts to do them harm, without any sloth or supineness, lack or back-sliding. Thus did our youthful heroes resolutely engage in the combat without caring for repose.

According to what I had formerly heard, the chief man among the enemy, he who stood over the heads of the polytheists, wished to act perfidiously towards our chief commander, Idris, son of Hārūn, and to play him a trick, keeping him only in view. For this reason he projected weapons against no one, looking intently to find an opportunity and an unguarded moment against the chief commander, when he might shoot him; this he did out of presumptuous esteem for himself, of complacency for his own valour and excellence, even as was known to our chief commander, of his own discernment, the same as the things that were immediately around him, or even better. But how great a difference existed between the conditions of the two, and how great a dissimilarity between the two things compared! For indeed God assisted the Vezir, and the hosts of the enemy were utterly discomfited. Their chief was taken prisoner, and ordered to be put to death by our Sultan; and the Muslimin met with great booty, they were made glad with a signal favour, and with universal joy.

These occurrences were noised abroad and were rumoured among the possessors of all the castles of the people of the country of Ghukayh, and of the people of the country of Ketākum,¹ with others besides these of the tribe of Ghizim and others. So they sent in their submission, and became obedient to our Sultan, without one stubborn or refractory person. The Sultan, therefore, returned with his forces to the great city, victorious and rejoicing. He did not remain, however, after this in the land of Burnū more than a year or two before he set out on the pilgrimage to the holy house of God. May God propitiously accept his pious endeavour, and crown

¹ Katagum.

him with exceeding glory both here and hereafter. This we ask in the name of our prince and lord, Muhammed, and his posterity; may God look favourably upon him and grant him peace.

It is now fitting that we should turn to the recital of what occurred between the tribe of Tetālā and our Sultan Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may the Lord give him honour here and hereafter). It is this. The tribe of Tetālā were a people of pride and self-sufficiency. The whole of their weapons consisted in white javelins, neither did they hold in esteem any other kind of weapon. They fancied themselves the most cunning and artful among the misbelievers, since their custom was to attack people when asleep or when unawares, rushing upon them to commit depredations. There were none other among the misbelievers who acted in a manner similar to the evil deeds of this tribe. And, according to what I have heard of their condition, the supreme occasion of glorying among them was to have killed a virtuous man; so that, when they assembled to eat, if any one should be among them who had not killed a Muslim, they would drive him away from the feast, and give him his portion of it apart, that he might eat it by himself and not share with them. Such was their practice from of old, until the days came of our Sultan Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may his Lord grant him honour, and his Master give him his reward).

So when he succeeded to the kingdom by the grace of God, His mercy and goodness, he looked and considered as to how he could abolish and put a stop to their iniquity; and for this purpose he originated many plans by his great intelligence and his sharp invention. One of these consisted in constructing stations near them and in multiplying the improvements of the Muslim in their vicinity so as to make them suffer more and more from dearth. Another consisted in carrying warlike incursions into their country very often, both in winter and in summer, so that they should find no tranquillity in their homes. A third was to destroy their crops in the autumn; and a fourth was the exciting the tribe of Ketekuh¹ to assail them with ships unawares, killing some of them and taking others prisoners. These things were carried on so, until that tribe had become very much reduced in strength; whereas, up to the time of our Sultan they used to penetrate into the land of Burnū and traverse it far and wide until they had reached the country of Maghiburm (or Mafiburm), and the country of Maba. In his days they were prevented from doing so; neither were they able to travel a single day's journey in the midst of the land of Burnū,

¹ Kotoko?

from the fear in which they stood of the Sultan who administered the affairs of the Muslimin and the extermination of infidels, lest he should find them in the uncultivated parts of the country and destroy them. For this reason they left off their excursions away from home, and kept close to the places bordering upon the river Sād; so that where the river retired towards the direction of the east, they advanced towards it and built themselves houses close to it for the safety of their lives, taking the river to be their most effectual castle.

Afterwards the Commander of the believers (may God eternise his power and his supremacy) marched one day with his forces to the country of Sabih, and came up with them there, and made a great slaughter of them. And again, another day he marched to the country of Kensa-Kuskuh, coming up with them in the forenoon, and making a still greater carnage among them, besides carrying away captives. Among other things that we recollect is this, that when the Sultan, the Pilgrim, left off cutting down the crops of the tribe of Ghizim of the inhabitants of Ghamzana, he divided his forces into two parts, appointing Kayghama-Muhammed-Akdā as commander, and giving into his charge the more numerous body of the two. He ordered him to march to the south until he should arrive in the country of Taghalaghā (or Tafalafa) of the tribe of Ghamā, on a Sunday; fixing that special day for him, which he was not to overstep, but was to reach the appointed place on that day. He himself marched with all those under him, officers and men, in a northerly direction, until he reached the town of Tewāta in the forenoon of the Sunday, even as Kayghama, with his officers, reached the town of Taghalaghā on the Sunday; and they killed all the enemies of those two towns, so that the number of the slain in both could not be counted, unless by God Most High. And God caused great fear to fall upon the hearts of those among the enemy whom He had determined to save, and scandalous cowardice, so that they fled in a body. After this, they increased the number of their emigrations in the direction of the sea of Thad,¹ for fear of their lives at all times. And also, the whole country of the enemy, the tribe of Tetālā, remained in constant trepidation, until some of their villages became desolate and their green fields withered.

Again, when the Sultan, the Commander of the believers, Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali (may God eternise his dominion and set up his superiority), alighted one day at the town of Marah, there came unto him the lord of Maghti (or Meftī) with many ships, each of

¹ Lake Tchad!

them having on board many of the enemy in confinement; these he caused to be brought forth to the Muslim army, where they were all put to death without one being left. He then gave in charge to his servant the chamberlain, named Sekā, to look after the enemy of the country of Kensa-Kuskuh, and to remain with the army in their vicinity as warden of the marches. They remained so a short time, and each side was on its guard against the other, keeping a sharp look-out for its sting and its horn. And when the time of dark nights came round, the chamberlain ordered the troops to march against the enemy by night when they should be asleep, in order that God Most High might make manifest in respect to the two belligerents the thing which He had predetermined in His providence. The troops agreed with him in opinion upon this point in every respect. A good son is he who resembles his father in his qualities and in his actions, even as a good servant is he who resembles his master; a want of resemblance in either of the two classes is a shame. So they supplied themselves with every necessary and set out against Kensa-Kuskuh by night, and when they had arrived in its vicinity they abstained from attacking the inhabitants, waiting for them to arise from their slumbers at dawn of day. When, therefore, the inhabitants awoke in utter ignorance of the vicinity of the Muslim forces to their town, and arose as usual, the chamberlain and his followers fell upon them fiercely, without hesitation or weakness; and they began to kill the misbelievers with every kind of weapon, lances, or anything else. The natives fled at once, without offering the slightest resistance, towards the sea of Thad, hastening to save their lives; and the Muslimīn, with their leader, the chamberlain, followed on their track, killing the men, and making captives of the women and children. On that day, but few of the misbelievers escaped, with God's permission, and by His will. After this, their fires were extinguished and their houses became a ruin and a howling wilderness, even as had occurred to the people of the town of Sebih. They also dispersed themselves in the countries of the misbelievers to the south, in the same manner that the inhabitants of Sebih had been scattered towards the south also; so there remains now in those two towns no place of repose. And when news of these two expeditions spread abroad and reached the different stations of the Tetālā, they disliked the idea of remaining there, and deserted them, emigrating to the shores of the sea of Thād, where they established their dwellings, out of fear of the incursions of the Muslimīn; which fear did not cease to hold

possession of them until they became struck with abjectness and depression, all their former courage and daring having forsaken them in respect to their oppression and tyranny and depredations committed during their incursions into the land of Burnū, from whence they were thus cast forth, taking warning by what had befallen others among the misbelievers. They fortified themselves through two things; had it not been for which, they would have been utterly destroyed. One of these was their forsaking the practice of entering far into the borders of the land of Burnū as they had been accustomed to do in by-gone days; and the second, their forsaking their original country and towns which their forefathers had built, and retreating to the shores of the sea of Thad, as we have already narrated.

An enemy possessed of understanding is more profitable than a friend who is stupid, as was said by Salih, son of 'Abdu-'l-Kadūs, in his book of proverbs, and which he gave the substance of in the following metrical lines;—

“ Man collects together, and time disposes;
 He ceases not to patch, but affairs will get out of order;
 If he is at enmity with a man of understanding, it is better
 Than if he have a friend who is a fool.”

Such is really the case. And everything that our Sultan instituted, or contrived, in his kingdom during his reign, by means of his judgment and sagacity in connection with the tribe of Tetālā, and others of his various enemies, was merely in obedience to the book of his Lord, which contains the details of every judicial case, or to the acts of His apostle (upon whom be the most excellent salutations and greetings), or to the doctrines of the ancient fathers of the faith, who deduced the cases from their principles or comprehensive roots and the ripe fruit of these latter, who were either the companions of the prophet, or their immediate successors, or, after those, the orthodox founders of the different orthodox sects (upon each of whom may the favour of God Most High repose).

Proceed we now with the narration of the history of the tribe of Tetālā. Our Sultan Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, so soon as he had conquered the inhabitants of the town of Tewāta, marched with his army towards the east, and alighted at the town of Biskudi, where the enemy carried out a plundering expedition one night against the Muslimin by surprise, and fell upon several people; but the Sultan took no notice of what they thus undertook

of themselves. He afterwards returned to the town of Tewāta, alighted there, and remained there a short while, when he set out again towards Ghafādikusī, where also he remained a short time. The whole of this was comprised in a single expedition, which was undertaken by the Sultan merely to abase them and to demolish their power.

This tribe of Tetālā had formerly increased the building of houses between the north and the south in length; and the extent of the breadth thereof was between the town of Sebih and the town of Ganh, or Maghumi. The inhabitants of that country became totally extinguished through them; since some utterly abandoned their dwellings and established themselves in another district; some emigrated to the borders of the sea; others became single, unaccompanied by a wife; others lost their sons and their property; and others again neglected their affairs out of fear, and were exposed to all sorts of privations, as we have formerly explained.

The Commander of the believers built, therefore, many stations and houses in forts over against the misbelievers, so as to prevent their incursions into the territories of the faithful by night. And in the midst of every fort he stationed numerous troops, capable of doing war with the enemy singly and independently. So, when the Sultan had originated this device, the incursions of the enemy towards the MuslimIn became diminished; and with their incursions, the various kinds of their ancient depredations were put a stop to, and they gave up all hope of being able to renew them, fearing for their own lives and satisfied with the safety of the same more than with any other source of gratification. And mankind wondered with an extreme astonishment on account of the tribe of Tetālā, how meek they had become after so much perversity; how humble, after so much pride; and how they continued to live in fear, early and late. May God never cause their fear and their abjectness to cease, for ever and ever, so long as periods of time shall recur. This is all we know of their matters and their history, as to what happened between them and our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of Ali, whom God preserve. God is our portion, and He is the best of referees. He is also the support of his humble and necessitous servant.

Now we are not aware that true warfare ever broke out between the Sultan, the Commander of the believers, the Vicegerent of the Lord of the universe, and the tribes of Mekir,¹ excepting with the inhabitants of the town of Kusur, and those of the town of Sebel-

¹ Merki?

futuh. As to the lord of Kusur, when he sallied forth to fight with our Sultan, he was taken alive, and our Sultan gained a great victory by his capture. Again, when the lord of Sebefutuh and his subjects became more exceedingly perverse, rebellious, and tyrannical in their strongholds, and intelligence thereof reached the Sultan, the commander of Islamism, he turned aside out of his road towards them with his forces, as he was going by and beyond, to Menderā'. When he had reached their stronghold, they made themselves ready for battle, and came forth, and drew up in array. But, when the Prince began to engage them, God smote their hearts with severe dread, and shameful cowardice. So they fell into disorder and fled from their city. Many of these polytheists were slain, and their women and children were made captives, while the Muslimīn obtained a complete triumph, taking much booty. They rejoiced exceedingly at this circumstance, accepting it as an auspicious omen for the expedition on which they had originally set out. They sent the whole of the booty they had found back to the city of Burnū, so as not to be troubled and fatigued with it on the march, since their expedition was not completed in that place. On the contrary, they passed on and journeyed towards the tribe of Menderā, which they came up with in a short time and vanquished, as they had overcome Sebefutuh, with the assistance and succour of God Most High. In the fight with these two towns the Muslimīn did not suffer the slightest injury, and they returned home loaded with booty, victorious, and rejoicing.

CONCLUSION.

GENERAL CHARACTER AND ILLUSTRATIVE ANECDOTES OF THE SULTAN.

BE admonished, O my brethren, and give ear, O company of friends; for verily our Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, whose triumph may God perpetuate, and whose affairs may He facilitate, is endowed by God Most High with many qualities of various virtues. For instance, whatever he pronounces in speaking, be it much or be it little, he always accomplishes it; whatever he promises, he performs; whatever he undertakes, he fulfils; he never holds rancorous feelings against a just man after becoming acquainted with his condition; when he gives to any person, he never taunts that person with it;

¹ Wandala †

he never extols himself at the expense of any created being ; he restricts his resolutions to the commands of God, and resigns his affairs to the decrees of Providence, be they sweet, or be they bitter ; he never laments when misfortune or sufferings overtake him ; he never leaves an oppressor alive when he gains intelligence of his oppression ; he on no account ever prefers this life to the future state ; he knows that this world will pass away and be annihilated, as also that the future state will last and be enduring ; he does not postpone the service of prayer beyond its appointed time, even when he is journeying in haste ; he is beneficent in his gifts, compassionate towards orphans, widows, and the necessitous ; he devotes all the powers of his mind and body to the amelioration of his kingdom, and does not approve of any injury happening thereto ; whenever he undertakes to do any virtuous or kind action, he invariably fulfils the same, as he evinced in the case of the Prince of Menderā, who came to him with supplications after his uncle had expelled him from his states and usurped them himself ; he exerted himself to replace that prince on the throne of his kingdom, never ceasing to go to and fro between Menderā and Burnū until he had driven out the usurping prince, the unjust one, from the sovereignty in discomfiture, and installed in his room the one who had applied to him for succour, establishing him in his kingdom without a competitor or an antagonist, and carrying back to Burnū the usurping tyrant, so that he should not again perpetrate the like of his former injustice. After which, God facilitated for the Prince of Menderā every one of his affairs, so that all those of the leaders who had been abettors of hatred and disaffection against him became obedient to his rule, such as Tekmā and others, and they acted as good and dutiful subjects.

One of the most astonishing traits of the political character of our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, (whom God exalt,) consists in this : One day he started from the town on the twenty-seventh of Ramazān, journeying towards the west. He alighted at the town of Mār for the morning's nap, and after performing his noon and afternoon devotions, he mounted again and took a southerly direction, travelling quickly, and this in the time of the rains. When he approached the town of Diskem, on his road, there fell an abundant shower of heavy rain, so that indications were perceived among the army of a desire to enter that town ; but he passed it without taking any notice of it, or of the rain that was pouring down upon him. The people continued to suffer from this severe fall of water until their clothes and their saddles were wet

through, and until they reached the town of Dag hazeyh in the evening, when the end of fast-time was arrived at, and the people broke their fast without delay by reason of their great thirst. After that, he and they all mounted again and proceeded until they passed the sea (river?) from the town of Ghazā; they travelled all night at a rapid pace until morning, and arrived in the forenoon at the town of Elariba. Then, plundering parties were sent out right and left (north and south), who were reassembled again at noon-time, after taking some captives; and they then proceeded towards Ghanemū, where they alighted before the close of twilight, the people passing the night very uncomfortably. They could only perform their evening devotions by great exertion, and it was not possible for the chief priest Ahmed, son of Safiyya, upon that night to perform the long special prayers of Ramazān with his Sultan by reason of his fatigue and utter prostration. Verily travel is an infliction. Again, when the Lord, whose praises be manifest, caused the morrow to appear, the Commander of the believers, Idris the Pilgrim, mounted, and his troops mounted, and travelled in the direction of the great city of Burni, but did not reach it until they had seen the new moon of Shewwal on the road, and they entered it between sunset and the time of night prayer, and slept there, and that night the drums beat to announce the feast of the conclusion of the month of fasting.

Another of those traits is the astonishing journey he performed when he went to the town of Ghazezlih. It was in this wise. After he had turned back from the town of 'Ajama of the land of Merghi, our Sultan journeyed towards Ghazezlih, and alighted at the town of Zumbem at the time of the moon's fulness on the fourteenth day from the end of the month. And when the night was come, the Sultan mounted with his troops and proceeded in the direction intended, taking as their guide on the road for the night Salih, son of Kewseni. He therefore preceded the army, advancing at an easy pace without hurrying or using any particular diligence, and we shall never forget that journey of his in that night, if God Most High so ordain. So when he had reached with them the tall tree that is nigh to the road, and which is commonly known by the name of Ghiltawa, he stood still on the spot for a long time, so that the misbelievers should not hear the movement of the army near them. And when the time of dawn was come, the guide went forward with the troops, after they had prepared themselves for battle by putting on their armour and the armour of their horses; and they attacked the polytheists, who were thus taken by sur-

prise, as no news had reached them of the approach of the Muslimin, nor had they seen a single horseman of our warriors. The misbelievers were, therefore, immediately thrown into confusion; some of them escaped from being killed because their time was not yet come, and others were put to death, by reason of their hour having arrived. As to the women and children, they were met with in great numbers, and the bulk of the children of the offenders were found newly circumcised and could not escape. After this, the Sultan returned towards Zimbem, and he arrived with his troops at the place of the river.

Again, there is his return from one of his warlike expeditions towards the west, which was as follows. When he had reached the town of Jeba and passed the night there, he left it by night, and travelled towards the south on the road coming from the tribe of Ghizim, and left the road to Burnū, until he had reached the land of the miscreants, where he killed some, and made captive some others, after which he turned his horse's head in the direction of Burnū.

There are many other anecdotes on this point of a like nature; we have not told one quarter or one-fifth of them; indeed we are unequal to the task, and our forgetfulness is apparent and confessed. There is his journey in quest of the man named Duna, son of Ammetu-'llāh, lord of the town of Bulūgha, until his servant, named Dhirsu-'d-dubbi (*grinding-tooth of the bear*), killed him; after which, the whole of his followers were made captives. Our mistakes, too, are many and evident. Yes, yes, yes. Certain doctors of law have established a distinction between mistakes and forgetting. Forgetting is the losing the recollection of a thing after we have once known it, and not recalling it to mind as a thing that exists; but a mistake is the putting one thing for another not of the same kind. This we have seen set forth as a curious piece of science in a certain book. It belongs to God alone richly to endow his creatures.

“ There is no end to Thy praise when duly set forth,
But to words there is an end and a conclusion.”

And unto God does everything return. He is our trust, and the best we can depend upon.

O men! If you know for certain any of the matters of our Sultan relating to his military expeditions, to his wars, and to his border conflicts, and you have them recorded, make them known unto us in their details, of how and how much; for we have not a

comprehensive knowledge of all of them. May our Lord, whose praises be sung, and whose name be glorified, strengthen him, and finally establish him in the implanting of the requirements of religion and of worldly affairs, with all grace and benevolence, without any lack of power or zeal. May God make his reward perfect both here and hereafter; for He never allows the reward of the good to be lost to them.

We have formerly learnt from the book called "the Canons of the Law" that the number of military expeditions of our Prince and Lord Muhammed (upon whom be salutations and the favour of God) is distinctly declared to be twenty-seven, beginning with that of Weddana, and ending with that of Tebük, which was undertaken in summer time. We have also read in the book styled the "Hemistichs of Lovers," that 'Ali, son of Ebu Talib, did not remain behind absent from any one of these expeditions, excepting alone that of Tebük, when he stayed away by command of the Prophet (upon whom be salutations and greetings), acting as his lieutenant during his absence. May God be pleased with him.

A particular feature of the policy of our Sultan Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali, Commander of the believers (whom may his Lord exalt, and upon whom, with his children, may his Principal multiply the manifestations of favour), was, that he devoted himself to combating the enemies of the faith, and protecting the borders of the land of the faithful, desiring thereby to obtain the approbation of God Most High, and hoping to merit His reward, since he never preferred the world to the future state. And when he contemplated any single undertaking, of whatsoever kind, he first considered the matter well and pondered over it. If he found it in the Scripture, or in the acts of the Prophet, or the jurisprudence of the ancient and leading fathers of the faith, he would perform it cheerfully and willingly; whereas, in case they did not contain the matter, he would abandon it, and altogether turn his back upon it. These two rules were his constant guide of conduct, as is well known to all who frequented his society.

Again, whenever, being on an expedition, he heard any fresh intelligence respecting the enemy, either by night or by day, he would never loiter where he was; but, on the contrary, would set out first and foremost, before any one else, in the direction respecting which he had learnt the intelligence, leaving his people to follow him. And this, in order that no harm should happen to his people or to himself from any cause whatever, through his own want of circumspection and energy in the direction of affairs.

Withal, he put his trust in his Lord in all his undertakings, well knowing and perfectly perceiving that nothing comes to pass without being ordered by God Most High. For this reason he was courageous and bold, persevering in every matter that required his attention; never flagging, or desisting, or turning aside, or being diverted, until he had accomplished the thing he had undertaken. Such was his character: such was his practice.

Among the gifts bestowed upon him by God Most High were those of grandeur and majesty of presence, and none of those subject to him, whether great or small, felt their minds at peace excepting when he was in sight. If he moved a large army in any direction, and remained behind himself with a few troops, his chiefs and leaders were never pleased, though they might be never so numerous and superior to those who were with him. And again, if he resolved on going on an expedition himself with a small force in any direction, leaving the bulk of his troops behind in immense numbers, they were never happy in remaining among the people without him, and their minds were never at ease in either case until God Most High had re-united them with him. May God assist him with a great succour. This we know for certain, from having often witnessed the fact. What then are you all in respect to the affair of the Thursday in the town of Sîm, in which our people suffered so much fear, until God sent a great favour upon them, and a mighty assistance, with great joy, by his coming to join them. It was thus: the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelîl, son of 'Abdu-'l-Jelîl, of the tribe of Bulâla, came to Sîm, as a champion for his country, with a few followers of his own tribe, and matters went rather sorely with our people, their eyes waxing dim and their hearts coming into their throats. But when the Commander of the believers, Idris the Pilgrim, arrived in the forenoon of the Thursday, and found them in that state, the enemy were routed and fled like asses flying from a lion, or like sheep fleeing from wolves in chase, by merely catching sight of his dust in the east rising up into the air. And the Sultan pursued them (may God ennoble all that is connected with him, and magnify his triumphs to the utmost!) until the horses and camels were worn out with fatigue, as the poet has thus expressed it:

“ I pressed forward with them by night until their horses were tired,
And until their chargers had no need to be tied with halters.”

He returned about the time of noon. And had it not been that God shed his favour upon the men of Burnū by his approach, and

helped them by his marching, as He assisted the forces of our Prince and Lord, our Prophet and Apostle, Muhammed the Chosen One (upon whom be salutations and greetings!) on the day of Seysebān, by the presence of his son-in-law and next of kin, the lion, our Prince and Lord, 'Alī, son of Ebu-Tālib (upon whom be the approbation of God Most High!), verily much suffering would have ensued. So the minds of the men of Burnū were set at ease, and their eyes brightened, and they congratulated one another, and hugged and embraced each other on the Thursday, the Friday, and the Saturday. He covered them with the veils of joy and overpowered them with all kinds of happiness, until they returned in the direction of Burnū. This is what we had to relate concerning the affair of the Thursday, which happened to be the third of the month Shawwāl. It is an instance of the imposing grandeur of our Sultan, notwithstanding that he left behind him many more horsemen than he took with him, as was the case with the baggage horses. As for the shieldsmen, he had left the whole of them behind, so that none of them were with him. This is an instance of his government and leadership which God Most High bestowed upon him on the day when he gave him being. May God recompense the poet Ibnu-Dureyd for what he had written in his poem so celebrated and which begins with the words: "O gazelle."

"And mankind, a thousand of them are but as one,
And one as a thousand, if (God's) command so require."

There is no obstacle when He gives, and no giver when He withholds, no establisser when He takes away, no expeller when He establishes; to Him belong universal favour and all-encircling beneficence; He distinguishes with His mercy whomsoever He pleases, and in His hand is the power of commanding and of bringing into existence. May God increase the majesty of our Sultan, his eminence, his goodness, his victories, his glory, his rank, his justice, and his opulence, for the sake of our Prince and Lord Muhammed (upon whom be the salutations of God and greetings!), of his chosen companions, their disciples, and the followers of those disciples; for the sake of Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl, and 'Azrā'il; of all the prophets and apostles (upon all of whom be the blessing and salutations of God!). Amen. Amen. Amen.

This is what we have become acquainted with respecting the state and doings of our Sultan, and his acts during the time of his sovereignty, which we have related after twelve years since his reign passed away. We will relate at a future time the occurrences

which took place between him and the people of Kānim, if God so will; for God is He who enables us to do what is right, and to Him must all things be referred.

Here ends this memoir, with the help of God (whose name be glorified!) and his sustaining grace, in the forenoon of Sunday, the fifteenth day of God's sacred month of Rejeb the solitary, the respected, one of the months of the year 1269,¹ after the emigration of him upon whom be salutations and greetings, and honour, and majesty, and reverence and greatness.

NOTE.

DR. BARTH, in his "Travels and Discoveries in Africa," informs us that the manuscript from which the foregoing translations in Articles V and VIII were made, was a copy sent to the British Government by the "late Vizier of Bórnu, Haj Beshir ben Tirab."

From the researches of this learned and successful African traveller, as given in the "Chronological Table of the History of Bórnu," in the Appendix to his second volume, we learn further, that the Sultan Idris, the subject of these memoirs, reigned thirty-three years, from A.D. 1571 to 1603, and that the two parts of the memoir together give the events of the first twelve years of his reign; the only thing as yet known respecting the rest of his history being the fact that he was killed on the field of battle by a handbill thrown at him by a pagan concealed in a tree while waging war with a tribe on the borders of Bagirmi, perhaps the Ghamergú, and was buried in Aláwo, a place in the district of Ujé, touched upon in the Doctor's journey to Adamawa.

From this passage it appears that the paragraph (in p. 257) translated "which we have related after twelve years since his reign passed away," should have been rendered "which we have related after twelve years of his reign have passed away." The paragraph in the original is given below;² it is somewhat faulty at

¹ 23rd April, 1853.

² وهذا ما وقفنا عليه من احوال سلطاننا و وقائع (وقائع) ازمان امارته إبتينا به بعد ان مضى من دولته اثنا عشر عاما و سنذكر بعد ما وقع بينه و بين اهل كانم ان شاء الله تعالى

best. The name Himîr, which occurs several times as that of a remote ancestor of the Sultan, should be written and pronounced Himyer or Himyar, though not so accented in the original. Lûy, son of Ghâlib (p. 45), should be Luwayy.

Dr. Barth gives the orthography "Njimiye" as the equivalent for what the manuscript calls sometimes Jîm, and sometimes Sîm, the capital of Kānim. It appears also that the description of the eastern frontier of that kingdom (as mentioned in Art. V, p. 44), should be "reached unto the country of Dhūy, and unto the Nile, countries of the Rif (sea-shore)."¹

Dr. Barth has made much use of this historical work in his Chronology of Bórnu, and holds it in high esteem. The translation, made in the year 1854 by desire of the Foreign Office, before Dr. Barth's return from Africa, when read in connexion with the learned doctor's narrative of his travels, will doubtless acquire therefrom increased interest in the eyes of those who follow up any of the various questions included in that of African discovery.

¹ و نقل اليها من اخبار المشائخ العارفين ان غاية مملكتهم من
الجهة الشرقية الى البلد سوى و الى النيل من بلاد الريف