Anecdota Oxoniensia

THE

Churches and Monasteries of Egypt

AND

Some Neighbouring Countries

ATTRIBUTED TO

ABU ŞÂLIH, THE ARMENIAN

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

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The History attributed to Abû Şâliḥ the Armenian is here edited for the first time, by the kind permission of the Minister of Public Instruction and of the Administrator of the National Library in Paris, from the unique MS. purchased by Vansleb in Egypt in the seventeenth century, and now preserved in that Institution. The present edition is based upon a copy made by the editor from the original, which he afterwards had the advantage of comparing with another copy most liberally placed at his disposal by M. l'Abbé Hyvernat, together with the results of a collation by Professor Ignazio Guidi. To these eminent scholars, therefore, the editor begs to express his deepest gratitude. Professor Margoliouth has also had the goodness to look through both the copy of the text and the translation, and to elucidate many points of difficulty. Mr. Alfred Butler, whose book on the Coptic Churches forms the only work of importance existing on that subject, has generously consented to aid in the interpretation of an obscure author by his knowledge of Coptic history and archaeology; and his contributions to the work are by no means limited to the notes which bear his initials. The system adopted in the transcription of Arabic names is similar to that used in Mr. Butler's Coptic Churches. It does not pretend to be perfect.
and among other defects does not express the َ of the article before the 'solar letters,' or the shortening of the long final vowel in ُ and other words before the article, or the Hamzah except in the middle of a word; nor are the nuances in the pronunciation of the vowels indicated; but perhaps no other system is preferable to this. The vocalization of the Arabic forms of names of places is, where possible, that of Yākūt, as being in use at the time of our author.

In the transcription of the text the original has been closely followed, the diacritical points alone being added where they were wanting. Some of the deviations, however, from classical orthography and grammar are indicated by foot-notes on the first few pages of the text.

The existence of the work has long been known to scholars through the references made to 'Abū Selah,' and the passages quoted from him by Eusèbe Renaudot and Étienne Quatremère. Recently also, M. Amélineau, in his Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte, has made some little use of the history of Abū Ṣāliḥ, although he has by no means extracted all the information which the book affords on the subject of Egyptian geography.

M. Amélineau seems to be fully aware of the value of the work of Abū Ṣāliḥ, at least in certain portions. On the other hand, he seems to have an exaggerated idea of the difficulties presented by the MS. 'It is very badly written in point of language,' he says, 'and most of the diacritical points are wanting; yet I have translated the whole of it, in spite of the difficulties which it presents. I believe that the MS. is incomplete in several parts, and has been badly bound together. The possessor of the MS. has erased the Coptic numerical figures at the top of each leaf, in order, no doubt, that the absence of part of the MS. might escape notice. Nevertheless, the figures are still visible, and enable me to conclude that a con-
siderable part of the MS. is wanting, and that the leaves are not
arranged in their proper order. Moreover, it is often impossible to
translate, because the sense cannot be completed.'

The French scholar here seems to overstate the case. From an
examination of the MS. made by the authorities of the National
Library, the editor is able to say that, while it is true that no less
than twenty-two leaves are wanting at the beginning of the book, the
rest of the leaves are bound in their proper order, according to the
Coptic ciphers, which are still visible, as M. Amélineau states; with
the single exception of the leaf which formed the thirtieth folio of
the MS. in its original state, but which is now wanting. The reader,
therefore, will understand that there is a lacuna between fol. 8, accord-
ing to the new or Arabic pagination, and fol. 9, which bears in the
MS. the Coptic number 31; and that the words at the beginning of
fol. 9, 'This revenue,' &c., do not refer to the preceding estimate
of the revenues of Egypt. The owner of the MS. seems to have
supplied the first folio himself, and to have given a new pagination
in Arabic figures to the remaining portion of the original book, so
that folio 23 became folio 2, and so on. It should be added that the
Coptic figures are wanting on fol. 38, which formed fol. 60 of the
complete MS., and also on the last two folios.

The word אֶפְשָׁר on fol. 12a is translated as 'Extreme Uction,'
a meaning which the word bears at least in Africa. In late Arabic,
however, אֶפְשָׁר is also a nomen verbi of עָשָׂר, and signifies 'to marry' or
'marriage,' so that our author may perhaps here refer to a practice of
marrying within the prohibited degrees then existing among the Copts.

The statements of the Coptic Synaxarium, occasionally quoted in
the notes to the present edition of Abû Şâlih, are not guaranteed
as being always historically accurate. For instance, the Emperor
Diocletian is usually represented, without reference to his colleagues in
the empire, as himself carrying on the persecution which goes by his
name, although in reality he abdicated two years after the promulgation
of the edict which sanctioned and originated it: and, to take another
example, St. Theodore is called 'magister militum,' although this
office was not instituted until the reign of Constantine. Nevertheless
valuable traditions of early Church history, and in particular of the
great persecution itself, are embodied both in the Synaxarium and in
the Coptic Acts of the Martyrs, on which it is partly founded.
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The sole indication which we possess of the name of our author is to be found in the title inscribed on the first page of the MS. This title, however, was supplied, as it has already been said, by a later hand; and it is, moreover, obviously incomplete. No name is there given to the work, beyond the meagre designation of 'chronicle' or 'history;' and this is so contrary to the rule of Arabic literature that it is enough by itself to prove that the original title had been lost. The author is designated by his praenomen only, as 'Abû Šâli̇h the Armenian.' It is a recognized fact in Arabic orthography that the proper name Šâli̇h (ṣalḻîḥ) is one of those which may by common custom be written defectively without the ١; see Vernier, Grammaire arabe, i. p. 91. Hence there is no reason to adopt the form 'Abû Selah,' used by Renaudot, Quatremère, Amélineau, and others. It must, in the absence of further proof, remain doubtful whether 'Abû Šâli̇h' can be taken as the true praenomen (kunyah) of the author of the present work. His nationality, on the other hand, may be inferred, not only from the title, but also from the internal evidence of the book, for the lengthy description of the Armenian churches, and of the affairs of the Armenian patriarch, would tend to show that the writer had a special connexion with the Armenian nation; and, although he often speaks as though his sympathies and interests were bound up with those of the Copts, we must remember that this very Armenian patriarch, of whom we have spoken, was consecrated in the presence of Gabriel, the seventieth patriarch of the Copts (Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 507-509); and there are many other proofs of friendly intercourse between the two races. Moreover, on fol. 3 a, the Armenian form of the name Sergius (Սուրբ Սարգիս) is, as Mr. F. C. Conybeare recognizes, correctly transcribed in Arabic as شرکس, Sharkîs, and explained as being equivalent to سرجة, Sirjah. It may be maintained, therefore, as a proba-

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bility, that the author of the work was Armenian by nationality. It is surprising, however, that M. Amélineau says that 'Abou Selah (sic) visited Egypt at the moment when the Armenians were all-powerful in that country.' It is surely much more probable that Abû Šâliḥ, if that was his name, was not a mere visitor to Egypt, but rather a member of the Armenian colony, the ancestors of which had settled there at the end of the eleventh century of our era, under the protection of Badr al-Jamâlī, the Armenian vizier to the caliph Al-MustansIR; and that our author had been born and bred in the country. This would explain his Arabic name, the fact of his writing in Arabic, and his familiarity with the history of Egypt. As for his being in Egypt at a time of Armenian preponderance in the state, the facts are precisely the contrary. There is no proof that the Armenians were in special favour under the three last of the Fatimide caliphs, and the greater part of our author's life must have been passed during a time when the Armenians in Egypt had succumbed to the misfortunes which overtook them at the time of the Kurdish invasion, and had been much reduced in numbers. Of these misfortunes our author was an eye-witness.

The work itself affords sufficient internal evidence of the date of its composition, for the author constantly refers to events which, he says, happened in his own time, and to incidents in his own life, of which he gives us the date. Thus on fol. 4 b he tells us of an interview which he had at Cairo with the physician Abu 'l-Kāsim al-'Askalānī, in A.H. 568 = A.D. 1173. Again on fol. 61 a he mentions a visit which he paid in A.H. 569 = A.D. 1174 to the monastery of Nahyā. But the latest date given in the book is that of the death of Mark ibn al-kanbar in the month of Amshîr A.M. 924 = Jan.–Feb., A.D. 1208. The composition of the work, therefore, may confidently be assigned to the first years of the thirteenth century of our era, when the writer had probably reached a considerable age.

In spite of these distinct indications of date, however, M. Amélineau speaks as if the work had been composed at a much later period, for he begins his account of Abû Šâliḥ as follows: 'I must also speak of an author who wrote in Arabic, and who has left us a history of the churches and monasteries of Egypt, written in the year 1054 of 'the Martyrs, that is to say in the year 1338 of our era. He was called
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‘Abou Selah (sic), and was an Armenian by nationality’ (Giohr. p. xxiv). The fact is that M. Amélineau is here speaking of the date at which the copy, now in the National Library, was made; but his readers may certainly be pardoned if they understand him to be giving the date of the composition of the work. It is quite true that the copy was finished on Ba‘unah 2, A.M. 1054 = Dhu ‘l-Ka‘dah 8, A.H. 738 = May 27, A.D. 1348, as the copyist himself informs us in his note at the end of the book.

The title supplied by a later hand on fol. 1 b of the MS. describes the book as a ‘history, containing an account of the districts and fiefs of ‘Egypt.’ As, however, the principal part of the work is taken up with an account of churches and monasteries, with regard to which it supplies us with much original information, I have furnished the new title of ‘Churches and Monasteries of Egypt.’ This new title is in accordance with the description of the MS. in the catalogue of the National Library, where it is called ‘Histoire des églises et des ‘monastères de l’Egypte.’ The object of the author would seem to have been to collect information of all sorts about Egypt and the neighbouring countries; but he evidently desired above all to describe the churches and monasteries, and to narrate incidents of ecclesiastical history. It is to those concerned with this last-named branch of study that the work of Abū Šāliḥ should be of special interest.

The only work now existing in Arabic of a similar character to the present work is that portion of the Khitaṭ of Al-Makrizi which contains an account of the Coptic churches and monasteries, and which is affixed as an appendix to this volume. Other Mahometan writers, however, besides Al-Makrizi, composed works, which are now lost, on the subject of the Christian monasteries, and the most celebrated of them was Ash-Shâbushti, who is quoted by our author and also by Al-Kazwini, Yâkût, Al-Makrizi, and others.

Indeed, one of the most interesting features of the present work is the constant reference which it makes to the relations between the Christians of Egypt and their Mahometan fellow-countrymen. These relations, naturally, varied in their character from time to time. There were periods of disturbance, marked by outrages committed by the stronger race upon the weaker, by riots, incendiarism, murders, or even
by systematic persecution, as in the reign of the caliph Al-Ḥākim. But there were also periods when the two races lived peacefully side by side, and the adherents of the two creeds were on the best of terms with one another. Sometimes the Muslim governors would authorize and even assist in the restoration of the churches, contrary as this was to the written law of Islam. Mahometans were in some places allowed to be present at the celebration of the Christian liturgy, although the stricter among the Copts regarded this as a profanation. One of the most wealthy and magnificent princes that have ever ruled Egypt, Khamārawaih, the son of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, used to spend hours in silent admiration before the mosaics, representing the Virgin and Child, attended by Angels, and surrounded by the Twelve Apostles, in the Melkite church at the monastery of Al-Ḳūsair, where, moreover, he built a loggia in order that he might sit there with his friends to enjoy the scenery, and, it must be confessed, also to quaff the good wine, prepared by the monks and fully appreciated by the laxer followers of the Arabian prophet.

The present work in its existing form is an abridgment of the original, as the copyist himself informs us in his final note. He adds that his abridgment has been unsuccessfully carried out, and while we may admire his modesty, we must of necessity agree with him on this point. Nothing could be worse than the present form of the work, which resembles rather a collection of undigested notes than a deliberate composition in its finished shape. That feature of the book which it is most difficult to understand is the repetition of passages on the same subject, and sometimes almost in the same words. We meet with a short account of some place, which is then dropped, and the history proceeds to the discussion of other matters, only to recur some pages further on to the subject which it had apparently left. Thus, for instance, the passage on the Fayyum on fol. 18 is repeated in slightly different terms on fol. 70; the description of Būṣir Banā and other places on fol. 17 occurs again, almost word for word, on fol. 68; and often after leaving a place, we are brought back to it and receive further information about it. There appears to be no arrangement or order in the work at all.

We do not know what may have been the subjects which occupied the first score of leaves, now lost to us. It may, perhaps, be conjectured
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that they were filled with an account of the churches of Lower Egypt and Cairo, and of the monasteries of the Wâdi Habib, which could hardly be neglected in such a work. Probably also we have lost part of the history of the Armenians in Egypt.

The book, as we have it at present, opens with an account of the Armenian monastery and churches at Al-Basâtîn, a little to the south of Cairo. The latter buildings consisted of a 'Great Church,' or main building, to which a smaller church or chapel was attached after the manner of churches in Egypt. Sometimes these dependent churches were on the same floor as the principal edifice, and sometimes they formed an upper story to it. The mention of the Armenian monastery and churches leads our author to a digression on the recent history of the Armenians in Egypt, and on the misfortunes which had befallen them during his own lifetime. He then starts off upon quite a different matter, namely the revenues of the Coptic church and of the Egyptian rulers; but this is a subject to which he recurs quite unexpectedly in one or two subsequent paragraphs. Then comes what is almost the only uninterrupted narrative or description in the book, that is the account of the so-called heretic Mark ibn al-Ḳanbar. Next follows a list of certain remarkable features of Egypt and of distinguished men who have lived in that country; but in the middle of this is inserted a note on the churches of Bûşîr Banâ and other places. Then, after a note on the boundaries of Egypt, comes an account of the city of Al-Fuṣṭât and its churches, which would seem to be fairly systematic and complete were it not for notes on king Aftûṭîs, the revenues of Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar and the patriarch Demetrius, inserted in the middle of it without any apparent occasion for them. After describing the churches of Al-Fuṣṭât, our author proceeds up the Nile, noticing the churches and monasteries in the towns and villages, principally, of course, on the more populous western bank; but he does not go straight on in his journey; he frequently dashes from south to north, and then again from north to south in a manner which would horrify us in a modern guide to the Nile; and he still keeps up his trick of inserting notes from time to time on perfectly irrelevant matters. After reaching Nubia, our author returns again down the Nile for a short visit to certain places in Egypt which he had passed over; and then he suddenly takes us to Abyssinia,
to India, to North-Africa, and even to Spain, and the shores of the Atlantic, ending up with south-western Arabia, and with the mention of certain ancient cities, the foundation of which is referred to the remotest antiquity.

The most valuable part of the present work is probably that part which the author based upon his own experience, and did not borrow from other writers. Much of the information with which he supplies us on the churches and monasteries of Egypt seems to be of this character. Thus he himself tells us that great part of his account of the Monastery of Nahyâ is derived from what he saw and heard during a visit which he paid there for devotional purposes in the year 569 of the Hegira. A young monk whom he met in the monastery on this occasion seems to have been questioned by him, and to have discoursed to him at some length on the history of the place. It may be taken for granted that our author had also visited in person the churches and monasteries of Cairo and its neighbourhood, and had made similar enquiries of the priests and monks as to the foundation and restoration of these buildings and other matters of interest concerning them. But how far our author had travelled up the Nile is doubtful; and perhaps he had not himself seen the great White Monastery of Saint Sinuthius, opposite to Ikhmim. If he had been in that neighbourhood, he would surely also have spoken of the 'Red Monastery.' Similarly, it is probable that he had not paid a personal visit to the Monastery of Saint Anthony near the Red Sea, for if he had, he would have given a fuller account of the neighbouring Monastery of Saint Paul.

Some of our author's statements with regard to these churches and monasteries which he had not himself seen, probably rest upon the testimony of some of his friends and acquaintances whom he questioned on the subject. Part, however, of what he tells us is borrowed from the Book of the Monasteries of Ash-Shâbushtî, a work in prose and verse much read at the time. The author, Abu 'l-Ḥusain 'Ali ibn Muḥammad ash-Shâbushtî, was a Mahometan, and his work is a proof of the constant practice on the part of Muslims of resorting to the Christian monasteries, for the purpose of sauntering in their gardens, sitting in their galleries and loggias, and drinking their
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wines. Besides Ash-Shâbushti, other writers, such as Abu Bakr Muhammad al-Khâlidi, Abû 'Uthmân Sa'd al-Khâlidi, and Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahânî, composed works on the monasteries in the course of the tenth century of our era, and Ibn Khallikân tells us that many other books were written in the Arabic language on the same subject. The work of Ash-Shâbushti contained an account of all the monasteries of Al-'Irâk, Al-Mausil, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, with all the poems composed on them, and a history of the events which concerned them. It is unfortunate that this work is lost, and only known to us through quotations made from it by other writers. Ash-Shâbushti, who is said to have died at Al-Fuṣṭâṭ or 'Old Cairo' in A.H. 388 or 390, was private librarian and reader to the Fatimide caliph Al-'Aziz, and his agreeable manners and conversation led the sovereign to make him his constant boon-companion. It is in accordance with this character that he wrote of the monasteries chiefly as places for enjoying pleasant social intercourse and drinking wine. The surname Ash-Shâbushtî is difficult to explain, and Ibn Khallikân says that he 'repeatedly made researches to discover the origin of the surname, but that all his pains were fruitless, until he found that the chamberlain to the Dailamite prince Washmaghir 'ibn Ziyâr was also called Ash-Shâbushti, from which it appears that this is a Dailamite family name.'

Part of our author's information with regard to the churches and monasteries of Egypt, and to the ecclesiastical history of that country, is derived from the Biographies of the Patriarchs, compiled in the ninth century by Severus, bishop of Al-Ushmûnain, and from the continuation of the Biographies by a later writer. The name of this work is well known to scholars, because Renaudot based upon it the greater part of his Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum; but the work itself has never been published, either in the original Arabic or in a translation, although copies of it are to be found in European libraries. The publication of this work is much to be desired, as it affords a great mass of information on the ecclesiastical history of Egypt, since the schism of Dioscorus, which is not supplied from any other source; and although Renaudot has revealed to the learned world part of its contents, there is a very large part only to be known
at present through a study of the original Arabic MSS. It is from these patriarchal biographies that our author borrows the greater part of what he tells us on the subject of the history of the Coptic patriarchs, and part of what he says on the churches and monasteries. It is thence that he takes, for instance, his account of the visit of Al-Ḳāsim to the White Monastery.

The Patriarchal Biographies of Severus of Al-Ushmûnain are based in their earlier portion, as he himself tells us, on Greek and Coptic documents preserved in the ancient Monastery of Saint Macarius in the Nitrian Valley. In the later part the compiler has inserted the works of certain writers almost without change, such as the biography of the patriarch Khā'il or Michael by John the deacon, a contemporary and acquaintance of that patriarch, and a considerable portion of the series written by George, archdeacon and secretary of the patriarch Simon. Many of our author's quotations are taken from the life of the patriarch Michael.

Another writer, to whom our author is considerably indebted, is better known to European readers, since his history was published in 1654-6 by Pococke, at Oxford. This is Saʿīd ibn al-Baṭrik, the Melkite patriarch of Alexandria, whose name was translated into Greek in the form Eutychius. He was a famous physician, as well as a priest, and composed a medical work in addition to his historical labours. His chief work, however, was that from which our author quotes, namely the Nazm al-Jauhar or Row of Jewels, to which the European editor has given the Latin title of Eutychii Annales. It is a history, beginning with the earliest events narrated in the Bible, and continued down to the author's own time; but its most valuable part is the ecclesiastical chronicle of Egypt which it contains. The author was born at Al-Fuṣṭāṭ in A.H. 263 = A.D. 877, became Melkite patriarch of Alexandria in A.H. 321 = A.D. 932, and died in the latter city in A.H. 328 = A.D. 940.

Our author makes more references than one to a writer whom he calls Maḥbūb ibn Kuṣṭantin al-Manbaji, that is 'Maḥbūb, son of Constantine, a native of the city of Manbaj.' This writer also bore the Greek name Agapius, corresponding to his Arabic appellation. He composed a history of the world in two parts, of which a copy of the first part is
preserved at Oxford, and a copy of the second part, relating events from the Incarnation onwards, exists at Florence. The latter work, however, has been carried on by a continuator down to the year A.D. 1312, and this has occasioned the erroneous belief that Mahbûb himself lived in the fourteenth century. Mahbûb is a writer several times quoted by Al-Makin in the first part of his history. According to the Florentine MS., Mahbûb or Agapius was a Jacobite or monophysite bishop of Manbaj.

Use was also made in the work now edited of a History of the Councils, of the homilies of the patriarch Theophilus, and of a Guide to the Festivals. It seems that there were several of such Guides in the ecclesiastical literature of Egypt, and the Synaxaria were partly based upon them. Our author was, moreover, acquainted with some at least of the biblical books, and he quotes from the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Gospels.

He would seem to have read the romance of Aurâ, which still exists in Arabic, and was probably translated from the Coptic.

The curious work called the Book of Clement or Apocalypse of Peter is also quoted by our author at the end of his history. Copies of this work exist in Europe, as, for instance, in Paris and at Oxford.

Our author does not tell us whence he derived his accounts of Nubia, of Abyssinia, and of the Indian Christians. Of Nubia he may have read in the work of 'Abd Allâh ibn Aḥmad ibn Sulâ'im, quoted by Al-Maḳrizî. Of Abyssinia he may have learnt something from the envoys who frequently arrived in Egypt from that country, as bearers of despatches addressed to the Coptic patriarch. Of India he may have received information from the mouths of Christian travellers; or perhaps those Indian priests who at the end of the seventh century came to Egypt, to beg the Coptic patriarch to send out a bishop to their fellow-countrymen, may have left behind them some account of the state of Christianity in India.

In those parts of his work which treat of the general history of Egypt, our author chiefly follows Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam and Al-Kindi. Copies of the Futûh Miṣr or History of the Conquest of Egypt by the Muslims, composed by the former of these two writers, exist in Paris.
The author, 'Abd ar-Rahmân 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, seems to have written at the end of the second century of the Hegira, but the work was continued by his disciples, and in the Paris MSS. goes down to the end of the third century. There is little legend in the work, which consists chiefly of pure history, and in this respect compares favourably with later histories, such as those of Al-Maqrizi and As-Suyûtî. Al-Kindi, who is called by Hâji Khalfah the first Arab historian of Egypt, died in A.H. 247 = A.D. 860, or according to others in A.H. 350 = A.D. 961. The title of his great work was Khitaṭ Mîsr or Topography and History of Mîsr, its object being to describe the foundation of the city of Mîsr and its subsequent alterations. This work seems to have been the basis and model of the later works named Khitaṭ, such as that of Al-Maqrizi. Two other works of Al-Kindi exist in manuscript at the British Museum, namely a History of the Governors of Egypt and a History of the Cadis. Al-Kindi also wrote a book called Fadâ‘îl Mîsr or Excellences of Egypt, which is quoted by our author more than once. The full name of Al-Kindi is Abû 'Umar Muḥammad ibn Yûsuf al-Kindî. Some of his works were continued by Abû Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrâhîm ibn Zûlâk, who died A.H. 387 = A.D. 997, and who is once quoted by our author, through a copyist's error, as An-Nasr ibn Zûlâk.

The great history of At-Ṭabari had also formed the subject of our author's studies, as he shows by his reference towards the end of the work.

Finally, our author, although a Christian, shows on more than one occasion that he is not unacquainted with the Koran itself, thus giving a fresh proof of the friendly feeling which existed between Christians and Muslims at the beginning of the thirteenth century of our era.

From the account given above of the plan, or rather want of plan, of Abû Şâliḥ's work, it will be seen that it resembles a note-book which has not yet been put into order, rather than a formal composition. It is clear then that such a book could hardly be worth publication were it not that, in the words of the author, 'he has here collected information which is not to be found in the work of any other writer.'

The present work is full of allusions to the history of Egypt, and
especially to the more important periods, such as the Mahomctan
conquest, the overthrow of the Omeyyad dynasty, the rule of Aḥmad
ibn Ṭūlūn and his son Khamārawaih, and the invasion by the Fatimide
caliph Al-Muʿizz. The conquest of Egypt began in A.H. 18, when 'Amr
ibn al-ʿAṣi entered the country by the Syrian frontier, and subdued
the imperial forces in a battle near Pelusium, where the Arab town of Al-
Faramā afterwards stood. 'Amr then advanced upon the fortress of
Babylon, about ten miles to the south of Heliopolis, which was, after
a long siege, ceded to him by the treachery of George son of Mennas, the
'Muḥākūlis.' After this it was necessary to attack the capital of the
country, Alexandria, and here again serious resistance was offered to
the Muslims. The siege of Alexandria lasted several months, so that the
conquest of Egypt was not completed until the first of Muḥarram,
A.H. 20 (A.D. 641). The conqueror did not, however, select Alexandria
as his capital, but chose a spot easier of access from Mecca and Medina,
namely the Fortress of Babylon and its neighbourhood, as the site of
the new city which he founded and named Fustāṭ Miṣr.

From the time of the conquest, Egypt was governed by wālis,
appointed by the caliphs, who rarely visited the country themselves.
The last of the Omeyyad caliphs, however, Marwān II, who reigned
from A.H. 126 to 133, took refuge in Egypt from the armies of the new
claimant to the caliphate, As-Saffāh, the Abbaside. The Khorassanian
troops of the latter pursued Marwān, who set fire to the city of Fustāṭ
Miṣr, and, having crossed the Nile, destroyed all the boats upon the river
in order to stop the progress of the enemy. A vivid picture of this
disastrous conflict is given us by an eye-witness, the contemporary
biographer of the Coptic patriarch Michael, whose life is included in
the compilation of Severus of Al-Ushmūnain. The Khorassanians soon
found boats with which to cross the river; and they pursued Marwān as
far as Būṣir Kūridus, near the entrance to the Fayyūm, where they put
him to death. His head was sent round the country as a proof of the
extinction of the Omeyyad dynasty and the victory of the Abbasides.

The Omeyyad caliphs had resided at Damascus, and the Abbasides
established their court in A.D. 750 at the newly-erected city of Bagdad,
so that Egypt was still ruled by wālis, who, on account of their remote-
ness from the seat of the central government, soon became practically independent. One of the most celebrated governors of Egypt was Ahmad ibn Tulun, who ruled the country from A.H. 254 to 270. By this time the importance of the city of Fusṭāṭ Miṣr had greatly diminished. The Ḥamrās or quarters to the north of Al-Fustāṭ, founded at the time of the Arab conquest, had fallen into decay, and the ground had become bare of houses; but upon the flight of Marwān into Egypt, the Abbaside troops had settled upon it, and gave it its new name of Al-'Askar, and here the emirs who ruled Egypt resided. It was in this quarter, now called the quarter of Ibn Tulun, that Ahmad built his great mosque. He no longer, however, chose to reside here, but founded the new quarter of Al-Ḵaṭāʾī, which extended from the lowest spurs of the Muḵṭam hills to the mosque of Ibn Tulun. Neither Al-'Askar nor Al-Ḵaṭāʾī was destined to exist long. When the Fatimide caliph Al-Muʿizz sent his general Jauhar to invade Egypt, the latter demolished the houses between Al-Fustāṭ and his own new city of Cairo, which formed these two quarters, and they thus entirely disappeared, save for the Christian monasteries and churches, which, as Abū Šālīḥ tells us, still remained in the Ḥamrās, as the antiquaries of Egypt continued to call the place.

Between the fall of the Omeyyads and the appearance of the Fatimides, it would seem that the Christians of Egypt enjoyed greater prosperity than had been their lot during the later days of the fallen dynasty. Nor do the Fatimide caliphs appear to have treated their Christian subjects with harshness, with the notable exception of the fanatical Al-Ḥākim, the great persecutor of the Copts and Syrians. The work now published is full of instances of benevolence shown to the Copts, and practical favours conferred upon them by Mahometan rulers and officials.

The work of Abū Šālīḥ was composed immediately after a great revolution in the affairs of Egypt, following the invasion of the Kurds and Ghuzz under the leadership of Shirkūh and Saladin. This invasion was due to the unscrupulous intrigues of Shāwar as-Saʿdi, the vizier of the last of the Fatimide caliphs, Al-ʿĀḍid li-dini ʿllāh. Shāwar had been in the service of a former vizier, Aṣ-Šālīḥ ibn Ruzzik, who
appointed him wâli of Upper Egypt, a post only second in importance to the vizierate; and in this capacity Shâwar had shown much ability, and gained great influence over the principal officials of the country. On the death of Aş-Šâlih, however, in the year 556 (A. D. 1161), his son and successor in the vizierate, Al-ʿĀdil, jealous of Shâwar's influence, deprived him of his office, in spite of the warnings against such a step which had been uttered by Ibn Ruzzik upon his death-bed. Shâwar assembled a body of troops, marched to Cairo early in the year 558, and, on the flight of Al-ʿĀdil, pursued him and put him to death, himself assuming the reins of government as vizier, under the nominal supremacy of the Fatimide caliph.

In the month of Ramaḍān of the same year, however, a fresh aspirant to the vizierate appeared in the person of Ad-Dirghâm, who, collecting a body of troops, forced Shâwar to flee from Cairo, and put himself in his place. Thus, in the course of the year 558, the post of vizier was held by three statesmen in succession. Shâwar, however, took the bold step of making his way to Syria, and applying for aid to Nûr ad-Din, the most powerful Mahometan prince of his time. Accordingly, in the month of Jumâdâ the First of the year 559, Nûr ad-Din despatched a body of Turkish and Kurdish troops to Egypt under the command of a Kurdish general, then in his service, named Asad ad-Din Shirkûh. On the arrival of the army of Nûr ad-Din, Dirghâm was defeated and slain, and Shâwar was restored to his post of vizier. He, however, now refused to perform his part of the contract, and would neither grant money nor land to the troops, nor send to Nûr ad-Din that portion of the revenues of Egypt which he had promised. Upon this, the Kurdish general seized the city of Bilbais, and great part of the province of Ash-Sharkîyiyah. The unscrupulous vizier, however, instead of satisfying the just expectations of his auxiliaries, sent messengers to the natural enemy of his countrymen and his religion, the Frankish king of Jerusalem, offering him a sum of money if he would defend Egypt against Nûr ad-Din and his troops, who, he said, had formed the design of conquering the valley of the Nile. Complying with this request, Amaury led a body of troops to Egypt and besieged Shirkûh at Bilbais during three months, but without success in spite of the low
walls and the absence of a moat. Suddenly the news came that Nur ad-Din had captured Harim, and was marching upon Baniyas. On hearing this, the Franks hastened homewards to defend their own country, after inducing the besieged general, who was ignorant of any cause for the Frankish retreat, to make terms by which he bound himself to leave Egypt also.

In the year 562, Asad ad-Din Shirkh was again sent to Egypt by Nur ad-Din, who was now filled with the desire of subduing that country, and had obtained from the Abbaside caliph Al-Mustadi a sanction for his enterprise, which made it a crusade with the object of extinguishing the rival dynasty of the Fatimides. Amaury, however, was again induced by a bribe to come to the rescue of Shawar and his nominal master Al-Acid, and this time actually entered Cairo, while a sandstorm destroyed part of the army of Shirkh, who was forced to retreat. In the same campaign, part of Amaury's army was defeated by Shirkh, and Alexandria submitted to the Kurdish general; but finally the latter retired from Egypt after a blockade which drove him to make terms with the king of the Franks.

The third and final campaign of Shirkh in Egypt began in the month of Rabi' the First of the year 564. The Frankish king had soon broken off his alliance with the Fatimide caliph, on the plea of treachery on the part of the Egyptians, and making a sudden descent upon Al-Farama, the ancient Pelusium, he had put the inhabitants to the sword. Shawar now once more asked for help from Nur ad-Din, whom he had treated so unfaithfully, and Shirkh with his nephew Yusuf ibn Ayyub Salah ad-Din, known to Europe as Saladin, led an army to the frontiers of Egypt, where they found the Frankish troops who had been detained there by a stratagem on the part of Shawar, and who now had to beat a hasty and disastrous retreat. Shirkh now took possession of Egypt, under the sanction of the Fatimide caliph, whose nominal rule he for the present maintained. The assassination of Shawar, however, was a natural and rapid consequence of the Kurdish occupation; and Shirkh became vizier in his place. After filling this post for two months and five days, Shirkh died, and was succeeded in the vizierate by his nephew Saladin.

The history of Saladin is well known to European readers. He was
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the son of Ayyûb the son of Shâdî, a member of the noble Kurdish tribe of Rawâdiyah, natives of Duwin, a town of Adharbaijân, and was born A.H. 532 at Takrit, where his father and uncle were in the service of Bîhrûz, who was acting as governor of the district under the Seljucide sultan Masûd ibn Muḥammad Ghiyâth ad-Dîn. When Saladin became vizier of Egypt he at once began to give free rein to his ambition, and to display his capabilities for administration and for military activity. By his amiable demeanour and by promises of money, he won the emirs and the soldicery to his side, and was soon able to carry out the project of extinguishing the Fatimide dynasty, and once more proclaiming the Abbaside in Egypt as the true caliph. In the year 567, on the 2nd day of the month of Muḥarram, the Khutbah of Al-ʾĀḍîd was stopped by command of Saladin, and the name of Al-Mustaḍî was put in its place. The last of the Fatimide caliphs, however, was seriously ill at the time of this change, and never knew that his high position had been lost. A few days later the deposed caliph was dead.

Saladin now took possession of the palace of the caliphate. Treasures of fabulous value are said to have been found there, hoarded up by the rulers of so large a part of the Mahometan world during two centuries of religious and political supremacy. We read of a carbuncle weighing seventeen dirhams or twelve mithkâls, of a pearl of unequalled size, and of an emerald four finger’s breadths in length and one in width. There was also a most valuable collection of books, in spite of the loss of a great portion of the library of the Fatimide caliphs in the reign of Al-Mustanṣîr. Saladin, however, sold all the treasures of the palace. The rejoicings at Bagdad were great when the news came that the Abbaside caliph had been prayed for in the mosques of Egypt, and that the rival dynasty had been overthrown; and the city was decorated while the revolution was publicly announced during several days. Al-Mustaḍî sent robes of honour to Nûr ad-Dîn, and to his general Saladin in Egypt.

The effect of these political changes upon Egypt in general, and upon the Copts in particular, had been striking. On the approach of the Franks, Shâwâr ordered that Mîṣr should be burnt, and that the inhabitants should remove to Cairo. The results of this burning of the already decaying city, which had suffered so greatly from the famine
and plague in the reign of Al-Mustanṣir, are noticed on several occasions in the work attributed to Abū Ṣāliḥ. Churches and monasteries were destroyed, although they were afterwards in part restored. When the Kurdish general Shīrkūh had taken possession of Egypt in the name of Nūr ad-Dīn, a considerable part of the land was taken away from its owners and settled upon the Kurds and Ghuzz, who formed the invader’s army. In this way the Coptic church lost, for the time, all, or great part of, her landed property.

The Ghuzz, who are so often mentioned in this work, and who seem to have formed perhaps the largest and most efficient contingent in the army of Shīrkūh and Salādīn, were a Turkish tribe whose original home lay ‘beyond the river’ of Central Asia, in the region which the Romans called Transoxiana. They removed, however, into the regions of Mesopotamia in the first centuries of Islam, and in the twelfth century entered the service of Nūr ad-Dīn.

The theory of land tenure among the Muslims was that all the land had been placed by divine providence at the disposal of the prophet Mahomet and next of his successors the caliphs, who had the right to settle it upon whom they would. Acting upon this principle the prophet himself settled land in Syria upon Tamim ad-Dārī, even before the conquest of the country. Some of the titles to landed property in Egypt at the time of our author, and later, were traced back to the earliest caliphs. In general a rent or land-tax was paid to the government in return for such property; but in later times a system of military fiefs was introduced, similar to those held under the feudal system of western Europe. The present work supplies us with several instances of the rent paid for land held under the Fatimide caliphs.

The philological features of the present work form a subject too large to be discussed in an introduction, and would be better treated in a grammar of the Middle Arabic language. It must be remembered, however, that the author is represented in the title as an Armenian, and that his acquaintance with Arabic was probably imperfect. It is also quite clear that the copyist was no more equal to the task of correctly transcribing, than to that of judiciously abbreviating the book. Apart from these considerations, the orthography and grammar of the MS.
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seem to be those of other MSS. of the same period. Among purely orthographical faults, ٣ is sometimes written for ص، ٥ for ض، ٦ for ج، ٧ for ش. The distinctions of case have been almost entirely lost, and the accusative is written where the nominative should be, and vice versa. In the case of the word لي=ابن the confusion of cases is especially frequent. Mistakes in gender are also common, especially in the demonstrative pronouns ذلك، هذا for ذلك، ذلك, and vice versa. The dual sometimes appears, especially in the numerals, even when they are not in the oblique case or construct state, with the termination for ١ or ٢; compare Spitta, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*, p. 132, where such forms as ٣٣, ‘two-thirds,’ ٣٤, ‘two-fifths,’ are said to be used in all cases and states in the official language of the Divans, and to have passed thence into the vulgar tongue. At other times the oblique case in ٤ is used for the nominative, just as in the plural ٥ takes the place of ٦. On fol. 64 b an adjective in the feminine singular is placed in attribution to a dual masculine, according to the rule in modern Arabic, although a few lines afterwards the masc. plur. is used. On fol. 93 a there is a noticeable form of the 2nd pers. plur. masc. of the perf., viz. ٧٧٧, for the classical ٧٧٧, instead of the more modern ٧٧٧; but this may be a proof of the greater purity of the Arabic spoken in the Oases. It is a peculiarity of the present work that in certain parts the language is far more classical than in others; but this may be because the author has in some places closely followed some writer of the first ages of Islam, such as Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam or Al-Kindī, and in other places has composed his sentences for himself.

\[ \text{[II. 7.]} \]
CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.
Section I. Let us begin\(^1\) with the help and guidance of God. In this our own time, namely at the beginning of the year 564\(^2\) (Oct. 4, A.D. 1168–Sept. 23, 1169), took place the rebuilding of the [Armenian] church, named after Saint James, which stands in the district of Al-Basâtîn\(^3\), one of the districts of Egypt, in the neighbourhood of the hills. This was in the days of * * * , who was an emir\(^4\), and ruled Egypt on behalf of the

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\(^1\) Folio 1\(^b\) was not part of the original MS., of which, in reality, the first twenty-two leaves are wanting, but was added by its owner, who perhaps compiled it from mutilated fragments of some leaves now missing, to supply a beginning to the incomplete book. Hence the abruptness, obscurity, and inaccuracy of the text. See Preface.

\(^2\) This date must be rejected; it is the date of the dispersion of the monks (see fol. 2\(^a\)), not of the rebuilding of the church, which must have taken place many years before.

\(^3\) Or, in the singular, Al-Bustân. It lies a few miles to the south of Cairo, on the right or eastern bank of the Nile, near the Muḥatta'át range, in a region of gardens, as the name implies. It is now included in the district of Badrashain, in the province of Jizah, and in 1885 had a population of 1,698; see Recensement de l'Égypte, Cairo, 1885, tome ii. p. 65. (A. J. B.)

\(^4\) This first page of the MS. is so little trustworthy in its present form, that it can hardly be determined who this emir was. Since the events here related...
CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

caliph. He was a friend to all Christians, whether high or low. He received a monthly revenue of ten dinars\(^1\) from the lands [of the monastery] which he held in fief\(^2\). He then undertook and carried out the reconstruction of this church of Saint James, which had been burnt down; he built for it, above the sanctuary\(^3\), a lofty dome, which could be seen from afar; he erected arches and vaults; and he completed the whole by setting up the great doors. These, however, were afterwards carried away, and accordingly he renewed them once more; the same thing happened a second time, and again he renewed the doors. He also completed the rebuilding of the [adjacent] church, which, however, he did not cause to be consecrated, nor was the liturgy celebrated in it. When the emir died, he was buried in this church. Now the monastery, [in which this church is contained,] stands in the midst of gardens and plots of vegetables and cornfields; and it is reckoned among the most charming of resorts for pleasure.

§ When the Ghuzz\(^4\) and the Kurds took possession of the land of

cannot really belong to the year A. H. 564, as they would seem to do if the date here given could be relied upon, it may be suggested that this emir was the Armenian Badr al-Jamâlî, who was vizier to the caliph Al-Mustansîr from A. H. 467 to 487 = A. D. 1075–1094, and was known as Amîr al-Fuyûsh or emir of the troops, i.e. commander-in-chief. On account of his nationality and religion, Badr was a benefactor to the Christians of Egypt. Cf. Renaudot (Hist. Patr. pp. 459 and 508), who speaks of the Armenian settlement in Egypt in the time of Badr, mentioned by our author on fol. 47 b.

\(^1\) The dinar was a gold coin, slightly over 66 grs. in weight.

\(^2\) For remarks on the tenure of land in Egypt, see Introduction.

\(^3\) The word Askîna (بَيّنَةٌ قَرْنَتٌ or بَيّنَةٌ قَرْنَتٌ), from the Greek ἀσκήνα, is used in this work in the sense of 'sanctuary,' and appears to be synonymous with Haikal (الْحَيَال). Cf. Vansleb (Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie, Paris, 1677, p. 50), who speaks of 'la lampe de l'Askéné ou du Tabernacle, ce qui est le chœur intérieur.' The modern Copts, however, use the word to denote the baldakyn over the altar, such as may be seen, for example, in the church of Abû 's-Saîfâin at Old Cairo. See Butler, Ancient Coptic Churches, Oxford, 1884, vol. i. p. 114. (A. J. B.)

\(^4\) For remarks on the Kurdish conquest of Egypt, see Introduction. Our author, or more probably his copyist, by putting الأكراد the غر in apposition
ARMENIAN MONASTERY AND CHURCHES.

Egypt, in the month of Rabî' the Second, in the year 564 (A.D. 1168-9), calamities well known to all men overtook the Armenians, who were then settled in Egypt. Their patriarch, together with the Armenian monks, was driven away from that monastery of which we have been speaking; its door was blocked up, and those churches remained empty, nor did any one venture to approach them.

§ Al-Bustân [or Al-Basâtîn] was next allotted as a fief to the Fâkıh Al-Bahâ ³'Alî, the Damascene, who set apart for the Armenians the church of John the Baptist, built over⁴ the church of the Pure Lady⁵, in the Hárah Zawilah⁶; and here the patriarch dwelt during the year 564 (A.D. 1168-9).

seems to consider them as two names of the same nation. Perhaps there is some confusion between the English translation, which would be correct, and the Armenian.

¹ There were a large number of Armenians in Egypt during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. See Renaudot, Hist. Patr. p. 460 ff. Yâkût, who died A.H. 596 = A.D. 1200, speaks of the Armenians among the mixed nationalities of which, as he says, the population of Egypt was in his time composed. See his Geogr. Wörterbuch ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. p. 681. Under the later Fatimides, high offices were frequently held by Armenians in Egypt, of whom the most distinguished were Badr al-Jamâli, the vizier of Al-Mustansîr; his son, Al-Afdal, vizier to Al-Âmir; and Tâj ad-Daulah Bahârâm, the vizier of Al-Îfiz.

² The first patriarch or catholicus of the Armenians in Egypt was Gregory, who, towards the end of the eleventh century, was consecrated at Alexandria by his uncle the catholicus, Gregory II. See Renaudot, Hist. Patr. p. 461; and, for references to Armenian writers, Dr. Arşak Ter-Mikelian, Die armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zur byzantinischen, Leipsic, 1892, p. 84.


⁴ In Egypt churches are frequently built one over another, forming two stories.

⁵ A church of Al-'Adhra (the Virgin) is still standing in the Hárah Zawilah, and is almost beyond question to be identified with the church mentioned in the text; it bears marks of great antiquity. See Butler, Coptie Churches, vol. i. p. 273. (A. J. B.)

⁶ The quarter of Cairo called Hárah Zawilah, and now Zuwailah, was founded...
The Armenian Patriarch.

§ This patriarch had been bishop of Išfiḥī; and afterwards, during the caliphate of Al-Ḥāfīzī, he conceived the idea of becoming patriarch by means of money which he gave in bribes. He made an agreement with Al-Ḥāfīzī, binding himself to give instruction in historical matters to the caliph, who granted him permission to appear at the palace of the caliph, together with the emirs and officers of state, on two days in the week, namely Monday and Thursday, and also on festivals, to pay his respects, and to bring any new information that he had discovered. In this way, during his visits to the Emerald Palace, the patriarch imparted to Al-Ḥāfīzī all the results of his researches among biographies by the Berber tribe of Zawīlah, who assisted Jauhar, the general of the Fatimide caliph Al-Mu'izz, in the conquest of Egypt, A.D. 969, and the foundation of Cairo. The Bāb Zawīlah or Zuwayneh is one of the principal gates of the city. See Al-Makrizī, Khīṭat, Būlāk, A.H. 1270 = A.D. 1854, vol. ii. p. f; Ibn Dūkmāk, Kitāb al-Iftīsār li-wāsītah 'ikd al-amīr, Būlāk, A.H. 1310 = A.D. 1893, v. p. rv.

1 Now called Išfiḥī; generally written ισφή; see fol. 8 b, 10 a, 47 a, etc. The town lies south of Cairo, on the eastern bank, and is the Coptic ΝΕΤΠΕΣ, the Greek Aphroditopolis; it now gives its name to a district of the province of Jizah, and in 1885 had a population of 2,731. See Yākūt, Geogr. Wūrdī. i. p. 111; Amédineau, ΠΕΡΙΒΛΕΠΕΙΝ ΠΑΣΑΝ ΕΓΥΠΤΟΝ, p. 326. Under the Fatimide dynasty, and for some centuries after, Išfiḥī was the capital of a province; see fol. 8 b; Ibn Dūkmāk, v. p. 111.


3 Should be ṭṭḥīl.

4 These were the two days of public reception at the palace during the rule of the Fatimide caliphs. See Al-Makrizī, Khīṭat, i. p. 381.

5 The Emerald Palace (قصر الزمرد) of the Fatimide caliphs, which stood in the east of Cairo, and was founded by Jauhar in A.H. 358 = A.D. 969. The name was taken from the Emerald Gate near which this palace stood. See Al-Makrizī, Khīṭat, i. pp. 54, 58, 570; cf. p. 58 ff.
and histories of wars, and chronicles and annals of former rulers, and carried on intercourse of this kind with Al-Ḥāfīz until the death of the latter, which took place in the month of Jumādā the Second, in the year 544 (A.D. 1149).

§ Outside this monastery¹, and in its neighbourhood, beside the pottery, there stands a small church, which was rebuilt in the caliphate of Al-Āmir² bi-aḥkāmi 'illah, for the use of the Melkites, instead of the church which had stood in the Ḥāraḥ Zawilah but was wrecked in the same caliphate, and later, namely in the caliphate of Al-Ḥāfīz, was transformed into a mosque. Abū 'l-Barakāt ibn al-Laith wrote verses on the subject of this church which was thus restored. It was built upon vaults, and beneath it there was a burying-place for the dead.

§ On account of the ruin brought upon the Armenians by the Ghuzz and the Kurds, their patriarch left Egypt and departed to Jerusalem. He took with him seventy-five sacred³ books, among which was a copy of the Four Gospels with illuminations⁴ in colours and gold, representing

¹ The monastery of Al-Basātīn, described above.
³ The books here spoken of were perhaps brought by Gregory (see note on fol. 2 a) from Armenia to Egypt. See Renaudot, Hist. Patr. p. 461, and Ter-Mikelian, Die armen. Kirche, &c. p. 84.
⁴ Probably the miniatures here spoken of were the work of Byzantine or Syrian artists. Native Armenian miniatures are not met with earlier than the thirteenth century. See Strzygowski, Das Etschmiadzin Evangeliar, 1891, p. 87. A native writer of the eighth century says that all figure-painting in Armenia was the work of Greek artists (ibid. p. 77 f.) The Armenian gospels of Echmiadzin, of A.D. 989, have Syrian miniatures of an earlier date inserted at the beginning and end. An Armenian book of the Gospels now at San Lazzaro, Venice, and ascribed to the end of the tenth century, contains Byzantine miniatures representing scenes from the life of Christ (ibid. p. 76). Another Armenian MS. of the same date contains a figure of the Evangelist Saint Luke with a Greek title (Ἀ)ΔΟΚΑΣ, proving the nationality of its designer (ibid. p. 77). A similar employment of Byzantine artists was customary in the neighbouring country of Georgia (ibid. p. 78 ff.)
the miracles of Christ, to whom be glory! The patriarch's journey was begun on Saturday the 15th of Hatur, in the year 888 of the Martyrs, which is equivalent to the 23rd of Rabi' the First of the year 568 (A.D. 1172). It is said that he founded a monastery outside Jerusalem, containing a church, and named after Sharkis, who is the same as Abu Sirjah; and to this church he brought all the altar-vessels and golden dinars that he had in his charge; and it is said that this Armenian monastery contained twenty monks. The patriarch appointed a priest at Cairo to act as his deputy, together with the son of the priest, for the purpose of reciting prayers, and performing liturgies at the proper time, in the church of John the Baptist, which stands over the chapel of the Pure Lady in the Hárah Zawilah, as it has already been related; and at this church there assembled a congregation of Armenians, both men and women. As for the monastery which belongs to this people, together with its churches, it was deserted, and its door was fastened up.

§ The news came that the patriarch had arrived at Jerusalem in safety, and that all the Christians had gone out to meet him with joy and gladness, chanting psalms, and carrying before him crosses and lighted tapers, and censers with incense.

1 The Coptic Athor (ˁwḥ) = Oct. 28–Nov. 27.

2 According to the custom of antiquity upon the arrival or departure of guests whom it was desired to honour, and especially of bishops. So it was when Saint Athanasius visited the different parts of Egypt: 'He journeyed southwards, accompanied by some of the chief bishops and a great company, and with torches and candles and censers without number.'

On the approach of the officers of Theodosius to Lycopolis, the modern Asyut, the bishop John gave orders for their reception in a similar manner: 'Let
§ After this, the patriarch lived for a time in happiness, and then went to his rest in the mercy of God, to whom be praise, on the 5th of Tūbah\(^1\), in the year last mentioned; and he was buried in the monastery of James the son of Zebedee at Jerusalem. He was noble in character and beautiful in form; he was of perfect stature; his face was encircled by his beard and whiskers, which were growing grey; and his age was nearly eighty years.

§ It is said that the Armenian bishop\(^2\) resident in Jerusalem, when he saw how men sought the society of this holy patriarch on account of his noble qualities, was filled with envy of him, and gave him poison to drink, which caused his death. But God did not show favour to this bishop after the patriarch's death, or grant him a happy life; for he died only twenty days afterwards. God knows best in his hidden wisdom whether that which was told of the bishop was true. This patriarch of whom we have been speaking was a learned priest, understanding the divine books and able to expound them. But there were those who envied him on account of his good reputation among men; and so they said that he was guilty of immoral conduct. This report arose among those who were most envious of his innocence. The author of this book declared as follows: I met Abū 'l-Kāsim Khalil, the physician and philosopher of Ascalon, who said that he had visited this patriarch one

all the clergy of the city and the chief men take the holy Gospel of the Saviour and crosses and censers, and go forth and bring them into the city with honour, singing hymns.'

\(^{1}\) The Coptic Tobi (\textit{Tωβι}) = Dec. 27-Jan. 25.

day in his cell in the monastery of Az-Zuhri\(^1\) [and the result of the visit was that the patriarch was proved innocent].

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**Fol. 4 b** The report was not spread until after he had departed to Syria and had died there. It was at the house of Al-A'azz Ḥasan ibn Salāmah called Al-Bākilānī, who was chief cadi\(^2\) at Miṣr, that I the poor author of this book met Abū 'l-Ḵāsim, on Monday, the 27th of Shawwāl, in the year 568 (A.D. 1173).

**Fate of the Armenian Churches of Al-Basāṭīn and Az-Zuhri.**

§ Since no Armenian of authority was now left in Egypt, the Copts acquired possession of this large and ancient church\(^3\) by a decree of our Lord the Sultan, through the intercession of the Shaikh ar-Ra'is Ṣafī ad-Daulah ibn Abū 'l-Ma'āli, known as Ibn Sharāfī, his scribe. Then its fittings were renewed by the emir Sa'id ad-Daulah Bahrām the steward of the Armenians. When the Shaikh Ṣafī ad-Daulah had fully provided all that was needed for the construction of the church, through the priest Abū 'l-Wafa ibn Abī 'l-Bashar, the patriarch Anba Mark\(^4\), who was the seventy-third in the succession, came with Anba John,

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\(^1\) Janān az-Zuhrī or Bustān az-Zuhrī was the name given to gardens between Fustāṭ and Cairo, from the former owner of the land 'Abd al-Wahāb ibn Mūsā az-Zuhrī. The pool called Birkat an-Nāširiyah was excavated on their site in A.H. 721 by the Sultan Al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Ḫalā'ūn. See Al-Makrīzī, Ḫīṭāt, ii. pp. 115 and 116.

\(^2\) The cadi of cedis (قاضي القضاة) or chief judge was the principal legal officer under the Fatimide caliphs and their successors. This high dignitary was distinguished by riding on a grey mule, and he held his court in great state on Tuesday and Saturday at the Mosque of 'Amr. See Al-Makrīzī, Ḫīṭāt, i. p. 285; As-Suyūṭī, Ḥusn al-Muhājiraḥ fi Akhkhār Miṣr wa 'l-Kāhirah, ii. p. 171. Al-A'azz became chief cadi in A.H. 549.

\(^3\) I.e. the church of Al-Basāṭīn or Al-Bustān spoken of above, fol. 2.

\(^4\) Occupied the see from A.D. 1174 to 1189. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 530-554. The title Anba transcribes the Coptic Ṣḥḥa and means 'father.'
bishop of Tamwaih, and Anba Michael, bishop of Bastah, and a body of priests and chief men and orthodox laity; and the church was consecrated on Wednesday, the 17th of Ba'ūnah, in the year 892 of the Blameless Martyrs; and the liturgy was celebrated and the people communicated at the hand of the patriarch. This church became a patriarchal church, and the liturgy was conducted henceforth by the priests of the church of the Lady in the Ḥarât ar-Rûm in Cairo. Abû Sa'id ibn az-Zayyât provided for the painting of the apse of this church.

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1 On west bank of Nile, a little south of Cairo, and opposite Ḥulwân; see Yakût, Geogr. Wort. ii. p. 714. It is the Coptic χαλεωσωτ, and is now in the district of Badrashain, province of Jizah; its population in 1885 was 794, besides 454 Bedouins; Amél., Géogr. p. 478. M. Amélineau does not explain why he writes the Arabic name as طموحة and transcribes it as Tamouleh.

2 Bastah is the classical Bubastis, Coptic ροβαστ or ροβαστ, and under the name of Tall Bastah is now a small hamlet close to Zagazig, in the province of Kalyûb; see Amél., Géogr. p. 89. (A. J. B.)


4 The 'Quarter of the Romans,' who came with the army of the caliph Al-Mu'izz, and took their part in the foundation of Cairo. The quarter was sometimes called the Lower Ḥarât ar-Rûm in distinction from the Upper or Inner Ḥarât ar-Rûm. See Al-Makrizî, Khîfât, ii. p. 3; Ibn Dukmâk, op. cit. v. p. 27. The word 'Rûm' was used very loosely by the Arabs, sometimes in the sense of Europeans generally, sometimes in that of subjects of the Byzantine empire.

5 The word جان here and on fol. 31 a evidently stands, by a clerical error, for صار, which occurs on fol. 41 b, &c. If we suppose the book to have been written from dictation, the sound of ش might be mistaken for that of ج; and an ignorant copyist might add two points over ج, making it غ.

The apse is an almost indispensable feature in the architecture of a Coptic church, and is usually highly decorated. Marble seats in tiers, forming a tribune or synthronos, run round the foot of the wall, while above the tribune the wall is cased with marble panelling for some little height; and over this stand the painted figures of Our Lord and the Twelve Apostles. It is probably to such frescoes that Abû Šâlîlî is alluding. See Butler, Coptic Churches, i. pp. 40, 112, &c. (A. J. B.)
which was executed by Abū 'l-Fath ibn al-Ākmaṣ, known as Ibn al-Ḥaufū the painter; and this work was finished in the month of Amshir, in the year 892 of the Blameless Martyrs (Jan.–Feb., A.D. 1177).

§ There came a bishop from Armenia, accompanied by three priests, and sent by the king\(^1\) of Armenia and the patriarch. He brought a despatch from both of them and two letters, one of which was from Al-Malik Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn\(^2\), and the other from Al-Malik Saif ad-Dīn Abū Bakr\(^3\), his brother, to Al-Malik Taḳī ad-Dīn\(^4\), and they recommended in their letters that the bishop should be received with honour, and that the two churches of the Armenians in Az-Zuhri\(^5\) and Al-Bustān\(^6\) should be given up to him. So this bishop alighted at the church of John the

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\(^{1}\) Leo or Levon II, the Rubenide, who reigned in Cilicia, not in Armenia proper; he ascended the throne in 1186. He was a great supporter of his own church and of other Oriental churches. See Alishan, Léon le Magn. p. 294, &c.

\(^{2}\) Saladin had left Egypt in A.H. 578, and was now in Syria, engaged in wars and sieges; see Al-Makrizi, Ḳhitāṭ, ii. p. \(r r f\); Ibn al-Athīr, Al-Kāmil (ed. Tornberg), xi. p. \(r r f\); Ibn Shaddād, Sirāh Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn (ed. Schultens), p. 38 ff.

\(^{3}\) Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Abī 'sh-Shukr Ayyūb ibn Shādī ibn Marwān, surnamed Al-Malik al-Ādīl Saif ad-Dīn, brother of Saladin, was born A.H. 530 = A.D. 1145 and died A.H. 615 = A.D. 1218. He acted as Saladin's viceroy for Egypt from A.H. 578 to 579, but was now ruling Aleppo, handed over to him by his brother. In A.H. 596 = A.D. 1200 he became sultan of Egypt. See Ibn Khallikān, Biogr. Dict. iii. p. 235; Ibn al-Athīr, Al-Kāmil, xi. p. \(r r f\); Ibn Shaddād, Sirāh Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn, p. 56; As-Suyūṭi, Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah, ii. p. \(r v f\).

\(^{4}\) Taḳī ad-Dīn 'Umar, surnamed Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, nephew of Saladin, had been appointed viceroy of Egypt by the latter, when he summoned Al-Malik al-Ādīl to Syria in A.H. 579 = A.D. 1183 (see fol. 6 b). Taḳī ad-Dīn was recalled to Syria towards the end of A.H. 582 = A.D. 1186, so that it must have been in this year that the envoys mentioned in the text arrived from Armenia. See Ibn Khallikān, Biogr. Dict. ii. p. 391; Ibn al-Athīr, Al-Kāmil, xi. p. \(r r f\); Ibn Shaddād, Sirāh Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn, p. 64; As-Suyūṭi, Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah, ii. p. 50; Abū 'l-Fida, Ann. Musl. iv. p. 60.

\(^{5}\) See fol. 3 b.

\(^{6}\) See fol. 1 b.
Baptist\(^1\) in the Ḥārah Zawīlah; but the Fāḵīh at-Ṭūsī\(^2\) did not allow it, so the bishop compelled him, and stayed there several months, and then grew sick and died without carrying out his object. He was buried in the church of the Armenians in Az-Zuhri; may God rest his soul.

§ On the Sunday of Olives\(^3\), the first day of the eighth week of the Holy Fast, and the 1st of Barmūdah\(^4\), in the year 892 (A.D. 1177) of the Blameless Martyrs, a body of priests came to this church, with the laity, among whom were Abū Saʿīd ibn Abū ʿ1-Faḍl ibn Fahd and Abū ʿ1-Yaman ibn Abī ʿ1-Faḍl ibn Abī ʿ1-Yaman ibn Zanbūr; and these two had with them a vessel containing pure oil with which they ate their peas; and they placed it within the church, but afterwards when they looked for it, they could not find it. Then they suspected the Muslim guardians of the church, and allowed their servants to beat them; so the guardians went to the Fāḵīh Bahā ad-Din\(^5\) ʿAli the Damascene in a fury, on account of what had happened to them, and said to him: 'Shall the Muslims be struck in the face by Christians in the month of Ramadān?' Then the fāḵīh at once informed the sultan of this occurrence, and it greatly angered him; so he sent for Ṣafī ad-Daulah Abū ʿ1-Maʿāli ibn Sharāfī, his scribe, and blamed him for it, and demanded of him the decree which he had received, empowering the Copts to take possession of this church; and this, by ill luck, was in the sleeve of his garment. So he brought it out and handed it to the sultan, who commanded that the door of the church should be barred, and this order was obeyed at once; and the door of the church was barred. After a short time, however, the sultan commanded by a new decree that the church should be restored to the Copts, and its door should be opened to them, and they should pray in it, and that none should molest them in any way without cause. After this the condition of this church remained prosperous, and one of the priests of the church

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\(^1\) See fol. 2 a.  
\(^2\) See fol. 6 a.  
\(^3\) I.e. Palm-Sunday; otherwise called Hosanna Sunday. (A. J. B.)  
\(^4\) The Coptic Pharmouthi (\(\phi\&\rho\rho\omega\omega\theta\))=March 27–April 25.  
\(^5\) See fol. 2 a.
of the Lady in the Ḥārat ar-Rûm was appointed to perform the prayers in it on Sundays and festivals. After this there came to the court from Ṭūs an Imāmite Fākīh, to whom Al-Bustān, of which we have spoken, was allotted as a fief, after the death of Al-Fākīh Ali of Damascus, in whose hands it had been. The new-comer began to oppress the Christians, and required gifts from them in the form of bribes, so far as his power extended. Then he shut the two churches 2, after pillaging the Great Church, the door of which he barred with a plank until Friday the 13th of Sha'ban, A. H. 581 (A.D. 1185). There came an Armenian, who said that he was a friend of Tāj ad-Daulah Bahrām 3 the Armenian, who had been vizier to Al-Imām Hāfiz; and he said that he had buried money, belonging to Tāj ad-Daulah the said vizier, in the Great Church 4, and that he had arrived in order to bring it to light; but no heed was given to him. It is said that he went on in his imaginings until the church was opened to him, and he dug in certain places. Then he said: 'The money has vanished from this place; those who pillaged the church have taken it.' Thus he complained that a wrong had been done. The church remained open for him, and he lived in it as long as the fancy held him; only he placed a second seal upon it on the part of Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar 5; but nothing was restored there.

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1 In Khorassan.
2 I.e. the two adjacent churches of Al-Bustān.
3 Became vizier to the caliph Al-Ḥāfiz in the month of Jumāda the Second, A. H. 529 = A. D. 1135. Being a Christian, he aroused the enmity of the Mahometans, a body of whom collected under Ruḍwān ibn al-Walakhshi (see fol. 9 a), and marched to Cairo with intentions hostile to Bahrām, who fled in the month of Jumāda the First, A. H. 531 = A. D. 1137. See Al-Maḳrīzī, Khīṭat, i. p. 104; As-Suyūṭī, op. cit. ii. p. 180; Ibn Khaldūn, iv. p. 97; Abū ʾl-Fida, Ann. Musl. iii. pp. 460, 468; Ibn al-Athīr, xi. p. 71. For the subsequent fate of Tāj ad-Daulah Bahrām, see below, fol. 50 a.
4 I.e. at Al-Bustān.
5 I.e. Taḵī ad-Dīn (see fol. 5 a and note), then acting as viceroy of Egypt for Salādīn.
When Taîki ad-Din went away to Syria, in Sha'bân A.H. 582 (A.D. 1186), and Al-Malik al-'Adîl Abû Bakr came to Cairo, the latter ordered that these two churches should be separated from one another on the 10th Ramadân in the same year, and the Copts and Armenians obtained possession of the two churches and began to make use of them. Now the time during which they had been closed was one year and fifteen days. So the Copts celebrated the liturgy in the Great Church on the first day of the blessed month of Khoiak in the year 903 of the Blameless Martyrs; and after this the Copts forbade the Armenians to make use of the Great Church. Then an assembly of the chief men took counsel on this matter; and both the churches were restored to the possession of the Armenians.

Church of Iṣṭabl al-Fîl.

§ The street called Iṣṭabl al-Fîl lies near the two pools of

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1 He was at first chagrined at being thus superseded in Egypt, but finally consented to remain in the service of Saladin, who made him prince of Ḥamâh (Hamath). Taîki ad-Din died A.H. 587 = A.D. 1191. Ibn Khallikân, Biogr. Dict. ii. p. 391; Ibn al-Athîr, op. cit. xi. p. rœ; Ibn Shaddâd, op. cit. pp. 67 and 213.

2 He came as guardian to his nephew Al-Malik al-'Azîz the son of Saladin, who superseded Taîki ad-Din in A.H. 582 as viceroy of Egypt, and became sultan on the death of his father in A.H. 589. It was not until A.H. 596 = A.D. 1200 that Al-Malik al-'Adîl became actual ruler of Egypt for the second time, succeeding his great-nephew Al-Malik al-Mansûr, son of Al-Malik al-'Azîz, as sultan. Al-Maḳrizî, op. cit. ii. p. rœ; Ibn Khallikân, op. cit. ii. p. 391; Ibn al-Athîr, op. cit. xii. p. 1 r.

3 The Coptic Khoiak (Christos) = Nov. 27–Dec. 26. The common Arabic transcription of the name is Kîhâk (كحّک).

4 I.e. A.D. 1187.

5 I.e. Elephant's Stable. The Dâr al-Fîl or House of the Elephant and the Birkat al-Fîl or Elephant's Pool, which still exists in name, lay to the south of Cairo, near the Birkâh Kûrûn. Perhaps Iṣṭabl al-Fîl was another name for Dâr al-Fîl, which may have been turned into stables like other palaces at Cairo; the Mamlûk sultans had stables on the Birkat al-Fîl. After A.H. 600 the borders
CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

Kārūn¹, which are between Mīṣr and Cairo; and in this street there is a church, which was long ago ruined, and became a yard, while its walls remained visible above the surface of the ground. Its site has been used for the erection of a mosque, which was built by Ḥusain the Kurd, the son-in-law of Ṣalāḥ ibn Ruzzīk², the vizier in the caliphate of Al-Imām Al-‘Ādíṭ li-dini 'Ilāh ³.

Fol. 7 a of the Birkat al-Fīl were much built upon and surrounded by lofty manzārahahs; and this became the finest quarter of Cairo. During the high Nile, when the pool was full, the sultan used to be rowed about it at night, while the manzārahahs were illuminated. Ibn Saʿīd says:

انظر الى بركة الفيل التي اكتملت • بها المناظر كالهداب للبحر
• كأنما هي والإصار ترقىها • كوكب قد اشروها على الفجر

'See the Elephant's Pool, encircled by manzārahahs, like lashes around the eye;

It seems, when the eyes behold it, as if stars had been set around the moon.'


¹ The copyist has probably omitted the words واللفيل 'and of the elephant' after بركة قارون 'the two pools of Kārūn.' There was but a single Birkah Kārūn, which was, however, only separated by a dyke from the Birkat al-Fīl. The passage should therefore doubtless read 'the two pools of Kārūn and of Al-Fīl.' When the quarters of Al-ʻAskar and Al-Katāʻī were founded (see Introduction), the borders of the Birkah Kārūn were thickly inhabited, but were afterwards partly deserted. See Al-Maḳrizī, op. cit. ii. p. 111.

² Abū ʻl-Ghārāt Ţalāʻī ibn Ruzzīk, surnamed Al-Malik as-Ṣāliḥ. Ṣalāḥ must be an error. He was born in 1.a.h. 495=1.a.d. 1101; was appointed vizier to the caliph Al-ʻAḍīz in 1.a.h. 549=1.a.d. 1154; and on the accession of Al-ʻĀdíṭ he remained vizier to the new caliph, who married his daughter. He died in Ramadān 1.a.h. 556=1.a.d. 1161.

³ The fourteenth and last of the Fatimide caliphs; reigned 1.a.h. 555-567= 1.a.d. 1160-1171.
REVENUES OF THE COPTIC CHURCH.

Revenues of the Coptic Church.

§ The sum of the revenues of the churches and monasteries in the two regions of the North and South, according to the estimate made of them for the year 575 (A.D. 1180), was 2,923 dinars in ready money, and 4,826 ardabs of corn in produce; while the landed property amounted to 915 feddans. This property came into the hands of the Christians through gifts from the Fatimide caliphs down to the lunar and revenue year 569 (A.D. 1174); but it was taken away from them and given to the Muslims, so that no part of it was left in the possession of the Christians; this was under the dynasty of the Ghuzz and Kurds at the end of the caliphate of Al-Mustaḍī' bi-amri 'llāh, and under the administration of Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūṣuf ibn Ayyūb the Kurd.

The Southern Region: 467 dinars, and the amount of produce which has been stated, and 906 feddans. The Northern Region: 2,445 dinars and nine feddans.

Revenues of Egypt.

§ It is fitting to state in this book the number of districts and villages included in the provinces under the dynasty, and also the revenues derived from their fiefs; not reckoning the city of Alexandria

1 The ardab is equivalent to nearly five bushels, and the feddān to about one acre, eight poles.

2 Proclaimed caliph at Bagdad in the month of Rābi' the Second, A.H. 566 = A.D. 1170, upon the death of his father Al-Mustanjid bi-'llāh. He was the thirty-third of the Abbaside caliphs, and was proclaimed caliph by Saladin at Cairo in the month of Muharram A.H. 567 = A.D. 1171, during the lifetime of the last Fatimide caliph Al-'Āḍid. Al-Mustaḍī' died in the month of Dhu 'l-Ka'dah A.H. 575, in the fortieth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son An-Nāṣir li-dini 'llāh. See Abū 'l-Fida, Ann. Musl. iii. p. 630, iv. p. 38; Abū 'l-Faraj, Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar ad-Duwal (ed. Pococke), p. 406 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit. xii. p. 38; Ibn Shaddād, op. cit. p. 38; Ibn Khaldūn, iv. p. 81.

3 I.e. of the Fatimides.
nor the frontier-district of Damietta nor Tinnis\(^1\) nor Kift\(^2\) nor Nakâdah\(^3\) nor the Lake of Al-Ḫabash\(^4\), outside Misr; the sum total of the revenue

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\(^1\) Tinnis, the Coptic \textit{εαντηκη}, to which a foundation in remote antiquity was ascribed, stood on an island in Lake Manzâlah, between Damietta and Al-Farama, where the mound called Tall Tinnis is still existing. It was famous for fish, of which seventy-nine kinds were said to be caught there, and for fine, variegated linen and other tissues, sometimes brocaded with gold. Cf. below, fol. 19 b, and see Ibn Haukal (ed. De Goeje), p. 171; Yâkût, \textit{Geogr. Wört} i. p. 387; Ibn Duḫmâk, op. cit. v. p. 314 f.; Al-Idrîsî (trans. by Jaubert), i. 320; Al-Maqrîzî, \textit{op. cit.} i. pp. 147–148; Amélineau, \textit{Géogr.} p. 507 f.


\(^3\) Now in the district of Kûs, province of Kana; and in 1885 had a population of 4,534. See \textit{Recensement de l’Égypte}, ii. p. 258; Ibn Duḫmâk, v. p. 314.

\(^4\) I.e. Lake of the Abyssinians. This was a tract of low ground, more than 1,000 acres in extent, between Fustât and Cairo, approaching on one side the cemetery of Al-Karâfah, and was inundated during the rise of the Nile, from which it was only separated by a dyke on its western side. At other times it was one of the most charming resorts near Cairo, being of extreme fertility, and producing flax and other crops. Beside it were gardens also called Al-Ḫabash or Arḍ Ḫabash. The name was, perhaps, earlier than the Mahometaic conquest, and was a translation of the Coptic \textit{εθάραργα}. The Lake of Al-Ḫabash was given as a \textit{wakf} to the sharifs, or members of the Prophet’s family, by the vizier Ṭalâ‘î ibn Ruzzik; it also bore the names of Birkat al-Maghâfîr, Birkah Himyar, Iṣṭabl Kurrâh, and Iṣṭabl Kâmîsh. Ibn Sa‘îd sings:

\begin{quote}
   يا بركة لشبى التي يومى بها
   طول الزمان مبارك وسعيد
   حتى كأنك في البسيطة جنة
   وكان دم怀着 كله بك عيد
   يا حسن ما يبدو بك الأنان في
   نواره أو زرق معقود
   والترف فيه رواة محدود
   ولا ملكي سووفة مسلولة
   جلبتو فطرك حولها غرّد
   كنت ادراجا عليك عرايس
   كأنكم بشرى هذ زمانك عائد
   فالشوق فيه مديد ومعيد
\end{quote}
from those places being 60,000 dinars. From 2,186 districts and village-districts, that is, 1,276 districts and 890 villages, came 3,061,000 dinars.

Northern Egypt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Places</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Villages</th>
<th>Dinars</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ash-Sharkiyah</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>294</td>
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<td>Al-Murtahiyah</td>
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<td>68</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>70 or 97</td>
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<td>32</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Hauf Ramsis</td>
<td>[101]</td>
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<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 1,598 917 681 2,040,040

‘O Lake of Al-Ḥabash, at which I spent a day of unbroken pleasure and happiness, so that thy whole surface seemed to me like Paradise, and all the time I seemed to be keeping festival. How charming is the young flax upon thee, with its knots of flowers or buds, and when its leaves like swords are unsheathed from thee, and the leeks have extended their canopy over thee. It seemed as if the towers upon thee were brides unveling, while birds warbled round them. Would that I knew whether thy season would return, for my desires begin with it and return to it!’ See Al-Maḥrizī, op. cit. ii. pp. 107-108; Ibn Dukmakh, iv. pp. 109-110; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 162. M. Amélineau has overlooked the fact that Al-Maḥrizī speaks of the Ard Ḥabash as well as Abū Ṣalih.
### Southern Egypt

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Provinces</th>
<th>Total No. of Places</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Villages</th>
<th>Dinars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Al-Jiziyah</td>
<td>97</td>
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<td>27</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Al-Buširiyyah</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>84</td>
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<td>As-Suyûtiyyah</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

**Total** 464 311 153 716,119

1 Most of these names will be well known to the reader, but a few of them may be commented on. Al-Murtahîyâh is now part of Ad-Dakahliyâh. Al-Abwâniyyah was a small province near Damietta, named from the town of Abwân, the inhabitants of which were chiefly Christians; in the fourteenth century it had become part of Al-Buḥairah. See Ibn Dukmâk, v. p. 75; Yâkût, Geogr. Wort. i. p. 111. Jazîrah Kûsaniya lay between Cairo and Alexandria, ibid. iv. p. 117. An-Nastarâwiyâh lay between Damietta and Alexandria, and was named from its capital Nastarû, ibid. iv. p. 114. Al-Jadidâh is reckoned by Yâkût in the province of Murtâhiyyah; but Al-Idrisî names Al-Jadidiyyah as a separate district [p. 121] (ed. Rome). Hauf Ramsîs was between Cairo and Alexandria; see Yâkût, Geogr. Wort. i. p. 117. Our copyist omits some names and figures.

The nomenclature and the boundaries of the Egyptian provinces have fluctuated much under Muslim rule. Al-Kuṭâ'î, who wrote at the end of the eleventh century, divides Lower Egypt into thirty-three provinces (٣٣) and Upper Egypt into twenty; see his list quoted by Yâkût, Geogr. Wort. iv. p. 104.

The official list of places in Egypt drawn up for the purpose of estimating the revenue in A.H. 777 = A.D. 1375 gives the following names of provinces:—Lower Egypt: district of Cairo, Al-Kalyûbiyyah, Ash-Sharkîiyah, Ad-Dakahliyâh, district of Damietta, Al-Gharbiyyah, Al-Manûfiyyah, Abyar and Jazîrah Banî Naṣr, Al-Buḥairah, Fûwah and Al-Muzâhâmiyyatain, An-Nastarâwiyâh, district of
REVENUES OF EGYPT.

This revenue was drawn in the caliphate of Al-Mustansir and in the days of Al-Kaḥhāl the caliphate of Al-Mustansir, and in the days of Al-Kaḥhāl the caliphate of Al-Mustansir. 

§ Afterwards, in the time of Al-Afdal his son, in the caliphate of Al-Amir, one dinar and a third was imposed as a poll-tax. 

§ In the vizierate of Rudwan ibn Walakhshī, in the caliphate of Al-Ḥāfīẓ, [this tax was raised to] two dinars.

Alexandria, Al-Jiziyah; and Upper Egypt: Al-İfṣīḥiyah, Al-Fayyum, Al-Bahna'sā'iyah, Al-Ushmūnain, Al-Uṣyūṭiyah, Al-İkhmīmīyah, Al-Kūṣīyān. 

The present principal divisions of Egypt, with the number of inhabited centres, are:—Cairo (1), Alexandria (56), Damietta (5), Rosetta (9), Port Said (28), Suez (8), Al-'Arīf (6), Kuṣair (2), Al-Buhairah (1,882), Ash-Surayqah (1,868), Al-Dakahlīyā (1,147), Al-Gharbiyā (1,817), Al-Kalyūbīyā (717), Al-Manūšiyā (603), Al-Ashqarā (436), Banī Suwāf (423), Al-Dakhlā (567), Al-Jizirā (369), Minyā (734), Ismā (627), Jirjah (870), Kanā (898). See Recensement de l'Égypte, ii. pp. x and xi. 

1 The eighth of the Fatimide caliphs; reigned from A.H. 427= A.D. 1035 to A.H. 487= A.D. 1094. 

2 This refers to Ibn al-Kaḥhāl, the Kādī 'l-Kūṣat or chief cadi in the last years of Al-Mustansir's reign. It was, however, Badr al-Jamālī, the Armenian slave, who became vizier to Al-Mustansir in A.H. 467= A.D. 1075, who was the father of Al-Afdal Shāḥānshāh mentioned in the next paragraph. 

3 After the death of Badr in A.H. 487= A.D. 1094, the soldiery chose his son Al-Afdal Shāḥānshāh as his successor in the vizierate. When Al-Mustansir died in the same year, Al-Afdal remained in his post, and continued to act as vizier during the reign of Al-Musta'li, and after the accession of Al-Amir (in A.H. 495= A.D. 1101), who eventually caused him to be put to death in A.H. 519= A.D. 1125. Treasures of immense value were found in his house. See Al-Makrīzī, op. cit. i. p. 321; Ibn Khallikān, op. cit. i. p. 612; Ibn Khaldūn, iv. p. 71 f. 

4 Successor in the vizierate of Tāj ad-Daulah Bahram, the Armenian, whom he deposed from his office by force in A.H. 531. Rudwan was an oppressor of the Christians. In A.H. 533, on account of intrigues against him, Rudwan fled to Syria and returned with an army, but being attacked by the troops of the caliph, he fled to Upper Egypt, where he was captured. He was imprisoned at Cairo, but escaped in A.H. 442, and made a fresh attempt to seize the power of which he
Account of Mark ibn al- Kanbar.

§ In the northern region, Mark ad- Darîr (the Blind) ibn Mauhûb, called Ibn al- Kanbar, was made priest by the bishop of Damietta, and he celebrated the liturgy and communicated the Holy Mysteries to the people. Then the report of him reached the Father and Patriarch Anba John; the seventy-second in the order of succession, who condemned him, and suspended him and excommunicated him. After that, Ibn al- Kanbar set his mind to the composition of commentaries on the books of the church and others, according to the inventions of his own mind together with the learning that he possessed. Next he taught the people that a man who does not confess his sins to a confessor, and perform penance for his sins, cannot lawfully receive the Eucharist, and that if such a man dies without confession to the priest, he dies in his sins and goes to hell; and accordingly the people began to confess to Ibn al- Kanbar and neglected the practice of

had been deprived, but he was resisted and slain. See Al- Maqrîzî, op. cit. i. p. 754; As- Suyûtî, op. cit. ii. p. 100; Ibn Khaldûn, iv. p. 37; Ibn Khallikân, op. cit. ii. p. 179.

1 Cf. Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 559-554; Al- Maqrîzî, op. cit. ii. p. 691. The doctrines of Mark ibn al- Kanbar and the existence of his large body of followers seem to confirm the opinion that there have always been some among the Copts, since the Council of Chalcedon, who have refused to join in the rejection of that Council, and in the acceptance of the schismatic and heretical teaching of Dioscorus and his disciples. The chief points of agreement with Catholic belief and practice in the teaching of Ibn al- Kanbar, brought out by Abû Şâlih, are the doctrine of the two natures and wills of Christ, the doctrine with regard to confession, the reservation of the sacrament, the abrogation of peculiar fasts, the denial of the necessity of circumcision and of the shaving of the head. Some other parts of Ibn al- Kanbar's teaching were probably misunderstood, and it must be remembered that we have only his enemies' account of the matter.

2 Probably a mistake for Damsis; see below, fol. 14 a. The Coptic bishop of Damietta had the rank of metropolitan.

3 Occupied the see from A.D. 1147 to 1167. See Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 517-530.
confession over the censer; and they all inclined to him, and listened to his words. A number of the Samaritans also assembled to meet him, and he disputed with them, and showed them that he who came into the world was the Messiah who was expected; and he converted many of them. He also allowed the people to let their hair grow long.  

1 It seems strange that Ibn al-Ḳanbar's insistence on the need of confession before communion should have been received as a novel and heretical doctrine; but the fact is that the practice, though enjoined by the canons of the church, had fallen into abeyance. See Renaudot, Perpétuité, lib. 3, cap. 5, where it is shown that the doctrine was recognized by the church of Egypt. An example of confession in the eighth century is given also in Hist. Patr. p. 219 f. Renaudot adds that John, the seventy-second patriarch, is credited by Coptic writers with having abrogated the rule of confession. The reason alleged for John's action is that the people disliked the practice of confession, and were even in some cases driven out of the pale of the church by the severity of the penance imposed. John substituted for the ancient practice a general admission of sinfulness and prayer for forgiveness, something in these terms: 'O Lord God, look upon me, a miserable sinner. I sorrow in that I have sinned against thee, and humbly crave thy divine pardon.' This confession was made over a burning censer, which the priest waved before the face of the penitent. This use of incense led the ignorant to imagine that the ascending smoke had virtue to waft away their guilt, and, as the superstition fixed its roots more deeply, the custom arose of flinging grains of incense on a brazier in the house in atonement for the sin of the moment. Confession over the censer passed not only to the Abyssinians (see below, fol. 105 b), but also to the Nestorians, the Armenians, and the Malabar Christians. In Ethiopia the error had died out when the Jesuits first entered the country. Among the Nestorians there was no confession in the sixteenth century, and Antonio de Gouvea, who visited Malabar about 1600, says that the Christians there had the greatest abhorrence of the sacrament of penance, and the former custom of confessing over the censer was then almost abandoned. It seems, however, that in all these Oriental churches the practice of particular confession was ultimately restored. See Denzinger, Ritus Orientalium, i. pp. 105-108; Butler, Coptic Churches, ii. p. 298. (A. J. B.)

2 The objection was to the practice then general in Egypt, as it still is among the conservative classes in that country, to shave off either all the hair of the
as the Melkites do; and he forbad circumcision, saying that circumcision belongs to the Jews and Hanifs, and that it is not lawful for Christians to resemble the Jews or the Hanifs in any of their traditions which are in force among them in our time. For this doctrine he set up many proofs. He forbad the practice of burning sandarach in the churches, and allowed only frankincense; because this was offered to the Lord with the gold and the myrrh, and therefore head, or all with the exception of a small tuft at the crown. We are told, however (below on fol. 15a), that Ibn al-Ḳanbar approved of a circular tonsure. Whether this latter notice refers to the clergy does not appear, but it seems that Ibn al-Ḳustāl, whose views on the shaving of the head seem to have resembled those of Ibn al-Ḳanbar, particularly objected to the shaving of the whole head in the case of the priests; see fol. 20a.

1 Circumcision on the eighth day is customary, but not obligatory; on the other hand, the Coptic church forbids circumcision after baptism. In the Abyssinian church circumcision is a necessary rite, and, according to Damianus a Goes, is performed on infants on the day of their baptism, viz. the seventh day, by which the eighth day is doubtless to be understood. (A. J. B.)

2 He uses the word 'Hanifs' instead of 'Muslims,' because the latter claimed that in practising circumcision they were following the tradition not only of the Jews, but of the ancient, orthodox religion to which Abraham belonged, and to which the Jews had added. It was this ancient religion which Mahomet professed to restore. The passages of the Koran are well known:

ном ً أُوْحِيَنَا إِلَيْكَ أَتَبَعْ مِلَّةٍ إِرْبَاهُمْ حَنِيقًا وَمَا كَانَ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ


'Then we taught thee by inspiration to follow the religion of Abraham, who was a Ḥanīf; he was not of the polytheists.'

3 This is a resinous substance, the gum of a coniferous tree, Callitris quadrivalvis, which flourishes in north-western Africa, particularly in the Atlas range. (A. J. B.)

4 For other substances which were burnt in the churches by Copts and Abyssinians see below, fol. 105b. See also Vansleb, Hist. de l'Église d'Alc.v. p. 60, where sandarach, frankincense, aloes, and giavi are named.
it is not right that anything else should be burnt in the church. He said to those that confessed to him: 'I will bear part of your sins for you, and part will be forgiven by God through your doing penance; for he who receives a penance for his sin in this world will not be compelled by God to do a second penance in the next world.' His followers who confessed to him called him 'Our Father the Director' (or 'Teacher'). When he stopped in the churches a large assembly came together to meet him, and he raised many dissensions, such as had not been known in the church.

After a time the bishops in the North [of Egypt] were informed of these matters, and laid information of them before the Father and Patriarch Anba Mark\(^1\), the seventy-third in the order of succession, who reprimanded him on account of them, and wrote letters to him in which he warned him and forbade him and exhorted him with exhortations of consolation, but he would not listen to him or return to him. Necessity therefore compelled the patriarch to send to summon him to his presence, so Ibn al-Kanbar went up to him to the Cell\(^2\) at the church of Al-Mu'allakah\(^3\) in Misr. There the patriarch assembled to meet him a synod consisting of bishops and priests and chief men\(^4\), and said to him: 'Know that he who breaks any of the commandments of the church, and bids the people act in contradiction to it, lies under the penalties of the law. Why then dost thou not return from thy

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\(^1\) Occupied the see from A.D. 1167 to 1189. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 530-554.

\(^2\) The Cell (ɔίλαινα) represented, as we should say, the patriarchal palace; see Appendix. It was attached to the principal church, as the bishop's residence generally was in ancient times, and as the Vatican is attached to St. Peter's basilica.

\(^3\) For a description of the patriarchal church of the Virgin, called Al-Mu'allakah or 'the Hanging Church,' see Butler, *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 216. The name was given to any structure built upon arcades.

\(^4\) The Arabic اَرَاضي, plural اَرَاضيَات, is derived from the Greek ἀρχαίον, through the Coptic, which employs the word to denote the chief men or official class.
ways? Many things took place with regard to him, the end of which was that he was ordered to go under guard with deputies of the patriarch to the monastery of Anba Antūnah near Ḥīfūḥ; this was in the month of Amshīr in the year 890 of the Blameless Martyrs; moreover [it was ordered] that he and his brethren should shave the hair of their heads. Ibn al-Ḳanbar soon began to suffer from the circumstances in which he was placed; and so he addressed the patriarch, and entered into communication with him by means of his mother and his brethren and his uncle, who did not cease to kiss the patriarch’s hands and feet, and by means of the prayers of the chief men; and at last the patriarch granted their prayers and wrote to the superior of the monastery bidding him lead that Mark to the place in which the body of Saint Anthony lay, and require him to swear upon it and upon the Gospel of John that he would not again do any of the things that he had done, and then allow him to go free. So the superior did this and released Mark, who returned to his own country on those conditions.

§ The said Mark [ibn al-Ḳanbar] went from the monastery of Saint Anthony to the Rif, after having been made to swear upon the holy Gospel and upon the said body of our Father Anthony, and after having been made to promise that he would not return to his former

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1 This is the well-known monastery of Saint Anthony near the Red Sea; see below, fol. 54 ff. It is called ‘near Ḥīfūḥ’ because the road thither from the Nile started from that town, in respect to which the monastery lies a little to the south-east, at a distance of sixty miles.

2 I.e. Damsīs or its neighbourhood; see fol. 14.

3 There has been some dispute as to the meaning of the Arabic word ريف, which generally means the country lying upon the banks of a river, or upon the sea-shore; see Dozy, *ad verb.* In Egypt the word was used to denote the Delta or Lower Egypt; see below, fol. 21 a. M. Amélineau, in his somewhat curious article upon the name الرиф, speaks as if it were known from two sources only: the Arabic Synaxarium, the authority of which he rejects, and the Ethiopic Chronicle of John of Niciu, upon the authority of which he peremptorily decides that the Rif is synonymous with Upper Egypt! see *Géogr.* p. 403 f.
ways or transgress the canons of the church and the rules of the law; yet this said Mark, when he arrived in his own country, returned to his former ways and did even worse than before. For there gathered together to him a very large body of the ignorant from the river-banks and the villages and the towns, nearly five thousand men; and reports of him arrived as far as Kalyūb. Among these men were some who obeyed him and attached themselves to him, and bound themselves to do what he appointed and ordered for each of them; so that some of them bound themselves to bring him part of their money and of the fruit of their gardens and vineyards, and a tithe of their income; and they brought it to him, so that he increased in wealth beyond his former state.

Then the patriarch wrote to him to make known to him what would happen to him if he did not repent, and to terrify him and warn him of that which would befall him if he went on in his pride, and in his breaking of his oath and departure from that which he had sworn; and the patriarch exhorted him and warned him of the end of his perjury and his heresy and his excommunication, namely, that the end of these things is perdition. Mark ibn al-Kanbar would not, however, listen to the patriarch’s letters, but behaved insolently and increased in pride and perversity, and would not be converted. So the patriarch wrote letters to the bishops of Northern Egypt containing an account of the case from the beginning to the end, and a summary of the canons by which such a man is condemned to excommunication on the severest terms if he persists in his pride and cleaves to the error of his impiety; and bidding each of the bishops, after giving an account of whatever he had ascertained of the man, write in his own handwriting to the effect that it was not lawful for Mark to do as he had dared to do. So each of the bishops wrote his own account of Mark’s opposition to

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1 About ten miles to the north of Cairo. It is the Coptic Kαλυπ, and is now the capital of the district of Kalyūb, and of the province of Kalyūbiyah. It had in 1885 a population of 8,644. The neighbourhood was famous for its fertility, and for the numerous gardens which adorned it; it was one of the richest spots in Egypt. Ibn Duḫmāk, *op. cit.* v. p. 8 and f.; Amél, *Géogr.* p. 390.
the law of his own church, and added that it was not right for him to do what he had dared to do, and that he could not be allowed to follow the fancies of his own mind as he had done in transgression of the law; and each bishop confirmed the sentence of excommunication upon him.

After this, Mark ibn al-Ḵanbar was not satisfied with what he had done, and with having broken the oath which he had sworn upon the Gospel and upon the body of the great Saint Anthony in the church of God, or with having resisted the law, and refused to accept that which was binding upon him according to the law of the Christians of whom he was one; but he even wrote an address and submitted it to the sultan. The purport of his address was that he desired that an assembly should be called to meet him in the presence of the patriarch; but he embellished his account of what had passed, and said whatever it pleased him to say, and asked for protection.

The Ǧāḏi ʾl-Ṯāḏīl ibn ʿAlī al-Baisānī wrote an answer to his letter, of which the following is a copy:

‘Thou art a man of great distinction. But the patriarch of the Christians has made up a story of a man who is innocent of having departed from the truth of his religion and says that he has departed from it, and has brought in a strange doctrine, by which the word of his people is cut short, and the traditions generally held by his co-religionists are broken.

‘Thou hast been banished once, and hast ventured to return from banishment without permission. Go forth, therefore, as a private person without rank or jurisdiction, and do not assume any pre-eminence over the Christians or jurisdiction among them, until a lawful assembly be

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1 Abū ʿAlī ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm al-Lakhmī al-ʿAskalānī, generally known as Al-Ǧāḏi ʾl-Ṯāḏīl, was vizier to Saladin, with whom he stood high in favour. He was famous for his literary style, especially in his letters, of which we here have a specimen. He was born at Ascalon in A. H. 529 = A. D. 1135, and died A. H. 596 = A. D. 1200. His father was for a time cadi at Baisān on the Jordan near Tiberias, and for this reason the family all received the surname of Baisānī. Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.* ii. p. 111.
called to meet thee which shall decide whether thou shalt be of them, in which case thou shalt not oppose them, or whether thou shalt depart from them, in which case thou wilt wander away from the faithful and followers of the book, and it will be necessary for thee to become a Muslim, for thou wilt be neither Jew nor Christian.' This is the end.

§ After Mark ibn al-Ḳanbar had remained in his own district persisting in his former ways, then he appeared at the Cell at the church of Al-Mu'allakah in Misr, and waited upon the patriarch, and confessed his sin, and asked for pardon, which was granted to him. Prayers were offered, and the liturgy was said: and when Mark went forward to communicate of the holy mysteries, the patriarch made him swear, in the presence of a body of bishops and priests, that he would not again do what he had been forbidden to do. So he swore a binding oath, and made firm promises, before receiving the holy mysteries. Then he returned to his own district, and had not spent a single day there before he returned to his former ways; nor did he keep his second oath, taken before the altar of God in the presence of the bishops and priests and chief men and deacons and a congregation of the orthodox laity. Thus it became evident that he did not fear God or respect men, since he had been allowed to receive the eucharist in the sanctuary of God. He now gave permission to those who followed his opinions to communicate early\(^1\) on the festival of the Forty Martyrs\(^2\), which is on the 13th of Barmahât, and takes place during the fast of the Holy Forty Days; and on this day he forbade communion of the wine\(^3\). He forbade also

\[\text{Fol. 12 a}\]

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\(^1\) As it is well known, the Copts celebrate the liturgy, of course fasting, at three o'clock in the afternoon during the fast of the forty days of Lent, except on Saturday and Sunday. It is not stated here that Ibn al-Ḳanbar allowed the liturgy to be celebrated early on one of these days, but that he allowed an early communion, doubtless with the reserved sacrament, see fol. 15 b. See Vansleb, Hist. de l’Église d’Alex. p. 73.

\(^2\) The 13th of Barmahât would be equivalent to the 9th of March, whereas the Roman calendar keeps the festival of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste on the 10th of March.

\(^3\) Because the wine was not reserved, see fol. 15 b.
the giving of extreme unction by relations to one another. These things were in addition to the other matters which were known of him before. Then he began to ride about, accompanied by a body of his followers; and he travelled through the Rif in state like a wâli, and banquets were prepared for him and his companions. The end of this was that he went over to the sect of the Melkites, and confessed the Two Natures and the Two Wills; and the Melkites received him. Thus he threw off the faith of Severus and Dioscorus, our fathers the

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1 This is an abuse of which I do not find mention elsewhere; the Coptic ritual requires that seven priests shall take part in the administration of the sacrament of extreme unction, and that each of them shall recite a passage of scripture and say certain prayers over the sick man.

2 Our author, though an Armenian, if the title of the MS. be correct, here speaks as if he fully accepted the creed of the Coptic monophysites. To explain this we must remember that many of the Armenians were monophysites and monothelites as well as the Copts, and that when the Armenian catholicus, Gregory II, in the course of his travels, arrived in Egypt about A.D. 1080, the representatives of these two religious communities made a confession of common faith in the One Nature of Christ. ‘On that day,’ says Michael, bishop of Tinnis, ‘it was made known to all that Copts, Armenians, Syrians, Ethiopians, and Nubians are at one in the orthodox faith which the holy fathers of old once unanimously confessed, and which Nestorius, Leo, and the Council of Chalcedon had changed.’ See Renaudot, Hist. Patr. p. 461; Ter-Mikelian, Die armun. Kirche, &c. p. 84.

On the other hand, it is certain that many of the Armenians, and of their writers and teachers, preserved the catholic belief which Ibn al-Ḳanbar and his followers also maintained; and, in the lifetime of our author himself, the Synod of Tarsus, summoned by king Leo and the patriarch Gregory in A.D. 1196, acknowledged the Council of Chalcedon. For the acceptance of the catholic doctrine by Armenian doctors, see Clemens Galanus, Conciliat. Eccles. Arm. cum Romana ex tpsis Armenorum Patrum et doctorum testimoniiis, &c., Rome, 1690.

3 It is, of course, well known that the Copts look upon Dioscorus, the twenty-fifth patriarch of Alexandria, who was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451, and upon Severus, the fifty-seventh patriarch of Antioch, who was condemned by the Synods of Constantinople of A.D. 518 and A.D. 536 and the second General Council of Constantinople in A.D. 553, as the two great champions
patriarchs, who withstood emperors and great men in matters of religion, and exposed the following of the emperor in his creed, and would not give up the faith of the 318 ancient fathers, who had withstood Diocletian the Infidel, and endured torments of different kinds, the limbs of some being cut off, in defence of the true faith established by patriarchs and bishops through the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and condemned and excommunicated any who should depart from it and believe differently. Now this wretch Mark ibn al-Ḳanbar, blind both in eyes and heart, as one of the fathers said, separated himself from the ranks of the brethren, as Judas Iscariot did, and therefore God removed him from the ranks of the orthodox, as he removed Satan from the ranks of the angels on high on account of his pride and his thinking within himself that he was the greatest, for which cause he fell; and so this wretch Mark thought within himself that he was wise, and therefore he fell and became one of the disputatious heretics who imagine that the Will of the Manhood was opposed to the Will of the Godhead; and

of the monophysite doctrine, or orthodox faith as they call it. These two monophysite saints are commemorated or invoked more than once in the course of the Coptic liturgy. The Prayer of Absolution addressed to the Son (الابن تعليل) prays that all present may be absolved 'out of the mouth of' the Trinity, of the twelve apostles, of Saint Mark, and of 'the holy patriarch Severus and our teacher Dioscorus.' The visit of Severus to Egypt is commemorated in the Coptic calendar on Bābah 2 = September 29, his death on Amshir 14 = February 8; and the translation of his body to the monastery of To Ṣhanaton at Alexandria on Kīhak 10 = December 6. Severus was the author of many works in Greek, which were translated into Syriac, and are still in great part extant; see British Museum Catalogue of Syriac MSS. The fragments of Severus' works in the original Greek still existing are to be found in Mai, Script. vet. nova collectio. The death of Dioscorus is commemorated on Tūt 7 = September 4.

1 This is an allusion to the origin of the name Melkite, in Arabic ملک, 'king' or 'emperor.'
2 Of Nicaea.
3 It is true that some of the bishops who took part in the first Council of Nicaea had suffered in the persecution.
he was excommunicated by three patriarchs: namely, by Anba Jonas ¹ the seventy-second, who died while this wretch was still bound by his anathemas, and had not been loosed from them; by the patriarch of Antioch, Anba Michael ²; and by Anba Mark the seventy-third [patriarch of Alexandria]; and also by sixty bishops in the two provinces of Northern and Southern Egypt.

§ Now this Ibn al-Κanbar had gathered together a body from among the Melkites, the opponents of our orthodox faith, together with those who came to him of the ignorant and simple among the Coptists, and he went down to Kalyub with the desire to pervert some of the inhabitants of that town; but the scribe of the town, and the qāmin ³

¹ Or John, see fol. 9 a. In Arabic the names يُونَاس and يُونَاس are frequently confused. Al-Maκrīzī calls both the seventy-second and the seventy-fourth patriarch Jonas, whereas the patriarchal biographies name them John.

² This patriarch does not seem to be named in the lists. He was the author of a treatise on Preparation for the Eucharist (Renaudot, Hist. Patr. p. 550). There are five of the name in the rolls of the see, namely, Michael I, the 88th patriarch, consecrated A.D. 879; Michael II, the 126th, A.D. 1370; Michael III, the 129th, A.D. 1401; Michael IV, the 134th, A.D. 1454; Michael V, the 140th, A.D. 1555. The published lists are full of discrepancies. See Le Quien, Oriens Christ. ii. col. 713 ff.; Neale, Patriarchate of Antioch, p. 173 ff. If Michael of Antioch excommunicated Ibn al-Κanbar, it must have been on account of his rejection of the monophysite doctrine, not on account of his teaching on the sacrament of penance, which agrees with that of the patriarch of Antioch, contained in his treatise; see Renaudot, op. cit. p. 552.

³ The qāmin was the farmer of the taxes. The fact that he and the scribe were both Coptists is an illustration of the rule followed by the Mahometan governors of employing Coptists as officials in those branches of the government service which required facility in writing and accuracy in calculation; see below, fol. 28 b. There is a well-known passage of Al-Maκrīzī which contains the following words, in which he speaks of the unsuccessful rebellion of the Coptists in A.H. 216 = A.D. 831:

"ولا يقدر أحد منهم بعد ذلك على الخروج على السلطان وغلبهم المسلمون على عامة الناس فرجعوا من الممارسة إلى المكابدة واستعمال المكر وليلة ومكابدة المسلمين وعملوا كتاب للدراج فكان لهم والمسلمين أخبار كثيرة"
of the town, and others of the orthodox party heard of him, and went to him and watched him, and took him and his party and bound them to pay the poll-tax\(^1\), and gave them orders, and informed the wāli\(^2\) of the town that this body of men were acting in opposition to their own laws, and lay under the ban of the patriarch, and that the people of every district in which they settled would suffer from them. ‘Visit them therefore’ [added the scribe and the ḍāmin] ‘and do not let them go until thou hast obtained money from them, lest they secretly enter the town and harm come to the inhabitants.’ So the wāli visited them and made prisoners of them, and would not let them go until they had paid seventeen dinars as a contribution towards the poll-tax; and when they had paid the poll-tax, certificates were written for them in which they bound themselves not to visit Kalyūb, except as travellers on their way to the capital or some other city, and never to settle in the town. Thus they departed from Kalyūb in the worst of plights.

Then Ibn al-Ḳanbar heard that the patriarch\(^3\) of the Melkites was arrived from Alexandria, and was spending his time in a hall of reception\(^4\); so he made his way thither to salute him and to congratulate

\[\text{ACCOUNT OF MARK IBN AL-ḲANBAR.}\]

1 Laid upon all who refused to adopt the Mahometan religion, by the conditions of conquest. The Ḫanbarites would, of course, already have paid it in their own district, and were forced to pay it a second time as a punishment for having come to Kalyūb.

2 The wāli l‘beled or governor of the town was the chief local official, and head of the police.

3 Sophronius II was patriarch in A.D. 1166. His successor was Elias(?). In 1195 Mark was patriarch. Le Quien, ii. col. 487 ff.

4 ليوان, corrupted into Liwán, is the name given by the modern Egyptians to the raised part of the reception-room (منظر) in which the host and his guests
him upon his good health, in the company of a body of followers who might justify their leader’s words if he were attacked. Now this patriarch was accompanied by several metropolitans, that is, the metropolitans of the country, who informed the patriarch of the harm that Ibn al-Ḳanbar had done to them by breaking the canons of their religion, and they inquired into the matter, and they said, ‘This man is a Copt, and does what is not customary.’ Then Ibn al-Ḳanbar answered, ‘God curse the hour when I became one of you.’ And the patriarch said to him, ‘Virtue and peace alone are to be found in our company.’

Subsequently to this, Ibn al-Ḳanbar requested that a church might be allotted to him at Sanbāṭ, after what had happened to him there. But the metropolitan of that place said to the patriarch, ‘Relieve me of my office of metropolitan, and call him to take a church for himself, if thou hast appointed one for him.’ So the patriarch was silent, and said not a word. A disgraceful encounter took place between Ibn al-Ḳanbar and this metropolitan of Sanbāṭ, the end of which was that the metropolitan rushed upon him and dealt him a painful blow, and knocked off his head-covering before a full assembly. This happened in the month of Abib in the year of the Church 901 (= A.D. 1186).

In the same month this wretch Ibn al-Ḳanbar dared to return and pay a visit to the father and patriarch Anba Mark, accompanied by Ibn ‘Abdūn and one of the most distinguished friends of the patriarch, to whose Cell at the Muṭallakah they conducted him. The patriarch was

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sit. The lower part of the room, much narrower than the Liwân, is called ʿazāz, and here the guests leave their shoes before stepping on the Liwân. Upon the Liwân, mats or carpets are spread, and against the walls are mattresses and cushions composing the diwân or divan. See Lane, Modern Egyptians, i. p. 15 ff.

1 Also called Sunbūṭiyah (Yāḵūt); situated in the Jazīrah ʿKusaniya, as the district was then called. It was the Coptic Ṭeṭanīn, and is now included in the district of Ziftah, in the province of Al-Gharbiyyah, having a population in 1885 of 3,223. See Yāḵūt, Geogr. Wort. iv. p. 161; Al-Idrisī, op. cit. (ed. Rome) [p. 116]; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 415.
ACCOUNT OF MARK IBN AL-ΚANBAR.

surrounded by a company, and said to him, 'Why has thy reverence returned to me, thou excommunicate, in this guise so different from our fashion?' and he put forth his hand to Ibn al-Κanbar's head and struck off his cap, so that he remained bareheaded. But one of the disciples of the patriarch restored the cap to his head; and this vexed the patriarch, and he was wroth with that disciple for what he had done without permission. So Ibn al-Κanbar departed from his presence, and went forth ashamed, not knowing how to walk. Then the news of this occurrence reached the patriarch of the Melkites, who sent for Ibn al-Κanbar, and reproved him, saying, 'Dost thou visit a patriarch whose faith thou dost oppose? How will he arrange thy affairs?' Then the patriarch of the Melkites sent Ibn al-Κanbar to the monastery of Al-Κuṣair, and there he dwelt with his companions, administering the affairs of the monastery; nor was he converted to anything except to disputing with all communities, thinking in himself that he was wise; yet while he thought thus he was overcome by ignorance. He lived only a short time after this, and then he died, having destroyed his own soul and the souls of those whom he seduced by his deceit.

§ After the death of Ibn al-Κanbar, I found a report on sheets of paper in the handwriting of Anba Michael, metropolitan of Damietta, who therein makes the following statements to the author of this book, perhaps in answer to his letter to him on the subject of Ibn al-Κanbar and the evil which he wrought in the world. Within it were the words:

1 The respectful mode of address here ironically used by the patriarch is not appropriate to the clergy, but common to all men above the lowest ranks. چَناَیْك is now frequently found, especially in letters.

2 See below, fol. 49 ff.

3 For the date of his death see below, fol. 51 a and b.

4 The author of a treatise on Confession (Renaudot, Hist. Patr. p. 552) and of other works (Vansleb, Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie, p. 333).

5 There were three metropolitans under the Coptic patriarch, namely those of Damietta, Jerusalem, and Abyssinia; but the date at which the see of Damietta was raised to the metropolitical dignity, and the exact nature of that dignity in this case, are uncertain.

f [II. 7.]


The poor miserable Michael at Damietta, hereby makes known to his friend the brother that which has reached me with regard to Fakhīr ibn al-Kanbar, who became a priest although unworthy of that dignity in many ways, and was called Mark, and with regard to his corrupt doctrines contained in the treatises which he composed, in books contradicting the truth, and by which he seduced simple men, devoid of understanding, into the paths of the heretics. Now this insolent heretic had married a wife, who lived with him for a time; but afterwards he desired to become a monk, and to separate himself from her. She, however, would not consent to his wishes; and so he conceived the plan of marrying her in secret to another. Then he went to Anba Jonas, bishop of Damsīs, and made him believe that his wife had become a nun, and was living in the convent with the nuns; and thus the bishop admitted him to the monastic vows, and ordained him priest. But his affairs did not long remain secret, and information was laid against him before the patriarch Jonas, the seventy-second in the succession of the fathers and patriarchs; [and this occasioned] his excommunication and cutting off, and the excommunication of the bishop who had ordained him priest, because he had not inquired into the truth of the matter in such a way as to establish the veracity of Ibn al-Kanbar before he admitted him as a monk and ordained him priest; for thus he had become a partner with him in his sin and his contempt of the apostolic canons. For Paul the Apostle says that if a woman chooses to separate herself from her husband, and he consents to her desire, she shall not

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1 The Coptic ΤΕΣΟΛ." Yāḵūt sets this town four parasangs from Samannūd and two from Bara, of which places the former is still existing, see note on fol. 57 b, and the latter was in the diocese of Sakha, now in the district of Kafr ash-Shaikh in the province of Al-Gharbiyah. The Coptic-Arabic lists of places give Damsīs between Sandalāt and Sahrajī or Naṭū, but the order of the names in such lists cannot always be depended upon as strictly corresponding to the position of the localities. Damsīs is no longer existing, although it was still a town at the beginning of this century. See Yāḵūt, Geogr. Wört. ii. p. 688; Ibn Duḵmāk, op. cit. p. 1; Al-Idrīsī (ed. Rome) [p. 117]; Amedineau, Géogr. p. 119 f.

2 Some words seem to be omitted here.
marry another; and if she prefers to be married, she shall return to her former husband; but the man shall not put away his wife at all. Yet this man put away his wife, and forced her to separate herself from him, and married her to another.

'After this he made a parade of his learning and his exposition of the holy books, and he translated them from Coptic into Arabic; and he wrote that Tafsir at-Tafsir according to the imaginations of his own mind. While he was living at the church of Damsis, he concealed the Guide which indicates what portions of the Gospels and of the ecclesias-

1 Coptic had become a dead language long before this time in Lower Egypt, although Al-Ma'qrizi informs us that near Usyût, at Müshah and Udrunkah, and in other parts of Upper Egypt, it was still spoken at the beginning of the fifteenth century; and Vansleb assures us that he was shown an old man who was said to be the last person who spoke Coptic. Al-Ma'qrizi's words with regard to Müshah are:

والألغلب على نصارى هذه الإدارة معرفة القبطي المعيدى وهو امل اللغة القبطية الحبرية ونماء نصارى المعيد وأولادهم لا يكادون يتكلمون إلا باللغة القبطية المعيدة.

(Khiitāt, ii. p. 505)

Of Udrunkah he says:

وذرة أهلاها من النصارى يعرفون اللغة القبطية فيتحدرن صغيرهم وكبرهم بها ويفسرونها بالعربية (Ibid. p. 518)

For a translation of these passages see Appendix.

2 Generally called kutmârus, a corruption of the Coptic word KAT'ALEEROC, borrowed from the Greek and meaning 'divided into sections.' See Vansleb, Hist. de l'Eglise d'Alex. p. 62, and Butler, Coptic Churches, ii. p. 260. Mr. Malan has published an almost complete translation of a Coptic Kutmârus (London, D. Nutt, 1874). (A. J. B.)

A kutmârus, in the Medicean Library at Florence, of A.D. 1396, exhibits the following title and list of contents of its first two parts:

tical books must be read every day, and he made himself the Guide: that is to say, when he was bidden to recite portions of the Gospels and the

πηνάση ἵτε πιεσωρὸς, πηνάση ἰεν ἀναφορὰ κατὰ ταξικ ἵτε Ἠκκλησία ἱπρακτὶ ἵτε πιανυπτιος αὐθαώτς ἰεν ἅ πινινφῳγ

πινινφῳγ ἆ εὔβε πικτρικὴ πηνάση πινώμι ετεσιννότ ἵτε φαινε

εὔβε μι κτρικὴ ἵτε πιςδοτ ὁγοντ ἵτε φαινε ἐτε φωνῶτ πάονι σεωρ ἁοικ τωβι εὐκορ

ἰεν πώλι ἵτε πιατίος ἱμαγίκε πιβαπτικὰς πηνά πικτάρτρος εὖτ πηνάση πειριτος πιελαρττρος πινα ἵγων ἵμαχαλ ἄρχιαυτελος πικὰ ἱπρεβυττρος ἱπροκττρος πιελαρττρος πινινφῳγ ἵτε ἅταμ ἅσσρια παρθενὸς πηνά ἰεν πᾶραλον ἵτε πινινφῳγ ἅπον ἱπροκττρος πηνάση διοσκορὸς πηνά ἀικπλενὸς πηνά ποτηρὶ ἰεν ἅδαι παποπολὶ ἓτε ἄπαλε πᾶραλον ἵτε πωμὶ ἅπωμες ἓτε ἀπὸ εὐθε ὑπερεῖεν ἓτε ἅταμ ἅσσρια παρθενὸς ἅνωμὶ ἓτε πηνά ἅσσραττρος πηνάση πιατίος ἅββα ἅεκαριος πηνά πιανόστολος πετρος πηνάς πατλος

πινινφῳγ ἆ εὔβε πικτρικὴ πηνάση πινώμι ετεσιννότ

πικτρικὴ ἓτε ἅντιττὶ πηνὰ γαςδρὶ ἅδου ἅ νακναντάξας πηνά πικτρικὴ ἓτε πωμὶ ἅγωοτ γας ἅδριν ἅτο κτρικὴ ἓτε ἅτπετικοςτὴ πηνά πωμὶ ἓτε πιανινφως ἅγωμὶ ἅπον

εὔβε πικτρικὴ ἓτε πιᾶγοτ παξωνὶ παξῶν ἑπὶ πηνὰ γαςδρὶ πηνὰ ἅτε πηνὰ ἅπετερον πηνὰ ἅβιδος ἅτο ἅπτως τὸς

οὐλογὸς ἓτε ἅββα γαςνοτ ἅτενως πᾶ ἀπὸ πᾶ ἀπὸ

οὐλογὸς σετεριανὸς επισκοπὸς εὔβε πᾶ
ACCOUNT OF MARK IBN AL-KANBAR.

Epistles [of Saint Paul] and the Catholic Epistles and the Acts, he produced what he chose in his own mind, some passage expounded in

οτλονος ἱτε πανιος ἱωαννικς πνευμονιος εἴθε
πε πεε πε
οτλονος ἱτε πανιος ἀπαναιος ἀλεξανδρινος
εἴθε πε
οτλονος ἱτε σενερος ἄντιοχενος εἴθε πανιον
καθατον

'Κυτμᾶρος: containing the Psalms and Lessons from the Holy Scriptures, and from the seven Catholic Epistles, and from the Epistles of Saint Paul, and from the Acts of the Apostles, and from the four Books of the Gospel; to be read throughout the course of the year, at Vespers, and at Midnight, and at the Liturgy; according to the rule of the Church of Alexandria of the Copts. Divided into three parts.

'The first part [contains the Lessons] for the following Sundays and Festivals:

'The Sundays of the first six months of the year, namely, Tut, Bābah, Hatūr, Kīhak, Tūbah, Amshīr;

'The Festivals of Saint John Baptist; the Holy Cross; George the Martyr; the Four Living Creatures; Michael the Archangel; the Four and Twenty Elders; Mercurius the Martyr; the Annunciation of the Holy Virgin Mary; the Vigil of the Nativity of the Lord; Saint Stephen, Protomartyr; Dioscorus; Aesculapius and their sons at Panopolis in the Thebaid; the Vigil of the Baptism of the Lord; the Commemoration of the Holy Virgin Mary; the Forty Martyrs; Saint Macarius; the Apostles Peter and Paul.

'The second part [contains the Lessons] for the following Sundays and Festivals:

'The Sundays of the Fast up to the Resurrection; the Sundays of the Fifty Days up to the Sunday of Pentecost; the Festival of the Ascension of the Lord; the Sundays of the months of Bashans, Ba‘ūnāh, Abib, Misri; the fifth of the five intercalary days; and every day of the Great Week.

'Discourse of Saint Sinuthius, which is read on the Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday [of the Great Week]; Discourse of Bishop Severian for the Wednesday; Discourse of Saint John Chrysostom for the Thursday and Friday; Discourse of Saint Athanasius of Alexandria for the Friday; Discourse of Severus of Antioch for Holy Saturday.'
the Tafsir at-Tafsir, to support his heresy and to strengthen his false creed, until he stole away the minds of some of the orthodox laity, whose fear of God and efforts for the salvation of their souls made them submit to be deceived by his embellishments, and to enter with him into his sect. First of all he allured them to confess their sins to him, and then he confirmed the belief in their minds that without such confession there can be no repentance or forgiveness. Next he commanded them not to shave the whole of their heads, but only the crown of the head, and to give up the practice of circumcision, because God created Adam perfect and free from defects; saying, "As God created the form of Adam and perfected it, so it is very good," and that this tradition of circumcision is not accepted except by the Jews and Hanifs. He also taught that frankincense alone should be burnt in the church, because it was offered to the Lord with the gold and the myrrh; and that a man must not wash his mouth with water after communion. All these things were taught by degrees, and the people listened to his teachings one by one during a space of more than fifteen years. At last he bade them make the sign of the cross with two fingers, and make their communion with the reserved sacrament which had been consecrated on the Sunday, and which the priest took with him and gave to those who confessed and desired to receive the communion after confessing and doing penance, taking the centre of it and dipping it in new wine, over which they prayed apart and so communicated.

He also abrogated the three days of the Fast of Nineveh and the first

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1 This reminds us of the objection made by the Russians of the conservative party to the patriarch Nicon, when he inculcated the practice of shaving the beard, that he was teaching them 'to mutilate the image of God.'

2 The practice of the Copts was and is to make the sign of the cross with one finger. See Vansleb, Hist. de l’Église d’Alex. p. 68.

3 Reservation of the sacrament is not sanctioned by the Coptic canons. See Butler, Coptic Churches, ii. pp. 54, 293. (A. J. B.)

4 The Fast of Nineveh is so called in remembrance of the Ninevites, who fasted to turn away the wrath of God. It lasts three days, beginning on Monday, and falls two weeks before the Fast of Heraclius, which immediately precedes
week\(^1\) of the Fast, according to the rule of the Melkites, and he allowed meat and milk to be eaten during the Week of Nineveh on the two days of Wednesday and Friday.

In consequence of all these things, those of the orthodox who were on their guard against him awoke, while his followers among the Christians were deceived by him. Moreover, his creed which he expounded, and which is contained in the books which he wrote, is such as no Christian community accepts, not even the Melkites whom he approached in the doctrines that have already been described. For he said in his books that the Holy Trinity is composed of three Gods, each of them absolutely perfect in word and spirit, but having one common nature; and that they resemble Adam, Eve, and Abel, who were three persons with one common nature, each of them being as perfect as the others. In the next place, Mark drew distinctions between the three Persons, and held that the Father has dominion and authority over his Son and his Holy Spirit, and commands or

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Lent. See Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 76; Danhauer, *Ecclesia Aethiopica* (Strasburg, 1672), cap. vi. (A. J. B.)

\(^1\) I.e. the so-called Fast of Heraclius, which, immediately preceding Lent, forms the first week of the Great Fast. The origin of this fast is said to be as follows: that the emperor Heraclius, on his way to Jerusalem, promised his protection to the Jews of Palestine, but that on his arrival in the holy city, the schismatical patriarch and the Christians generally prayed him to put all the Jews to the sword, because they had joined the Persians shortly before in their sack of the city and cruelties towards the Christians; that the emperor hesitated to break his solemn oath in the manner thus suggested to him, but was eventually persuaded to sanction a general massacre of the Jews by the solemn promise made to him by the authorities of the monophysite community that all members of their body would henceforth until the end of the world observe the week before Lent as a strict fast for the benefit of his soul. This promise was, of course, binding on the Egyptian and Ethiopian monophysites, as well as on the Syrians, with whom alone they were in communion; but it did not affect the Melkites. See Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 74 f. The same account of the origin of the Fast of Heraclius is given by the Mahometan historian Al-Makrizi (*Kh iht*, ii. p. 511). (A. J. B.)
forbids them to act; and that they obey him and follow his commands; and that each of the Three does a work in which the others do not participate: the Father, namely, commands; the Son creates what the Father commands him to create; and the Holy Spirit gives life to that to which the Father commands him to give life; and that every creature which exists was created by the Son, at the command of the Father; and everything that lives received life from the Holy Spirit at the command of the Father.

Fol. 16 a  ‘In the next place he held that there was a feminine quality in the Godhead, and he taught that this feminine quality is proper to the Holy Spirit. He held that the eternal Word of God is born through

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1 The words of St. Jerome are the best commentary on this passage:

‘Hebraei asserunt, nec de hac re apud eos ulla dubitatio est, Spiritum Sanctum lingua sua appellari genere feminino, id est נשים לְרֹא . . . Sed et in evangelio quod, juxta Hebraeos scriptum, Nazarei lectitant, Dominus loquitur: modo me tulit mater mea, Spiritus Sanctus. Nemo autem in hac parte scandalizari debet quod dicatur apud Hebraeos spiritus genere feminino, cum nostra lingua appelletur genere masculino, et Graeco sermone neutro. In divinitate enim nullus est sexus. Et ideo in tribus principalibus linguis, quibus titulus dominicae scriptus est passionis, tribus generibus appellatur, ut sciamus nullius esse generis quod diversum est.’ (Jerome, Comm. in Esaiam, cap. xl. ver. 11.)

Origen quotes the same passage from the Ebionite or Nazarene ‘Gospel according to the Hebrews’:

“‘Εάν δὲ προστείται τις τὸ καθ’ Εβραίους εὐαγγέλιον, ἐνθα ἄιτος ὁ Σωτήρ φησιν. Ἀρτι ἔλαβε μὲ ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἀγων πνεύμα ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριχῶν μου καὶ ἀπήγεικέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα θαβῶρ.” (Origen, Comm. in Johannem, tom. II; vol. iv. col. 132, Migne; cf. Homil. XV in Jerem.)

Ibn al-Ḳanbar, whose opinions are here described for us by a hostile witness, anxious to detect as many errors as he can in the writings of a man condemned by the authorities of the Coptic community, perhaps knew a little Syriac, or even a little Hebrew, and so was aware that the word for ‘spirit’ in those languages, מַר, Ἰωά is feminine in gender, and commented upon that fact, possibly to the same effect as Jerome. The Coptic metropolitan evidently presents us with a very crude statement of Ibn al-Ḳanbar’s views.

In Arabic جر may be masculine as well as feminine, and is used in the former
all eternity from the Father and the Holy Spirit; and he explained that as the Father has no beginning, so the Holy Spirit proceeds eternally from him, without beginning, and the Son also is begotten eternally from them both without beginning. He held that God never spoke to any of his creatures, but spoke to his Son and to his Holy Spirit; and he contradicted all the words of God that came to his people through the divine books, both old and new. He held that the patriarchs and the prophets were tormented in hell on account of their sins; and that they could not save their souls in spite of their piety towards God; but were punished in hell until the Lord Christ saved them, being himself without sin. He held that the patriarchs and prophets were without the gift of the Holy Spirit, and next that the Holy Spirit never spoke by their mouths; thus denying them the grace of the Holy Spirit. He said: "If the Holy Spirit had been in them, they would not have gone down into hell." Next he supported these false doctrines by the assertion that all the good actions done by the patriarchs and prophets were reckoned by God to Satan, which is as much as to say that Satan helped them to do good deeds without the Holy Spirit. This doctrine he supported by his belief that the good works done by the disciples and the rest of the people of Christ are reckoned to Christ, because they did these works by the Holy Spirit.

gender when it denotes the Holy Spirit, 
أروح القدس, The ancient form was 
روح القدس, from the Syriac

1 Here the metropolitan of Damietta attributes to Ibn al-kanbar the common doctrine of the Melkites and Copts. Vansleb says of the latter: 'Ils croient que le Saint Esprit procède du Père seulement, se fondant sur la parole de notre Seigneur, quand il dit dans son Évangile : Cum autem venerit Paraclitus, quem ego mittam vobis, a patre meo,' &c. (Hist. de l'Église d'Alex. p. 122 f.) In the Catechism published in 1885 by Filtâ'ús, the hegumen of the patriarchal church of St. Mark at Cairo, it is said (p. v):

الاقترح الثالث يتميز بخاصة النبأية لأن الروح القدس المنبعث أي المنبعث من الاب أزليا

'The third Person [of the Trinity] is distinguished by the appropriate character of procession, for He is the Holy Spirit who proceeds, that is to say, issues from the Father eternally.'
He held also that none has died from the time of Adam onwards except for committing some sin for which he deserved death; and that the body of Christ alone did not commit any sin, for which it deserved death; and that when he died he received from his Father all that were imprisoned in hell, through the merit of his death; and in one place he says, "he received from Satan all that were imprisoned in hell." Thus Mark implies that the Lady died on account of sin alone, and so others beside her who are justified in the Gospel and the Old Testament. He held also that after the death of men and their assembling in paradise, there happens to those who have not been chastised in this life the same that happened to Adam; and he held that punishment and recompense in the next world belong to the

1 Vansleb says that although the Copts do not employ a term corresponding to the Latin 'purgatory,' yet 'il est bien vrai qu'ils croyent que les âmes souffrent des peines & qu'elles reçoivent du soulagement par le Saint Sacrifice & par les œuvres de piété qu'on fait pour elles, & il est vrai aussi qu'à cette fin ils font des obsèques pour ces mêmes âmes & qu'ils disent la Messe le 3 & le 7 jour, à la fin du mois, au quarantième jour, au sixième mois & à la fin de l'année de leur trépas,' &c. (Hist. de l'Église d'Alex. p. 140). Perhaps the doctrine of Ibn al-Kanbar was more definite than that held by the majority of the Copts on a point on which, as Vansleb says, 'l'Église Copte ne s'est point encore expliquée.'

The following is an extract from page 68 of the Catechism of Filta'ûs, which has already been quoted:

"س هل تنتظر النفس الموتى بالصلاة ووقع البر\nج نعم ان صلات الكنيسة وتقدمه القران الشرف وقع الاحساس تنفع تلك النفس\nالمتقلة ببعض نفقات وراث بشرية (لا المستغرقة في الرذائل وعزم الرحمة بدون توبة ولا\nاستغفار) وهذه القضية تتعتبر كنيسة المسج للجامعة من الأجالي الأولى وكنيسة إسرائيل تشهد\nفي سفر المكابيين الثاني أن يهودا المكابي كان يقدم ذبائح عن لبلد المكابيين ص 13 عدد 43."

"Question: Are the souls of the faithful profited by prayers and good works?\n"Answer: Yes. The prayers of the church and the offering of the Holy Sacrifice and the performance of good works profit those souls which have died still tainted by some of the imperfections and weaknesses of human nature, but not those which are sunk in vice and are reprobate without hope of repentance or forgiveness. This truth has been taught by the universal Church of Christ from
intelligent and reasonable soul apart from the body; but that chastisement in this world is for the body, in order that, to avoid the pains of penance, it may not again consent with the soul in the commission of sin; then it will be saved on the last day.

‘All the expositions of his wicked doctrines are found in the books that he wrote, such as that called The Ten Chapters, and that entitled Fol. 17 a The Teacher and the Disciple, consisting of eight parts; and the work named The Collection of Fundamental Principles, and others.’

Certain Wonders of Egypt.

§ Section in which the fishing-place\(^1\) is described. In the neighbourhood of the Nile, there is a place at which on a particular day much fish collects; and the people of that place go out and fish with their hands, and none of the fish escape from them; so that the people of that place catch enough to be eaten or salted by all of them. But when the sun has set on that day not one of them catches a single fish more; nor during that year are fish found at that place, until that particular day comes round again.

§ Account of the City of Stone\(^2\). Everything in this city is of hard black stone. There is the image of a teacher, sitting with his boys, who stand before him in large numbers both small and great; and there are the likenesses of lions and wild beasts and other things.

§ Account of the moving pillar\(^3\) in the land of Egypt. This is the first ages, and the Church of Israel bears witness in the second Book of Maccabees that Judas Maccabaeus offered sacrifices for the departed warriors (2 Macc. xii. 43).’

\(^1\) This fishing-place is not mentioned by Al-Maʾṣrīzī among the ‘wonders of the Nile.’

\(^2\) Madīnāt al-Ḥajar, or the City of Stone, is still existing in the south of the Fayyūm, close to the village of Al-Gharāḵ. There is an ancient sculptured gateway and some columns and other remains of an ancient city.

\(^3\) Can this be a version of the story told of the minaret of Abwīt near Al-Bahnasa, reckoned by As-Suyūṭī among the twenty wonders of Egypt, which constitute two-thirds of the wonders of the world? He says it is

"فتح العين، إذا هزها الإنسان مالت بعينا وشمالاً لا يرى مبناها ظاهرًا وفي ظلها في الشمس"
a marble pillar, rising to the height of about seventeen cubits above the ground, and its diameter is two cubits. It moves on one day of the year, making one motion.

§ Account of the tree\(^1\), which only bears fruit when a man runs towards it with an axe, as if he wishes to cut it down; and another man meets him and forbids him to cut it down, and guarantees to him on behalf of it that it will bear fruit. And in truth in the ensuing year it bears a quantity of fruit equal to that of two years.

'skillfully constructed, so that if a man pushes it it inclines to the right and to the left; but the movement is not visible externally except in the shadow of the minaret in the sunshine.' (\textit{Husn al-Muhaddarah}, i. p. 4.)

Cf. Ibn Duḵmāk, who says, in speaking of Abwît:

وِهذِهِ الْبَلَدَةُ أُجْوَرَةُ وَهَيْ مَنْارَتَا يَصُدُّ عَلَيْهَا وَتَهْرُ وَتَهْنَزُ وَتَهْزَعُ وَلَا يَعْلَمُ ما سَبَّ ذَلِكُ

'In this town there is a wonder, namely, its minaret, which is ascended, and, if it is pushed, yields to the push, and leans to one side; and the cause of this is unknown.' (\textit{Op. cit.}, v. p. 3.)

\textit{Al-Maḵrīzī} tells a similar tale of the minaret of Barzakh, a suburb of Damietta; see \textit{Khītāt}, i. p. 33.

\(^1\) This is no more than a grossly exaggerated report of the well-known sensitive properties of the \textit{Mimosa Nilotica}, named سلَط in Arabic.

\textit{Al-Maḵrīzī} gives the following account in his description of the wonders of Egypt:

وَمِنْ أَجْبَاثِهَا أَنْ بِصَعُدِهَا ضَيْعَةٌ تُعرفُ بِبَدْشَيٍّ فِيهَا سَنَتَةٌ اِذَا تَهْدَدُتْ بِالقُطِّعِ تَتَنْحِبُ وَتَتَحْمَلُ وَتَتَسَلَّفُ فِيْلَهَا قَدْ عَفَوْنَا عَنْكَ وَتَرْكَنَا فِتْنَتِراَجِعَ الْمُشْهُورَ وَهُوَ الْمُوَلَّدُ الْأَنْ سَنَتَةٌ فِي الصَّعِيدِ

'Among the wonders of Egypt is this: that in Upper Egypt there is a hamlet called Dashni, in which there grows a mimosa-tree; and if this mimosa is threatened with being cut down it withers away and shrinks up and grows smaller; but when they say to it, "We have forgiven thee, we will spare thee," then the tree recovers. It is a well-known thing and true at the present day that there is a mimosa in Upper Egypt which withers away if the hand is laid upon it, and recovers when the hand is removed.' (\textit{Khītāt}, i. p. 33.)

The fruit of the \textit{sant} was used in medicine; see 'Abd al-Laṭīf, \textit{Mukhtaṣar Akhbār Miṣr}, ed. White, pp. 48, 50.
§ Account of the stones which are found at a place called Al-
Barmak, between Khurairj and Yakhtâk. It is on the side of a moun-
tain, and when a caravan or a troop of soldiers passes by, they bind
much wool on the hoofs of their horses, and so make the ascent; for
if these stones struck against one another, a dark mist would rise at once
and would prevent their progress, and an exceedingly heavy rain would
descend. It is said that the wise men of this country fixed these stones
in this district; and, when rain was slow in coming to them, they moved
these stones by their arts, so that rain came to them whenever a rainfall
was needed. This is related in the biography of Al-Mu'tasim; and
certain of the chronicles contain the account of it, which is a true one.

Churches of Bûṣîr Banâ and other places.

§ The southern provinces of the land of Egypt. Bûṣîr Wanâ is
named after a sorcerer who liyed there and was named Bûṣîr. The

1 The stones which cause rain if they strike together are not described in
the Life of Al-Mu'tasim, published by Matthiessen, Leyden, 1849.
2 The eighth of the Abbaside caliphs; son of Hârûn ar-Rashid, and brother
and successor of Al-Ma'mûn. Reigned at Bagdad from A.H. 218 to 227 = A.D.
833–842; see Abû 'l-Fidâ, Annales, ii. pp. 166–176.
3 The following passage is repeated almost word for word below, fol. 68 b ff.
It is also quoted by Quatremère, Mémoire Hist. et Géogr. i. p. 110 ff. Our author,
followed by Quatremère, evidently confuses Bûṣîr Wanâ or Banâ with Bûṣîr
Kûridus, which lies to the south of Cairo, at the entrance to the Fayyûm. Bûṣîr
Kûridus is, however, spoken of by name on fol. 92 b. Bûṣîr Wanâ or Banâ
is situated in the district of Samannûd, in the province of Al-Gharbîyah, and
is therefore wrongly placed, both here and on fol. 68 b, in Southern or Upper
Egypt. The town has now 5,359 inhabitants. It is near the town of Banâ or
Wanâ, here called (beginning of fol. 18 a) Wanâ Bûṣîr. The Coptic form of
Bûṣîr is ΒΟΥΣΙΡΙ, and of Banâ or Wanâ ΒΑΝΑ. Four Bûṣîrs are mentioned
by Yâkût: Bûṣîr Banâ in the district of Samannûd; Bûṣîr Kûridus; Bûṣîr
Dafadûn in the Fayyûm; and Bûṣîr as-Sidr in the province of Al-Jizah. See
Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. i. p. v1.; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 117]; Amélineau,
Géogr. pp. 7–11.
4 On fol. 92 b, Bûṣîr Kûridus is also said to be named after a sorcerer.
town contains a large church, very spacious, built of stone, and situated within the city, near the fortress. It was constructed in ancient times; and as time went by, and the kings required the stone of which it is constructed, much of this material was taken away from it. The church is now a ruin, but its remains are still conspicuous; they stand near the prison\(^1\) of Joseph the Truthful, that is to say the son of Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham, the Friend of God, upon whom be peace.

§ The city of Wana\(^2\) contains the church of George\(^3\).

\(^1\) Here our author is making a fresh mistake. The 'prison of Joseph' was neither at Būṣīr Banā nor at Būṣīr Ḫūridus, but at Būṣīr as-Sidr in the province of Al-Jīzah. Al-Maḳrīzī says:

'Al-Ḳudā‘i says: The prison of Joseph, upon whom be peace! is at Būṣīr in the province of Al-Jīzah; all the learned men of Egypt are agreed upon the authenticity of this spot.' (Ḳīṭāt, i. p. r.v.) This passage of Al-Ḳudā‘i is also quoted by Yāḳūṭ, Geogr. Wört. iii. p. ṣv. Al-Maḳrīzī goes on to state that the flat roof of the 'prison' was called Ḥjābat ad-Dnā‘, the 'answer to prayer,' and that it was much visited at particular times by those who had special petitions to make: notably by Kāfūr al-Ikḥshīdī.

As-Suyūṭī speaks of the prison as standing to the north of the pyramids, which are still known as the Pyramids of Abūṣīr, and are a little to the north of Sakkarah, and about six miles to the south of Al-Jīzah.

Būṣīr or Abūṣīr as-Sidr is now in the district of Badrashain, and had in 1885 a population of 1,848. In the fourteenth century, as it appears from the revenue-lists, the place was of great importance. Amélineau, Géogr. p. 10.

The pyramids of Būṣīr and the mummies found there are described by 'Abd al-Laṭīf, Mukhtasar Akhbār Miṣr, ed. White, pp. 156, 158.

\(^2\) Wana or Banā is near Būṣīr Wana, as it has already been remarked. It was the seat of a Coptic bishopric. It is also called, as it may be seen a few lines lower down, Wana or Banā Būṣīr. It was named in Greek Κυρόπολις, and in Coptic Μάντας; it is now included in the district of Samannūd in the province of Al-Ghabāliyah; and it had in 1885 a population of 3,021. See Al-Idriṣī (cd. Rome) [p. 117]; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 84 f.; Recensement de l’Égypte, ii. p. 69.

\(^3\) This church is mentioned by Al-Maḳrīzī, see Appendix. We shall find, as
§ At Munyat al-Kâ'id there is a church. It was restored by Fadl ibn Šâlih, who had been a page to the vizier Abû 'l-Faraj ibn Killis, in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâkim; it is named after Our Lady the Virgin, Fol. 18 a and stands near the river.

we proceed, that this was one of the most frequent dedications in Egypt. Our author mentions forty-two churches or monasteries named after St. George. He is, as it is well known, the famous Cappadocian martyr, probably the first who suffered under Diocletian, and with whose name the legend of the dragon is connected. At the time of the Crusades, St. George was proclaimed champion of Christendom, and in the reign of Edward III he was formally adopted by our countrymen as their patron saint, in addition to the former patrons of England, Our Lady and St. Peter. The martyrdom of St. George is commemorated by the Copts on Barmûdah 23 = April 18; whereas the western calendar gives his name to April 23. His Acts exist in Coptic and Ethiopic. See Zoega, Cat. Cod. Copt. cod. cliii; Budge, Martyrdom and Miracles of St. George, with Coptic text and translation. The extreme limit of scepticism with regard to this saint is reached by M. Amélineau, who regards his Acts, in all their versions, as pure romance (Contes et romans de l'Égypte chrétienne, ii. p. 167 ff.)

1 Two days' journey to the south of Fustâṭ (Old Cairo), according to Yâkût, in the most northern part of Upper Egypt. The Kâ'id from whom it received its name was this very Fadl who restored the church. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wirt. iv. p. 170. There were thirty-nine Munyahs in Egypt at this period; see Yâkût, Mushtarik, p. 273. The word Munyah, now popularly pronounced Minyah, or shortened into Mitt, is an Arabicised form of the Coptic Μυωνῆ, which signifies 'port,' and is not derived from the Greek μονή, 'mansion,' as it was formerly suggested. Mitt al-Kâ'id is now included within the district of Bîbâ in the province of Bani Suwaiq, and in 1885 had a population of 455. See Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 222.

2 is written by a clerical error here and on fol. 69 a as . Abû 'l-Faraj ibn Killis was vizier to Al-ʿAziz from A.D. 979 to A.D. 990, see Ibn Khallikân, iv. p. 359 ff.; As-Suyûṭî, Hṣn al-Muhâdarah, ii. p. 187.

3 The sixth of the Fatimide caliphs; reigned from A.H. 386 to 411 = A.D. 996-1020. He was a persecutor of the Christians, and was the founder of the religion of the Druses. See Introduction.

4 The dedication of churches to the Virgin was more frequent in Egypt,
§ Wanâ Bûşîr\(^1\) contains a church named after the great and valiant martyr Mercurius\(^2\), and two other churches—one dedicated to Our Lady the Pure Virgin, and the second to the holy martyr Saint George\(^3\), besides a church to the martyr John\(^4\), who is also named as might be expected, than any other dedication. More than fifty-five churches of the Virgin are mentioned by our author as existing in Egypt in his time.

\(^1\) Our author here returns to Wanâ or Banâ, which he had left a few lines above.

\(^2\) After Our Lady and St. George this is one of the most popular dedications in Egypt. Our author mentions about thirty churches of St. Mercurius. This saint is one of the very few commemorated in the Coptic Synaxarium or Calendar among those who suffered in the time of Decius. According to the Coptic authorities, Mercurius was born at Rome, and was originally called Philopator. He was a great 'hunter of wild beasts,' but eventually became a soldier, and an angel gave him a two-edged sword with which he slew his enemies. It is this two-edged sword which has become two swords in the popular legend, and has earned for the saint the Arabic cognomen of Abû 's-Saifain, 'father' or 'owner of the two swords;' and the Coptic artists accordingly represent him brandishing a sword in each hand. Mercurius was beheaded at Caesarea in Cappadocia during the persecution of Decius; and his martyrdom is commemorated by the Copts on Hatîr 25 = Nov. 21. There was also a bishop Mercurius, who was present at the Council of Nicaea, and whose festival is kept on Barmahât 1 = Feb. 25; and another Mercurius whose day is Bâbah 28 = Oct. 25. It is curious that the Dictionary of Christian Biography does not mention the name Mercurius. St. Mercurius the martyr of Caesarea is commemorated by the Greek church also, but on Nov. 25 instead of Nov. 21. See Butler, Coptic Churches, i. p. 76, and ii. pp. 357-9; Malan, Calendar of Coptic Church, p. 12 and p. 59, note 34; Wüstenfeld, Synaxarium, p. 135 f.; Amélineau, Actes des Martyrs de l'Église Copte, p. 16 ff.; Menologium Graecorum in Op. et Stud. Hannibalis Clementis, tom. i. p. 212. (A. J. B.)

\(^3\) The prefix مارى, Mâri, so often used by the Copts in speaking of the saints, is, as it is well known, derived from the Syriac مه, 'my Lord.' Many of the Christian theological and ecclesiastical terms used in Arabic are Syriac in origin.

\(^4\) There are more martyrs than one of this name in the Coptic calendar. See below, fol. 56.
Abû Yuḥannūs, and whose pure body is preserved in this church. There is also a church to the glorious angel, Michael the Archangel.

§ At Idrijah¹, one of the villages of Būsh², there is a church to the great martyr Saint George.

§ Tansa³ contains a church, named after Nahādah⁴, and churches named after the valiant⁵ martyr Mercurius, the glorious angel Gabriel, and Our Lady the Pure Virgin.

The Fayyūm.

§ Madinat al-Fayyūm⁶ and its province. Al-Fayyūm was the name of one of the sons of _DOT_ , the son of Mizraîm, who built it for one

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¹ Cf. below, fol. 69 b. Yākūt speaks of Idrijah as a village of Upper Egypt in the province of Al-Bahnaṣâ; see his Geogr. Wırt. i. p. 178. Cf. Ibn Duḵmāḵ, op. cit. v. p. 5.

² Būsh or Būsh Kurā was the Coptic ٥٠٨, and still exists a little to the north of Banī Suwaîf, with a population in 1885 of 7,091 inhabitants. The district is still a Christian centre, and contains the second monastery, in point of size and wealth, in Egypt. See Yākūt, Geogr. Wırt. i. p. 503; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 366 ff. (A. J. B.)

³ Now in the district of Bibā, in the province of Banī Suwaîf; and in 1885 had a population of 1,465. See Ibn Duḵmāḵ, v. p. 1; Rec. de l’Égypte, ii. p. 303.

⁴ These churches at Tansa are mentioned again fol. 69 b. The name of Nahādah occurs in the case of this one church only, among the Egyptian churches.

⁵ ٤٥٠٨, ‘the valiant,’ is an epithet especially applied to St. Mercurius and St. Theodore.

⁶ ‘The capital of the Fayyūm,’ still existing, and having in 1885 a population of 25,799. It was the Greek Arsinoe or Crocodilopolis. The name Fayyūm is, as it is well known, the Coptic ٤١٠٠ـ٠ـ = ‘the sea’ or ‘lake;’ a name given on account of Lake Moeris, identified by some with the modern Birkat al-Ḳurān, but by Mr. Cope Whitehouse with the low ground, now dry land, in the Wādī Rayān, to the south of the Fayyūm. See Al-Maḵrizī, Ḫiṭḥat, i. p. r51; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 339 ff.

The following passage on the Fayyūm is repeated on fol. 70 f.

⁷ As we shall see in several cases below, our author follows other Arab writers in deriving the names of places in Egypt from the names of real or
of his daughters who had brought dishonour upon herself, so that he banished her thither. The city existed before the time of Joseph, the son of Jacob, the son of Abraham the Friend of God, upon whom be peace! and Joseph rebuilt it. He also made the Nilometer. And he built [Madinat] al-Fayyum and Ḥajar al-Lāhūn, which was built with wisdom, founded with divine assistance, and constructed by the inspiration of God. Joseph also dug the canal of Al-Manhi. He

supposed personages in remote antiquity. Many towns were supposed to be named after sons of Kīft, who was said to have divided the land of Egypt among them. Most of these legends or traditions may be traced to the Arabic historian Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, who died in A. H. 257(?), and from whom Al-Kindi, Al-Ḳudā'ī, Al-Makrīzī, and As-Suyūṭī borrowed so much of their work. See As-Suyūṭī, Husn al-Muhādarah, i. p. r... The name Kīft was in reality borrowed from the town of Kīft or Coptos, and from its resemblance to the Arabic term denoting the Egyptians, namely Kīft (كفت, an apocopated form of Ḥuṣn, turned by us into 'Copt'), gave rise to the legend of an ancestor of the whole nation, of that name, the founder of that city.

1 All the Mahometan historians of Egypt, following Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam and Ibn Ishāk, state that Joseph superintended the digging of the canals of the Fayyum and the building of its towns. See below, fol. 69 b f.

2 Al-Makrīzī quotes Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's own words, to which without doubt our author is referring:

قال ابن عبد اللّه المأمون: أول من قس النيل برصاص ليسي من فئة سلم وقع مقالة بهيئة

'Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam says: The first who measured the rise of the Nile in Egypt was Joseph, upon whom be peace! who set up a Nilometer at Memphis.' Cf. below, fol. 68 a, 69 b, 70 b; cf. also Diodorus, Bibl. Hist. i. cap. 36, who speaks of the earliest Nilometer as being at Memphis; and Herodotus, ii. cap. 13, who implies the existence of a Nilometer at Memphis under king Moeris.

3 i.e. the great dykes and sluices of brick and stone near the village of Al-Lāhūn, which regulated the supply of water into the Fayyum. This ancient structure, attributed by the Mahometan historians to Joseph (Al-Makrīzī, Khīṭat, i. p. r r f.; Yaḳūṭ, Geogr. Wört. iv. p. r r f.; As-Suyūṭī, Husn al-Muhādarah, i. p. r r), was destroyed by French engineers early in this century, and a new lock erected. (A. J. B.)

4 Also called from its reputed author Bahr Yāṣuf or 'Joseph's River.' It is
cultivated the land of Egypt. The Fayyûm contained three hundred and sixty-six districts, according to the number of days in the year\(^1\), each district corresponding to a day; and the yearly revenue from each canton was a thousand dinars. The lands of this district are laid under water when the river rises twelve cubits; but are not entirely submerged with eighteen cubits. There are here tracts of common land\(^2\), in which no one has the right of property; for men are allowed to make use of

still in working order, and flows from a spot named Rās al-Manhī or ‘Head of Al-Manhī,’ near Darwah Sarabām (fol. 77 b), to Ḥajar al-Lālūn, where it branches out into the many canals which irrigate the Fayyûm. See Yâkūt, Geogr. Wört. iii. p. 977; Marāṣid al-Īttilā‘ ad voc.; Al-Mārkūzī, Khiṭāṭ, i. p. viii.

\(^1\) That is of the Coptic, not of the Mahometan year, which consists of 354 or, in the intercalated years, of 355 days. The Coptic year consists of twelve months of thirty days each, with five or six additional days called Nīssā‘.

\(^2\) Here our author quotes Al-Kindī’s Fudūl ‘l-Miṣr. Al-Mārkūzī says, quoting by name from the same book:

فَاذا دُوَّ فِوْق السِّبعين صَفَّاً

‘In the Fayyûm there is common land in which none has the right of property whether Muslim or of the allied peoples; and all, both rich and poor, may demand a share of it; and it consists of more than seventy sorts of land.’

Al-Kindī, followed by our author, is speaking of the different sorts of crops grown on the land. Seventy different crops seems a high number, unless every variety is to be separately enumerated. Al-Mārkūzī gives a list of the principal crops of Egypt, and names thirty-nine of them, without reckoning all the kinds of fruit-trees, and without counting all the different species and varieties of each genus. He names wheat, barley, beans, lentiūls, chick-peas, flat peas, flax, leeks, onions, garlic, lupins, water-melons, haricots, sesame, cotton, sugar-cane, colocasia, egg-plant, indigo, radish, turnip, lettuce, cabbage, vine, fig, apple, mulberry, almond, peach, apricot, date-palm, narcissus, jasmine, myrtle, beetroot, gillyflower, banana, cassia, lotus-tree. See the section entitled:

ذَکْراصِناف اراضي مصر واقسام زراعتها

‘Account of the different kinds of land in Egypt and of the various crops grown there,’ in Khiṭāṭ, ii. p. i ... ff.
it as they please, and to demand a share of it according to their circumstances, and the land is of seventy kinds. The revenue of the Fayyūm was estimated by Ibn Takhirān in the time of Kāfūr al-Ustādī, Emir of Egypt, generally known by the appellation of Al-Ikhshīdī, under the Abbaside dynasty, in the year of the Arabs 355, when the revenue amounted to 620,000 dinars; and this equals the amount calculated to come from Ar-Ramlah and Tiberias and Damascus.

1 Abū 'l-Misk Kāfūr al-Ustādī, or the eunuch, was the son of 'Abd Allāh. He was a negro slave, sold, it is said for eighteen dinars, in A.H. 312 = A.D. 924 to Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshīdī, governor of Egypt, who subsequently emancipated him and appointed him guardian over his two sons. When Al-Ikhshīdī died in A.H. 334 = A.D. 946, his eldest son Abū 'l-Kāsim Anūjūr became ruler of Egypt, but the state was actually administered by Kāfūr, who is known as Al-Ikhshīdī on account of his having belonged to Al-Ikhshīdī. When Anūjūr died in A.H. 349 = A.D. 960, his brother Abū 'l-Hasan 'Alī succeeded to the government of Egypt, and Kāfūr acted as his lieutenant, as he had acted for his brother. 'Alī died in A.H. 355 = A.D. 966, and then Kāfūr became uncontrolled ruler of Egypt, as the son of 'Alī was too young to reign; and this state of affairs continued until the death of the negro in A.H. 357 = A.D. 968. Kāfūr is celebrated as the most successful and powerful of all the black eunuchs who rose to eminence under Mahometan rule. The poet Al-Mutanabbī wrote in his praise. See Abū 'l-Malāṡin, ed. Juynboll and Matthes, ii. pp. 353–354; Ibn al-Athīr, viii. pp. 405–406; Al-Makrizī, Khīṭāt, i. p. 354; Ibn Khallikān, trans. De Slane, ii. p. 524; As-Su[yūṭī, Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah, ii. p. 118. (A. J. B.)

2 The Abbaside caliph reigning at Bagdad in A.H. 355 = A.D. 966 was Al-Muṭṭī, who was proclaimed in A.H. 334 = A.D. 946, and abdicated in A.H. 363 = A.D. 974.

3 This statement seems to be borrowed from Ibn Zūlakh:

4 I.e. Ar-Ramlah on the coast of Syria, a little to the south of Yāfā or Joppa.
There were in this province thirty-three monasteries within its borders. In the patriarchate of Theodore\(^1\), the forty-fifth in the order of succession, the name of the bishop of the Fayyûm was Anba Abraham\(^2\), and the revenue received into the treasury of the govern-

\(^1\) Occupied the see from A.D. 727 to 737, Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 201 f.

\(^2\) The form אפרהמ, Afrahám, is intended to reproduce the Coptic pronunciation of אפרהומ, the ר being pronounced as ẓ by the Copts. Our author is here referring to an incident which occurred in the life of Theodore but is recorded at the beginning of the biography of Michael his successor, by John the Deacon, which is to be found in the history of the Coptic patriarchs compiled by Severus, bishop of Ushmûnain, in the ninth century of our era. The following is the passage which our author must have had in his mind; the writer is describing, as an eyewitness, an interview between the patriarch Theodore, who was accompanied by certain bishops, and Al-Kásim the wâli of Egypt:

'And the bishop Anba Abraham, bishop of the Fayyûm, was present on matters of their business. And when we entered the presence of Al-Kásim the next time, he called one of his odalisques who was from Western Africa, and he said to Anba Abraham: "This is thy daughter;" and he laid the bishop's hand upon her hand, for his heart was as the heart of children. And he said to the bishop: "Thou knowest that I have loved thee deeply since my father's time, and all that thou didst ask of my father I will do for thee." And the holy Abraham said to him: "It is good." So Al-Kásim continued: "I desire of thee 300 dinars." Then the archdeacon who accompanied the bishop, and whose name was Simeon, and who was afterwards found worthy to succeed him as bishop, came to him and
ment, from the crops grown on the lands of these monasteries, amounted to five hundred dinars yearly.

It is said in the Book of the Conquest of Egypt by the Muslims

he said to him: "Bring the 300 dinars." So he brought them and gave them to Al-Ḳāsim. Now Anba Abraham had much money derived from church property; for he had in his diocese thirty-five monasteries, in the Fayyūm; and he was the administrator of their goods; and he was bound to pay a land-tax of 500 dinars into the public treasury of the government on their account. He was the head of all of them, and the merchants of Egypt sold to him and bought from him. MS. in Bib. Nat. Paris, numbered Anc. Fonds Arabe 139, p. 142, lines 5-13.

1 By Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, who probably wrote at the beginning of the third century of the Hegira, and who is the source from which subsequent historians drew. It is unfortunate that this work, which is still extant, has not been published. See article in Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. iii. p. 329 ff., 1840, on Geschichte der muhammedanischen Eroberung Aegyptens. Yakūt quotes the passage of Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam as follows:

‘Abd ar-Rahmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam says: I learnt from Hishām
that the Fayyûm was known as the Waste Ground; it was an outlet for the waters of Upper Egypt. Joseph the Truthful dug the canal here, and brought the water through it, and the Nile began to flow into it. Joseph was of the age of thirty years, in the reign of Ar-Rayyân\(^1\), the

ibn Iṣḥâk that when Joseph governed Egypt his dignity was increased by Pharaoh. And, when Joseph’s age had passed a hundred years, the viziers of the kingdom said, “Joseph’s understanding has decayed, and his reason is disturbed, and his wisdom is departed.” But Pharaoh reprimanded them and denied their statements and softened down their words, and they refrained from repeating them. Then after some years they repeated their charge, so Pharaoh said to them, “Come, suggest something by which we may try him!” Now in those days the Fayyûm was called the Waste Land, and moreover it was an outlet for the superfluous waters of Upper Egypt; so they all agreed that this should be the test by which to try Joseph. So they said to Pharaoh, “Desire Joseph to spread abroad the waters of the Waste Land, so that fresh territory may be added to your dominions and fresh revenues to your revenues.” So he called Joseph, and said, “Thou knowest the place of my daughter such an one; I have determined when she grows up to seek for her a city, and I have not found any for her except the Waste Land, which is a small town, near to us, but which cannot be reached from any part of Egypt except by passing through deserts and wildernesses up to this time. For the Fayyûm is in the midst of Egypt as Egypt is in the midst of the countries, for Egypt cannot be reached from any part except by passing through deserts. I have settled this district upon my daughter. Do not therefore leave any means untried by which thou mayest gain thy object.” So Joseph answered, “Yea, O king, if this be thy desire I will perform it.” Pharaoh said, “The sooner it is done the better it will please me.” Then an inspiration from God came to Joseph that he should dig three canals; one from the further part of Upper Egypt, from such a place to such a place, and one in the east from such a place to such a place, and one in the west from such a place to such a place. And Joseph disposed the workmen and dug the canal of Al-Manhî, from a point above Ushmûnain to Al-Lâhûn.’ Yâkût, *Geogr. Wör.*, iv. p. 188 f. Cf. Al-Makrizî, *Khitât*, i. p. 130, where the same passage is quoted; As-Suyûtî, *Husn al-Muhâdarah*, i. p. r1.

\(^1\) Ar-Rayyân ibn Walîd ibn Daumâr is the name given by most of the Arabian historians to the Pharaoh of Joseph; although Al-Makrizî says that the Copts
son of Dauma, surnamed Pharaoh, after the interpretation of the dream and the explanation of it. Pharaoh clothed Joseph with a robe of honour, and entrusted him with his signet-ring and with the administration of his kingdom.

Certain matters concerning Egypt.

§ The seventeenth section of the history of the church, and the biography of Anba Khâ’il, the forty-sixth patriarch, contains an estimate of the yearly revenues of Egypt, at the end of the caliphate of Marwân, the ‘Ass of War,’ the last caliph of the dynasty of the Omeyyads, and at the beginning of the caliphate of As-Saffâḥ ‘Abd Allâh, the Abbaside, which sets the amount carried into the public treasury at 200,000 dinars, apart from the expenses.

called him Nahrá’ush. It is impossible at the present day to say whence the names of the ancient Pharaohs found in Arab writers were derived; none of them seems to be known to Muhammad in the Koran. The names seem to have been borrowed by later writers from Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, who was himself indebted to Ibn Islāk.

1 The seventeenth section of the patriarchal biographies compiled by Severus of Ushmûnain begins with the life of Khâ’il, the forty-sixth patriarch. Anc. Fonds Arabe 139, pp. 140 and 141, line 17.

2 Occupied the see from a.d. 743 to 766 according to Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 203-236. The name خايلة, Khâ’il, is an abbreviated form of خالة, Mikhâ’il or Michael. Another form of the name is خاليل, Khâyâl. The biography of Michael, included in the history of the patriarchs compiled by Severus of Ushmûnain, is one of the most important parts of that work, and is the contemporary composition of John the Deacon, who was an eyewitness of many of the events which he relates. See MS. Anc. Fonds Arabe 139, pp. 140-191.

3 This caliph, the second of his name, is referred to several times in the present work. He reigned from a.h. 126-133 = a.d. 744-751. See Introduction.

4 The first of the Abbaside caliphs, who overthrew the Omeyyad dynasty. Reigned a.h. 133-137 = a.d. 751-755.

5 Our author is referring to the following passage in the biography of Michael, which narrates events that occurred shortly after the death of Marwân:

كَانَ أَرْقَاعُ مَصْرٍ بَعْدَ اتْقَاطَاتِ الْجِنَّ وَنَفَاقَاتِ دَارِ السُّلَطَانِ وَمَا يَحْتَاجُ الْهَيْثِمُ لِتَدِيرِ المَلِكَةِ
§ The first worshippers of idols were the people of Egypt and Babylon, and the Franks and the people of the sea-coast. In the days of Kuhtân, the son of Fālik, the father of the Arabs, men made likenesses of all that were renowned for virtue, and of good repute, and famous for valour and beauty of form, and worshipped their images.

§ Abû Naiţur¹, the fourth son of Noah, learnt, through the inspiration of God, the science of the sphere², and the art of reckoning it by years, months, days, and hours, and the like. Afterwards Nimrod³ the giant learnt from him, and composed books on the science of the sphere, and on reckoning it; and men wondered at the wisdom which he showed in his books, and copied them after him, so that Ardashir envied him; and Nimrod also served Satan, and fasted for him, and offered sacrifice to him, and burnt incense to him, and humbled himself before him. Therefore Satan appeared to him, and taught him magic⁴, and how to raise false phantoms; and

ما يفضل بعد ذلك وحصين إلى بيت المال مالًا حملًا في كل سنة مائتا ألف دينار سوي

The revenues of Egypt, after deducting the pay of the troops and the expenses of the governor's house and what was needed for the administration of the country, amounted to 200,000,000 dinars carried yearly to the public treasury. MS. Anc. Fonds Arabe 139, p. 180, line 25, p. 181, lines 1-2. The figures have been altered.

¹ Abû Naiţur is not elsewhere mentioned.

² I.e. astronomy. As it is well known, the Arabs derived their first knowledge of astronomy from the Arabic translation, made by order of the caliph Ma'mûn, of the Almagest of Ptolemy, and it is from that work that the term θαῖρα = σφαίρα is borrowed.

³ The attribution of a knowledge of astronomy to Nimrod is based on a genuine tradition of the devotion of the ancient Babylonians to that science. Hāji Khalfah remarks upon the use made by Ptolemy in the Almagest of the work of Chaldaean astronomers; Lex. bibliogr. (ed. Flügel) i. p. 71. Many legends are related of Nimrod, the 'Enemy of God,' by the Arab historians, and he is alluded to in the Koran, following Jewish tradition, as the persecutor of Abraham. See Ibn al-Athîr, Al-Kâmîl, i. p. 81 ff.

⁴ The Mahometans consider Babylon to have been the original home of
revealed to him the worship of the stars; and Nimrod the giant learnt from Satan the doctrine of Tâghût. Nimrod was the first who wore a crown of gold, set with jewels, and put on purple robes, and showed himself in such guise.

Section referring to the distinguished men of Egypt, and to the wonders which are to be found there. Among the former were Moses and Aaron his brother, and Miriam their sister, who were born at Askar, in the region of Egypt. On Mount Sinai God spoke with Moses; and Moses struck with his rod.

magic, which was taught to men there by the two evil angels Hârût and Mârût (see Sûrat al-Ba'ârah, 96), who still hang head downwards among the ruins of the great city.

An idol of the ancient Arabs of Mecca; see Koran, Sûrat al-Ba'ârah, 257, 259, where the religion of Tâghût is placed in antithesis to the true religion of Islam. Cf. Sûrat al-Âlidh, 65.

Eutychius reports this legend, in speaking of the time of Abraham:

In his time lived Nimrod the giant, king of Babylon. It is said that he was the first king who reigned in Babylon; and he saw in the sky the likeness of a crown formed of clouds; so he called a goldsmith, who fashioned a crown for him, and he put it upon his head. For this reason men said that a diadem descended upon him from heaven.' Eutychius, Annales (ed. Pococke), i. p. 62. Cf. MS. Bodl. Or. 294, p. 60.

The epithet, 'giant,' corresponds to בָּנָאָ in Genesis x. 8, 9.

Some of these legends of Nimrod may be looked upon as genuine traditions of the ancient culture of Babylonia.

This was a well-known town, two days to the south of Al-Fuṣṭâṭ, in the province of Al-İṭfīhiyâh. Many of the Muslims, as well as the Christians, accepted the tradition that Moses was born there; see Yâkût, Geogr. Wörter. i. p. 386; Al-Maqrizî, Khaṭat, ii. p. 317; Ibn Du'kâmâk, iv. p. 117. The MSS. of Al-Maqrizî write the name as اسک. Askar still exists in the district of İṭfīhî in the province of Al-Jîzâh; see Rec. de l'Egypte, ii. p. 51.
In Egypt Moses divided the sea, and performed the ten miracles. Joseph the Truthful ¹ ruled over Egypt.

In Egypt also is the palm-tree. Here is the Holy Valley², and the fissure of the Abū Kīr³, to which the birds of that species go on pilgrimage every year. One bird is caught in this fissure, and remains hanging there until the winds blow it to pieces. In this country also is the Ḥāʾīṭ al-ʿAjāz⁴, from Al-ʿArish to Aswān; which is sometimes called Ḥāʾīṭ al-Ḥujūz.

¹ This is a constant epithet of Joseph among the Mahometans, and originated in the Koran, Sūrah Yūsuf, ver. 51:

قَالَتِ امْرَأَةُ الْعَزِيزِ الْأَن ذَحَّصَ العَلْقَ أَنَا رَأَوْنَاهُ عَنْ نَفْسِي وَأَنَا لَسْنَ الْمُدْرَكَينَ

'The wife of Al-ʿAzīz said: Now the truth is made manifest. It was I who tempted him to sin. Surely he is one of the truthful.'

Compare ver. 46:

Ο ᾽Ιοσύφ τὸ ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἀφίτιον ἐπὶ χοίρον τῶν εὐκαταργῶν ἠμαθαί

'O Joseph the Truthful! teach us with regard to the seven fat kine,' &c.

² I can only conjecture that this may mean the Wādī Naṭrūn or Wādī Ḥābib, the ancient Nitrian valley, so famous in the annals of monasticism.

³ This legend of the Abūkīr birds is found in most of the Arab historians who have written on Egypt; see Quatremère, Mém. Hist. et Géogr. i. p. 32, where our author is quoted among others. The fissure is said by our author (fol. 86 b) to be on the Jabal al-Kahf. Other writers say the Jabal at-Ṭair, the well-known hill which still bears the name, on the Nile, opposite Samallūṭ and Taḥa. As-Suyūṭī, who reckons the Jabal at-Ṭair as one of the twenty wonders of Egypt, on account of these birds, describes them thus:

بالئ سود الاعناق مطرفات لحوامل سود اطراف الاجنحة

'They are piebald, with black necks, striped on the breast, with black tips to their wings.' Ḥusn al-Muhāʾarah, i. p. 34.

Al-Makrizī says that the prodigy had ceased in his time. Khīṭat, ii. p. 5.3 f.; cf. i. p. 31.

⁴ 'Wall of the old woman,' also called Ḫisr al-ʿAjāz, 'dyke of the old woman.' It still exists in portions near Jabal at-Ṭair, near Kūsīyah, and at other places.

The 'old woman' is said by some writers to be Dalūkah (see fol. 70 b), who
In the river Nile there is a fish, which is called the ‘thunder-fish’. Even if a strong man places his hand upon it, his strength will not prevent him from receiving a shock through his body, and his arm will remain thunderstruck and will be paralysed during the space of an hour.

In this country is the meeting-place of the two seas, which is called the Isthmus; here the two seas approach one another. Between them are two dykes. The two seas are the sea of the Romans and the sea of the Chinese; and the dyke is a journey of one night from both of

reigned over Egypt in remote antiquity. The purpose of the wall is said to have been to defend Egypt from her enemies. Another story makes the old woman build the wall to prevent the lions from coming down to the Nile to drink, in revenge for the death of her son, who had been devoured by a lion. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. ii. p. 111; Al-Maqrîzî, Khîṭât, i. p. 91; As-Suyûtî, Ḥusn al-Muḥaddarah, i. p. 93.

Our author, on fol. 57 b, makes Cleopatra the builder of the Ḥâ’ît al-‘Affûz, which extended not only from Al-‘Arish or Al-Faramâ to Aswân on the eastern bank of the Nile, but also from Nubia to Alexandria on the western bank. In these statements he follows Eutychius, Annales (ed. Pococke), i. p. 301.

The statement of Diodorus that Sesostris built a wall 1,500 stades in length, to protect Egypt on the east from the Syrians and the Arabs, is well known; see Diod. Sic., Bîbl. Hist. bk. i. cap. 57.

1 I. e. the electric eel, gymnotus electricus, the properties of which are well known. They were much celebrated by Arabic writers on Egypt. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. iv. p. 87; Abû Ḥamîd al-Mahâsin, op. cit. i. p. 47; Al-Maqrîzî, Khîṭât, i. p. 77; Al-Maṣûdî, Murūj adh-Dhahab, ii. pp. 392–3; 'Abd al-Laṭîf, Mukhlaṣar (ed. White), p. 82.

2 I. e. Isthmus of Suez. This passage is partly repeated on fol. 58 a.

3 The high ground to the north of Lake Timsâlî is still called Al-‘Fîṣr, ‘the dyke.’

4 Our author here treats the Red Sea as part of the Indian Ocean, and the latter as part of the China Sea.

5 On fol. 58 a the distance between the two seas, which is about eighty miles, is given as a day and a night’s journey, and Al-Maqrîzî makes it the same. Yâkût and the Mardîṣîd al-‘Iṭtilî make it four days.
them, between Al-Kulzum\(^1\) and Al-Faramá\(^2\). In no other country do the seas approach nearer to one another than at this place; for in the east there is a journey of several months between them. There is no country in the world in which the people eat fresh fish from both seas, except Egypt.

\(^1\) The Greek and Coptic Κλέσμα, Κλέσμα, formerly situated a short distance to the north of Suez, which must be regarded as its successor; see Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 227–9. Al-Mukaddasi, who wrote in A.H. 375 = A.D. 986, says, speaking of the inhabitants of Al-Kulzum:

> ‘Water is conveyed to them in boats; and from a place called Suwais (Suez), at a distance of one post, bad, discoloured water is carried to them upon camels; so that one of their proverbs says: The people of Al-Kulzum receive their provisions from Bilbais, and their drink from Suwais, and they eat the flesh of the Tātūs (wild goat)’ (ed. De Goeje), p. 196. This passage was not made use of by Quatremère in his discussion of the position of Al-Kulzum, Mém. Hist. et Géogr. i. pp. 151–189. The distance of one post or about twelve miles is too great, as the ruins of Al-Kulzum are placed by Niebuhr about one mile to the north of Suez. See also Yakūt, Geogr. Wört. iv. p. 158; Marāqīd al-Ittīlā’ (ed. Juynboll), ad voc.; Al-Idrīṣ (ed. Rome) [p. 49]; Al-Mašrīzī, Khīṭāt, p. 117.

The last of these writers says that in his day Al-Kulzum was ruined and its site was known as Suez. This is inaccurate, as it has just been shown.

\(^2\) The classical Pelusium, and the Coptic Περεκότοπι, near the north-eastern frontier of Egypt; cf. fol. 56 b. It has now disappeared, with the exception of some mounds and broken columns. See Yakūt, Geogr. Wört. iii. p. 387; Al-Mukaddasi (ed. De Goeje), p. 145; Al-Mašrīzī, Khīṭāt, i. p. 11; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 317 f.

Al-Mašrīzī reckons the ancient remains at Al-Faramā among the wonders of Egypt; see Khīṭāt, i. p. 11.

It was at Al-Faramā that the first engagement took place between the Arabs and Egyptians when 'Amr invaded Egypt in A.H. 18; see As-Suyūṭī, Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah, i. p. 31.

M. Amélineau does not explain why he adopts the form El-Ferma.
In this country brocaded stuffs are made: gauze of Tinnis, and sharb, a stuff used for tents, and coloured Dabik; and there is no

The fine tissues of Tinnis are much celebrated by Arab historians and geographers. Ibn Haukal, who wrote in A.H. 367 = A.D. 978, says of Tinnis and Damietta:

In these two cities are manufactured fine Dabik and sharb and splendid dyed garments, the equals of which in beauty and price do not exist in the whole world' (ed. De Goeje, p. 111).

Al-Makrizi (Khitat, i. p. 181) says that the veils for the Ka'bah were made at Tinnis from the early times of Islam, and he describes some of the designs upon them. These manufactures ceased when the people of Tinnis were removed to Damietta in A.H. 588 = A.D. 1192, and only the citadel remained inhabited.

The foundation of the stuffs of Tinnis is said to have been linen (Ibn Haukal, loc. cit.), with which silk was interwoven. Cf. Quatremère, Mém. Hist. et Géogr. i. pp. 308, 309, 327 ff.; Al-Idrisi (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 320.

Dabik is a town in the neighbourhood of Damietta, which gives its name to the sumptuous robes and the dyed turbans of sharb, and the trimmings of Dabik interwoven with gold. Turbans of sharb, interwoven with gold, were made there; each turban being 100 cubits in length, and bearing designs woven with gold of the value of 500 dinars, without reckoning the price of the silk and the linen thread. These turbans and the rest were brought into fashion in the time of Al-'Aziz bi 'llah, son of Al-Mu'izz, who reigned from the year 365 (A.D. 975) until he died in the month of Sha'ban, in the year 386 (A.D. 996).’ Khitat, i. p. 114.
CERTAIN MATTERS CONCERNING EGYPT.

stuff, not interwoven with gold, of which garments are made, of the value of 100 dinars, except the stuffs of Tinnis\(^1\) and Damietta, and Al-Manhab (?) and Sikilli\(^2\). The Egyptians make woollen garments, and robes of goats' hair of Samalus, which are not to be found anywhere in the world except in Egypt. The natives of this country can boast of the wonderfully prolific nature of their horses, mules, and asses. They

\(^1\) Cf. Quatremère, Mém. i. p. 340, where this passage is translated in Quatremère's usual loose manner.

Barjawan, a black eunuch and vizier to the Fatimide caliph Al-'Aziz bi'llâh, left at his death in A.H. 390 = A.D. 1000, one thousand pairs of trousers of the stuff called Dabikâ; see Ibn Khallikân.

The name Dabikâ was extended to other brocades or damasks besides those actually made at Dabik, and was applied to the fabrics of Usyût and even of places beyond the borders of Egypt; see Glossary to De Goeje's Bib. Geogr. Arab. p. 232.

See also Yâkût, Geogr. Wö rt. ii. p. 348; Marâṣid al-Ḫitāl ad voc.; Al-Idrisî (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 320.

The town of Dabik no longer exists.

\(^2\) Al-Maḳrīzī likewise says:

\[\text{ وليس في الدنيا ثوب كان يبلغ الثوب منه وهو سادج بغير ذهب مائة دينار عينا} \]

\[\text{غير طرز تيس ودمياط} \]

"There is no brocade in the world with a foundation of linen, of which a single garment, not interwoven with gold, fetches a price of 100 dinars in cash, except the brocade of Tinnis and Damietta." Khitat, i. p. 117.

Cf. Quatremère, Mém. i. p. 308, who makes the mistake of translating كتان by 'cotton.' Al-Maḳrīzī says that the robes made at Tinnis for the caliph, in which a large quantity of gold was employed, were worth 1,000 dinars a piece; and that the sale of these fabrics at one time brought in a yearly receipt of 20,000 or 30,000 dinars from Al-'Irāk alone. Cf. Al-Idrisî (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 320.

\(^2\) I.e. Sicilian tissue. As in many other cases, a name derived from the place where the material was originally manufactured is retained, even when the manufacture is no longer confined to that place Sikilli was also made in Spain. See Al-Muḳaddasi (ed. De Goeje), pp. 145 and 173.
have the gold-mines\textsuperscript{1} and the emerald-mines\textsuperscript{2}, and red and yellow ochre;

\footnote{1 In the Wādī ʾl-Alākī, which lies to the south-east of Aswān, in the country of the Bajjah or Bishārīs. The mines have not been worked for many centuries, but were known in the time of Rameses II. See Al-Idrīsī (trans. Jaubert), i. pp. 36, 41; Al-Makrīzī, Ḫīṭat, i. pp. 156, 157, 158; Abū ʾl-Fīdā, Tab. Aeg. p. 35 f.}
\footnote{2 Quatremère gives an interesting chapter on the emerald-mines of Egypt (\textit{Mém.} ii. p. 73 ff.) He first quotes an extract from Al-Makrīzī (\textit{Kḥīṭat}, i. p. rrr), who copies however from Al-Masʿūdī, and Al-Masʿūdī’s informant was ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm, sometime government clerk at the mines. The mines are said to lie in the midst of a waterless desert at Kharbah, a place seven days’ journey to the south-east from Kūs or Ḳift, the nearest town on the Nile. They are in a mountain range in the territory of the Bajjah, north of the great peak called Karkashandah. Various names are given of the different species of gems obtained, and the estimation in which the several sorts of emerald are held in different countries is stated. Al-Makrīzī adds that the mines were regularly worked till about 1358 A.D., when the vizier ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zanjūr put a stop to the mining. But it is related that Ibrāhīm Pāshā, who governed Egypt about the end of the tenth century of the Hegira, in travelling through Upper Egypt, came to a place called ‘the well of emeralds,’ whence he took a vast number of gems. Prosper Alpinus mentions a well of emeralds, which produced a famous stone belonging to the Grand Seigneur. Maillet states that the situation of the mine is lost: while Bruce (\textit{Voyage to the Sources of the Nile}, vol. i. p. 229) speaks of a Jebel ez-Zumurrud or Emerald Mountain, which he visited, and where he saw several sinkings or shafts. But as this mountain lay in an island, it cannot be (concludes Quatremère) the emerald-mine which Oriental writers agree in placing on the continent.}

So far Quatremère. But the mistake of Bruce, whose island was probably that of Zabargad, led to the rediscovery of the lost mines in 1819 by a French explorer named Caillaud. The results of his visit were published in a large work by the French Academy; and the ruler of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī, was so convinced of the value of the mines that he sent a number of miners to work them under Caillaud’s supervision. Caillaud, however, seems to have spent but a short time at the work, before he was called away to join Ibrāhīm Pāshā’s expedition to the Soudan. From that time provisions ceased to arrive for the colony of miners, who gradually melted away, and the place was once more abandoned. So it remained till 1891, when Mr. Floyer, an Englishman in
CERTAIN MATTERS CONCERNING EGYPT.

and marcasite\(^1\) of gold, silver, and copper; and the Lake of Nitre, and

command of an expedition sent by the Khedive Taufīk, once more set foot on Jebel Zabara. For an account of this visit and for many topics of surpassing interest in relation to the desert between the Nile of Upper Egypt and the Red Sea, I refer the reader to M. Floyer’s learned and ingenious work, *Étude sur le Nord-Elbai* (Le Caire, Imprimerie Nationale, 1893).


\(^1\) Mr. Fisher, of Oxford, has kindly supplied me with the following note on this mineral:

‘The term marcasite is now used by mineralogists for one species of pyrites, but was at one time of wider signification, and synonymous with pyrites in general. It is a compound essentially of iron with sulphur (FeS\(_2\)), containing 46.7 per cent. of iron and 53.3 per cent. of sulphur, but the forms found in nature contain other metals such as copper, gold, silver, tin, &c.; arsenic also is commonly present. In colour it varies from a brass-like or golden appearance to a silvery white, and is usually glistening and metallic-looking. ‘Marcasite of gold’ may have reference to its appearance, or to the fact that gold could be extracted from the specimens so named. The synonyms are numerous, e.g. σπίνος, πυρίτης (λιθος), marchasita (Arab.), kis (Germ.) or kies, mundic (English miners), schwefelkies (Germ.), besides xanthopyrites, chalcopyrites. The name marcasite or marchasite is of Spanish or Arabic origin. When weathered by exposure to air and water it produces sulphate of iron (and copper), termed at one time kupferwasser, which is perhaps corrupted into copperas in the vulgar tongue.

‘On account of the large amount of sulphur the mineral is combustible (whence the name pyrites from πυρ), and gives sparks when struck.’

The word *Marcasite* seems to have come into the Arabic from the Syriac مَكَارِسِيَّة, which translates the Greek πυρίτης (Bar Bahlûl). The medicinal use of marcasite was borrowed by the Arabs from the Greeks (Dioscorides, ed. Spengel, i. p. 810=v. 142; Galen, opp. t. 13, p. 740; t. 12, p. 199; Pliny, 36, 19, 30, &c.) The Arab Gebr (Jābīr al-Ḵāfi) gives a chemical analysis of marcasite; see Mangeti, *Bib. Chem.* i.; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der arab. Aerzte*, p. 12 f. Ibn al-Baiṭar says: ‘Marcasite is sometimes gold, sometimes silver, sometimes copper, sometimes iron; each kind resembles in colour that metal after which it is named; and each kind is mixed with sulphur and gives out sparks when struck

\[k\]
the salt lakes. In Egypt is found the clay of Aswán, which is called
the 'clay of art,' and of this the jars intended to contain the drink
called *fukkā* are made. The manufacture of white paper exists here;
factories for boiling sugar are found here; and presses for sugar-
canes; and fields of rice; and oil of turnip and radish; and oil of
balsam; and opium and the *abramis* and honey-wine.

against iron.' This paragraph is based upon the article by Sadebek and Hoffmann,
'Über den Namen Markasit,' in the *Neues Jahrbuch für Mineralogie*, Stuttgart,
1878, p. 289 ff.

The word 'marcasite' must have come into the other European languages
through Latin translations of Arabic medical works, or through the Spanish *mar-
caxita*, modern *marquesita*; see Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols
et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, p. 301. (A. J. B.)

1 The salt lakes in the Wādī Naṭrūn or Nitrian Valley, which lie about three
days' journey through the desert to the north-west of Cairo, are still a source of
revenue to the Egyptian government. There are other salt lakes in the Delta
and Upper Egypt. (A. J. B.)

2 A kind of beer made of fruit.

3 The Arabs first learnt the manufacture of paper about a.d. 750, probably
from the Chinese, and the first place at which it was made by Muslims was
Samarcand. The manufacture soon spread to other parts of the Mahometan
world. See *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*,
vol. ii. pp. 87-255, where there is a full discussion of the history and composition
of Arab paper. There was a street and a khan of the paper-makers at Cairo, and
a mill in the latter of these places; see Al-Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭat*, ii. pp. 11., rr. Būrī
near Damietta was famous for paper, which was also made in the Fayyūm. The
chief constituent was linen.

4 Al-Maḳrīzī gives an account of the method of cultivating the sugar-cane in
Egypt in his time; see *Khīṭat*, i. p. 117. The use of sugar in Egyptian cookery
is described by 'Abd al-Laṭīf, *Al-Mukhtasar*, ed. White, pp. 178-182. The sugar-
factories of Egypt were very numerous; Ibn Dūkmâk, at the end of the fourteenth
century, names sixty-five of them in Cairo alone, from many of which the
government derived a large revenue; see *op. cit.* iv. p. 51.

5 'Abd al-Laṭīf says that rice was much used in cookery with meat and fish;
*op. cit.* p. 184. It was introduced into Egypt under the Mahometans.

6 7 8 9 For these notes see next page.
The Nile.

Moreover, the Nile of Egypt is one of the miracles, at which the people of the earth marvel when they hear of them; for it rises at the

6 'Abd al-Laṭif, who was a contemporary of our author, says of the Egyptians:

They have a peculiar custom also of extracting oil from the seed of the radish and the turnip and the lettuce, and this oil they burn for light; and they make soap of it also: and their soap is moist, and red, yellow, or green in colour.' ('Abd al-Laṭif, op. cit., ed. White, p. 176.)

7 'Abd al-Laṭif also mentions oil of balsam among the products of Egypt, and says that it was only made at 'Ain Shams (Heliopolis) in that country; remarking that no balsam was to be found in his day in Syria, where Galen and Nicolaus say that it grew in the greatest perfection; op. cit. pp. 22–26. See also Butler, Coptic Churches, ii. p. 331. (A. J. B.)

8 'Abd al-Laṭif says that opium was made from the black poppy (الخناش) in Upper Egypt, and was often adulterated; op. cit. p. 48.

9 The abramis was a fish found in the Nile. It is curious that our author should place it here among the vegetable products. Al-Idrisi says that the abramis has a red tail, is called the king of fish, is very good to eat, and is a hand's breadth in length, and half that measure in thickness; see Jaubert's trans., p. 29. The name of this fish is derived from the Greek αβραμις, which occurs in Oppian's Halieutica, i. 244–7:

χολκίδες αὐτ ἀβρίστε τε καὶ ἀβραμίδες φορεύονται
ἀβραμίς, ἀβλετέ ὠ ἀλλον ἀλός πόρων, ἦ περί πέτρας
ἡ πελάγη, δολιχοφιλές ῥ ἐπέδραμον αἰγιαλοῖσιν,
αἰεὶ ἀμειβόμενα ξείνην ὀδὼν, ἡὐτ ἀληται.

10 The Nile was naturally reckoned to be one of the twenty wonders of Egypt; see As-Suyuti, Husn al-Muhādaraḥ, i. p. 5; Al-Maqrizi, Khīṭat, i. p. 31. The following passage is a commonplace found in slightly different words in most ancient writers who have written on Egypt; see Herodotus, ii. 25, 26; Diodorus Siculus, i. 36; Strabo, xvii. 1; Heliodorus, Aethiopica, cap. 28; 'Abd al-Laṭif, p. 4 ff.; Al-Maqrizi, i. p. 6 ff. See below, fol. 26 b.
time of the great decrease of water, when other rivers and springs fall or dry up; and its rise comes at the very time when it is needed, and so likewise its fall comes when it is needed, by the special care of God for the inhabitants of Egypt. After the decrease of the Nile the wells rise, and the time of sowing depends upon it, and not upon the rains. The Nile flows continually down to the salt sea, and cleaves its way through it visibly.

God has spoken of the Nile of Egypt by the tongues of his prophets; for Isaiah the prophet says: 'God shall bless the people of Egypt, and those whom his hands created in Al-Mausil.'

§ The Gospel also says: 'The angel of the Lord appeared in a dream, and said: “Rise, take the child and his mother, and flee into the land of Egypt, and be there until I bring thee word.”' And the Lord Christ and his mother, the Pure Virgin, and the blameless old man, Joseph, dwelt two years in Egypt.

§ And in the prophecy of Hosea, as the pure Gospel bears witness, it is said: 'From Egypt have I called my Son.'

Sojourners in Egypt.

§ That which causes Egypt to excel other countries is the sojourn in this land of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the flesh, with the Pure Lady Mary, and the truthful old man, Joseph the carpenter, by the command of God; and also the sojourn at Alexandria of Mark the Evangelist.

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1 Isaiah xix. 25. Al-Mausil, Mosul or Moussol, being opposite the ruins of Nineveh, was often confused with the latter city, and spoken of as 'Nineveh.' Moreover the territory of Al-Mausil (أرض الموصل) forms part of what was once the kingdom of Assyria, and so the name was used as synonymous with 'Assyria.' Cf. e.g. Al-Mas'udi, Murūf adh-Dhahab (ed. Barbier de Meynard), ii. 77:—

ماوكل الموصل ومدينة نينوى
'The kings of Al-Mausil and of the city of Nineveh.'

2 Matt. ii. 13.

3 Hosea xi. 1, and Matt. ii. 15.

4 مارثمانم or مارتمانم is the Syriac صدام, 'my Lady Mary,' it occurs constantly in this work as the appellation of the Blessed Virgin.

5 The Copts have, as it is well known, unanimously preserved the tradition,
who was the nephew of Stephen, the chief of the deacons, and first of the martyrs in Jerusalem.

Some of the pure patriarchs also came into Egypt; namely, Abraham, the Friend of God; and Jacob, the son of Isaac, who lived here seventeen years and died here, and whose body was taken back to Syria; and the fathers of the twelve tribes, who were his sons. The posterity of the latter in Egypt increased to the number of six hundred thousand five hundred and fifty souls, including the descendants of Joseph the Truthful and his sons Manasseh and Ephraim, without reckoning the sons of Levi, whose number amounted to twenty-two thousand two hundred and seventy-three souls. Joseph died in Egypt, and his body was carried into Syria; and Moses prayed and worshipped at his prison.

Among those who dwelt in Egypt were Moses, and Aaron his brother, and their sister Miriam. Lot also, the son of Abraham’s brother, entered this country; and Joshua the son of Nun; and the...
prophet Daniel\(^1\) and the prophet Jeremiah, and Ezekiel; besides others, kings, great men, wise men and philosophers, captains and rulers, in all ages and all times\(^2\).

**Boundaries of Egypt.**

§ The furthest point of the land of Egypt on the east is ‘Abbâsah\(^2\), and on the west Alexandria. Its greatest length is from Al-‘Arish\(^4\) to ‘Aidhâb\(^5\),

\(^1\) It is not clear when Daniel and Ezekiel are thought to have visited Egypt, unless they came in the train of Nebuchadnezzar, of whose invasion of Egypt the Mahometan and Christian historians of the East preserve very clear records; see below, fol. 23 b, 76 b, 80 a. As-Suyûtî says:

\begin{quote}
‘With regard to Daniel I have not, up to the present time, met with any record [of his sojourn in Egypt]; but Ibn Zâlâk counts him among those that were born in Egypt.’ (Husn al-Muhâdârah, i. p. \(\text{xxr}.\))
\end{quote}

\(^2\) The lists of distinguished visitors to Egypt given by the Mahometan historians remind us of the similar lists in Diodorus (i. 96). As-Suyûtî gives the names of many Greek philosophers and writers who sojourned in Egypt, among whom are Plato, Hippocrates, Ptolemy, Aratus, Euclid, and Aristotle; see Husn al-Muhâdârah, i. p. \(\text{xx} \text{f.}\)

\(^3\) A small town on the Syrian frontier of Egypt, fifteen parasangs from Cairo. It is said, among other accounts, to have been named after a daughter of Ahmad ibn Tulûn. It is now included in the district of Sawalah, in the province of Ash-Sharkiyah. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. iii. p. \(\text{xxxi;}\) Al-Maqrîzî, i. p. \(\text{xxmr;}\) Quatremère, Mém. i. pp. 62, 189; Rec. de l’Égypte, ii. p. \(\text{xx.}\) (A. J. B.)

\(^4\) The classical Rhinocoura; a very ancient town on the sea, near the Syrian frontier of Egypt. It is now the seat of a governor, and in 1885 contained with its dependencies 3,923 inhabitants. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. iii. p. \(\text{xxxi;}\) Al-Ḵazwînî, ii. p. \(\text{yf;}\) Al-Maqrîzî, i. p. \(\text{yf.}\) \(\text{f.}\); Quatremère, Mém. i. p. 53; Rec. de l’Égypte, ii. pp. \(\text{x, xi, xx.}\) (A. J. B.)

\(^5\) On the Red Sea, opposite Jiddah, and near the frontier of the Bishârîm tribes. There was a road to it from Kîfî (see fol. 103 a) and Kûs; and from A. H. 450 = A. D. 1058 to A. H. 665 = A. D. 1267 this was the route taken by the pilgrims on their way to Mecca. ‘Aidhâb was also a port much frequented by merchants from India and Yemen, until the middle of the fourteenth century.
and its greatest breadth from Barkah\(^1\) to Ailah\(^2\). It is said that Barkah is also called 'the Five Cities.'

**THE CITY OF FUSTÁT MISR.**

§ Account of the city of Misr\(^3\). It is related, in the history of the church and the lives of the patriarchs\(^4\), that 'Amr ibn al-'Ási, and the Arabs who invaded Egypt with him, took the road from the mountains of our era. M. Amélineau, who speaks as if the Synaxarium and the revenue-list alone preserved the name of this important town, seems to have overlooked Quatremère's account of it, as well as Al-Maكاrizi's, which proves that 'Aidhab was existing not only at the end of the fourteenth century, as the revenue-list published by De Sacy shows, but as late as the middle of the fifteenth century, although it was then in a state of decadence, and no more than a village of huts. See Yākūt, Geogr. Wört. ad voc.; Al-Maкаrizi, i. p. r. r.; Al-Idrisī (ed. Rome) [p. 49]; Quatremère, Mém. ii. pp. 162-172, where Ibn Ḥaukal and Abū ʾl-Fidā are also cited. M. Amélineau (Géogr. p. 160) would identify 'Aidhab with Berenice or Myoshormos, the former of which is probably correct, the latter being absolutely out of the question.

\(^1\) The name of a town and district to the west of Alexandria, corresponding to the classical Barca or Pentapolis, which latter appellation is translated by the Arabic حمس مدن, 'the Five Cities.' The province was not, strictly speaking, part of Egypt. See Yākūt, Geogr. Wört. i. p. ʾvr; Al-Makīn, Taʾrīkh al-Muslimūn, ad ann. 27.


\(^3\) 'Misr' here denotes the city of Al-Fustāt or Fustāt Misr, the remains of which are now called Maṣr al-ʾAṭıkah, and incorrectly named by foreigners 'Old Cairo.' The city was founded by 'Amr ibn al-ʾÁsi, the Arab conqueror of Egypt, in a. h. 20 = A. D. 641, and remained the capital of the country until it was superseded by the suburb of Al-ʾAskar, which was founded to the north of it.

\(^4\) Our author is quoting loosely from the biography of the patriarch Benjamin, in Severus' history of the patriarchs: 

فاحذوا لِلِّبَلِّ حَتَّى وَضَلِّوا إِلَى قِصر مَنِيَّ بِعَجَارَةَ بَيْنَ السَّعِيدِ وَالرَّفِّي يُسِىٓ بَابِلٌ فَضَرَوْا
until they reached a fortress, built of stone, between Upper Egypt and the Delta, which was called Bâblûn. Here they pitched their tent, and all of them prepared to meet the Romans and to fight with them. And they called that place ‘Al-Fustât’ in their language; and the meaning of this word is ‘The Tent.’ In this way the Arabs called the Fort of Ash-Shama at Miṣr ‘Fustât Bâblûn.’

Then [the Arabs] crossed the hills until they arrived at a fort built of stone, between Upper Egypt and the Delta, which was called Bâblûn, and there they pitched their tents, that they might prepare to fight with the Romans. Then they named that place, that is to say the fort, Bâblûn Fustât in their language; and that is its name at the present time.’ (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 26,100, p. 105, lines 12-14.)

1 The Roman fortress referred to is built with alternate courses of stone and brick, and has stone pediments over the gateways; so that the use of stone predominates sufficiently to justify the expression in the text. I have given a plan of this fortress in Coptic Churches (vol. i. chap. 4). (A. J. B.)

2 I translate للرَّفِّ the Delta’ because that is its obvious meaning here. See note on fol. 12 a.

3 The Arabic form of Babylon (بابل، Bâblûn), the name given by the Greeks and Graecizing Copts to this town and fortress on the Nile; see Diodorus, i. 56; Strabo, xvii. 1, § 35; Josephus, Ant. Jud. ii. 15. Other Arabic forms are Bâblûnîyah (بابلنيه), Bâblûn (بابل), Bâb al-yûn (باب اليون), but the Arabs only knew the Greek form of the name, and never called the place Babil (باب) like the city on the Euphrates.

4 In my Coptic Churches (vol. i. chap. 4) I was unable to give any satisfactory account of the name Kasr ash-Shama’ or ‘Castle of the Candle,’ which is the familiar designation of the place to-day. Now, however, I am inclined to think that Shama’ is a corruption of the old Coptic name خلي، ‘Egypt.’ The town and fortress of Babylon were called by the Copts خليوني and خلي or ‘Babylon of Egypt.’ Thus, in the Acts of the Coptic martyr John of Phanijoit or Zaitûn, we read that the saint resolved to go to خليوني, to appear before the Sultan Al-Kâmil (ed. Amélineau, p. 37). خلي is also used by itself to denote Cairo (op. cit. pp. 44, 45, 47, 48). See Quatremère,
§ I found an account of the conquest of Egypt in the Book of Al-Janâh. It says that ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣi conquered Egypt in the year 19\(^1\) of the Hegira. He encamped outside a place called Janân ar-Rihan, whither the Arabs came down to besiege the city of Miṣr. The bishop of the Romans at Miṣr and Alexandria was named Cyrus\(^2\). The Fol.21 b

Mém. i. pp. 49, 50; Champollion, L’Égypte sous les Pharaons, i. p. 184 ff., ii. p. 110 ff. It is further noticeable that the Arabic name, Miṣr, ‘Egypt,’ is applied both to the capital and to the country. (A. J. B.)

\(^1\) See Introduction.

\(^2\) Cyrus was the Greek patriarch of Alexandria at the time of the Arab invasion of Egypt. He is mentioned in the following passage of Eutychius (Annales, ed. Pococke, ii. p. 266):

'At the beginning of the caliphate [of ‘Umar] George was appointed patriarch of Alexandria. He remained four years in possession of the see. Then when he heard that the Muslims had conquered the Romans, and had vanquished Palestine, and were advancing upon Egypt, he took ship and fled from Alexandria to Constantinople; and after his time the see of Alexandria remained without a Melkite patriarch for ninety-seven years.

'When George took flight, Cyrus was appointed patriarch of Alexandria in succession to him; Cyrus was a Maronite, and followed the religious faith of [the Emperor] Heraclius. Now there was a monk at Alexandria named Sophronius, who condemned the doctrines of the patriarch Cyrus; for Cyrus taught that Our Lord Christ consisted of Two Natures with One Will and One Energy and One Personality; and this was the doctrine of Maro.'

Cf. Le Quien (Oriens Christ. ii. col. 447 ff.), according to whom Cyrus was elected patriarch in A. D. 632, deposed in 639, restored in 641, and died in 642; and Zotenberg, Chron. de Jean de Nikiou, p. 439.
people of Al-Fustāṭ dug a moat against the Arabs. Al-Fustāṭ was then called Al-Lūnīyah; but the Arabs called it Al-Fustāṭ, because they said: 'This is the tent (fustāṭ) of the people, and their place of meeting.' 'Amr, then, came thither with three thousand and five men; but afterwards he was joined by Az-Zubair ibn al-'Awwām, with twelve thousand. 'Amr took possession of the fortress, and captured it by force; and thereupon he gave up to plunder all the treasures that it contained. He spared the lives of the natives on condition of their becoming a 'protected people'; but he laid tribute upon them throughout their country. The governor of Al-Lūnīyah, or Al-Fustāṭ, demanded a tax of two dinars from every adult: that is to say twenty-seven dirhems, all but one-third; unless the man was poor. Every rich man was obliged to pay every year two dinars and three ardebs of corn. In this way 'Amr raised a revenue of two millions of dinars from the poll-tax of Egypt; and 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'īd ibn Mufarraj raised four millions of dinars. The government of 'Amr ibn al-'Āsi lasted ten years and four months, and that of 'Abd Allāh his son for two years.

§ It is also said that, when the Muslims came into Egypt, they made an enclosure of canes, extending from the road called Al-Farr to the place named Daurah Khalf; and hither they assembled themselves; and it was called Al-Fustāṭ, or the meeting-place of the people; and the Arabs did not put up a tent, not being acquainted with the use of tents.

1 This is simply part of the word Bāblūnīyah (بابلونية) or Babylon, which the Arabs supposed to be two words, meaning Gate of Lūnīyah.

2 M. Amélineau, who has published a translation of the greater part of fol. 21 b (Geogr. p. 542), translates حصن by 'fossé'! He also reads, a line or two further down, 'Louiaah' instead of 'Lūnīyah,' not being aware that the latter is simply part of the form بابلونية (بابلونية), used by Al-Maqrizi for 'Babylon.'

3 For remarks on the conquest of Egypt, see Introduction.

4 Al-Maqrizi (i. p. 40) says that 'Amr raised a revenue of twelve millions, and 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abi Sarḥ fourteen millions. The latter succeeded 'Amr as emir of Egypt (op. cit. p. 401). Our scribe has evidently altered the figures.

5 Some say that it was not 'Abd Allāh the son of 'Amr who governed Egypt after the latter, but 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'd.
§ 'Amr ibn al-‘Āṣî conquered Egypt on a Friday, on the first day of the month of Al-Muḥarram, in the year 20 of the Hegira, and in the caliphate of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, in a battle which took place near the fortress known as the Fort of Al-Ḥammâm. The number of the Copts who inhabited the land of Egypt, without counting the decrepit old men and the children below the age of understanding, amounted to six millions of souls. 'Amr imposed upon all of them a yearly tax of twenty-six dirhems and two-thirds; but from the rich men, all alike, he exacted two dinars and three ardebs of wheat a head, in every place that he occupied. In this way the country produced twelve millions of dinars, without reckoning the tribute of the Jews in Egypt and its provinces. All this money was carried to 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb; and it was the first money that was taken to him from Egypt. 'Amr ibn al-‘Āṣî had visited Egypt during the days of ignorance, and knew the roads leading thither, through trading there together with one of the tribe of the Kuraish.

1 See Al-Makrizî, Khīṭāṭ, i. p. 111.
2 See Al-Makrizî, i. p. 11.
3 These words are borrowed from Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, who relates that 'Amr went from Arabia to Jerusalem on a trading expedition with some members of the tribe of Kuraish. In Syria, 'Amr was able to render certain services to a Greek deacon of Alexandria, who was visiting Jerusalem on a pilgrimage, and who, in gratitude to 'Amr, invited him, with one of the members of the tribe of Kuraish, to visit Alexandria, where the two Arabs were much struck by the wealth and magnificence of the capital of Roman Egypt. See As-Suyūṭī, Ḥusn al-Muhāدادrah, i. p. 91; Al-Makrizî, Khīṭāṭ, i. p. 138; Ibn al-Athīr, iii. p. 57; Abû 'l-Mahāṣin, i. p. 91.

The words of Al-Makrizî, quoting from Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, are:

وكان عمرو قد دخل في الجاهلية مصر وعرف طرقها ورؤى كثيرة ما فيها وكان سبب دخوله

ياها انه قدم الى بيت المقدس لتجارة في نفر من قروش

'Amr had visited Egypt during the days of ignorance, and knew the roads leading thither, and had seen the wealth of the country; and the cause of his visit to Egypt was that he travelled to Jerusalem for purposes of trade, with some members of the tribe of Kuraish,' &c.
§ I found it stated in the History of the Church that the Muslims entered Egypt and took possession of it in the month of Ba'ûnâh, in the year 321 of the Righteous Martyrs.

§ The number of those that were slain in the conquest of Egypt, without reckoning those that were killed during the siege, was twelve thousand three hundred.

§ The places named after the Arab tribes, who laid them out at the time of the conquest of Egypt in Muharram of the year 20 of the Hegira, were [the streets or quarters named after] Muharrah ibn Ḥaidân ibn 'Amr ibn al-Ḥāf ibn Ḥuḍā'ah; Tajib Umm 'Adî; Lakhm

1 Our author does not seem to have copied his authority very accurately here as regards the date. The passage in the life of the patriarch Benjamin runs as follows:

§ The king [i.e. caliph] of the Muslims sent an expedition, under one of his trusted friends named 'Amr ibn al-'ASI, in the year 357 of Diocletian the slayer of the martyrs; and the army of Islam invaded Egypt in great force on the 12th day of Ba'ûnâh, [that is to say] in the Roman month of December.' (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 26,100, p. 105, lines 7-10.)


Ba'ûnâh does not correspond to December, but to May 26–June 24.

It is well known that the so-called Era of the Martyrs really begins with the accession of Diocletian, A.D. 284 (Aug. 29), and was originally employed by heathens as well as Christians.

2 Al-Kindi makes the number of slain only 3,500; see Al-Maqrizi, Khîṭât, i. p. 294.

3 This passage seems to be somewhat corrupt. Perhaps the copyist did not understand it. It is doubtless borrowed from Al-Kindi's Khîṭât Miṣr. Al-Maqrizi says:

ولما رجع عمرو بن الأسكندرية ونزل موطن فسطاط انتسبت القتال بعضها إلى بعض وتنافسوا في المواضع فوله عمرو على لحلف معاوية بن حديق التميمي وشريك بن سفي الغطتي
and Judhâm, the two sons of 'Adî ibn Murrah; Râshidah ibn Jazîlah ibn Lakhm; the Banû 'l-Maghâfir ibn Ya'far; the Banû Wâ'il; (names were given to the Khalij and Al-Ḳanṭarah and the Quarter \(^1\)); Habîb ibn Mughaffal, who dwelt in the Wâdi Habib \(^2\); the Ḳarâfah \(^3\); the Banû Ḥajaş ibn Yûsuf ibn Wâ'il; Al-Malik Abû 'l-Khair ibn Sharâhîl;

When 'Amr returned from Alexandria and settled at the place where his tent (fustâṭ) had been pitched, the tribes assembled together and divided the place between them. Then 'Amr appointed as stewards of the quarters Mu'âwiyyah ibn Khâdiy of the tribe of Tajîb, and Sharîk ibn Simî of the tribe of Ghaţîf, and 'Amr ibn Ḥâzhâm of the tribe of Khûlân, and Haiwîl ibn Nâshîrah of the tribe of Maghâfir; and it was these men who appointed settlements for the Arabs and divided the place among the tribes; and this was in the year 21.' (Ḳhîṭât, i. p. 214v.)

The names of the Arab tribes here furnished by our author as those which laid out the different quarters of Al-Fustâṭ, and gave their names to them, are also found in Al-Mâkrizi (ibid.) and Ibn Duḳmâḳ, iv. p. 6 f., with the addition of others.

\(^1\) This passage seems to be corrupt.

\(^2\) Habîb was one of the companions of Mahomêt, shared in his flight, and took part in the conquest of Mecca. Under the caliph 'Uthmân, he retired into the Nitrian valley, which was therefore named after him. Wâdi Habîb is the most usual of the names given by the Arabs to the Nitrian valley (see fol. 20 a), which they also called Wâdi Naṭrûn, Wâdi 'l-Mulûk, Desert of Askî, (Sxvâdis, Scaetis), Desert of Shiḥât and Mizân al-Ḳulûb (Balance of Hearts). Of the last two names the former is simply the Coptic Shiḥît (\(\nu\) \(\gamma\) \(\varepsilon\) \(\Lambda\) \(\tau\) \(\tau\)), from which Sxvâdis and Askî are derived, and the latter is an Arabic translation of the two elements of which the Coptic name appeared to be composed, namely \(\nu\) \(\gamma\), 'measure,' 'weigh,' and \(\varepsilon\) \(\Lambda\) \(\tau\), 'heart.' See Al-Mâkrizi, Khîṭât, i. p. 184; As-Suyûṭî, i. p. 154.

\(^3\) This is said to be the name of the tribe which settled on the plot of ground to the north-west of Al-Fustâṭ which afterwards became the great cemetery of Al-Ḳarâfah; but another account of the origin of the name 'Ḳarâfah' is given on fol. 42 a. See Yâkût, Geogr. Worlt. iv. p. 38.
Wardán the Roman\(^1\), the friend of 'Amr ibn al-'Āşı; Shajā'ah ibn Mandaghān ibn Malik ibn Ka'b ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b. The marketplace of Barbar\(^2\) was named after Barbar ibn Abī Ḥabīb. The street of Al-Khadijī was the settlement of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Mu'āwiyyah ibn Khadijī ibn Ḥajar, emir of Egypt\(^3\) in the caliphate of 'Abd Allāh ibn az-Zubair\(^4\) at Mecca and of Marwān\(^5\) in Syria.

§ 'Amr ibn al-'Āşı ibn 'Adi is described as being dark and short, with a large head and prominent brows, wide-mouthed, with a long beard, broad-shouldered and broad-chested\(^6\). He died in the year 43; and he was buried in the Mukaţṭam\(^7\) hills, in the neighbourhood of the Ravine, on the road towards the Hedjaz.

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\(^1\) Wardán is said to have been an Armenian. Under the caliph Mu'āwiyyah, he was the director of the tribute of Egypt; and he was killed at Alexandria in a.h. 53. The marketplace of Wardán at Al-Fustāţ was named after him. See Yāḳūt, Geogr. Wört. iii. p. 146.

\(^2\) In Al-Fustāţ; see Yāḳūt, Geogr. Wört. iii. p. 147.

\(^3\) From Shā'bān a.h. 64 = a.d. 684 to Rajab a.h. 65; he succeeded Sa'īd ibn Yazīl. Al-Maḳrīzī calls him 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Utbah ibn Jahdām. See Khīṭāṭ, i. p. r.1 ff.

\(^4\) 'Abd Allāh was the eighth caliph, but was not recognized in Syria and only by a party in Egypt. He reigned 128 days, during the latter part of a.h. 64 and the earlier part of a.h. 65. In the month of Jumādā '1-Ūlā, a.h. 65, the Omeyyad caliph Marwān invaded Egypt, and fought with 'Abd Allāh and his emir 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, whom he defeated and slew, so that the Omeyyad dynasty was established throughout the Mahometan world. See Al-Makín, Ta'rikh al-Muslimīn, ad ann. 64 and 65; Abū 'l-Faraj (ed. Pococke), pp. 194–8; Abû 'l-Fidā, Annales, i. p. 402 ff.; Al-Maḳrīzī, i. p. r.1 f.; As-Suyūṭī, Husn al-Muḥāḍarah, ii. p. 8.

\(^5\) Son of Al-Ḥakam, and fourth of the Omeyyad caliphs; reigned from a.h. 64 = a.d. 684 to a.h. 66 = a.d. 686. See Abū 'l-Faraj, p. 197 f.; Abū 'l-Fidā, Annales, i. p. 404 ff.; Al-Makín, ad ann. 64–66; Al-Maḳrīzī, i. p. r.1 f.; As-Suyūṭī, ii. p. 8.


\(^7\) The well-known hills to the east of Al-Fustāţ and Cairo, about which many legends were told by the Arabs; see Al-Maḳrīzī, Khīṭāṭ, i. p. 170.
King Aftūtīs.

I found it written in the history of Mahbûb1 ibn Ḳustānṭīn Al-Manbâji (now the city of Manbaj2 is also called the ancient City of the Priests, and is on the banks of the Euphrates), in the first part, that a king named Aftūtīs3, in the time of Isaac son of Abraham, was the

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1 Otherwise called Agapius (اِعِابِوس); see Introduction.
2 The Syriac Mâbûg (ماَبٍس), see Assemani, Bib. Or. ii. p. 22; cf. 'Mabog,' Pliny, H. N. v. 19), and the Greek Hierapolis, in northern Syria, to the east of Antioch and not far from the right or western bank of the Euphrates. It is now called Menbij or Benbij, and by the Turks Kara Bambûj or Bugûk Manbaj, but is in a ruined state. In the time of our author it was a flourishing city and renowned for its salubrious climate (Yâkût, Geogr. Wort. ad voc.) Eutychius incorrectly identifies it with Megiddo (Annales, i. p. 242). 'The City of the Priests' (مدينة الكُهان) is a translation of the Syriac name of the place, Mâbûg or Maraba (ماَبَع), which the Greeks converted into Hierapolis. This parenthetical passage of our author is based upon the words of Mahbûb, son of Constantine, himself:

في ذلك الزمان بنت سمران الملكة بنياً أعظمًا في ميروس الصنم في مدينة على شاطئي الفرات واقامت فيروس من الكهاني سبعين رجلًا وسميت تلك المدينة إبرولوس [sic] الذي تفسيره مدينة الكهاني وهي مدينة منيع العتيدة

'At that time [i.e. the period of Jacob] the queen Semiramis built a great temple to Kuyûs the idol in a city on the bank of the Euphrates; and she appointed seventy men priests to Kuyûs. The name of this city was Hierapolis, the interpretation of which is "City of the Priests," and it is the ancient city of Manbaj.' (Bodleian MS. Hunt 4,178, fol. 70 a.)

If it may be conjectured that Ḳubbûs (قَبْوس) is the correct reading instead of Kuyûs, the statue referred to may be that of Kombabos, of which we hear in the treatise De Dea Syra ascribed to Lucian, that it stood in the temple of the great goddess in whose honour the temple of Hierapolis was actually erected. Agapius accepts the tradition mentioned in the same treatise that Semiramis was the founder of the temple.

3 This name appears as Útûs on fol. 57 a and b, but is more often found in
first who discovered books and sciences and astronomy and arithmetic. He studied the latter in the books of the Chaldaeans and people of the East, and introduced them into Egypt, besides magic and the art of conjuring. At the same time, Sodom and Gomorrah were built; and Babylon also was built upon the river Nile. This king, mentioned above, reigned for thirty-two years.

Revenues of Egypt.

§ Under the administration of Joseph, son of Jacob, the land-tax of Egypt, after the country began to flourish through his enterprise, reached the sum of twenty-four million six hundred thousand dinars. The Pharaoh of the time of Moses drew a revenue of ninety millions of dinars; his name was Al-Walid ibn Muṣṣab; and he dug, by the shortened form Tūṭīs (طوطس), the name of a king whom Al-Maḳrīzī calls the son of Māliyā, son of Kharābā; see Khīlat, i. p. 16.; As-Suyūṭī (Husn al-Muḥādarah, i. p. 11) calls Tūṭīs the son of Māliyā, son of Kalkan, son of Khartaba.

1 For a different account of the foundation of the Egyptian Babylon, see fol. 60 b. The generally accepted story of its origin is given by Strabo, Geogr. xvii. cap. 1, § 30, and Diodorus, i. cap. 56, § 3; cf. Josephus, Ant. Jud. ii. 15. The recently-discovered tablets from Tall al-Amarna show that intimate relations existed between Egypt and Babylon on the Euphrates, at least 1,500 years before our era. (A. J. B.)

2 Al-Maḳrīzī says 97,000,000 dinars, and adds that according to the computation of Ibn Dahyah 90,000,000 Pharaonic dinars were equivalent to 270,000,000 dinars of his own time. Ash-Sharīf al-Ḥarrānī says that from a Sahidic list translated into Arabic he found that the revenues of Egypt in the time of Joseph amounted to 24,400,000 dinars, thus nearly agreeing with our author. The same figures are given by Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Ali al-Asadī. See Al-Maḳrīzī, Khīlat, i. p. 26.

3 This is the name commonly given by Arab writers to the Pharaoh of the time of Moses; see Al-Maṣʿūdī, i. p. 397 f.; An-Nawawī, Tahdhib al-Asmā', p. 6... Al-Maḳrīzī, Khīlat, i. p. 16.; As-Suyūṭī, Husn al-Muḥādarah, i. p. 80. Other names, however, are mentioned by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam.
agency of his officers Kārūn and Hāmān\(^1\), the canal of Sardūs\(^2\), which has more windings than any other.

The Romans derived a revenue of twenty millions of dinars\(^3\) from Egypt. The country was placed by Heraclius under the government of George, son of Mennas, the Mukaukīs\(^4\), on condition of receiving

\[1\] Hāmān, the minister of Pharaoh, is mentioned in the Koran, Sūrat al-Ḵiṣās, v. 5 and 7; al-‘Ankabūt, v. 38; al-Muʿ mín, v. 25 and 38; and (Kārūn) Korah in al-Ḵiṣās, v. 76; al-‘Ankabūt, v. 38; and al-Muʿ mín, v. 25. Korah is represented in the Koran, following the Talmud, as a man of immense wealth, and insolent towards his fellow-countrymen.

\[2\] Our author is doubtless borrowing from Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, who says that Haman was commanded by Pharaoh to dig this canal, and that the people of the villages in whose neighbourhood it was to run offered him money if he would allow the canal to be brought close to them, which could only be effected by its making many turnings; see Al-Maḳrizī, Khītāt, i. p. v. f.; As-Suyūṭī, i. p. 25. Quatremère identified the so-called canal of Sardūs with the ancient Tanitic branch of the Nile, now named the Baḥr Muʿizz (Mém. i. 301).

\[3\] It is impossible to conjecture on what these figures are based. Very probably the population was about eight millions, and there is nothing improbable in the statement of Abū Ṣāliḥ, which would give 2½ dinars per head, or £1 5s. 6d. of our money. But the Roman revenues were in kind as well as in money. Herodotus (iii. 91) makes the revenue from Egypt and parts adjoining, including Barca and Cyrene, 700 talents of silver, without counting the income from the fishery of Lake Moeris, and 700 talents in coined money. St. Jerome, on Daniel xi. 5, says that Ptolemy Philadelphus derived from the countries under his sway 14,800 Egyptian talents, besides 7,000,000 bushels of corn. Towards the end of the Lagide dynasty, the revenue of Auletes was 6,000 talents, though Cicero puts the amount at 12,500; but even this would be only about £2,250,000 as against Abū Ṣāliḥ’s £10,000,000. In the time of Augustus, the amount of corn sent by Egypt to Rome was nearly 3,000,000 quarters per annum, and if the value of this were included, a near approach would be made to Abū Ṣāliḥ’s figures. See ‘Abd Allāh Simaika’s Provincie Romaine d’Égypte, p. 129 seq. (A. J. B.)

\[4\] The position, name, and title of this official, which have so long been a problem to Arabists, seem to have been settled as far as possible by Prof. De Goeje in his memoir De Mokaukis van Egypte, and by Prof. Karabacek

\[\text{m}\]
a sum of eighteen millions of dinars yearly. 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣī drew, in the year 20 of the Hegira, one million of dinars; but in the year 22, twelve millions. Under the Abbasides, when Egypt was administered by Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, it produced five millions; and, when administered by Yaʿkūb ibn Yūsuf, four millions; and it finally went down to three millions.

§ A survey of the provinces of Egypt, so far as the Nile waters them, was made in the days of Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, and their extent found to be thirty millions of fettān. The annual revenue also of Egypt and its dependencies, during the government of Kāfūr

in his article Der Mokaukis von Aegypten in the Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, vol. i. pp. 1-11. The latter authority concludes that the full designation of the Muḥaukis was probably Georgios son of Menas (Mennas) Parkabios, according to the Coptic custom of double names, thus explaining the name Farkab (فرقة) given to his father by Yaḵūt, Al-Makrizi, and As-Suyūtī; and that his office was probably that of Pagarch, which corresponded to the more ancient office of Nomarch, with, perhaps, the post of Strategos held in addition. Strategos is found in the papyri translated into Arabic by مخبر المعلومة, and Pagarchos by عامل المعلومة, and Pagarchos by عامللاجر or simply عامل للجرا, and Eutychius calls the Muḥaukis عامل لايجرا, while As-Suyūtī says that he was chief military officer as well as superintendent of the taxes. The term Muḥaukis itself is believed by Prof. Karabacek to be the Greek μεγαυχής (v. Aeschylus, Persae, 641), an honorary epithet which would be analogous to μεγαλωπρεπίστατος, ἐνδοχρόνος and εὐκλείστατος, found in papyri of the time of the Mahometan conquest and later as applied to the Pagarchs. (A. J. B.)

1 Cf. Al-Makrizi, Khīṭāṭ, i. p. r44.

2 The tenth of the Omeyyad caliphs; reigned from A. H. 105 = A. D. 724 to A. H. 125 = A. D. 744.

3 Taking the fettān as equivalent to an English acre, which it slightly exceeds, it is difficult to understand this estimate. 'The area of the cultivable tract of Egypt, which has remained unaltered since the remotest antiquity, is about 11,342 square miles' (Baedeker). At 632 acres to the square mile this gives 7,168,144 acres or considerably less than one-third of our author's estimate. The statistics of revenue in the remainder of this paragraph are credible enough. (A. J. B.)
al-Ustádh al-Ikhshidi, was added up, so far as it could be estimated, together with all the expenses, and it amounted to three million two hundred thousand and more than seventy thousand dinars; but the expenditure exceeded the revenue by two hundred thousand dinars. In the year 162 (A.D. 779), in the caliphate of Al-Mahdi ibn al-Mansúr, the Abbaside, the revenue of Egypt was estimated at one million eight hundred and twenty-eight thousand five hundred dinars.

Nebuchadnezzar.

§ Nebuchadnezzar, the satrap of the east, invaded Egypt, and ruthlessly pillaged the country for booty. Belteshazzar, however, his son, restored Egypt after its devastation, which lasted forty years; and the first district which he restored in the country was that of Al-Ushmunain.

1 The third of the Abbaside caliphs; reigned at Baghdad from a.h. 158 = A.D. 775 to a.h. 169 = A.D. 786.
2 A very distinct tradition has been preserved in Egypt of its invasion by Nebuchadnezzar, spoken of by Jeremiah (xliii. 16 ff. and xlvi. 13 ff.) and by Ezekiel (xxix. 19). See As-Suyúṭi, i. p. 84 f.; Al-Mašrízî, i. p. 230, &c.; Eutychius, i. p. 253. It is well known that there exist fragments of a cuneiform inscription of the date of Nebuchadnezzar, which contained an account of his invasion of Egypt; see Schrader, Keilinschrifliche Bibliothek, iii. pt. 2, p. 140 ff.
3 Belshazzar. Eutychius writes the name بلشازار; At-Ṭabarî بلشازار, and Ibn Khaldûn بلشازار.
4 This number seems to arise from a confusion with the true number of years in Nebuchadnezzar's reign, viz. forty-three years according to Berosus, the Canon of Ptolemy, and the Babylonian contracts; see Strassmaier, Babylonische Texte: Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor.
5 The classical Hermopolis or Mercurii Oppidum, and the Coptic Πλευρίτης, on the west bank of the Nile between Munyah and Mansalút. It is now in the district of Raudah in the province of Usyút, and in 1885 had 2,312 inhabitants; but it has much declined from its ancient importance. See Yākût, Geogr. Wortl. i. p. 83; Al-Idrisî (ed. Rome) [p. 47]; Al-Mašrízî, i. p. 230; Amélineau, Geogr. p. 167 ff.
The Patriarch Demetrius.

§ The first who appointed bishops for the land of Egypt and its provinces was Demetrius¹, the twelfth patriarch.

Restoration of Churches of Al-Fustat.

§ The history of the church, in the biography of Anbâ² Mark the Younger, the forty-ninth patriarch, testifies that the churches of

1 This statement is borrowed by our author from Eutychius:

² From the time of Ananias (Anianus), who was appointed patriarch of Alexandria by Mark the Evangelist, until Demetrius the eleventh patriarch of Alexandria, there were no bishops in Egypt, and the predecessors of the last-named patriarch appointed none. But when Demetrius became patriarch, he appointed three bishops, and he was the first patriarch of Alexandria who made bishops. When he died, Heraclius was constituted patriarch of Alexandria after him, and appointed twenty bishops.’ (Annales, ii. p. 330.)

The assertion of Eutychius is contradicted by the patriarchal history of Severus of Al-Ushmûnain, which not only states that St. Mark himself consecrated Anianus (انبا يونس) bishop of Alexandria, and left him there in that capacity during his sojourn in Pentapolis, but also mentions bishops in Egypt, other than the patriarch, in the lives of Avilius (ملابسوس) the third patriarch, of Celadion (كلاديسوس) the ninth, and of Julian (يوليوانوس) the eleventh; see Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 26,100, p. 21, line 18; p. 24, line 5; p. 25, lines 9 and 19. I use the word ‘patriarch’ here as being that employed by Severus.

² Occupied the see from A.D. 799 to 819 (?). See Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 246–266. This date of the restoration of the churches corresponds closely enough with my estimate of the date of, e.g. the church of Abû Sirjah in the Roman fortress at Al-Fustat; see Coptic Churches, i. p. 181. (A. J. B.)
Fustat Miṣr were rebuilt, and that their restoration was commanded, under the superintendence of that patriarch\(^1\), after they had been

\(^1\) Our author is referring to the following passage in the life of the patriarch Mark in Severus’ collection:

\[\text{When they understood the discourse of the wāli, and his care for the affairs of the churches, Anbā Michael, bishop of Miṣr, said: Now is the time for us to take measures for the restoration of the churches, since it is evident that the wāli bears an affection towards the Christians. Next day, therefore, the patriarch returned to the wāli, who saluted him, and showed respect to him, and honoured him, and raised him from the ground, and made him sit beside him, and discoursed with him, saying: I told thee yesterday that I would perform whatever thou requirest, but thou hast asked nothing of me; now, therefore, mention to me whatever thou needest, and it shall be done because of my love for thee. So the patriarch answered with soft words: May the Lord preserve thy days and increase thy dignity and authority! Thou knowest that thy servant has not been set as ruler over revenues and taxes, but over souls and churches; and I beseech thy greatness—for we have here churches, some of which have been destroyed by the unrighteous one before thy coming to Egypt, therefore the Lord destroyed his houses and cut off his life from the face of the earth—but if it seems good to thee to command us to rebuild these churches, so that we may pray in them and intercede for thy greatness, the matter rests with thee. Then God quickly put it into the heart of the wāli that he should order the restoration of those churches; and all the churches in Fustat Miṣr were rebuilt.’ (Bib. Nat. Paris MS. Anc. Fonds Arabe 139, p. 211, l. 17-p. 212, l. 1.)}\]
destroyed in the patriarchate of Anbā John, the forty-eighth in the succession.

§ The city of Miṣr, outside which is Madinat ash-Shams, was founded by Mizraim, the son of Canaan, the son of Ham, the son of Noah, the son of Lamech the Blind, and it was called after the name of the king of the Egyptians, Mizraim. Beyond Egypt is the district between the two rocks, beyond Al-'Arish.

Churches of Al-Fustät.

The first church built in Fustat Misr was that which is beyond Al-Kantarah; it was built in the time of Maslamah ibn Mukhallad al-Anṣāri. The name of Misr in Greek is Jibt; and in Frankish Roman it is Babylon the Fortress. The church above mentioned was in the

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1 Occupied the see A.D. 775–799; see Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 241–246. The destruction of some of the churches of Al-Fustat in his time is mentioned in Bib. Nat. MS. Anc. Fonds Arabe 139, p. 207, l. 20.

2 Or 'Ain Shams: the Coptic Ṣin or Πετροπόλη, the Hebrew On (ירש) or Beth Shemesh ( `-אש, Jer. xlii. 13), the classical Heliopolis, a few miles to the north of modern Cairo. The only remaining vestige of the famous city is the obelisk which stands near the village of Maṭariyah. See Al-Maḳrīzī, i. p. r1; Yāḳūt, Geogr. Wort. i. p. 111; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 287.

3 Literally, 'The Bridge' or 'Arch': a suburb of Al-Fustat, also called Al-Ḥamrā al-Wustā (fol. 29 b); see Al-Maḳrīzī.

4 The well-known 'Companion' of the Prophet; he governed Egypt, under the caliphs Muʿawiyah and Yazid, from A.H. 47 = A.D. 668 to A.H. 62 = A.D. 682; see Al-Maḳrīzī, Khitaṭ, i. p. r.1; As-Suyūṭī (ii. p. v) names this first church.

5 Evidently an apocopated form of Αἴγυπτος, and therefore a formation analogous to Kibṭ (Copts). As the Egyptians give the hard pronunciation to the ḥ, they would sound the word Ghibṭ. The Greek γ becomes  in Arabic in the words  for Γεώργιος, Sirjah for Σεργίος, jaghrāfīyā for γεωγραφία, and many others.

6 I.e. the lingua Franca. Babylon, as the name of Fustat, or Fustat and Cairo together, was widely employed in Europe at the time of our author and later; see Mandeville’s travels, edition of London, 1568, fol. ciii. verso: 'And who so wyll go through the land of Babylon wher the Soudan dwelleth . . . hec
quarter, between Cairo and Miṣr, running from the church of Saint George, called Al-Ḥamrā. The church was in the middle of this quarter, which is also called Ḥārat ar-Rūm, and was inhabited by Christians and Abyssinian monks and others. When the quarter was demolished, as the others also were demolished outside Miṣr, and the houses which it contained were destroyed, the bricks and timber were carried off for other buildings in Cairo. A few ruined houses, however, remained, and were inhabited by the men of Maimūn.

The church of Saint George, called Al-Ḥamrā, had fallen into ruin and disorder; but Al-Muʿallim Sarūr Al-Jullāl undertook to improve and renew it in the caliphate of Al-Mustansir. The said Al-Jullāl was full of wealth and honours. Thus when our lord Al-Mustansir went up to the manṣarah called As-Sukkarah for the breaking of the dam of the

shall goe from Gaza... and from thence men come to Babylone and to Kayre; and in Babylone is a fayre churche of our lady wher she dwelled vii yere whan she was oute of the lande of Jewes, for dreade of kyng Herode. And there lyeth the body of Saynte Barbare vyrgyn, and there dwelled Joseph whan he was solde of his brethrene... There dwelleth the Soudan, for there is a faire citie and stronge castell.' Mandeville is said to have travelled early in the fourteenth century.

The Romaunce of the Sowdone of Babylowe, published by the Roxburghe Club in 1854, is well known. Cf. 'Saladino, Soldano di Babilonia' in Boccaccio, Dec., Giorn. x, Nov. 9, &c.

1 Here we have Miṣr used as synonymous with Al-Fusṭāṭ or Fusṭāṭ Miṣr, and in antithesis to Cairo, which was nevertheless sometimes called Miṣr al-Kāhirah, and is now called Maṣr; the remains of Al-Fusṭāṭ being called Old Maṣr.

2 'Quarter of the Romans;' see above, fol. 6 a.

3 Maimūn al-Ḳaṣrī was an officer in Saladin's army; see Ibn al-Athīr, xii. pp. 4r, 1r, 10v.

4 This was a pavilion erected by the caliph Al-'Azīz (A.D. 975-996), on the western bank of the canal of Cairo near the Nile. It was surrounded by a garden. It was here that the Fatimide caliphs witnessed the breaking of the dam of the canal at the time of the high Nile, an operation which was conducted then as now with much ceremony. See Al-Maḳḍīzī's long description of it in Khīṭāt, i. p. 5v. ff. The pavilion seems to have been destroyed in the twelfth century (iḥād). See also Ibn Duḳmāḳ, iv. p. 1r...
canal\(^1\) dug by 'Amr ibn al-'Âšî, emir of Egypt, in the caliphate of the Prince of the Faithful, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the Mu'allim Sarûr al-Jullâl offered to the caliph handsome gifts, consisting of different kinds of food and drinks and sweetmeats, and prepared for him many kinds of fresh fish and sugar in varied forms; and the caliph accepted them from him, and gave him a robe of honour, and granted his requests, and sent him to Al-Ḳulzum\(^2\), which is a fortress built to protect the country on the side of the Hedjaz; and the name of the place is derived from the weaver's cord, with which a garment is held fast, and which is called kulzum\(^3\). Jauhar al-Mu‘izzi\(^4\) built a bridge\(^5\) over that canal, leading to the bank of Al-Maksam. Here is the watercourse called Al-Majnûnah\(^6\). Before this bridge, there was a bridge which was destroyed; but traces of it are left on the east side, and part of it on the west side, below the garden, near the road constructed from thence to Az-Zuhri, for carrying provisions to the canal which runs from Cairo to Al-Ḳulzum, that they may be taken thence to Mecca and Medina, and also to the region

\(^1\) The famous Khalîj or canal of Cairo, sometimes called Khalîj Amir al-Mu‘minûn, or 'Canal of the Prince of the Faithful,' after 'Umar, the first who assumed that title. It runs from the Nile at Al-Fuṣṭât northwards to Bastah (Zagâzîg), whence it turned eastwards and terminated in the Red Sea, near Al-Ḳulzum. Its original purpose was to furnish Mecca and Medina with provisions from Egypt. The Khalîj now only serves to convey water to the city of Cairo, and terminates at Matariyâh, near the site of 'Ain Shams or Heliopolis. In constructing this canal, 'Amr had only to avail himself of and render navigable the very ancient Amnis Trajanus. For an account of the Khalîj in Mahometan times, see Al-Maḳrizî, i. p. vi; Ibn Dûkmâk, iv. p. 17.

\(^2\) See above, fol. 19 b.

\(^3\) Intended, as Prof. Margoliouth suggests, for a transcription of the Greek κλώσμα.

\(^4\) The general of the Fatimide caliph Al-Mu‘izz, who conquered Egypt and founded Cairo in A.D. 969; see Introduction.

\(^5\) A complete list of the bridges over the canal, with a plan, is given in C. Niebuhr's Voyage en Arabie, 4to, Amsterdam, 1776, tom. i. p. 89. See also Al-Maḳrizî, Khīṭat, ii. p. 185 ff. (A. J. B.)

\(^6\) Al-Maḳrizî gives this name to a canal in the Fayûm; see Khīṭat, i. p. 184.
of Al-'Abbāsah. Our lord Al-Mustansir was crowned with the jewelled turban and the canopy was spread over him, and he was * * * sitting on the dais of state, and the aforesaid Sarūr came out to wait upon him, and the caliph saluted him; and Sarūr wore a garment of Naṣāfī, and a turban of Šīkīlī, bound round the middle with a band of Dabīkī, interwoven with gold; and he was summoned by name on both occasions, when he went up [to Al-Kulzum], and when he returned to Cairo—I mean this Mu'allim Sarūr al-Jullāl.

§ Sarūr was full of benevolence and virtue and usefulness to other men: to each according to his needs. For himself he provided a tomb, roofed with a cupola, and consisting of a vault under ground, contiguous to the apse of the church. His son, Najāh, built over it a church, named after Saint John the Baptist, which was entirely of solid timber, decorated with carving.

§ The church of John the Baptist was restored by the Shaikh As-Sa'īd Abū 'l-Fakhr, father of An-Najib Abū 'l-Barakāt, known as Ibn Šā'īd; and it was consecrated in the month of Tūt, in the year 897 of the Blameless Martyrs (A.D. 1180). The Shaikh al-Wajih Abū 'l-Ḥasan ibn al-Amaḥh, the scribe, provided for the improvement of the churches attached to the Great Church, in the year 892 (A.D. 1176) of the Blameless Martyrs.

§ The building lasted until the time of Shāwar as-Sa'īd, vizier in the caliphate of Al-'Ādīd, and of [the invasion of] the Ghuzz and the Kurds, who came with Yūsuf Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn ibn Ayyūb, the Kurd, who became governor of Egypt, and was called, on the dirhems and dinars, 'Partner

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1 Erasure in original.
2 ٌش ٌجق ٌجق ٌجق is here correctly written; compare ٌجق ٌجق on fol. 5 a.
3 The Coptic Thōouth (εωοντο) = Aug. 29–Sept. 27.
4 Vizier from A. h. 558 = A. D. 1162 to A. h. 564 = A. D. 1168 to the last of the Fatimide caliphs, Al-'Ādīd. See Introduction. As-Sa'īd is incorrect.
5 Here the copyist has correctly written الفرز الإكراد instead of الفرز والأكراد as on fol. 2 a and elsewhere.
of the Prince of the Faithful, upon the invasion of the king of the Franks, on account of the victory gained over them during the year 559 (A.D. 1164). The Ghuzz and the Kurds attacked this church, with the mob of Cairo, and it was burnt with fire, and rased to the ground like the other churches, in the month of Jumâdâ the First in the year 559.

1 Gold dinars of A.H. 571 have the following inscription:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينار بالقاهرة سنة أحد وسبعين وخمسين وخمسة لا اله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له أبو محمد المستكفي بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين محمد رسول الله إرادة بهدى ودن لتق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون على الله علیه وعلى الو على الملك غاية

‘In the name of God the compassionate and merciful. This dinar was struck at Cairo in the year 571. There is no deity but God alone; he has no partner. Abû Muḥammad Al-Mustaḍî bi-amri 'Ilâh is Prince of the Faithful. Mahomet is the Apostle of God, who sent him under his guidance with the true religion, that he might reveal it above all religion, even if the polytheists are indignant thereat; may God bless him and his family and the most Victorious Prince Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb.’ (Poole, Brit. Mus. Cat. of Or. Coins, iv. p. 63.)

Silver dirhems of Damascus, A.H. 573, have the following superscription:

الامام المستكفي بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين لا الله إلا الله وحده محمد رسول الله الملك الناصر

‘Al-Imâm Al-Mustaḍî bi-amri 'Ilâh, Prince of the Faithful. There is no deity but God alone. Mahomet is the Apostle of God. Al-Malik an-Nâsir Šalâḥ ad-Dûnyâ wad-Dîn Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb, &c.’ (Ibid.)

From these inscriptions it does not appear that Saladin (Al-Malik an-Nâsir, &c.) was actually called ‘Partner’ of the caliph al-Mustaḍî, Prince of the Faithful, upon the coins; but that he was named upon them as if he were his partner.

The dirhem was a silver coin about forty-five grains in weight.

2 Amaury, king of Jerusalem, invaded Egypt in A.H. 559, but his final and ignominious retreat on the approach of Saladin was not till A.H. 564.

3 The burning of Al-Fustâṭ by order of Shâwar is several times mentioned in this work; see Introduction.
(A.D. 1164). Afterwards it was restored, in the year 560, and the excellent Shaikh Abū 'l-Fakhr undertook its rebuilding. He had been scribe for religious matters in the caliphate of Al-Hāfīz; and he was assisted in this act of restoration by the distinguished Shaikh, Abū Ḥasan ibn al-Amahh, in the year 892 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1176). After this, all the churches that had been wrecked were restored by the following shaikhs and chief men: the Shaikh As-Ṣa'īd Shadid al-Mulk ibn al-Fakhr ibn Busaiwah, and Abū 'l-Barakāt his son, and Al-As'ad Abū 'l-Khair Jirjah ibn Wahab, known as Ibn al-Miḳāṭ. The restored churches were consecrated, by the help of God; and prayers and liturgies have been offered in them up to this day.

§ When the restoration took place, and when this great church—I mean Al-Hamrā—was put into order, then the envious and the contentious were indignant because it had been erected anew; and they incited the common people to assist them, and they pillaged the church, and it was destroyed a second time. Afterwards the property of the church that had been scattered was restored, and a fresh consecration took place, and the liturgy and prayers were offered according to the customary practice.

§ The tomb of Al-Mu'allim Sarūr al-Jullāl, which has been mentioned before, remains in this church to the present day¹. In this church there is also a tank, and a well of running water.

§ The aforesaid Al-As'ad Abū 'l-Khair ibn al-Miḳāṭ was sent for by Shāwar the vizier, who was indignant with him without just cause; and began to subject him to tortures. So he died a martyr. His body was carried to this church and buried here. May the Lord grant rest to his pure soul! He was laid in the northern porch. Outside this church and near it there is a Christian burying-ground.

§ Near the above-mentioned church of John the Baptist, there was

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¹ I am quite unable to identify this church, and indeed doubt its existence at the present time. The Epiphany tank and the well of fresh water are common features in the churches of Egypt; see Coptic Churches, i. p. 22. (A. J. B.)
a kitchen\(^1\), which was pulled down by the Shaikh As-Sa'īd Abū 'l-Fakhir Sā'īd ibn Busaiwah, who rebuilt it as a church dedicated to Our Lady the Pure Virgin. When it was completed, it was consecrated by the father and bishop, Anbā Gabriel, bishop of Mīṣr, in the presence of Anbā Peter, bishop of the Fayyum, on the fourth Sunday of the Holy Fast, being the fifth of Barmahāt\(^2\) in the year 903 of the Righteous Martyrs, which is equivalent to the 19th of Dhū 'l-hijjah, in the year 582 (A.D. 1187). From the roof of this church a view is obtained of the Pool of Kārūn\(^3\). The view from this church is agreeable, on account of the gardens and pleasure-grounds and handsome buildings which surround it. It is spacious and pleasant during both the high Nile and the seed time, and there are many people in the gardens and pavilions which surround it.

Among those who at any time have attacked this church there was a body of blacks, called the Juyūshiyah\(^4\), who grew insolent and violent, and whose hands were stretched out until they stopped the roads and seized the money of travellers, or shed their blood. When the Ghuzz and the Kurds obtained possession of Egypt, in Rabī‘ the Second of the year A.H. 564 (A.D. 1169), a body of Armenian Christians overcame the blacks, and drove them away and killed many of them; and the quarter which they inhabited was left deserted: it was in the neighbourhood of Al-Ḥamrā, as it has already been said. The quarter was bought by Ḥatalbā the Ghuzzī, wāli of Cairo, from the Divan; and he ploughed it, and made wells and waterwheels, and laid it out in gardens, and sowed seeds of many plants, and was the first to make the ground green with vegetation. The entrance to the church was altered, since there was no door in this street, but it was at the side, in the road mentioned.

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\(^1\) Probably one of the sugar manufactories, of which there were many in Al-Fuṣṭāṭ and Cairo at this time.

\(^2\) The Coptic Pharmouthi (\(\varphi\varepsilon\rho\varepsilon\sigma\omega\nu\nu\sigma\iota\iota\iota\)) = March 27–April 25.

\(^3\) This was one of the pools between Al-Fuṣṭāṭ and Cairo, and its banks were thickly peopled when Al-'Askar and Al-Ḳaṭā'ī were flourishing, but were desolated when Cairo superseded these suburbs. See Al-Maḳrizī, ii. p. 141.

\(^4\) This was one of the troops of which the army was composed; see fol. 54 a.
Population of Egypt.

§ The book of *Fadā'il Misr* relates that Al-Walid ibn Zuwa'ah was set over the taxes of Egypt, in the caliphate of Hishâm ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Ahwal, and went to number the population, and stayed six months in Upper Egypt, and in Lower Egypt three months. He counted more than ten thousand villages; and in the smallest of the villages there were five hundred male Copts; and the total number of the Copts was five millions of souls.

*The Nile.*

§ The learned are all agreed that there is not in the world a river of greater length than the Nile. For its course through the land of the Muslims amounts to more than a month's journey; and its course through Nubia to two months' journey; and for a journey of four months it flows through uninhabited deserts, until the source is reached in the Mountains of the Moon, to the south of the Equator. There

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1. By Al-Kindī.

2. This account of the course of the Nile is quoted in almost the same words by Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 318.

3. See also fol. 101 a. This statement is borrowed by the Arab geographers and historians from the Geography of Claudius Ptolemy, which was translated into Arabic in the reign of the caliph Al-Ma'mūn, A.H. 198 = A.D. 813 to A.H. 218 = A.D. 833, although this translation has long been lost; see Ḥājī Khalîfah, ed. Fluegel, i. pp. 602–3. Ptolemy says (Geogr. bk. iv. c. viii) that to the west of the Anthropophagous Ethiopians lie the Mountains of the Moon, from which the melted snows flow into the lakes which form the sources of the Nile, and these mountains extend from long. 57°, lat. 12° S. to long. 67°, lat. 12° S.

(*τὸ τῆς Σελήνης ὄρος ἄφι o� υποδέχονται τᾶς χώνας αἱ τοῦ Νείλου λίμναι καὶ ἑπέλει μοῖρας τὰ πέρατα τοῦ τῆς Σελήνης ὄρους ὅκ νότη. 33 1 καὶ 53 νότη. 33 1*)

Ibn al-Fākīh al-Hamadānī says in the *Kitāb al-Buldān*, which he wrote about A.H. 290 = A.D. 903, that the Nile comes from two lakes beyond the equator, called *Buhārītā 'u-Nīl* (ed. De Goeje, p. 18).

Al-Muḡaddasī says that according to Al-Jīhānī the Nile rises in the Mountains
is no other river, again, which runs from south to north, except the Nile; and there is no river which flows both into the sea of the Romans and the sea of the Chinese¹, except the Nile of Egypt. There is no other river, too, which rises when the heat begins, at the time when other rivers fall, and some rivers and springs are entirely dried up; and as the heat increases so the height of the Nile increases; and there is no other river which rises and falls regularly except the Nile; nor does any river in the world produce such a revenue as that which comes from the overflow of the Nile.

Churches of Al-Fustât (continued).

§ In the aforesaid quarter² there is a church dedicated to the Angel Gabriel, which was restored by Şu'lük al-Jullâl. Above it there is a church named after the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Flesh. The cupola over the sanctuary of the church is very lofty, and is conspicuous from a distance; it was erected by the brother 'Abd al-Masîh. The Ghuzz and the people of Cairo pillaged it, and broke the pillars of the apostles³, and part of the roof was burnt. In conse-

of the Moon, and flows first through two lakes beyond the equator (ed. De Goeje, p. ••).

'Abd al-Laţîf says that the sources of the Nile are springs which rise in the Mountains of the Moon, eleven degrees beyond the equator (ed. White, p. 4); and Al-Idrisî says sixteen degrees (ed. Rome, p. 19). (A. J. B.)

¹ The Red Sea was looked upon as a branch of the Indian Ocean or China Sea; cf. fol. 19 b. The Marâṣîd al-Iṭṭilâ‘ says:

لاحة الکلم شعبة من البحر الهند

'The Sea of Al-Kulzum is a branch of the Indian Sea.'

Our author means, of course, that the Nile was connected with the Red Sea by means of the canal of Cairo (Khalîj Amîr ‘al-Ma‘minîn). (A. J. B.)

² I.e. Al-Hamrâ.

³ The expression Al-Bustulât (البستلات) undoubtedly denotes the main columns of the nave, frescoed or painted with the figures of apostles. I may quote a surviving example from the church of Abû Sirjah in the Roman fortress of
quence of this, the restoration of the church was undertaken by the Shaikh Ath-Thikah Gabriel, the scribe, in the caliphate of Al-'Adid; and it was consecrated afresh, and the liturgy was celebrated in it. Now at this church there was a lotus-tree of large size and well proportioned, which grew as high as the roof of the church; this tree was cut down and sold for a considerable price, and the money was spent upon the rebuilding of the fabric.

Besides this, there is a fourth church, large, and contiguous to the others; surrounded by a wall of sun-dried bricks; with a separate door leading into it. It is among gardens and pleasure-grounds, and commands a view of the canal. When Miṣr was burnt, in the month of Ṣafar, in the year 564, this church was pillaged and part of the walls was thrown down, and not a single Christian was found at the time to undertake its restoration; so that it has remained to this day in suspense between hope of revival and the prospect of utter ruin. The wall of the aforesaid fourth church was destroyed and levelled with the ground; and the church was profaned through the destruction of its wall, and became contiguous to the road, and was united with a pavilion in the garden, known as Duwairah Şandal. Part of the roof also disappeared, namely the timber above the sanctuary; therefore the Shaikh Al-Jullâl Ibrâhim undertook to restore it, with the help of some Babylon: 'On each of these eleven ancient pillars is painted the life-size figure of a saint or apostle, now so begrimed and obscured that in the doubtful light all may easily escape notice, and it requires close attention to make them out when discovered.' *Coptic Churches*, i. pp. 187-8. (A. J. B.)

1 'Abd al-Latif says:

والسدر بها كثير وشمر النبق حاول جداً

'The lotus-tree is plentiful in Egypt, and its fruit is the *Nabik*, and is very sweet' (ed. White, p. 58).

Al-Makrizî mentions the lotus-tree among the principal objects of cultivation in Egypt; see *Khîlat*, i. p. 1.6. (A. J. B.)

2 This may be a proper name, or the correct translation may be 'Pavilion of Sandal-wood.'
of the chief men. They put part of the church into order; and the
liturgy was celebrated in it on one occasion. Part of it, however,
remained neglected, but it continued to be visited twice or three times
in the year. The partial restoration was carried out with much care and
labour on the part of the tenants of the neighbouring garden; and it was
completed on the 26th of Ba'ûnah. It was arranged so that it no longer
remained possible for men and women to enter the church from the
garden, as they had been able to do on account of the union of the
ground, which had formerly been within the enclosure of the church,
with the garden. In the year 903 of the Martyrs ( . . . . 910) the
church was improved by the Shaikh Abû Sa'îd ibn Andûnah, the
financial secretary of the Divan and chief notary, who rebuilt that which
had been thrown down, and completed the dome, and whitewashed it.
The consecration was performed by Anbâ Gabriel, bishop of Miṣr, in
the presence of a body of bishops, priests, and deacons, of the chief
men and of the orthodox laity of Miṣr and Cairo. The liturgy was
established in the church for every festival and every Sunday and the
night of Sunday. The aforesaid Shaikh Abû Sa'îd was present at all
times in this church with a body of priests and deacons of the sons of
the chief men; at all the festivals, and at the night and day services
of Sunday. He also bought the courtyard in front of the church,
and opened a road to it from the canal. Now the church returned to its
proper condition; and a body of monks took up their abode there.
The shaikh provided for the church and for them. Now a congregation
of priests and deacons and Christian laity again began to visit the
church every Sunday. All this took place in the patriarchate of
Anbâ John, the seventy-fourth in the order of succession.

In the same street there is also a church of the Melkites. There
were five churches in this street, from one of which a procession issues

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2 I. e. the vigil services of Saturday night: the παυνιδές or διανυκτερεύσεις of
the early church (see e.g. Eusebius, H. E. ii. 17; vi. 9).
on Palm Sunday, and goes up to Cairo. The Ghuzz and Kurds took possession of four of the churches [of the Melkites], robbed them of their timber, and threw down their walls, so that they were level with the ground, on account of the weakness and small numbers of the Melkites; but one church of theirs remained, near the church of Saint George of the Copts in this quarter.

Ahmad ibn Tulun.

The biography of Al-Mu'tamid, the fifteenth of the Abbaside caliphs, relates that the number of the persons killed by Ahmad ibn Tulun or by his troops was two thousand.

Sayings of Mahomet with regard to the Copts.

§ The Book of Faḍī‘il Mīsra states, among its narratives, that the Copts of Egypt are related by affinity to Abraham, the Friend of God; and to Joseph the Truthful; and the chain of this tradition starts from

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1 Al-Ḥamrā.
2 Reigned from A.H. 256 to 279 = A.D. 869-892.
3 Wālī of Egypt from A.H. 254 = A.D. 868 to A.H. 270 = A.D. 884, and builder of the famous mosque, still in existence, which bears his name. See Introduction.
4 By Al-Kindī; see fol. 26 b, &c.
5 Through Hagar. The Arabs preserved the tradition of their descent from Ishmael, and prided themselves upon it; see Ibn Hishām, Sirah Sayyidīnā Muḥammad, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. p. f., where the author quotes Ibn Ishāk, who died A.H. 151 = A.D. 768. Cf. Abū l-Mahāsın, i. p. r-r.
6 Through Asenath, daughter of Potipherah, priest of On. As-Suyūṭī says:

قال ابن عبد اللطيف رد لنا عمر بن صالح اختيرنا مرواني القفص نقل ماهر إلى القبط من الأنبياء ثلاثة ابراهيم . . . تزوج بنت صاحب عين شمس ورسول الله . . . تسري مارية

‘Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam says: ‘Umar ibn Ṣāliḥ informed us that he had learnt from Marwānī al-Kassas that three of the prophets were connected with the Copts by affinity; for Abraham had Hagar as his concubine; and Joseph married the daughter of the chief [priest] of ‘Ain Shams [i.e. On or Heliopolis]; and the Apostle of God had Mary as his concubine.’ (Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah, i. p. v.)
the companions of Mahomet. Ashhab ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz⁰¹ said: 'When you conquer Egypt take charge [of the inhabitants], for truly they may claim your protection, and kinship with you.' Ismā'il⁰² ibn 'Abbās said, quoting from Ashhab: 'Take charge of the Copts of Egypt, for you will find among them useful auxiliaries against your enemy.' Abū Salimah⁰³ said: 'Mahomet at his death said, "I charge you to drive away the Jews from the Arabian peninsula.'

Then he added:

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⁰¹ Ashhab ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz is the authority quoted by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam in his Futūḥ Miṣr, from which our author borrows the whole of this passage. Ashhab is said to have derived the tradition from Mālik ibn Anas, who quoted Ibn Shahāb, who quoted 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Ka'b, who quoted his father, who heard the words of the 'Apostle of God.' See As-Suyūṭī, Ḥusn al-Muhḍarah, i. p. 5. Cf. Ibn Hishām, Sīrah Muḥammad, i. p. 5, and Abū l-Maḥāsin, i. p. 50.

⁰² As-Suyūṭī's words are:

واخرج ابن عبد الله عن مسلم بن يسار رضي الله عنه. قال استوصوا بالقبط خيرًا فأنتم ستجلدونهم نعم الأعوان على قتال عدوكم

'Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam quotes from Muslim ibn Yusar to the effect that the Apostle of God said: 'Take charge of the Copts, for you will find them excellent auxiliaries in fighting your enemy.' (Ḥusn al-Muhḍarah, i. p. 1.)

⁰³ This is a mistake of the author or his copyist for Umm Salimah, the name of one of Mahomet's wives. As-Suyūṭī says:

واخرج الطبراني في الكبير وأبو نعيم في حلائل النبوة بصد صحيح عن أم سلمة بنت رسول الله رضي الله عنها. وأوصى عند وفاته فقال الله اثنان البنت ميروان كتب فانكم تستهرون عليهم ويكونون لكم عدة واعوانًا في سبيل الله

'At-Ṭabarānī in Al-Kabīr and Abū Na‘īm in Dalā’il an-Nabū’ah quote, according to a genuine chain of tradition, from Umm Salimah to the effect that the Apostle of God . . . , at the time of his death, charged them, saying: 'God! God is with the Copts of Egypt; for you shall conquer them, and they shall be for you an increase of numbers and a body of auxiliaries in the path of God.' (Ḥusn al-Muhḍarah, i. p. 1.)

⁰⁴ This command of the Arabian prophet is handed down among the 'genuine' traditions collected by Al-Bukhārī; see his Kitāb al-Jāmi’ as-Ṣahīḥ, ed. Krehl, pt. i. p. 294, under the title:

باب إخراج اليهود من جزيرة العرب
God! God commits the Copts of Egypt to your charge; for you shall rule over them, and they shall be to you an increase of numbers, and a body of auxiliaries in the path of God." He said also: "Take charge of the men with curling hair, the Copts of Egypt, for truly they are your uncles and kinsmen, and your auxiliaries against your enemy, and your helpers in your religion." Then some one said to him: "But how shall they help us in our religion?" To which he replied: "They shall relieve you of the affairs of this world, so that you may be at leisure for religious worship." According to the tradition handed down from 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr ibn al-Âṣi, Mahomet said: 'The Copts

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1 As-Suyûti says:

2 See note on fol. 16.

3 Abu 'l-Maḥâsin quotes the following among the 'sayings of the Prophet with regard to Egypt:'
are the noblest of foreigners; the gentlest of them in action; the most excellent of them in character, and the nearest of them in kinship to the Arabs generally, and to the tribe of Kuraish in particular. Mahomet also said emphatically: 'God! God is among the protected people, the people of the desert, the blacks, the men with curling hair. They are related [to the Arabs] and akin to them, in distinction from all the other protected peoples.'

**Mission from Mahomet to the Mukaukis.**

Mahomet sent Hātib ibn Abi Balṭa’ah, of the tribe of Lakhm, to the Mukaukis, governor of Alexandria, to urge him to adopt the religion

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Cf. Ibn Hishām in his Life of Mahomet:

 حدثنا عبد الله بن وهب عن عبد الله بن قيس بن عمر مولى غفرة أن رسول الله قال: "الله في أهل الدمة أهل الممرة السوداء السجمن لما سأله بهما فين لهم نسماً وصهرًا".

‘Abd Allāh ibn Wahb informed us, quoting from ‘Abd Allāh ibn Lahī’ah, who reported the words of ‘Umar the freedman of Ghufrah, that the Apostle of God said: God! God is among the protected people, the natives of the black soil, the dark-coloured people, the people with curling hair,' i. p. 58.

It is said to have been the curling hair of Mary the Coptic maiden which attracted the admiration of Mahomet.

The mission of Hātib took place in A.H. 6 = A.D. 628, at the time when Mahomet also sent envoys with the same object to the king of Persia, Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, the prince of Ghassan, the governor of Yemen, and the Negus of Abyssinia. Ibn Hishām compares this proceeding of the Arabian prophet with the sending out of the twelve apostles by Jesus Christ. See At-Ṭabarī (ed. De Goeje), ser. i. p. 1051 f.; Ibn Hishām, Sirah Muhammad, p. 161; An-Nawawī, Tahālāb al-Asmā, pp. 191 and 307; As-Suyūṭī, i. p. 58 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, ii. p. 357 ff.
of Islam; but he did not do so. Ḥāṭib, when he returned to Mahomet, brought him as a gift four maidens, among whom was Mary\(^1\) the Copt, and Sirin, her sister, and his mule Duldul\(^2\), and his ass Ya‘fūr, and a purse of money, and a eunuch\(^3\) whom the Mukauḵis also sent with them. Mary became the mother of Ibrāhīm\(^4\). Her sister Sirin was given by Mahomet to Ḥassān\(^5\), the poet, and she became the mother of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, his son.

The Three Ḥamrās.

§ Section in which are mentioned the three great Ḥamrās\(^6\), which are Al-Ḳuswâ, Al-Wustâ, and Al-Ḥamrā ad-Dunya. According to the Ḳhitāt of Al-Kindī, in a copy of the Futḥāt Miṣr, the Ḥamrā were a people of the Romans, among whom were the Banū Nabīh and the Banū ʿl-Azrâk and the Banū Rūbīl; or, perhaps, a people of the Persians; and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAṣî named them Al-Ḥamrā, because they were not Arabs, and had become Christians.

\(^1\) Mary is described as being exceedingly beautiful, of fair complexion, with curling hair. She became a Mahometan, and the prophet took her as his concubine. She died in A.H. 15 or 16. See authorities referred to in last note. The Sūrat at-Tahrim refers to Mary the Copt.

\(^2\) This is said to have been the first mule seen in Arabia; see Ibn al-Athîr, ii. p. \(\text{r}r\).v.

\(^3\) The eunuch’s name was Ma‘būr; see Ibn al-Athîr, ii. p. \(\text{r}r\).v.

\(^4\) Ibrāhīm, the son of Mahomet and Mary the Copt, lived to the age of fifteen months, and died in A.H. 10= A.D. 631, so that Fāṭimah was the only child of Mahomet who survived him.

\(^5\) Ḥassān ibn Thābit died at Madīnah A.H. 54= A.D. 674; see An-Nawawī, Tahdīḥ al-ʾAsmā, p. \(\text{r}r\).f.

\(^6\) The three quarters named Ḥamrā, a word which is apparently the feminine of ahmar, ‘red,’ lay between Al-Fustâṭ and Cairo. The quarters or suburbs of Al-ʿAskar and Al-Ḵāṭāʾi’ were subsequently built upon their site. The Ḥamrās were founded at the time of the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs, but fell into decay about the time of the fall of the Omeyyad dynasty. Al-Makrizī (Ḳhitāt, i. p. \(\text{r}r\).) and Ibn Dukmâk (iv. p. \(\text{r}r\). f.) mention the foundation of the three Ḥamrās in terms similar to those employed by our author here and below, fol. 32 a ff.
The ʿHamrā al-Wustā, which is known as Al-ʿKanṭarah\(^1\), is the place where the Red Standard stood at the time of the conquest of Misr by the Arabs; and around it were gathered those who asked protection [of the Muslims], and marched in their rear-guard. On this account the place was called Al-Ḥamrā\(^2\).

\[\text{Monastery and Church of Saint Mennas.}\]

\(\S\) The monastery\(^3\) named after the martyr Mennas\(^4\), the owner of the three crowns\(^5\), which came down to him from heaven, who was a native

\(^{1}\) See above, fol. 23 b.

\(^{2}\) In this passage we have a different account of the origin of the name Al-Ḥamrā, deriving it not from the appellation of a tribe, but from the Red Standard (*Ar-Rāyat al-Ḥamrā*).

\(^{3}\) Between Al-Fustāt and Cairo, in the ʿHamrā, which was afterwards called Kanāṭir as-Sabā'. A church and monastery of Abū Minā are still existing, but better known to-day as Mārī Minā. They are fully described in *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 47; and in ii. p. 362 a brief legend is given, identifying the saint with the church at Maryūt. Under the Sultan An-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn ʿKalāʿūn, the monastery and church of Abū Minā were wrecked; but they have since been restored; see Al-Makrizī, *Khitat*, ii. p. 611. (A. J. B.)

\(^{4}\) The festival of St. Mennas is kept by the Copts on Hatūr \(15=\text{Nov. 11}\), and by the Roman Church on the same day. It is said that his father was a native of Nakyūs, but was appointed governor of the province of Africa. Under Diocletian, Mennas, who was then serving in the army, was beheaded on account of his attachment to the Christian religion, and was buried near Lake Marcotis. See Bib. Nat. MS. *Arabe 256* (*Synaxarium*), ff. 53 b–54 b. Amélineau, *Actes des MM. de l'Église copte*, p. 88 ff.; Eutychius, *Annales*, i. p. 402. St. Mennas is represented in Coptic paintings accompanied by camels, because some beasts from the sea like camels prevented his body from being carried away from the spot where it was destined to be buried, and when the body was laid on the back of three camels in succession, each refused to move in spite of blows; see *Synaxarium*.

\(^{5}\) This is an allusion to the legend that St. Mennas saw heaven open, and the martyrs wearing beautiful crowns, such as were afterwards bestowed upon him.
of Nakýûs\textsuperscript{1}, and whose pure body is buried in the church\textsuperscript{2} at Maryût\textsuperscript{3}, was restored in the caliphate of Hishâm ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, when Al-Walid ibn Rufâ'ah was wâli, at the expense of all the Christians who lived in that quarter, in A.H. 106 (A.D. 725). This was after the conflict with the Arabs, when the Christians complained to the wâli that their women and children were not secure from molestation while going to and returning from the churches in Miṣr, especially on the nights of the Forty Days' Fast. In consequence of these outrages a great number of the Arabs were killed. There were in this quarter many chief men among the Christians; so they were allowed to restore their churches, and they began to rebuild Al-Ḥanmrá, and to renew what had been destroyed there. They renewed the church [of Saint Mennas]\textsuperscript{4}, and made for it beautiful

\textsuperscript{1} The Arabic Nakýûs was called Nukios or Nukov by Greek authors, and Niciu in the Itinerary of Antoninus. It is a town frequently mentioned by Coptic writers. It is also called Ibshâdî (ایبشاڈ) in the Copto-Arabic lists of names, and is the Coptic \textsuperscript{NukîU}s. The modern village of Ibshâdî, which in 1885 had 1,059 inhabitants, is probably on the site of the ancient Nakýûs; it is in the district of Manûf, in the province of Al-Manâfiyâh, and a little to the east of the Rosetta branch of the Nile. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. iv. p. 81.; Quatremère, Mém. i. pp. 420-446; Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 277-283.

\textsuperscript{2} It is said that the grave of St. Mennas at Lake Mareotis remained for some time unknown, until a princess was cured of leprosy by mould from it. The emperor then erected a church over it, which was replaced by a larger church built by Arcadius and Honorius. See Synaxarium, loc. cit., and Amélineau, Actes des MM. p. 90.

\textsuperscript{3} This town, the Coptic \textsuperscript{Mare\textsuperscript{w}Thc}, and the classical Marea (Μαρέα), on the shores of Lake Mareotis, was flourishing after the Arab conquest, but seems to have fallen into decay before A.D. 1376, as its name does not appear in the revenue-lists of that date. Some ruins on the borders of the lake, however, still bear the name. Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 241-3.

\textsuperscript{4} Al-Maḵrīzī mentions as the chief act of Al-Walîd ibn Rufâ'ah, wâli of Egypt, that in A.H. 117 he allowed the Copts to rebuild the church of St. Mennas in the Ḥamrâ. According to Al-Maḵrīzī, Al-Walîd died in A.H. 117=A.D. 735, after governing Egypt for nine years and five months. See Khīṭât, i. p. r.r.
vessels of silver and other things. They also bought much property, besides a garden in which were two wells with waterwheels; and all this property was occupied by houses. In the church was a large tank. Several churches in the upper story [of Saint Mennas] were rebuilt, namely the church of Saint George, which is said to have been originally dedicated to Saint Theodore; and a church named after the martyr Saint John. There was in it, [I mean] in the Great Church of Saint Mennas, the body of the martyr Saint John, on a stand of solid wood. The river was near to this church, but afterwards receded from that place, and changed its bed until it reached the church of Theodore at Damanhūr upon the river, and did damage to that church, and afterwards removed to the church of the Lady at Shubrā. The church of Saint John was restored, after the fire, by the most honourable Shaikh Ibn Abū 'l-Faḍā'îl ibn

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1 For the arrangement of these satellite churches or chapels, see Coptic Churches, i. p. 137. (A. J. B.)

2 Our author does not state whether this is St. Theodore the Greek or Western (Amshir 28 = Feb. 22), St. Theodore the Eastern (Tubah 12 = Jan. 4), or St. Theodore of Shuṭb (Abīb 20 = July 14).

3 There are four martyrs of the name of John in the Coptic calendar, commemorated respectively on Abīb 11 = July 5, and 19 = July 13, Ba'ūnah 14 = June 8, and Tūt 7 = Sept. 4.

4 Similar reliquaries may still be seen in some of the churches: as a rule, however, relics are enclosed in small bolsters of silk and placed in an aumbry. One moveable reliquary such as that of the text, the only one at Cairo, is to be found at the church of Al-Mu'allakah in the Roman fortress. In the Naṭrūn desert, Dair as-Sūriyānī contains another, and a third belongs to the chapel of Al-'Adhrā adjoining the church of Anbā Bishā'ī; while several bodies are preserved at Dair Abū Maḵar. See Coptic Churches, i. pp. 219, 304, 320–1, 338, &c. (A. J. B.)

5 Damanhūr Shubrā, close to Cairo; not to be confounded with Damanhūr in the Delta. These alterations of the course of the river are partly but imperfectly indicated upon the plan in vol. i. of Mémo. de la Mission Archéol. Franç., showing the topography of Cairo. But the plan is incomplete. (A. J. B.)

6 The burning of Al-Fustāṭ by order of Shāwar.
Abû Saʿīd, in the caliphate of Al-ʿAdid, and the vizierate of Shāwar. The church of the Holy Nativity looks upon the courtyard of the Great Church, and so does a very small church which was renewed by Abû Ghālib ibn Abī Ḥamīm al-Bilbaisî, and named after Saint Mercurius.

In the Great Church there is an ambon of coloured marble, the greater part of which is red and transparent; it is supported by marble pillars, of skilful workmanship. There is also an episcopal chair of wood. Near [the ambon], on the north side, there is an altar, dedicated to the martyr Mercurius, and provided by the Shaikh Abû ʿl-Faḍl, son of the bishop, which has a wooden tablet upon it. Above the altar in the sanctuary, there is a wooden cupola, supported by marble pillars; and upon this altar too there is a wooden tablet.

Near this church is the monastery, entered by a separate door; and here there are a number of nuns, in separate habitations. In the monastery there is a well of running water, which was dug and sounded and furnished at the expense of the Shaikh Abû Zakarî Aṣ-Ṣairafi, in the caliphate of Al-Hāfiz.

§ Within the sanctuary was [the entrance to] the bakehouse, in which is an ancient tomb. This bakehouse was selected by the Shaikh Al-Asʿad Shālib ibn Mikhâʾīl, the son of the hegumen, who separated

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1 We are still occupied with the church of St. Mennas.
2 The wooden tablet is a common feature of the Coptic altars to-day; see Coptic Churches, ii. pp. 3–5, and the woodcut there given. (A. J. B.)
3 This is a reference to the baldakyn so often seen in the Coptic churches. (A. J. B.)
4 The Baiʿ al-ʿAjîn or ‘House of Dough’ is the chamber in which the eucharistic breads are prepared. (A. J. B.)
5 The Greek ēγωιμενος, borrowed through the Coptic. A commoner form of the word in Arabic is قمص (kummus). The hegumen is properly, of course, the abbot of a monastery; and the office of ordination of the hegumen refers entirely to the duties of an abbot; see e.g. the office in MS. Bodl. 111. The title of hegumen, however, is often given to priests of a superior rank, as, for instance, to the priest in charge of the patriarchal church of Cairo. Cf. Vansleb, Hist. de l’Église d’Alex. p. 178.
it off, and made it a church, dedicated to Saint George, with a separate door near the Great Church, and also a door from the sanctuary. When he had completed this church, it was consecrated by the bishop Anbâ Mark, bishop of Cairo, in the presence of Anbâ Jonas\(^1\), the patriarch; and the liturgy was celebrated in it.

Much opposition was made by evil-minded Muslims during the furnishing of this church, and so the Christians explained that it rightfully belonged to this [Great] Church, and was not a new building; and God helped the right, and those among the Muslims who knew, testified that it had been a chamber within the church, according to the testimony of those who lived near the church.

This church stands among gardens, and is beautifully situated; and is much frequented by the monks and others.

§ In the month of Jumâdâ the First, in the year 559, when the Kurds and the Ghuzz came with Salâh ad-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyûb, and the king of the Franks\(^2\) was appealed to for help against them, then this monastery and this church were burnt to the ground, except the apse\(^3\), and the northern and southern sides of the sanctuary, which were preserved intact. These were restored, and domes and arches were built, and piers \(\text{were set up}\) instead of the marble columns, in the caliphate of Al-‘Adîd, and in the vizierate of Shâwar. The expenses were paid by the most excellent Shaikh Šalih, already mentioned, and by Karîm ad-Daulah ibn ‘Ubâd ibn Kûrus al-Jûlûl, and by Maṃsûr ibn Salîm al-Jûlûl, of Cairo, and by others; and out of the money brought by Makârim ibn Abû ‘l-Minnâ, the priest of the Church of the Lady, called Al-Mu’allaâkah, at Misr, to Anbâ Jonas, the patriarch, as a consecration fee\(^4\), that he might make him bishop of

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\(^1\) Otherwise called John, the seventy-second patriarch, A.D. 1147-1167; Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 517-530.

\(^2\) See Introduction.

\(^3\) See note on fol. 5a.

\(^4\) *Shartûniyyah* (شَرْطُونِيَّة) is the Greek *xêporovía*, used as an ecclesiastical term for ‘ordination’ or ‘consecration.’ The fact that it had acquired the secondary meaning which it bears in the text points to the existence of simony to a considerable extent among the Copts.
Tunbudhâ, although the acceptance of such fees is forbidden by the canons. So the patriarch accepted the money for this object, and [the priest] was consecrated bishop. [The expenses were also paid] out of the money raised by the sale of the silver vessels belonging to the church. By the restoration, the church was completely furnished, as it had been before; and it was consecrated, and the liturgy was said in it.

§ The church of Saint John, which has already been mentioned, built above the Great Church, was restored by the Shaikh Khâṣṣat ad-Daulah Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il, known by the name of Ibn Dukhân, and was consecrated, and the liturgy was said in it. He also rebuilt, in front of it, a tower, close to it, which was old and had fallen to ruin; he built it in three stories in a place which belonged to the monastery. This and the furnishing were [partly] paid for by the most excellent Shaikh Salib, the above mentioned. The tower was not, however, completed; and the cause of the delay was Abû 'l-Barakât, son of the excellent Shaikh Abû 'l-Fakhir ibn Sibuwaîh.

While the aforesaid church was being restored, the greater part of the monastery was destroyed. [The Shaikh Salib] also dug a great well for a water-wheel. He also built the first story of the tower, and half of the second story; and he was making efforts to finish it, when he was addressed by the aforesaid Abû 'l-Barakât, who said: 'None shall finish this work but I, with my own money.' In the courtyards outside this church there are burying-grounds. The rest of the monastery and the pavilion have not been finished up to this time. Five wells have been dug in this monastery, and in the courtyards which surround it and are its property.

The greater part of the houses and the shops, bought for this monastery when it was restored, were ruined; and those which remained

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1 Or Tunbadhâ (طنبادة), see Yâkût, Geogr. Wort. iii. p. 260, whereas in i. p. 186 he gives طنبد. It was the Coptic ΤΑΝΠΩΤ, and is now in the district of Banû Mazar in the province of Minyah, with a population in 1883 of 1,487. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 479. Tunbudhâ and Ishnim were called the 'Two Brides' (العرسان) on account of their beauty; see Yâkût, op. cit. i. p. 780.

2 Of St. Mennas.
were left deserted, and were surrounded by ruins. Then they were sold by Anbā Mark, bishop of Miṣr, to a certain man, who demolished them, and carried away the bricks and the timber; so that this monastery remained in the midst of ruins, among the mounds of rubbish.

§ Among the dependencies of the church, within the wall which surrounds it, and on the northern side, there is a church, named after Saint Theodore, which is suspended and supported on marble columns. This church was wrecked, and its columns were carried away, and it was turned into a mosque, in the caliphate of Al-Ḥākim; and a minaret was built for it. The architectural features and the wall of this church remain outside the fabric. There is also, in the Ḥamrā al-Wustā, a church named after Saint Coluthus², built in the caliphate of Al-Āmīr, and under the government of Suwār ibn Rufā’ah, on ground bought by the Christians from the tribe of Banū Fahm; it stood near the baths of Ibn Najāh, and the alley named Zuqāk ibn ʿAqīl³.

The Three Ḥamrās.

According to the Book of Al-Khīṭaṭ, by Al-Kindi, the three Ḥamrās¹ were the Ḥamrā al-Ḵuṣwā, the Ḥamrā al-Wustā, and the

¹ Any building resting upon columns is called ‘suspended’ (معلق). (A. J. B.)
² This saint, whose festival is kept by the Copts on Bashans 25 = May 20, was a priest, and his sister was married to Arrianus, governor of the Thebaid under Diocletian. Coluthus suffered martyrdom by decapitation after terrible tortures. See Georgii, De miraculis S. Coluthi, &c., Rome, 1794; Zoega, Catal. Codd. Copt. p. 237, cod. xli; Amélineau, Actes des M.M. p. 21.

The form of the name Ḫūltah (قُلْتْ) is analogous to Ḥirjah (جِرْحَة), Sirjah (سِرْجَة), Tādrah (تَارِث), Ḫurrāh (قُرْرَة), Andūnah (اَنْدُوُنَة), &c., and to Syriac forms such as _installed, derived from the Greek vocative; see Nöldeke, Syr. Gram., p. 79. Cf. Coptic κολθε, &c.

³ Ibn Duqmāk calls it الزَّبَق سِحَل بن عقَلَ بَطَحَر. 'The Alley of Sahl ibn ʿAqīl in the Ḥamrā;’ see Kitāb al-ʿIntisār li-wāṣiṭah ‘iṣl al-amṣār, iv. p. rṣ.

⁴ Here follows an account of the laying out, at the time of the Arab conquest and of the first foundation of Al-Fustāṭ, of the three quarters called respectively the Further, Middle, and Nearer Ḥamrās. A similar account of the first laying out
THE THREE ḤAMRĀS.

Ḥamrā ad-Dunyā, and the first part of them was that which was laid out by the tribe of Bili ibn al-'Umar ibn al-Ḥāf ibn Kuḍā'ah, from the street called Darb Az-Zajjājin, by which the market-place called Sūḳ Wardān is entered, to the alley called Zuḳḳāk Abū Farwah, or its vicinity, and it ends at the passage called Khaukhat al-İstabl in the Ḥamrā. That which was laid out by the tribe of Banū Baḥr ibn Suwādah ibn Afsā extends from the Ḥamrā ad-Dunyā, opposite the mosque of Al-Ḳurūn, to the covered passage called Saḳīfāt as-Sari or its vicinity. That part of the Ḥamrā al-Wustā which was laid out by Hadhil ibn Madrakah extends from the guard-house of Abū 'l-Mahājir or its vicinity to the place called Bain al-Kūmain. ¹ That

¹ Bain al-Kūmain is south of the Roman fortress where Dair Bāblūn and Dair Tādhrūs are situated. Jabal al-Kabsh is a rocky elevation in the quarter of Ibn Tulūn, and upon it stood the well-known Ka'ṭ Šalīl al-Kabsh, of which a good illustration with an interesting note is given in R. Hay's Illustrations of Cairo, London, 1840, fol. The hill on which this castle stood was also called Jabal Yashkur. As far as I am aware there is no moat or canal at the foot of the hill now. But it is evident so far that Abū Šalīl is speaking of a quarter extending from the Bāb Ibn Tulūn across the present rubbish-mounds in a south-westerly direction to Dair Bāblūn. The mention of St. Mennas below gives another fixed point, if it may be identified with the present Dair Mārī Mīnā; and this would show that Al-Ḥamrā extended also west of the line from Bāb Ibn Tulūn to Dair Bāblūn, in the direction of the Khalīj. Finally Dair Abū 's-Saifān, lower in the text, is described as situated in the Ḥamrā ad-Dunyā. Al- описание of these quarters is given by Al-Maḳrizī, Khitāt, i. p. 138, and by Ibn Duḳmāḳ, iv. p. 6 f. It is difficult at the present day to identify many of the points described.

In the Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire, 1881-1884, there is an essay on the early topography of Cairo, illustrated with four plates, which are exceedingly interesting and, as far as they go, most valuable. But the author has strangely neglected this region of Old Cairo and Al-Ḥamrā, devoting all his learning and talent to the Fatimide city. On p. 417 (tom. i) there is a brief note upon Al-Ḥamrā, which certainly makes the boundaries
part which was laid out by the tribe of Banû 'l-Azraq extended from the Ḥamrâ al-Ḳuşwâ to the street of Yashkur ibn Jazilah ibn Lakhm, and to Al-Ḳanṭarah and its road, down to the moat or canal, at the foot of the Jabal al-Kabsh, and to Al-Majâ'iz and the monastery of Mary or its vicinity; and the flat below the hill is all named after Yashkur, from the cemetery and the mosque of Al-Khalûk and the pool of Ḳârûn and the hill of Yashkur ibn 'Udwân ibn Lakhm.

The Book of Al-Khīṭṭat also relates that the tribe of Banû Kinânah ibn 'Amr ibn al-Ḳibr ibn Fahm laid out that part of the Ḥamrâ al-Wuṣṭâ which extends from the alley of Sahl ibn 'Ākīl to the conduit where the wheat-sellers are, and the alley called Zuḳâḳ at-Turmus, opposite the church of Saint Mennas; and that the tribe of Banû Rûbîl, whose ancestor Rûbîl was a Jew, laid out part of Al-Ḥamrâ, as far as the monastery of Mary, north of the gardens of Hawî and the mosque of Al-Khalûk on the flat. The sons of Yashkur ibn Jazilah ibn Lakhm laid out part of the Ḥamrâ al-Ḳuşwâ, namely the open place of Ad-Dunya and that of Ar-Râyah, and the road of Khûlân from the Darb al-Ḳanṭarah to the market-place of Wardân, and from the road of Al-Ḥamrâ and the part beyond it on the Nile, which is called the place of Al-Ḳabâ'il, to the stable and to the baths of 'As-Ṣalîb' or 'the Church'.

\[\text{of the district too narrow: and it is not even marked on the plan which professes to show Fustâṭ Miṣr in the year 969 A.D. The old bed of the river is well shown in contrast with the present line: but there again the plan seems to me erroneous, inasmuch as for the whole river frontage of Old Cairo the present line of the bank is given, and the divergence of the old channel from the present channel is made to begin at a point by the Fum al-Khalij and to extend only northward of that point, whereas there can be little doubt that even in the tenth century the bed of the river southward from Fum al-Khalij to Ḳâṣr ash-Shama' was still eastward of the present line. (A. J. B.)}\]

1 The baths of Al-Fustâṭ and Cairo often changed their names. The bath of 'the Church' (الكنيسة) was named after the church of St. Sinuthius, which stood near it. This bath was also called the 'Bath of the Vault' (حمام الفضور). See Ibn Duḵmâḵ, iv. p. 114.
Church of Saint Onuphrius.

In the Ḥamrā also is the church¹ of Saint Onuphrius², the holy man, the pilgrim, the contemplative, which was restored by a woman named Turfah, according to the testimony of an [inscribed] board which was put up at the door of it, near the well which is now filled up; and through this door the women entered. Near this church were the houses where lived Amin al-Umanâ Abû 'l-Yaman Sûrus ibn Makrawah, son of Zanbûr, who was nâzîr of the Delta, and his son the incomparable vizier, the lord of those that wield the sword and the pen, Abû Sa'd Mansûr³. The latter was sent out to meet Nâsîr ad-Daulah ibn Ḥamdân and the tribes of Kâis⁴ and Lawâtah⁵, the traitors, and a body of the chief officers of the army were with him; this was in the caliphate of Al-Mustansîr. Abû Sa'd remained vizier for a short time only, for the soldiers demanded their pay of him, and he promised it and then fled, and his career came to an end.

At the entrance of the sanctuary in this church [of Saint Onuphrius], there was a threshold of black granite, upon which were figures carved

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¹ Ibn Dûmâk (i. p. 108) mentions this church as

' The church called after Abû Nafar: this church is in the Middle Ḥamrâ in the street of Kibārah, near the mosque which is there.'

² This saint, called in Arabic Abû Nafar, whose festival is kept on Ba'ûnâh 16 = June 10, and by the Roman church on June 12, was a hermit in Upper Egypt. His life was written by St. Paphnutius (see below, fol. 65 b), of whom Onuphrius was an elder contemporary. See Synaxarium, Paris MS. Arabe 256, fol. 228; Acta SS. at June 12, where versions of the life by Paphnutius are given. Onuphrius would seem to have died about A.D. 400.

³ Vizier for a few days only to Al-Mustansîr. See As-Suyūṭī, Ḥusn al-Muḥâdarah, ii. p. 19; Quatremère, Mém. ii. p. 353.

⁴ The Kâis were an Arab tribe who settled in Egypt soon after the Mahometan conquest. See Al-Maḳrīzî, translated by Quatremère, Mém. ii. p. 207 ff.

⁵ The Lawâtah were a tribe of North Africa, of Berber origin, who settled in Egypt. According to Al-Maḳrīzî they pretended to be of Arab descent and connected with the great tribe of Kâis. See Yâḳût, ii. p. 214; Al-Maḳrīzî, translated by Quatremère, Mém. ii. p. 207.
and painted in the style of those in the ancient temples, and it was placed there to prevent the little birds from going into the sanctuary, or into the tank; and it is said that a man from Upper Egypt, who visited this church, passed the night here, and imagined that he could decipher certain letters upon the stone. In this way the tank was freed from the little birds which went into it.

The church was burnt during the fire of Miṣr, in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 564 (A.D. 1169), in the caliphate of Al-ʿĀḍid, and the vizierate of Shāwar. It was afterwards restored, with its domes and arches, by the Shaikh Abū ʿl-Makârim ibn Ḥannâ the scribe, and by other Christians. Among the churches attached to this church of Saint Onuphrius, there is, on the ground floor, a church dedicated to Saint Coluthus, restored by Abū ʿl-Fakhr ibn Furaij ibn Khuwair, [who was priest] in the church of the Island of Miṣr; and, in the upper story, is the church of Saint Mennas, built by the Shaikh Saʿīd ad-Daulah ibn Munjā ibn Abū Zakari ibn as-Sarīd. There is also a church of the Pure Fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, restored by the Shaikh Abū Saʿīd Gabriel ibn Buḳṭur, known as Ibn al-Aʿraj, and afterwards by Abū ʿl-Fakhr, the scribe of salaries, known as Saʿīdān. There is also the church of Saint Or, restored by the Shaikh Abū ʿl-Fakhr, the scribe of salaries of

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1 This may, of course, have been a mere exercise of fancy, or it may point to a traditional knowledge of the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics as well as of the hieratic and demotic scripts, long preserved in Upper Egypt. The bishop Pisentius, in the seventh century, learnt in a monastery to decipher demotic papyri containing the names of mummies; see Amélineau, Contes et romans de l'Égypte chrét. i. p. xxxix.

2 The Island of Miṣr is north of Raudhah or Roda, the large island in the Nile nearly opposite to Old Cairo. There was a Coptic monastery upon this island called Dair ash-Shama, doubtless from its proximity to the ʿAṣr ash-Shama. (A. J. B.)

3 i.e. one of the secretaries who superintended the payment of the officials of the government.

4 Hûr, whose festival is kept on Kihak 2 = Nov. 28, is a saint famous in the annals of Egyptian monasticism. His name appears as Οφ in Greek, and as ʿawp in Coptic, and Or in Latin. He was an abbot in Upper Egypt. Sayings
The Great Church [of Saint Onuphrius] was restored by Abū 'l-Faraj ibn Zanbūr, in Barmahāt of the year 899 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1183); and it became a patriarchal church in Tūbah of the year 900 (A.D. 1183–4), through the agency of the aforesaid.

It is stated, in the Guide to the Festivals, that, on the 7th of Kihak, Ibn Kāṭib al-Farghānī was beheaded. It was he who superintended of his are among the Apophthegmata Patrum. See his life in Rosweyde, Vitae Patrum, p. 714 f.; cf. Zoega, Cat. Codd. Copt. p. 299; Synaxarium (Paris MS. Arabe 256), ad diem; Acta SS. at Aug. 7. The prefix Abā (ḇ) is the Coptic ṃAbā, and appears in Greek as ἀβα (Greek inscriptions at Philae), or ἀβα (Callimachus, Hymn. in Dianam 6, and Greek papyrus quoted by Karabacek). Whether it is a form of Abbā, the Syriac ܗܕ, generally written in Coptic as ḫAbā, is disputed. It was sometimes applied to secular officers.

1 The preposition has been omitted by the scribe before ديوان. The Diwān al-Majlis was the chief of the Divans or government boards in Egypt, and was subdivided into several smaller boards, employing many scribes or secretaries; see Al-Makrizi, Khīṭat, i. pp. 397 ff.

2 The Great Church means, of course, the principal church, to which these smaller churches or chapels were added, whether above it, or contiguous to it on the same level.

3 It appears that there were several ‘Guides to the Festivals’ among the Copts. The Synaxarium says at Hatūr 17:

‘The 17th day of Hatūr, on which, as it is agreed by the Guides of Alexandria, and the Guide written by Anbā Jonas, bishop of Kīft, and the Guide of the Melkites, the death of Saint John Chrysostom is commemorated,’ &c. (Paris MS. Arabe 256.)

The ordinary Synaxaria, however, do not mention the death of this Coptic martyr Ibn Kāṭib.
the construction of the Nilometer\(^1\), in A.H. 247\(^2\) (A.D. 864), and his body is in the church of Saint Coluthus, which was a separate church in the caliphate of Al-Âmir, and has already been mentioned, in connection with the church of Saint Mennas in the Middle Ḥamrâ.

At the time of the fire already mentioned, the threshold of black granite, which has been described, was removed and placed at the outer entrance, near a well of running water, where there is a burying-ground.

The garden which lies opposite to this church was its property, until it was sequestrated by the Diwân of the government, in the caliphate of Al-Âmir. The material of all the houses in the neighbourhood, the property of Ibn Zanbûr, was sold, and the ground was turned into a single courtyard, in which was a well with a water-wheel, skilfully constructed. All this property was bought, and devoted to the use of the church, by the Shaikh Ṣanî‘at al-Mulk Abû ’l-Faraj,

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\(^1\) This was in the caliphate of Al-Mutawakkil, the Abbaside, and under Yazîd ibn ‘Abd Allâh the Turk, governor of Egypt.

\(^2\) The date here given corresponds with that generally recorded by Arab historians for the completion of the Nilometer. Some repairs were carried out by Ahmad ibn Tûlûn twelve years later, but Al-Maḳrizi, As-Suyûṭî, and Al-Iṣhâḳî agree that the Nilometer had been very little altered up to their own time, and there is no doubt that it remains substantially the same now. The pointed arches used in the construction of this Nilometer are about sixteen years older than those in the mosque of Ibn Tûlûn, and they are of course much older than any example of the pointed arch in Gothic architecture. Lane thinks it probable that both the mosque and the Nilometer were built by the same architect. It was known that the mosque of Ibn Tûlûn was built by a Copt, and if Lane’s theory is correct, we have his name in Ibn Kâtib al-Farghâni, the Coptic architect of the Nilometer. See Lane’s Modern Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 341 (App. F); S. Lane Poole’s Art of the Saracens in Egypt, pp. 54-55; Murray’s Egypt, vol. ii. pp. 174, 232 (6th ed.). Pococke (vol. i. p. 29) gives a cut showing a plan and section of the Nilometer, and claims special credit for its accuracy; but he exhibits circular, not pointed arches. Norden’s section is better; see his Voyage d’Égypte et de Nubie, Copenhagen, 1755, fol., plate xxvi. (A. J. B.)
son of the Shaikh 'Ilm as-Su'adâ Abû 'l-Yaman, son of the Shaikh Ṣan'i'at al-Mulk Abû 'l-Faraj ibn al-Wazîr, who handed over the management to the Shaikh Abû 'l-Makârim ibn Ḥannâ, and to those whom he should choose after him. This church was included within the fortress built by Shâwar the vizier, who constructed a passage leading to the church, at which you arrive from the entrance of the mosque of Al-Ḳurûn, in the nearer Ḥamrâ. This mosque was built by As-Sahri ibn Al-Ḥakam. To this church belonged the hegumen Bashir ibn an-Nasîr, a native of Munyat al-Umarâ, who was wise and learned, a good priest, sweet-voiced, beautiful in countenance, perfect in stature, respected by men. The Shaikh Abû 'l-Fâḍl ibn al-Uṣkuf, scribe of Al-Aṣfâl Shâhanshâh, was assiduous in his prayers in this church, and communicated in it; and when he had received the eucharist, each day that he came, he threw into the plate a dinar for this priest, on account of the pleasure which he took in his ministration and the sweetness of his voice. This priest was drowned in the Bahr al-Jizah; may God give rest to his soul!

1 According to Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, whom our author is probably following, this mosque was rebuilt by As-Sahri (or As-Sirrî) ibn al-Ḥakam, after it had been burnt down, and was called Mosque of the Horns (رغب)، because its pillars resembled horns! See Ibn Dukmâk, iv. p. 87.

2 A small town in the neighbourhood of Cairo, on the road to Alexandria. Yâkût places it one parasang from the capital. It was famous for its Sunday cattle-market, and for the wine which was made there in large quantities. Of the latter commodity no less than 80,000 jars are said to have been destroyed in the inundation of A. H. 718 = A. D. 1318. As it may be inferred from this statement, most of the inhabitants were Christians. The place was also called Munyat al-Amîr and Munyat al-Shiraj. There seem to have been two other places called Munyat al-Amîr. Minâ 'l-Amîr is now included within the district of Badrashain in the province of Al-Jiziyâh, and had in 1885 a population of 2,935. See Yâkût, Muxtarîk, p. 94; Revenue-list of A. D. 1375 in De Sacy's Abd-Allatif, pp. 599 and 676; Al-Makrizî, Khîlat, ii. p. 173; Ibn Dukmâk, v. p. 19v; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 218. Cf. below, fol. 61 a.

3 For the tabâk or 'plate' see Coptic Churches, ii. p. 33. (A. J. B.)
Church of Saint Mercurius or Abū 's-Saifain.

The Hamrā ad-Dunyā was formerly called Al-Bawāshir, and the river ran by it, and it was also called the Bank of As-Sa'īr. The book of Al-Khitat bi-Misr testifies [that near] the Kāisāriyat al-Jamāl1 stands the important church dedicated to the martyr Mercurius2; and this church was upon the bank of the river, which has now receded from it. The church was restored by the father Anbā Ephraim, the Syrian, the [sixty-second] in the order of succession3; in the caliphate of Al-Imām Al-'Aziz bi-Illáh, son of Al-Imām Al-Mu'izz li-dīn īllāh. In ancient times there had been a church dedicated to Saint Mercurius, on the bank of the river, but it was ruined and turned into a storehouse for sugar-canes. Then, in the time of this patriarch, enquiries were made about the creed of the Christians, whether they believed in the truth

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1 The passage is slightly corrupt. The reference is, of course, to the Khītāt Misr of Al-Kindī, from which our author so frequently borrows. There were many Kāisāriyāts in Cairo and Fustāṭ Misr; and accounts of them are given by Al-Makrīzī, Khītāt, ii. pp. 87-91; and Ibn Dūkmāk, iv. pp. 77-81. They were quadrangles, enclosed by a colonnade, and used as market-places or bazaars. The name was borrowed by the Arabs from the famous Caesarium (κασαρίων) of Alexandria, mentioned by Strabo, xvi. c. i. and by Pliny, H. N. xxxvi. 14, 4.

2 We are now coming to the history of the present church of Abū 's-Saifain. The tradition that the Nile came near it consists with the similar tradition concerning Kašr ashl-Shama’ (see R. Hay’s Illustrations of Cairo, where is an excellent sketch of the great Roman gateway and the two bastions adjoining; see also note upon the plate). The main, and I think decisive, reason for this identification lies in the absolute certainty of the association of the existing church of St. Mercurius or Abū 's-Saifain with the legend attached to the church of St. Mercurius of the text. The story as related to me by the priest of the church, and the legend recorded by Al-Maḳīn in the fourteenth century, are both given in Coptic Churches, i. pp. 124-127; and the one-eyed water-carrier of the legend corresponds with the one-eyed tanner of Abū Shālih’s earlier version. (A. J. B.)

3 Occupied the see from A.D. 977 (?) to 981 (?) ; see Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 366-373.
or in a lie. So the Christians assembled and went out to the mountain, and the Muslims and Jews went out at the same time, on account of a certain event which is related in the history of the church. Many of the Muslim sayyids¹ came forward, and prayed, and cried Allâhu akbar, and implored the assistance of God, but no sign appeared to them. Then the Jews followed them, and still no result followed. Then the patriarch came forward, and the tanner, for whom God had performed a miracle, followed him; and all the orthodox people followed them. They prayed to the most high God, and burnt incense, and cried Kyrie eleison² three times; and God showed his wonders, and the mountain moved: namely, that part of the Muḳaṭṭam hills which is near the hill of Al-Kabsh, between Cairo and Misr. This miracle took place through the faith of the tanner, who had plucked out his own eye by the root, and in the presence of Al-ʿ Aziz³ and the chief men of his government, and the cadis of the Muslims. When Al-ʿ Aziz had witnessed this great miracle, he said: 'It is enough, O patriarch; we recognize what God has done for you;' and then he added: 'Desire of me what thou choosest, and I will do it for thee.' The patriarch, however, refused with thanks; but Al-ʿAziz begged him to ask for something, and did not cease until the patriarch had asked for a certain church, which had fallen into ruin. So Al-ʿ Aziz commanded that this church should be restored for the patriarch, and it is said to have been the church of Saint Mercurius.

When the patriarch was about to begin to work upon this church, the common people of the Muslims attacked him. For the church had fallen into ruin, and nothing was left to mark it except the walls, which were also in a state of decay; and it had been turned into a storehouse for sugar-canes. So the command was issued that it should be restored by the patriarch, and that money should be allowed him from the

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¹ Or members of the family of the prophet Mahomet.

² It is well known that this liturgical formula of the first Christians has been preserved in the original Greek in the Coptic ritual, as it has been in the Latin mass.

³ The caliph Al-ʿ Aziz bi-ʿ llâh Abû Mansûr Nazâr, fifth of the Fatimides, reigned from A. H. 365 to 386 = A.D. 975 to 996.
treasury, as much as he should ask for. The patriarch, however, took
the decree, but returned the money, with apologies, saying: 'God, to
whom be praise, who has shown his great power, is able to assist in
the erection of houses for his worship, and has no need of this world's
money.' And he begged Al-'Aziz to restore the money to its place,
and not to force him to accept it; so the caliph consented to his request.
And when the patriarch was hindered, by those who attacked him,
from restoring the church to its original state, and when they raised
disturbances and showed their indignation at the matter, news was
brought to the prince of the faithful, Al-'Aziz bi-llâh, that the common
people would not allow the patriarch to carry out the decree for the
restoration of the church. Then Al-'Aziz commanded that a body of
his troops and his mamelukes should go and stand by during the
rebuilding of the fabric, and should repulse any who tried to hinder it,
and punish them as they deserved for opposing 'that which we have
decreed to them.' When the people saw this, they refrained from
their attacks. Thus the work was begun.

Now it happened at that time that the Shaikh Abû '1-Yaman
Kuzmân ibn Minâ, the scribe, travelled to Palestine and the surrounding
districts, and remained there a considerable time, employing himself in
the work to which he had been called; and in this way he gained much
money. He lived a solitary life, for he was not married; and none
lived with him except his servants; and he was abstemious and con-
tented with little, and economical in his way of life. So he brought
the money which he had laid by to the aforesaid patriarch, when he
was about to return to Syria, to continue the work to which he had
been called by the government of the caliph; and he said to the
patriarch: 'Spend all this money in the path of God; in building
churches, and in other pious works for the sick and orphans and the
poor, according to the will of the most high God; and may he impute
it to me as a good deed!' So he departed to go to Syria; but before
he left he gave two thousand dinars to the monasteries in the desert

1 The first person is used in this last clause only, apparently a quotation from
the decree.
of Saint Macarius\(^1\), and he begged the monks to remember him in their prayers, and to pray for the continuance of peace and a good end.

So the patriarch began the restoration\(^2\), and a body of the chief men and the orthodox laity helped him in this work, and brought him that which he needed of various kinds for the restoration; and the pages and soldiers and mamelukes of the prince of the faithful stood by with him, to prevent attacks that might be made upon him, until the work was finished with the help of God. Then the church was consecrated, and the first liturgy was celebrated in it, on the middle altar; and that was a day of great joy and exultation over that which God had done from the beginning to the end.

After this the patriarch began to restore dilapidated churches, and to renew those parts of them that were falling into decay. All this is related in the Lives of the Patriarchs\(^3\); but I abridge the account of it here, that it may not be tedious. Thus the churches were put into good order.

**Burning and Restoration of the Church of Saint Mercurius.**

§ After the fire of Miṣr, caused by the mob of Mahometans of that city and of Alexandria, in the caliphate of Al-ʿAḍid, and in the vizirate of Shāwar, in the month of Ṣafar, in the year 564 (A.D. 1168), [the church of Saint Mercurius also was burnt]. Now the patriarch Anbā Jonas\(^4\), the seventy-second in the order of succession, had foretold that the last-named church should be burnt, and that this should take place in the time of another patriarch; and so it came to pass. The cause of the burning of this church was that the Christians had brought many gifts to it, and had made for it many splendid vessels; so the mob of Muslims desired to pillage it thoroughly, but were unable to do this.

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\(^1\) That is the Nitrian desert, or Wāḍi Naṭrūn, where the principal monastery is dedicated to St. Macarius. (A. J. B.)

\(^2\) Of St. Mercurius or Abū ʿs-Saīfain.


\(^4\) Or John; he occupied the see from A.D. 1147 to 1167.
Then a large multitude of them assembled and gave way to their fury, and set fire to the church, so that nothing remained except the walls, and a small chapel within it, which was not burnt. This chapel was dedicated to John the Baptist, and here the liturgy continued to be said, until the Christians decided to restore the Great Church aforesaid. So they restored it, and completed the sanctuary, and substituted for the roof of timber cupolas and arches of baked brick. The wooden baldakyn over the middle altar was renewed, and a wooden tablet was placed upon the latter. The wooden baldakyn over the middle altar was exceedingly handsome, of skilful workmanship, and supported on four pillars of hard marble. All this was provided by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Barakât ibn Abû Sa'id Hablân, the scribe, in the year 892 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1175-6), at his own expense; except the pillars, which were paid for out of the funds of the church, consisting of that which the chief men subscribed towards it, and that which was brought by the bishops, who were appointed to vacant sees, as a present from them. For this was in the patriarchate of Anbâ Mark, who was known, before his promotion, as Abû 'l-Faraj ibn Zar'ah, the scribe; and this patriarch forbade the acceptance of bribes for consecration, in obedience to the command of the law, 'Cursed is he who receives, and cursed is he

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1 There is now no chapel of St. John the Baptist attached to the Great Church of Abû 's-Saifain, though there is a chapel dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. See the plan of Abû 's-Saifain in Coptic Churches, i. p. 78. It is possible that the chapel named in the text occupied the east end of the south aisle; and this conjecture is borne out by the subsequent statement of Abû Šâlih that the chapel of St. George also escaped the fire: for the chapel of Mârî Jirjis is in the triforium, i.e. on the first floor directly over the south aisle; see plan, ibid. p. 119. (A. J. B.)

2 This description of the altar-canopy resting on marble columns corresponds with that now existing. The wooden tablet or altar-board has already been explained. (A. J. B.)

3 This date, with that given below, roughly fixes A.D. 1170-90 as the date of the present building, although parts are earlier. (A. J. B.)

4 The seventy-third patriarch; he occupied the see from A.D. 1174 to 1189.
who gives;' and this was one of the good deeds of this patriarch. This was in the caliphate of Al-‘Aḍīd, and the vizirate of the most glorious Yūsuf an-Nāṣir ibn Ayyūb, brother of Asad ad-Din Shirkūh\(^1\), the Kurd, under the dynasty of the Ghuzz. This restoration was superintended by three architects, among the principal architects of Cairo. This church had been the episcopal church, until the death of Anbā Philotheus, bishop of Cairo; but Christodulus\(^2\) transformed it into a patriarchal church\(^3\), and appointed an income for Anbā Gabriel, the successor of Philotheus, which he continued to receive from it; and arranged that he should say liturgies here at fixed times continually, as the *maṣzarah*\(^4\) bears witness. In the upper story of this church was the chapel\(^5\) of

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\(^1\) Šalāḥ ad-Din (Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb) was, of course, nephew, not brother, of Asad ad-Din Shirkūh.

\(^2\) The sixty-sixth patriarch; he occupied the see from A.D. 1047 to 1100.

\(^3\) This would be quite a century before the restoration of the church. The existing tribune and patriarchal throne show how the restorers marked the character conferred on the church by Christodulus. See *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 113, and plan on p. 78. (A. J. B.)

\(^4\) This passage refers to some inscription in the *maṣzarah* of the church. The *maṣzarah* was a gallery in the upper story of a house, church, or mosque, open at the side like an Italian loggia. There is a well-known example of such a *maṣzarah* in the still existing mosque of Kā‘it Bey. The word also denotes, as here, a reception-room on the ground floor: and even a separate pavilion. (A. J. B.)

\(^5\) The chapel of St. George (Abū Jirj or Māri Jirjis) is in the south triforium of the church of Abū 's-Saifain, and the cupola referred to is part of the external fabric, although it rises over the sanctuary. It is curious that Abū Šāliḥ here specifies this chapel as escaping the fire which destroyed the main fabric, when he had a little earlier singled out the chapel of St. John as remaining uninjured, and so seemed to imply that no other part of the church survived. The expression ‘whole and untouched’ is remarkable, and would seem to show, what is otherwise probable, that the fire was of a very partial character: unless the conjecture of a previous note holds good, that the chapel of St. John was actually under that of St. George. It must, however, be noticed that Abū Šāliḥ’s expression only applies to the *haikal* and dome, and seems to imply that the rest of the chapel

\(^{[II. 7.]}\)
Saint George, with the lofty cupola, erected by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Faḍl Yuhannâ, son of Kiil, the bishop; whose father received the name of John at the time of his promotion as bishop to the see of Atrib. The cupola and the sanctuary, that is to say the altar, and the walls of this chapel remained whole and untouched at the time of the fire. Ibn Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il ibn Fârrûj built an enclosure around this church, which he also whitewashed and paved; and it was solemnly opened in the year 570 (A.D. 1175).

Church of the Archangel Michael.

The church of the angel Michael was the patriarchal Cell from

westward was burnt. I may be pardoned for quoting a description of the existing chapel written twelve years before I had seen Abû Şâlıh. 'The choir of this chapel retains part of the ancient panelled roof which probably once covered the whole triforium. The beams and coffers are sumptuously gilt, and coloured in the style of the thirteenth century: but only faint relics of its former beauty remain.' By putting the date somewhat earlier—and merely architectural dates in these churches are not very certain—one may possibly identify this ceiling as previous to the general restoration. If not, it certainly dates from that epoch.

(A. J. B.)

1 The Arabic forms of the name George are various, but correspond to different Coptic forms of the same word. We have in Arabic Jirjîjûs (جرجس), Jirjis (جنس), Jirj (جرج), Jirjah (جرجه), and the diminutive form Jurajî (جريجي); and in Coptic we find υεωπριος, υεωπρι, υεωπρε, υεωπρε, υεωπρ, υεωπφ, and υεοπ. See Mr. W. E. Crum's Coptic MSS. from the Fâyyûm, Index 1. (A. J. B.)

2 The classical Athribis and the Coptic Αθριβη, the site of which lies a little to the north-east of the modern Bânhâ al-'Asal on the eastern bank of the Damietta branch. Atrib was still a town or village in the fourteenth century and later. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. i. p. iii; Al-Maḳrīzî, Khīṭat, i. p. 150 f.; Quatremère, Mém. i. pp. 1-25; Amâlineau, Géogr. p. 69 f.

3 Abû Şâlıh now mentions three churches, the church of St. Michael, the neighbouring church of Abû Nûb which was destroyed by the fire, and the
the time of the promotion of Anbā Gabriel1 Abū 'l-Ulā, son of Tarik the scribe, the seventieth in the order of succession, and after him under Anbā Jonas2, the seventy-second. This Tarik was a priest, who lost his wife, and then solicited the rank of bishop; but when the patriarch demanded money of him, he refused to gain promotion to a rank in the hierarchy by bribery. Then, since he had much wealth, he built this church, and ceased to solicit the dignity of bishop. This was in the patriarchate of Anbā Michael3 the Sinjarite4. The church was restored by the Shaikh As-Sadid Abū 'l-Faḍā'il, known as Ibn Sittumi'ah(?), the scribe of the Emir 'Ali ibn Ahmad, the Kurd, in the caliphate of Al-Mustaḍi, the Abbaside, and in the vizierate of An-Nāṣir Yūṣuf ibn Ayyūb, in the year 568 (A. D. 1172); and it was solemnly opened on the feast of the angel Michael, the 7th of Hatūr, in the year 8095 of the Blameless Martyrs, when the liturgy was said in it.

Church of Saint Anūb.

Adjacent to the last-named church, there is a church dedicated to

church of St. Anthony, built on the same site as Abā Nūb. These, I think, were separate buildings, i.e. not part of Abū 's-Saifain; indeed this is proved by the fact of St. Michael being the patriarchal Cell, and having its own courtyard, and by the fact of Abā Nūb being turned into a summer residence. But it is remarkable that these three names are found attached to three chapels side by side in the upper story of Abū 's-Saifain: see Coptic Churches, i. p. 119, plan. There can be little question that these three chapels are meant to preserve the names of the three churches which have perished. (A. J. B.)

1 Occupied the see from A.D. 1131 to 1146. See Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 500-513.
2 Or John.
3 The sixty-eighth patriarch; he occupied the see from A.D. 1093 to 1102. See Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 471-483.
4 I.e. of Sinjār, the Coptic Ṣinjār, the Coptic Ṣinjār, in the northern Delta, between Burlus and the marshes. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 375.
5 It would seem that this date should be 889=A. D. 1172.

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the glorious martyr Saint Anúb, to the expenses of which the patriarch Anbâ Gabriel contributed. It is said that it was founded by Abû Naṣr, brother of Abû 'l-'Ulâ ibn Tarîk, but was not finished; and then was newly built by the Shaikh As-Ṣâfi Buṭrus ibn Muḥnâ, the scribe. Afterwards the priest Abû 'l-Khair, known as Ibn al-Amâdi, chose to pass the summer at the church of Saint Anúb, and in part of the courtyard in front of [the adjacent church of] Michael; and here the patriarchs generally sat on a wooden dais, to enjoy the coolness during the days of summer. [Saint Anúb] was restored as a church after the fire, under the name of Saint Anthony, and was solemnly opened by Anbâ John, the seventy-ninth patriarch, at the beginning of his patriarchate, in the year 903 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1187). All those named contributed to the expenses of the annual [dedication] festival. The [last-named] patriarch died in the year 923 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1207), on Thursday, the 1st of Bashans; and in this very year his elder brother the priest died.

**Church of Saint Sophia.**

There is also an ancient church, broad and spacious, the walls of which became weak, and some of the paintings fell to pieces. It was

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1 The Arabic Abâ Nûb represents the Coptic אַנָּב אָנוּב. The saint, whose festival is kept on Abîb 24=July 18, was beheaded in his youth, under Diocletian, after enduring horrible tortures. See Synaxarium (MS. Arabe 256), at Abîb 24; Zoega, Cat. Codd. Copt. Cod. xxiv; Amélineau, Actes des M.M. p. 145 ff.

2 This should be 'seventy-fourth.'

3 There is some difficulty about this date, as the Patriarchal History and Abû 'l-Barakât assign the election of John, the seventy-fourth patriarch, to a.m. 905= A.D. 1189, and Al-Maḳrizâ makes it only one year earlier; see Renaudot, Hist. Pair. pp. 554-5. Our author, however, is a contemporary witness.

4 The other writers give a.m. 932=A.D. 1216 as the date of John's death, which was followed by a vacancy of the see lasting for many years. Oriental chronology is full of discrepancies!

5 The Coptic נֶנְבָנ= April 26-May 25.
CHURCH OF SAINT MACARUS.

formerly named Agia Sophia\(^1\); and the building was wonderful for its plan and its construction and its symmetry. It was restored at the expense of the Shaikh Ṣafi ad-Daulah ibn Abū Yāsir ibn 'Alwan, the scribe.

Church of Saint Macarius.

There is a church named after Saint Macarius\(^2\), attached to the last-named church. Those parts of it which had fallen to decay were renewed by the deacon Abū Ishāk ibn 'Abd al-Masih.

Church of the Four Living Creatures.

There is the church of the Four Angels, who are the Living Creatures which support the most high throne\(^3\). It was restored by the Shaikh Ibn Amin al-Mulk ibn al-Muhaddith Abū Sa‘īd ibn Yūhannā, the Alexandrian, the scribe, who constructed for it a wooden roof of skilful workmanship, in the year 893 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1176); [and it was opened] on Wednesday, the 8th of Ḥattūr, which is the festival of the Four Creatures. The church contains their special altar; and the altar named after the Presentation of the Lord in the Temple; and an altar dedicated to the martyr, the valiant

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\(^1\) There is no remaining church of this name near Cairo. It would seem to have been named after Justinian’s famous church at Constantinople. The rough breathing is, of course, not pronounced in modern Greek.

\(^2\) There are three Saints Macarius especially celebrated in Egyptian hagiology: St. Macarius the Great, monk of the Nitrian Desert; St. Macarius the abbot, of Alexandria; and St. Macarius the bishop of Jerusalem.

\(^3\) The festival of the Four Incorporeal Living Creatures (Apocalypse iv. 7-9; Ezekiel i. 5 and x) is kept on Ḥattūr 8=Nov. 4. See Synaxarium (MS. Arabe 256) ad diem.
Theodore Basradiladus\(^1\). The church was restored by Al-Mu’allim Zawin, who was dámin\(^2\) of Cairo in the caliphate of Al-Ḫâfiz. Afterwards it fell into decay and ruin, and was restored by the Shaikh Al-Makin Abû 'l-Barakât, known as Ibn Kitâmah; and when it again fell into decay, it was restored by Amin ad-Daulah ibn al-Muṣawwif, who added on the south side of it a sanctuary named after the glorious angel Michael. The church was consecrated by Anbâ Gabriel, bishop of Miṣr, under the government of Ṣalâḥ ad-Din Yûsuf\(^3\), the Kurd.

Other Churches in the Ḥamrâs.

§ There is the church of Poemen\(^4\) the Confessor, adjacent to which is a sanctuary named after the Lady, between it and the church of Saint Coluthus\(^5\), which has already been described.

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\(^1\) Basradiladus is a transcription of the Coptic ΠECTΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗϹ, which is the Greek στρατηλάτης with the Coptic article prefixed. This word translated the Latin Magister militum or general of troops (in Arabic ܐܣܛܝܡܐ), a post held by Theodore under Licinius. The saint is also called St. Theodore of Shuṭb, after the native town of his parents; and his festival is kept on Abīb 20=July 14. See Synaxarium (MS. Arabe 256) at that day; Amélineau, Actes des MM. p. 182 ff. St. Theodorus Dux (στρατηλάτης) is commemorated by the Roman church on Feb. 7 (see Acta SS.); but, although he suffered under Licinius, his history is different from that of the Coptic martyr. The Greek church also commemorates him.

\(^2\) See note on fol. 12 b.

\(^3\) I. e. Saladin.

\(^4\) The Arabic Bamin is intended as a transcription of the Graeco-Coptic ΠΟΕΜΕΝ. This saint, whose festival is kept by the Copts on Kihak 9=Dec. 5, was one of the famous hermits of Egypt in the fourth and fifth centuries. Some of the acts and sayings of Poemen or Pastor are to be found recorded in Rosweyde; Synaxarium (MS. Arabe 256) ad diem; Zoega, Cat. pp. 290, 299, 319, and 340. The Roman church commemorates Poemen on Aug. 24. He is said to have died in A.D. 451, at a very great age. See Acta SS. at Aug. 24.

\(^5\) See fol. 32 a ff.
There is the church of the glorious angel Gabriel. There is also, over the tank, a church named after Saint John the Baptist, restored by Abū 'l-Fatḥ of Upper Egypt, who was priest at the church of Al-Mu'allaḵah. It was roofed with great beams. On a recent occasion the blacks determined to pillage this monastery, and they attacked this roof, so that they succeeded in ruining the building. Afterwards it was restored by the aforesaid persons, and was solemnly opened on Sunday, the 22nd of Barmahāt, in the year 900 of the Blameless Martyrs (A.D. 1184), by Gabriel, bishop of Miṣr, and Anbā Peter, bishop of the Fayyūm. Near it is the tower, which is entered from the church, and beneath which lies the garden; it overlooks the lake of Al-Ḥabash, and the river Nile, and Al-Bustān.

Monastery of Saint John the Baptist.

[Attached to the last-named church is] the monastery of Saint John, which is of beautiful aspect, and wonderful for its situation near the lake of Al-Ḥabash, especially in the time of high Nile, and in spring, and in the ploughing season and seed-time of summer. Yahyā ibn al-'Ubaidī the scribe was superintendent of this monastery; but Gabriel, the seventieth patriarch, called Abū 'l-'Ula Ṣā'id, son of Tarik the scribe, was informed that the conduct of this man was worthy of blame, and that he treacherously allowed many Muslims to attend the liturgies. Accordingly the patriarch rebuked him for this time after time, but yet he did not amend; and at last he was expelled from the monastery, and was obliged to give it up until he should

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1 This church as well as the two previously mentioned and those subsequently named as standing near the lake of Al-Ḥabash are unknown, though obviously existing at the time of our writer, in different degrees of repair. (A. J. B.)
2 See note on fol. 9 b.
3 Only one has been named.
5 Because the lake of Al-Ḥabash, like the other then numerous pools of Cairo, was full of water only at the time of high Nile. Most of the pools within the city were filled up by Muḥammad ‘Alī, who is said thereby greatly to have improved the health of the place at the expense of its picturesque character. (A. J. B.)
return to his faith. Yahyā suffered much from this, and at last repented, and consented to abandon his evil habits; and so the monastery was restored to him. Nevertheless, he returned to his reprehensible practices, and the remedy employed was of no profit. Therefore Yahyā was expelled again, and another was appointed in his place. It is said that through Abū Shâkir, the scribe, of Alexandria, the removal of Yahyā was facilitated by the condition that he should be allowed to live in the tower, and to have the enjoyment of the garden. Satan induced Yahyā to abandon the Christian religion, and he became a Muslim, and made a kiblah\(^1\) in the bakehouse, and another kiblah over the entrance into the monastery; and he did much injury to the monastery. He took possession of the road by which the monastery was entered, and he separated the tower and the garden from the monastery, and allowed all except Christians to enter them; but the Christians took measures to open another door, near the first, leading into the monastery only. This was in the caliphate of Al-Ḫâfīz. Thus Yahyā had possession of the tower and the garden. When that apostate died, after repenting and neglecting the matter of his religion, his sons acquired possession of the garden and the pavilion, and made use of them; and they also were Muslims.

Beside the same lake\(^2\), near this monastery, stands the monastery named after Saint John the Baptist, celebrated for its beautiful and pleasant situation, but now in the possession of the Melkites. It was formerly restored by Abū Ḥaṭīf ibn al-Baghdādi and Abū Naṣr ibn ʿAbdūn, known as Ibn al-ʿAddās, the metwalli of the Divan of Syria, in the caliphate of Al-Ḫâkim. Ibn al-ʿAddās rose high in the affairs of the government and became Nāzîr; his sobriquet was Al-ḫamdu\(^3\) lillāhi ʿalâ mā yastahikku.

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\(^1\) The term kiblah is commonly applied to the niche in the wall of a mosque, showing the direction of Mecca, although this is properly called miḥrāb, and kiblah denotes the point to which the eyes are directed in prayer. The meaning here is that Yahyā set on these two places the symbol of Mahometan worship. (A. J. B.)
\(^2\) I. e. the lake of Al-Ḫabash.
\(^3\) 'Praise to God as He is worthy.'
In the upper story of this building was the remarkable manzarah, prepared for the assembling of the novices. Here were a large number of Melkite nuns, who were supported by Abû '1-Faḍā'il ibn Abî 'l-Laith, the scribe, the owner of a garden near this place, which he rented from the Divan of Upper Egypt, and which contained fine palm-trees, pomegranates, myrtles, and many kinds of trees, bearing excellent fruit, such as are not to be seen together elsewhere. When this Abû '1-Faḍā'il died, he left a nephew named Abû '1-Makârim Maḥbûb, son of Abû 'l-Faraj al-'Ābûdî, whose wife was the sister of Abû 'l-Barakât ibn Abû 'l-Laith. Abû '1-Makârim deserted the Christian religion, and became a Muslim, and was circumcised at the age of nearly forty years. He laid his hand upon the aforesaid garden, and took possession of it as part of his inheritance; he forced the nuns to depart from it, and he dismantled the manzarah, and turned it into a mosque. He also weakened the monastery. There he entertained the Imâm Al-Ḥāfiz, who visited him there. So the monastery was weakened more and more; and the Melkites were prevented from visiting it. Then troubles followed one after the other, and the greater part of the monastery and the church fell into decay and perished. The Melkites had a bishop at Miṣr, named Joseph, who did what lay in his power to renew and restore this monastery; but the restoration remains to this day unfinished, on account of the weakness of the sect, and their small numbers, and the remissness of their head, and his neglect of the supervision of this place and others. The bishop of this sect at Miṣr began once more to visit this monastery on the Monday of the second week of the Great Fast, together with a great number of Melkites and Copts who assemble to hear the Lenten charge, and the instructions which are given them as to what must be done during that season. Moreover, festival is kept in this monastery on the second day of the feast of the bathing¹.

¹ The festival of the bathing is otherwise called 'Īd al-Maghţas or 'feast of the tank,' because of the custom of bathing in the church tank, formerly observed by the Copts on that day. The festival is observed in memory of the Baptism of Christ, and it coincides with the western Epiphany, being kept on Tūbah 11 = Jan. 6. At the time of our author, the custom of bathing in the Nile on the
The *Book of the Monasteries*, by Ash-Shâbushtî\(^1\), bears witness that this monastery is on the bank of the lake of Al-Ḥâbah, near the river, and that beside it are several gardens, one of which was laid out by the emir Tamîm, brother of Al-'Azîz bi'-Ilâh; and in this there is a pavilion, the roof of which is supported by pillars. The pavilion is beautifully designed, skillfully constructed and adorned, and decorated with paintings; near it is a well called Bir Najâ'î, beside which grows a tall sycamore affording much shade; and here the people assemble to enjoy the shade, and saunter around the spot, when the Nile is high and the lake is full, and also when the crops are green and the flowers are blooming. Near the aforesaid sycamore is the bridge which leads to many roads, and at which men set lines for fishing during the days of high Nile; and this is a pretty sight.

Al-Ḥâkim seized upon part of this monastery and church, and rebuilt it as a mosque, with a minaret; and his name was inscribed upon it. Now\(^2\) the first who constructed minarets\(^3\) in mosques was Mukhallad al-Anṣârî\(^4\).

\(^1\) See Introduction.

\(^2\) I have changed the order of the sentences to avoid the awkward parenthesis in the text.

\(^3\) In a paper which I wrote some years ago in the *Athenaeum*, 1881, I tried to show that the minaret (مئار-\(\text{منارة} \) = lighthouse) took its origin from the Pharos at Alexandria (منارة الإسكندرية), and that theory has been rather strengthened than shaken by subsequent research. Al-Mâkriüz relates that all the early minarets were of brick, and that the first stone minaret was that of the mosque of Al-Mâridânî; see S. Lane Poole's *Art of the Saracens*, p. 59. (A. J. B.)

\(^4\) It was not Mukhallad, but his son Maslamah ibn Mukhallad, governor of Egypt under the caliph Mu'āwiyyah from A. H. 47 = A. D. 668 to A. H. 62 = A. D. 682;
§ The church of Saint George, the property of the Copts, was near the monastery of Saint John the Baptist. It was very large. Afterwards the river flooded it, and not a trace of it remained.

§ The district of Al-Ḥabash¹, and the Well of the Steps², beside which grows a great sycamore, which throws a broad shade and is round like a tent, and the Well of Al-Ghanam³, and three feddans of black soil. It is said that these two wells and the land were the property of Tāj ad-Daulah, the Syrian, son of Sabil, known as the 'Golden Nose.' It is also said that all this land belonged to the vizier, Abū 'l-Faraj, the West-African, in the caliphate of Al-Mustansir, besides quarries of yellow clay at Al-'Adawiyah, of which the [pots called] Khasaf are made.

Church of Saint Victor.

§ The church⁴ dedicated to the martyr Saint Victor⁵ stands in the

see above, fol. 23 b. Maslamah was the first who made additions to the mosque of 'Amr, by building in A. H. 53 = A. D. 673 new structures on the north and east sides of it, and by adding a minaret. He also decorated the walls and roof of the mosque. See Yākūt, Geogr. Wort. iii. p. 488; Al-Maḳrīzī, Khīṭat, ii. p. 451 f.; As-Suyūṭī, Husn al-Muhḍarah, ii. p. v.

¹ The district of Al-Ḥabash was adjacent to the lake of Al-Ḥabash, and was called in Coptic μεθος τῆς (Amélineau, Géogr. p. 162). It is mentioned, not only by 'Abū Selah,' as M. Amélineau remarks, but by Yākūt, who speaks (Geogr. Wort. i. p. 51) of

بساين تعرف باللبن والبركة منسوبة إلىها

'Gardens named Al-Ḥabash, after which the pool of Al-Ḥabash is so called;' and by Al-Maḳrīzī, Khīṭat, ii. p. 159.

² So called because a flight of steps led down into it. This well was constructed by Al-Ḥākim. See Al-Maḳrīzī, Khīṭat, ii. p. 44.

³ Also called 'Well of Abū Salāmah.' It is said to have been situated in the most beautiful spot near the lake of Al-Ḥabash. See Al-Maḳrīzī, Khīṭat, ii. p. 44.

⁴ This church is named in two Copto-Arabic lists of churches and monasteries as Ḥyktw [n]eθawī—'The church of Saint Victor at Al-Ḥabash.' See Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 579 and 581.

⁵ St. Victor, whose festival is kept on Barmūdah 27 = April 22, was a soldier
district of Al-Ḥabash, near the Well of the Steps. On the wall
of the apse of this church, a Coptic inscription was found, giving
the date of the paintings upon it, namely the year 759 of the Martyrs
(A.D. 1043), in the patriarchate of Anbā Sinuthius, the sixty-fifth in
the order of succession. At the end of the church were built two
altars: one of them named after the martyr Saint Cosmas, with his
brothers and his mother, and the other named after Saint John, the
martyr of Aswān; and these were built at the expense of Abū ʾl-Barakāt,
the above mentioned, in the year 572 (A.D. 1177). In the upper story
is a church named after George the Martyr, erected by the Shaikh
Al-Maḳīn Abū ʾl-Barakāt ibn Kitāmah, the scribe, in the caliphate
of Al-Fāʾiz; and the said shaikh also rebuilt, in the year 573
(A.D. 1178), beside the church of Saint Victor, a church named after
the martyr Saint Mennas, containing a well of running water. Near
this church there is a garden, which belongs to it, but is now a desert,
and nothing is left standing in it except palm-trees.

Opposite this church, and within the enclosure of the garden known
as that which was founded by the vizier Abū ʾl-Faraj, the West-African,

in the Roman army; and he was beheaded after manifold tortures in the persecution
of Diocletian. See Synaxarium (Paris MS. Arabe 256) ad diem; Amélineau,
Actes des M.M. p. 177 ff.; Zoega, Cat. pp. 113, 239. There are other saints of
the name in the calendar.

1 These paintings are again wall-paintings, or 'frescos;' although the term
is not technically correct, as the Coptic artists worked in distemper, not in the
fresh plaster. But this date, fixing the middle of the eleventh century of our era
for the execution of the work, is exceedingly interesting. (A. J. B.)

2 Occupied the see in the middle of the eleventh century, but the date of his
election and death are uncertain; see Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 408-417.

3 Saints Cosmas and Damian with their mother and their brethren were
popular saints in Egypt. Their festival is kept on Hatūr 22=Nov. 18.

4 The thirteenth of the Fatimide caliphs; reigned from A.H. 549-555=A.D.
1154-1160.

5 Abū ʾl-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar al-Maghraḥī became vizier in A.H. 450,
and remained in office about a year. See Al-Maqrizī, Khiṭāt, i. p. 101; As-Suyūṭī,
Hisn al-Muḥāḍarah, ii. p. 150.
in the caliphate of Al-Mustanṣir, there is another church named after
Saint Victor, which is now furnished and complete with its domes and
walls. For a long time there was no liturgy there, and when this state
of things had long continued, the vizier Ṭalā’ī ibn Ruzzik commanded
that some of the columns should be taken to build the mosque which
he founded in that part of Miṣr named Karāfah. The tribe of Karāfah
were called Banū Ḥajāṣ or Banū Yūṣuf ibn Wā’il, and they took up
their quarters at this place, when the Arabs conquered Egypt. The
place was called Karāfah, a word which means ‘copyist’ or ‘copyist of
books;’ and there were many monks here in hermitages and monasteries,
and many churches, which the Muslims destroyed when they came with
‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣi ibn ‘Adi, in the month of Muḥarram of the year 20
(A.D. 641). Those of the hermitages which remain have been turned
by the Muslims into minarets. Then their hands were stretched out,
until they built of part of the walls of the hermitages the foundations
of this garden, which at the present time is still in cultivation. After-
wards, Al-Ajlāl Ṭāj al-Mulūk Būrī, the Kurd, brother of Šalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf, built many pavilions in this garden and outside it, and
embellished them with marble and gilding, and spent much money
upon them.

1 See note on fol. 7 a.

2 The Greater and Lesser Karāfahs were the principal burying-gounds of
Cairo and Fustāṭ, and the name is still retained for the well-known cemetery
where the ‘tombs of the caliphs’ and the ‘tombs of the mamlūks’ stand. The
place was selected as a burying-ground immediately after the Arab conquest.
Various accounts are given of the origin of the name: that it was the name of an
Arab woman; or of a branch of the tribe of Banū Maghāfīr; or, as the text
suggests, a word of Greek origin (γραφέως), meaning ‘writer’ or ‘copyist.’ See

3 A younger brother of Saladin. He was slain at the siege of Aleppo in
A. H. 579 = A.D. 1183; a disaster which elicited from Saladin the lament:

ما وقعت حلب علينا رحيمة بموت بورى
(The fall of Aleppo has been dearly bought by the death of Būrī.) (Abū l’Fidā, Anales, iv. p. 58.)
In this quarter also is the monastery known as the monastery of the Nestorians, dedicated to Saint George, and enclosed within a surrounding wall of hewn stone. It is beautifully and artistically constructed, and greatly celebrated as a place of resort. The Shaikh Abû 'l-Faḍā'il, the Nestorian, known as the physician of the tribe of Al-'Aẓamiyah, in the caliphate of Al-Āmir, restored it at his own expense, and renewed it in an excellent style, with hewn stone; and there were here many Nestorian monks. But when Al-Āmir was informed of this restoration, he issued a decree against Abû 'l-Faḍā'il, and acted extortionately towards him, and seized all his money; and the decree remained in force until the caliph had built a mosque within the monastery. The originator of this act of tyranny was Abû 'l-Faḍl Ja'far ibn 'Abd al-Mun'īm, known as Ibn Abû Kīrāt, the metwalli of the Diwān al-Khāṣṣ of Al-Āmir. There was some land attached to this monastery and belonging to it, outside the enclosure, and this land was farmed by Abû 'l-Barakāt ibn Kitāmah, the Jacobite scribe. There was now no one in the monastery, which was empty, and deprived of liturgies and prayers. One of the stewards of Kitāmah lived there, in a garden which was the property of his master; but the priest Yūsuf, the Nestorian, gained possession of it, and let the land to Muslims, and sold the upper story of the church at Miṣr, including the bakehouse, and let most of the property with which the Nestorian churches were endowed at low rents to the Muslims, for long periods. There are no Nestorians with him; but they live in the east, and in Persia, and in Al-'Irāk and Al-Mauṣil, and by the Euphrates, and in Mesopotamia; and in Egypt they are few in number and of a low class.

This monastery [of which we have been speaking] came into the possession of the Copts of Miṣr in the patriarchate of Anbâ Mark ibn Zar'ah, the seventy-third in the order of succession, who made it

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1 The board which regulated matters connected with the privy purse.
MONASTERY OF THE NESTORIANS.

patriarchal, and dedicated the church in it to Saint Philotheus of Antioch. In the upper story of the monastery there are manzarahls; and the whole building is of hewn stone, within and without. The church was solemnly opened and the liturgy was said in it the first week of the blessed fast, namely on Tuesday, the 16th of Amshir, of the year 899 of the Righteous Martyrs, which is equivalent to the 24th of Ramadán of the year 576 (A.D. 1181). [This change of ownership took place] because no Nestorians were left in Miṣr except one or two men. The monastery was solemnly opened by Anbâ Peter, bishop of the Fayyûm. It contains three altars: one named after Philotheus of Antioch; the second after John the Evangelist; the third after Thomas the Disciple. Its expenses were paid by the Shaîkh Abû Ḫ. Mansûr ibn Bûlus, who also paid for the liturgies and the eucharistic elements and the rest, and did not cease to supply all that was needed until the day of his death. His son continued to provide for [the expenses of this monastery], as his father had done—may God rest his soul!—and appointed ministers, both priests and deacons. The monastery is now prosperous, and the people of Upper Egypt come to it, and open its door.

There is also a burying-place for the Coptic Jacobite Christians and the bishops of Miṣr, in the district of Al-Ḥabash; and the body of Anbâ Zacharias, the sixty-fourth patriarch, is buried there, and the people receive blessings from it; [and it was taken there] because he commanded at his death that he should be buried among the people of Miṣr, on account of his knowledge of the pre-eminence of their faith, and what they had suffered in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâkim. In [the same burying-ground] also are the tombs of the bishops of Miṣr; and near

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1 The festival of this martyr is kept on Tûbah 16 = Jan. 11. He was converted to Christianity in his youth, and martyred in the persecution of Diocletian. See Synaxarium ad diem.

2 Occupied the see from A.D. 1002 (?) to 1032; see Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 386-408. On p. 401 Renaudot refers to this passage of Abû Šālîh.

it there are two wells of running water: one constructed by Abū 'l-Ḥasan Saʿīd ibn Maṣṭūr, the scribe, and the second made by Nāṣir, the grave-digger. In this burying-ground there is a conspicuous monument of syenite, sculptured with a cross of points. Near the burying-ground is the Well of the Steps, with the sycamore beside it, and the guard-house. At the upper end of this ground, there is a cemetery of the Jews and Samaritans, and when they come near the Christian cemetery they see the sign of the cross, and then they return to that part of the ground which Anbā Michael, the fifty-sixth patriarch, sold to the Jews, at the time when Ahmād ibn Ṭūlūn extorted money from him. This patriarch also sold a church to the Jews in the Kasr ash-Shama', besides the property of the churches at Alexandria, and the herds of camels of the monks of the monastery of Saint Macarius. The Melkites, however, have no cemetery in the district of Al-Ḥabash, but their burying-places are within their churches, and on the hill where the monastery of Al-Ḳūṣāir stands. The Armenians and the Nestorians likewise [bury] in their churches.

Church of Al-Martūtī.

§ The garden called Al-ʻAdawiyah, or Munyat as-Sūdān, was

1 The 'cross of points' is doubtless the Coptic cross, such as that represented on the cover of my Coptic Churches. (A. J. B.)

2 Occupied the see from A.D. 881 to 899 (?) see Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 319-398. He was the second of the name.

3 The church, sold by Michael or Khāʾil to the Jews in A.D. 882, still belongs to that community, and is used as a synagogue, after a possession of 1,000 years. An account of it is given in Coptic Churches, i. p. 169, and its position shown on the plan facing p. 155. (A. J. B.)

4 Al-ʻAdawiyah and its monastery stand about eighteen miles to the south of Old Cairo, on the same bank of the river. The church of Al-Martūtī, however, is not now in existence, possibly because the confiscation recorded by Abū Šallīḥ was permanent. Yāḥyāt calls Al-ʻAdawiyah a village on the eastern bank, possessing many gardens; and he suggests other derivations of the name; see his Geogr. Würt. iv. p. 176. (A. J. B.)

5 Two villages of this name are now in existence, but neither of them is near
named after a woman called 'Adawiyah, who came from Western Africa in the days of Al-Mu'izz. She had much money, and she took up her abode in this place, which was named after her.

§ The church of the Pure Lady Mary, called Al-Martûti, is surmounted by a cupola. In ancient days this was a place of worship of the Israelites when they were in bondage in Egypt; and when our Lord Jesus Christ came down into Egypt from Syria, with his mother in the flesh, our Lady the Pure Virgin, and the righteous old man Joseph the carpenter, they sat in this place, where there is now a picture of the Lady before the holy altar. The church was founded by the Copts under the name of the Lady, and was called Al-Martûti, which is the Greek word Матис-тн, and means 'Mother of God the Word.' When this church grew old it fell into decay, and was restored by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Yaman Wazir, a native of Sanhûr, and metwalli of the Divan of the Delta, and by Abû 'l-Mansûr, his son, in the caliphate of Al-Ámir, and in the vizierate of Al-Afdal Shâhanshâh. In its upper story Abû 'l-Yaman built a beautiful manzarah, called As-Salûkiyyah, and the priests assembled there, and he conversed gaily with them; this was in the lunar year 478 (A.D. 1086), in the patriarchate of Cyril, and the episcopate of Daniel. He also caused a complete set of vessels of goldsmiths' work to be made for this church, for the liturgy and the incense and all the needs of the church. In the upper story of the church he built several depen-

Al-'Adawiyah; see Rec. de l'Égypte, p. 222. Cf. Yâkût, Mushtarîk, p. 517. Al-Idrisî, however, mentions the place named by our author, saying, according to Jaubert's translation: 'Quand on part de Missr pour se rendre en remontant le Nil dans l'Égypte supérieure, on va de Fostat à Miniet es-Soudan, joli port situé sur la rive occidentale (sic!) du Nil et environ à 15 milles de Missr.' (Tome i. p. 311.)

1 Μήτηρ Θεοῦ.


3 The sixty-seventh patriarch; occupied the see from A.D. 1078 to 1092; see Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 449-470.
dences and offices. A small garden was attached to the church, and was entered from the interior of the building; and the door gave proof of its existence. So the government laid its hand upon this garden, and it was taken away from the church.

A certain Jew, named Abū 'l-Fakhr ibn Azhar aṣ-Ṣâni', became a Christian, and was converted to the religion of the Messiah, and was baptized in this church by Anbā' John, bishop of Tamwāh, in the province of Al-Jiziyah, assisted by the priest Abū Yāsir ibn Abū Sa'd ibn al-Ḳusṭāl, in the caliphate of Al-Fā'iz, in the vizierate of Ṭalā'ī ibn Ruzzik, and in the patriarchate of Jonas, the seventy-second in the succession; this took place in the month of Rajab, in the year 554 (A.D. 1159). God enlightened this Jew so greatly that he learnt to read Coptic, and translated it into Arabic; and he was ordained deacon, on account of his peculiar merits, in the church of the Pure Lady¹, in the Ĥârah Zawilah, in the city of Cairo, by Anbā' Gabriel, bishop of Miṣr, on the 15th of Abib, in the year of the church 901 (A.D. 1185).

Adjacent to this church of Al-Martiliy, is a church which had fallen into decay, but was restored by Abū 'l-Fadā'īl ibn Ash-Shubrāmurayyiki², with the assistance of a body of Christians, in the year 902 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1186). The furnishing of the church was completed by the Shaikh Abū 'l-Faraj ibn Zanbūr, the scribe of As-Sūbāsī the Turk, wāli of Cairo; he paid the expenses himself, and he provided for it a dome and a roof, and constructed over the dome a beautiful dome of timber; and he built in it two altars, one named after Saint George, and the other after the angel Michael. In the midst of the church he erected a long vaulted transept, in which he also opened a door which led to the altars in the old church; and he separated them from one another. The number of altars in this church amounted to five, ancient and modern. Abū 'l-Faraj completed the restoration of the church by whitewashing and painting it, and it was solemnly opened

¹ See fol. 3 a and note.
² The town of Shubrâ Murayyik (شیرو مریک), in the province of Al-Gharbiyyah, is mentioned by Yâkūt, Mushtariq, p. 444.
on Monday, the 21st of Barmahât, the second day of the fifth week of the holy fast, in the presence of Anbâ Mark ibn Zar’ah, the seventy-third patriarch, and Michael, bishop of Basţah and Al-Khandak, and Anbâ Gabriel, bishop of Miṣr, and Anbâ Simon, bishop of Al-Bahnasâ, and Anbâ Peter, bishop of the Fayyûm, and an assembly of the clergy and of the chief men.

In the upper story of this church, the steward, Sayyid al-Ahl, son of Thomas, the archdeacon, built a church in the name of Saint Mercurius, with a wooden altar, and it was consecrated by Anbâ John, the seventy-fourth patriarch, on the 10th of Bashans, in the year 910 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1194). The Shaikh Abû ’l-Yaman Wazir removed the body of Saint John from the church at Damanhûr, near Cairo, to this church, because, so it is said, when he was in the neighbourhood of it on a certain night, he heard a voice from the shrine of the martyr, saying: ‘I cannot remain in the church of the Lady; there is no church for me except that in which I was at first.’ Accordingly the body was restored thither.

In this neighbourhood, the Nestorians had a large monastery like a great castle, within an enclosing wall of hewn stone, and containing, a large church, separate and conspicuous, of which all the architectural features remain to this day; but the apse has been turned into a Kiblah, and above it rises a lofty minaret, and, around it, the chambers, which belonged to the monks, are inhabited by Muslims; and this change took place in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâkim.

Fol. 40 a

1 The classical Oxyrhinchus, and the Coptic neex; then the capital of a province. It stands on the western bank, at some distance from the stream. It was said that our Lord and his mother sojourned at Al-Bahnasâ. The town is now ruined and contains about sixty inhabitants; it is in the district of Banî Mazar, in the province of Minyah. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wörl. i. p. 617; Al-Maqrizi, Khitât, i. p. 157; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 90.

2 This is the only definite instance known to me of a Coptic altar constructed of wood; see Coptic Churches, ii. p. 3 ff. (A. J. B.)

3 Occupied the see from A.D. 1189 to 1216; see Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 554-567.
At the church of *Al-Martîtî*, the history of which has been related, there was a priest named Abû Yâsir, son of the priest Abû Sa'd, known as Ibn al-Kuştâl, who maintained customs at variance with those prescribed by the pure Fathers: such as growing the hair long, and baring the head at the time of the liturgy, and christening infants without circumcision, and giving permission to the bridegroom to see the bride before marriage. If a priest with shaven hair and covered head said the liturgy, he would not communicate from his hand, but he had a second liturgy for himself. Thus he divided the church into two parties; and, although he was often rebuked for this, he would not repent or change his opinions. The state of affairs required that in order to maintain the canons, he should be expelled from the church; may God reconcile him to himself!

To the church of this priest there was a garden attached, as it has already been related. This garden was seized by the emir Jabril, son of the Imâm Al-Ḥâfîz, who built opposite to the church, near the river, in the place called *Al-Khaimat al-kiblîyah*, for the survey of the taxes, a *manzarah*, which was visited by the Imâm Al-Ḥâfîz and the Imâm Al-Zâfir, his son, during the lifetime of this emir Jabril; and after his death the Imâm Al-ʿĀqid came here. Each of them contributed to the support of this church, and received the food that was brought to him from the monastery. This church stands in the midst of the gardens, and from its upper story a view of the blessed Nile is obtained, as far as that part of the river bank on which ʿĀmid was, in the province of Al-Jiziyah, is situated, and as far as Munyat ash-Shammâs and other places on

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1 These two customs of wearing long hair and uncovering during the liturgy seem to refer to the priests only: neither of them is now practised. See above, fol. 9 b and 15 a. (A. J. B.)

2 I have before stated that circumcision on the eighth day is customary, but not obligatory, with the Copts; while circumcision after baptism was always regarded as forbidden. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 286, 497, 588. (A. J. B.)

3 In prohibiting this the Copts seem to have followed the Muslims.

4 The twelfth of the Fatimide caliphs, who succeeded his father Al-Ḥâfîz in A. H. 544 = A. D. 1149 and died in A. H. 549 = A. D. 1154.

5 There were two places of this name in the province of Al-Jiziyah, but this
the western bank. It is a place of devotion and of pleasure; and the church is much visited because intercessions are accepted here, and visible miracles are performed for the faithful.

§ Al-Ajall Saif al-Islâm Tuhtikin¹, brother of Al-Malik Salâh ad-Din Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb, the Kurd, acquired possession of the garden, and of Al-'Adawiyah, and the church of As-Sûdân, and the bank of the river near it; and he rebuilt the manzarah, and added a gallery to the upper part of it, and he planted many trees in the garden and spent much money here. At Al-'Adawiyah are the quarries of yellow clay, of which the [pots called] khazaf are made; and they are to the north, on the estate of the vizier Abû 'l-Faraj al-Maghrabi.

The district known as Tûrâ², which leads to Iṭfîh³, by way of the monastery of Shahrân⁴. Under the southern sycamore, in the Fol. 47 a southern part of Tûrâ, Moses the prophet prayed—upon him be peace,—and in the town there are monuments of 'Abd al-Azîz ibn Marwân⁵. Tûrâ was allotted as a fief to the Ghuzz and the Kurds, when they conquered Egypt. Iṭfîh is the name of one of the sons of Mizraim. Shahhrân is a large village, and was flourishing and populous. It is probably that one which was also called Dair ash-Shama'; see fol. 65 b. It is still existing in the district of Badrashain in that province, and in 1885 had a population of 883. See Yâḳût, Mushtarîk, p. *v.; De Sacy, Abd-Allâtîf, p. 676; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 221.

¹ Ruler of Yemen after A.H. 577; died A.H. 593.
² To the south of 'Adawiyah and to the north of Ḥulwân, on the eastern bank. It is now in the district of Badrashain, and in the province of Al-Jîziyâh, and in 1885 had 1,335 inhabitants. See Yâḳût, Geogr. Dîct. iii. p. 57.; Al-Maḳrîzî, Khīṭat, ii. p. 61.; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 519. (A. J. B.)
³ See fol. 2 b, and note.
⁴ The site of Shahhrân cannot be identified. (A. J. B.)
⁵ Son of the caliph Marwân I, and wâli of Egypt from A.H. 65= A.D. 685 to A.H. 86= A.D. 706. He attempted to make Ḥulwân the capital of Egypt; see below.
built on the side of the river; and they say, that Moses the prophet—upon him be peace—was born there, and his mother cast him thence into the river, in the wooden ark. Shahrân is celebrated as a spot frequented by visitors, on account of the beauty of its situation, and the views obtained from it of Miṣr and the river Nile; so the Book of the Monasteries, by Ash-Shâbushti, testifies. Opposite this monastery of Shahrân, in the mountain on the east, there is a large cavern, supported by pillars like a house, which has been hollowed out in the side of the mountain, and is exceedingly extensive; and it is said to be called 'the city,' and the end of it is unknown.

Monastery of Shahrân, near Turâ.

The monastery called Shahrân was restored by Poemen, the monk, who had been perverted to the religion of the Muslims, but returned to his own faith in the caliphate of Al-Imâm al-Ḥâkim, and became once more abbot of the monastery. This monk was the cause of the opening of the churches which had been closed, and of the changing of the costume which Al-Ḥâkim had injoined, and which he had maintained for nine years, during which Zacharias, the sixty-fourth patriarch, was imprisoned, and thrown to the lions, which did him no harm; for God forbade the lions to touch the patriarch, on account of his holiness, and the strength of his faith in God. The instigator of this persecution was a monk from the monastery of Saint Macarius, named Jonas, because

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1 On fol. 19 b, Askar is said to be the birthplace of Moses.
2 Doubtless one of the subterranean quarries in the Muṣḥattam range near Turâ. These caverns were cut out by ancient Egyptian workmen quarrying for stone for the pyramids and other buildings. The Arabs have a great horror of mining in the dark, and tell marvellous legends of these openings into the heart of the mountain. (A. J. B.)
3 Al-Ḥâkim had forced the Christians to wear black clothes and turbans, and to use black trappings for their mules and asses, forbidding them to ride on horseback. (A. J. B.)
5 In the Nitrian desert.
he had solicited a bishopric from that patriarch, but was prevented from obtaining it by Michael, the patriarch's nephew, who had demanded money from Jonas, [but did not receive it]; the whole of this story is told in the Lives of the Patriarchs.

In the aforesaid monastery there is a tower, entered through the monastery, and it had a garden attached to it, measuring six feddans, in which were fruit-bearing palms and corn-plots. Al-Imām al-Ḥākim was fond of visiting the country at this monastery, and of taking the air here; and from it he went out to the mountain, and made journeys into the country.

Monastery and Church at Ṭurā.

§ The monastery known as the Monastery of the Potter is dedicated to Saint Mercurius. It is said also to have been named after the martyr Theodore. There is also a church, named after the glorious Saint George, which is in the district of Ṭurā, on the bank of the river. This church was small when it belonged to the Jacobite Copts; but at the time when Gregory¹, the patriarch of the Armenians, came to Egypt, and Amir al-Juyūsh Badr was surrounded by Armenians, in the patriarchate of Anbā Cyril, patriarch of the Jacobites, and the district of Ṭurā was allotted to the Armenians, then they seized this church, and pulled it down, and built instead of it a large and spacious church, with several cupolas, which was dedicated to the name of Saint George. Above it there rose a tower, the door of which was within the church; and the latter was enclosed within a wall, and within the enclosure there was a well and a water-wheel. Around the church there was a space planted with orange-trees, and two duwairahs, which are fruit-bearing palms, and other trees. When, however, the series of misfortunes befell the Armenians, the church came back to the Jacobites, in the patriarchate of Anbā Mark, known before his promotion as Abū 'l-Faraj ibn Zar'ah, the scribe; he was the seventy-third in the succes-

¹ See note on p. 3. This passage is referred to by Renaudot (Hist. Patr. pp. 459 and 508), who writes Dora for Ṭurā.
sion. In this church the priest named Abū Yāsir, whose history has been related with reference to the church of Al-Martūtī, which is called Al-'Adawiyah, restored all that was required for the furnishing of it; and the people began again to frequent it at all times. Outside it, there are stone foundations visible on the surface of the ground, which are said to have been made for the purpose of building upon them a manzarah; but it was never fully prepared, and now there is only one fragment of building in a cracked condition. When the patriarch came to this church to consecrate it, an assembly of bishops and priests and of the Christian laity were present.

In another copy it is said that the monastery of Saint George came into the possession of the aforesaid priest Abū Yāsir, known as Ibn al-Kūstāl, and was solemnly opened in the month of Ba‘ūnah, in the year 559 (A. D. 1164), in the patriarchate of Anbā John, with the consent of the Armenians. Abū Yāsir built in the upper story a church to the martyr Saint Mennas, and a church in the name of the great saint John the Baptist and of Gregory. The latter church was to the south of the great central sanctuary, in the monastery of the Armenians at Ṭurā, and it was consecrated on the 30th of Ba‘ūnah, in the year 922 of the Righteous Martyrs (A. D. 1186); and the expenses of the building were paid at first by Ibn Mashkūr, and at the time of its consecration by Abū Manṣūr, the superintendent of the building of the walls of Cairo and Miṣr. In the same monastery there is a tower, and a mill, and a garden which belonged to the Armenians; and, when it ceased to belong to them, it came into the possession of the Jacobites, after the year 600 (A. D. 1204). When the priest Abū Yāsir died, the monastery became the property of his disciples, and of the Copts, permanently down to our own time.

The Eastern and Western Ranges.

The eastern hills known as Al-Muḳaṭṭam, which was the name of the son of Mizraim, the son of Miṣr, the son of Ham, the son of Noah. Muḳaṭṭam was the first who worshipped on this spot, and here he gave himself up to the service of God; so that after his time the mountain
was known as Al-Muṣṭaṭṭam. It is situated near Turā, by the stone-quarry, and is contiguous to Turā lengthwise, and it is a holy place.

§ The western range unites itself to the mountain chain of Western Africa and to the western shores, which at last reach the land of Ibn Ghawāṭah, and the Dark Sea. The river Nile flows between these two mountain-ranges.

Melkite Monastery of Al-Kuṣair.

The monastery known as Al-Ḳuṣair is on the summit of the eastern mountain-range. From this monastery there is a view of the blessed Nile, and of the district of Turā. It was founded by Arcadius, the Great, son of Theodosius the Great, emperor of the Romans, over the tomb of his teacher, Saint Arsenius, after whose name he called it. This Arsenius had fled from the emperor, and devoted himself to religious worship in the desert of Saint Macarius in the Wādi Habīb; but afterwards he removed to this mountain, and spent his time in worship there. This monastery was known as Kuṣair.

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1 A mistake for Baraghwāṭah (بِرَاَحِجَاتْ), which was a district in north-western Africa, inhabited by a tribe of the same name; see Yāḳūt, Geogr. Wörtl. i. p. 518; Al-Idrīsī (ed. Rome) [p. 87]; Ibn Khaldūn, vi. p. 362.

2 The Atlantic.

3 Arcadius can hardly have founded this monastery in memory of his teacher, who is said to have outlived him by some forty years at least; see Gibbon (Edinburgh, 1832), vol. v. p. 148 n. The association of Arsenius with the monastery is, however, probably authentic. The full name of the convent, according to Al-Maḳrīzī, was monastery of John the Dwarf (Yuḥannūs al-Ḵaṣīr or Al-Ḵuṣayyir), i.e. St. John Kolobos; see Khīṭāṭ, ii. p. 593. (A. J. B.)

4 Our author probably borrows this account of the foundation of Al-Ḳuṣair from Eutychius, with whose narrative the statements in the text agree; see his Annales (ed. Pococke), i. p. 537. Quatremère gives an article on this monastery in Mem. ii. pp. 499–502, which consists of translations from Al-Maḳrīzī, Khīṭāṭ, ii. p. 593, where Ash-Shābushtī is quoted, as by our author. Yāḳūt also describes the monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair among the few monasteries which he writes of; see his Geogr. Wörtl. ii. p. 160.
is kept there in honour of Arsenius, at which many people assemble. Below his church on the mountain-top, there is another church, hewn out in the rock with the pickaxe, and in it there is an altar. The monastery is on the upper part of the mountain and stands on a terrace, on a peak of the mountain, and is fairly constructed and commands a beautiful view. It has a well hewn in the rock, from which water is drawn. In the monastery there are excellent pictures, of extremely skilful and admirable execution. The monastery contains an upper room [built by] Abū 'l-Jaish Khamârawâiḥ, son of Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn, which has four windows in its four sides. The road to this monastery from Miṣr is difficult, but on the southern side the ascent and descent are easy. At the side of it there is a hermitage, always inhabited by a hermit. The monastery overlooks the village named Shahrān and the desert and the monastery of Shahrān, which is a large and flourishing village, on the bank of the river, according to the testimony of the Book of the Monasteries, by Ash-Shâbushî. This Al-Kuṣair is one of the monasteries that are visited for worship, and also for the pleasure of sauntering around them.

The patriarch Eustathius founded in this monastery the church of

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1 This would be the church of St. John the Baptist named below on fol. 51 a.
2 Khamârawâiḥ, son of Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn, and second of the Tūlūnide dynasty, ruled Egypt and Syria, nominally under the suzerainty of the Abbasid caliphs, for twelve years, from A. H. 270 = A. D. 884 to A. H. 282 = A. D. 895. The annual tribute demanded from him by the caliph amounted to about 500,000 dinars. He was famous for his magnificence and his love of art. The story which our author tells of his admiration for the mosaics at the monastery of Al-Kuṣair is told also by Yâkūt, Geogr. Wört. ii. p. 165.
3 Eustathius succeeded Balatianus, as Melkite or orthodox patriarch of Alexandria, in the sixteenth year of the caliph Hārūn Ar-Rashid, i. e. A. D. 802, and occupied the see for two years. See Eutychius (Annales, ii. p. 410), who is the authority from whom the statements in the text are taken. Eutychius explains مدق as:

البيت الذي يدق فيه الكتنا

Cf. Le Quien, Oriens Christ.
the Apostles, and he founded a cell for the bishops. The monastery is in the possession of the Melkites, and contains a body of their monks. There is kept every year the festival of Saint Arsenius, on the 13th of Bashans\(^1\). This Eustathius was a linen-merchant, and he found a treasure in the place where the flax was beaten; and then he became a monk in this monastery, and built in it that which has been mentioned. After that, he was made patriarch of the Melkites, and the length of his patriarchate was sixty-four years\(^2\). In this monastery there are eight churches, and they are enclosed within a wall. In it also there is a manzarah, and a cemetery; and below it there are many caves hewn in the mountain. The church of the Apostles in this monastery was destroyed in the caliphate of Al-Ḥākim, in the month of Shaʿbān, of the year 400 (A.D. 1010); and a band of the common people came here, and seized the coffins of the dead, and the timbers from the ruins. Afterwards it was decreed that [the monks] should restore the ruined building, and Al-Yāsāl, the brother of Tāj ad-Daulah Bahram, assigned to the monastery sixteen feddāns of land as an endowment.

There was in this monastery a mule, to carry the water from the river, and bring it up to the monastery; and one of the monks went down with it to fill up the quantity required; and the monk remained by the river, while the mule kept going backwards and forwards by itself, until he had finished his business. The monastery is enclosed within a stone wall; but on one occasion a mob of Muslims went up, and by a ruse induced the monks to open the gate to them, whereupon they entered and sacked the monastery, and killed some of the monks.

The monastery known as Al-Ḵuṣair al-Ḥaḵḵānī is within the desert, and is uninhabited; it is half-a-day's journey from the monastery which is being described.

The number of churches at the monastery of Al-Ḵuṣair, accord-

\(^1\) I.e. May 8. Cf. *Synaxarium* (Paris MS. *Arabe* 256) for that day.

\(^2\) This must be a confusion with the length of Eustathius' life.
ing to a description, of the date of Barmahåt, in the year 891 of the Blameless Martyrs (A.D. 1175), was ten.

(1) In the upper part is the church of Saint Arsenius, the teacher of the sons of the emperors; and his body is buried under the altar, which is the only altar\(^1\), and is surmounted by a baldakyn; over the middle of this church is a long vaulted\(^2\) roof.

(2) A church named after our Lady Mary, the pure and holy Virgin, in which there is one altar, as in the former.

(3) The church of the Apostles or Disciples, in which there was a picture of the Lady, carrying the Lord, with angels on the right and on the left, and pictures of all the twelve disciples, the whole being composed of tesserae of glass\(^3\), and skilfully executed, as at Bethlehem;

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\(^1\) This is exceedingly interesting for two reasons: (i) It is unusual for a church to have less than three altars now, though Abû Šâlih proceeds to enumerate several with this peculiarity; and (ii) I do not know any other so distinct and unquestionable evidence of the practice of burying the body of a saint under the high altar of an Egyptian church, though ten or twelve years ago, writing on the subject of the Coptic altar in ignorance of Abû Šâlih's testimony, I had no hesitation in inferring that the practice existed. See *Coptic Churches*, ii. pp. 12-16. (A. J. B.)

\(^2\) In technical language this means, I think, that the nave was roofed with wagon-vaulting, such as may still be seen in the basilica in the Hârah Zuwailah in Cairo, in the church of Al-Mu'allakah within the fortress, and in many others. (A. J. B.)

\(^3\) This is, as far as I know, with the subsequent statements of our author, the only direct evidence of the use of the Byzantine glass mosaic in the churches of Egypt, and it is fortunate that Abû Šâlih's testimony is of unmistakable clearness.

The arrangement which he sketches is common enough, indeed is almost exactly reproduced in the *haikal* of Abû 's-Saifain (*Coptic Churches*, i. p. 112, see also p. 40). But there the design is painted on the wall, not wrought in mosaic: and as I have explained (*id. ib. p. 37 seq.*), there is no known instance of a picture in glass mosaic remaining in the Coptic churches, or anything to show that this form of art ever flourished in Egypt, though mosaic of another kind constitutes some of the most splendid decoration in churches and mosques alike. There is, however, some evidence from early writers to support the construction of the text.
and some of these glass tesserae were gilded and some were coloured. Khamârawaih, son of Ahmed ibn Tulun, used to stand before these

The allusion to Bethlehem is, of course, to the church of the Nativity erected there in A.D. 327 by the Empress Helena, and it is possible that even at that date glass mosaics were employed for decoration: for those in the church of S. Pudenziana at Rome and S. Costanza at Naples are said to date from the fourth century. However that may be, there is no doubt that by the time of Justinian the walls of the church at Bethlehem were covered with mosaics, traces of which remain even at the present day in spite of renewals and destructions.

Eutychius records the visit of the caliph 'Umar to this church, his admiration for the mosaics in the southern transept (‘for the whole vault was decorated with many-coloured designs in mosaic work’), and his order that no change should be made in the decoration (ed. Pococke, ii. pp. 158, 288). But the best account of these mosaics is given by De Vogüé in his Églises de la Terre Sainte, p. 66 ff.

The word rendered tesserae in the text is فمصور, the plural of فص Fusifsâ. But Eutychius, in the passage just quoted, uses the word Fusifsâ as the term for glass mosaics—a term derived from the Byzantine ψηφωικός. Now the author of the History of Damascus speaks of فمصور or tesserae, coloured and gilt, which are known as Fusifsâ; and similarly Kamâl ad-Dîn defines Fusifsâ as equivalent to فص مدمج or gilded tesserae. Further, Ibn Ba'thah mentions a mosque adorned with pictures of great beauty in gilt mosaic, and again of animal figures in mosaic. These authorities are quoted by Quatremère, Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks, ii. Liv. i. append. p. 270 n. But the point which Quatremère misses is that if these passages are examined, they are found all to establish the use of glass mosaics, but out of Egypt—in Syria and Arabia. I do not, however, know of any passage proving the use of Byzantine mosaic in Egypt to put beside this clear and explicit evidence of Abu Šâlih, here and on fol. 104 a. The splendid lamps of the type called Kalâ‘ûnî, found till recently in churches and mosques, but now chiefly in museums, show what skill in glass-work the Egyptians possessed in mediaeval times—a skill far higher than would be needed for making the cubes of mosaic work. Going further back, we find record of famous glass-works at Fustât. Further back still, Olympiodorus of Alexandria wrote on the sacred art of alchemy, which included the making of glass coloured like precious stones. This was early in the third century, and the MS. is in the Bibliothèque
pictures and admire the beauty of their execution, and was much delighted with them, especially with the picture of the Lady; so that he even built a manzarah for himself at this monastery, that he might come there for recreation. This church was very large; but Al-Ḥākim destroyed it in the year 400 (A.D. 1010). Afterwards there was built on the same site a new church, named after Peter and Paul, in which there was one altar surmounted by a baldakyn, and over the middle of which there was a vaulted roof.

(4) The church of Stephen, the chief of the deacons and first of the martyrs for the name of Christ among the Israelites.

(5) A church named after Saint George.

(6) The church of Saint Sabas\(^1\) of Alexandria, which was restored by the Shaikh Abū 'l-Barakāt Yūḥannā, the scribe, son of Abū 'l-Laith, in the caliphate of Al-Āmir, and in the vizierate of Al-Afdal Shāhanshāh; and his brother, Abū 'l-Faadā'īl, was charged with the control of the outlay. This Abū 'l-Barakāt was the metwalli of the Diwān at-tahkīk\(^2\), in

\[^{1}\text{This 'Melkite' saint is, of course, not also revered by the monophysite Copts, since he was the great opponent of the monophysite leader, Severus of Antioch, and the determined adherent of the Roman see.}\]

\[^{2}\text{This was the board which regulated the expenses of the government. The metwalli of this Divan was a person of high rank. In A.H. 501 a sum of 700,000 dinars is said to have passed through the hands of this Divan, apart from the expenses of the officials, and Abū 'l-Barakāt ibn Abī 'l-Laith arranged the dinars in boxes on one side of the room and the dirhams on the other side. When the vizier Al-Afdal saw this large sum of money, he said to Abū 'l-Barakāt: By my father's tomb, if I hear of any well out of order, or of any land lying}\]

\[^{\text{Nationale. See Hendrie's Theophilus or Arts of the Middle Ages, 1847, p. 163. The same most interesting work has a long account of glass-making and painting in Book II, and Greek enamelling and mosaic are described \textit{ib.} ch. xiii-xv. pp. 133-135. Strabo was told by the glass-workers of Alexandria that they were enabled to execute their magnificent works of art solely through the existence in Egypt of a peculiar earth (Book XVI, ch. ii. § 25, quoted by Perrot & Chipiez, \textit{Hist. of Art in Egypt}, ii. p. 375). Indeed the manufacture of glass is now supposed to have had its origin in Egypt, and the art of enamelling which flourished under the caliphs certainly began with the Pharaohs. (A. J. B.)}}\]
the vizirate of Al-Afdal, and afterwards, until he was put to death in the year 528 (A.D. 1134). In this church there is one altar, surmounted by a small baldakyn; and over the midst of the church there is one large cupola of conspicuous size. The church contains pictures of the forty martyrs of Sebaste; and beneath it is the tomb of the said Abû 'l-Faadâ'il.

(7) The church of the martyr Barbara, which is small.

(8) [The church of] Saint Thomas.

(9) The church of Cosmas and Damian and their brothers and their mother, who were all martyred for the name of Christ.

(10) Below this is the church of Saint John, the Baptist and Forerunner, in a cave, and with a stone roof, supported on a pillar, like a house which is concealed. In the midst of it, and on the roof, are ecclesiastical paintings, most of which have been effaced. Near this church is the tomb of John the monk, who planned the walls of Cairo and its gates\(^1\), in the caliphate of Al-Mustansir, and in the uncultivated, or of any village in ruins, I will cut off thy head! to which the metwalli answered: 'Far be it from thee that in thy days any village should be ruined, or land left uncultivated, or well allowed to fall out of repair!' Al-Maqrizi confirms the statement of our author that Abû 'l-Barakât was put to death in A.H. 528. See Khīṭat, i. p. 51.

\(^1\) This piece of information is very interesting, and is one more proof that the Copts were the architects of Cairo, as I have always contended, and not the Moslems.

What Abû Šāliḥ says is that John the monk planned the new walls of Cairo in the vizirate of Badr, under the caliphate of Al-Mustansir. The original walls, of brick, were built by Jauhar, under the caliph Al-Mu'izz in A.D. 969 or 970 (see Al-Maqrizi, Khīṭat, i. p. 104 ff.); but a century later these walls, being outgrown, were demolished by Badr al-Jamâlî, in A.D. 1087, who extended the boundaries of the city, especially on the northern and southern sides, erecting new walls of brick, with gateways of stone (see Al-Maqrizi, Khīṭat, i. p. 108). In his learned essay on the topography of Cairo, M. Ravaisse gives a very clear plan, showing the walls of Jauhar and those of Badr. Saladin subsequently extended the citadel and made other enlargements, but in the main the existing walls are more probably those of Badr than those of Saladin. See M. Ravaisse in Mém. Archéol. de la Miss. Franç. au Caire, 1881-4; esp. plate 2 facing p. 454. (A. J. B.)
vizierate of Amir al-Juyûsh Badr; over his tomb there is a marble slab in the wall.

The church of Saint George, which has already been mentioned among these numerous churches, is outside, on the peak of the mountain, and it was founded by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Ḥakam, brother of Abû 'l-Khaṣib, and relative of Abû 'l-Barakât ibn Abû 'l-Laith.

On this mountain there are many caves, hewn in the rock, which also forms their roof; one of them is the cave of Saint Arsenius, which was made for him, and it contains the stone which he used as a pillow. Within the monastery there is a cistern, which receives water from the mountain at the time of rain. There is also a well of springing water, hewn in the rock, of which the monks and their visitors drink. There is a mill hewn in the rock. The churches are likewise founded in the rock. Near the church of Saint Sabas, restored by Abû 'l-Barakât, there is a manzarah which was made for Al-Āmir, who came here in the hunting season; and there is a place for his attendants. There is here the manzarah of Khamârawáiḥ, son of Ahmad ibn Tulun, in the upper story of the monastery on the eastern side; it has now fallen into decay. The monastery now, in our time, contained five monks in poor circumstances, until the end of Barmahât, in the year 891 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1175). After that, Fâkhr ibn al-Ḳanbar, the misleader of the ignorant through his false creed, came to live there, with a body of his followers; and he dwelt there twenty years, until he died, on Monday, at the beginning of the White Week, in the second week [of the Fast], on the 23rd of Amshir, in the year 924 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1208). The monastery is now

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1 This tomb was apparently in the cave in which the church was hewn. The slab over the tomb is worth notice, as the Copts never mark the burial-places of the dead in any of the old churches. (A. J. B.)

2 No. 5 in the list of churches.

3 See above, fol. 9 a ff.

4 I.e. the first week of Lent, during which the use of fish and other white meat is allowed. (A. J. B.)

in the possession of his followers, who form a large body, but are in poor circumstances. It is said that in former times there were in the monastery and in the caves hewn in the mountain-sides nearly six thousand monks.

*Hermes Trismegistus.*

† Kalkali¹, son of Kharâbâ, son of Málik, one of the sons of Baisur, son of Ham, son of Noah, was exceedingly wise; and it is said that his teacher was Hermes², who was the first inventor of alchemy, and turned lead into gold, and hardened quicksilver into solid, white gold, and melted sand into glass³; and his glass-furnace was at a place called ‘the Oven⁴,’ at the top of the eastern mountain, outside Cairo.

*Church of the Chamberlains at Al-ʔaṣṭaraḥ.*

The church of the Lady Mary, the Pure Virgin, at Al-ʔaṣṭaraḥ⁵, commonly named the church of the Romans. It is also called the church of the Christian Chamberlains, because it was restored by

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¹ Al-Maḥrīzī and As-Suyūṭī write this name Kalkán (كلكان), and the father’s name Khartabâ (خرتبا) or Kharîbâ (خربا); see Khīṭāt, i. p. 71; Ḥusn al-Muhâjilah, i. p. 7.
² See below, fol. 64 b.
³ This legend is so far correct that the art of glass-making probably began in Egypt, and not, as it was stated by Pliny and those writers who have followed him, among the Phoenicians. See Perrot and Chipiez, Hist. of Art in Phoenicia and Cyprus, ii. p. 326; Hendrie’s Theophilus, p. 162. (A. J. B.)
⁴ On the top of the Muḥāṭṭam hills, to the east of Cairo. For the legends related of the spot, see Al-Maḥrīzī, Khīṭat, ii. p. 800.
⁵ This village, or suburb of Al-Fuṣṭāt, has already been mentioned; see fol. 23 b and 32 b. The reason for the foundation of this church at this spot is given by Eutychius, namely that when the caliph was residing at his palace called the ‘Dome of the Air’ on the Muḥāṭṭam hills, his Greek (Roman) chamberlains found it too far to go to the Melkite churches in the Kaṣr ash-Shama’ or Fortress of Babylon, and so asked and obtained his permission to build a church at the nearer suburb of Al-ʔaṣṭaraḥ; see Eutychius, Annales (ed. Pococke), ii. p. 430.
the chamberlains of Al-Ma'mûn1 'Abd Allâh, son of Hârûn ar-Rashid, since it was near the 'Dome of the Air'2, which he founded on the Muqaṭṭam hills. The Christians wore black garments3, and rode on horses, until the caliphate of Al-Mutawakkil Ja'far, who forbade them to do so.

Ḥulwân.

Ḥulwân4. ‘Abd al-'Azîz5 ibn Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam, surnamed Abû 'l-Uşbu', lived in this place, and Ḥulwân was the name of his eldest son. It was in this neighbourhood that Al-Imâm al-Ḥâkim bi-amrî'llâh alighted from the ass which he was riding, and ordered his groom, who accompanied him wherever he went, to hough the ass; and he himself went alone into the inner parts of the desert and never returned; nor is it known to this day where he retired. This happened in the month of Shawwâl, in the year 411 (A.D. 1021)6.

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1 The seventh of the Abbaside caliphs; reigned from a.d. 813 to 833.
2 The Ḋūbbat al-Hâwâ was on the mountain near the citadel of Cairo; see C. Niebuhr, Voyage en Arabie, &c., i. p. 93. (A. J. B.)
3 Al-Mutawakkil reigned from a.d. 847 to 861. It would appear from Abû Ŝâlih’s remark that the Christians voluntarily affected a black dress at this time, and that the ordinance of Al-Ḥâkim two centuries later was an enforced reversion to an old custom. (A. J. B.)
4 Ḥulwân or Ḥalwân (Helouan), the Coptic Χαλωαν or Χαλαν, is on the right or eastern bank of the river, five or six miles to the south of Al-'Adawiyah, and is still a favourite health-resort of the Cairenes on account of its sulphureous springs. The place seems to have been in existence, and to have had a bishop, before the Mahometan conquest. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. ii. p. 771; Al-Maqrizi, Khitât, i. p. 54 f.; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 584. (A. J. B.)
5 See fol. 47 a.
6 Bar-Hebraeus states that Al-Ḥâkim was assassinated at the instigation of his sister, and that this was the explanation of his disappearance. Al-Maqrizi also mentions this report but denies its truth (ii. p. 781). Ibn Khallân, iv. p. 11; Ibn al-Athîr, ix. p. 971; Abû ʾl-Fidâ, iii. p. 48; As-Suyûtî, ii. p. 18; and Ibn Khallikân relate the same story.
At Hulwán 'Abd al-'Aziz erected some handsome buildings, and set up a Nilometer. He was attacked by the disease called lion-sickness, or elephantiasis, and he took many medicines, but the medicines did him no good, and so the physicians, in treating him, selected [Hulwán] as a residence for him. This 'Abd al-'Aziz pulled down the Old Mosque at Miṣr, known as the foundation of 'Amr ibn al-'Āsi, governor of Egypt, and rebuilt it, adding to its extent. At Hulwán he made a large lake, into which water flowed from springs in the hills, named the Mukattam hills, by an aqueduct which he constructed [from the hills] to the lake. Beside the latter he erected a pavilion of glass.

'Abd al-'Aziz also built several mosques at Hulwán, and spent much money here. One copy of the history states that he spent a million of dinars here. He also planted palms and other trees here. He levied the land-tax several times in every week, fearing that a rebellion might arise and come upon him, and that then he would stand in need of money. He built the bridges over the canal of the Prince of the Faithful. It was his wish to remove the seat of commerce by land and water to [Hulwán], and to depopulate Al-Fusṭāṭ. [In his time] the public treasury was at Hulwán.

§ [There is at Hulwán] a monastery named after the Lady Mary, the Pure Virgin. It was erected at the expense of the bishops, in the

\[\text{HULWÁN.} \]

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1 I translate the words thus because the statement and even some of the words are apparently borrowed from Eutychius, who says:

'He had begun to be attacked by the disease of elephantiasis, so the physicians selected the city of Hulwán as a residence for him.' (Annales, ii. p. 369.)

2 This was in A.H. 79 = A.D. 699; see Al-Maqrizi, Kitāb, ii. p. r5 A. An abstract of Al-Maqrizi's full history of the Old Mosque is given by Lane in Modern Egyptians, vol. ii. App. F. iii. p. 348. (A. J. B.)

3 Our author's account here seems to be taken from Eutychius; see Annales (ed. Pococke), ii. p. 369.

4 The Khalīj or canal of Cairo; cf. above, fol. 24 a & b.
patriarchate of Anbâ Isaac the monk, who was the forty-first in the order of succession, and in the patriarchate of his successor, Anbâ Simon the Syrian, the forty-second patriarch, during the governorship of 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn Marwân, through the agency of Gregory, bishop of Al-Kais. The monastery is called the monastery of Abû Karkar; the last word being derived from the name of Gregorios.

1 Occupied the see from A.D. 686 to 688; see Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 177-9. Al-Makin gives the name of the patriarch as Îsâk (إسحاق) in Coptic, transcribing the word ICÁR; see Ta'rikh al-Muslimîn, ad ann. 66. The foundation of a church by the patriarch Isaac at Hulwan, during the residence there of 'Abd al-'Azîz, is mentioned in the Coptic life of this patriarch; see Amélineau, Hist. du patr. Isaac, p. 78. The Patriarchal History also says:

وبدا بيعة هولاون لأن في ذلك الموضع كان يبني إلى الأمير عبد العزيز وكان قد امر ارخنة

المعيد وكل الككر ان يبني كل واحد لنفسه محلان المدينة

'And [Isaac] built a church at Hulwan because he was visiting the emir 'Abd al-'Azîz at that place. Now the emir had commanded the chief men of Upper Egypt and all the provinces to build each one a house for himself at the city of Hulwan.' (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 26,100, p. 126, ll. 22-4.)

2 Occupied the see from A.D. 688-700 (?); see Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 179-189.

3 This bishop is mentioned as the chief bishop present at the election of John, who was set aside by 'Abd al-'Azîz in favour of the patriarch Isaac; see Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 26,100, p. 125, l. 27—p. 126, l. 1. The building of the church in question and of other churches was entrusted to the superintendence of the bishop Gregory by 'Abd al-'Azîz.

وبعد ثلاثة سنين اطلق الأساقفة إلى كرسيهم ابن بنيوا بيعتئين في حلاون وكانوا الأساقفة

ينقيرون من عنهم على عمارةهم وكل الوالي بعمارتهما أغريفوريس أسقف القيس

'After three years 'Abd al-'Azîz dismissed the bishops to their sees that they might find means for building two churches at Hulwan; and the bishops spent money from their own revenues upon the building; and the governor entrusted the superintendence of the building to Gregory, bishop of Al-Kais.' (Ibid. p. 135, ll. 4-6.)

4 The Coptic KAIĆ. Now in the district of Banî Mazar in the province of Minyah, with a population in 1885 of 3,160. In Yâkût’s time it was in ruins.
§ There is a second monastery, which was restored in the same way. 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Marwân decreed that a church should be founded for the patriarch Jonas¹ and the bishops; and so this church was founded by the Christian chamberlains of 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Marwân, in the name of the glorious martyr Saint George. This church was small, and was called the church of the Chamberlains². These Christian chamberlains were Melkites.

Church and Monastery at Dahshûr.

§ The church of Moses, who spoke with God. This is a large and spacious church on the bank of the blessed Nile, near Ḥulwân³ and Munyat as-Sūdân. (Now the Pharaoh of Moses was Al-Walid⁴ ibn Mus'ab.)

§ There is a monastery adjacent to this last-named church. This is a large building, skilfully planned and constructed, and it contains a large number of monks and devout old men. A festival is kept in this monastery, on the 17th of Tūbah, every year, in memory of the two saints, so celebrated for their monastic life, Maximus and Domitius, his brother, the sons of the emperor Valentinian⁵, and superiors


¹ Or John; he occupied the see from A.D. 677 to 686 (?), and was the predecessor of Isaac, and the fortieth of the Coptic patriarchs. See Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 174–177.

² There would seem to be some confusion between this church and that mentioned on fol. 52 a. Both accounts, however, are based on Eutychius, who speaks of the church built by the chamberlains of 'Abd al-'Aziz at Ḥulwân in Annales (ed. Pococke), ii. p. 369, and calls it كنيسة الفراشين as here.

³ We are told a few lines further down that it was at Dalshûr, which is on the western bank, opposite Ḥulwân.

⁴ The father of Ar-Rayyân according to most of the Arab historians; see above, fol. 18 b.

⁵ The form of the name is corrupt. The two saints are commemorated on Tūbah 17 = Jan. 20. They are said to have been the sons of the emperor
of the monastery of Our Lady, named after Baramús\(^1\), in the desert of Saint Macarius or Wâdi Habib.

It was the custom among Christian pilgrims to make a pilgrimage to these two saints three times in the year: namely, at the Feast of the Cross, on the 17th of Tût; at the Feast of the Bathing\(^2\), on the 11th of Tūbah; and on the Monday of Easter; and the people manifested great joy on account of these saints, and held spiritual communion [with them].

The revenues of this monastery and this church, which are in the district called Dahshûr\(^3\), in the province of Al-Jiziyah, were composed partly of an income of money and produce, together with the endowments and votive offerings and other receipts. But this state of things was afterwards changed, and disappeared through the disappearance of the good people; and this church became a mosque, and was called the mosque of Moses; and the monastery was entirely inundated by the river.

\[\text{Church of the Virgin.}\]

\(\text{Fol. 54 a}\) § There is a church named after Mary, the Pure Virgin. It was restored in the patriarchate of Anbâ Isaac, the forty-first in the succession, by Gregory, bishop of Al-Ḳais. The bricks and timber of this church were taken away, at the time of the victory of the emir Valentinian I, and to have been devoted to pious exercises from their youth. After a pilgrimage to Nicaea, the scene of the Council, they determined to become monks, and finally they became disciples of St. Macarius in the desert of Scete. See \textit{Synaxarium} ad diem. In the Bib. Nat. of Paris there is an Arabic life of the two saints.

\(^1\) This famous monastery is still standing.
\(^2\) The Epiphany; see fol. 41 a.
\(^3\) On the western bank; now in the district of Jarzah, in the province of Al-Jizah, and in 1885 had a population of 1,987. It is celebrated on account of its pyramids. It stands opposite to Ḥulwán, but further to the south. See Yâḳût, \textit{Geogr. Wörterbuch} ii. p. 177; \textit{Rec. de l'Égypte}, ii. p. 93.
Husain ibn al-Ḥāfīẓ and of the quarrel between the Ralḥāniyyah and the Juyūshiyyah¹, when many on both sides were killed. With the materials thus seized, the mosque called ‘Mosque of the Hyena,’ at Itfih, was restored, in the lunar year 528 (A. D. 1134). The result was that this church was entirely ruined and fell to the ground.

Monastery of Saint Anthony near the Red Sea.

§ Itfih received its name from one of the sons of Mālik, son of Tadrās, one of the sons of Mizraim; for most of the large towns are called after the names of their sons. [Itfih] travelled towards the west, until he reached the [Sea of] Darkness², and beheld many wonders.

§ The monastery named after Saint Anthony³. This stands to the east of Itfih, and to the south of Mīṣr, and from it to the river Nile there

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¹ These two sections of the Egyptian army quarrelled and fought in the reign of Al-Ḥāfīẓ, and his son Husain had much trouble in quelling the riots. See the account in Al-Maqrizi, Khīṭat, ii. p. 15 ff.

² The Atlantic Ocean, called by the Arabs Az-Zulmah or Bahr az-Zulumūt, was thought by them to be the western portion of the circumambient ocean. In these dark regions, curiously enough, is placed the Fountain of Life, of which Al-Khīḍr drank and so lives on to the Day of Judgment. (A. J. B.)

³ Abū Sāliḥ now passes from the Nile valley eastward through the desert to the celebrated monastery of St. Anthony, which lies in the mountains towards the Red Sea coast, to the south-east of Cairo, and nearly in lat. 29° N. In Coptic Churches, i. p. 342 ff., may be found some remarks on this and the neighbouring monastery of St. Paul. A woodcut of Dair Antāniyyūs is given in Sharpe’s Hist. of Egypt, ii. p. 350. St. Jerome in his Life of Hilarion gives a brief description of the place, mentioning the gardens with their springs of running water, and the chapel of St. Anthony on the height. For the visit of the Père Sicard, see tome v. pp. 125-200 of Nouveaux Mém. des Missions du Levant, Paris, 1725, where there is an interesting plan of Dair Antāniyyūs and Dair Būlus, as well as a map of Egypt. Still earlier is the visit in the seventeenth century of Jean Coppin, a French officer, who published his travels in a work called Bouclier de l’Europe, Paris, 1686, 4to, where there is an account of these monasteries on p. 305 ff. Pococke (vol. i. p. 128), besides some brief notes on the two monasteries,
is a distance of three days' journey through the desert of Al-Kulzum. The pure body [of Saint Anthony] lies at this monastery, buried in his cave, in which he used to pray; [the body] is walled up within. His church, named after him, stands upon the summit of the holy mountain.

 Fol. 54 b This monastery possesses many endowments and possessions at Misr. It is surrounded by a fortified wall. It contains many monks. Within the wall there is a large garden, containing fruitful palm-trees and apple-trees and pear-trees, and pomegranates and other trees; besides beds of vegetables, and three springs of perpetually-flowing water, with which the garden is irrigated and of which the monks drink. One feddan and a sixth in the garden form a vineyard, which supplies all that is needed; and it is said that the number of the palms which the garden contains amounts to a thousand trees; and there stands in it a large and well-built keep. The cells of the monks overlook this garden. The monastery possesses property and gardens also in Iftih. There is nothing like it among the other monasteries inhabited by Egyptian monks. It is in the possession of Jacobite monks.

§ It was in the Egyptian desert that Anba Andunah, the Egyptian, appeared. He was also named Antonios, the Star of the Desert and Father of Monks. He was the first monk who lived in the desert; and

gives a rude plan which he says was taken from a 'MS. map of the country about them.' Quatremère has some remarks on the monasteries in Mém. i. p. 153 ff. In recent times, the late Mr. Greville Chester visited Daîr Antâniyâs, and published a short account of it in pamphlet form. Mr. Headlam, of All Souls College, went to the monastery of St. Anthony and thence, like Coppin, on foot across the mountains to that of St. Paul. (A. J. B.)

1 The cave of St. Anthony lies high above the monastery on the steep side of the mountain. From it there opens a magnificent view of the Red Sea and Mount Sinai. (A. J. B.)

2 The gardens are still celebrated for their fertility. They are watered by springs from the mountain, of a slightly brackish kind, and not by wells as are the gardens of the Nitrian desert. See St. Jerome, quoted above. (A. J. B.)

3 For an account of Anthony and of monasticism in Egypt see Gibbon's well-known chap. 37; Sozomen's Eccl. Hist. i. 13, where it is stated that Anthony
monks gathered together to him. He began the building of monasteries and the assembling of monks in them. This holy monastery [which has been described] was built in the reign of the emperor Julian the apostate, son of the sister of Constantine the believer, and in the reign of Sapor, son of Artaxerxes, son of Babek, the Sassanian.

§ This great saint, Anthony, was the first monk who clothed himself in wool, and exhibited the monastic habit, and left the world and dwelt in the deserts. The angel of the Lord also appeared to him, and showed him how to wear the monkish habit\(^1\), and taught him how he must act in dwelling in the desert, that he might be an example to other monks, who should imitate him and live according to his pure life.

§ That emperor of whom we have spoken, I mean Julian, was slain by the martyr Mercurius\(^2\), as it is related by Basil\(^3\), bishop of Caesarea, who saw the similitude of blood on the point of his lance\(^4\). According to the history of Sa'îd ibn Baṭrîk\(^5\), who was patriarch of the Melkites,

\begin{itemize}
\item[	extsuperscript{1}] Hence called the Angelic Habit; see Coptic Churches, i. p. 347 and p. 334. (A. J. B.)
\item[	extsuperscript{2}] This story is related in the legend of St. Mercurius given in Coptic Churches, ii. pp. 357–360. (A. J. B.)
\item[	extsuperscript{3}] The story is not to be found in the works of St. Basil now extant in Greek.
\item[	extsuperscript{4}] Eutychius relates, on the authority of St. Basil, that the latter was sitting in his room, with a picture of St. Mercurius before him, when it suddenly disappeared from the panel on which it was painted; but that it reappeared an hour later with blood on the point of the lance, much to the astonishment of St. Basil, until he heard that at that very hour Julian had been mysteriously slain. (A. J. B.)
\item[	extsuperscript{5}] I.e. Eutychius; see the story in his Annales (ed. Pococke), i. p. 485, whence Abû Šâliḥ has borrowed it. Artaxerxes is, of course, inaccurately put for his descendant Sapor, mentioned a few lines above. Artaxerxes was the founder of the Sassanian dynasty of Persia, and reigned from A.D. 226 to 241. Sapor II reigned from A.D. 310 to 380. The death of Julian was in A.D. 363, whereas the year of Alexander (i.e. of the Seleucian era) 580 would be 267. (A. J. B.)
\end{itemize}
this happened in the reign of Artaxerxes, in the year 580 of Alexander, or, according to another copy, in the year 554 of Alexander. The history of Maḥbūb al-Manbājī, son of Constantine, relates the same incident.

With [Anthony] also was Paul⁠¹ the monk; and these two were the first who clothed themselves in woollen garments, and dwelt in the deserts. This was in the patriarchate of Dionysius², the fourteenth in the succession. In the time [of Anthony] also lived Athanasius³, the scribe, patriarch of Alexandria, and Saint Pachomius⁴, the Egyptian monk, and Basil, bishop of Caesarea.

In this district [of Itšīḥ]⁵ there are seven churches, of which six

¹ The name is corruptly written; it probably passed through the stages بیت‎, بدنس, بذکس, بذکس, بواص, which are intelligible enough if we suppose that they were the result partly of careless dictation, partly of careless writing from dictation, and partly of careless copying.

Sozomen (vi. 29 and i. 13) mentions two Pauls, viz. (1) a saint who lived at Pherme, a mountain in Scete or the Nitrian desert. There were 500 monks with him. He prayed 300 times a day, and had a bag of pebbles by which to count his orisons—a sort of rosary. (2) Paul, called the Simple, who was a disciple of Anthony and who gave his name to the monastery of St. Paul or Dair Būlus, as it is now called, a day's journey to the south of Dair Antūniyūs. Abū Šāliḥ's account of Dair Būlus—a very scanty one—is given a few pages below. (A. J. B.)

² Occupied the see from A.D. 248 (?) to twelfth year of Gallienus, i.e. 264-5. See Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 32-39. St. Anthony lived from A.D. 251 to 356.

³ Athanasius was a friend of St. Anthony. His life and writings are too well known to need special reference. (A. J. B.)

⁴ A celebrated monk of Tabennesi, called the Father of the Coenobites, because he first gathered the monks together into monasteries. His 'Fifty Rules for the Monastic Life' are given in Migne's Patres Aegyptii, p. 948; and Palladius gives his history. See Acta SS. for May 14, Rosweyde, Tillemont, and the Coptic life by his disciple Theodore, published in 1889 by M. Amélineau. Pachomius seems to have been born about A.D. 280, and to have died in A.D. 348 or 349. His festival is kept by the Copts on Bashans 14 = May 9. (A. J. B.)

⁵ As the road to the monastery of St. Anthony started from Itšīḥ or near it,
belong to the Copts and one to the Armenians; this last is named after the martyr Saint George.

Monastery of Al-Jummaizah.

§ The monastery called the monastery of Al-Jummaizah\(^1\) stands upon the bank of the blessed Nile. Adjacent to it there is a keep, and a garden, and a mill, and a wine-press. It stands near Dahrût\(^2\), and contained, up to our own time, thirty monks.

The Heretic Balûtus.

§ In the [aforesaid] monastery of Anbâ Andûnah, or Antonios, there was a monk named Balûtus, learned in the doctrines of the Christian religion and the duties of the monastic life, and skilled in the rules of the canon-law. But Satan caught him in one of his nets; for he began to hold opinions at variance with those taught by the Three Hundred and Eighteen [of Nicaea]; and he corrupted the minds of many of those who had no knowledge or instruction in the orthodox faith. He announced with his impure mouth, in his wicked discourses, that Christ our Lord—to Whom be glory—was like one of the prophets. He associated with the lowest among the followers of his religion, our author speaks as if the monastery was in close connexion with the town; see above, fol. 10a.

\(^1\) There are two places of this name: Al-Jummaizah the Great (Al-Kubrâ) and Al-Jummaizah the Little (Aš-Šughrâ), both near Itšilî. This monastery is mentioned by Al-Maḫrîzî (Khīṭaṭ, ii. p. 5-r), who says it was also called Al-Jûd, and was dedicated to St. Anthony. Perhaps it is identical with the monastery of St. Anthony near the Nile, a little to the south of Itšilî and therefore not far from Al-Jummaizah; from this monastery provisions were sent to the great monastery of St. Anthony near the Red Sea.

\(^2\) A town about twenty miles below Al-Ḳais, on the west bank, and not far from Al-Bahnasâ; see Vâḵût, Geogr. Wört. ii. p. 177; Al-Idrisî (ed. Rome) [p. 113]. It does not seem to be in existence now. As the place is at some distance from Al-Jummaizah, and on the opposite bank of the river, perhaps our author or his abbreviator has here confused two monasteries.
clothed as he was in the monastic habit, girded with the zānīyah and the askīm. When he was questioned as to his religion and his creed, he professed himself a believer in the Unity of God. His doctrines prevailed during a period which ended in the year 839 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1123); then he died, and his memory was cut off for ever.

Churches at Al-Barnil and Saul.

§ In the district of Al-Barnil there is a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary. Beside it there is another named after the saint Abū 'l-Árah.

1 I have already explained that by the askīm is meant properly the σχῆμα ἀγγέλικων or angelic habit, but it sometimes denotes merely the leathern girdle, as Al-Makrizi says:

الأشكم وهو سير من جلد فيه صليب يتوشع به الرهبان

'The askīm, which is a leathern belt with a cross upon it, and with which the monks gird themselves.' (Khīṭat, ii. p. o.a.)

The wearer of this girdle has, nowadays, for the time being to double his offices and make 600 daily prostrations. The order made by St. Pachomius for the monkish habit enjoined the use of a sleeveless cassock—χιτών ἀχειρίδωτος, a hood—σκέπασμα οὗ κουκόλων, a girdle—ζώνη—the zānīyah of the text, and the ἀναβολέας, which is defined as τοὺς ὅμοιος καὶ τοὺς βραχίονος ἀνέχων, and seems to have been a sort of scarf worn across the shoulders (Sozomen, iii. c. 14). But the Père Sicard seems to identify the angelic habit with this ἀναβολέας. He says that the habit is a sort of 'pallium ou scapulaire' of leather, called the askīm; that it falls from the shoulders over the back and chest and has four ends worked with crosses, and that these ends are disposed crosswise over the body in various fashions. (Nov. Mém. des Missions dans le Levant, v. p. 150.) (A. J. B.)

2 Or 'a Unitarian.' (A. J. B.)

3 Yākūt sets this place on the eastern bank of the Nile, but says no more about it. It does not seem to be in existence now, but was presumably between Ifīh and Saul. See Yākūt, Geogr. Wort. ad voc.

In the district of Šaul there is a church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary.

There is also a church named after the glorious and valiant martyr Theodore, the Eastern.

There is also a church to the glorious Saint John.

Moreover in the district of Itfïh, in the city and outside it, there were more than twenty churches; but only ten of them remain to the present time. One of these is a church in the district of Bâlûjah, named after the Disciples, and enclosed within a fortified wall; it has a garden, and a water-wheel attached to a well of fresh running water. [In this district is] the church of Saint Mercurius; and a church of the Lady, which belongs to the monks; and a church named after the valiant martyr Theodore; and a church named after Saint Cosmas; and a church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin; and a church named after the saint Aba Jûl; and a church of the martyr Saint.

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1 On the east bank, to the south of Itfïh; the place is now included in the district of Itfïh (Aţfïh), in the province of Al-Jiziyyah, and in 1885 had a population of 3,184. See Al-Idrisî (ed. Rome) [p. 48]; Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. iii. p. 46o; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 296.

2 This saint, whose festival is kept on Tûbah 12=Jan. 4, is very popular among the Copts. Amélineau, Actes des MM. p. 179 ff.; Synaxarium, ad diem. He fought in the Roman army against the Persians together with St. Theodore of Shuţb, with whom he is probably confused, and was martyred under Licinius.

3 It is impossible to say to which St. John this church was dedicated, since there are several saints of that name. One of them is ‘St. John of the Golden Gospel’ (صاحب الأنجل الذهب), commemorated on Abib 16=July 10, who had the gospels written out for him in golden letters. (A. J. B.)

4 There is some difficulty about this town, which Al-Maqrizî places close to Daljah, i.e. on the west bank, to the west of Mallawi and Ushmûnain (Khîtât, ii. p. 36o), whereas our author seems to set it on the east bank, near Itfïh.

5 Aba Jûl is without doubt a corrupt form of Aba Bajûl, the Coptic Α.Π.Α.
Mennas, called the 'Church of the Column,' over which is a sheet of metal, and to which many votive offerings are brought. The Melkites have a sanctuary in this last-named church, in which they celebrate the liturgy. There is also another church named after the martyr Saint Mennas, near the ancient temple.

§ There is another monastery in the desert, called the monastery of the Mule, containing many monks.

Monastery of Saint Paul near the Red Sea.

§ Within the desert is the monastery of Saint Paul. It stands on the bank of the Salt Sea, and between it and the monastery of Al-Jummaizah there is a journey of two days through the desert. Monks in priest's orders and deacons come from the monastery of the great Saint Anthony to the monastery [of Saint Paul] to celebrate

πξωλα or πσωλα, the name of a celebrated hermit, the first teacher or religious superior of St. Sinuthius. See Zoega, Cat. p. 375; Amelineau, Mém. pour servir à l'hist. de l'Église chrét. au 4 et 5 siècles, p. 5.

1 The notice of an ancient temple, such as is denoted by the term birba, existing in the twelfth century near Itfiil, as Abû Sâlih apparently implies, is interesting, and may be of use to explorers. It is said that there are no ancient remains there now. (A. J. B.)

2 According to Al-Makrizi (Khitat, ii. p. 534) this was another name for the monastery of Al-Kusair, in connexion with which our author has already told the story of the mule; see fol. 50a.

3 This is the famous monastery of St. Paul (Dair Būlus), of which I have spoken above, near the Red Sea and almost a day's journey beyond St. Anthony. St. Jerome, in the Life of Hilarion, quotes St. Anthony's disciples, Amathas and Macarius, as stating that Paul the Theban was the real author of monasticism — 'principem ejus rei fuisset non nominis' — if the reading is right; and St. Jerome professes his own agreement with that opinion; although St. Anthony is generally called, as by Abû Sâlih, the 'father of monks.' (A. J. B.)

4 The sea is called لٍ in distinction from لٍ without an epithet, which might mean simply a river or canal, and in Egypt generally means 'the Nile.'
the liturgy in it by turns. It stands in the Wâdi 'l-'Arabah, near the pool of Miriam; and it is near Mount Sinai, but divided from it by the passage over the Salt Sea.

**Al-‘Arîsh.**

§ The region of Al-‘Arish. In this region there are two large churches, which have stood here from ancient times, and are now in ruins, but their walls remain up to our own time; and the wall of the city, which ran along the side of the Salt Sea, is still existing.

It is said that of all the marble and columns which are to be found at Miṣr, the greater part and the largest specimens came from Al-‘Arish.

**Al-Faramâ.**

§ The city of Al-Faramâ. This city was built by Pharaoh, on the river Nile, in the twenty-eighth year after the birth of Moses

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1 The Wâdi 'l-'Arabah is a valley running from west to east between the Nile and the Red Sea. The ‘pool of Miriam’ is a name given by our author to a spring which bursts out of the rock behind the monastery of St. Anthony and supplies it with water, and in which Miriam, the sister of Moses, is said to have bathed at the time of the Exodus (Maḳrizî, Khīṭat, ii. p. σ.τ.; cf. Murray’s Guide, p. 324).

2 It is interesting to know that remains of the ancient Rhinocolura existed in the time of Abû Ṣâliḥ. The columns at Miṣr would be mostly those used in the construction of the Christian churches and of the mosques. These columns were taken from classical buildings, and were not cut or designed during the middle ages. The use of columns for building is illustrated by the well-known story of Ibn Ṭûlûn and the Christian architect who built his mosque; see Al-Maḳrizî, Khīṭat, ii. p. ρ.το ff., and S. Lane-Poole’s Art of the Saracens in Egypt, p. 54. (A. J. B.)

3 Champollion justly points out that the towns denoted by the modern Arabic names are not as a rule on the actual site of the ancient towns which they represent, and argues that Al-Faramâ was rebuilt by the Arabs nearer to the sea than the ancient Pelusium, which is said by Strabo to have been 2,040 yards from the sea,
the prophet; and its name was taken from Faramūnus\(^1\). It was exceedingly wonderful, and one of the most ancient of foundations of which there is a record. It is said that there was a way from this city to the island of Cyprus on dry land, but the sea covered it. The sea also covered the quarry of black and white marble of Gaza, and the quarry of white marble which was in Libya\(^2\). There were at Al-Faramā many churches and monasteries, which were wrecked by the Persians\(^3\) and the Arabs; but it is said that the wall of the city remains to the present day.

§ The book of Fadâ‘il Misk\(^4\) relates that there was in the city of Tinnis a governor called Ibn al-Mudabbar, who sent men to Al-Faramā to pull down the stonework of the gateways on the eastern side of that city. But when those who were sent to extract the stones arrived, the people of Al-Faramā went out armed to meet them, and forbade them to extract the stones, saying: 'These gates are ancient and have never been injured by any king or any other man; how then can we allow you to extract the stones from them, and take them away to another country? It was through these gates also that Jacob, the father of

and is put by Champollion at 3,000 yards. Abū Šāliḥ states above that the Arab town was on the sea (fol. 19 b); Al-Maḥrīzī is evidently wrong in placing it at the distance of a day's journey. Al-Faramā was occupied by 'Amr on his way to the conquest of Egypt. Subsequently it was refortified by the caliph Al-Mutawakkil about A.D. 853; and about \(1117\), as Abū Šāliḥ records, it was taken by Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, who, being unable to hold it, laid it in ruins and retired. See Hamaker, Incerti auctoris Expugnatio Memphis, pp. 16, 17; Champollion, L'Égypte sous les Pharaons, ii. pp. 82-87; Quatremère, Mém. i. p. 259. (A. J. B.)

\(^1\) This is evidently a transcription of the Coptic Pheremoun or Baramoun. Both the Coptic name and the Greek \(\pi\eta\lambda\omicron\omicron\sigma\omicron\omicron\omicron\), as well as the modern Arabic designation At-Tih, have the connotation of 'mud.' (A. J. B.)

\(^2\) This account of Al-Faramā is borrowed from Al-Kindī; see Al-Maḥrīzī, \(Khīṭāt\), i. p. 911.

\(^3\) During the invasion of Chosroes; see Patriarchal History, Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 12,000, p. 101.

the tribes, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham the Friend [of God]—upon them be peace!—made his entry; and if perchance one of the kings who believe in God shall undertake to restore the gates, then their stones shall be found safe and in their places. So the men went away and did not displace a single stone.

Ishmael.

§ It was Útis, the son of Khartabâ, who gave to Sarah, the wife of Abraham the Friend [of God], her handmaid Hagar, in the thirty-fifth year of the life of Abraham; or, according to another copy, in the eighty-fifth; and the latter is the true date. By Hagar, Abraham became the father of Ishmael, who was called his son by Hagar; and the Arabs call Ishmael their ancestor, because he took a wife from among them; and they are called Ishmaelites, because Ishmael was their father, and because Ishmael grew up among the Arabs and spoke the Arabic language. Ishmael lived one hundred and thirty-nine years. He had, by his Arab wives, twelve sons, who

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1 The allusion is, although somewhat incorrectly made, to the Koran, Sūrah Yúsuf, ver. 67, where Jacob says to his sons when they are about to journey to Egypt:

'My sons, do not enter by a single gate, but enter by different gates.' Cf. Al-Maḳrīzî, Khīṭāt, i. p. 114. Cf. the Midrash Rabbah on Gen., Par. 91 (quoted by Geiger, Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen? p. 148):

און ליה אינכט ולא חנסו כלכש במחת אהת

'Jacob said to them: Do not all of you assemble at one gate.'

2 We have here another of our author's digressions. Útis is the ancient king of Egypt who is named Aftūtis on fol. 22 b; see note there.

3 The Hebrew text and the LXX have 137 years.

4 See Gen. xxv. 13-15. The Arab writers naturally give somewhat corrupt forms of their names; see e.g. Ibn Ishāḵ quoted by Ibn Hishâm, Sūrah Muhammad, p. 45.
were great giants among the Arabs; and they were the [heads of] tribes. And Nabish\(^1\) was one of the sons of Ishmael. Now he, I mean Úṭis, dwelt at Al-Faramâ. His name is also said to have been Sādūk. He built many cities, and called them by the names of his sons: such as Tinnis and Damietta and Nūbah\(^2\) and Daḵahlah\(^3\); and he rebuilt Samannūd. It is said that Pharaoh built Al-Faramâ, which was a lake of water; and a thousand boats were sunk in it, and the sea overwhelmed a thousand men, and therefore it was called Alfa ramâ\(^4\).

Cleopatra, queen of Alexandria, built the wall of Al-Hujûz\(^5\), on the eastern side of the country, from Nubia to Al-Faramâ, and on the western side from Nubia to Alexandria, to fortify herself against Augustus Caesar, emperor of the Romans, who captured Jerusalem, and carried the Jews away thence to Rome.

**Invasion of Egypt by Baldwin I.**

Sirbâduwil\(^6\), king of the Franks in Syria, came to Al-Faramâ in

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1 This is the form given by Ibn Isḥāk; the Hebrew is Nāphish (עָנָף); see Gen. xxv. 15.

2 Nūbah or ‘the Nubians’ is the name of a tribe, not of a town.

3 The Coptic ΤΚΕΞΛ. It is the town which gives its name to the province of Ad-Daḵahliyah in the Delta. It stands between Damietta and Damārah, on the east bank of the Damietta branch, in the district of Faraskûr, and in 1885 had 1,197 inhabitants, having much sunk from its former importance. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. 641; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 509 f.

4 ‘It cast a thousand;’ the etymology reminds us of Virgil’s derivation of Latium, ‘his quoniam latuisset in oris.’ (A. J. B.)

5 The Ḥa’iṭ al-Hujûz or ‘barrier-wall,’ generally called Ḥa’iṭ al-‘Ajûz or Jisr al-‘Ajûz, ‘wall’ or ‘dyke of the old woman,’ has already been mentioned on fol. 19b. It was generally said to have been built in remote antiquity by a queen called Dalûkah; and our author’s statement that Cleopatra built it to fortify herself against Augustus, is probably borrowed from Eutychius; see *Annales*, i. p. 301.

6 I.e. *Sieur Baudouin* or Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem from a.d. 1100 to 1118.
the caliphate of Al-Āmir and the vizierate of Shâhanshâh al-Afdal, in the fifteenth year of the patriarchy of Anbâ Macarius¹, the sixty-ninth in the succession. This king of the Franks came with his troops and his army, and plundered the city, and burnt it. He made up his mind to march as far as Mîṣr, in order to take possession of that city; but he fell sick at Al-Faramâ on the third day after his arrival, and, as his sickness increased, he commanded his followers to carry him back to Syria. They did as he commanded them, and when he came near to Al-'Arish he died; and so they embalmed him, and carried him back to Jerusalem, where he was buried.

Al-Kulzum.

§ Al-Kulzum² was the fortress of the king, on the frontier bordering upon the Hedjaz, and he named it after the cord of the weaver’s stand, which holds the garment, and which is called kulzum³. Here is the church of Athanasius⁴. There is a monastery in the district of Rânah, founded by the emperor Justinian. At Al-Kulzum was the end of the canal from Cairo. Here, between the two seas, namely the Syrian Sea and the Sea of the Hedjaz, is the barrier or isthmus, which is the narrowest piece of dry land on the surface of the earth; and it is the land lying between Al-Faramâ and Al-Kulzum, a distance of one day and one night’s journey. A certain prince⁵ undertook to dig a canal between

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¹ Occupied the see from November A.D. 1103 to 1129; see Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 483-500. His fifteenth year therefore corresponds with A.D. 1118, the year of Baldwin’s invasion of Egypt and of his death.

² See above, fol. 19 b.

³ i.e., as Professor Margoliouth suggests, the Greek κλώσμα.

⁴ Anbâ Siyûs is incorrectly written for Atanâsiyûs or Athanasius. His death is commemorated on Mârîf 29 (Aug. 22). See Synaxarium at that day. Eutychius names the church of St. Athanasius at Al-Kulzum, and states that it was built by order of the emperor Justinian; see Anales, ii. p. 163.

⁵ It might be thought that this refers to the canal of Pharaoh Necho, who is said to have been warned by an oracle that his enterprise would only help the
these two places, in order that the two seas might be connected, the one with the other; but he feared that the Romans might attack the shores of the Hedjaz with their ships.

§ Al-Faramâ is surrounded by a fortified wall of stone without gates, which is in a state of ruin.

§ It is said that it was in the sea of Al-Ḳulzum, which is the Red Sea, opposite to the monastery of Anthony, that God drowned Pharaoh and his host, and led the prophet Moses and the children of Israel over on dry land by twelve paths; and some of them remain to this day, and witnesses to them are not wanting^1; and this sea is the Bahr Sâf^2.

§ The history of Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīk, the Melkite, relates^3 that the dearth was raging at Medina, near Mecca, and the people of Medina, of the Hanifite religion, were in great distress; so ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb, in the eighth year of his caliphate, wrote from the Hedjaz to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣi ibn ʿAdi, emir of Egypt, to inform him of this. Then ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣi sent to ʿUmar a caravan of camels loaded with corn, for which the point of arrival was Medina, and the point of departure Mīṣr. Then ʿUmar wrote to ʿAmr commanding him to dig a canal to Al-Ḳulzum, that thus the transport of the corn might be facilitated. So ʿAmr dug the canal, which passes through Al-Ḳantarah, and is called the canal of the Prince of the Faithful; and thus boats brought wheat and barley from Al-Fustâṭ along the canal to Al-Ḳulzum, whence they

barbarians, i.e. Phoenicians. But all ambiguity is removed by a passage in Al-Masʿūdī (quoted by Quatremère, Mém. i. p. 175), who states that the caliph Hârûn ar-Rashid contemplated making a canal across the isthmus, but was deterred by the representation that the Greeks would take advantage of it to gain command of the Gulf of Suez and attack the pilgrim ships on their way towards the holy places of Arabia. (A. J. B.)

^1 It would seem that these two clauses refer to the army of Pharaoh, some relics of which are said to have remained.

^2 I. e. the Hebrew נִדָּם.

^3 See Eutychius, Annales, ii. p. 321. This canal of Cairo, or Khalīj Amīr al-Mūʾminīn, has already been spoken of on fol. 24.
were carried over the Salt Sea to Medina, which is the city of Afram, belonging to the diocese of Al-ﻜulzum, and the children of Israel built it for Pharaoh at that time.

It is said that the canal\(^1\) of Cairo starts from the dam near [the island of] Raudah at Miṣr, and finishes at As-Sadir, in the province of Ash-Sharḳiyah, where there is a bridge, and where the wheat is transferred from the bank to the dealer who travels to Mecca and the Hedjaz.

\textit{Churches in the Province of Al-Ｊizah.}

\S\ The western bank [of the Nile]. The province of Al-Jiziyah\(^2\). The fortress of Al-Jizah was built by ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣi, in the year 22 of the Hegira (A. D. 43), and was completed for the Hamdān\(^3\). This last is [the name of] an Arab tribe who settled there at the time of the conquest of Alexandria.

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\(^1\) The present canal or \textit{khalij} was doubtless the old \textit{Annis Trajanus}, and it starts from the Nile, as described, at the \textit{Fum al-Khalij}, near the island of Raudah. \textit{Yākūt} (\textit{Geogr. Wört.} iii. p. 61) speaks of As-Sadir as a marshy district on the eastern boundary of Egypt, being the first place arrived at by one coming to that country from Syria; and he adds that he had visited the place himself. \textit{Abū Šāliḥ} means, I suppose, that the canal at the time of his writing, in the twelfth century, was still available for merchandise as far as As-Sadir, from which point transport to the east had to be made by camel. The greater part of the canal was disused as early as the eighth century, when the caliph Al-Manṣūr is said to have filled it up. (A. J. B.)

\(^2\) Al-Jizah, now pronounced Ghızah, is the name of the town or village on the west bank of the Nile, opposite Cairo, and it gives its name to the province. The Coptic name of Al-Jizah was \textit{ㄇ@extends or ㄇextent}. (A. J. B.)

\(^3\) The caliph ‘Umar warned the Muslims not to allow any great river to intervene between them and their home in Arabia, so that if they had to flee back to their native country there might be no obstacle in their way; but in spite of this the tribe of Hamdān insisted on settling at Al-Jizah on the further side of the Nile, and ‘Amr built a fort for them there. See As-Suyūṭī, \textit{Ḥusn al-Muhāḍarah}, i. p. 81.
In the western part of Al-Jiziyah are the tombs of the kings\(^1\) or Pharaohs, in which are their treasures, all traces of which have been effaced.

In this district [of Al-Jizah] is the church of the martyr Victor, son of Romanus\(^2\), on the bank of the river; it was built at the expense of Abû '1-Khair aș-Şairafî, a native of Al-Jizah. A light was seen to proceed from the picture of the Lady in the apse of this church on several occasions; and this thing became celebrated, and was talked of by many of the faithful who had witnessed it, and by other persons of authority. The foundations of this church were inundated by the river, so that it almost fell into ruin; but it was restored, and its foundations were strengthened, and an enclosure in the river was built for it, to give it strength, by the Shaikh 'Izz al-Kufat Abû '1-Fakhr ibn Sulaimân, the scribe, who spent much money upon it. This [shaikh] was celebrated in his time for his benevolence and his almsgiving. The Ghuzz and Kurds destroyed part of the aforesaid church; but God on this account performed a great wonder, so that they never attacked it again; and this was that by the end of the year not one of those who had attacked the church was living.

Adjacent to this church there is a garden. After a time the river gained upon the building; and the architects were unable to invent any remedy, so that the river carried away the eastern side of the building. Then Fakhr ad-Din, the wâli of Miṣr, known as Ghulâm al-Bâniyâsî, carried off eighteen pillars, marked with the sign of the cross\(^3\); and he built with them an inn and other houses for himself; but he was deprived of the governorship of Miṣr, and was fined soon after this, and all his property was seized to pay the fine; and he died during his imprisonment.

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\(^1\) The pyramids are, of course, intended. (A. J. B.)

\(^2\) The name is corruptly written here, but all other authorities make it Romanus; see Synaxarium (Paris MS. Arabe 256), which has رومانوس; Zoega, Cat. p. 239, &c.; Amélineau, Actes des MM. p. 177 ff.

\(^3\) This allusion to consecration crosses cut or painted on the pillars is interesting. See Coptic Churches, i. p. 188, &c. (A. J. B.)
The house of Fakhr al-Kufát stood by the river; and he feared lest the river should destroy it, as it had destroyed the rest; so he pulled it down, and carried away all the materials and the timber, and the timber of the roof of the church which has been described, with its materials, and rebuilt with them a church which had fallen into ruin, and which was named after Mark the Evangelist. This building he made wider and handsomer than the former church; and it remained for several years in good order, until the Ghuzz and the mob of Muslims attacked it and wrecked it; and after that no one restored it again; but its walls are still standing, in a ruined state, and it is deprived of liturgies and prayers. This destruction took place at the promotion of Anbā John, son of Abū Ghālib, the seventy-fourth patriarch.

§ There is a church of Saint Peter at Al-Jizah, on the bank of the Nile, the foundations of which are in the river. It was in this church that the Christians assembled, at a time when the Nile was slow in rising; and they offered prayers on this account by night and by day, and fasted for the space of a whole week; and at the end of the week God filled up the measure of the waters of the Nile, and they increased beyond that, after the rising of Arcturus, until they reached a height of seventeen cubits or more; and the Life of Anbā Michael states that they reached eighteen cubits; and men ceased to despair of the

1 'Izz al-Kufát.
2 Mentioned by Al-Mašrîzî, and by the Copto-Arabic lists (Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 578 and 580).
3 I have inserted these two clauses here instead of lower down, where the copyist has misplaced them in the text. The history of this rise of the Nile in answer to the prayers of the Christians is borrowed by our author from the Life of Michael the forty-sixth patriarch, by John the Deacon, included in the patriarchal biographies. This writer describes the assembly of bishops at Al-Fustâṭ, according to the custom which prescribed that all the bishops should meet the patriarch in synod, twice in the year; and having stated that the Nile had not risen that year above fourteen cubits, he adds:

وَلَمْ كَانَ السَّابِعُ عَشْرَ مِنْ تُوْتُ يومَ عِبَادُ الصَّليِّبِ المَجْدِ جَمْعُ كَهْنَةٍ لِّلِّجَٰلِيْرَةِ وَالْنِّزَّةَاتُ وَأَكْثَرُ الَّيْطَابِعِ، وَلْكَانَ الشَّبَّابُ وَالْكَبْرَاءُ مَنْ تُحَلِّلُوا الْاَئِجَالِ وَمْبَاذَرُ الْخَيْرُ وَدُخُلُوا إِلَى الْبَيْتَةِ الْكِبْرَى
rising of the Nile. Then Nârûn, the wâli of Mîṣr, said: ‘How does God receive the prayers of the Christians!’

At Al-Jizâh there is also a church named after the angel Michael, near to which lies the village of Al-Khaâizrânîyah. It was to this

‘When the 17th of Tût came, which is the festival of the Glorious Cross, the clergy of Al-Jizâh and of distant places assembled, with most of the lay people of Al-Fustât, old and young, and walked in procession carrying the Gospels and censers with incense. Then we entered the great cathedral church of St. Peter, the foundations of which lie in the river; but the church could not contain the people on account of their multitude, so that they stood in the outlying places. Then the patriarch raised the cross, while Anbâ Mennas, bishop of Memphis, stood by him with the holy Gospel, and led us all forth, bearing crosses and books of the Gospel, until we stood on the banks of the river; and this was before sunrise. And the patriarch prayed, and Anbâ Mennas, the bishop, prayed, and the laity did not cease crying Kyrie eleison until the third hour of the day; so that all the Jews and Muslims and others heard our cries to the most high God. And he heard us, praise be to his glorious name; for the river rose and increased in height by one cubit; and every man glorified God and gave thanks to him. And when Nârûn heard of this matter he was filled with wonder and fear, both he and all his troops.’ (Paris MS. Anc. Fonds Arabe 139, p. 183, ll. 5-14.)

Cf. Renaudot, Hist. Patr. p. 230, where he wrongly says that the church of St. Peter was at Mîṣr. Al-Maârîzî also mentions the event.

The subsequent rise to the height of eighteen cubits is mentioned in the MS. just quoted on p. 180, l. 7.
church [of the angel Michael] that Anbā Michael, the forty-sixth patriarch, came with the bishops who were his fellow-prisoners, when they were released from the hand of Marwân al-Ja‘di, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs. Afterwards the river inundated this church, and not a trace of it remained.

§ The monastery named after the glorious martyr Mercurius. The church belonging to it was destroyed by the Khorassanians¹, when they were transported to the western bank of the river, in order to fight with Marwân, surnamed the Ass of War².

§ There is a church of Mark³, the evangelist and apostle, in the fort built by Khûsh⁴, king of the Persians, at the same time as the Kaşr ash-Shama‘ at Miṣr. The king used to alight at both of them from his boat.

§ The church of the angel Michael, also called the Red Monastery⁵, is on the bank of the blessed Nile. In this monastery there is a church named after Cosmas and Damian, which has a conspicuous dome of stone.

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¹ The best account of the attack upon Marwân made by the Khorassanian troops of the Abbaside caliph As-Saffâḥ is given by the contemporary witness, John the Deacon, in the life of Michael just quoted.

² This sobriquet alluded to his vigour and tenacity.

³ This must be the church already mentioned on fol. 59 b.

⁴ I.e. Artaxerxes Ochus. The name is shortened from اخوس, and the points over the ش are, of course, incorrect. Eutychius, after mentioning Artaxerxes Mnemon, says:

ومنك بعده ابن ارطخاشات ويسما اخوس

‘And after him reigned his son Artaxerxes, called Ochus.’ Further down Eutychius says:

ومنا اخوس ملك الفرس بسطاط مصر الفصر المعروف اليوم بقصر الشمع

‘And Ochus, king of the Persians, built at Fusṭāṭ Miṣr the fort which is now called Kaşr ash-Shama‘.’ (Annales, i. p. 267.)

⁵ This must still be in the province of Al-Jiṣīyah, and is not to be confounded with the Red Monastery of Upper Egypt.

a a [II. 7.]
CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

Al-Khaizarrâniyah. Here is the church of Saint Poemen, [the garden of] which contains fruitful palm-trees and an arbour of trees.

Munyat Andúnah. Here there is the church of the saint Abû Bîmah; and a church named after Abû Baghâm, the

1 This village or district was, as we have been told a few lines above, contiguous to Al-Jîzah. Both the locality and its church of St. Poemen are named in the Copto-Arabic lists (Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 578 and 580), thus

\[\text{Al-Khaizaraniyah}\]

' [Church of] Saint Poemen at Poulhût or Al-Khazaraniyah.' M. Amélineau, in spite of his study of Abû Sâlih, has not discovered the mention of this place and church in our author, and therefore is totally at a loss as to the position of Al-Khazraniyah, or Al-Khaizaraniyah (op. cit. p. 363). The name of St. Poemen, M. Amélineau assures us, is translated into Greek [sic] by 'Pastor'!

2 put by a clerical error for انصاب, seems to denote trees, and is probably the Syriac يدود.

3 This village, on the west bank, a little to the south of Al-Jîzah, is said to have been named after a Christian scribe of Aḥmad al-Madâ‘înî, whose riches excited the cupidity of Ahmad ibn Tûlûn, so that he fined him 50,000 dinars. See Al-Makrizi, Khîlat, i. p. 74.

4 In Coptic [sic] which is more correctly transcribed in Arabic as 'Abâ Abîmah.' He was a celebrated martyr, born at Pankoleus in the name of Pemje or Al-Bahmasâ. Pankoleus appears to be the same as Jalfah, which is mentioned by our author on fol. 73 b and 74 a; see Amélineau, Géogr. p. 96. Epime or Abîmah was a landed proprietor and the chief of his townsmen. In the persecution of Diocletian, he was ordered to bring forth the presbyters of the town and to hand over the sacred vessels, but answered that there were no permanent priests there, and that the vessels were of glass. The saint was sent to Alexandria, where Armenius, the governor, condemned him, it is said, to be thrown into a furnace at the baths, from which he emerged unhurt; but finally he was beheaded, after manifold tortures, at Ahnât. His life was written by Julius of Aţfahs; and his festival is kept on Abîb 8=July 2. See Synaxarium at that day; Zoega, Cat. p. 22; Amélineau, Actes des MM. p. 134.

5 A soldier in the time of Diocletian, who, on account of his adoption of Christianity, was scourged and afterwards put to death. His festival is on Kihak 2=Nov. 28.
CHURCHES IN THE PROVINCE OF AL-JÎZAH.  179

martyr, whose body lies within it, although his monastery is at Suyûţ 1.

§ Wadâb al-Kûm. Here is one church.

§ Bunumrus 2 or Kaşr Khâkân. There is here a church named after the holy martyr Saint George, which was restored by 'Ilm aš-Šarf Abû ʿl-Makârim al-Wizân bi ʾsh-Shafâʾif; and within it there is a tablet of wood fastened with thread.

§ Bûlâk 3. Here is the church of Saint George, beside which grows an ancient lotus-tree; and the church of the valiant martyr Theodore.

At Mukhnnân 4 there is a single church.

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1 Suyûţ or Usyûţ, now more commonly called Asyûţ, is the largest town in Upper Egypt, since it contained, in 1885, 31,398 inhabitants. It is the Coptic CHURCHES and the classical Lycopolis; and it is now, as it was in the time of our author, the capital of a province. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 466.

2 Called Abû ʾn-Numrus by Al-Makrizî and others. It is now in the district of Badrashain, in the province of Al-Jizah, and had in 1885 a population of 2,593 inhabitants, besides 299 Bedouins. It was called in Coptic noi lottpoc, and the Arabic form with ʿaš is, of course, the result of a popular assimilation to other names compounded with that word. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 361 f.

3 I.e. Bûlâk ad-Dakrûr. The suburb of Cairo named Bûlâk was not founded until A.D. 1313; see Al-Makrizî, Khîlat, ii. p. 17.

4 This place, the Coptic EXAOHTIOQ, lay in the province of Al-Jizah, a little to the north of Cairo, on the east side of the Rosetta branch of the Nile, and was sometimes called Mukhnnân Munâ ʾl-Amîr, as being close to the latter place. M. Amélineau's article on the name consists of the following words: ʿMokhnonon, EXAOHTIOQ, مخنة. Ce nom se trouve dans la liste des églises de l'Égypte, qui est publiée à la fin de cet ouvrage. Il devait sans doute faire partie de la banlieue du Caire, comme la plupart des lieux cités dans cette liste. Il n'a pas laissé de traces dans l'Égypte contemporaine, et était même déjà perdu dans le xive siècle' (Géogr. p. 585). It is remarkable that M. Amélineau here disregards the testimony of our author himself, of Yâkût, and of the revenue-list published by De Sacy, although he expressly states that he has had recourse to these very authorities for the composition of his book. See Yâkût, Géogr. Wörterb. i. p. 881; De Sacy, Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif, p. 676.
Munâ 'l-Amîr. Here there is a single church.

Tamhâ. Here is the church of the martyr Theodore, which was restored by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Yaman al-Bazzâz, who paid the expenses of it.

§ Wasim. Here is the church of the Lady, restored by the priest George, of Upper Egypt, scribe of Al-Ustâdh Šândal al-Müâzaffari. It is said that there were at Wasim 366 churches, in which the liturgy was celebrated every day, and to which priests and deacons were attached; at which also the laity congregated.

§ Al-Muḥarrakah, contiguous to Bunumrus. Here there is an extensive church, and a large monastery containing many monks.

Monastery of Nahyâ. 

§ The following is the history of the monastery of Nahyâ, as I learnt it from Sa'id the deacon, son of Najah, who was a novice

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1 See above, fol. 34 b. Near Mukhnân, and now included in the district of Badrashain, in the province of Al-Jizâh, with a population in 1885 of 2,935. Munâ (مَنَا) is the plural of Munyah, and the place in question was sometimes called in the singular Munyat al-Amîr. Nevertheless M. Amélineau writes it 'Minâ al-Emîr' (مینا الامیر), as if it were compounded with the Arabic مين, 'harbour.' The modern pronunciation Munâ (مُنَا) arises from the present vocalization of the singular as Minyah (مینه). De Sacy transcribes the name as Mona al-Amîr. The place is called in Coptic Μονα θαυματουργος. See Yâkût, Mushtarak, p. 413; De Sacy, Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif, p. 676; Recensement de l'Égypte, ii. p. 218; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 256 f.

2 On the west bank of the Nile, near Cairo, a little to the north-west. It is now called Ausim, and gives its name to a district of the province of Al-Jizâh. In 1885 it had 7,170 inhabitants. In Coptic it is Φωτυμε. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. iv. p. 171; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 51 f.

3 This village, if correctly placed here, must not be confounded with Al-Muḥarrakah at Kusaḵâm, named on fol. 78 a.

4 A little to the west of Al-Jizâh, in the same province, and now, with a population of 3,914, included in the district of Wasim (Ausim). See Yâkût,
[there], and a native of the town of Nahyā, when I visited the monastery in the month of Shauwāl, in the year 569 (A.D. 1173), at the feast of the holy Pentecost, in order to receive the communion there. He said that he had found, in a chronicle, the statement that this holy monastery was erected by a merchant, who had come to Egypt from the west, when he arrived at Mqs r from the frontier district of Alexandria, before the reign of Diocletian, the unbeliever, who shed the blood of the martyrs, and commanded the people to serve idols, and slay victims for them, and offer them up to them, and burn incense to them. That merchant had come from the west forty years before these things happened.

When Al-Mu'izz li-dini 'llāh came from Western Africa, and took possession of Egypt, he encamped beneath the walls of this monastery, and stayed there seven months, and laid out in front of it a garden, with a well and water-wheel, at the foot of the hill to the west of the sycamore-tree, besides constructing a cistern for the convenience of travellers. This well is now filled up, and the cistern is disused. Subsequently [Al-Mu'izz] entered Misr. At the present day the garden is a waste, and there is nothing left in it except the roots of sycamores and lotus-trees.

Geogr. Wört. iv. p. 258; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 258. This was one of the monasteries of Egypt which were famous even among the Mahometans. There was an account of it in Ash-Shābushānī's Book of the Monasteries, from which our author himself quotes on fol. 64a and b, and which is also quoted by Yākūt, Al-Ḳazwīnī and Al-Maqrīzī. Quatremère gives a translation of our author's account of the monastery of Nahyā (Nehia) in Méms. i. pp. 116-125, but with certain alterations and omissions. (A. J. B.)

1 That this monastery once possessed a good library may be inferred from Ibn Mansūr, quoted by Quatremère, Rech. Crit. et hist. sur l'Égypte, p. 145. (A. J. B.)

2 Memphis is often spoken of by the Arabs as Misr al-Ḳadīmah, or Ancient Misr.

3 Al-Mu'izz was great-grandson of the founder of the Fatimide dynasty at Tunis. Egypt was conquered by his troops in A.D. 969, and in A.D. 973 he himself arrived in Egypt. (A. J. B.)
Al-Ḥâkim caused this monastery to be burnt to the ground. Afterwards, however, it was restored by an official, a native of Wasim in the province of Al-Jiziyah; and Al-Ḥâkim granted an endowment there to the monks, which has remained up to this day. The columns of this monastery, at its restoration, were constructed of granite.

Al-Āmir bi-aḫkâmi [ʿllâḥ] visited this monastery in the vizierate of Muḥammad ibn Fâtik; but he found the doorway, which was closed by an iron door, too low for him\(^1\), and as he would not consent to enter with bowed head, he turned his face to the outside, and his back to the door, and crouched down, until he had entered. Then he walked straight forward until he had entered the sanctuary. Then he said to one of the monks: 'Where is the place at which the priest stands?' So [the monk] showed it to him. Then the caliph said: 'Where is the place at which the deacon stands?' So the monk informed him where it was. Then Al-Āmir took his stand in the priest’s place, and said to the monk: 'Stand opposite to me, in the place of the deacon.' So the monk did this. When the caliph had walked round the church, he gave to the monks a thousand dinhāms, after receiving hospitality from them; and then he went out of the monastery to hunt, and did not pass the night in the monastery on that occasion.

The altar was approached by a descent of some steps, followed by an ascent\(^2\), but the steps were removed by the Shaikh Abū ʿl-Faḍl, son of the bishop, who filled up the [hollow] place, and paved it. He also made a wall of masonry before the sanctuary upon three pillars of marble\(^3\).

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\(^1\) This is the usual form of doorway to a dair in remote places even now, as at the Naṭrūn monasteries. The description in Coptic Churches, i. p. 296, of a doorway 'scarcely four feet high, and closed with a massive iron-plated door,' exactly agrees with that in the text. (A. J. B.)

\(^2\) This hollow place before the altar with steps on each side was doubtless meant to give access to a confessionary in which relics were deposited under the altar. (A. J. B.)

\(^3\) Quatremère translates thus (Mém. i. p. 118): 'Il plaça devant le sanctuaire un voile soutenu par trois colonnes de marbre,' ignoring the word ʿalā. The
After this, Al-Imâm al-Âmir began to pay visits to the monastery, with his retinue and troops, to hunt. He erected here a lofty manzarah, surmounted by a high cupola on the northern side [of the monastery]; its door was outside the monastery, but it possessed a staircase, constructed of stone, which was ascended from [within] the monastery. The door is now walled up.

The worms¹ did so much damage to this manzarah, besides other parts, that it fell, and not a trace of it was left.

The caliph Al-Âmir spent a night in the monastery on two separate occasions, and went out each day to hunt. He was entertained by the monks; and accordingly every time that he visited the monastery, he gave them a thousand dirhams, so that they received in this way twenty-five thousand dirhams, in good coin. The old wall [of their dwelling] had fallen to decay; and so the new enclosure which is now standing was built with that money. The number of the camels which carried the stone and the bricks to the monastery every day amounted to forty. Near the monastery, within the enclosure, and in its south-eastern corner, there is a well of running water, covered with a roof.

Then the monks, when they saw the great liberality of Al-Imâm al-Âmir, and began to allow themselves freedom with him, asked him to grant the monastery a piece of land which they might cultivate year by year; and he granted their request, and by a permanent deed of gift in his own handwriting gave to the monastery a piece of land in the district of Tuhurmus² in the province of Al-Jiziyah, and in their neighbourhood, of about thirty feddâns in extent, [to judge] without measurement; and this remained in their possession until the Ghuzz and Kurds conquered [the country] in the year 564 (A.D. 1169), and took this land away from the monastery, so that nothing was left to the

words are difficult to understand. They seem to refer to an altar screen, although it is not easy to imagine any symmetrical arrangement with three pillars, the central one of which would necessarily come where the door should be, nor to picture a wall 'supported' in the manner described. (A. J. B.)

¹ Termes Arda. ² Mentioned by Yâkût, Geogr. Würt. iii. p. 660.
monks except the fishing-pool, on the produce of which they make a profit.

Fol. 62 b One of the government scribes of Misr came to this monastery to ask for water to drink, and to wash his hands; but he found the water there scanty in quantity, and so he caused a well to be dug within the enclosure, opposite to the southern wall of the church. Those who dug the well met with a rock [in the course of their work] and so he caused it to be cut through, at the cost of one dinar for every cubit, and the number of cubits amounted to fourteen; and this was in addition to the money that he spent on the digging and fitting up of the well. It is this well from which water is drunk at the present day. May God rest the soul, and reward the intention of the founder! The water which comes up from this well is sweet, good, light, and digestive.

§ The reporter of this narrative, whom I have already designated, said that the church of this monastery was named after Martha and Mary, the sisters of Lazarus, whom our Lord Jesus Christ raised from the dead, and who lived nine years after that, and became bishop of Cyprus\(^1\) for a considerable time. The number of the Jews who witnessed the resurrection of Lazarus was 7,400 men, besides women and children. The reporter of this true narrative said to me: 'I used to receive counsel from the monk who was my spiritual father, and he informed me of all that you have heard from me, for he lived in this monastery, and met here with old men who told him all that I have told you. On a certain occasion I was about to behave irreverently in a place opposite the well; but this old man forbade me, saying: "This place, my son, contains the tomb of Martha and Mary\(^2\), which

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\(^1\) The resurrection of Lazarus is commemorated by the Copts on Barmahāt 20 = March 16. The emperor Leo translated the reputed relics of Lazarus from Cyprus, where he was said to have been bishop of Citium, to the monastery which the emperor had built in his honour at Constantinople. See *Acta SS.* at May 4.

\(^2\) Nothing is known in the west of the reputed relics of St. Martha and St. Mary in Egypt.
lie beneath it in a crypt which was made for them.” On this account I began to reverence that place, and to pray in it. One day I measured [the ground] from this place of which I have been speaking to the edge of the well, and found the distance to be eighteen cubits, and the distance from the place of the tomb to the southern wall of the church, including the distance to the well, [I found to be] twenty-nine cubits.

‘God knows that I possess no means of erecting a cupola over their tomb, so that it might be known thereby!’

In this church there is a tank, into which the water flowed from that well which I have mentioned through a pipe, which was afterwards filled up. There is in the monastery a Persian mill, which contained an instrument for peeling off the bran, but this has now become useless. Near the church there is a large and lofty keep, consisting of three stories, which is entered from within the church by a flight of steps. This keep fell into decay, and so it was restored by the Shaikh Al-Makin Abū 'l-Barakāt, the scribe, known as Ibn Katāmah, who also restored the wall contiguous to the washhouse, below, and restored the pipe.

Near [the keep] there is a church named after the holy father Andūnah or Anthony, which has fallen into decay.

Outside and in front of the monastery there are a number of cells, which belonged to the monks when they came out from the monastery of Saint Macarius in the patriarchate of Anbā Benjamin, the thirty-eighth in the succession, but which are now ruined.

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1 Ṭafūs is a transcription of the Greek τάφος. (A. J. B.)

2 The tower or keep is a conspicuous feature in all the desert monasteries at the present time—in fact it is the citadel of the fortress. See the Père Sicard's description and woodcut of Dair Anṭāniyūs and the illustration in Coptic Churches, i. pp. 295 and 309. (A. J. B.)

3 It seems to have been in the patriarchate of Damianus, the thirty-fifth patriarch, that the monasteries of the Wāḍi Habib were pillaged by the Berbers, and they remained in a partly deserted condition until the Mahometan conquest in the time of the patriarch Benjamin, when they were restored. See the patriarchal biographies, Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 26,100, pp. 95, 103, 110ff. The b b [II. 7.]
In the monastery there are two crypts: one of them near the church of Saint Anthony, for burying the bishops of Al-Jiziyah; and the other under the keep, for burying the monks. There are also in the monastery places of burial for the villagers.

The worms destroyed the timbers of this monastery and the church; and so they were pulled down at the expense of that Sayyid, who constructed instead of the roof [of timber] a vaulted roof, and enclosed the columns within piers [of masonry], and none of the columns remained visible, except the two ancient granite columns which [stand] in front of the picture of the Lady, the Pure Virgin. The wooden Bustul remained, because it had been anointed with myrrh, which prevented the worms from injuring it.

The number [of the monks] who are assembled together in this monastery in our own time amounts to seven or less.

§ According to the Guide to the Festivals, composed by Anbâ Jonas, bishop of Damietta, every year, on the 30th of Ba’unah, the festival of Mary and Martha is kept, who are [buried] near the Two Pyramids, in the monastery known as the Monastery of the Dogs, the correct name of which is the Monastery of the Vinedresser; but the Melkites burnt it, on account of their hatred towards the Jacobites. It is said that the bodies of these two saints and the body of Lazarus are at Constantinople, and were translated thither from the island of Cyprus.

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1 I. e. Ibn Katâmah.
2 This sentence is left untranslated by Quatremère in quoting the passage, doubtless because he failed to understand it. The word Bustul has already been explained in connexion with a similar passage above, fol. 27 a. By the ‘wooden Bustul’ is meant a pillar painted with the figure of an apostle. (A. J. B.)
3 The Muslims contemptuously changed the name Dair al-Karrâm into Dair al-Kildâb, as they transformed the name of the Church of the Resurrection (Kiyâmah) at Jerusalem into Church of the Rubbish-heap (Kumâmah). (A. J. B.)
4 The translation of the relics of St. Lazarus from Cyprus to Constantinople is commemorated by the Copts on Bâbah 21 = Oct. 18.
The Guide to the Festivals also states that the birth of the Lady [which took place] outside Jerusalem in the reign of Augustus Caesar, is celebrated every year on the 1st of Bashans, which is called the 'Id as-Sunbulah. In another copy of the Guide, the monastery of Nahyā is said to be dedicated to the Lady.

This monastery formerly belonged to the bishop of Al-Jiziyah and the island of Miṣr, but the patriarch Anbā Mark transferred it to himself; he was the seventy-third in the order of succession. He allowed the bishop to receive three dinars yearly from the revenues of the monks.

§ In the district called Nahyā, in the province of Al-Jizah, is situated the monastery which has been described above. It is surrounded by a wall, and the church which it contains, named after the Lady the pure Virgin Mary, was restored by a merchant who came from the West.

[The caliph] Al-Imām al-Āmir bi-Aḥkāmi ʾIllāh used to come to this monastery and enjoy the country here; and he erected in it a manzarah, and restored the enclosing wall. The Canon of the Festivals states that the church of this monastery is named after Martha and Mary, the sisters of Lazarus, whose festival is kept on the 28th of Tūbah every year, or on the 19th.

The Book of the Monasteries, by Ash-Shābushti, testifies that this monastery is one of the finest and most agreeably situated in Egypt, and that the view of it is most admirable, especially during the days of the high Nile, and of the sowing of seed. It has a canal, where

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1 I.e. April 26. So also the Coptic Synaxarium, Paris MS. Arabe 256. 'Id as-Sunbulah means 'festival of the constellation Virgo.' Cf. the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary in Thilo, Proleg. xc-cv and 340 f.

2 Here begins another account of the same monastery of Nahyā.

3 This passage from Ash-Shābushti is quoted in much the same words, but without mention of the source, by Yākūṭ (Geogr. Wort. ii. p. v.α) and by Al-Ḳazwīnī (Kitāb Ḍithār al-Bilād, ed. Wūstenfeld, p. 17r), and, with due acknowledgment of the author, by Al-Makrizī.
people assemble to enjoy the country. It has also an extensive fishing-

pool. The waters of the blessed Nile surround this monastery on its

four sides.

Church of Saft Maidûm.

Saft Maidûm. Here there is a church, common [to different sects],
containing three altars: one of them, in the middle, belonging to the
Copts, and named after the valiant martyr Theodore; the second
belonging to the Armenians, and named after the glorious martyr
Saint George; the third [dedicated] to the Lady, the Virgin Mary,
and belonging to the Melkites.

Pyramids of Al-Jizah.

The Pyramids. These were built by Hermes, the wise, the three-
fold in wisdom, who by his knowledge of the secrets of nature, invented

1 I. e. during the annual inundation.

2 Or Saft Maidûn. Formerly in the province of Al-Bahnasâ, but now in that
of Banî Suwaïf and in the district of Zawiyah, with a population in 1885 of
1748. See Yakût, Mushitarîk, p. r51; Recensement de l'Égypte, ii. p. 279. The
insertion of the passage referring to Saft Maidûn here, in the midst of a descrip-
tion of the province of Al-Jizah, is an illustration of the want of plan of the book
in its present form.

3 The earliest mention of ‘Mercurius’ or ‘Hermes Trismegistus’ occurs in
Tertullian, Adv. Valent. c. 15, and in Lactantius, if the passage of Manetho
quoted by Georgius Syncellus is an interpolation. A papyrus of the reign of
Gallienus speaks of τριμερέα τος Ἐρμης as the god of Hermopolis in Egypt, i. e.
Ushmûnaîn; see Wessely in Mitth. aus der Samml. der Pap. Erzherzog Rainer,
v. p. 133 f. In the hieroglyphic inscriptions, Thoth, who was identified by the
Greeks with Hermes, is called ‘great, great,’ i. e. ‘twice great.’ To this Thoth
or Hermes was ascribed the authorship of all the sacred books which the Greeks
called Hermetic; and Clement of Alexandria says that there were forty-two of
such works, forming a sort of encyclopaedia of knowledge. In the third and
fourth centuries the name was adopted by the writers of various Neo-Platonic
and Cabbalistic works, but it is doubtful whether any writer was ever known
as Trismegistus, although there are extant under the name many MSS. To the
the art of alchemy, and was able to make substances. His birth- 
place was Memphis. He is said to have been the same as Idris, 
who is related to have been 'raised up to a high place'. The Sabaeans

Arabs the name was well known through the existence in Arabic of many 
treatises ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus; see Ḥājī Khalfah (ed. Fluegel), 
where works of Hermes are mentioned on such subjects as alchemy, talismans, 
the mystic use of letters, astrology, the philosopher's stone or elixir (ιέρον). 
The belief that the pyramids of Al-Jizah were built by Hermes, or that one 
of them was his tomb, was widespread among the Arabs, who, however, generally 
say that they derived it from the Sabaeans; see Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. iv. p. 969; 
As-Suyūṭī, Husn al-Munāḍarah, i. pp. 15, 45, 46. (A. J. B.)

1 The identification of Hermes with Idris, who is further identified with the 
Enoch of Genesis, is common to most of the Arab historians. The words placed 
in inverted commas are a quotation from the Koran, Sūrah Maryam, v. 27, 
where it is said:

وَاذْكُرْنِيٌّ أَلِكُمُّ الْكَتَابَ إِنِّيٌّ كَانَ صَدِيقًا نَيِّيًا وَفَعَلًا مُكَانًا عَلِيَّاً

'Make mention of Idris in the Book; for he was truthful and a prophet, and we 
raised him up to a high place.' The last words, of course, refer to his translation 

Eutychius says that Enoch was called Idris by the Arabs (Annales, i. p. 30). 
Ibn al-Aṭīr says that Enoch (خوشع), the son of Jared, is the same as Idris the 
prophet; that he was the first of the prophets, and the first to write and to study 
the stars and to calculate; that the learned Greeks (علماء اليونانيين) call him 
Hermes the Wise, and hold him to be great; that he exhorted the people to 
repentance, and that God raised him up when he was 365 years old according to 
the Pentateuch (Al-Kāmil, i. p. 45). As-Suyūṭī says that Enoch, Hermes, and 
Idris are the same person (Husn al-Munāḍarah, i. p. 15). Ḥājī Khalfah says 
that Idris, the son of Jared, the son of Mahalaleel, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, 
the son of Adam, was the originator of all the learning that existed before the 
flood—

جميع العلوم التي ظهرت قبل الطوفان انما صدرت عنه في قول كثير العلماء

and that he is the same as Hermes, and is called the Chief Hermes ( Hermes الهرامسة)
make pilgrimages to the two great pyramids, and say that Hermes is buried in one of them, and Agathodaemon[^1] [in the other]. The Sabaeans come to the pyramids from Harran, on pilgrimage[^2]. There is not on the face of the earth a structure erected by the hand [of man], stone upon stone, higher than these two pyramids[^3], which are the tombs of Hermes and Agathodaemon. It is said that the area covered by each of the two great pyramids is twelve feddâns[^4]; and in each of them there is a well, the site of which is not known.

**Monastery of the Vinedresser.**

Near this place there is a monastery, known as the Monastery of Fol. 65a the Vinedresser, but called by the heretics the Monastery of the Dogs.

and the Threefold in Grace (المثل بالنعمة); and that he was the first to erect buildings, and was himself the constructor of the pyramids; see *Lex. Bibliogr.* ed. Flügel, i. p. 63.

[^1]: Nothing is known from Greek or Latin sources with regard to Agathodaemon except that he designed maps for Ptolemy's Geography, and therefore probably lived at Alexandria in the middle of the second century of our era; but the Arabs have more to say about him, since they claimed to possess treatises by him on amulets and on alchemy (Hâjî Khâlîfâh, iii. p. 391, vi. p. 51), and identified him with Seth (ibid. i. p. 65; cf. the sources quoted in the last two notes). (A. J. B.)

[^2]: As-Suyûṭî adds that they offer sacrifices and incense there.

[^3]: The present height of the great pyramid is about 451 ft., but the original height was 480 ft. 9 in., which is nearly 20 ft. higher than the tower of Strassburg cathedral, the loftiest building in Europe; St. Peter's at Rome being 429 ft., and St. Paul's in London 404 ft. high. The second pyramid is not much smaller than the first. The third pyramid, however, is considerably less, and was therefore less famous than the other two; not to mention the still smaller pyramidal structures which make up the group at Al-Jizah. (A. J. B.)

[^4]: This is singularly accurate as regards the great pyramid, the present area of which is 12½ acres, the former 13½. The pyramid of Chephren, however, is smaller, covering now about 10½ acres, and formerly about 11½. (A. J. B.)
There is also a third pyramid, besides the two former, the base of which is built of hard granite of variegated colour.

The monastery is near the pyramids, on the western side; and its church is called the church of Timothy the monk, a native of Memphis, whose body is buried in it. His intercession was powerful in this church, so that those who visited it and prayed to God in the power of faith, gained their requests; and if any one were desirous of entering upon some undertaking, and asked God to guide him according to that which was best, God revealed to him in a dream the advantages which would result from his undertaking, or else warned him not to enter upon it. This is attested by the Book of the Histories of the Councils.

The Western Mountains.

§ At the foot of the mountain-range there is a town called Mastáyah. At the foot of the mountains in [the province of] Al-

1 Herodotus and Pliny call this granite 'Ethiopian stone'; Diodorus and Strabo 'black stone'; while the Arab writers, from the colour of the granite, name the pyramid the red pyramid. 'Abd al-Laṭīf says:

وأما الثالث فينقص عنها بنحو الربع كله مبنى بحجارة الصوان الأحمر المنقط الشديد

الملابس ولا يؤثر فيه الحديد إلا في الزمن الطويل

'The third pyramid is less than the other two by about a quarter; but it is built of stones of red granite, which is spotted, and of extreme hardness, so that iron makes no impression upon it except after a long time.' (Mukhtasar, p. 92.) (A. J. B.)

2 This must be the martyr Timothy of ancient Miṣr (مصر القديمة), a name given to Memphis by Arab writers, who is commemorated on Ba'ūnáh 21 = June 15; see Synaxarium at that day. He was a soldier in the Roman army when the persecution of Diocletian broke out, and for proclaiming Christ before Arianus, the governor of the Thebaid, he was repeatedly tortured and at last beheaded. Such, at least, is the account given.

3 I transcribe this name conjecturally as Mastáyah because De Sacy names a town called Mestáyah in the province of Al-Gharbiyah. A few lines further down our copyist writes مستاثة, Mastáta (؟).
Jizah there are fifty monasteries, flourishing and populous, which have been ruined and burnt by the heretics: [that is to say] at the hands of the Berbers of Western Africa, who do not know the truth, or obey the law, or distinguish between right and wrong. This western range of mountains is united with the mountains on the western bank of the Nile, but then branches off from them, until, after passing by Barca and the whole sea coast of northern Africa, it reaches the land of Baraghwâtah\(^1\) and the shores of the Sea of Darkness. In this western mountain-range is the city called Mastâyah, to which [in former days] they used to bring the dead bodies of the kings, with all their money and treasures; and the greatest number of treasure-hunters haunt the environs of this city, which they call Dâr Mânuwil.

Monastery of Ash-Shama\(^3\).

Fol. 65 b

\(\S\) Munyat ash-Shammâs\(^2\) [or Munyah of the Deacon], namely, of Paphnutius, the novice, is to the west of Tamwaih.

The monastery called ‘Monastery of Ash-Shama\(^4\).’

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\(^1\) See note on fol. 49a, where the name is incorrectly written Ibn Ghawâtah. See Ibn Khal'dûn (vi. p. 15), where there is a mention of the tribe of Baraghwâtah and their native country in north-west Africa.

\(^2\) This place is said by Yâkût to be in the province of Al-Jizah, and to be also called Dâir ash-Shama’ or ‘Monastery of the Candle.’ Compare the name Kasr ash-Shama’ and its supposed derivation from \(\chi\rho\varepsilon\iota\), ‘Egypt.’ The revenue-lists of A.D. 1375 also name the place as existing in the province of Al-Jizah. There were two places of the name in the same province; but there is now only one Mit Shammas, which is in the district of Badrashain, in the province of Al-Jizah, with a population in 1885 of 883. See Yâkût, Mushtarik, p. 137; Rec. de l’Égypte, ii. p. 221. The monastery of Ash-Shama’ must have stood close to Munyat ash-Shammâs.

\(^3\) Yâkût says that this was ‘an ancient monastery, held in reverence among the Christians, in the province of Al-Jizah in Egypt. Between this monastery and Al-Fustât there is a distance of three parasangs, as you go up the Nile; and the throne of the patriarch is in this monastery, and here he resides as long as he is in the neighbourhood of Miṣr.’ (Geogr. Wört. ii. p. 254.)
§ This monastery is also called the 'Monastery of the Devils', for the following reason. In the days of [the caliph] Al-Mustansir, during the years of dearth, the monks deserted this building, which remained uncared for, so that cattle used to feed in it. Moreover certain figures used to issue forth from the monastery, and used to ride upon horseback from nightfall to morning, and enter a certain ruined village. Thus the monastery received that name. Paphnutius went and lived in this monastery alone, to take care of it. It was a small domed structure, and it was restored at the expense of the officials, until it assumed the form in which it is now. Paphnutius had visited Onuphrius, the saint and pilgrim, and lived with him for a time; for whenever Paphnutius heard of a saint, he went to see him and received his blessing; and he was with Saint Onuphrius at the time of his death. There was at the dwelling of the latter a single fruit-bearing palm-tree; so Paphnutius thought in his heart that he would live there in the place of Onuphrius. But God sent a violent wind, which lasted long and blew down that palm-tree, from which Onuphrius used to feed himself during his lifetime; and filled up with sand the well of water from which he drank. So Paphnutius went elsewhere, and every one who saw his form, thought that he was a disciple [of Onuphrius], although it was not so. Afterwards he became a dis-

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1 Yakut mentions a monastery of this name near Al-Mausil in Mesopotamia; see Geogr. Wört. ii. p. 797.
2 This is a famous Egyptian anchorite of the fourth century; but not the bishop commemorated by the Roman church on Sept. 11. See Palladius, Hist. Laus. p. 125; Apophthegmata Patrum, p. 377 f.; Zoega, Cat. p. 308 f.; Acta SS. His festival is kept by the Copts on Amshir 15 = Feb. 9; see Synaxarium at that day. The name is Παυφνίουτ (the man of God) in Memphitic, and Παντοτε in Sahidic. (A. J. B.)
3 Abu Nafar or St. Onuphrius is always called 'the Wanderer' in the titles of Coptic paintings. (A. J. B.)
4 The visit of Paphnutius to Onuphrius is described in the Synaxarium at Ba‘nūmah 16.
Churches

The church in this monastery has three altars: the middle altar named after Saint Anthony; the northern altar after Saint Sinuthius; and the southern after Paphnutius; and the church is named after Saint Sinuthius. The liturgy is celebrated at the altar named after Saint Paphnutius, in the middle of the Fast of the Forty [Days], every year. It was in [this monastery] that he died; and according to his biography, he died on the 15th of Amshir (Feb. 9).

This monastery was restored in the year 667 of the Righteous

1 Macarius the Great is distinguished by the title of 'the Egyptian' from Macarius 'of Alexandria' or of 'the City.' He is, perhaps, the most highly reputed of the monks of the Nitrian desert, and the best-known monastery there still bears his name. He has left fifty homilies and 'a volume on Christian Perfection, which places him in the first rank among the writers on practical Christianity' (Sharpe's History of Egypt, ii. p. 289. See also Sozomen H. E. ed. Hussey, bk. III. c. 14; vol. ii. p. 289). He is said to have retired to the desert in A.D. 330, and to have died there in A.D. 390. (A. J. B.)

2 Abū Shanūdah, in Coptic γενοττε or γενοτς, and, in the Graecizing form found in Coptic MSS., чипомюсіон, Sinuthius, is the name of the celebrated monk who founded the White Monastery; see below, fol. 82 b. He was the son of a peasant and was born at Shenalolet, which has been identified with Shandawil, to the north-east of Ikhmīm. He served in boyhood as a shepherd, and then came under the tuition of his uncle Apā Pjōl (απα πιολ = إپا ييول), who trained him in the monastic life. Sinuthius is said to have been present with St. Cyril of Alexandria at the council held to condemn Nestorius. The death of Sinuthius is commemorated on Abīb 7 = July 2, and is said to have taken place in the very year of the Council of Chalcedon, viz. A.D. 451. The discourses delivered by this saint were carefully preserved, and many attributed to him are extant at the present day. It is said that a copy of one of them was laid upon the tomb of St. Peter at Rome, and that the voice of the Prince of the Apostles declared that 'Sinuthius was the fourteenth Apostle, as Paul was the thirteenth.' See Synaxarium at Abīb 7; Zoega, Cat. pp. 375-502; Amélineau, Vie de Schnoudi and Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Église Chrét. (A. J. B.)
Martyrs (A.D. 951), according to the stone on which its date is 
inscribed over the door of the keep. In this monastery was the body 
of Saint Paphnutius, who was the disciple of Saint Macarius the Great 
in the Wâdi Habib, [lying] on a bed of leather within a coffin above 
the surface of the ground. It is said that the body was stolen by 
Husain, son of the caliph Al-Ḥāfiz, by means of certain Arabs. 
The monastery fell into decay a second time, and was restored by 
Anbâ Gabriel, the seventieth patriarch, known as Abû 'l-'Ula Sâ'id 
ibn Tarîk, in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâfiz. It is a famous monastery, 
and contains many monks. In front of it there is a large keep; and there 
are also handsome manzârahâs in it. It possesses a garden, and land, and houses at 
Munyat ash-Shammas, bought by the tribe of Bâni Surûs from the 
ancestors of the Shaikh Muṣṭafâ 'l-Mulk Abû Saff Ya'kûb ibn Jirjis, 
who were natives of Damirah, in the north of [the province of] 
Al-Gharbiyah.

This monastery was under the see of Memphis and Ṣamwahl: 
but it became patriarchal. To it is brought the chrism, and it

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1 Quatremère (Mém. i. pp. 160–161) refers to the Acta SS. ii. 15 for a statement 
of St. Antoninus that he saw at Clyisma several coffins of wood, enclosing the 
remains of various anchorites, and among them probably the relics of St. John the 
Dwarf and St. Sisoi. In Coptic Churches, i. p. 304, I have noted the existence 
at this day of wooden coffins full of relics at Dair Abû Makar; and, curiously 
 enough, when the Père Sicard visited the monastery of St. Macarius he saw four 
of such coffins, one of which, the monks said, enclosed the body of John the Dwarf. 
(A. J. B.)

2 The Coptic ﾆ����; now included in the district of Sharbûn in the province of Al-Gharbiyah, with a population in 1885 of 3,185. See Amélineau, 
Géogr. p. 118.

3 The Arabic ﻢﻳﺮٰٰ (میرون) transcribes the Greek μιρο, and denotes 'chrism.' The chrism was originally consecrated at Alexandria, but about A.D. 390 the place 
was changed to the monastery of St. Macarius in the Nitrian desert; see Coptic 
Churches, ii. pp. 333–334. This passage of Abû Šâlih is well illustrated by 
Renaudot (Hist. Patr. pp. 354–355), who relates that, during the great famine in
is consecrated there. The roads are dangerous, and this course was found necessary. Anbâ Mennas, the sixty-first patriarch, built an altar named after Saint Mark, at Maḥallah Dāniyāl, where the patriarchs lived; and the chrism was placed upon it for fear of the dangers of the roads, from the time of the dearth at the beginning of the caliphate of Al-Mu‘izz in Egypt.

*Other Churches of the Province of Al-Jizah.*

§ Munyat ash-Shammās. In this district there is one church.

§ The district called As-Sarāf lies to the west of the monastery of Ash-Shama, and here resided Anbâ John ibn Abû Ghâlib, the seventy-third patriarch, who occupied the see for twenty-eight years. To the west also of the monastery of Ash-Shama there is a church named after the glorious martyr Theodore.

Damūḥ. Here is the church of Cosmas and Damian, their brethren and their mother, which was restored by the Shaikh Abû Sa‘īd, the scribe, who was a member of the Diwān al-Mukātabāt. Near it there

the time of the caliph Al-Mu‘izz, great numbers perished and many episcopal sees were vacant; and that the patriarch himself was forced to remain in Lower Egypt, and was supported with his followers by a wealthy lady at a village called Maḥallah Daniel. (A. J. B.)

1 This is one of the repetitions which prove the want of plan of the author, or the carelessness of his copyist; see above, fol. 46 b.

2 Our author seems to imply that this place is in the province of Al-Jizah, and Al-Maḵrīzī, who calls the place Damūḥ as-Sabā’, and names the church of Saints Cosmas and Damian as well as the synagogue there, actually states that it is in that province. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf also states that Damūḥ was in the province, and near the town of Al-Jizah. At the present day there is a Damūḥ as-Sabā’ in the district of Dakarnas in the province of Ad-Dakahlīyah. Could our author, ‘Abd al-Laṭīf and Al-Maḵrīzī, who are not always good geographers, have made a mistake? Could the mistake have arisen from the similarity of the names Damūḥ and Tamwaih which is next named? The latter place is sometimes called Tamūh. See also Quatremère, *Mém.* i. pp. 137-138.
is a garden containing a well with a water-wheel, upon the high road. The Jews have in this district a synagogue, enclosed by a wall, within which are lodgings for them, and a garden in which are trees and palms, and a circular well with a water-wheel. Here disputes took place between the sects of Rabbanites and Karaites concerning the lighting of lamps. It is said that the prophet Moses, in the days of Pharaoh, visited this place, and prayed in it, and slept in it.

Monastery and Churches of Tamwaih.

Tamwaih. This place is opposite to Hulwan, which lies on the eastern bank. The monastery which takes its name from Tamwaih is described in the Book of the Monasteries of Ash-Shābushti. It is surrounded by an enclosing wall. Its church is named after Saint Mercurius, and overlooks the river, to which it is close. Contiguous to the monastery there is a keep, entered from the church; and in its upper story there are fine manşarahs. The monastery commands views of the gardens and trees and cultivated lands and vineyards with trellises. It is inhabited by many monks.

This monastery was restored by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Yaman Wazir, metwalli of the Diwân of Lower Egypt, and by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Mansûr, his son, in the caliphate of Al-Āmir, and the vizierate of Al-Afdal Shâhanshâh. The latter used to alight at this monastery,

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1 Al-Maĸrizī says that this had been a church.
2 'Abd al-Laŧîf states that Moses lived at Damâh in the province of Al-Jizah; see Al-Mukḥaşar, ed. White, p. 116.
3 More accurately, Tamwaih lies about five miles lower down the river than Hulwân, which is to the south-east of Tamwaih, on the opposite bank.
4 The passage of Ash-Shābushti is quoted by Al-Maĸrizī in his article on the monastery of Tamwaih (دير طموح); cf. Yâḳût, Geogr. Wörtl. ii. p. 7v. Both of these writers quote verses by Ibn Abî 'Âsim al-Mišrî, which speak of the pleasures of drinking wine at this monastery.
5 Tamwaih itself is often omitted in maps, but a monastery of Abû 's-Saifain, i.e. St. Mercurius, is marked on Norden's Plate XXVIII, nearly facing Hulwân and overlooking the river. (A. J. B.)
and spend some time there, lounging and sauntering; and he laid out a garden near it, and planted in it trees of all sorts, and palms; and dug wells over which he placed water-wheels; and he surrounded the garden with a strong hedge. The annual rent which was received from this monastery into the public treasury amounted to ten dinars. Afterwards this rent was stopped, and with the money oil-presses were built within the enclosure of the monastery, complete in all their parts. The monastery possessed forty-seven feddâns of land, which were appropriated by the Ghuzz and Kurds and the rest, in the reign of An-Nâşir Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb, the Kurd.

In the church lies the body of Paphnutius¹, the superior of this monastery; and his festival is kept on the 15th of Amshir. The monastery contains a painting of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary. Al-Afżal took pleasure in sitting in his place in the upper story of the building.

The Shaikh Abû 'l-Yaman, who has already been mentioned, provided for this church, at his own expense, vessels of solid silver. He provided a paten², and a chalice, and a spoon³, and a censer, and a cross, and a splendid veil of silk.

In this district there is also the large and beautifully planned church of the glorious saint and champion Saint George.

There is also a church named after the female martyr Mahrâbil⁴.

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¹ We were told above that the relics of St. Paphnutius had been in the monastery of Ash-Shama', but that they were stolen thence by Husain, son of Al-Ḥâfiz. Can they subsequently have found their way to Tamwaih?

² The curious enlargement of the denotation of the word šinīyah (صينية) is remarked upon by De Goeje, in his note on Ibn Ḥankal, p. 253, where he points out that from signifying a china (Chinese) plate or dish, it grew to denote a plate or dish of any material; so that a porcelain dish had to be distinguished as صينية الصين or صينية صيني. For the use of the names of church vessels and furniture at the present day, see Coptic Churches, ii. p. 37 ff. (A. J. B.)

³ It is well known that the sacramental elements are administered in the Coptic church together in a spoon, as in the Greek church. The spoon is used also in the papal Mass. (A. J. B.)

⁴ So in the MS. I can only conjecture that the name may be a clerical error
And the church of Abà Bimah.
And a church named after the angel Michael.
And a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin.

Memphis.

Memphis. Baiṣur, son of Ham, son of Noah, settled here, when he was 780 years old, with thirty of his sons and family, and therefore the place was called Manâfah, which means ‘thirty.’ His sons were Mizraim and Fâriq and Bâh and Mâh. The following were the sons of Mizraim: Kîfiṣ; Ushmûn, the meaning of whose name is ‘Come not hither!’ and Atrib. At this place there is a great image of granite, called Bû ’l-Hûl, thrown down upon its side.

Afterwards Manâfah was established as the capital of the Pharaohs. When Baiṣur died he was buried here, in a place called Abû Harmis; and he was the first to be buried in the land of Egypt. The Nile gradually changed its bed in that direction.

Other writers say that Memphis was built by Mizraim for his son Kîfiṣ, who was called Barim; and others say that this city was built by Manfâ’üs, the son of ‘Adim, who made it thirty miles long and twenty miles broad, and erected around it thirty towers, each tower

for Maharati, a girl whose martyrdom is commemorated on Tûbah 14 = Jan. 9; see Amélineau, Actes des M.M. p. 67.

1 Memphis did not cease to exist in name or to be the see of a bishop till long after the Arab conquest; see ‘Abd al-Laṭîf, p. 116 ff.; Al-Mâqrizi, Khîṭâṭ, i. p. 158 ff.

2 Yâkût, who gives the same derivation, states the Coptic form as Mâfâh (مادة), which corresponds to the Thebaic better than to the Memphitic. (Geogr. Wörter. iv. p. 667.)


4 I.e. Memphis. The image must be the great statue of Ramesses II, which, after lying as it fell for so many centuries, has now been set upright by the English engineers under the command of Major Plunkett. The name Bû ’l-Hûl (ابر الپول), or ‘Father of Terror,’ i.e. ‘Terrific’ or ‘Gigantic,’ is more commonly given to the Sphinx; see fol. 68 b. (A. J. B.)
containing a bath, in the days of Sârû', son of Ar'û; or that it was built by Pharaoh, surnamed the 'Lover of his Mother', who was king of the Pharaohs.

Joseph the Truthful constructed a large Nilometer at Munaif; and he was the first who measured the Nile in Egypt by the cubit. At Memphis there are wonders: buildings, images, tombs, treasures, that cannot be numbered. There is here a house of green granite, hard, variegated in colour, all in one piece, square, with a roof of the same piece. The church near to this is spread with mats.

At Memphis there is a church which has been restored at a place which is said to be the place where Moses lay in ambush for the Egyptian and killed him, as it is related in his history. Every [square] cubit of the land here used to fetch a price of a hundred dinars. Near the town are the pyramids, three in number. The height of the great pyramid is four hundred cubits. The pyramids were the landmarks and the dwelling-places built by Asghûsa, the greatest of all the kings of the earth, and by Arghâsh, the brother of Shaddâd, and by Shaddâd, son of 'Âd, and Mâlik, son of 'Âd, and Farmashât, brother of 'Âd, whose ancestor was the king Arzakûshâ. He built here eight hundred courses, and then died. In these high towers, which are the two great landmarks, [these kings] placed their treasures and their tombs. The riches contained in one of them were extracted by one of the emperors of the Romans, named Severus, or the Great; and he extracted [it], after four hundred courses, during his whole reign, until he died, in the time of the author of the treatise.

Near these pyramids is the great image of granite [called] the Terrific, sunk in the sand up to its middle.

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1 This is, of course, a confused reference to Ptolemy Philometor, whom Eutychius also calls Muhibb Ummihi. (A. J. B.)
2 Memphis.
3 This passage appears to be incomplete or corrupt.
4 I. e. the Sphinx, generally called Abû 'l-Hûl; see last page. It was held by the Arabs to be a talisman, the purpose of which was to prevent the sands from encroaching upon the inhabited districts. Stories were told of its having been
After this we will speak of the Southern Provinces of the land of Egypt.

Churches of Busir Banâ and other places.

Busir Banâ. This town is named after a sorcerer, called Busir, who lived there, for which reason it was named after him. In this town is the large church which was entirely built of hard stone, and is named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; it stands within the fortress of this city. The church was erected in ancient times; but as time passed by, and the kings stood in need of the stone of which it was composed, the greater part of it was carried away; and the church is now dismantled, although its architectural features are still visible. It stands near the prison of Joseph the Truthful, son of Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham, the Friend [of God]—upon them be peace!

In the district of Banâ there is a church named after the great Saint George.

Munyat al-Kâ'id. Here there is a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, which was restored by the Shaikh Mufad adorned ibn as-Sâlih, a friend of the vizier Abû 'l-Faraj ibn Killis, in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâkim. He also restored a church on the banks of the blessed Nile, which stood for a time, but then the river inundated it, and washed it away, so that no trace of it remained.

Wana Busir. Here there is a church named after the great martyr Saint Mercurius; and a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; and a church of the holy martyr Saint George; and a church of the great angel Michael; and a church of the martyr Saint John, whose pure body lies within it.

wilfully mutilated, which diminished its talismanic power. See Al-Maqrizi, Khilâf, i. p. 177. It is well known that the Sphinx is hewn out of the living rock, which is limestone, not granite. (A. J. B.)

1 The following passage is repeated from fol. 17 b f. Busir Banâ and Banâ are again wrongly placed in Southern or Upper Egypt.

2 שגש seems to be a clerical error for גזרו; see above, fol. 18 a.
Idrijah, one of the villages of Bûsh. Here there is a church named after Saint George.

Tansâ. Here there is a church named after Nahâdah; and a church named after the martyr Mercurius; and a church named after Gabriel the angel; and a church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin.

The Fayûm.

Madînat al-Fayûm¹ and its province. Al-Fayûm was the name of one of the sons of Kift, son of Mizraim, who built this city for a daughter of his, who had offended, so that he banished her thither. Al-Fayûm existed before the time of Joseph, son of Jacob, son of Abraham, the Friend [of God]—upon them be peace!—but it fell into ruin; and Joseph the Truthful restored it, and constructed the Nilometers, and built Al-Fayûm, and Ḥajar al-Lâhûn, which was built with wisdom, and founded with strength, and help that came from God, and was executed by the inspiration of God—to whom be praise! Joseph also dug the canal of Al-Manhi, and cultivated the land of Egypt. The number of village-districts in [the Fayûm] amounted to 360, which is the number of the days of the year, each village corresponding to a day; and the revenue from each district amounted to a thousand dinars. The lands of this province are irrigated by [a rise of the river amounting to] twelve cubits, but they are not overwhelmed by a rise of eighteen cubits, which is a great wonder. There is here common land which is not the property of any one, but all men have a right to demand a share of it according to their circumstances; and the common land consists of seventy different sorts. The revenue in the days of Kâfûr al-Ustâdh, emir of Egypt, known as Kâfûr al-Ikhshidi, under the dynasty of the Abbasides, when the province was administered by Ibn Ţarkhân, in the year of the Arabs 355 (A.D. 966), amounted to 620,000 dinars; and this is as much as the revenue of Ar-Ramlah, Tiberias, and Damascus.

In this province there were thirty-five monasteries. The bishop,

¹ This passage is repeated from fol. 18 a f.
under the patriarchate of Anbâ Theodore, the forty-fifth in the succession, was named Abraham; and the land-tax paid into the public treasury upon the cultivated lands belonging to these monasteries amounted to 500 dinars.

According to the Book of the Conquest of Egypt by 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣî, it is said that the Fayûm was also called the Waste Land, and was an outlet for the superfluous waters of Upper Egypt; so Joseph the Truthful carried them off by digging the canal, to receive the water of the Nile, which then began to flow into it. The age of Joseph was thirty years in the reign of Ar-Rayyân, son of Al-Walid, son of Daumâ', after his interpretation of the dream which the king saw. When Joseph interpreted this dream, the king gave him a royal robe, and the signet-ring of the kingdom from his hand, and entrusted him with the administration of the kingdom, and was distinguished from him only by ascending the throne. When Joseph dug the canal and admitted the water into it, it flowed from Râs al-Manhî until it reached Al-Lâhûn, through a break in which it flowed into the Fayûm, which it irrigated. The canal contained a great mass of water, but was the work of no more than ninety days. When the king and his viziers saw it, they said: 'This is the work of a thousand days'; and so it was called Al-Fayûm. And Joseph made the streams of two sorts, streams that ran down for the raised grounds, and streams that ran up for the depressed places, at certain times and hours of the night and day; and he framed meters, so that no man could take more water than his due.

The first city built by Joseph in the Fayûm was Shânah, where the daughter of Pharaoh lived. Afterwards he measured the land and the water, and from him the science of geometry was first learnt. Joseph was the first who measured the Nile in Egypt by the cubit, and made a Nilometer at Memphis. Afterwards the old woman

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1 *Alf Yûm*, according to the present Egyptian pronunciation.
2 So also Yâkût, *Geogr. Wörter* iii. p. 477, where he also gives a second form Shanânah.
Dalûk\(^1\) founded a Nilometer at Anšinâ\(^2\), and a Nilometer at Ikhmim\(^3\); and 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn Marwân set up a Nilometer at Ḥulwân\(^4\). In later times the province of the Fayyûm was settled as a fief upon the Ghuzz and Kurds, in the reign of Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb, the Kurd; and so it remained until the end of the year 573 (A. D. 1178), when its revenues were 133,274 dinars. Then it was settled upon Būrî, the brother [of Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb], and his followers, in the year 576 (A. D. 1180), when its revenues were 100,046 dinars. Then it was settled upon Taqī ad-Dîn 'Umar ibn Shâhanshâh, and the son of his sister, in the year already mentioned, when its revenues were of the amount given above.

In Madinat al-Fayyûm\(^5\) at present there is the church of the glorious angel Michael, which is exceedingly large, and contains certain pillars, large and high, so perfect that few more perfect have ever been seen. This church stands near that gate of the city which is called the gate of Sûrus.

There is also a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, outside the city; and there is a church of the martyr Mercurius, restored by the Shaikh Abû Zakârî.

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1. Generally called درک. She was said to have been queen of Egypt in her own right in remote antiquity.

2. The ancient Antinoe or Antinopolis, founded by the emperor Hadrian in memory of Antinous. In Coptic it is called أنتينوي. Under the later Roman Empire, it was the capital of the Thebaid, or Upper Egypt. Upon the site of this city now stands the village of Shaikh 'Abâdah, included in the district of Mallawi, in the province of Asyût, and having in 1885 a population of 1,179. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wörterb. i. p. 351; Al-Makrizî, Khitaṭ, i. p. 57; Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 48-51.

3. The Greek Chemmis or Panopolis, and the Coptic خميس. It is now in the district of Suhaj, and had in 1885 a population of 18,792. It was formerly famous for its ancient temple, which was reckoned among the wonders of Egypt, but of which few remains now exist. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wörterb. i. p. 170; Al-Idrisî (ed. Rome) [p. 48]; Al-Makrizî, Khitaṭ, i. pp. 241 and 243; As-Suyûtî, Ḥusn al-Muhâdharah, i. p. 3; Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 18-22.

4. See above, fol. 52 a ff.

5. This passage is quoted by Quatremèreme, Mém. i. p. 411.
MONASTERY OF AN-NAKLÛN.

There is also a church of the Melkites in the quarter of the Armenians.

Monastery of An-Naklûn.

The monastery called the monastery of An-Naklûn\(^1\) lies to the east of the district called Nawasâ\(^2\). This monastery\(^3\) contains a church named after the angel Michael, in which there is a pillar of marble, which sweats as if water were flowing from it; and also possesses a large keep, which overlooks a mountain on which there is a boulder. It is said that the foundations of this church were laid on the 13th of Hatûr, and that it was consecrated by the Lord Christ and his Apostles on the 18th of Abib. Adjacent to the monastery there is a church named after the angel Gabriel\(^4\), enclosed within a wall which was erected before the church on the 13th of Amshîr and was finished in this short time; and the building of the church was begun on the 26th of the same month, and finished on the 13th of Ba’ûnah, on the 20th of which month it was consecrated. It is said that the mountain called An-Naklûn is that which contained the place where Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham, enjoyed the shade, and worshipped; and sacrifices were offered to God there in the days of Joseph, the son

\(^{1}\) The Coptic **πεκλωνε**. This monastery was also called in Coptic **MONASTHION ΜΑΝΟΞΙΟΝ** and sometimes in Arabic **دار لَقَلب** (in Arabic **دار لْقَلب**), both of which names signify 'Monastery of the Log' or 'Beam.' It was situated to the south-west of Madînat al-Fayûm, near the modern Gharâq, and has now been swallowed up by the sands, like the other villages of that district. Al-Maqrîzî gives an account of the monastery of An-Naklûn. See also Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 133 and 273. (A. J. B.)

\(^{2}\) Yakût mentions a place of this name, which was, however, in the province of Samannûd, and still exists; see his *Geogr. Wörter.*, iv. p. 220, and *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 264.

\(^{3}\) It is related that 'Aour' or Aurâ (see a few lines below), bishop of the Fayûm, was the founder of the monastery of An-Naklûn early in the fourth century; and his history translated from the Arabic, is to be found in M. Amélineau's *Contes et Rom. de l'Égypte Chrét.* p. 109 ff.

\(^{4}\) This church is mentioned in the last-named work, p. 122.
of Jacob, when Joseph superintended the building of the Fayyûm and the Hajar al-Lâḥûn. The church in the mountains of An-Naḳlûn was consecrated, in the episcopate of Anbâ Isaac, by Aurâ, son of the queen's daughter and of Abrâshit, the magician, whom she hid away from him (?) and from her parents.

Monastery of Al-Ḳalamûn².

§ The monastery called that of Al-Ḳalamûn. This monastery is much visited. It possesses land in several districts of Upper Egypt; and at Shubraco it owns sixteen feddâns. It possesses³ salt-marshes, from which it annually receives nearly three thousand ardebs [of salt]. Of the dates of the palm-trees it receives a quantity, which are sold every year.

There is here a spacious church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, which was consecrated on the 14th of Hâtûr. Anbâ Samuel⁴, the superior and administrator of this monastery, was

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¹ See Amélineau, op. cit.
² The hill of Al-Ḳalamûn, upon which this monastery stood, rises to the south-west of the Fayyûm near An-Naḳlûn and near Al-Gharâḳ and the Wâdî Rayân; but it does not appear that the name is still given to the place, which is now a mere desert. The monastery is described by Al-Makrîzî; but is barely mentioned by Yâḳût, who merely says that it was in the Fayyûm and was widely celebrated. The Coptic name is ẞa. See Yâḳût, Gëogr. Wört. ii. p. 1av; Amélineau, Gëogr. p. 388 f. (A. J. B.)
³ This passage and part of the following account of the monastery are quoted by Quatremère, i. pp. 474-475.
⁴ The death of this saint is commemorated on Kihak 8 = Dec. 4. See Synaxarium at that day. He was the founder of the monastery of Al-Ḳalamûn, and Hâtî and Hor are said to have been monks there under him, which would fix his date in the first half of the fourth century. Fourteen monks from An-Naḳlûn are said to have come over to Samuel. He employed his monks in preparing salt from the saline pool (%% meilleure), mentioned by our author below. See Zoega, Cat. pp. 545-546, where quotations from a Coptic encomium on this saint are given.
a learned man; and God revealed to him what would happen in the future, and spoke with him; and Samuel wrote down what God said to him, and his prophecies were verified in his own time.

This monastery is enclosed within a surrounding wall, in which there is a large garden containing palms and olives and vegetables. In the monastery there are four towers; and it contains twelve churches. In the upper part there is a sentinel’s cell in which a monk is stationed, to warn the other monks of the approach of visitors to the monastery, while the latter are yet at a distance, whether they be soldiers or emirs or wālis; and the sentinel strikes the wooden gong in different manners, according to the rank of the visitors; so that the monks may know, when they hear it, who it is that is approaching the monastery, and may prepare what is fitting for him before he arrives.

The church of this monastery contains twelve chapels in its upper and lower stories. There is in it a spring of salt water, flowing day and night from it into a wide pool. In the latter there are to be found at intervals [the fish called] bulti\(^1\), of which men eat, and which are good for food, and black in colour. In winter the water sweetens a little in this pool; and the monks occasionally drink from it.

Outside the monastery there is a cave, in which lives a monk who is named Muhnā; and he never quits it by night or by day. He fasts during the whole week. The monks go to him to receive his blessing. Around his cave there are many fruitful palm-trees. He used to have with him a hundred dinars of money; but when the Ghuzz and Kurds came to this country, he made a present of the money to the monks, and retained nothing of it. The wild beasts used to come together to him, and not one of them hurt him; but they grew so tame that he was able to feed them out of his hand. The devils also appeared to him, and stood opposite to him, face to face, but could not reach him.

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\(^1\) Al-Idrisi says that this was a round fish of the same kind as the ‘Afar (عفر), and was also found in the Sea of Tiberias; that it had few bones and was good to eat, being sometimes of the weight of five pounds. Translated by Jaubert, i. p. 30.
Fol. 72 b

The door of this monastery is plated with iron, and is of skillful workmanship.

This monk, Muḥna, of whom we have been speaking, made, at the beginning of his monastic life, before he shut himself up in the cave on the mountain, a church which was hewn out of the rock, and over it he made cells for the monks. It is said that the father, Anbā Samuel, the celebrated administrator of this monastery, used to worship on the mountain, at a place called Rayān', opposite to the monastery. Up to the end of Amshir, in the year 894 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1178), the number of monks in this monastery amounted to 130; and they were virtuous and devout.

Monasteries and Churches at Aflāḥ az-Zaitūn.

The monastery of the glorious martyr Theodore, on the [canal of] Al-Manḥi, at Aflāḥ az-Zaitūn^2. This Theodore was a native of the Fayyūm, and was martyred in Upper Egypt. His body was carried on a wooden chariot, over which his blood flowed; and it did not cease to carry him until it reached this district, of which he was a native.

In [this district] there is a church named after him, and containing his body; besides many other churches. There are here a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; a monastery named after the apostles; a church named after the martyr Mercurius; a church of the angel Gabriel; a church named after Saint John; and the church of the Saviour^3.

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1 I. e. the Wādi Rayān, still so called, to the south of the Fayyūm, and, according to some, on the site of the ancient Lake Moeris.

2 More commonly called simply Az-Zaitūn, or 'The Olives,' in Coptic Φάνιξώπιτ. The Acts of the martyr John of Phaniōt have been published by M. Amélineau; see Un Document copte du xii Siècle, 1887. The place is on the west bank, close to Dalās and Būsh Kurā, and a little to the north of Banī Suwāf, to the province of which it belongs; and in 1885 it had 1,300 inhabitants, besides sixty-two Bedouins. See Yākūt, Geogr. Wörter. ii. p. 170; Ibn Dukmāk, v. p. 5; Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 327-330. This passage of our author is quoted in substance by Quatremère, Mém. pp. 412-413.

3 As-Sūṭir is of course the Greek Σωτηρ. 
Churches of Fânû and Nakalîfah.

The district of Fânû and Nakalîfah. In these two districts there are several churches. There are to be found here the church of the glorious Saint George; a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, restored by the Shaikh Al-Muhadhdhab Abû Ishâk Ibrâhîm ibn Abû Sahl al-Mushârif, who was known as Az-Zaârûk; the church of the glorious angel Michael; the monastery of the Cross in the district of Fânû, in which the liturgy is celebrated once in the year, on the feast of the Cross; and a church of the glorious Saint George.

Sailah.

In the district of Sailah there is a monastery named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin, the Virgin Mary; adjacent to which there is a keep, which has been restored, but not finished, on the public road.

The monastery known as the monastery of the Brothers. In this there is a church named after the glorious martyr Saint Mennas. In this monastery lived the priest John of Samannûd, who was devout, learned, and humble, and consoled by his learning all those that came to him and heard his discourse; he afterwards became patriarch of Alexandria.

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1 This passage is quoted in substance by Quatremère, Mém. i. p. 413. Nakalîfah is still existing, and is included in the district of Sanûras in the province of the Fayyûm, with a population in 1885 of 2,664. See Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 258. In the fourteenth century revenue-lists both places are named; see De Sacy, Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif, p. 633.

2 Quoted in Quatremère, Mém. i. p. 413. Sailah was in the Fayyûm, to the west of Nakalîfah, but is not named in the Rec. de l'Égypte. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wôrt. iii. p. 77.; Ibn Dukmâk, v. p. 4.

3 He succeeded Agatho, and was the fortieth patriarch, occupying the see from A.D. 677 to 686.
Hajar al-Lâhûn.

Hajar al-Lâhûn\(^1\). Here is the monastery of Saint Isaac\(^2\); and
the church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary. This church
is spacious and beautifully planned, skilfully built and designed, and
resembles the church in the monastery of Al-\(\mathcal{K}\)alamûn. In the
[monastery of Saint Isaac] there is also a small church, named after
the glorious martyr Saint Isaac. Round this monastery there is
a triple wall of stone. It is much visited, and stands on the mountain
to the north of Al-Lâhûn, at the place called Barniyûdah, in the
mountain-range in the south of the Fayyûm.

Churches of Al-Bahnasâ and the neighbourhood.

§ At Al-Bahnasâ there are several churches, namely, the church of
Saint Ammon\(^3\); the church of Mark; the church of Saint John\(^4\); the

\(^1\) The following passage is quoted in substance by Quatremère, Mém. i. p. 413.
The village of Al-Lâhûn still exists, and in 1885 had a population of 2,416. It
stands at the entrance to the Fayyûm, where the ancient lock of the canal of
Al-Manhî was; and it is included in the district of Tubhar. See Amélineau,

\(^2\) Saint Isaac of Difri (\(\text{\textbf{D} f\text{\textbf{P}e}}\)), in the province of Al-Gharbiyah, was put to
death in the persecution of Diocletian, by order of Arianus, governor of the
Thebaid, after horrible tortures. His martyrdom is commemorated on Bashans 6
= May 1. See Synaxarium at that day; Budge, Martyrdom of Isaac of Tiphre,
with Coptic text and translation.

\(^3\) Abamûn, Abâmûn, or more correctly Abâ Amûn or Apâ Ammon, is the
name of two martyrs, of the time of Diocletian, whose deaths are commemorated
respectively on Abîb 13 and 27 = July 7 and 21. See Synaxarium at those days;
Amélineau, Actes des MAU. p. 103. Quatremère borrows from this passage, Mém. i.
p. 255. Al-Maḵrizî says that there were once 360 churches at Al-Bahnasâ, of
which the church of Mary alone remained in his time. We shall return to Al-
Bahnasâ on fol. 74 b.

\(^4\) Since Abû Yuhannus is not further identified, and there are several saints
named John in the Coptic calendar, it is impossible to say which of them is
church of the glorious martyr Saint George; and the church of the glorious martyr Mercurius.

§ At Bahûmalis\(^1\) there are several churches, namely, the church of the angel Gabriel, and a second church of the angel Gabriel; a church of the angel Raphael; a church of the glorious Saint Sinuthius\(^2\); and a church named after Saint Armenius\(^3\).

§ The district of Kufâdhâ\(^4\). [Here there is] a church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; a church of the glorious angel Michael; a church of the angel Raphael; a church of the glorious martyr Mercurius; and the church of the glorious angel Gabriel.

§ At Abûtújah\(^5\) is the church of Raphael the angel; the church of the angel Michael; the church of the Lady, the Holy and Pure Virgin Mary; and the church of Dioscorus.

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intended here and elsewhere. The most popular martyr of this name, however, would seem to be the John who was martyred together with his cousin Simeon, with whom he is commemorated on Abib 11 = July 5. See their Acts, edited and translated by M. Hyvernat, *Actes des M.M. de l'Égypte*, p. 174 ff. See also *Synaxarium* at that day; and Amélineau, *Actes des M.M.* p. 141 ff.

\(^1\) I cannot guarantee the form of this name, nor identify the locality.

\(^2\) This may be the famous monk Sinuthius, founder of the White Monastery; or it may be St. Shanûdah or Sinuthius the martyr, of Al-Bahnasâ, commemorated on Barmâhât 14 = April 9; see *Synaxarium* at that day.

\(^3\) Abû Harmînah is said by Al-Mâkrizî to have been one of the earliest monks, and very famous among the Christians. Cf. Paris *Synaxarium* at Ba'ûnah 8 = June 2. There was a St. Harmanûs, a champion of the monophysite doctrine, who is mentioned in the Patriarchal Biographies, *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, p. 167, l. 1 ff. The *Synaxarium* translated by Mr. Malan commemorates a Harman, bishop of Kâ'nîn, in Upper Egypt, on Kihak 2 = Nov. 28.

\(^4\) A little to the east of Al-Bahnasâ, and nearer the bank of the river.

\(^5\) The Coptic Tôwêl, a little to the south-west of Al-Bahnasâ, but on the same side of the river. The village is now included within the district of Banî Mazar, in the province of Munyah or Minyah, and had in 1885 a population of 1,000. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 517 f. Quatremère refers to this passage, *Mém.* i. p. 258.
§ Jalfah. Here there is a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; a church named after Saint Dioscorus; a church named after the saint and glorious martyr Victor, son of Romanus; and a church named after Bu Taliha.

§ At Bardanīhah there are several churches, namely, the church of Abâ Kustûl; a church of the angel Michael; a church of the angel Raphael; a church of the angel Gabriel; the church of Mercurius, the valiant martyr; the church of the saint and glorious martyr Saint George; a church named after the valiant and militant martyr Theodore; and the church of the saint Ainîn.

§ Saft Abû Jirjâ. Here are several churches, namely, a church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; the church of Thomas; the two churches of the angel Michael and of the angel Gabriel.

§ Al-Kufûr. Here there is a church named after the martyr Theodore.

1 The Coptic πξελαβγ. It is now included in the district of Bani Mazar, in the province of Minyah, with a population in 1885 of 647. It is probably the Jalaf, which Yâkût says was near Al-Κais, in the district of Al-Bahnasâ. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wort. ii. p. 18; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 150 f. Quatremère refers to this passage of our author, Mém. i. p. 257.

2 I must admit with Quatremère that I cannot identify this saint, nor even read his name with certainty.

3 Now included in the district of Kalûsanâ, in the province of Minyah, with a population in 1885 of 2,670. It lies on the west bank, a few miles to the south of Al-Bahnasâ, and near Al-Κais and Al-Kafûr. See Ibn Dukmâk, v. p. 1; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 64.

4 A little to the south-west of Al-Bahnasâ, south of Abû Jirjâ and north of Abû Jirjâ. The village is now included in the district of Bani Mazar, in the province of Minyah, with a population in 1885 of 2,316. There were twelve places named Saft in Egypt. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wort. iii. p. 19, and Mushtarak, p. 190; Ibn Dukmâk, v. p. 1; Rec. de l’Égypte, ii. p. 279.

5 On the west bank, to the south-east of Al-Bahnasâ and a little to the north of Kalûsanâ. It is called in Coptic πικαφαξ, and is now comprised in the district of Kalûsanâ, with a population in 1885 of 798. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 276 f.
TAHÀ.

§ Tàhà al-Madinah¹, belonging to the province of Al-Ushmûnain. Here there are a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary²; a second church of the Lady; a church of the angel Gabriel; two churches of the two glorious and militant martyrs, Saint George and Mercurius; a church named after Saint Mark the Evangelist; a church named after the glorious martyr Stephen, the chief of the deacons.

SAFT AL-MUHALLABI.

§ At Saft al-Muhallabi³ there is a church named after the glorious angel Michael; and two churches named after the two glorious angels Gabriel and Raphael.

MALLAWĪ.

§ At Mallawi⁴ [there is a church] named after the valiant martyr Abatîr⁵; a church of the martyr Mercurius; a church of the glorious

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¹ On the west bank, a little to the north of Munyah or Minyah Banî Khašîb, in the province of which it is now included, being in the district of Kalûsanâ. It is the Coptic _TRUNC. In 1885 it had 1,113 inhabitants. See Al-Idrisî, trans. Jaubert, i. p. 124; Yâkût, Geogr. Wörterb. iii. p. 512; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 471 f. Tàhà is again mentioned by our author on fol. 77 a.

² Al-Makrizî mentions two churches alone at Tàhà, viz. those of Mary and the Apostles.

³ Our copyist writes √><:e, but is the form given by Yâkût in his Musharîk, p. 183, where he says that the village was in the province of Al-Ushmûnain.

⁴ This is thought to be the place called in Coptic √><:e. It is now a town of some little importance, since in 1885 it contained 10,777 inhabitants; and it is situated in the district to which it gives its own name, in the province of Asyût. Mallawi is on the west bank, a little to the south of Ushmûnain. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 239 f. Al-Makrizî names the churches of the Apostles, of St. George, and of St. Michael at Mallawi, but says that the two last were in a ruined state in his time.

⁵ I conjecturally read Abatîr and identify the saint with Apatîl, a soldier of the
martyr Saint George; two churches of the two angels Gabriel and Raphael; and two churches of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, and of the glorious angel Michael.

_Rifah and Udrunkah._

§ Rifah¹ and Udrunkah². Here there is a church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; a church of the glorious martyr Victor; two churches of the valiant martyr Theodore; a church named after the Saviour; a church named after Saint John; two churches named after the two martyrs Thomas and Severus; and a monastery named after the great saint Sinuthius.

_Churches at Al-Bahnasâ and the neighbourhood._

§ At Najâj³, in the province of Al-Bahnasâ, there is a church named after the martyr Saint John.

fort of Babylon, whose martyrdom is commemorated on Ābīb 16=July 10; see Amélineau, Actes des M.M. p. 97. There is a martyr Abadir commemorated on Tūt 28=Sept. 25; see Synaxarium at that day.

¹ Our author, or his abbreviator, with his usual want of plan, here takes us up to the neighbourhood of Usyūṭ, from which he immediately afterwards returns. Rifah is a little to the south of Usyūṭ, on the west bank, and was called in Coptic Ṣḥērē. In 1885 it had a population of 4,119, and is now included within the district and province of Asyūṭ or Usyūṭ. See Amélineau, Geogr. p. 165. Al-Maḳrīzī names churches and monasteries at Rifah and Udrunkah, but apparently not those mentioned by our author.

² Also called Durunkah or Derenkah. It lies a little to the south-west of Usyūṭ, in the district and province of which it is included. It is a little to the north of Rifah, and had 4,629 inhabitants in 1885. In the time of our author and later this was a great Christian centre; and Coptic was still spoken here in the time of Al-Maḳrīzī. See Yāḳūṭ, Geogr. Wort. i. p. 158; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 99.

³ I cannot identify this place. It would be some distance to the north of Rifah and Udrunkah.
§ Idfâk. Here there is a church of the glorious martyr Mercurius.

§ Turfah. Here there is a church named after Bartholomew.

As-Sâkiyah, called Sâkiyah Mahfûz. Here there are five churches, [respectively named after] the martyr Mercurius, Mark, Stephen, Theodore, and the Disciples.

§ Al-Bahnasâ. The meaning of this word is 'place of marriage,' and it was built for the maidens who were the virgin daughters of the kings, and were married to the sons of the kings from this city. Near it there is a place where Joseph the Truthful worshipped.

There is here a church named after Saint Bartholomew, who was martyred in the oasis of Al-Bahnasâ, and whose body is in the church of Karbil there. There is also the church of Theodore.

In this district there are several churches: those of the martyr

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1 This place again I cannot identify.

2 This village, formerly in the province of Al-Bahnasâ, is now included in the district of Kâlusanâ, in the province of Munyah or Minyah, and had 435 inhabitants in 1885. Its Coptic name was TepHē. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 492 f.

3 See Ibn Duṭmâk, v. p. 8. The name Sâkiyah means, of course, 'water-wheel.'

4 I.e. apparently eελεθeλετ, which only approximates to the sound of Bahnasâ.

5 The MS. has Bartâ'î. The Copts and Abyssinians, differing from the Latins and Greeks, agree in holding that St. Bartholomew preached in the Oases. They generally add, however, that he was martyred on the sea-coast, that is, apparently, on the Egyptian or Nubian shores. See, e.g. The Conflicts of the Apostles, translated from the Ethiopic by Mr. Malan, pp. 76–99.

The Synaxarium says at Tût = Aug. 29:

‘On this day is commemorated the death of the holy disciple Bartholomew, one of the Twelve. To this apostle it was allotted that he should go to the Oases. So he and Peter travelled thither, and he preached the gospel to the inhabitants of
CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

Stephen; Abatir\(^1\); Bartholomew; the Disciples and Apostles; and our Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary.

The last church is in the city [of Al-Bahnasâ], and is large and spacious.

There are also churches of the glorious angel Michael and of the angel Gabriel; of Ístafûrâ\(^2\) the martyr, who was also called Dog's Face, the Oases, and called them to the knowledge of God, after wonderful signs and astounding miracles had been shown to them.'

After converting the people in the Oases,

'Then he went to the country on the sea-coast, to those who knew not God; and he preached among them and turned them to the knowledge of God, and to faith in the Lord Christ. But Agharbus, the king, heard of him and was wroth with him, and commanded that they should put him in a sack of hair-cloth and fill it with sand and cast him into the sea.'

\(^1\) See note above on fol. 74 b.

\(^2\) I.e. St. Christopher. The form of the name in the *Synaxarium* is Akhris-táfûrus (أخرستافروس); and it is added

الذى كان وجهه وجه كلب

'Whose face was the face of a dog.'

In Zoega, *Cat*. p. 235, and in *Conflicts of Holy Apostles*, translated by Mr. Malan from the Ethiopic, p. 76 ff., the name is said to be Christianos. The story is that he was a 'Cynocephalus,' in Coptic Ὀξόνος, who was converted by Saints Andrew and Bartholomew, and accompanied them in their missions in Nubia. He had lived near the city of Barthos, which has been supposed to mean Parthia. Barthos, however, was not far from Elwah, which Mr. Malan says is unknown, but which might be 'Alwah in Nubia. St. Christopher is commemorated by the Copts on Barmûdah 2=May 28. Cf. *Acta SS.* at July 25, where a different history of St. Christopher is given. The epithet 'dog-faced' is, however, preserved in a troparion sung by the Greek church, on the festival of St. Christopher (May 9); although the Menologion of Basil (A.D. 984) repudiates the literal acceptance of this epithet, and
and was one of those who were with the fathers and pure disciples. This last church is on the canal, outside the city. [There are also churches of] Mark; of the martyr Mercurius, who has two churches here; of Saint George, who has two churches; and of Saint John or Abū Ḥannâ, the martyr.

§ Ashrûbah. Here there are two churches of the Cross, and one of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, within the city; and there is also one dedicated to her without the city. There is also a church of Michael, the glorious angel; a church of the glorious martyr Mercurius on the borders of the lake; and a church of the glorious Saint George; and two churches of the glorious Saint Theodore; and [churches named after] Saint Paul² and Thomas.

§ At Saft Rashîn there is a church named after the glorious martyr Theodore the Eastern, which was wrecked by the Ghuzz and Kurds, who turned it into a mosque. There is here also a church of the angel Gabriel, which fell into decay and was restored by a certain official.

Places in Egypt visited by our Lord.

§ The places which our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory! visited with the Lady, the Pure Virgin, and with the righteous old man, Joseph the carpenter, in Upper Egypt.

The church of Jabal al-Kaff⁴, named after the Lady, the Pure

explains it as being metaphorical, and significant of the character of the saint before his conversion. (A. J. B.)

¹ This place is named by Ibn Dukmâk, v. p. r; and it is now included within the district of Bânî Mazar, in the province of Minyah, but is a place of no importance. In the fourteenth century it still belonged to the province of Al-Bahnaṣâ, and is named in the revenue-list of A.D. 1375. See De Sacy, Rel. de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif, p. 685; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 22.

² This would be St. Paul the first hermit; or St. Paul of Tamwaih, a monk famous for his austerities, and commemorated on Bâbah 7 = Oct. 4.

³ A considerable distance to the north of Al-Bahnaṣâ, and to the south of Bânî Suwaif, in the province of which it is now included. Yâkût includes it in the province of Al-Bahnaṣâ; see Mushtarîk, p. r6⁵.

⁴ I.e. 'Mount of the Palm of the Hand.' Our author, at the beginning of
Virgin Mary. This church is hewn out of the mountain-side, and in the rock is the mark of the palm of the hand of the Lord Christ, to whom be glory! which was made when he touched the mountain, when it bowed in adoration before him, after he had gone down thither from Syria. He grasped the mountain, when it worshipped before him, and restored it to its place with his hand; so that the mark of his palm remains impressed upon that mountain to the present day. In the impression of the hand there is a fine perforation, large enough to admit a collyrium-needle, into which the needle is inserted, and, when it is pulled out, brings up a black collyrium which makes an indelible mark.

Above this church there is a church built of stone, and named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary. Festival is kept here on the 21st of Tūbah1, which is the day of her death, when a large congregation assembles. This mountain [of Jabal al-Kaff] is opposite to the district called Al-Bihû2, [but is] on the eastern side of the river. It is also said to be near the city of Al-Ushmûnain3; and it is also called the Jabal at-Ţair4. On this mountain there are two stone crosses, of a red colour; one of them is a large stone and the other a small stone.

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1 The Death of the Blessed Virgin is commemorated by the Copts on Tūbah 21=Jan. 16, and her Assumption on Misrî 16=Aug. 9.
2 This village still exists on the west bank, opposite to the Jabal at-Ţair, and is included in the district of Kalûsanâ, in the province of Minyah. In 1885 it had a population of 1,252. See Ibn Du)mâk, v. p. 12; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 73.
3 Al-Ushmûnain is in reality about thirty miles to the south of the Jabal at-Ţair.
4 See Norden's Plate LXXI, where the 'Tshibel ell Deiir,' as he spells it, is to be seen at the northernmost point of the Nile, on the eastern bank. On Plate LXXV Norden gives a view of the monastery on the Jabal at-Ţair, which is called Dair al-'Adhrâ, i.e. 'Monastery of the Virgin,' or, more popularly, Dair al-Bâkarâh, or 'Monastery of the Pulley.' The latter name is common to several monasteries, which use a pulley to hoist up both provisions and visitors; and one so named is shown on Jabal Abû Faidâ in Norden's Plate LXXX, a few miles to the north of Manfalût. The Dair al-'Adhrâ on Jabal
§ In the city of Al-Ushmûnain there is a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, which is very large, and which Al-Ḥâkîm changed into a mosque.

On this mountain [of Jabal al-Kaff] there is another church hewn in the rock, and supported by eight columns\(^1\). Opposite to this church there is a hole of a cubit's breadth in which is white sand, some of which is extracted by all those who put their hands in and take some of it, and yet it never diminishes in quantity. The hand of a sinner cannot enter into it, even as far as the tip of the finger.

It is said that when the Franks invaded Upper Egypt with their king\(^2\), to drive Shirkuh the Kurd and his men away from the land of Egypt, they cut out the piece of rock upon which was the mark of the palm of the hand, and took it back with them to Syria, in the year 563 of the Arabs (A.D. 1168).

§ The monastery of Bisûs\(^3\), which is near Ishnin\(^4\). It is said by some

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\(^1\) Curzon gives a plan of this church, p. 114, in which he specially remarks on the eight columns. (A. J. B.)

\(^2\) Amaury or Almeric, king of Jerusalem from A.D. 1162 to 1173, was induced by bribes to lead his troops to Egypt in the first year of his reign, to assist Shâwar against Shirkuh; and again in 1163, when the Latin sovereign entered Cairo, and Shirkuh retreated. Amaury continued to assist the Fatimide caliph and his vizier, until in 1168 he took a powerful army to Al-Faramâ, which he took and sacked. This unscrupulous piece of treachery against his Egyptian allies forced Shâwar to implore Nûr ad-Dîn, his former enemy, to assist him against the Franks, and Amaury was driven to retreat.

\(^3\) Al-Maqrîzî calls this the monastery of îsûs (دير ايسوس), explaining this word as equivalent to the Arabic فسû (يسوع) or 'Jesus;' and it is, of course, simply a transcription of the Graeco-Coptic îhcoçîc. Al-Maqrîzî relates the same story which is given here of the well by which men foretell the rise of the Nile. Our author seems to take Bisûs as the name of a place; but this error must have arisen from his seeing the monastery mentioned as دير اسمه بابسوس, i.e. 'A monastery which is named after Jesus.' (A. J. B.)

\(^4\) On the west bank, a little to the north of Al-Bahmasâ, but a long way from
that this monastery belongs to the province of Al-Ushmûnain. Christ visited this place and stayed here.

In the monastery there is a church, in the middle of which there is a well of running water. Over this well prayers are said during the rise of the Nile every year; and then the water in the well rises. In the well there are marks contrived, which show the number of cubits reached by the rise of the Nile; and when the water of the well rises and stands still at a certain mark, it is known thereby what height the rise of the Nile will reach.

Island of Al-Ushmûnain. Al-Ushmûn was the name of one of the sons of Kift, the son of Mizrâm. The town was built by Pharaoh, and after it had fallen into ruin it was re-built by Nebuchadnezzar², king of Babylon. It is said that there was on the highest point of this town a cock, and beneath it a row of dromedaries. When a stranger approached the town the cock crowed, and the dromedaries came out to destroy that stranger. But when our Lord Christ, to whom be glory! came to this town, the cock crowed and the dromedaries went out, according to their custom; and when they saw the Lord Christ and the Lady, and Joseph the carpenter, they worshipped

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Al-Ushmûnain. There must have been a confusion on the part of some writers between Ishnîn and Al-Ushmûnain. Ishnîn was formerly in the province of Al-Bahnasâ, but is now, under the name of Ashnîn an-Nasârâ, or 'Ashnîn of the Christians', included in the district of Banî Mazar, in the province of Minyah. In 1885 it had a population of 1,260. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. i. p. râr; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 22.

¹ Also called Ashmûnain, Eshmûnain, or Oshmûnain. Al-Ushmûnain is the Coptic υψον. It still exists in the district of Raudah, in the province of Usyût, and had 2,312 inhabitants in 1885. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 167 ff.; Al-Idrisî [p. 47] (ed. Rome); Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. i. p. râr. The term 'island' is given to the district in which Al-Ushmûnain stands, because it is surrounded by water: by the Nile on the east, the Bahîr Yûsuf or Al-Manhî on the west and south, and a connecting canal on the north.

² On fol. 23b and 80a we are told that it was Belshazzar who restored Al-Ushmûnain, after it had been pillaged by Nebuchadnezzar.
them; and on the spot they were changed into stone; and their number was five.

On this island there are three hundred villages. Our Lord Christ entered [the town] by the eastern gate. Here the dromedaries worshipped him.

In the history of Anbâ Khâ'il, the forty-sixth patriarch, it is said that this is the town which was built by Alexander the Macedonian, who called it Cleopatra, a name which means 'the Weeping Woman;' and it was to this place that Marwân, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs, came, and here he was killed on the rock; as the old monk had prophesied, according to the narrative.

*** one of the districts [of Al-Ushmûnain]. Here is the body of Saint Macarius, the martyr. There is here an ancient temple, near the southern gate. There are several churches contained in it; namely, a church called after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, which contains several altars, and marble pillars; one of which has been celebrated in all times, for upon it is the mark of the hand of the Lord. Outside the church there is a Syrian tree bearing [the fruit called] sebastian, which is of a red colour. The tree stands near the ancient temple; and when the Lord with the Lady passed by it, it bowed its head in adoration to him. The governor of the town [in later times] wished to cut it down; but the patriarch Agatho was standing under the

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1 See MS. Anc. Fonds Arabe 139, p. 179.
3 This was a monk who addressed Marwân on his march through Syria, and foretold to him his defeat and death; for which the caliph had his pillar overthrown, for he was a Stylite, and had him burnt alive. See Anc. Fonds Arabe 139, p. 167, l. 13 ff.
4 There are still ancient tombs in the neighbourhood of Al-Ushmûnain, but no temple at the present day.
5 The Mukhkhait is a kind of Cordia, and is sometimes called the Assyrian plum. It is of a dark purple colour, and was formerly used in medicine in Europe, as it still is in the east.
tree, and when the woodcutter struck it with his axe, the axe flew back into his face. Thereupon the governor was afraid, and never again gave orders that the tree should be cut down; but he brought to the patriarch gold out of his treasury, and begged him to accept it, and to spend it on any sort of good work that he might wish.

§ Funkus. There was here a church named after one of the martyrs, I know not whom.

§ Ẓahâ. In this town there were in former times 15,000 Christians, but not a single Ḥanif or Jew; and there were 360 churches. In the caliphate of Marwân al-Jaʿdî, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs, he sent Miwadd to this town, but they drove him out and forbade him to live among them; so he returned to Marwân, and told him of what they had done. Thereupon Marwân sent some of his soldiers, who killed a large number of the people, and scattered them, and destroyed all the churches; so that only one church was left, namely, that named after Saint Mennas, the martyr, for the sparing of which alone it was decreed that 3,000 dinars should be paid. 2,000 dinars, therefore, were collected from the rich men of the city, but 1,000 were wanting, and so one-third of the church was turned into a mosque, which stood before the kaisârîyah.

§ Darwat as-Sarabâm. Here there is a church of the Lady,

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1 The consonants and vowels of this name are alike uncertain.

2 This place has already been mentioned on fol. 74 a. I do not know whether our author means to imply that all these towns and villages were visited by our Lord.

3 Yâkût calls it Darwat (Darût) Sarabâm, and Al-Maḵrīzî Darût Sarabân. The latter writer says that it is also called Darwat ash-Sharif. The place lies to the south of Al-Uṣmûnain and Mallawi, and a little to the north of Râs al-Manhî, the spot at which the Baḥr Yûsuf or Al-Manhî issues from the Nile. In Coptic it is TextNode43; the latter word being an abbreviation of TextNode44, and being sometimes pronounced Sarabân in Arabic. The town now gives its name to a district of the province of Aṣyûţ, and in 1885 had 5,588 inhabitants. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wort. ii. p. 26.; Al-Maḵrīzî, Khīṭat, i. pp. 41 and r.; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 496.
the Pure Virgin Mary; and a church named after the angel Gabriel, which is called *Maghaṭir ath-Thilf*.

Near the last-named place is the district of Ṣanabû, where there is a church of the Lady, built of baked bricks.

§ Jabal Ashtar or Halâliyah. Here there is a church named after Bû Nadîl, the martyr, which has fallen into decay.

§ Munyah Bâni Khaṣib. This city was founded by a Christian named Ibn Khaṣib, after whom it was called. He and a number of members of his family lived here, with those who took refuge with him; and he built houses here, and set up water-wheels. It is said that Munyah Bâni Khaṣib acquired the name of the family after whom it was called, because they were numerous, and possessed wealth, and slaves to serve them. The town was formerly called Munyah Bû Ḋais.

It lies on the western bank; and it contains several churches, namely, two churches of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; a church of the glorious Saint George, outside the city; a church of the glorious angel Michael, who has also another church; one of these two is outside, and the other within the town; two churches, one of the martyr

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1 I. e. ‘Place where snow has fallen.’

2 Al-Makräzi gives Ṣanabû (سَانَيْبُ) and Yâkūṭ Ṣanabû (يَكُوُّت). The place was a little to the south of Biblâ’ū, and close to the Râs al-Manhî. It was famous for the manufacture of excellent horse-cloths. See Yâkūṭ, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. 105; Al-Makräzi names a monastery, but not a church of the Virgin at Ṣanabû.

3 I cannot identify this place.

4 This name does not occur in the *Synaxarium*.

5 Often called simply Munyah or Minyah. It is now the capital of the province to which it gives its name, and had in 1885 a population of 15,900. The Coptic form of its name is *ṣrwnkh*, or, with the article, *ṭṣrwnkh*. It was also called Munyat Abî ʿl-Khuṣaib. In our author’s time it was a flourishing and populous town; and it is one of the most ancient cities of Egypt. See Yâkūṭ, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 105, and *Musharik*, p. 75. Al-Idrisî, trans. Jaubert, i. p. 124; Al-Makräzi, *Khīṭat*, i. p. 75; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 257 f. Al-Makräzi mentions only six churches as existing in his time at Munyah Bâni Khaṣib, viz. the Virgin, Saints Peter and Paul, St. Michael, St. George, St. Paul of Tamwah, and the Three Holy Children.
Mercurius, and the other of Abū Kais—these two; and also in the ancient temple a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; a church of the martyr Mercurius; a church of the angel Michael; and a church outside the town on the road to Daljah.

There is a monastery named after the martyr Theodore, outside Nahûr, on the eastern bank.

It is said that Munyah Banî Khašib is also called Munyah Bû Kais, after the saint, son of Kift, son of Mizraim; and it possesses the body of Bû Halbas, the martyr.

The church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, at Al-Muharrakah, in the province of Al-Ushmûnain. It was from this place that Christ returned to Miṣr, and thence to Syria. It is the first church that was founded and consecrated in the southern provinces.

This town is called Kûṣ Ḫām in the desert; and the meaning

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1 See a few lines lower down.
2 This town is at some distance to the south-west of Munyah Banî Khašib; and lies remote from the river at the foot of the hills. It is now in the district of ar-Raudah, in the province of Asyûţ, and in 1885 it had 8,209 inhabitants. It seems to be the same as the Coptic eTXKG, mentioned in one of the papyri of the Archduke Rainer; and its Arabic name is said now to be written 'Daljâ, دلجة. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. ii. p. 533; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 175 f.
3 A martyr of Ahnâs, named حلياس, is commemorated in the Paris Synaxarium, on Barmahât 15 = March 11.
4 The monastery of this place was and is the largest and one of the most celebrated in Egypt. It stands close to Kûsaḵâm, and is in the district of Manfalût, in the province of Asyûţ. The convent contained in 1885 a population of 1,110 inhabitants, consisting of monks, peasants, and Bedouins. Yâkût has an article on Dair al-Muḥarrakk, which he praises for the beauty of its situation, mentioning the tradition of Christ’s visit to it. Al-Maṣkrizi also mentions the monastery in a few words. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. ii. p. 746; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 264. Our author makes a mistake in placing Al-Muḥarrakkah in the province of Al-Ushmûnain.
5 The Coptic KOCKXK. Yâkût writes it as one word, قوقسم, ‘Kûsaḵâm;’ see his Geogr. Wört. iv. p. r.1. It is also found in the forms قسم and قسم.
of this name of Ḫūṣ Ḫām is ‘one who makes shrouds of reeds for the poor’.

It was built by Ḫūṣ, the son of Ḫift, the son of Mizraim. Our Lord Jesus Christ stayed here with the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, his mother in the flesh, and the righteous old man, Joseph the carpenter, at the time when they fled from Herod, the unbelieving king, who slew the infants. They stayed in a chamber in the upper story of this church, which is reached by mounting a flight of steps. In this chamber there is a window which was opened in the wall by the breath of the Lord; it was not opened by the hand, nor by any tool. In the church there is one altar, which was consecrated by the descent upon it of our Lord Christ, with the great disciples, in the clouds, according to the testimony of the homily of Philotheus, the

M. Amélineau omits the form given by our author. Some writers have made it the same place as Al-Muḥarrakah, and our author seems to be of this opinion. In fact, however, the monastery of Al-Muḥarrakah was built at the foot of the western mountain, which is not far from the town of Ḫūṣakām, and is named after it Jabal Ḫūṣakām. Vansleb stayed at Ḫūṣakām for a month, in A.D. 1664, and says that the town was then in ruins, and that nothing remained but the monastery of Al-Muḥarrakah. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 398. Ḫūṣakām is identified with Apollinopolis Parva. (A. J. B.)

1 The Coptic Ḫwā means to prepare for burial, by enshrouding, swathing, or embalming; and Ḫwā means ‘reed.’

2 The Paris Synaxarium says, at Ḥātur 6 = Nov. 2:

اجتماع الخلاص الأنما وملكنا رتبنا يسوق المسجل مع تلميذة الإطهر فبسفام وهي المع
واول قداس فيها كما يشهد به القديس فيلوتارس والقديس كيرلس

‘[On this day is commemorated] the meeting of the Saviour, our God and our King, our Lord Jesus Christ, with his pure disciples at Ḫūṣakām, which is the same as Al-Muḥarrakah, and the first liturgy which took place there, according to the testimony of St. Philotheus and St. Cyril.’

3 مميز is, as Professor Margoliouth points out, the Syriac مميز. M. Amélineau says, ‘Les moines du monastère de Moharraq m’ont raconté que la Sainte Vierge avait conduit l’enfant Jésus à l’emplacement où s’élève maintenant leur monastère; et il existe dans la littérature copte un discours attribué à Théophile, le patriarche d’Alexandrie, sur la visite de la sainte famille à Moharraq. Ce discours n’existe
twenty-third patriarch. Hence came the form of consecration [of churches which has since been employed]: the vessels filled with water; and the prayers recited over the water, to consecrate it; and the odoriferous plants and the leaves; and the lamps upon their stands; and the sprinkling of the walls of the church; and [Christ] commanded Peter to cause all churches to be consecrated according to this form: the form of the first consecration, which took place at Al-Muḥarrakah, in the province of Al-Ushmūnain.

The church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin, is the first church which was built in Egypt. Hence Christ went down to Mīṣr, and thence he returned to Syria. This church is called Kūs Kām, and is very small.

[Christ and his parents] were accompanied by Moses, son of the brother of Joseph the carpenter. Our Lord Christ bid Moses place a stone beneath his head; this he did, and immediately he died; and he was buried in this place. Opposite the door of the church there is a well of running water. In the church there is a tank full of water, which at a later time was turned into wine. The form of consecration employed for this church became the customary rule for all future times; and the consecration took place on the 6th of Hatūr.

After [his stay here], our Lord Christ blessed the water of the aforesaid well, because he and his mother and their companions had drunk of it; so that every one who went to it in faith, and drank of it or bathed in it, was healed of his pains; and many were cured of their
diseases; and the water became, in the mouth of those that drank of it, sweet like the water of the Jihon; I mean the Nile of Egypt. Pilgrimages have been made by many multitudes from all districts to this church from ancient times, because it has been celebrated on account of signs and wonders and the healing of various diseases; and the time of pilgrimage is at Easter, every year. The Lord Christ commanded that the original size of this church should not be added to; but that it should remain as it was. The mark of the hand of the Lord is on the eastern and on the western mountain.

Adjacent to this church there is a large and ancient keep, which had fallen into decay, but was renewed and restored to its original condition by the Shaikh Abû Zakari ibn Bû Naṣr, the administrator of Al-Ushmûnain; may God have mercy on him and grant rest to his soul! this was in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâfiz.

In this district there lived in ancient times Kharbatâ, son of Mâlik, the hard-hearted giant; but a thunderbolt was hurled at him from heaven, so that he was burnt up, and not a trace of him could be found; on this account the place was called Al-Muḥarrakah. This Kharbatâ, son of Mâlik, the giant, possessed much treasure and wealth; but he loved to do evil deeds, and did not fear God or dread his chastisements; and so God hurled a thunderbolt at him, which burnt him up, so that not a trace of him remained. On this account the place was called Al-Muḥarrakah, as it has already been said.

To the west of this church there is a vaulted chamber, hewn out in the mountain-side; and here the Lady used to dwell; and the Christian people began to come to this chamber, and obtain blessings from it. It is said that at Easter, in the year 891 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1175), the water in the well was turned into wine, according to the testimony of an assembly of priests, bishops, and laity, who wrote down an account of the event.

1 I.e. `The burnt village,' being understood. When the form is masculine (Al-Muḥarrak), دير is understood.
Monastery at Anṣinā.

§ The great monastery on the mountain, founded by Matthias the monk, near Anṣinā. Many monks entered upon the monastic life here. This monk [Matthias'] performed many wonders; one of which was

1 Whether this should be Anṣinā, as our MS. has it, or Isnā (Esneh) I cannot say. See following note.

2 This Matthias, or Matthew, is mentioned in the Life of the Patriarch Alexander (a. p. 704–737?); and the following story is to be found there. See Anc. Fonds Arabe 139, p. 136, l. 10 ff., where the saint, however, is said to have lived near Isnā. A Coptic life of this saint, who is there called τι Μαθθαίος, is quoted in Zoega, Cat. p. 534 ff., in which it is said that this saint founded a monastery named after St. Pachomius, near Isnā (Esneh), where he lived a most ascetic life, fighting with devils, who appeared to him in the form of serpents. A girl was brought to him, possessed by a devil, and he bade her parents anoint her with oil from the church lamp, so that she was healed. The Mahometan governor of Isnā used to consult Matthew on matters of importance, and send him presents of grapes, figs, pomegranates, myrtle, and jasmine.

The festival of St. Matthew the Poor is kept on Kihak 7=Dec. 3; and the Synaxarium has the following notice on that day:

On this day died St. Matthew the Poor. This saint was the superior of a monastery on a mountain in the neighbourhood of Aswān. He used to perform many wonderful works, and cast out devils; and he was counted worthy to possess the gift of healing, so that he used to pray over every sick man who was brought to him, and the Lord healed the sick man in answer to his prayers.'

The Synaxarium then relates the story of the girl who was swallowed up, in somewhat different terms from those of our author, and concludes thus:

‘Among the wonderful acts recorded of this Father was his habit of feeding
the following. A certain maiden had two brothers, who were tempted by Satan to commit sin with her, so that she became pregnant; and this fact became apparent, but none knew the cause. So her parents brought her to this monk; and he questioned her as to how the thing had happened; and she confessed all to him. Then he raised his hands to heaven and prayed; and the earth immediately opened and swallowed her up, in the sight of her parents. This is attested by the History of the Church in the Life of the Father Alexander, the priest of the monastery of To Henaton\(^1\), who became forty-third patriarch.

**Other Churches and Monasteries in Upper Egypt.**

In the district called Mir there are three churches.
In the district called Sanabu\(^2\) there are twenty-seven churches.
In the district called Mansara there are three churches.
§ Belteshazzar, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, restored the land of Egypt after its desolation during forty years. The first district which he restored was that of Al-Ushmûnain\(^3\).

There is a monastery named after the glorious angel Michael, in wild beasts with his own hand. So when he had finished his course, he went to his rest in peace, and the Lord took him to himself. May his acceptable prayers be with all those who are baptized! Amen.

Renaudot (Hist. Patr. p. 119) calls this saint 'Domitius,' following a corrupt reading (دمطيوس) in one passage of the patriarchal biography. If he had read a little more carefully, he would have found the name written a few lines lower متيسوس, 'Matthew.'

1 The word is not easy to read in the MS., and I do not know whether I have correctly reproduced the form intended by our copyist. But that Alexander came from the monastery of Az-Zajýj, on the sea-shore, nine miles to the west of Alexandria, and therefore called in Greek To Henaton (τὸ Ἑνατον), and in Coptic مقلاتون, is testified by the patriarchal biography. Al-Makrizi also informs us of the identity of the Dair az-Zajýj with the Dair al-Hanatûn. See also Zoega, Cat. p. 337; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 532.

2 See fol. 77 b.

3 This piece of information has already been given us above, fol. 23 b.
the city of Ḫūṣ; and a monastery of Saint Sinuthius likewise; and also a monastery of Saint Pachomius.

It was to a monastery at Akfahs that Anbā Sanhūt, bishop of Miṣr, fled, in fear of Anbā Michael of Sanjār, the sixty-eighth patriarch, against whom he was in schism; and he lived in the monastery three years.

§ A monastery in the desert, in Upper Egypt. It was here that Benjamin, the thirty-eighth patriarch, lived in concealment, in the reign of Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, who was a Chalcedonian [heretic], and while George, son of Mennas, the Mukaukis, was ruling in Egypt, until the end of ten years, through fear of both of them, according to the warning of the angel. This was the period during

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1 See Renaudot, Hist. Patr. p. 476.
2 The patriarchal history compiled by Severus of Al-Ushmūnain states that when the monothelite patriarch Cyrus came to Alexandria, an angel warned the Jacobite patriarch Benjamin (who occupied the see from A.D. 622 to 660?) to flee and lie hid for ten years, since the church would be much troubled during that period, and to bid the other bishops of Egypt also flee and conceal themselves. With regard to Benjamin, the biographer proceeds:

'He set out by the road to Maryūt, walking on foot, by night, accompanied by two of his disciples, until he arrived at Al-Munā, whence he travelled to Wādī Habīb. There the monks were few in number, for it was not long after the ravaging of those monasteries, which took place under the patriarch Damian; and the Berbers did not allow the monks to multiply in the Wādī Habīb. Then Benjamin quitted the monasteries of Wādī Habīb, and went to Upper Egypt, and lived in concealment there in a small monastery in the desert, until the completion of the ten years during which Heraclius and the Muṭaukīz (sic) ruled the land of Egypt.' (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 26,100, p. 103, line 26–p. 104, line 4.)
which the emperor oppressed the orthodox people, and required them to conform to his creed, which was contrary to the truth. From these two men the Christians suffered great persecution, yet they would not deny their faith. But in their time the Hanifite nation appeared, and humbled the Romans, and slew many of them; and took possession of the whole of the land of Egypt. Thus the Jacobite Christians were freed from the tyranny [of the Romans]. When the Muslims had ruled for three years, and the patriarch Benjamin was still in concealment, 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣi heard of that which had happened to him; so he wrote a decree of protection for the patriarch and all his people; saying in the decree: 'Let the shaikh and patriarch come forth in confidence, with regard both to himself and to all the Copts, who are in the land of Egypt and elsewhere, for they shall be safe from all violence and treachery;' and so on. So this decree of protection reached the father Benjamin the patriarch, who, in consequence, came forth from his concealment, confident in his own immunity and in that of his people, and returned to Alexandria.

The first appearance of the Muslims was [in the time of] Andronicus the Chaste, the scribe who became the thirty-seventh patriarch; it was in the twelfth year of Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, which was the year 933 of Alexander.

§ There is a monastery in Upper Egypt to which the priest Ya'kūb fled, that he might serve God there. He had formerly been in the monastery of Saint Macarius, when it was sacked, with the other monasteries of Wâdî Habib, by the marauders. He afterwards became a patriarch.

Bulyana and Bahjūrah.

§ City of Bulyana. This lies to the west of the Nile, in Upper Egypt. Here is the monastery known as the monastery of Banī Mūsā,

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1 Occupied the see from A.D. 616–622 (?); Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 154–155. Our author means, of course, the first preaching of the Mahometan religion at Mecca.
2 I. e. of the Seleucian era.
3 The fiftieth patriarch; sat A.D. 826–836?
4 To the south-east of Jirjâ (Girgeh), on the west bank. It is here that
which was restored at the expense of Aṣ-Ṣafi, who was its abbot. It lies to the west of the city, and its correct name with that of its church is said to be Saint Moses\(^1\). The plan of construction to be found in this monastery is unlike any that can be seen elsewhere. It is enclosed within a wall. Its gate is plated with iron and studded with nails. It contains a water-wheel, which irrigates a plot of vegetables. The pure body [of the saint] is buried in the monastery.

The biography of Anbā Christodulus, the sixty-sixth patriarch, relates that the pillars of this monastery all transpired, until the drops ran down like water; and shortly after this the small-pox broke out among the children of Egypt, so that 21,000 of the young people died in less than a month; and wheat was sold at Cairo at eighty dinars the sack, and at Alexandria at seventy-two dinars\(^2\).

At Bahjūrah\(^3\) there is a church of the glorious Saint George, which is beautifully constructed, well-lighted and spacious.

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\(^1\) The festival of Abū Mūsā, or Mīsis the Black, is kept on Baʿūnāh 24 = June 18. He is said to have been a converted robber, who became a monk, and was the author of several works. See Palladius, Hist. Laus. p. 55; Paris Synaxarium ad diem. St. Moses is represented in Venetian paintings.

\(^2\) This dehār was in the year 359 of the Hegira (A.D. 960-961), and in the caliphate of Al-Mustansir.

\(^3\) Al-Maqrīzī mentions a church of the apostles at this place, but not the church of St. George. Bahjūrah was formerly in the province of Kūs, but is now in the district of Farshūt, in the province of Kanā; and in 1885 it had a population of 4,654. It is at some distance from the bank, and was the centre of a sugar district. See Yâkūt, Geogr. Wörterb. i. p. 314; Revenue-list in De Sacy, Abd-Allatif, p. 702; Rec. de l’Égypte, ii. p. 60.
The town of Kūs. The meaning of this word is 'to enshroud,' and some of the inhabitants used to enshroud the kings for burial. The town is enclosed within a wall. It was built by Kūs, son of Kift, so that he might travel thence to the Oases in the west, and in the east to the mines of gold and emeralds, and to the Hedjaz.

The monastery known by the name of Saint Pisentius, bishop of Kift. Its church is named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary. This monastery stands to the west of Kūs; and it contains the tomb of Saint Pisentius. Outside the monastery, and to the west of it, there

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1 Also called Kūs Wārwîr (کوس وارری, کوس واربی). Formerly the capital of a province, but now in the province of Kanâ (Keneh), with 10,282 inhabitants in 1885. At the time of our author it was a place of much commercial importance. See Yākūt, Geogr. Wört. iv. p. r.1; Al-Idrisî (ed. Rome) [p. 48]; Al-Maqrîzî, Khītât, i. p. 774; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 400f. Al-Maqrîzî says that in his time only one church remained at Kūs.

2 The Coptic Kως means 'to prepare for burial.'

3 See above, fol. 20a.

4 A famous bishop of Kift in the seventh century. See Amélineau, Un Évêque de Kift au VIIème Siècle. The Synaxarium says at Abîb 13 = July 7:

'On this day died the Father Pisentius, bishop of Kift. This saint became a monk in his youth, and was exceedingly devout, and learnt by heart many books, among which were the Psalms and the Twelve Minor Prophets.'

He had a power of performing miracles; and a woman was healed of her sickness by swallowing dust from his footprints. When he celebrated the liturgy he is said to have been conscious of the presence of the Lord and his angels in the sanctuary, and even to have seen them with his bodily eyes. On one occasion a priest, celebrating the liturgy in the presence of St. Pisentius, was guilty of the irreverence of spitting, for which he was severely reproved by the saint, who told him that he had actually defiled the wing of a cherub, who was standing beside the altar; and on hearing this the priest was stricken with remorse, was carried home sick and died.
is a well of water which was visited by our Lady and the Lord Christ with the righteous old man Joseph. At this place there is a church named after the holy man, Saint Coluthus; and a church named after the glorious Saint Mercurius; and the church of Saint John; and a church named after Saint Theodore; and a church of the glorious martyr Saint Mennas; and a church named after the glorious martyr Saint George, outside Al-'Abbásah; and a church named after the glorious martyr Stephen, chief of the deacons; and a church of the fathers and disciples, Peter and Paul; and a church of the great martyrs and champions, Cosmas and Damian, their brethren and their mother; and the church of the glorious angel Michael; and the church of the two great and glorious martyrs Peter and Paul, outside the city, restored by the blessed Shaikh ‘izz al-Kufát, son of the Shaikh Muṣṭafā ’l-Mulk Abû Yûsuf, under the rule of the Ghuzz and Kurds.

There is a church called Al-'Abbásah outside this city, named after the saint and martyr George, which has already been mentioned. It was visited by Sháwar as-Sa’di, the vizier, while he was governor of Kûs, and he made a vow which he promised to fulfil when he should become vizier; and God allowed him to obtain his desire, for he was made vizier to the caliph, Al-'Ădîd li-dini ‘llâh, at Miṣr, in the month of Muḥarram of the year 558 (A.D. 1162); and he sent that which he had vowed continually up to the time of his death on the 18th of Rabî' the Second, in the year 564 (A.D. 1169); when the Ghuzz and the Kurds, led by Shirkûh the Kurd, conquered Egypt.

§ The meadow known as that of Bani Humaim, the Arab tribe, lies to the east, in the district called Iknû. There was on the estate of Marâ, an Arab, a church named after the glorious saint and martyr George, which he founded on the bank of the great river. Marâ built it with his own money; for he loved this saint, who appeared to him in a dream, and said to him: ‘Build a church to my name.’ But the Muslims were indignant with Marâ on this account, and brought charges against him, because of which he was seized by Al-Mâjid Fâris, son-in-law of Sháwar, when the latter was wâlî of Kûs, who placed him in fetters, and intended to put him to death. But he offered to the wâlî much money, and the Christians assisted him with a large
sum of money; and so he was released out of the hands of the governor. Afterwards Marâ was killed by Arabs\(^1\) in the desert; and he was brought to the side of this church and buried there. It is said that before he was killed, Saint George appeared to him during his imprisonment, and spoke with him, and loosened the fetters from his feet. In this church, Marâ replaced the roof of timber by a new roof; and he had pictures of the martyrs, of the saints, and of the angels painted in the church. Other restorations were undertaken by Fakhr ad-Daulah Abû 'l-Makârim ibn al-Fath, the Alexandrian scribe, when he was in this place in the year 892 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1175–6).

The White Monastery.

§ The monastery of the great saint Sinuthius\(^2\), near Ikhmîm. In this monastery there is a very large church, spacious enough to contain

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\(^1\) The form عَرْيَان, applied especially to the desert Arabs, is, of course, well known in later Arabic.

\(^2\) See p. 194, note 2. This is the famous White Monastery (الدير بالإبيض) near Sûhâj, and not far from Ikhmîm, though on the opposite side of the Nile to that town. See Norden's Plate LXXXIX, which shows Dair al-Abiad, or the White Monastery, and Plate XC, which shows Ikhmîm: also Curzon's *Monasteries of the Levant*, ch. xi (p. 128), and the description and references given in *Coptic Churches*, vol. i. p. 351 seq. I take this opportunity of remarking that neither the measurements nor the description which I borrowed for the latter work from Denon and from others have proved accurate. Pococke's plan and section face p. 246 of vol. i. The site of the church is now so encumbered with houses which cover the greater part of it—a whole village in fact lies within the walls of the church—that to make an accurate plan will require a great expenditure of time and labour, and probably of money. Ikhmîm, the Χἴμπις (Χεμπό) of Herodotus (lib. ii. 91) and Diodorus (lib. i. 18), was famed for its linen according to Strabo (lib. xvii)—a fame which has been abundantly confirmed in the last few years by the discovery of the rich textiles now in the South Kensington Museum.

The designation 'White Monastery' was already given in the time of our author, for Yâkût speaks of the foundation of St. Sinuthius under that name (*Geogr. Wort.* ii. p. 161), mentioning also another 'White Monastery,' which overlooked Edessa.
The following is M. Amélineau's account of the monastery of St. Sinuthius as it is at present:

'L'œuv're de ces Braves gens [i.e. St. Sinuthius and his monks] reste aujourd'hui. Pas une pierre n'a bougé. Quand de loin on la voit se détacher en avant de la montagne, elle se présente comme un bastion carré: de fait c'est plutôt une forteresse qu'un monastère. La construction est rectangulaire, faite à la manière des anciens Égyptiens, par assises froides. Les blocs de pierre fournis par les temples de la ville ruinée ont dû être coupés et taillés de nouveau: cependant ils montrent encore leur emploi primitif. Les murs d'une grande profondeur n'ont pas moins de 120 mètres de longueur sur cent en largeur. La hauteur en est très-grande; et tout autour règne une sorte de corniche peinte qui rappelle les chapiteaux de certaines colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak. On distingue encore quelques restes des couleurs dont les pierres étaient revêtues. On entrait au monastère par deux portes qui se faisaient face, et dont l'une a été murée depuis. Celle par laquelle on entre aujourd'hui est d'une profondeur de plus de 15 mètres; quand on y passe l'obscurité fait la frisson. Les moines qui la traversaient étaient vraiment sortis du monde. À droite de cette porte se trouve la "grande église"; à l'entrée on voit encore deux colonnes de marbre dont on n'a pu trouver l'emploi... L'église elle-même a la forme de toutes les églises coptes avec ses cinq coupole. La coupole du fond est ornée de peintures encore bien conservées, avec des inscriptions coptes en l'honneur du fondateur: elles sont sans doute postérieures à Schnoudi. L'obscurité de cette église empêche de reconnaître les peintures et de lire les inscriptions; il faut se trouver au monastère avant 2 heures du soir... Le long des murs se trouvaient des cellules, et les grandes salles de réunion; tout a disparu aujourd'hui, car les huttes actuelles sont récentes. Au-dessus de l'église dans l'épaisseur des murs, on avait pratiqué une rampe qui conduisait à la terrasse; à gauche de cette rampe en terre on avait construit des chambres... Les constructions du côté gauche de l'église sont seules demeurées debout: celles du côté droit n'offrent plus que des ruines où l'on ne peut se risquer.' (Vie de Schnoudi, p. 88.)

It should be added that the first monastery on the site of the present 'White Monastery' was founded by Aba Bajul, the teacher of St. Sinuthius, who built the much larger one which still exists. (Op. cit. p. 47) (A. J. B.)
THE WHITE MONASTERY.

disciples, Bartholomew¹ and Simon the Canaanite, two of the twelve Apostles. The body of the great saint Sinuthius, the archimandrite²—a word which means 'superior of the superiors'—is in a monastery at the top of the mountain called Atribah³; it was contained in a chest until the invasion of Egypt by Shirkuh and the Ghuzz who accompanied him, and who broke open the chest; and the body was taken out of it, and concealed in the ground in an unconsecrated chamber near the altar. In this monastery there is a keep; and there is around the keep and the monastery also a wall of enclosure, within which there is a garden full of all sorts of trees.

That part of the history of the church, which describes the patriarchate of Anbâ Khâ'il, the forty-sixth patriarch, relates⁴ that Al-Ḳâsim ibn 'Ubaid Allâh, wâli of Egypt, was an unenlightened and wicked man. He employed large boats⁵ to carry his odalisques [up and down the river] to all parts of the country as far as Uswân, together with his body-guard and troops. In one of his journeys he came to this monastery, accompanied by one of his odalisques, whom he greatly loved; and both of them were riding upon horses. Now there was in this monastery an aged monk who was the superior of the monks.

¹ This apparently contradicts the statement above that St. Bartholomew's body was in the Oasis of Al-Bahnasâ; but perhaps relics said to be his existed at both places. Quatremère quotes this passage, Mém. i. p. 14 f.
² So the Coptic and Arabic panegyrics on this saint call him:
³ There was a mountain and also a village of this name, called in Coptic luetep or luetepn, and in Arabic ئريرية, اترية, and below on fol. 87 a even اريرية. On the mountain the 'White Monastery' was situated, so that it was called 'The Sinai of St. Sinuthius' (Amélineau, Mém. pour servir, p. 392; cf. Géogr. p. 70 f.)
⁴ This story is related in the biography of the patriarch Michael or Khâ'il; see Anc. Fonds Arabe 139, p. 142, line 20 ff.
⁵ The expression used in the patriarchal history is مركب مثل قصر الملك, 'boats like royal palaces.'
So the monks went forth to meet Al-Ḳāsim and brought him into the monastery, together with the odalisque who was with him; and they passed through the first door, and through the second which leads into the enclosure of the church; and they went as far as the door which forms the entrance into the church, still riding upon their horses. But as they were about to enter into the church, this old man, the superior of the monastery, cried out, saying: 'Alight [from thy horse], O emir, and enter not with such pride into the house of God, above all in the company of this woman; for never from the beginning has any woman entered into this church! I fear for this woman therefore, if she shall enter into this church!' But the emir paid no heed to the words [of the old man], but entered on horseback, together with his odalisque and the soldiers who were with him. So when he came to the middle of the church, his horse plunged with him, and he fell to the ground; and through his fall the horse which the woman was riding also plunged, so that she fell to the ground and died on the spot; and the horse that was under her died also. And as for Al-Ḳāsim, the aforesaid governor, there descended upon him the spirit of an unclean devil, which buffeted him, so that he foamed at the mouth, and his teeth gnashed like the tusks of a wild boar. But when he had recovered a little, he understood the evil that he had done, and repented of his rashness, and that he had not listened to the bidding of the aged superior. Then he called the superior and said to him: 'To-day I have sinned, because I did not listen to the counsel which thou didst address to me. But now the mysteries of this place have been manifested to me so that I do not doubt them. I desire therefore, O shaikh, that thou shouldest accept this gift of money, and pray for me that God may forgive me, and may not deal with me as I deserve, because I ventured into the house of God, and entered it riding on horseback together with my companions.' Then the aged monk consoled him, and would not accept anything from him; but the emir adjured him and forced him, and showed humility towards him, and at last induced him to take four hundred dinars, saying: 'I ask God to pardon thee, O shaikh, that thou mayest ask him to pardon me this sin which broke from me.'
Now there was in the church a wooden chest of sāsam-wood inlaid with ivory\(^1\), and containing three shelves, which Saint Sinuthius had made to contain books, and he used to inscribe there the amount of votive offerings accruing to the monasteries. And a certain shaikh accompanying the emir, named Ar-Rayân, who had been wâli of Egypt before Al-Kâsim, and was his friend, begged that he might take this chest away with him. But he was informed that the chest was the property of the church, and that it was impossible that it should be removed; but he would not listen to that, although the great miracle that had happened was told him. And he commanded a body of men to carry it out of the church; but they were not able to do so. So when he saw this other wonder, he asked pardon of God most high, and made a gift of three hundred dinars of his money. Then they departed. And they were filled with doubts and dismay; and the unclean spirit did not cease to possess Al-Kâsim, chastising him at all times until the hour of his death.

§ Bahrân\(^2\), the Armenian Christian, who had been vizier in the caliphate of Al-Hâfiz, became a monk in this monastery after he was banished from his office. Then he desired to go to Cairo, although he was exceedingly ill and weak; so he was carried to Cairo and arrived there still living.

§ Nestorius the heretic, who had been patriarch of Constantinople, was buried in the city of Ikhmîm, after he had been in banishment there for seven years, in the year 543\(^3\). Now when rain falls, it does

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\(^1\) The Copts were famous for their skill in ivory inlaying, for examples of which see *Coptic Churches*, ii. p. 66, &c. (A. J. B.)

\(^2\) See above, fol. 6 a.

\(^3\) If this date is reckoned from the era of the martyrs, it is very inaccurate; and if, which is unlikely, it is reckoned from the birth of Christ, it is still wrong by nearly a hundred years, since the date of the death of Nestorius is A.D. 450 or 451, and that of his banishment A.D. 435. His death anticipated the Council of Chalcedon, which, according to Zacharias the rhetorician, he had been invited to attend; see Land, *Anecd. Syr.* iii. p. 118; Evagrius, lib. ii. c. 2; Assemani, *Bib. Or.* ii. pp. 40 and 55. Eutychius states that the banishment lasted for seven years (*Annales*, ii. p. 12); and relates, as Abû Šâlih does, that rain never falls on the tomb of Nestorius. (A. J. B.)
not descend upon his tomb, because he was the cause of the Council of Chalcedon.

Story of Febronia.

§ At Al-Jīmūdāt, in the province of Upper Egypt, there is a convent, to the east of that district, in which there were nuns, of virginal life, to the number of thirty. Marwān al-Ja‘dī, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs, summoned the Bashrūd or Bashmurites to assist him in his war, when he fled from the Abbaside; and he allowed them to plunder and take prisoners and slay [as they would]; so they set about doing so. Among the places which they attacked was this convent, which they afterwards plundered; and among the nuns there was a young maiden, named Febronia, who had come from Syria to this convent, when she was three years old, and had grown up within its walls; and she was of great beauty. So when the Bashmurites saw her, they were astonished at her, on account of her beauty; and they said one to the other: ‘Never was such beauty seen in the world!’ So they took her and brought her out from the convent, and separated her from her sisters the virgins, and consulted with one another as to what they should do with her; and some of them said: ‘Let us cast lots for her;’ but others said: ‘Let us take her to the prince.’ But while they were consulting upon these and similar proposals, she said to them: ‘Where is your chief, that I may tell him of a great secret,

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1 I cannot identify this place.
2 On the Bashmurites see Zoega, Cat. p. 139 ff.; Quatremère, Recherches, p. 147 ff. (‘Sur le Dialecte baschmourique’), &c. (A. J. B.)
3 This story is related in full by John the Deacon in his life of the patriarch Khā‘il, included among the patriarchal biographies collected by Severus of Al-Ushmūnain; see Anc. Fonds Arabe 139, p. 170 ff.; cf. Renaudot, Hist. Patr. p. 226 ff., and Quatremère, Recherches, p. 155. The events are also stated in a few words by Al-Makīn, Hist. Sarac. (ed. Erpenius), p. 99, and by Al-Makrizī. The name Febronia (Fibrūniyāh) is well known to the Copts through the commemoration of the martyr of Nisibis of that name on Abīb 1 = June 25. (A. J. B.)
worth a great sum of money? And then you will let me return to my sisters in the convent in which I was brought up; for I am a virgin, and have lived in retirement in the convent, apart from men, and serving God, to whom be praise!' Then the leader of the band answered her and said: 'Here I am! What is it that thou wilt tell me, and what is the secret which thou saidst was worth much money?' So she said to him: 'My ancestors were wise, valiant, and warlike; and they possessed a secret which they inherited from their ancestors, and disclosed to no one else. They engaged in great wars, and they returned in safety, without a wound to any one of them; and the cause of this was that they knew certain names which they repeated over the oil with which they anointed themselves; then they went out to the wars, and neither the sword nor the arrow nor the spear did any harm to them. Now this is what you stand in need of. If therefore thou wilt let me go back to my convent, I will confer this benefit upon thee, and show thee this great secret, and I will give thee what I have of this oil; and if thou dost not believe my word, then anoint with it whomsoever thou pleasest, and behold the truth of my words.' Then he said to her: 'Anoint thyself with this oil; for no one else will be easily persuaded to do so; nor will I make the experiment upon any of my comrades.' So she said to him: 'Wilt thou swear to me, before I reveal this secret to thee, that thou wilt let me go, and restore me to my convent and the place in which I was brought up?' Then he swore to her, saying: 'I will let thee go, and will not allow any of my comrades to take thee captive.' Then she said to him: 'Let me go back to my place with thee and no other, that I may take the oil and anoint myself with it in thy presence.' So he went with her into the convent; and she approached the picture of the Lady, and prayed before it, and begged the Virgin to assist her to obtain deliverance; and then she anointed herself on the neck with oil of the lamp. Then he said: 'I will not make the experiment except in the presence of my comrades.' So he returned to them with her, and told them all that had happened, and said to them: 'Know that I have sworn to this maiden, that if her words prove true I will let her go, and will allow none of my comrades to have power over her. Do you then
agree with me in this matter?’ Then they said to him: ‘We will not oppose thee; and if this secret be true we shall obtain much advantage from it.’ Then he said: ‘This maiden said, “Try it on whomever thou mayest wish,” so I said to her, “It is fittest to try it on thee;” and she consented; and she anointed her neck with it; but I did not think fit to try it except in your presence.’ Then he commanded one of his comrades, who had a sharp-edged sword with him, and said to him, ‘Come, strike her upon the neck with this sword that thou hast with thee; and if we see the result to be successful, you will agree with me to let her go.’ So they consented to his bidding. Then that man arose and drew his sword, and the maiden bent her knees and displayed her neck; but they did not know that which was in her heart. Then she covered her face, and said: ‘If there is any strong man among you, let him strike with his sword upon my neck, and you will see the power of God in this great secret.’ So that man whom their chief had appointed went forward to her, and struck with all his might; and her head immediately fell from her body; for it was her purpose by this means to preserve her maidenhood, that she might appear before Christ a pure virgin, as she had been created, without earthly stain. So when the ignorant Bashmurites saw what had befallen the maiden, they knew at last what had been her intention; and they repented and were exceedingly sad, and did no injury henceforth to any of those virgins, but let them go, and refrained from the undertakings which they had planned, and restored to the nuns all that they had pillaged from their convent.

Ikhmîm and the neighbourhood.

§ In the city of Ikhmîm there were seventy churches until the end of the year 552 of the Arabs (A.D. 1157).

In the district of Dimnû¹ there is a church, on the western bank of the river, named after the glorious saint Abû Baghâm.

¹ Yâkût mentions a large and much frequented church at Dimnû, which is on the west of the Nile; opposite to Ikhmîm, and is now included in the district
IKHMIM AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

There is also the monastery of Saint Pachomius at Barjanūs, in the district of Taḥā.

There is the monastery of Abū Ḥalbānāh, to the east of Ikhmim, near which there is a spring of water which runs from the mountain into a reservoir there.

The monastery of Saint Paul, the superior of the monastery in Upper Egypt.

The monastery of Saint Pachomius, the superior of the monastery of Ikhmim.

§ The Book of the Monasteries by Ash-Shabushti relates that there is in the district of Ikhmim a large monastery to which visitors come from all parts; and it is near the mountain called Jabal al-Kahf. At a certain place on this mountain there is a fissure; and on the day when that monastery keeps its festival, all the birds of the species called Abū Kāf come to this place; and it is a great wonder to see the multitude of the birds, and to hear their cries and to behold their assembling around that fissure. Then, one after the other, without ceasing, they insert their heads into the fissure, and place their beaks in the cavity of the mountain, and utter a cry and come away; and this they do until the head of one of them is caught in the fissure, and


1 This famous abbot of Tabennesi or Tabenna is commemorated by the Copts on Bashans 27 April, but by the Roman church on May 14. He seems to have died in A.D. 348 or 349 at an advanced age, after establishing a set of rules for the monastic life. See Acta SS. at May 14; Amélineau, Hist. de S. Pkhōme et de ses communautés.

2 It is apparently this convent which Pococke describes (vol. i. p. 78) as lying 'to the east of Akhmim' and 'being one of the most dismal retirements he ever saw.' Pococke mentions the spring and the well called 'Bir Elaḥam.' In Pococke's name for this monastery 'Dermadoud' (Dair Madūd?) there is no correspondence with that given by Abū Ṣalih, which is, of course, a name of dedication, not of locality. (A. J. B.)

3 Al-Makrizī says that this is part of the Jabal al-Ṭair.

4 See above, fol. 19 b.
he hangs there, beating with his wings until he dies; and after that all the birds fly away until not one of them is left there.

That monastery is celebrated for its wonderful miracles.

§ At Anšinâ ¹ was the house of Mary the Copt ², who was born and grew up at this place. She it was whom the Muḥākūsīs sent as a gift to Mahomet, who married her; and the purpose of the Muḥākūsīs in sending Mary the Copt, was that through her he might be connected by affinity ³ with Mahomet. The house of Mary was afterwards turned into a mosque.

The district known as Anšinâ. This was the name of one of the sons of Kifṭ, son of Mizraim, who built it for certain sorcerers. [There is here] the monastery of a saint called Abū Tabīḥ ⁴, whose body is contained within it.

There is a monastery named after the saint Coluthus, who was a priest, and suffered martyrdom by burning while he was still alive; he was of a beautiful countenance; and he obtained the crown of martyrdom; and his body is contained within the monastery.

At Anšinâ there is also a church named after the saint and great martyr George; and a church of the valiant martyr Theodore the Eastern; and a monastery of the great saint Sinuthius, on Mount Andaribâ ⁵, in which many holy monks have lived, especially the holy champion and ascetic, the blessed Anbā Yasib.

¹ We now return northwards to Anšinâ or Shaikh 'Abādah, the famous 'Red Monastery' opposite to Ikhmīm being disregarded. The want of plan and completeness in the work of Abū Šāliḥ is here again conspicuous. (A. J. B.)
² Mary the Copt, the concubine of the prophet Mahomet, was a native of Ḥafn, in the neighbourhood of Anšinâ. See Ibn Hishām, Sirāh Muḥammad (ed. Wüstefeld), i. pp. 9 and 17; cf. Yaḵūt, Geogr. Wörter. ii. p. 198.
³ Rather, that the Egyptians might be connected with Mahomet by affinity.
⁴ So Quatremère, who makes use of this passage of Abū Šāliḥ; see Mém. i. p. 41.
⁵ I take this to be another form of Atribah or Adribah (see above, fol. 82 b).
At Anṣinâ there is also the monastery of Al-Khâdim, and the church named after Manasseh, which was built over the tomb of that Yasib on account of the number of miracles and the healing of diseases which were manifested at it.

At Anṣinâ also there is a church called the 'Church of the Water,' in which festival is kept in memory of the great martyrs and champions of the name of Christ, whose number is forty-one.1

There is also a church named after Saint Theodore Basrâdilâdus outside Anṣinâ.

The monastery of Matthew on the mountain, which was restored by the blessed priest, the fisherman of Anṣinâ. This blessed priest used to make fishing-nets, while he was keeping the monastic rule; and many became monks in this monastery for his sake. Matthew was a native of Askît, and he used to pray over the oil, and whatever sick person was anointed with it was healed of his disease through the power of God which dwelt in him; and he used to cast out devils in the name of Christ, from those who were possessed by unclean spirits.

Usyût and its neighbourhood.

District of Shûtb, in the province of Sûyût. This town was

and the allusion to be to the White Monastery, opposite to Ikhmîm, which has already been spoken of. The MS. has, with good reason, and Quatremère transcribes it by 'Andrina;' see his Mém. i. p. 42, where this passage is quoted in substance.

1 The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste.

2 I.e. St. Matthew the Poor, who has already been named above, p. 228.

3 I.e. the desert of Scyathis or Scete, afterwards called Wâdî Habîb.

4 A little to the south-east of Suyût, Usyût, or Asyût, on the same side of the river. It is the Coptic CIWÓTTN; and in 1885 it had 4,008 inhabitants. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wort. iii. p. rîr.; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 423 f.

5 Suyût, Asyût, or Usyût is the largest town in Upper Egypt, and has been a place of great importance from remote antiquity. The Coptic CIWÓTTT, and the Greek Lycopolis, it is now, as it was in the time of our author, the capital of a province, and in 1885 it had 31,398 inhabitants. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wort. i. p. rîr.; Al-Idrisî (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 126; Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 404–466.
built by Manfāʿūs, the king; and its name means the 'Beloved.' The Raṭf̲ is here equivalent to 1,000 dirhams. From this town there is a road to the Oases. There were formerly in the town cooks belonging to the king. There is no finer bed of river-slime on the face of the earth than that found here, nor any that has a sweeter smell; it is enclosed by mountains and is deposited by the water of the Nile; its extent is 30,000 feddāns, all in one plain; and if a little of it were rubbed in the fingers it would spread out evenly, and some of it would extend beyond the sides; in it they sow flax and wheat and clover and other crops. It is said that there is nowhere in Egypt anything like this level unbroken expanse of cultivated fields, or any more delightful place where the beauties of the country can be better enjoyed than this, when its crops are in full luxuriance, and when the flowers appear; they say there is nothing more admirable to be seen. The whole of it on the west is enclosed by a mountain, white in colour, and of the form of a tailasān, which looks as if it were a cascade of silver; and not a word spoken can be heard there on account of the great noise of the birds.

At Usyūṭ no Jews live; nor does a single Jew travel that way, unless he is taking a journey and passes it on the road.

The city is surrounded by a brick wall and has seven gates, namely, Bāb al-Jabal on the north; Bāb Wardis; on the east Bāb al-Arman;

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1 The Egyptian pound weight.

2 Referring to the mountains just mentioned, the writer in Murray's Egypt says, in curious agreement with Abū Ṣāliḥ, 'The view from these hills over the town of Asyoot (sic), and the green plain in the early part of the year, is the prettiest perhaps to be seen in Egypt. The brightness of the green is perfectly dazzling, and of a tint such as probably can be seen nowhere else in the world: it stretches away too for miles on either side "unbroken," as Dean Stanley so graphically says, "save by the mud villages which here and there lie in the midst of the verdure like the marks of a soiled foot on a rich carpet."' (Vol. ii. p. 424.) (A. J. B.)

3 The tailasān is an ecclesiastical vestment described in Coptic Churches, ii. p. 120. It signifies also a sort of veil or scarf worn by lawyers, doctors, and others. (A. J. B.)
USÝÝT AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

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a gate called Al-Ḳanṭarah; Bâb Umm Harîz; Bâb as-Sûdán; Bâb al-

The monastery of Abû 's-Sirri. This monastery contains the body of Saint Theodore, the military commander and martyr, and the body of the bishop Harûfus; these two bodies lie upon a wooden stand in the altar-chamber.

The monastery called the monastery of Abû Sâdir\(^1\), whose body arrived at Shuṭb on the 5th of Hatûr. Near the monastery is the mountain of Aṭ-Ṭalîmûn\(^2\), the length of which is twelve posts on the eastern side.

At Al-Kharibah at Suyût there is a ruined bath\(^3\).

There is a church of the martyr Abû Baghâm, whose body lies within it; and he has another church at Al-Kharibah.

There is a monastery at Samallût\(^4\), in the district of Al-Ushmûnain,

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\(^1\) Al-Maḳrîzî also speaks of the church of Abû Sadrah (ابو سدر). Sâdir and Sadrah both seem to be forms of the name 'Theodore.' The Paris Synaxarium does not commemorate the bringing of his body to Shuṭb; but that translated by Mr. Malan has at Hatûr 5, 'Bringing of the body of St. Theodore to Shutab.'

\(^2\) Al-Idrisî names this mountain under the form Tâlamûn (طلیمون); see the Roman edition [p. 48]. Cf. Al-Maḳrîzî, Khîlat, i. p. 31.

\(^3\) The mention of the ruined Roman bath at Usyût recalls the incident of the suffocation of a number of men in a bath, during the reign of Theodosius I, by the members of the rival faction, at the time of the games in the circus, and the threatened punishment of the city by the emperor, whose wrath was averted through the intercession of the saintly monk, known as 'John of Lycopolis' or Usyût. The reputation of John of Lycopolis was so great that Theodosius consulted him, as if he were an oracle, before his war with Eugenius. See Gibbon, ch. xxvii, who quotes D'Anville, Description de l'Égypte, p. 181, and Abû ʿl-Fidâ (ed. Michaelis), pp. 14, 25, 92, for an account of the town of Usyût, and, for the life of John the monk, Rufinus and Palladius, in Rosweyde's Vitae Patrum; also Sozomen, lib. vii. 22, and Claudian, in Eutropium, lib. i. line 312 f., for the embassy of Theodosius. (A. J. B.)

\(^4\) On the west of the Nile, opposite to the Jabal at-Ṭair. It is now in the district of Kalûsanâ (Kulusna), in the province of Minyah, and had 3,855 inhabitants in 1885. See Yâḳût, Geogr. Wört. iii. p. 136.; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 288.
and here there is a church named after the martyr Abū Baghām, enclosed within a surrounding wall, within which there is also a mill, and an oven, and an oil-press. Adjacent to the church is a keep, which is large and high, towering above the walls; and there is a garden containing palms and other trees. This monastery owned property, the gift of the caliphs, consisting of twenty feddāns of black soil. The monastery was seized by one of the Ghuzz or Kurds in the year 569 (A.D. 1174), and he turned it into a mosque, and seized the garden and the oven, and made the keep his dwelling-place; but in the same year he died, without carrying out his purposes.

Monastery of Al-'Asal.

Monastery of Al-'Asal. This is near Munyah Bani Khaṣīb. It contains the church of Saint George, and is enclosed by a surrounding wall. It has two keeps and a garden; one of the former being to the south of the church and containing a mill and the cells of the monks; and the other being to the north of the church. It also has a press for olive-oil. It is said that there are here fourteen churches. There is a church of the saint Sinuthius; a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; a church of the glorious angel Michael; a church named after Saint Claudius the martyr; a church named after the saint Bū Hadr of Al-Ushmûnain; and a church named after the

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1 Mentioned by Al-Maḳrizī.
2 The mill and oven are used for preparing the eucharistic bread, the oil-press for the secondary oils—

3 Fol. 88 b

4 A. J. B.)

3 i.e. 'Monastery of Honey.' Yâkūt speaks of it as charmingly situated, and containing a large number of monks; see his Geogr. Wört. ii. p. 78 .

4 This is apparently the same as Hadrî (Ε&ΣΤΡΗ), the monk and friend of Saint Or (ΕΩΡΩ), in the fourth century. Abū Hadrî (إب هري) is commemorated according to the Paris Synaxarium on Kīhak 12 = Dec. 8, but he is there said to be from Aswân. Cf. Zoega, Cat. p. 299.
saint and martyr George, in which the liturgy is celebrated every day of the year.

It is said that there was in the monastery of Al-‘Asal a monk named Simon the saint, who became bishop. At his cell there were fruit-bearing palms, in which the ravens used to build their nests; and, through his gentleness and kindness, the shy raven grew so tame that it ate from his hand. And the sinners among his people left off their sins, and listened to his life-giving doctrines, and repented of their sins, and began again to attend the church in order to hear his exhortations and teachings, and to bring him, out of their earnings, tithes and money in payment of vows.

The neighbourhood of Usyūṭ.

District of Al-Khuṣūs¹, in the province of Suyūṭ, on the eastern bank. Here the Copts have twenty-five churches, and the Armenians have a monastery within the town, and two churches outside the town, and two churches within the town. The restorers of these churches will now be mentioned. There is a church of Abū Fānah², restored by Ar-Rashid Abū ’l-Faḍl; the church of Abū Hakandā, named after a relation of Ṣafī ad-Daulah, and restored by Hakandā Abū Zakari Minā ibn Kafri, known as Ibn Būlus, together with An-Najib, his brother; the church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; the church of the glorious saint George; the church of the glorious saint and martyr Mercurius; and the church of Bandalūs. The convent of Hanādah, which is inhabited by nuns, is at Rifah, in the province of Suyūṭ.

¹ Al-Khuṣūs, opposite to Asyūṭ, seems to be no longer in existence. It is named, however, in the Synaxarium and in the revenue-list of A.D. 1375. M. Amélineau omits a reference he might have made to Abū Šāliḥ. See his Geogr. p. 222 f. Yākūt says that the inhabitants of Al-Khuṣūs were all Christians (Geogr. Wört. ii. p. 448f).

² The Coptic Ḍib ibn Ṭame, a monk, and contemporary of the emperor Theodosius I; see Zoega, Cat. p. 356. The Bib. Nat. of Paris possesses an Arabic life of Abū Fānah; see Cat. No. 153, Anc. Fonds Arabe 149. Al-Maḳrizī mentions a monastery of Abū Fānah in the district of Munyah or Minyah.
At Suyūṭ, on the western bank, there are sixty churches; and on the mountain there are churches hewn in the rock\(^1\) with the pickaxe, and all of them have a keep.

There is a monastery named after the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary, which is known as Ḍarfunah\(^2\).

There is a monastery named after Saint Severus\(^3\), outside the town. It is hewn out of the top of the mountain and stands out from the mountain. It possesses a keep, and a cistern which contains a thousand pitchers of water, and is filled from the blessed Nile. On the upper part of this mountain there is a place where there are [chambers in] three stories, hewn in the rock. And there are in this monastery rope-ladders, and there is a place whither, if there be great cause for fear, the monks ascend by these ladders, and when they have arrived at the top they draw up the ladders after them. The monastery contains a mill and several ovens, and a press for olive oil. There are thirty monks here. Beneath the monastery there is a garden, full of trees and tall fruit-bearing palms and olives and pomegranates, and verdant plots, and beds of vegetables; and from these the monastery gains much money, which pays for its needs year by year, besides that which God sends them through alms and also through payment of vows. This monastery is independent, and its inmates are leaders among the monks, holy men, ascetics, champions of the faith, and learned. The monastery was free of taxation; but when the Ghuzz and Kurds conquered Egypt they seized upon this and the other gardens in the possession of the monasteries, and also seized their endowments.

In the monastery of Saint Severus there lived an aged monk, an ascetic, who fasted continually week after week; at the end of the

\(^1\) See Norden's Plate LXXXIV. (A. J. B.)

\(^2\) See Al-Maḳrizī's mention of this monastery near Usyūṭ, which he calls Ḍarfunah (ارغنان), Arṣūnā (أرغونة), or Aḥraṣūnā (अरगन), adding that the name means 'writer,' i.e. χρατόμον.

\(^3\) The Dair Abī Sawīris at Usyūṭ is mentioned by Yāḳūt (Geogr. Wört. ii. p. 141) and by Al-Maḳrizī.
week he communicated on the Saturday, and then he fasted and communicated again on the Sunday, after which he broke his fast. This was the manner in which this old man served God and fought against sin, until he died; may the Lord have mercy upon us through his intercessions! News of this old man, before he died, had reached Ṭālā'ī' ibn Ruzzik¹, through the wāli of Upper Egypt; so Ṭalā'ī' visited the old man, and witnessed his mode of life, and made enquiries of him, and found that the report was true; and the old man announced to Ṭalā'ī' that he would rise in rank and would become vizier; and indeed the most high God did grant him the vizierate; and so he presented to the monastery, in addition to that which it already possessed, a tract of fertile soil.

Now this holy old man used to fast even during the Fifty Days Fol. 90 a [between Easter and Pentecost], every day until the ninth hour; and then he broke his fast with a few lupins only.

There is a monastery of Saint John, which is also called Ibshā'ī.
There is a monastery named after the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary, which is called the monastery of Azilūn. Beneath it there is a garden, full of palms and other trees.
There is another monastery named after the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary, which is called the monastery of Abū ʾI-Ḥārīth.
There is a monastery called Dair at-Tinādah², named after the martyr Abū Baghām.
There is the monastery of the martyr Saint Victor, with a church which contains his body and that of the martyr David.
The body of the martyr Colūthus is in his monastery at Suyūṭ, with the body of the martyr Baghām.
The monastery of Saint Victor is at Al-Khuṣūs, to the east of Suyūṭ, on the mountain; and it contains his pure body.

¹ See above, fol. 7 a.
² Yāḵūṭ gives us the pronunciation of this name, and adds that the monastery was a celebrated one near Usyūṭ, attractive as a resort for pleasure, and inhabited by many monks (Geogr. Wört. ii. p. 173).
A monastery called Ibsidiyâ¹ stands between Rifah² and another place³.

There is a church named after Saint Sergius⁴, which is called Dair Abû Maḵrûfah, and lies to the east of Suyûṭ.

Τûnbudhâ.

Τûnbudhâ. Within and without this town there are [respectively] a monastery and a church named after the saint and martyr Tarnîmah; and his pure body lies in the monastery.

There is a church named after the martyr Basmantah, which contains his pure body.

There is a church named after the Saviour, who is our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory!

Various Churches and Monasteries.

The monastery of Abâ Nûb the martyr, which contains the bodies of sixty-three monks who were martyred. It stands to the north of the town of Al-Ushmûnain. The monks were put to death by a black, named Ḥaffâz, in the caliphate of Al-Mustansîr bi’llâh, at the time of the disturbances in Upper Egypt, during the patriarchate of Christodulus, the sixty-sixth in the succession, in the year 781 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1065–6). This monastery contains a keep, which is a lofty structure.

¹ M. Amélineau, who notices this passage of Abû Ṣâliḥ, quotes a mention of Ibsidiyâ in the Synaxarion, in the account of St. Victor there, and says the place must have been to the south of Usyûṭ; see Géogr. p. 202.

² The churches and monasteries of Rifah, a little to the south of Usyûṭ, are mentioned by Al-Maḵrîzî. The Coptic name of the place is e[pHAE]. It still exists, and had in 1885 a population of 4,119. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 165.

³ The name is omitted in the MS.

⁴ This martyr, so celebrated in the Eastern churches, suffered in the persecution of Diocletian about the same time as his friend St. Bacchus. The Copts keep the festival of St. Sergius on Babah 10=Oct. 7. See Synaxarion at that day; Eutychius, Annales, i. p. 412.
VARIOUS CHURCHES AND MONASTERYES.

There is a church named after the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary.

There are two churches named after the angel Gabriel, one of which was wrecked by the mob of Muslims in the year 580 (A.D. 1184), under the rule of the Ghuzz and Kurds. There are also two churches named after the angel Michael; two churches named after the martyr Abâ Lûkûm; a church named after the Fathers and Disciples; a church of the martyr Saint Mennas; two churches of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; a monastery named after the glorious martyr Theodore; a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; a church named after the angel Gabriel; a church named after the martyr Abâ Falûkh; the church of the angel Raphael; and a church named after the great martyr George.

§ At-Sumusta^1, in the nearer part of Upper Egypt, there is the church of Abû Harûdah, the martyr, whose body lies within it.

§ Bûtij^2. The body of Saint Pachomius and the body of Sinuthius lie in two chests in a church to the south of Bûtij.

§ Town of Al-Ḳais or Dafû. Here is a church which contains the body of the martyr Saint Isaac.

Ishnin, both within and without. Here is a large church of the glorious angel Michael. This church is beside the stream of the blessed Nile, and contains four chapels, namely, a church of our Lady the Pure Virgin Mary; a church of the valiant martyr Theodore; a church of the martyr Ptolemy; and a church of the glorious martyr Saint John.

There are also six churches, namely, a church of the angel Raphael,

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^1 Sumusţâ or Samasţâ is on the west bank, and is now in the district of Bîbâ, in the province of Banî Suwaîf, with a population in 1885 of 2,135. There are three small hamlets of the same name in the same district beside this larger village, which is distinguished by the name of Sameşţa al-Waḳf. The MSS. of Al-Maḳrizî write فامث. See Yâḳût, Geogr. Wört. ad voc.; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. 4; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 288.

^2 Bûtij or Abû Tij is the Graeco-Coptic ΤΑΠΟΘΥΧΗ. It is now the capital of a district in the province of Asyût, and in 1885 had 10,770 inhabitants. See Yâḳût, Geogr. Wört. i. p. 300; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 11f.
a church of the martyr Saint Mercurius; a church of the martyr Claudius; a church of the valiant martyr Theodore; a church of the glorious prophet Daniel; and a church of Abá Fú, besides a second church of the angel Michael.

§ Aḵfahs\(^1\). Here there are six churches, of which the following is a list: a church named after the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; the church of the glorious angel Michael; a church of the glorious angel Gabriel; a church of the martyr Theodore; a church of the martyr Abá Siyûn; the church of Julius\(^2\), the scribe and martyr of Aḵfahs. [There is also] the monastery of Saint Philemon\(^3\), the martyr, which contains several monks. Adjacent to it there is a keep and a garden. This monastery lies to the south of the district.

Dalâš\(^4\) was founded by Dalâš, for a man who separated himself from intercourse with the world; and it contained three hundred smiths, who forged the bits of Dalâš\(^5\). [Here is] the church of Saint Coluthus,

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\(^1\) This town, the Coptic \(\kappa \delta \varepsilon \gamma \varphi \varepsilon \kappa \), or \(\chi \delta \varepsilon \gamma \varphi \varepsilon \kappa \), is on the west bank, a little to the north of Ṭūnbudhâ and opposite to Fashn. It is included in the district of the last-named town, and in the province of Minyah, and in 1885 had 1,614 inhabitants. Aḵfahs is well known in Coptic hagiology on account of Julius of Aḵfahs, the biographer of the martyrs. See Yâkul, \(\text{Geogr. Wört.}\) i. p. 123; Ibn Duḵmâḵ, v. p. 7; Amélineau, \(\text{Géogr.}\) pp. 56-58. Al-Makrizi, who gives Aḵfâṣ (أخلاق) as an alternative form, speaks of a ruined monastery there.

\(^2\) This is the famous author of so many of the Coptic lives of saints now existing. He became himself a martyr, and his death is commemorated on Tūt 22 = Sept. 19. His body was taken to Alexandria, where the emperor Constantine afterwards erected a church to his name. See \(\text{Synaxarium}\) ad diem; Amélineau, \(\text{Actes des MM.}\) p. 123 ff.

\(^3\) St. Philemon is said to have been a musician, and to have been martyred in the persecution of Diocletian. His festival is on Barmahât 7 = March 3. See \(\text{Synaxarium}\) at that day; Amélineau, \(\text{Actes des MM.}\) p. 63.

\(^4\) On the west bank, in the district of Az-Zawiyah in the province of Banî Suwâlîf, and in 1885 containing 1,665 inhabitants. The Coptic name is \(\text{†\(\lambda\)ox.}\) In the time of our author the place was in the province of Al-Bahnasâ. See Yâkul, \(\text{Geogr. Wört.}\) ii. p. 84; Amélineau, \(\text{Géogr.}\) pp. 136-138.

\(^5\) Al-Idriṣi says (trans. by Jaubert): 'Delass est une petite ville où l'on
the physician, who was also a priest, and was burnt alive in the fire.

§ The district called Shinarâ. This district was settled upon a colony of Armenian Christians; and it contains seven churches in good order, with priests and congregations. These are the church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; the church of the glorious angel Michael; two churches of Saint Maximus; two churches named after the angel Gabriel; a church named after Bastidar; and a church named after the glorious martyr Saint George.

§ Ṭūwah. This was the name of a horse of Pharaoh, which grew up and became of great size, and was named 'Possessor of columns.'

§ City of Al-Ḳais. This town was built by Manfa'ūs for a man who fabricated brocades and embroideries. The Book of the Conquest of Egypt relates that at Al-Ḳais lived Kais ibn al-Ḥārith, when 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣī was governor of Egypt; and so the place was named after him.

§ The district called Daljah. Here there is a monastery and a church named after the saint and champion Onuphrius, which possessed

Fabrique des mors de cheval et divers ouvrages en fer. Du temps des anciens Égyptiens elle était comptée au nombre des villes les plus florissantes; mais les Berbers, par leurs violences, et les Arabes par leur méchanceté, l'ont réduite, ainsi que ses environs, à un état misérable.'

1 On the west bank, opposite to Fashn, in the district of which it is included, being also the province of Minyah. In 1885 Shinarâ contained 1,847 inhabitants, besides 847 Bedouins. The Coptic name is ṭīnepōw. The Arabic name is sometimes written ʃaṭr; and Al-Makrizī mentions a ʃar, which is probably the same place. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 429 f.

2 There are several places of this name in Egypt, but the one here mentioned is doubtless that which stands a little to the south of Ahnâs on the west bank, and is now included within the province of Banî Suwâf. In the time of our author it must have been a place of very little importance, since Yâkūt does not name it, although he speaks of a Ṭwâh in the province of Manûf. The Coptic form of the name is ṭīwâh, ṭīwâh, or TÔWâh. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 521 f.
a hundred feddâns of black fertile soil, scattered among several districts. It is said that the district contains twenty-four churches; and one of them resembles the church of Saint Sergius\(^1\) at Mîṣr. It is also said that there were 12,000 Christian inhabitants of this district, and that they slew every year at the feast of the angel Michael 12,000 sheep; but now, at the end of the year 569, which is equivalent to the year 890 of the Martyrs (A.D. 1174), only 400 sheep [are slain] at the annual festival.

\(\text{§} \) District of Al-Ḵalandimûn, near Anšinâ, in the province of Al-Ushmûnain. Here there are nine churches: [the church] of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; the church of Saint Claudius; the church of Saint Victor; the church of Theodore; the church of the angel Michael; the church of the glorious martyr Saint George; the church of Saint John; the church of Saint Mercurius; the church of Abû Baghâm.

District of Athlîdim\(^2\). Here is a church of the Lady and Virgin; a church of Saint George, the great martyr; a church of the angel Michael. At Sâḵiyah Mûsâ there is a church of Saint Victor.

\(\text{§} \) District of Shinarâ\(^3\). It is said that in this district there are twenty-four churches, one of which resembles that of Saint Sergius at Mîṣr.

\(\text{§} \) At Ahnâṣ\(^4\) there is a church which contains the body of Abû Halbâ, the martyr.

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\(^1\) That is the well-known church of Abû Sirjah, which still exists at Old Cairo, and is fully described with a plan in Coptic Churches, i. p. 181 ff. (A. J. B.)

\(^2\) Athlîdim was just to the south of Al-Ushmûnain. It is to be found in the revenue-list published by De Sacy, who transcribes it in the form Itlîdim. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wort. ad voc.; Ibn Duḵmâḳ, v. p. 11; De Sacy, Abd-Allatîf, p. 693.

\(^3\) See above, fol. 91 b.

\(^4\) The Coptic 𓊅ỉnc. It still exists, under the name of Ahnâṣiyat al-Madinah, in the district and province of Bani Suwaif, with a population in
VARIOUS CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES.

The monastery of An-Nûr is in the territory of Al-Ahnâs, on the bank of the Nile. Its church is named after the angel Gabriel. The monastery possesses a keep in five stories, lofty, and of skilful construction. Around the monastery is an enclosing wall, within which there are 400 palm-trees.

§ District of Al-Marâghât. Here is a monastery named after the angel Michael, without the town. At Kalûsanâ there is a church of the Copts and a church of the Armenians.

Busîr Kûridus. In this town lived a sorcerer, in the service of Pharaoh, named Busîr, who possessed magical powers. It was here that Marwân ibn Muḥammad al-Jâ'di, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs, was killed. 'Alyûn the heretic was killed here also. In this district there is a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary, and a monastery called the monastery of Abîrûn, to which Marwân, the 'Ass of War,'

1885 of 2,484, besides 148 Bedouins. In the Roman period the town was named Heracleopolis Magna. In the time of our author it was in the province of Al-Bahnasâ. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wârt. i. p. 91; Al-Idrisî (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 128; Ibn Duḫmâk, v. p. e; Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 195–198.

1 Or Al-Marâghah, in the singular. There is now a place of this name in the district of Tâhtâh, in the province of Jirjâ, which in 1885 had 8,658 inhabitants. Our author is probably in error in supposing that there was a place of this name near Kalûsanâ, although Al-Idrisî mentions a village called Al-Marâghah, five miles from Anŝinâ. The Al-Marâghât of the revenue-list was in the district of Ikhmîm, and so might be that now existing. See Al-Idrisî (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 124; De Sacy, Abd-Allatif, p. 701; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 210. Al-Makrizî mentions a Coptic church at Al-Marâghah, meaning the place of that name which now exists, since he sets it near Tâhtâh.

2 See fol. 17 b. This place is also called Bûṣîr al-Maľâk, and stands at the entrance to the Fayûm, being included in the district of Zawîyah in the province of Bani Suwaif, with 1,886 inhabitants in 1885, besides 511 Bedouins. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wârt. i. p. v1; Ibn Duḫmâk, v. p. r; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 10.

3 An Arabic form of the Coptic Pîrôû (πιροῦ), the name of a martyr of the time of Diocletian, who, with his brother Atûm (Ατουμ), is commemorated on Abib 8 = July 2. The name also appears in Arabic as Abîrû (عیر) or Abîrûh (عیره). See their Coptic Acts in Hyvernat, Actes des Martyrs, p. 135 ff. [II. 7.]
who has already been spoken of, came. He was the last of the Omeyyad caliphs; and he was pursued by the Khorassanians, the followers of As-Saffāḥ, the Abbaside; and they caught him, and crucified him, with his head downwards; and they also killed his vizier.

§ The town of Al-'Ukāb. This was built by 'Aun 'Abd al-Walid ibn Dauma', one of the descendants of Ǧift, the son of Mizraim, the son of Baṣur, the son of Ham, the son of Noah.

Account of the spring which is in the Wādi 'l-'Ain, to the east of Ikhmim. When the aforesaid spring is touched by a person in a state of uncleanness, the water ceases to flow into its cistern, until the latter has been cleansed and the polluted water within it removed.

Story of the cistern which is named the Pure. It is said that a man saw a cistern which was cut out of a great stone, into which water was flowing from a spring at the foot of the mountain in this district, near a church. The water flows in a continuous stream and is sweet in taste and in smell; but if a man or woman in a state of uncleanness touches it, it ceases to flow at that moment, as soon as it reaches the cistern; and the people of the place know this, and so they draw out the water which is already there and wash the cistern with other water; and then the water begins to flow again from the spring according to its custom.

The Oasis of Al-Bahnasā.

§ The Oases. In the Oasis of Al-Bahnasā there is a church named after Saint George; and his pure body is said to be contained in it,
but without the head. On the festival of his martyrdom, the body is brought out from the shrine, and a new veil is put over it; and it is carried in procession all round the town, with candles and crosses and chanting; and then it is carried back to the church. Formerly the people feared lest the Romans might steal it, and take it to their church; and so it was removed to the mountain with great precautions, and placed in a cave, which was blocked up with stones and concealed. But a certain man who had a devotion to Saint George, saw him in a vision, and he said: 'Why have you imprisoned my body? Bring me out from this place.' Then the bishop and the people did not cease to search until they found the body, and they brought it out and restored it to the church. Ibn al-Khafir, the wali of the Oases, came here in the caliphate of Al-Hafiz; and he sent some men who carried off the body of Saint George and brought it to the wali's house; and he said: 'I will not restore it to the Christians, until they pay me a large sum of money.' So the bishop and the chief men among the Christians brought him money from time to time, but it did not satisfy him, and he would not restore the body to them. Then God sent a cloud and a violent wind and rain and lightning and heavy thunder, during many successive days, such as had never been witnessed in that country; and it was said to the wali: 'Perhaps this misfortune has happened solely because thou hast detained this body.' Then the wali sent for the bishop, and gave the body up to him; and immediately the calamity ceased altogether. It is said that this bishop held his see for thirty-eight years, and yet he only placed the shroud upon this body twice during the whole of that time, on account of that which he had witnessed with regard to it; and he said to the priests: 'Take charge of this; for I cannot explain or speak of what I have seen.'

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of Az-Zabū with 808 inhabitants; the total being 5,436 inhabitants. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 290 f.

1 The principal relics of St. George were, as it is well known, in the famous church named after him at Lydda; see below.

2 The form of the final vowel sound, expressed by the ُ,
It is said that the limbs of this body were not separated from it, but that it was found entire, and without any change. It is commonly reported among men that the body of this martyr is at the town of Lydda\(^1\) in Syria. Some say, however, that the head is there, but that the body was brought to this country [of Egypt], because the governor of Egypt and the governor of Syria were two brothers, and, as Syria was filled with troops and marauders, the governor of that country feared that some outrage might be committed on the body; and so the trunk, without the head, was brought to the Oases, because they are free from the incursions of troops and depredators; and the proof of this is that the pilgrims who went to Syria to visit Lydda, that they might receive a blessing from the body of the martyr Saint George, said that they saw the head without the body; and this was during the Fast of the year 890 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1174).

The monastery of the Leper is in the Oasis.

**Nubia.**

At Bujarás, the capital of the province of Al-Marís\(^2\), which is a well-populated city, there is the dwelling-place of Jausâr, who wore the turban and the two horns and the golden bracelet. A certain traveller came to [the caliph] Al-‘Aziz bi’lláh and informed him that he had

\(^1\) The church of St. George at Lydda was restored by our own king Richard I. For an account of the relics of the saint and all information with regard to him see Acta SS. at April 23.

\(^2\) This passage with the following account of Nubia is to be found translated in substance in Quatremère, Mém. ii. p. 31 ff. Maris (\textit{Ptolemy}, 'the South') was the most northern province of Nubia, bordering upon Egypt. The south wind was likewise called Maris. Yâkût names Marisah 'an island in Nubia from which slaves are exported.' See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. iv. p. 610; Al-Maqrizi, \textit{Khiṭat}, i. p. 153; 'Abd al-Laṭif, p. 12. Al-Masûdi gives, as the chief divisions of Nubia; Dunkulah (Dongola), Mukurrah, 'Alwah, and Maris; see Murâj adh-Dhahab (ed. Barbier), iii. p. 32. It is well known that the northern extremity of Nubia between Syene (Aswân) and Pselcis (Dakkah), and later up to Hiera-Sycominos (Muharrakah), was a dependency of Egypt under the Ptolemies and the Roman Empire, and was called Dodexaschoenus.
visited a certain city, and had seen a great wonder, passing man's understanding; namely, that on the seventh day of Barmudad a city appears, with a wall, and a water-wheel going round near the city gate, and sycamore-trees, and cattle drinking from the cistern fed by the water-wheel; and that this lasts for two hours in the day, and the horses go and drink from that cistern; then after that the city disappears, and nothing is seen where it stood; and no one can reach it, although it seems close to him while it is far off; and that city is called among the people of that district the city of Alfi; and it is not seen again until the same day in the next year.

§ The first place in the province of Mukurrah is the monastery called that of Safanuf, king of Nubia, which is in the country below the second cataract.

1 A mirage of the same sort is described by Al-Makrizi, Khitat, i. p. 149, in his article on Aswan. (A. J. B.)

2 Yaqut writes this name مكر (Geogr. Wörl. iv. p. 125), and says (iv. p. 87.) that the king of Nubia called himself ملك مكر نوبة

'The king of Mukurrah and Nubia.' At the end of the seventh century of our era, the Coptic patriarch Isaac is said to have received letters from the king of Mukurrah (ποτο ἱπεικοτρια), who requested that a bishop might be sent to him. See the Coptic life of this patriarch, edited by M. Amélineau. Vansleb states that there were seven episcopal sees in the province of Mukurrah, viz. 'Korti, Ibrim, Bucaras, Dongola, Saï, Termus, Suenkur,' and refers for them to a letter published by the Père Bonjour, entitled In Monumenta Aegyptiaca Bibliothecae Vaticanæ brevis exercitatio. M. Amélineau says that Makorrah extended from the modern Korosko to the ancient Napata (above Korti).

The patriarchal biography in the compilation of Severus of Al-Ushmûnain does not mention any letter from the king of Mukurrah, but states that the patriarch Isaac himself wrote to the kings of Nubia and Abyssinia (ملك للاش وملك النوبة), bidding them live at peace together, and abstain from conflict with one another; and that the wâli of Egypt, 'Abd al-'Aziz, suspecting the object of the letters, caused them to be intercepted (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 26,100, p. 126, l. 25—p. 127, l. 5).

3 I. e. the Cataract at Wâdî Khalfah. Mukurrah, or Makorrah, extended about sixty miles to the north of the Second Cataract. (A. J. B.)
The monastery of Michael and Cosmas is large and spacious, and possesses a sycamore-tree, by which the rise and fall of the Nile are ascertained every year.

There is a monastery called that of Dairā, near which there is an ancient temple, between two great mountains.

A city called the city of Bausakā. This is a large and handsome city, full of people and of all commodities, and possessing many churches. Here dwelt the Lord of the Mountain, whose eyes were put out by George, son of Zacharias Israel. Here is the monastery of Saint Sinuthius, in which Abū Rakwah al-Walid ibn Hishām1 was taken prisoner in the month of Rabī' the First, in the year 397 of the Arabs (A.D. 1006). Near the town there is a gold-mine.

Mountain of Zidān. Here is the monastery of Abū Jarās, in a town on the west, which possesses a bishop. It is a beautiful town on the mountain. At night a light as of fire is seen in this town from a distance, but if the beholder comes near to it he cannot find it; yet it is continually seen as if there were many lamps in the town. In the same way, at Bagdad, in the district of 'Ukbara2, many lamps are seen on a certain night of the year, but they are not real.

In the land of Nubia, near the cataract, there is a town called the Upper Maks. No one is allowed to pass by the inhabitants of this place, without being searched, even if he be a king; and if any one

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1 The surname of Abū Rakwah was given to this man because in earlier life he used to carry a pitcher on his shoulder in the prosecution of his trade. He managed to collect a body of armed men, with whose help he took possession of Barkah. The first troops sent against him by the caliph Al-Ḥākim were routed, and having made himself rich by plunder, Abū Rakwah next occupied Upper Egypt. Al-Ḥākim then sent against him a body of Syrian and Egyptian troops under Al-Fadl ibn 'Abd Allāh; who engaged Abū Rakwah in a hard-fought battle, which ended in the flight of the rebels. Abū Rakwah escaped, but was afterwards taken prisoner in Nubia, as our author tells us, and conveyed to Cairo, where Al-Ḥākim condemned him to be impaled. See Abū 'l-Fidā, Annals, ii. p. 616.

2 Yāḥyā mentions a place of this name, which, he says, was eleven parasangs from Baghdaḍ; Geogr. Wörter. iii. p. v.e.
pushes on and refuses to be searched, he is put to death. The people carry on their trade in kind; and selling and buying among them is done by exchange; thus they exchange woven stuffs and slaves; and all that is bought and sold is exchanged.

At this place is found emery¹, with which precious stones are polished. The people dive for it; and the touch of it is found to be different from that of other stones, and so those who search for it recognize it; but if they are in doubt, they breathe upon it and then it is covered with drops, and they know that it is emery. Emery is found nowhere in the whole world except in Ceylon² and at this place.

There is near this town a hill on which there is a spring of warm water like that at Tiberias. Here also is the mountain of thirst, where no one can reach the water that is there, on account of the distance and the height; and even if a man ascends to the top of this mountain he cannot reach the water, but can only look at it, although it seems to be near to him; and when he tries to arrive at it he cannot do so.

Town of 'Alwah³. Here there are troops and a large kingdom with wide districts, in which there are four hundred churches. The town lies to the east of the large island⁴ between the two rivers, the White

¹ Emery is a species of corundum found in gneiss, limestone, and other crystalline rocks. Abû Šâlih is mistaken as to its rarity, for it occurs in many places—Sweden, Saxony, Spain, Greenland, &c.; but the principal source of the supply lies in the island of Naxos. (A. J. B.)

² The name of Ceylon (Sarandib) was familiar to the Arabic-speaking world at the time of our author, through the reports of Arab travellers and the commerce of Arab traders. Precious stones and spices were exported from Ceylon to Al-'Irâk, Syria, and Egypt. See Al-Idrisî (ed. Rome) [p. 42]; Yâkût, Geogr. Wörterb. iii. p. 87; Reinaud, Rel. des Voy. fait par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde, &c. The name Sarandib is said to be of Sanskrit derivation.

³ Yâkût writes the name علوي, and says it is to the south of Mukurrâ. Al-Idrisî writes علوي as our author does. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wörterb. iv. p. 87.; Al-Idrisî (ed. Rome) [pp. 19, 20].

⁴ I. e. the 'island' enclosed on two sides by the two branches of the Nile, the White Nile and Blue Nile (Bahr al-Azra'î), for so it is now called. The town of Khartûm stands at the junction of these two branches. The existence of four
Fol. 95 b Nile and the Green Nile. All its inhabitants are Jacobite Christians. Around it there are monasteries, some at a distance from the stream and some upon its banks. In the town there is a very large and spacious church, skilfully planned and constructed, and larger than all the other churches in the country; it is called the church of Manbali. The crops of this country depend upon the rise of the Nile, and upon the rain. When they are about to sow their seed, they hundred churches in the province of 'Alwah seems surprising, but it is clear that at this period Nubia was almost exclusively Christian.

Nearly four centuries later Francisco Alvarez, in his story of the Portuguese mission to Abyssinia, expressly records the existence of ancient Christian churches in this same part of Nubia. His words are worth quoting (Lord Stanley's Tr. p. 352):—'I heard from a man, a Syrian, a native of Tripoli in Syria, and his name is John of Syria . . ., that he had been to this country, and that there are in it a hundred and fifty churches, which still contain crucifixes and effigies of our Lady and other effigies painted on the walls, and all old. These churches are all in old ancient castles which are throughout the country; and as many castles, there are so many churches. While we were in the country of the Prester John, there came six men from that country to the Prester himself, begging of him to send them priests and friars to teach them. He did not choose to send them: and it was said that he said to them that he had his Abíma [sic: but read Abína, i.e. Metropolitan] from the country of the Moors, that is to say from the patriarch of Alexandria, who is under the rule of the Moors: how then could he give priests and friars, since another gave them? They say that in ancient times these people had everything from Rome, and that it is a very long time ago that a bishop died whom they got from Rome, and on account of the wars of the Moors [Saracens in Egypt] they could not get another, and so they lost all their Christianity. These Nubiis border upon Egypt, and they say they have much fine gold in their country. This country lies in front of Suaquem [Suâkin], which is close to the Red Sea.' (A. J. B.)

trace out furrows in the field and bring the seed and lay it at the side of the field, and beside it they place a supply of the drink called *mizr*¹, and go away; and afterwards they find that the seed has been sown in the ground, and the *mizr* has been drunk. So again at the time of harvest they reap some of the corn, and leave beside the rest of it a supply of *mizr*; and in the morning they find the harvest completed; and they say that this is done by beings of a different order from ours.

City of Dongola². Here is the throne of the king. It is a large city on the banks of the blessed Nile, and contains many churches and large houses and wide streets. The king's house is lofty, with several domes built of red brick, and resembles the buildings in Al-'Irak; and this novelty was introduced by Raphael, who was king of Nubia in the year 392 of the Arabs (A.D. 1002). In that year³ Abû Rakwah, who is also called Al-Walid ibn Hishâm al-Khariji, rebelled against Al-Imâm al-Hâkim bi-amri ʿllâh, and attempted to ravage his country; but Al-Hâkim defeated the rebel; and his troops wintered at Takhûm, in Nubia.

It is said that the Nubians formerly worshipped the stars, and that the first of them who was converted⁴ to the knowledge of the truth

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¹ *Mizr* is a kind of beer made by the fermentation of grain. (A. J. B.)
² Yakût says:

مدينة النوبة اسمها دمشق وهي منزل الملك على ساحل النيل

'The capital of Nubia is called Dongola (Dumkulah), and this is the residence of the king. It stands upon the bank of the Nile.' (Geogr. Wört. iv. p. 87.)

Al-Idrisi says that Dongola was five days higher up the river than 'Alwah (ed. Rome) [p. 29]. The town is now called Old Dongola to distinguish it from New Dongola or Ordi.

³ The words are inserted by mistake of the scribe.

⁴ It seems clear from Olympiodorus, Priscus, Procopius, and Barhebraeus that Christianity was not exclusively accepted among the Nubians before the reign of Justinian I; but there were Christians there in the fifth century, as the statement of Cosmas Indicopleustes would prove, and probably as early as the reign of Constantine (Abû 'l-Faraj, ed. Pococke, p. 135), and perhaps even from the time
and the religion of the law of Christ was Bahriya, son of the king’s sister, who was learned in the science of the sphere, and was wise and skilful. When he was converted to the religion of Christ, all the blacks of Nubia followed him; and he built for them many churches, throughout the land of Nubia, and many monasteries, which are still flourishing, and some of them are at a distance from the river and some upon its banks.

In the land of Nubia is the city of Ibrim, the residence of the Lord of the Mountain, all the inhabitants of which are of the province of Maris; it is enclosed within a wall. Here there is a large and beautiful church, finely planned, and named after our Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary. Above it there is a high dome, upon which rises a large cross. When Shams ad-Daulah, brother of Al-Malik an-Nasir Salah ad-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyub the Kurd, brother of Shirkuh, marched into Upper Egypt, in the caliphate of Al-Musta’di, the Abbaside, after the

of the Apostles. See the discussion of this question by Letronne in his Matériaux pour l’histoire du Christianisme en Égypte, en Nubie et en Abyssinie, p. 42, &c. It is said that the empress Theodora sent a mission to spread the monophysite doctrine in Nubia; see Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ch. 47. (A. J. B.)

1 The Latin and Greek Primis. It stands a few miles above Derr and Korosko, and must have been near the borders of the province of Maris. In the sixth century it seems to have formed the southern limit of the country of the Blemmyes, according to Olympiodorus and the Greek inscription of Silco at Kalabshah (see Letronne’s Memoir quoted above). There are still some Roman remains there, although it was never part of a Roman province, and can only have been an advanced post. (A. J. B.)

2 It is only in remote and desert places that the Copts venture even now to erect a cross over the cupola of a sacred building. Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, is said to have been the first to set a cross upon a dome, according to Al-Makrīzī. (A. J. B.)

3 Al-Malik al-Mu’azzam Shams ad-Daulah Tūrān Shāh, surnamed Fakhr ad-Dīn, was an elder brother of Saladin. In A.H. 569 he was sent to subdue a rebellion in Yaman. In A.H. 571 he was appointed Saladin’s lieutenant at Damascus; and in Safar A.H. 576 = June A.D. 1180 he died. See Ibn Khallikān (trans. De Slane), i. p. 284 ff.; Ibn Shaddād (ed. Schultens), p. 39.
extinction of the Fatimide dynasty, the last caliph of which was 
Al-'Aḍīd ʿl-Dīnī ʿl-lāh, in the month of Jumādā the First, of the year 
568 (A.D. 1173), under the government of the Ghuzz and Kurds, he 
invaded this district with his troops who accompanied him, and with 
those who gathered together to him [as he proceeded], and he collected 
the boats from the cataract. In this town [of Ibrim] there were many 
provisions and ammunitions and arms, and the [troops of Shams ad-
Daulah] marched thither; and when they had defeated the Nubians, 
they left the town in ruins, after conquering it; and they took the 
Nubians who were there prisoners. It is said that the number of 
Nubians was 700,000 men, women, and children; and seven hundred 
pigs were found here. Shams ad-Daulah commanded that the cross 
on the dome of the church should be burnt, and that the call to 
prayer should be chanted by the muezzin from its summit. His 
troops plundered all that there was in this district, and pillaged the 
church throughout; and they killed the pigs. And a bishop was found 
in the city; so he was tortured; but nothing could be found that 
he could give to Shams ad-Daulah, who made him prisoner with the 
rest, and he was cast with them into the fortress, which is on a 
high hill and is exceedingly strong. Shams ad-Daulah left in the 
town many horsemen, and placed with them the provisions and the 
weapons and ammunition and tools. In the town a quantity of cotton 
was found, which he carried off to Kūṣ and sold for a large sum. Before 
this time, Muḥammad al-Khāzin had captured Ibrim, in the days of 
Kāfūr al-Ikhṣīdī, under the dynasty of the Abbasides.

§ In the history of the holy church and in the biographies of the fathers 
and patriarchs it is said concerning Anbā Khāʾil, the forty-sixth patriarch, 
that when money was extorted from him, in the caliphate of Marwān 
al-Jaʿdī, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs, by the emir of Egypt, Ṣalāḥ 
ad-Dīn Yūsuf the Kurd, and the patriarch went up to Upper Egypt, 
to beg for assistance from the people there, and when Cyriacus, king 

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2 This is an anachronism due to the carelessness of a copyist. The emir in 
question was ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Mūsā ibn Nāṣīr.
of Nubia, heard of this, he was angry and filled with indignation because the patriarch was thus humiliated and pressed for money; so he assembled his troops and marched towards Egypt\(^1\), accompanied by 100,000 horsemen and 100,000 camels; now Nubian horses are small\(^2\), like the largest of the Egyptian asses, but have a great power of enduring fatigue. When the Nubians entered Egypt, they plundered and slew, and took many prisoners, and laid waste many inhabited places in Upper Egypt, as they marched towards Miṣr. Now when the ruler of Egypt heard what was the cause of their coming, and was told as follows: 'When the patriarch of Egypt went up to ask assistance of the Christians in Upper Egypt, news of this reached the king of Nubia, and the king of Abyssinia, and [another] king subject to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Egypt; and [the first-named] was indignant at the news;' then [the governor of Egypt] released the patriarch from his obligations and ceased to extort money from him, and begged him to write to the king of Nubia and bid him return [to his own country]. So the patriarch wrote to the king as he was requested, and the king returned, and no longer acted as he had done, but departed to his own country.

\(^1\) This account is borrowed from the biography of the patriarch Khā'il in the compilation of Severus of Al-Ushmūnain; see Anc. Fonds Arabe 139, p. 162 f. Cf. Al-Makrīzī, Khīṭāṭ, i. p. 148.

\(^2\) The patriarchal biographer says (loc. cit.):

ولقد شاهد من أخبرنا بعينه أن ليل ال الذين تحتهم كانت تقاتل بايدلا وارجلها في لحرب

كما تقاتل فرسانها فوقها وكانوا خيل قصار مثل للامبر

'It was stated to me by one who witnessed it with his own eyes that the horses on which the Nubians rode used to fight in battle both with their forefeet and with their hindfeet, just as their riders were fighting upon their backs. They were small horses, no higher than asses.'

Al-Mašūdī also testifies to the smallness of the horses; see Murūj adh-Dhahab, ii. p. 382. Yakūt says that the Nubian king had thoroughbred horses (العَلَمَة), but that the commons (الپَرَانِ) had slow, heavy horses, of no particular breed; see Geogr. Wört. iv. p. 84...
Anbā Joseph\(^1\), the fifty-second patriarch, Ibrāhīm, brother of Al-Maʿmūn, the Abbaside [caliph], sent a letter to Zachariās, king of Nubia, asking him to send a tribute\(^2\) of slaves equivalent to the amount for fourteen years. But as the king could not do this, he sent his son George\(^3\) to Bagdad, to Ibrāhīm. So Ibrāhīm rejoiced when he saw him, because, although the king had been prevented from carrying out the request that had been made to him, yet he had sent his son, than whom he possessed nothing dearer; and Ibrāhīm also admired the submission of the son, who exiled himself in obedience to his father; and therefore Ibrāhīm conferred upon the king all the favours that he asked for, and sent his son back to Mīṣr, where he was lodged at the house of the emir, who was governor of Egypt. Now [George, the son of the king of Nubia,] desired to visit the father and patriarch; and therefore went to see him, with great respect, and received his blessing, and asked him to consecrate an altar for him, that he might carry it to the palace of the emir where he was lodged. So the patriarch granted the request [of the king’s son] and sent him a consecrated altar\(^4\), and sent bishops and priests and deacons to him, who celebrated the liturgy upon the altar, and gave the communion to the king’s son and to those who were

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2 From the time of the caliph ‘Uthmān, the Nubians were allowed to live at peace with their Muslim neighbours, on condition of paying a yearly tribute (ḥās) of 400 or 360 able-bodied slaves to the caliph. In the time of Al-Maʿmūn this custom fell into desuetude, and for that reason Ibrāhīm demanded the arrears of fourteen years, which would have deprived Nubia of a considerable number of men in the prime of life. See the article on the Baḥṭ in Al-Maqrīzī, Khiṭat, i. pp. 141–142; cf. Al-Masʿūdī, Murūj adh-Dhahab (ed. Barbier), iii. p. 39; Yāḵūt, Geogr. Wörterb. iv. p. 87.

3 This narrative is taken from the biography of the patriarch Yūsāb in the compilation of Severus of Al-Ushmūnain; see Paris MS., Anc. Fonds Arabe 139, p. 250 ff.

4 This would probably be a portable slab, such as is fitted on the top of Coptic altars by a sinking in the masonry. Such slabs are carried about for the communion of the sick, and are taken by pilgrims to Jerusalem. (A. J. B.)
with him. The governor of Egypt also commanded that the wooden gong should be struck on the roof of [George's] lodging, that his friends might assemble at his house for prayers and the liturgy, as in his own country. This went on until George, the king's son, returned to his father in safety and with honour.

§ And when the king's son returned to his father, the latter founded a large church, which he caused to be skilfully planned, in thanksgiving to God for the safe arrival of his son. This church was [afterwards] consecrated by Anbā George, bishop of Naṭū, who was sent by Anbā Christodulus, the sixty-sixth patriarch. This patriarch also asked for assistance from the king, on account of the exactions from which he suffered at the hands of the government and of the Lawātis, in the year 737 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1020–1). At the consecration of the church, the Holy Ghost descended upon one of the vessels of water, prepared for the ceremony, and the people saw a light shed upon that water; so the king took that water in his hand, and carried it to his house; and he gave to the bishop money to take to the patriarch, that he might be relieved from the extortion from which he suffered.

§ Church of Al-Wādi. This is called after Saint Onuphrius. [The place where it stands] is called the desert of •••••, and is at a distance of three days' journey from the extremity of Nubia, and at a distance of ten days' journey from Uswān. Solomon, king of Nubia, spent his time in worshipping God at this church, after he had abdicated. He said: 'Who is there among the kings that can be saved by God while he still governs among men; and that is not swayed by his passions,

1 Close to the modern Sahraj, which is in the district of Mīt Ghamr, in the province of Ad-Dakahliyah in the Delta. It is the Coptic Ṣaḥḥāw, and the Greek Leontopolis. M. Amélineau has not noticed that, in the Copto-Arabic lists which he himself publishes, Leontôn corresponds to Naṭū, as well as to نتى, as he proposes to read the word. See his Géogr. pp. 269–70, 409, and 571–5.

2 Incorrect date; see p. 121, note. 3 There is a word omitted in the MS.

4 This is related in the history of the patriarchs; cf. Renaudot, Hist. Patr. p. 451 f.
and does not shed blood unjustly, and does not force men to do that which is not right for them? The condition of this king was reported to the governor of the southern part of Upper Egypt, Sa'd ad-Daulah al-Kawâsî, in the caliphate of Al-Mustansîr bi'llâh, and the vizierate of Amir al-Juyûsh Badr; and so the last-named sent men to take the king away from that place, and to bring him to Cairo. And when he came to the gate, he was received with great honour and state, with a band of music, and a fine horse which he should mount; and [the vizier] ordered the chief men of the state to attend upon him: and afterwards he lodged him in a fine house, abundantly decorated with marble and wood-work and brocades of many colours interwoven with gold. In this house the king lived for one year, and [the vizier] visited him constantly, and conversed with him on many subjects, and listened to his words; and found that he sought God, to whom be power and glory, with all his heart and mind, renouncing all that men desire. So when the king had lived here for the space of one year, he died and was buried in the monastery of Saint George at Al-Khandâk, in the patriarchate of Cyril, the sixty-seventh patriarch. This king's tomb is within the wall that encloses the church, and is near the door, on the right hand as you enter. It is said that among his letters there was found a letter written in his own hand, and in Nubian characters, which proved his learning and his religion and his asceticism; and he was designated the 'holy king.'

§ The kingdom of Nubia is composed of Nubia with its provinces, and the land of 'Alwah and Al-Mukurrah and the neighbouring tribes. It is said to be the custom among the Nubians, when a king dies and leaves a son, and also a nephew, the son of his sister, that the latter if he

1 The monastery of Al-Khandâk, the suburb of Cairo, is mentioned by Al-Mâkrîzî, who says that it was built by Jauhar.

2 According to the Kitâb al-Fihrîst, quoted by Quatremère, Mém. ii. p. 37, the Nubians employed Syrian, Coptic, and Greek characters in writing, having borrowed them from the nearest Christian nations, as being themselves Christians. Eutychius, however, speaks of six kinds of writing among the 'Hamites,' and one of these is the 'Nubian' (نوبى), see his Anuâtes, i. p. 55. At the present day, of course, the Nubians employ the Arabic character. (A. J. B.)
reigns after his uncle, instead of the son; but if there is no sister's son, then the king's own son succeeds.

The land of Nubia is under the jurisdiction of the see of Saint Mark the Evangelist, which consecrates [their bishops] for them; and their liturgy and prayers are in Greek. The number of kings in Nubia is thirteen; and all these rule the land, under the supremacy of Cyriacus, the Great King; and all of them are priests, and celebrate the liturgy within the sanctuary, as long as they reign without killing a man with their own hands; but if a king kills a man, he may no longer celebrate the liturgy. And this privilege of celebrating the liturgy is never restored to such a king; but when he enters within the veil of the sanctuary, he takes off the royal crown, and stands bareheaded until all the people have communicated, and not one of them is left who has not communicated; and then the king communicates after the people, if he wishes to communicate.

§ The town of Darmus, in the land of Nubia. Here there is a church of elegant proportions, beautifully planned, and looking on the river; and within it there is a picture of the Great King, and a picture of the governor of Darmus. [The former picture represents] George, son

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1 This would be a proof that Christianity was introduced among the Nubians before the translation of the Egyptian liturgy into Coptic. That this liturgy was originally in Greek is proved by the Greek sentences which are still preserved in the midst of the Coptic versions, and by the existence of the Greek liturgy of St. Mark, which is apparently the original of the Coptic St. Cyril. (A. J. B.)

2 This and the following passage are probably based upon a confusion of Nubia with Abyssinia; see below, fol. 105 b. In the same way our author on fol. 105 a speaks of the king of Mukurrah as an Abyssinian prince. The number of chieftains under the Negus or supreme king of Abyssinia, on the other hand, was formerly considerable. In the sixteenth century there were seven kingdoms under the supremacy of the Negus, besides ten provinces smaller than kingdoms; and in earlier times they are said to have been twenty-eight kings who owned obedience to the Negus; see Tellez, Historia geral de Ethiopia a alta, &c., p. 9.

3 'Termus,' in the province of Maracu (i.e. Mukurrah), is named by Vansleb as the see of one of the bishops of Nubia in former times; see his Hist. de l'Église d'Alex., p. 30.
of Zacharias, king of Nubia, as an old man, sitting upon a throne of ebony, inlaid with ivory, and overlaid with pure gold; his age is eighty years; upon his head is the royal crown, set with precious stones, and surmounted by a golden cross, which has four jewels in its four arms.

In the same town there is an ancient temple of great size, dedicated to the star of the Sun, within which there is an idol resembling *, *, *, which has on its breast the figure of the moon, and is all of one piece. In this temple there are most wonderful and astonishing pictures and immense pillars, so that the beholder is filled with wonder and stupefaction because men have been able to construct such works of so great difficulty. In this temple there is also a gigantic hall, which seems to the spectator to be all of one piece; it is roofed with slabs of hard, black, polished stone, each of which is fifteen cubits in length, five in breadth, and five in thickness; and of these there are twenty-five, so closely fitted together, that they seem to be one piece. In the same temple there is a well of great width, which is descended by steps; and if a man descends to the lowest step, he finds vaulted passages, with turnings in different directions, the end of which is unknown; so that, when he ventures into them, he loses himself, and will perhaps perish, if he do not quickly return.

§ Near the fourth cataract, on the eastern bank, there is a large monastery, upon a high mountain which overlooks the blessed Nile.

Town of Tāfah. It is said that the prophet Moses, before he went out from the face of Pharaoh, was sent by the latter upon an expedition into the land of the Soudan, to make his way to the extremity of it. Now in this land into which Pharaoh commanded Moses to make his expedition, there were many adders and noisome beasts. But the

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1 The Sun was regarded in ancient times as one of the seven planets.
2 Here there is a lacuna in the text.
3 The fourth cataract of the Nile is a little above Meroe.
4 Tāfah still exists, on the west bank, seven miles to the south of Jartassì, in northern Nubia. It must have been in the province of Marīs. The ancient temple here was turned into a church in the reign of Justinian I, like several others; see Lebronne, op. cit. p. 37.

[II. 7.]}
prophet Moses was wise and was assisted by God in all his actions; so he marched into the Soudan with his army, accompanied by birds such as cocks and owls, and entered into the uninhabited deserts where the ancient and noisome beasts and reptiles dwelt; and when they heard the voice of the cocks and of the owls sounding by night and by day, they fled away and remained no longer in their habitations, but vanished from the path of Moses; and so he marched onwards and saw none of them. Then Moses came to the city of Tâfah, and halted before this city; and the king’s daughter saw him, and the birds with him, and she loved him; and so she sent messengers to him offering to open the city to him, and pointing out to him the road which he should take in order to conquer the city, and thus she made the capture of the city easy to him. Other writers state that she was the daughter of the king of Abyssinia. So Moses captured the city by offering general quarter; and he granted immunity to the inhabitants, and they brought him money.

In this city of Tâfah, there is a monastery called the monastery of Ansûn, which is ancient, but so skilfully constructed and beautifully planned, that its appearance has not changed in spite of the lapse of ages. Near it, in front of the mountain, there are fifteen hamlets.

There is a church of the glorious angel Michael, which overlooks the river, and is situated between the land of Nubia and the land of the Muslims; but it belongs to Nubia. Near it there is a mosque which has been restored; and also a castle which was built as a fortress on the frontier between the Muslims and the Nubians, and is at the extremity of the Nubian territory.

*Philae and Uswân.*

Island of Philae1. Between the land of Nubia and the land of the

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1 The Arabic 金陵 preserves the Coptic မာဗို. The island is mentioned by Yâkût, Geogr. Wêrî. i. p. v1. ; by Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 37]; by Al-Maqrîzî, i. p. 133; cf. Amélineau, Géogr. p. 347. We are now returning to Egypt with our author.
Muslims there are two stones upon a hill in the midst of the blessed river Nile; and the Muslims possess, opposite to them, a strong and lofty fortress called Philae. This was built by Barûbâ and Sarádib, and contains fortified dwellings, and the ruins of well-built edifices, the work of the ancients. Philae is five miles distant from Aswân.

Next to Philae comes Uswân\(^1\), the large frontier-town and the great caravan-station, and the last post of the Muslims [before you enter Nubia]. In its neighbourhood are the gold mines\(^2\). In the town there is an ancient temple, containing the figure of a scorpion, which the children are brought to touch every year on the 12th of Barmûdah\(^3\); and no scorpion will approach a family which includes a child that has touched that figure of a scorpion. The meaning of the name of Uswân is ‘Swallow,’ for it was built by the king for a body of Abyssinians whom he made a guard for himself, and since they were voracious in eating, he said to them ‘Swallow!’ From Uswân to Al-ʻUlä\(^4\) it is a distance of eighteen days; and to ‘Aidhâb a distance of four days.

The monastery called Ibkhâh is on a high mountain overlooking the river. Its church is named after the glorious angel Michael; and it has a single dome of great size. It stands between Uswân and Kûsh. If any one steals whether little or much of the money which is brought to this church in payment of vows, his boat, if he came in one, will not put off from the shore until he has restored the stolen money; and this is well known among the natives of that district, so that no one now makes any attempt to rob that church.

There is also a church named after the Lady and Pure Virgin

\(^1\) Uswân, Aswân, or Suwân is, as it is well known, the Greek Σωμι, the Latin Syene, and the Coptic COYĂN, and is mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel (xxix. 10; xxx. 6) as Ḥml. It is now the chief town of a district in the province of Isnâ (Esneh), and in 1885 had 6,421 inhabitants. See Yâḳût, Geogr. Würt. i. p. 343; Al-Idrisi (ed. Rome) [p. 21]; Al-Maḳrizî, i. p. 144; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 467.

\(^2\) See above, fol. 20 a.

\(^3\) I.e. April 7.

\(^4\) On the confines of Arabia and Syria. See Yâḳût, Geogr. Würt. iii. p. v44.
Mary, which was founded by the king. It was consecrated by Anbā George, bishop of Naṭū, when he was sent by the patriarch Christodululus to Nubia, to ask the king for assistance on account of the extortion from which he suffered at the hands of [Marwân] al-Ja‘dī, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs.

It is said that the Mountains of the Moon¹, where the Nile rises, are of a red colour, and are in the land of Al-Karūbis; and the country where these mountains are is burnt up with heat, and supports neither plant nor beast.

§ In the land of the Soudan there is a river called the White River, which, when it overflows for a certain length of time, runs into a river called the Black River, which flows into the Nile from the east; and when the White River, which runs into the Nile, rises, then the health of the people of Egypt improves; but when it falls, and the Black River flows [into the Nile], then the people of Egypt fall sick. This Black River rises in a black mountain, and flows over black stones, in an exceedingly black stream. Near the Black River there is a Yellow River, which rises in a mountain as yellow as saffron.

§ The district of Uswān is inhabited by Arabs of the tribe of Rabi‘ah and others. In this district there are springs of white naphtha in the mountains, which were found by the son of ‘Ain as-Saif, the governor, when he was at Aswān in the year 400 (A.D. 1010). In this neighbourhood is found also the clay called ‘clay of art²;’ and there is the gold-mine; and there is red and yellow ochre.

§ [There is in this district] a church named after the saint Abū Hadri ³, whose body is preserved within it, but it is in ruins. It stands on the island of Uswān⁴. Near this church there is also a monastery, in which there were three hundred cells for monks, which are now ruined. The church was large and beautiful. There was also the church of Saint Mennas, which was solidly built of stone.

¹ See above, fol. 26 b. ² See above, fol. 20 a. ³ He was a native of Uswān; see Paris Synaxarium at Kīhak 12 = Dec. 8. ⁴ I.e. Elephantine.
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[There is also] a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary, which is exceedingly large; but it was turned by Al-Hâkim into a mosque.

[There is also] a ruined church of the glorious angel Michael outside Uswân, to the east, upon the mountain; and the church of the saint and glorious martyr George.

[There is also] a monastery of the saint Abû Hadri on the mountain on the west; and it is inhabited by monks. The monastery of Saint Anthony is built of stone. It possessed several gardens, but the Arabs seized them and wrecked the monastery.

There is here a church, named after Saint Ibsâdah¹, which stands in the citadel of Uswân, upon the bank of the blessed river Nile; and it is said that this saint used to walk upon the water.

In this district there is a black mountain of granite, of which was constructed a bridge² of great length, which was to be placed over the river from one side to the other; but it has never been completely disengaged [from the quarry], from the time of the giants³ until now; and it still remains in the form in which they left it.

¹ The Coptic Psôti (nọw†), who was bishop of Ptolemais at the time of the persecution of Diocletian, and suffered as a martyr for his faith. Ptolemais is the Coptic Psoi (ncoi), named in Arabic Ḍbšâ‘î (ابصاى), or, by its modern designation, Munshiyah, and still exists a little to the north of Jirjâ. The festival of St. Psôti or Ibsâdah is kept on Kihak 27 = Dec. 23. See Synaxarium at that day; Zoega, Cat. p. 237; Amélineau, Actes des M.M. p. 30, and Géogr. pp. 381–383.

² I. e. the well-known obelisk in the ancient granite quarry near Uswân, which although partly hewn into shape has never been detached from the rock. Yâkût mentions the same object, and says it was called the Ṣâkâlah (المغالة), adding that there is a narrow part of the Nile near the quarries, and that it was related that the intention had been to bridge over the river by means of this obelisk, while others said that it was the fellow to the obelisk of Alexandria. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wör. i. p. 314.

³ The admiration excited in the minds of the contemporaries of our author by the works of the ancient Egyptians is well expressed by 'Abd al-Laṭîf, who says:—
Isnâ.

District of Isnâ. The meaning of this word is 'Tree,' and there was here a tree from India. There is here a church named after Matthew, the pious monk. It is said that when he was appointed bishop of this town of Isnâ, and came to the district, a certain Muslim provided a horse to carry him from the outskirts of the town, until he brought him to the cell where he was to live. And at the weddings and other rejoicings of the Muslims the Christians are present, and chant in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, and walk before the bridegroom through

الاذهان تقصر عن مقدار ما يحتاج اليه في ذلك من علم الهندسة واجتماع الهمة وتوفر العزيزة ومصارع العمل والتمكن من اللات والتغري للأعمال

'When a man of sense beholds these ruins he finds himself able to excuse in the vulgar their belief with regard to the ancients that their lives were longer than ours and their bodies stronger, or that they possessed a magic rod with which when they struck the stones they leapt towards them. For the modern mind feels itself unable to estimate how much was required in these works of knowledge of geometry, and concentration of thought, and ardour of study, and patience in labour, and power over tools, and application to work,' &c. (ed. White, p. 130).

1 Generally written in English as 'Esneh.' It is now the capital of a province, and in 1885 had 9,422 inhabitants. It was the Coptic ΜΗ and the Greek Latopolis. Yakût says that the only places of importance in Egypt to the south of Isnâ were Udû and Uswân, and that in his time Isnâ was a flourishing place with much trade. See Yakût, Geogr. Wör. i. p. 140; Al-Idrisi (ed. Rome) [p. 49]; Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 172–175.

2 Our author seems to derive the name from the Coptic ΝΗΨ.

3 The Coptic church tones correspond to some extent to the Greek and Latin tones, and are called respectively the tones of Adam, of Wâtus, Sanjâri, Kîhak, Atribi, the tone of the Great Fast, the tone for the Dead, the tone Istâsîmûn. The tones most commonly used are that of Adam (ΧΟΣ ΕΥ, طن آدم) on the three first days of the week, and that of Wâtus (ΧΟΣ ΒΑΤΟΣ, i.e. ΒΑΤΟΣ, طن راطس) on the other days. Cf. Vansleb, Hist. de l’Église d’Ale. p. 58.
the market-places and streets; and this has become a recognized custom with them, [and has continued] up to our own day. And on the night of the Feast of the holy Nativity, every year, the Muslims, as well as the Christians, burn candles, and lamps, and logs of wood in great numbers.

Armant and its neighbourhood.

§ Armant. This place was called in ancient times Armanûsah; and the name means 'Blessed spot.' The town was founded by Bûsim the king, son of Caphtorim, son of Mizraim, son of Baîsur, son of Ham, son of Noah. There is here a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; and when an altar was consecrated here in the year 801 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1084-5), some fragments of the vessels which had contained the water of consecration were taken and thrown into the well within the church; and the water rose until it filled half of the well; and the priests marked the limit of the rise of the water, and the mark of it remains until now.

Near this district there is a church, at Al-Khazârah, named after Peter, the chief of the Fathers and Apostles; and it is written of this church that, when it was consecrated, the water overflowed from the vessels, until it overspread the courtyard of the church.

Near Damâmîl there is a church named after the saint Anbâ Michael.

§ Dandarah in Upper Egypt is a large town; it was built by one

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1 Now in the district of As-Salmiyah, in the province of Isnâ. It is the Coptic ἐπικοντία and the Greek Hermonthis, and was, in the early days of Christianity, a place of importance and the capital of a nome. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. i. p. r18; Al-Idrisî (ed. Rome) [p. 49]; Amélineau, Géogr. pp. r65-167.

2 This is perhaps a corruption of the Greek Hermonthis.

3 Yâkût and the revenue-list write this name 'Damâmîn,' but Al-Idrisî employs the same form as our author, and this is the form used at the present day. Damâmîl is now in the district of Kûsî, in the province of Kânâ, and had 568 inhabitants in 1885. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. ii. p. 680; Al-Idrisî (ed. Rome) [p. 49]; De Sacy, Abd-Allatif, p. 703; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 94.

4 Yâkût gives 'Andarâ' as an alternative form. The place is now in the
of the daughters of the Copts in the days of Manfä'ūs. There is here a well, square in form, the opening of which measures one hundred cubits on each side; the entrance into it is by steps, which can be descended by camels, oxen, horses, sheep, and all other beasts which drink the water of the well. In this district there is a most wonderful ancient temple, such as has never been seen elsewhere; and it is said that the giants who built this temple also planned the construction of the well.

Kift and Kanāh.

§ The town of Kift is the first town that was built in the land of Egypt; it was founded by Kift, the son of Mizraim, who lived 400 years, and was buried with his treasures in the Oases. From Kift there is a road to 'Aidhāb, and a road to the mine of emeralds, and a road to the Sea of Na'ām. There is here a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary, in which is preserved the body of the saint Abū Shāj. There is also another church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; and there is a church of Saint Severus.

There is here a monastery of the Virgin, and a monastery of Saint Sinuthius, and a monastery named after Saint Anthony; and there is a convent of nuns named after Saint George; and a monastery named after the martyr Saint Victor, and two monasteries named after the glorious martyr Theodore.

There is a church named after the angel Gabriel at the top of the mountain in this district. In the middle of [the town] there is a pillar
standing by itself, exposed to the sun, and marked with a scale to measure the rise of the Nile, a work of skill, and the result of divine guidance. The 26th of Baʻunah¹ is the day on which the sun stood still for Joshua the son of Nun, by God's permission, until he had vanquished the unbelieving Gentiles and giants in battle, through the changing of the sun into various colours and the double halo which appeared round it; and on that day when the sun shines on this pillar, it is known, from the measure indicated by its rays, to what height the Nile will rise that year.

At the top of the hill is Kanah². In this district there are two monasteries which were restored by the Mu'allim Ishâk, called Al-Azraḵ, the merchant, who was a native of the town of Kift. One of these monasteries is named after Coluthus, and the other after the glorious angel Michael. They were then in ruins; but the aforesaid merchant spent a large sum upon them, and set them in excellent order, so that the monks came and lived there, to the number of fifty; and he planted near them many trees and vines, and endowed them with property in land, irrigated by water-wheels, and producing vegetables, flax, wheat, and other crops; and the extent of this property was marked out by palm-trees, planted in various places. He also presented forty yoke of oxen for working the water-wheels; and he distributed much money in alms before he died; may God rest his soul!

Fâʻū.

The district called Fâʻū³ is in the southern part of Upper Egypt.

¹ This day corresponds to June 20, and the Paris Synaxarium, as well as that translated by Mr. Malan, commemorates the death of Joshua on this day.

² Kanâh is now the capital of a province, and in 1885 had 15,402 inhabitants. Its Coptic name seems to have been KUWfH, and the Copto-Arabic lists give the corresponding Arabic name as Қوَنَة. The more usual form, however, would seem to be Қانا, Kanâ; and in English it is generally written 'Keneh.' In the time of our author the place was in the province of Kûs. The Greeks appear to have called the town KAWĩp ðåls. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 393 f.

³ Yâḵût names both this place and the monastery of Abû Bakhûm which it
Here there is a monastery and a church named after Saint Pachomius. This church is large and spacious, being one hundred and fifty cubits long and seventy-five cubits broad; but it has now fallen into ruin. All the pictures in this church were composed of tessellae of glass, gilded and coloured; and its pillars were of marble; but it was wrecked by Al-Hākim.

\[\text{Kamūlah.}\]

§ Kamūlah. Here there is a church named after the glorious martyr Theodore. The glorious martyr Mercurius also has a church here; and there are two churches of the two glorious angels Michael and Gabriel. There are also two churches of the two glorious martyrs Saint George and Saint Victor, son of Romanus. There are also two churches of the glorious saints Sinuthius and John Abā ʿKarkās. There are also here two monasteries of the glorious martyrs Abā Nūb and Theodore.

1 These measurements are interesting if they can be relied upon. After so frequent mention of 'large churches, spacious and nobly planned,' these figures give at least Abū ʿṢālīlī's idea of a grand building. Taking his cubit at 1 ft. 6 in., the church of St. Pachomius would measure 225 ft. in length by 112 ft. 6 in. in breadth,—truly noble proportions, surpassing all ancient church buildings now remaining in Egypt, except possibly the White Monastery. (A. J. B.)

2 Another instance of glass mosaic. See above, on the mosaics of Al-Ḵuṣair, fol. 50 b. (A. J. B.)

3 The Coptic Ḳamūlah. It was celebrated for its palms and vegetables. It is now in the district of Ḳūṣ, in the province of Ḳanā, and in 1885 had 1,020 inhabitants. See Yākūṭ, Geogr. Wörter. iv. p. 177; Al-Idrisī (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 127; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 391 f.
Al-Ushmûnain.

City of Al-Ushmûnain. Here there are two churches [respectively] of the holy fathers Peter and Mark; and two churches [respectively] of the glorious martyrs George and Mercurius; and also three churches of the pure and lofty angels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael.

Uswân and its neighbourhoojd.

The district called the frontier-district of Uswân, which is contiguous to the former district. Here, near the fortress, and on the east side of it, there is a church of the Four Living Creatures, beneath which there is a pool of water; and beside this, it is said that Diocletian, the unbelieving emperor, shed the blood of many martyrs. Around this pool there was a wall, the greater part of which is now ruined.

The island of Bakîk, to the west of [Uswân]. Here there is a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary, containing several chapels, the greater part of which are ruined. There is also a church of the saint and glorious martyr Theodore.

Island of Philae. Here there are many idols and temples. The island contains two churches, one of which is named after the glorious angel Michael, and the other after the patriarch Athanasius; these churches are beside the cataract.

The House of Sanis stands on the bank of the river, to the west of [Philae]; and near it there are several churches overlooking the river, but now in ruins.

It is said that at Bashâwah there is a garden, the property of Ibn Kâmil, which contains a wonderful palm-tree, such as has never been heard of elsewhere; and its peculiarity is that it casts off unripe dates, of which the kernel is eaten, and makes the most delicious food, while the outside is thrown away; and this is well known, and is related in the book of An-Nasr ibn Zûlâk.

Kâmûlah.

At Kâmûlah there is a monastery named after the glorious angel

1 We have already heard of this place on fol. 76 a and b, &c.
2 We return once more to Kâmûlah after the peculiar manner of our author.
Michael, and known as the monastery of the Well, because in its neighbourhood there is a well of excellent water, from which travellers drink when they pass through this district. The monastery contains a keep, and is surrounded by an enclosing wall; and it is said to possess the body of Saint Pisentius, superior of the monastery in Upper Egypt.

§ Bu Harûkah. Here there is a monastery named after the glorious angel Michael, which contains a keep.

Luxor.

§ Luxor. Before the gate of this town there are idols standing like castles. Some of them have the forms of lions or rams, and are standing upon their feet in two rows, on the right and on the left. They are [carved] out of hard black stone which is polished. Within the town there are also great idols of hard black stone without number.

Abyssinia.

§ Abyssinia. This country is under the jurisdiction of the see of Mark the Evangelist. Abyssinia is the same as the kingdom of

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1 The Arabic form Al-Akṣurain, the dual of Al-Akṣur (القصر), was often used as the name of the place, e.g. in the Synaxarium, and the Copto-Arabic lists of places. The form Al-Akṣur, however, is used by Yāḵūt and Al-Maḵrizī, and is now vulgarly pronounced 'l-Akṣur (Luxor). The Coptic name of the place is ΝΑΝΕ; and the modern village, as it is well known, occupies part of the site of the ancient Thebes. See Yāḵūt, Gēogr. Wört. i. p. rav; Al-Maḵrizī, i. p. ρ.ρ.; Ibn Duḵmāk, v. p. ρ.; Amélineau, Gēogr. p. 234 f.

2 The text has 'like that,' apparently referring to the signification of Al-Akṣur, which may be taken, as Yāḵūt remarks (loc. cit.), as a 'plural of paucity' of the word ḳasr (قصر) 'a castle.' The following passage is obviously intended for a description of the avenue of sphinxes which leads to the temple of Karnak.

3 As Tellez remarks:

'Depois que os Abexins tiveram notícia da Fé de Christo nunca tiveram mays que hum só bispo em toda Ethiopia, ao qual elles chamam Abuná, que quer dizer Padre nosso. O primeyro de todos foy Sam Frumencio, de quem acima falamos; & assim como este Santo foy mandado de Alexandria por S. Athanasio, assim
Sheba, from which the queen of Al-Yaman came to Jerusalem, to hear words of wisdom from Solomon; and she offered him splendid gifts. When the king of Abyssinia wishes to make the tour of this country, he spends a whole year in going round it, travelling on all days except Sundays and the festivals of the Lord, until he returns to his capital city.

Abyssinia is contiguous to India and the adjacent territory. A metropolitan is sent from the see of Mark the Evangelist to Abyssinia, from the patriarch of Alexandria in Egypt; and this metropolitan is sent from the same patriarchal see, down to our own times, in which Rome despatched certain patriarchs, as we shall see further. (Hist. geral de Ethiopia a alta... composta na mesma Ethiopia pelo Padre M. d'Almeyda... abreviada pelo Padre B. Téllez, &c., Coimbra, 1660, p. 93.)

1 Our author here seems to look upon South-west Arabia as identical with or forming part of Abyssinia or Ethiopia, an error akin to the confusion of Abyssinia with India which appears lower down. It is true, of course, that the ruling race of Abyssinia, the Geez, came from Arabia, and brought with them the Ethiopic alphabet.

Josephus speaks of the queen of Sheba as 'queen of Egypt and Ethiopia' (Ant. viii. 6); and Origen, St. Augustine, and St. Anselm, among others, believed that she was an Ethiopian sovereign.

2 Compare below, fol. 108 b, where it is said that Abyssinia and India are identical.

3 There are several references to this practice in the patriarchal biographies. In A. H. 596 = A. D. 1200, and therefore in the lifetime of our author and not long before the composition of the present work, an envoy came from Abyssinia to
metropolitan of the Abyssinians ordains priests and deacons for them. The king of Al-Mukurrah, who is an Abyssinian, and is an orthodox king, is the Great King among the kings of his country, because he has an extensive kingdom, including distant regions in the north of the country, and has many troops; and he is the fourth of the kings of the earth, and no king on earth is strong enough to resist him; and at a certain place in his country he possesses the Ark of Noah.

All the kings of Abyssinia are priests, and celebrate the liturgy within the sanctuary, as long as they reign without slaying any man with their own hand; but after slaying a man they can no longer celebrate the liturgy; and the conditions by which they are bound after they have killed a man have already been spoken of in this book.

If any of the Abyssinians commits a sin, he takes a handful of incense of the kind which is burnt within the sanctuary; it is composed of frankincense, of sandarach, of styrax, of ladanum, of aloes, and of cassia; then he confesses his sin over this mixture, and throws it into the censer, together with dried rose-leaves.

All the kings of Abyssinia are crowned with the royal crown in announce the death of the metropolitan, and to request that his successor might be appointed. This is related by 'Abd al-Latif, who says:

'in the month of Shawwal an envoy arrived from the king of the Abyssinians, bearing a letter which contained the announcement of the death of their metropolitan, and requested the appointment of his successor' (ed. White, p. 196).

1 See above, fol. 94 b.
2 The common legend in the East is that the Ark of Noah still exists on Mount Jâdâ in Mesopotamia; see below, fol. 111 b.
3 This proves the confusion in the mind of our author of Nubia with Abyssinia; see above, fol. 99 a.
4 Cf. above, fol. 8 a and 9 b, with notes.
5 The caliphs and sultans of Islam were never crowned like Christian sovereigns, but the tradition is that a gold crown was worn by the ancient kings.
the church of the angel Michael, or the church of Saint George, beneath their pictures. After that the king does not wear the crown, but the metropolitan blesses him, and lays his hand upon his head, and fastens a band over his head and beneath his chin, and clothes him in a robe of brocade.

The Abyssinians possess also the Ark of the Covenant\(^1\), in which are the two tables of stone, inscribed by the finger of God with the commandments which he ordained for the children of Israel. The Ark of the Covenant is placed upon the altar, but is not so wide as the altar; it is as high as the knee of a man, and is overlaid with gold; and upon its lid there are crosses of gold; and there are five precious stones of South-west Arabia, from the time of Hamyar, the supposed ancestor of the queen of Sheba; see Wright, *Christianity in Arabia*, p. 15. (A. J. B.)

\(^1\) The legend among the Copts and Abyssinians is as follows. On her coming home from the court of king Solomon, the queen of Sheba gave birth to a son, of whom he was the father. The son, named Menelek, was educated at home until he reached his twentieth year, when the queen sent him to his father to be taught the wisdom of Solomon, and besought the latter to anoint and proclaim his son king of Ethiopia before the Ark of the Covenant, so that henceforth there might be a line of kings instead of queens in Sheba. Solomon readily granted the queen’s request, and after adding to the youth’s name of Menelek that of David, and training him in the study of law, and other branches of learning, resolved to send him home in state with a retinue of princes and noble pages. Among the rest he ordered Azarias the priest, son of Zadok the high-priest, to accompany Menelek David to Ethiopia, and Azarias before starting secretly prepared a counterfeit Ark of the Covenant. This during sacrifice he contrived to substitute for the original, which he and his companions carried off with them to Ethiopia. Such is the story told with variations by Alvarez (Lord Stanley’s translation), pp. 78–79; by Tellez, *Hist. geral de Ethiopia a alia*, p. 63; by Zagazabo in Danhauer’s *Ecclesia Aethiopica*, cap. iv; and in the Arabic history translated by M. Amélineau in *Contes et romans de l’Egypt chrét.*, i, pp. 144–164. Zagazabo’s account makes the young prince carry off not the Ark itself, but only the Two Tables of Stone. With the Ark or the Tables, the rights of sovereignty of the house of David were held to have passed to the royal family of Abyssinia. (A. J. B.)
upon it, one at each of the four corners, and one in the middle. The liturgy is celebrated upon the Ark four times in the year, within the palace of the king; and a canopy is spread over it when it is taken out from [its own] church to the church which is in the palace of the king: namely on the feast of the great Nativity, on the feast of the glorious Baptism, on the feast of the holy Resurrection, and on the feast of the illuminating Cross. And the Ark is attended and carried by a large number of Israelites descended from the family of the prophet David\(^1\), who are white and red in complexion, with red hair. In every town of Abyssinia there is one church, as spacious as it can possibly be.

It is said that the Negus\(^2\) was white and red of complexion, with red hair, and so are all his family to the present day; and it is said that he was of the family of Moses and Aaron, on account of the coming of Moses into Abyssinia. Moses married the king's daughter\(^3\).

The eucharistic loaves of the Abyssinians are disks of leavened bread, without stamp\(^4\).

\(^1\) I.e. the royal family, who as descended from Menelek David, son of Solomon, are descended from king David his father. On the subject of Abyssinian Christianity, the reader is referred to Tellez, op. cit., and to La Croze, *Hist. du Christianisme d'Éthiopie* (1739), and Geddes, *Church History of Ethiopia*, London, 1696. (A. J. B.)

\(^2\) It is, of course, well known that the word Negus is the Ethiopic ὦς. The form ḏ溍 has been borrowed in Arabic as ذجاشِي.

\(^3\) This sentence is out of its place in the text.

\(^4\) The Coptic eucharistic loaf, which is also leavened, is on the contrary stamped with a design of crosses, each enclosed within a square border. The part in the middle is called the *Isbodikon* or *Spoudikon* (ισβοδικόν or σπούδικόν a corruption of δεσπότης), and the former appears in the Arabic *Isbūdikan*, e.g. in the modern (1886) Cairo edition of the Coptic Liturgy in the rubric before intinction. Round the central design of the wafer are the words Holy, Holy, Holy Lord (αὐτικ ἄνιος τρικ) or the like. See Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 99 f.; Butler, *Coptic Churches*, ii. p. 278 seq.

Tellez says of the Abyssinians:

'Detraz da Igreja para a banda do Oriente esta sempre hña cazinha, a qual he a casa das hostias, & nella ha apparelho para se fazerem; & vem a ser a
§ The Abyssinians use vinegar with water for their communions, or water\(^1\) alone; yet this is not from want of wine, but is a custom inherited from their ancestors.

hostia hum bolo fermentado, o qual se nam guarda d' hum dia pera o outro, & se espantam de nós nam fazermos as hostias pera cada dia.’

‘Behind the church, at the east end, there is always a chamber which is the bakehouse for the eucharistic loaves, and in it there is the apparatus for making them; and the eucharistic loaf when it is made is a leavened cake, but is not kept from one day to another; and they are scandalized at our not making fresh hosts every day.’ (Hist. geral de Ethioá a alta, p. 97.)

The cazinha of which Tellez speaks corresponds to the bakehouse (بيت غبيين) attached to the Coptic churches, as we have seen above, fol. 30 b, &c. (A. J. B.)

\(^1\) Tellez says:

‘O vinho que preparam pera a missa vem a ser d' esta maneyra; trazem quatro ou sinco passas como ja toquey, que tem guardadas, as quays desfazem, quebrando as com os dedos em hum pucaro de agoa, mayor ou menor, conforme á quantidade da gente que ha de commungar; porque todos commungam sub utraque specie; & o mays certo he que sub neutra, porque evidentissimo he que a materia aqui nam he vinho, senam agoa, poys hum pucaro de agoa nam se pode tornar em vinho só com sinco ou seys passas.’

‘The wine which they prepare for the Mass is made in the following manner: they bring four or five raisins, as I have already mentioned, which they keep in store, and these they crush by squeezing them with the fingers in a cup of water, larger or smaller according to the number of communicants; for they all communicate sub utraque specie, or more probably sub neutra, for it is abundantly clear that the element here used is not wine but water, since a cup of water cannot be changed into wine by the mere addition of five or six raisins.’ (Hist. geral de Ethioá a alta, p. 97.)

Alvarez states the same fact; see Lord Stanley’s translation, pp. 25, 28, and 412. The statement of Tellez is repeated by Ludolphus; see his History of Ethiopia made English by J. P. Gent, Bk. III. ch. 6. Danhauer also states that the Abyssinians used a chalice of raisin wine (vinum ex uvis, defectu vini ex recentibus uvis expressi, passis mira arte expressum), quoting Zagazabo as his authority.

Our author agrees with Tellez that such a chalice is in reality one of water, not wine. (A. J. B.)
In Abyssinia there are many Muslims, each of whom pays a tax of three *afikhalis* 1 of iron, and these are like a broad spit, and have at the end the impression of the king’s seal.

The king possesses, among his treasures, the throne of king David, upon which he sat to give judgment; and upon it, all round it, and upon all its sides, there are crosses of gold.

The fathers and patriarchs used to write letters to the kings of Abyssinia and Nubia, twice in the year; and the last of them who did so was Zacharias, the sixty-fourth patriarch; for Al-Ḥākim forbade the practice, which ceased from that time until now. Nevertheless when a letter comes from any of these kings to the caliph at Misr or his vizier, he bids the patriarch write a reply to the letter, with all the respect and reverence due from Christians, and all the compliments which are customary among them. The patriarch charges the king of Abyssinia to avoid association with the Muslims, who are under his government. Formerly it was customary with all the kings of Abyssinia as well as their subjects to have several wives 2. This continued until the patriarchate of Anbā Sinuthius, the sixty-seventh patriarch 3; who commanded the metropolitan to bring them back from this mode of life to the mode of life existing among the Christians of Egypt and Syria, and not to authorize

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1 Apparently a word of Greek origin.

2 Danhauer’s testimony on this point agrees with Abū Ṣâliḥ’s: ‘reges olim sex aut septem habuerunt uxores, aulici communiter duas aut tres, ceteri pro lubitu prout res domestica fert, alteram priori addunt aut superaddunt tertiam.’ The priests, however, were never allowed more than one wife (*Eccl. Aethiop.* cap. v. § 3). Alvarez (Lord Stanley’s trans. p. 45) seems to say that in places polygamy was common, and was not forbidden by the ‘king or magistrates,’ but only by the church. Yet ‘every man who has more than one wife does not enter the church nor receive the sacrament; and they hold him to be excommunicated.’ But the ban is easily removed. (A. J. B.)

3 This is an error. The sixty-seventh patriarch was Cyril (see above, fol. 44 b, &c.), who ordained Severus metropolitan of Abyssinia; and it was this Severus who by exhortation and threats put down polygamy. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 453. The date referred to is about A.D. 1086. Sinuthius (Sanutius), the
the king and his subjects to do as they were then doing; and after this the Abyssinians refrained from following their former custom, and began to have each of them one wife only.

[This patriarch] also established that in the rite of consecration of churches the same customs should be followed as in all the churches of Egypt; and he bade the metropolitan direct the Abyssinians to slay at the completion of the building of a church twelve beasts\(^1\), namely four oxen, four sheep, and four goats, three at each side of the church; and that they should distribute [the flesh] of all [of them] on the day when they ceased from the building of the church, as a gift to God who had helped them to complete a house in which offerings should be made to him and in which his name should be commemorated, and supplications and prayers and praises should be offered.

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sixty-fifth patriarch, occupied the see in the first half of the eleventh century. (A. J. B.)

\(^1\) This custom of sacrificing animals at the consecration or completion of a church is quite unexampled in Coptic church history and quite against the Coptic canons. It can only mean, I think, that the patriarch sanctioned the maintenance of a purely Abyssinian practice. From the earliest times there were large Jewish settlements in Abyssinia, and it is probable that the custom of religious sacrifice derived from the Jews remained after the conversion of the people to Christianity, just as it remained and remains among the Arabs after their conversion to Islam. It must be admitted, however, that the Copts also retained the custom of slaying if not of sacrificing animals on certain solemn occasions. Lane instances the killing of a sheep or lamb at the bridegroom’s house on the evening of a wedding, when the animal is slaughtered at the door and the bride steps over its blood; and he mentions that at Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter, when the Copts pay regular visits to the tombs of their relatives, a buffalo or sheep is commonly slain and given to the poor as an act rather of charity than sacrifice. (Mod. Egyptians, ii. pp. 292, 296.) But the Muslim sacrifices are far more numerous and more distinctly ritual in character (op. cit. i. pp. 67, 116, 302; ii. 221, 259, 268). The present writer has seen Muslim sacrifices with a propitiatory purpose both in Egypt and in Asia Minor. (A. J. B.)
Saint Thomas.

§ The church of Thomas the Disciple and his holy hand, with which he touched the Lord’s side, and which is still living, as a witness to the resurrection of the living Christ from the dead, and of his ascension into heaven. This hand is part of the body of Saint Thomas, which lies in a church upon one of the Indian islands in the salt sea, which has been described by travellers among those things that are celebrated among men down to our own day.

North-western Africa.

§ Western Africa. The gospel was preached in this country by Philip the Apostle, whose name means Lover of Horses. [There is in

1 I. e. at Mailapur or São Thomé, the suburb of Madras. It is not strictly an island, but there is water to the north and south of it and a great lake behind the town, and at the time of the monsoons the place becomes almost an island; see Germann, Kirche der Thomaschristen, 1877, p. 272 ff. It has of course been much disputed whether St. Thomas was buried in India or at Edessa. Assemani says that all old Syriac and Arabic writers agree that St. Thomas was buried at Calamina and translated to Edessa; see Bib. Or. ii. pp. 387-391. The question is fully discussed in Germann, op. cit. This author suggests as an explanation of the name Calamina, that it arose from the answer to the question, 'Where was St. Thomas martyred?' to which the reply in the Malayalam language was: 'Mailapur Calurmina,' i. e. 'On a rock near Mailapur' (op. cit. p. 43).

2 The statement that St. Philip preached in north-western Africa, especially at Carthage, is in agreement with some of the apocryphal Acts of that Apostle; see Acta SS. at May 1; Lipsius, Die apocr. Apostelgeschichte, iii. p. 32 ff.; Wright, Apocr. Acts of the App.; Coptic Synaxarium at Hätur 18 = Nov. 14; Conflicts of the Holy App., translated from the Ethiopic by Malan, pp. 66-76. The Greek accounts make St. Philip die at Hierapolis in Syria, and the Syriac account merely describes his mission to Carthage and says nothing of his death there. The Coptic Synaxarium, however, is more explicit, and states that the Apostle was put to death in Africa, and that an angel carried his body away to Jerusalem; but that subsequently the people all became Christians, and prayed to God that he would restore the sacred relics to them, which was miraculously accomplished.
this country] the church of Saint John, and a church named after the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary, which was founded by a travelling merchant in the year 931 of Alexander (A.D. 618–619). The country still further west is inhabited by Romans; and much snow and hail falls there, and men and beasts die there.

Carthage. Here is buried the body of the aforesaid Philip.

Spain.

Spain is the seat of the dominion of the Muslim Berbers of the west; and at its extremity is the seat of the kingdom of the Roman Franks.

§ The book of Al-Khiṭṭat bi-Misr relates that when 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣi, the emir of Egypt, captured the fortress of Toledo in Spain, in the month of Rajab of the year 93 of the Arab dominion (A.D. 712), through the agency of Mūsā, he found there a crown which was said to be the crown of Solomon the son of David, and also his table which was of gold encircled with gems, and was worth alone 200,000 dinars; and besides this he found money and valuable treasures and precious jewels and vessels and arms beyond all price.

1 By Al-Kindi.

2 This is an error, probably of the copyist and abbreviator. Mūsā was not despatched to Spain by 'Amr, who had in fact died more than fifty years earlier.

3 The capture of these treasures of Solomon by the Arabs on the conquest of Toledo is related by several historians. See e.g. Al-Makkarī ed. Dozy, &c. i. p. 137; Al-Makín, Hist. Sarac. p. 85. Yāḥūt says that Toledo (Ṭulaiṭulah or Ṭulaïṭalah) had been visited by Solomon, Alexander, and Jesus Christ. The treasures of Solomon were famous in Europe before the Arab conquest of Spain. Procopius (De Bello Goth. Bk. i) says that among the spoils carried away from Rome by Alaric were the ornaments of Solomon, the king of the Hebrews, remarkable for the brilliancy of the sapphires with which they were incrusted. They had, he says, been captured at Jerusalem by the armies of Titus, and they were taken by Alaric from Rome to Carcassonne. From this city they must have been carried off by the Visigoths to Toledo. Cf. Gibbon (ed. 1838), iv. p. 129. (A. J. B.)
The Miraculous Olive-tree.

The place called Anzar wa-‘Ajab¹ is near Marea², there being a distance of three days' journey between them. Here is the church of the Pure Lady and Virgin Mary. The biographies [of the patriarchs] relate that at the door of this church there stands an olive-tree which has no green leaves upon it³; but that on the day of the festival of that church, at sunrise, this tree becomes green while all the people are looking at it, and its branches spread, and its leaves unfold, and fruit appears upon it; and the fruit deepens in colour and grows and multiplies until the middle of the day when the tree is covered with olives. Then the priest in charge of the church comes out, and takes some of the olives, which he presses, and with the oil of which he lights the lamps. And the people who are assembled pray, and receive the communion, and disperse to their own homes. Afterwards the priest in charge of the church collects that which is left of the olives, and has them pressed; and they supply the church with sufficient oil for lighting the lamps during the whole year. This [story which has been related] was written by the sheikh Abû ’l-Barakât Mauhûb ibn Mansûr ibn Mufarraj, the Alexandrian deacon, in the biography of Anbâ Christodulus, the sixty-sixth patriarch.

North-western Africa.

The City of Darkness. Between this and the town of Al-Ikrân there is a river called the Jarjar, the width of which is 300 miles [or] 100 parasangs⁴.

¹ I. e. 'Most remarkable and most wonderful.' The ب has been omitted before أنظر.

² Marea (Mapēia) is well known from the Greek and Latin geographers as a town near Lake Mareotis. It existed for some time after the Arab conquest, but few traces now remain of it.

³ This story may be compared with the English legend of the 'holy thorn,' which blossoms at Christmastide. (A. J. B.)

⁴ We seem here to be in the region of pure legend. The statement is taken by our author from the Book of Clement (see below), which speaks of the river Jarjar near the City of Darkness, and says that it was 100 parasangs in width; see MS. Bodl. Or. 294, p. 302.
The town called Al-Lûzariḳû¹ is in North-western Africa, near Carthage; and Paul² the Apostle preached and founded several churches there. One of the latter is a church named after the Pure Lady; it is 3,000 great cubits in length, and 1,153 cubits in breadth. The river [Jarjar] was divided at this [town of Al-Lûzariḳû], and thirteen different paths were made through it. This [town] was seen by Peter, chief of the apostles, when he visited it, according to the testimony of the Book of Clement. The people of this town used to keep the feast of the idols on the 12th of Ýyâr, every year; and on this day they wove roses into garlands and placed them on the heads of their idols, and offered them fresh honey³ and farîk as-sâbil from among their stores.

There was in the town of Al-Lûzariḳûn a talisman⁴ upon the walls, which warned the people of the approach of a stranger, and then they forbad him to enter. That river [Jarjar], at the prayer of Paul, was

¹ This name is apparently so written in the MS., but the copy of the Book of Clement at the Bodleian Library writes the name الكذيفو, and says that this city is upon the shores of the Sea of Darkness (Atlantic) and near the confines of the world; see MS. Bodl. Or. 294, p. 302.

² The Bodleian MS. just cited relates the mission of St. Paul to this city in similar terms, only at greater length.

³ I suppose العسل to be written for صور, as is frequently written by our scribe for صور. The copy of the Book of Clement in the Bodleian puts the following words into the mouth of St. Paul, who is describing his mission to this city:

وَكَانَتْ مَوَافَاتَ الْيَمَا نَا لَآتِي عَشْرَ لِيْلَةٍ مَّضْتُ مِنْ شَهْرِ يَمِينَ وَكَانَ فِي ذِلِّكَ الْيَمِينِ لَآلِ هذِهِ المَدِينَةِ عِبَادٌ كَبِيرُ يَنْضِمُونَ فِيهِ الْوَرَدَ وَيَصَبُّوهُ عَلَى رُوسِ الأَصْطَامَ وَيَرْنُونَ لَئَوْنَ الْوَرَدَ لَسَبْطَ الْعَرْطَ لِلْهَدِيَّةِ

'I arrived there on the 12th of the month of Ýyâr, and on that day the people of that city were keeping a great festival, on which they made wreaths of roses and placed them on the heads of the images and they offered to the idols young leeks from their stores.' (MS. Bodl. Or. 294, p. 303.)

⁴ This is described in the Book of Clement, which states that it roared with a voice like thunder, saying:

هِنا غَرَّبٌ قد اتَّبِعَ 'Here is a stranger who is come to you!' (loc. cit.)
divided by thirteen paths, and he baptized in it 18,000 men of the city, and they built several large churches; and Paul broke the talisman of which we have spoken; and at his prayer God planted the olive-tree from which the oil is pressed which serves for lighting the lamps of the churches in this city.

India.

§ India. In this country there is neither heat nor cold, because it is on the equator. It is the land of Abyssinia¹, which is also called Al-Hindah. All its inhabitants worship the Buddhas² and the sun and the fire. It is the land of India, and its shores are far from Egypt; it is very extensive, and contains a multitude of inhabitants; it is surrounded by the seas and the expanse of waters, over which ships pass from the coasts of Egypt; and, on land, India lies next to the frontiers of Persia.

Fol.109a India lay in ancient times in the darkness of idolatry; and Thomas³,

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¹ The confusion of Ethiopia with India is as old as the beginnings of Greek literature and remained till its latest days. See Homer, Od. i. 23, 24; Herod. iii. 94 and vii. 70; Aeschylus, Prometheus, l. 808 f.; Tibullus, Eleg. Bk. ii. 3, 55; Virgil, Georg. ii. 416 and iv. 293; Strabo, i. and xv; Josephus, Bell. Jud. ii. 16. 4; Cosmas Indicopleustes, ap. Migne, tom. 88, p. 115; Epiphanius, in Ancorat, ii. p. 60 E; Philostorgius, iii. 10;Procopius, Bell. Pers. i. 19, p. 58 C, D, and De Aedificiis, v. 1, p. 109 B; Nonnus, Dionysiaca, xvii. 394 ff. Cf. Letronne, Matériaux pour l'hist. du Christianisme en Égypte en Nubie et en Abyssinie, where these passages are referred to. Mr. Thos. Wright in his Early Christianity in Arabia has a learned note in which he shows plainly the extension of the term India to cover Ethiopia and Arabia Felix as well as the great peninsula to which the word is properly applied. (A. J. B.)


³ The question of the mission of St. Thomas to India is discussed at length in Germann, Kirche der Thomaschristen. The Syriac Acts of St. Thomas containing an account of this mission were published by the late Dr. Wright in his Apocr. Acts of the App., London, 1871, and they are probably as early as the second or third century in their present form. The name of the king Gondopherres or Gundaphorus is confirmed through modern research as that of Undopherres, who was reigning about half a century after Christ in the valley of the Indus. Cf.
the greatest of the twelve, who was sent thither, announced to the people the message of salvation. This glorious apostle converted them from the worship of idols to the knowledge of the truth and the way of salvation; and he baptized them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and they received from him the orthodox faith and built many churches. He ordained over them, as bishops, priests, and deacons, those of whose constancy in the faith which they had received from him he was assured; and he taught them the rules of religious worship, and the consecration of the holy mysteries, and the rite of offering incense during their prayers and liturgies. So he led them to the knowledge of God. He also performed startling signs and extraordinary wonders before them, such as they had never seen or heard of, and confirmed their faith, until they abandoned the worship of idols and the offering of sacrifices to them, and learnt from the Source of intelligence the extent of their errors and of the falsity of their beliefs. Thus when the minds and hearts of these people were enlightened, they set themselves to build a church to the great Thomas, who had been their guide; and in this church which they erected to the great apostle Thomas, from whom they had received the orthodox faith, God manifested a great sign to them; for, when the building of the church was completed, God sent the sea which covered the road leading to the church. And when this apostle was martyred, and had finished his fight, and obtained the crown of martyrdom, his body was carried to this church; and they placed it in a chest of skilful workmanship, and overlaid it with gold. And when they saw this other wonder after his martyrdom, namely that his right hand was not changed from its former appearance during life, they marvelled, and their faith was strengthened; so they made an opening in the chest through which his holy hand came out, as a manifest sign to all who saw it. Now the sea which had covered the road to the church went back from it every year; for God sent a wind which drove the sea back from the road, which was

thus laid open for the assembling of the congregation at the festival of Thomas. For men came thither from all parts and walked along the road to the church, as the children of Israel walked, when the Red Sea was divided for them, under the guidance of the prophet Moses, who prayed for them before the Lord. So God showed a similar sign in our own time, through the prayers of this great apostle and his great dignity in the sight of the Lord, who confirmed his teaching by so mighty a miracle, which has never ceased. Thus the people who assemble at this great festival, celebrate it and receive blessings; and the priests celebrate the liturgy and take the holy mysteries, and dip the holy body in the pure blood, and place it in that pure hand. Then all the people

1 This story of the communion of St. Thomas is to be found related by an oriental prelate who visited Pope Calixtus I at Rome in A.D. 1122, and who is called in the accounts John, patriarch of India. Two independent narratives of this visit exist; one in the Chronicon Alberici Monachi published in Leibnitz, Accessiones Historicae, ad ann. 1122; and the other in Mabillonii Vetra Analecta in a letter written by Abbot Odzo of St. Rémy to a Count Thomas. Odzo says that he was present at the ‘patriarch’s’ interview with the Pope. He states, according to the testimony of the Indian prelate, that the church of St. Thomas was surrounded by a river, but that eight days before and eight days after the festival of the apostle the water retreated so that the church could be reached on foot over dry land; the body of the saint was seated upon the bishop’s chair, and received in its open hand the offerings that were made, unless a heretic approached, when the hand at once closed. Albericus, whose account varies somewhat from Odzo’s, adds that the host was handed to the apostle during the mass, and that the people received the communion from his open hand, which, however, closed on the approach of a misbeliever. See Germann, op. cit. p. 165 ff.

Another account of this communion-scene is to be found in the Itinerary of John of Hesse, who appears to have travelled in the fifteenth century, but who places the relics in the city of Hulna, four days from Edessa. Ulna is also the name given by Albericus to the episcopal city of John of India. The’ Itinerary’ states that Prester John dwelt at Edessa. The body of St. Thomas was placed in the episcopal throne, and the communion is thus described:

1 Missa igitur finita Presbyter Joannes, archiepiscopi et ceteri praelati religiosi cum aliis hominibus christianis devote geniculando, et humillime se inclinando
receive the holy mysteries out of the palm of that pure hand: and they continue to communicate in this manner one after the other until the hand grasps one of the congregation: then they all glorify God, and the priests communicate the rest of the people. Afterwards the priests carry that chest in their hands with chanting and with great rejoicing, and set it again in its place, after the people have kissed it and been blessed by it. When this religious service is over, and as the people are about to disperse, they are blessed by that man, whom God has chosen out of the people to remain for a year in the service of that pure body, to keep the candles lighted before it night and day. The people also leave with him all that he can need, and all depart to their own homes. And when they reach the shore, and not one of them is left behind, then the sea returns as it was before, and covers the road to the church. This custom has continued without interruption for ages. When the people return the following year, they find that that man, who was left to serve the body of Saint Thomas, has died at that very hour and is still warm. Praise to God, who is great and glorious in his saints, and works miracles for their sakes. To him be glory!

Town of Kûlam. All the Christians who live here are Nestorians. Fol.110b


1 One of the first visitors to the church and relics of St. Thomas at Mailapur in modern times, the Portuguese, Diogo Fernandes, who was there in A.D. 1517, found an old man who attended to the lamps of the church, and stated that this office was hereditary in his family. The church was then in ruins. See Barros, *Da Asia Decada* i. (ed. 1777), t. iii. pt. ii. p. 223 ff. In A.D. 1547, the Portuguese laid the foundations of a new church; ibid. p. 226.

There is here a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; and a church of the glorious saint and great martyr Saint George.

Fahṣūr. Here there are several churches; and all the Christians here are Nestorians; and that is the condition of things here. It is from this place that camphor comes; and this commodity [is a gum which] oozes from the trees. In this town there is one church named after our Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary.

Arabia.

Ṣanāʾ in Al-Yaman. Here is the church called Al-Ḳalīs, which was founded by Ibrāhīm, who ruled Al-Yaman on behalf of the Negus, king of Abyssinia, and is the same as Abrahā al-Ashram, whose nose was mutilated in battle, so that he was named Al-Ashram. He built this church, and decorated it with gilding and beautiful paintings,

and in his article on China (الصين), i. pp. 838-840. The Portuguese discovered a church at 'Coulam' built by 'disciples of St. Thomas;' see Barros, op. cit. p. 235.

1 So the word is written in the MS. I can only conjecture that it may be a clerical error for Mansūr (مصدر) or Mansūrah, a country in north-west India at the mouth of the Indus. This country was particularly famous among the Arabs for camphor. See Al-Mas'ūdī (ed. Barbier), i. pp. 207, 377-379, and iii. p. 49.

2 The capital of Yemen (Al-Yaman). See Yāḳūt, Geogr. Wörterb. iii. p. 84. Yemen was conquered before the birth of Mahomet by the Christians of Abyssinia; see the account given by Gibbon in chap. xlii and Johannsen's Historia Yemenae, Praef. The story is clearly told in Thos. Wright's Early Christianity in Arabia, p. 89. (A. J. B.)

3 Generally called Abrahah by the Arab historians; see At-Ṭabarî, Taʾrīkh ar-Rusul waʾl-Mulūk (ed. De Goeje and others), prima series, pp. 831-832. He is famous as the general who attacked Mecca in the year (A.D. 570) in which the prophet Mahomet was born, the year called, from the elephant which accompanied the army of Yemen, the Year of the Elephant. Our author's description of the church of Al-Ḳalīs is much fuller than that given by At-Ṭabarî, op. cit. p. 838 ff. (A. J. B.)

4 'The scarred' or 'mutilated.'

5 At-Ṭabarî says:

فِي هَذَا بَنيا بِعِمَا لم يرمَطَ بِالذهِبِ والإِصْباعِ اللَّجْدِيَّةِ وَكَتَبَ إلى تَيْبَرِيُّ عَلَى ذَلِكَ فَاعَلَهُ بِالصِّبَاغِ وَفِي هِجْسِهِ وَالرَّحْمَ
and paved it with coloured marble and [set up] marble pillars; and all the time he was living and sleeping in the church. He adorned it with the most beautiful ornaments of gold and silver and gilded and coloured glass, and he overlaid the doors with plates of gold studded with silver nails, and silver studded with massive gold nails; and on the doors leading to the altars he put broad plates of gold, and he set them with precious stones, and in the midst of each plate he set a golden cross, in the centre of which was a red, transparent carbuncle; and around these jewels were flowers of open work in various colours, so that spectators were astonished at it. And Abrahā bid men make pilgrimages to that church, and so they flocked thither from all parts. And he made for it a screen of skilful workmanship, composed of ebony and sītsam-wood, inlaid with pure white ivory, beautifully carved. So the fame of this church spread over that country, and those who had not seen it heard of it, and multitudes made pilgrimages thither, and brought votive offerings; and many men lodged in the church and spent day and night there; and the king provided for those that lodged there, and built chambers for them to dwell in, and erected houses which he made the property of the church. This king was a wise man, learned, loving God and doing good to men, just in his judgments, good in his life, honoured by all kings, without enemies who feared him, on account of the goodness of his life; according to the testimony of the history of At-Ṭabarî.

‘He built this church in marvellous fashion, such as had never before been seen, with gold and wonderful paintings; and he wrote to Caesar to tell him that he intended to build a church at Ṣan‘ā, to be a monument of lasting fame; and he begged Caesar to help him in the work; and so Caesar sent him workmen and mosaics and marble’ (p. 96). ‘Caesar’ was the emperor Justinian I.

Cf. Wright, op. cit. p. 95. (A. J. B.)

1 So At-Ṭabarî, loc. cit. The announcement that Abrahā expected the people to go on pilgrimage to Ṣan‘ā and to neglect the Ka‘bah of Mecca, so enraged the Arabs that more than one of them went to Ṣan‘ā for the express purpose of defiling the church, and this led to the invasion of the Hedjaz. (A. J. B.)

2 Many such screens are now to be seen in Coptic religious buildings, though perhaps of less magnificence. See Coptic Churches. (A. J. B.)
Marûr ad-Dair. This is a church inclosed within a strong wall; and it is now called Makbarat al-Ḥukamâ 1. In this district lived Abû Sharwân, the emir of Al-Yaman under Chosroes.

**Thamânîn.**

The village called Thamânîn 2. The mountain of Ḥardâ 3 is in this neighbourhood, and here the ark rested in the time of Noah, and went up from the mountain called Al-Jûdâ. It is very high, so that there is no higher mountain on earth than it; and from it there is a view of the four corners of the earth. The Pentateuch bears witness that God, to whom be praise, sent a wind upon the earth; and the waters decreased, and the fountains of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped, and the waters were abated after 150 days; and the ship or ark of Noah rested in the seventh month, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, upon the mountain of Ḥardâ at a village called Thamânîn, according to that which has already been said.

**Cities built by unknown Founders.**

Among the buildings of which the founder is unknown, and which I mention to preserve the memory of them, is Ghumdân 4, now a heap of ruins, such as are unknown elsewhere. ‘Uthmân overthrew it in the days of Islam, but its ruins remain until now. Aṣyâṭ 5, the Abyssinian, who conquered Al-Yaman for the Negus, king of Abyssinia, laid Ghumdân waste with other cities, before the appearance of the Muslims.

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1 I. e. 'Burial-place of the Wise men.'
3 A part of Mount Ararat. See Yâḳûṯ, Geogr. Wört. iv. p. 87; Eutychius, Annales, i. p. 20.
4 A fortress in Yemen between Ṣan’â and Ṭaiwah. Some said it was built by demons at the command of Solomon. It was destroyed by the caliph ‘Uthmân. See Yâḳûṯ, Geogr. Wört. iii. p. 817.
5 See Ibn Hishâm, Sirāh Sayyidinâ Muhammad, i. p. 75; ʿAbd-Ṭabarî, op. cit., prima series, p. 471.
Şan‘ā in Al-Yaman and Iṣṭakhr\(^1\) in Fars and Al-Ailah in Al-‘Irāk are in the desert.

The history of Al-Manbaji relates that king Solomon, son of the prophet David, king of Israel, was valiant and a great conqueror and was feared and magnified, and yet was gentle and humble, merciful, chaste, quiet of spirit and free from anger or hatred; and that he built Tadmor\(^2\), and made wonderful things there, and named it City of the Sun; and that he built Durrah\(^3\), which is in the midst of the sea; and built a great altar near the city of Kīrūn.

The city of Aukir was built by Kīrūn of stones overlaid with gold; and among the stones of the mountains of that country there are some that shine like gold, like golden and copper marcasite. When the building of this city was finished, it presented a wonderful sight when the sun shone upon it, unlike any other on the earth.

City of Khauliyā. This was built by a king called Jiyūl, and he made its structures lofty. It became a great city, and was inhabited by the women, to the time of Solomon, son of the prophet David, upon whom be peace!

\(\text{Fol.} 112^b\)

Copyist's Note.

Here ends the work of the author of this history. For he was unable to make his work complete on account of the extent of the surface

\(_1\) The town which occupied the site of the ancient Persepolis. Many legends were told of its foundation. Perhaps the most popular account among the Muslims was that it was founded by Solomon, who spent the day there and the night at Tiberias or Tadmor; see Al-Istakhri, \textit{passim}; Al-Maš′ūdī, iv. p. 76; Yāḵūt, \textit{Geogr. Wörter}. i. p. 833. The first mention of the remains of Persepolis in modern European literature is to be found in the report of Giosafat Barbaro, the Venetian envoy in 1471; see Ramusio, \textit{Viaggi} (ed. 1606), vol. i. f. 107: and the first full accounts were given by the Augustinian friar Antonio de Gouveia, see his \textit{Relação} (1611), fol. 30; and by Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, \textit{De rebus Persarum Epistola} (1620). pp. 6–12, translated in Purchas, \textit{Pilgrims} (1625), ii. p. 1533 f.

\(_2\) Tadmor was said, like Iṣṭakhr and Ghumdān, to have been built by demons for Solomon; see Yāḵūt, \textit{Geogr. Wörter}. i. p. 848. The passage of Al-Manbaji may be found in the Bodleian MS. Hunt 4178, fol. 102 b.

\(_3\) There was a Darrah off the coast of Persia.
of the earth in the east and in the west; yet he collected matter which no other has collected, and he devoted extreme care to his work. Nevertheless he was concise in his exposition, because he shunned in his narrative all amplification that was not necessary.

§ That poor, wretched, feeble slave, the copyist, has copied what he found in his copy, without addition or subtraction, according to the direction of the Shaikh\(^1\) Ar-Ra'is al-Akram Abû 'l-Faraj, son of the Shaikh Raphael, son of the priest Abû 'l-Farâbî, surnamed Şandîk al-'Îlm. This priest was the chief of the priests at the church of Al-Mu'allakah in the Fort of Ash-Shama' in the city of Miṣr. This book describes how the priest Abû 'l-Ma'âbî, son of the priest As-Sabi Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il, son of the priest Al-Muhdab, celebrated the liturgy on the Feast of the Cross, in the church of Al-Mu'allakah, on the 17th of Tût, and placed his finger in the chalice, and it was immediately dyed with natural blood\(^2\). When the priest saw this great miracle, he was serving as a scribe in the Divan of the frontier-district of Alexandria. but he gave up his work and lived in his cell at the said church, with a covering always over his finger, and thus he lived until he died. May the Lord rest his soul, and have mercy upon us by his prayers!

§ The work of copying this book was finished on Wednesday, the 2nd of the month of Ba'ûnâh in the year 1054 of the Blameless Martyrs, which corresponds to the 8th of Dhû 'l-Ka'dah of the year 738 (A.D. 1338). May God give us a good end to this year!

§ That poor slave the copyist has attempted to abbreviate the book, as it has been said, without diminishing from the sense, but the task has been too great for him. He prays all those who read the book to accept the excuse from him who offers it. May God, who assists the right, help us all towards the salvation of our souls, and support us in temptation and in the trials of this life, and preserve us in the orthodox faith, and bring us in safety to the harbour of salvation. Amen. Praise to God for ever and ever!

\(^1\) I here omit the complimentary epithets as untranslatable.

\(^2\) Renaudot tells a story of a similar event in Hist. Patr. p. 70.
ACCOUNT OF THE MONASTERIES AND CHURCHES OF THE CHRISTIANS OF EGYPT;

Ibn Sīdāh says: Ad-Dair (monastery) is an inn (khan) of the Christians, in the plural Adyār; and the superior of it is called Dayār or Dairānī. I remark that Ad-Dair is among Christians the special dwelling-place of the monks, and Al-Kanīsah (church) is among them the place of assembly of the people for prayer.
1. Al-Killiyah, the Cell at Misr. This Killiyah stands beside the Mu’allakah in the Kasr ash-Shamā in the city of Misr, and is the place of assembly of aged monks and learned Christians, and its rules are followed by all the monasteries.
2. The Monastery of Turā is also known as the Monastery of Abū Jurj, and stands on the bank of the Nile. This Abū Jurj is the same as Saint George, and is one of those whom the emperor Diocletian persecuted that he might renounce Christianity; but as various tortures, such as scourging and burning with fire, did not bring about his perversion, his head was cut off on the 3rd of Tishri, which is equivalent to the 7th of Bābah.
3. Monastery of Shārān. This monastery stands at the boundary of the district of Turā, and is built of stone and brick; there are palm-trees here; and many monks are to be found here. It is also called the Monastery of Shahrān,

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1 Al-MaḵrīẔī, like Abū Ṣāliḥ, also uses the plurals ʿAḏrāʾ and ʿAḏrāʾ.
2 Wüstefeld remarks that the commoner form is Killyah, which is nearer to the original ʿkallīon.
3 I.e. Fustat Miṣr or Al-Fustat, now called by Europeans ‘Old Cairo.'
and Shahrân is said to have been one of the learned Christians or else a king. Formerly this monastery was known under the name of Mercurius, who is also called Markûrah or Abû Markûrah; but afterwards, when Barsûmâ ibn at-Tabbân lived here, it was called the Monastery of Barsûmâ. A festival is kept here in the fifth week of the Great Fast, at which the patriarch and the principal Christians assemble, and large sums are expended upon it. That Mercurius [whom we have mentioned] is one of those whom Diocletian caused to be put to death on the 19th of Tammûz, which is equivalent to the 25th of Abîb; he was a soldier.

4. The Monastery of the Apostles. This monastery stands at the extremity of the district of Aṣ-Ṣuff and Al-Wâdi 1, and is an old and small monastery.

5. Monastery of Peter and Paul. This monastery stands near Ḥrif towards the south, and is a small monastery; there is a festival here on the 5th of Abîb. It is also known by the name of Monastery of Al-Ḳâṣrîyâh. Peter is the greatest of the apostles and disciples; he was a tanner or a fisherman, and was condemned to death by the emperor Nero on the 29th of Hazîrân, which is equivalent to the 5th of Abîb; and Paul was a Jew, but accepted Christianity after the ascension of Christ, and invited others to adopt his religion; so the emperor Nero put him to death a year after the death of Peter.

6. The Monastery of Al-Ṣummaizah is also known as the Monastery of Al-Ḳûd; and sailors call the place Jazâʼir ad-Dair (Islands of the Monastery), and it is opposite to Al-Maimûn 2 and west of the Monastery of Al-Ḳarabah; it is built in the name of Saint Anthony, who is also called Anţūnah; he was a native of Kâman, and when the persecution of Diocletian was over, and he had escaped martyrdom, wished to substitute for it a discipline which should lead to a similar reward. So Anthony consecrated himself to the service of God, and was the first who introduced the monastic life among Christians instead of martyrdom: he fasted forty days and nights without taking food or drink, and watched through the night; and this he did during the Great Fast every year.

7. Monastery of Al-Ḳarabah 3. This is reached by a three days’ journey on camels, and is among the eastern mountains; between it and the Sea of Al-Ḳulzum

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1 Two places in the province of Ḥrif (Wüstenfeld).
2 Al-Maimûn and Kâman were two places in the district of Bûṣîr in the province of Al-Ḳizah.
3 This is the famous monastery of St. Anthony, near the Red Sea.
(Red Sea) there is a full day's ride; almost all kinds of fruits are cultivated there, and it has three wells of running water. It was founded by the afore-mentioned Saint Anthony. The monks of this monastery fast all their lives, but their fast only lasts till the afternoon, when they take food, except at the Great Fast and the Barmulat, when their fast lasts till the stars come out. Al-Barmulat means in their language a fast of this kind.

8. The Monastery of Saint Paul, also called Monastery of the Sons of Paul, or Monastery of An-Namurah. This monastery lies in the country west of At-Tur (Sinai), near a spring of water where travellers halt. They have a legend that Miriam, the sister of Moses, when he encamped with the Israelites in the neighbourhood of Al-Kulzum, purified herself at this spring. Saint Paul was a native of Alexandria, and his father left to him and his brother a large fortune; but when his brother quarrelled over it he left him in his anger. Then he saw a corpse about to be buried; and this made him ponder, and he went forward meditating upon it through the country, until he settled beside this spring; and here he remained, and God supported him. Then Saint Anthony came, and remained with him till he died, and this monastery was built over his grave. Between this monastery and the sea there is a distance of three hours' journey; it has a garden in which are palms and vines and a stream of running water.

9. Monastery of Al-Kusair. Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Muhammed ash-Shabushti says in his Book of the Monasteries: 'This monastery stands upon the mountain on a level spot on the summit, and is a monastery of fine solid architecture, in a pleasant solitude; it is inhabited by monks, and has a well hewn in the rock from which the water is fetched for it. In the sanctuary is the picture of Mary on a panel, and the people visit the place to see this picture. In the upper story there is a hall, built by Abu 'l-Jaish Khamaraawi ibn Ahmad ibn Tulun, with four windows on four sides; he often visited this monastery, and admired the picture, because he thought it so beautiful and thirsted to behold it. The way to this monastery from Misr is very difficult, but the way from the south is very easy both in ascent and descent; on the side stands a hermitage, which is never quitted by the

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1 Wüstenfeld, on the authority of Prof. Fleischer and Prof. Seyffarth, compares with this word the Coptic μερεοτρ (μεριολα) eρωσιον. Is it not more probably the Greek παρομωνή, which was much used in Coptic in the sense of 'vigil'?

2 This is the famous Monastery of St. Paul, near that of St. Anthony.
hermit who lives there. The monastery rises above the village of Shahrán, and above the plain and the Nile; the former is a large and populous village on the bank of the river, and Moses is said to have been born there, and placed by his mother in an ark in the water; but there is another monastery which is called Monastery of Shahrán. This Monastery of Al-Ḳuşair is one of the monasteries which are much visited, and is one of the favourite pleasure-resorts on account of its fine position, and because it overlooks Miṣr and its environs.' Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam says in his Book of the Conquest of Egypt: 'There are different opinions about Al-Ḳuşair; according to Ibn Lahi'ah it is not the fortress of Mūsâ (Moses) the prophet, but of Mūsā the magician; but on the other hand Al-Mufaḍdal Faḍālah gives a tradition from his father, who says: 'We came to Ka'b al-Ḳubār, who asked us, Whence are you? We answered, From Egypt. He said, What do you say about Al-Ḳuşair? We answered, It is the castle of Moses. He answered, It is not the castle of Moses, but the castle of the 'Azīz 1 of Egypt, who, when the Nile rose, betook himself to this elevated spot, and therefore the place from the mountain to the river is holy.' Others on the contrary say that a fire was kindled here for Pharaoh, when he travelled from Memphis to 'Ain-Shams (Heliopolis), and on the Muḳaṭṭám hills there was another fire; so when the people saw the fire they knew that he was travelling, and kept in readiness whatever he stood in need of; and similarly when he made the return journey from 'Ain-Shams. God knows best!' The learned Christian historians say that Arcadius, emperor of the Romans, summoned Arsenius to teach his son; but Arsenius thought that the emperor wished to kill him, and therefore fled to Egypt and entered the monastery; the emperor then sent a man to say that he had only required him to instruct his son; but Arsenius begged to be spared, wandered over the country as far as the Muḳaṭṭám hills, east of Ṭurā, and remained three days in a cave until he died. Arcadius, when Arsenius was dead, sent and caused a church to be built over his tomb, and this is the place known by the name of the Monastery of Al-Ḳuşair, and is now called the Monastery of the Mule, because a mule supplies it with water. When the mule leaves the monastery, it goes its way to the water, and there a man stands who fills the vessel with water, and when he has done that, lets the mule loose and it returns to the monastery. In the month of Ramaḍān of the year 400, Al-Hakim bi-amri ʿIlāh ordered that the Monastery of Al-Ḳuşair should be destroyed; and the destruction and plundering of it lasted several days.

1 Al-'Azīz is in the Koran a designation of Potiphar (Wüstenfeld).
10. Monastery of Saint John 1. Ash-Shâbushtî says: 'The Monastery of Saint John lies on the bank of the Lake of Al-Habash, near to the Nile, and beside it are gardens, some of which were laid out by the Emir Tamîm ibn al-Mu'izz, and a pavilion built on pillars, of fine architecture, with paintings, also constructed by the Emir Tamîm. Near the monastery is a fountain called the Fountain of Mammatî; near this stands a great sycamore, under which the people assemble and drink, and this place is a place of constant amusement, dancing, and pleasure, and is equally pleasant in the days of the rise of the Nile when the lake is filled, and during the time when the fields are full of crops and all is green and flourishing; it is much resorted to by the people, who amuse themselves here. Poets have sung of the beauty and charm of this district; and this monastery is now called the Monastery of Aţ-Ţin.'

11. Monastery of Abû 'n-Nâ'nâ. This monastery stands near Anšinâ, and is one of the old buildings of that city; its church is in a tower, not on the ground, and the monastery bears the name of Saint John the Dwarf. A festival is kept there on the 20th of Bâbah. This Saint John will be further mentioned in the sequel.

12. The Monastery of the Cave of Shaḵalkîl 2 is a small monastery, hanging on the mountain and hewn of stone, on a rock below which there is a steep precipice so that it can neither be reached from above nor below. There are no steps, but there are incisions cut in the mountain-side; and if any one wishes to ascend a long pole is let down to him, which he grasps with both hands, and by placing his feet in the incisions so ascends. The monastery contains a mill driven by an ass. The monastery, which rises above the Nile in view of Manfalît and Umm al-Ḵuṣûr, stands opposite to an island surrounded by water called Shaḵalkîl, on which are two villages, one called Shaḵalkîl, the other Bâni Shaḵîr. The monastery keeps a festival, at which Christians assemble, and bears the name of Saint Mennas, one of the soldiers persecuted by Diocletian, in order that he might abjure Christianity and worship idols; but as he remained constant in his faith, Diocletian caused him to be put to death on the 10th of Ḥazîrân or 16th of Bâbah.

13. Monastery of Saint Victor, on the dam of Abnûb, east of Bâni Mûrâ 3, below the mountain, at a distance of about 1,250 ells. It is a large monastery,

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1 This is the monastery of St. John described by Abû Şâliîî on fol. 40 a, ff.
2 In the district of Usyût (Wüstenfeld).
3 In the district of Usyût (Wüstenfeld).
at which a festival is kept, whereupon the Christians of the country from east and west assemble, and the bishop is present. This Victor was son of Romanus. His father was one of the generals of Diocletian, and he himself a distinguished and brave man, respected by the emperor; but when he adopted Christianity, the emperor tried to turn him to idolatry by promises and threats, and on his refusal had him put to death on the 22nd of Nisan or 27th of Barmudah.

14. The Monastery of Bukhturshû, north of Abnûb, is a small monastery, but deserted, and has long been visited by the Christians only once in the year. Bukhturshû was one of those who were tortured by order of Diocletian, that he might fall away from Christianity; he refused, however, and was put to death on the 20th of Hatûr. He was a soldier.

15. Monastery of Abû 's-Sarî, built in the name of Saint George, near Al-Ma’sarah, in the district east of Bani Murr. At times it is deserted by the monks, and at times inhabited by them; and at a certain season a feast is celebrated.

16. Monastery of Saint George of Khamâs. Khamâs is the name of a town, north of which the monastery stands; two festivals are kept there yearly, in which an innumerable multitude of people take part.

17. Monastery of At-Ṭair (the Birds). This monastery is ancient, stands far above the Nile, and has a flight of steps to it cut out in the rock. It stands opposite to Samallût. Ash-Shâbushi says: 'In the district of Ikhmîm there is a large, populous monastery, which is visited from all parts, in the neighbourhood of a mountain called Mountain of Al-Kahf (the Cave). At a place in the mountain there is a cleft, and on the festival of the monastery no Abûkîr bird remains in the neighbourhood without coming to this place; and from their numbers, their assemblage, and their cries, a great tumult arises beside the cleft. Without ceasing, one after another puts his head into the cleft and cries and comes away, until one of them sticks fast in the cleft, and he beats with his wings until he dies; and then the rest depart, so that no bird remains there.' The Câdi Abû Ja’far al-Kudâ’i says: 'Among the noteworthy features of Egypt is the ravine of the Abûkîrs near Ushmûm in Upper Egypt. This is a ravine on a mountain, in which there is a cleft at which the Abûkîrs on a certain day of the year assemble, and betake themselves

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1 I. e. St. Victor of Shû. Vansleb (Rel. d'Égypte, p. 366) speaks of 'une église dédiée à Mari Poctor Sciu, qui a pris ce nom de la ville de Sciu, laquelle est auprès d'Abnub, et aujourd'hui ruinée' (Wüstenfeld).
to the cleft; and as soon as one of the Abûkîrs has stuck his bill into the cleft he goes away; and this does not cease until the cleft has held one of them fast, whereupon they all depart; but the bird that is caught in the cleft remains hanging until he falls to pieces. 'The author, upon whom may God have mercy, adds: 'This is one of the things that have long ceased to happen."

18. The Monastery of Bû Harmînah is north of Kâ'û al-Kharâb; and to the north of it lies the ancient temple of Kâ'û, full of wise inscriptions. Between the Monastery of At-Tair and this monastery there is a journey of about two days and a half. This Bû Harmînah was one of the earlier monks, famous among the Christians.

19. Monastery of the Seven Mountains, near Ikhnîm. This monastery stands at the entry of seven valleys, and stands high between high mountains; and the sun rises upon it two hours later than generally on account of the height of the mountain, at the foot of which it stands; and when there are yet two hours before sunset the inhabitants think that the sun has already set and the night has begun, and they kindle lights. Near this monastery there is a spring of water at the exit overshadowed by a willow, and this spot where the Monastery of the Willow stands is called Wâdî 'l-Mulûk (Valley of the Kings), because there a plant grows called Mulûkah, like the radish, by which water is coloured of a deep red, and it is used by chemists. Above this monastery stands

20. The Monastery of Al-Karkâs, on a mountain, and hewn in its side; and there is no approach to it, but the ascent is by incisions cut in the rock, and by them alone can it be reached. Between the Monastery of the Willow-Spring and the Monastery of Al-Karkâs there is a journey of three hours, and below the Monastery of Al-Karkâs is a well of fresh water surrounded by Bân-trees.

21. The Monastery of Sabrah, east of Ikhnîm, is named after an Arab tribe named the Sabrah, and dedicated to the angel Michael; but there is only one monk there.

22. The Monastery of Abû Abshâdah (Psûtî), the bishop, near the district of Atfah, stands on the dam and opposite to Munshât Ikhnîm, in the west. This Abû Abshâdah was one of the learned Christians.

23. The Monastery of Saint Or, the monk, also called Monastery of Sawâdah. The Sawâdah were a tribe of Arabs who settled here. The monastery stood opposite to Munyah Banî Khašîb, and was destroyed by Arabs.

All these monasteries stand to the east of the Nile, and belong to the Jacobites, and besides them there are no others on the eastern side of the Nile; but on the western bank there are many monasteries, because it is very populous.
24. The Monastery of Damūh, in the province of Al-Jizah, also called Damūh as-Sabā', is built in the name of Saints Cosmas and Damian, and is a small monastery. The Christians state that a wise man called Sab' lived at Damūh, and that the church of Damūh, which is now in the hands of the Jews, was one of the monasteries of the Christians, which, in a state of great need, they sold to the Jews. The church of Damūh has already been mentioned. Cosmas and Damian were among the learned Christians and pious monks, and many things are related of both of them.

25. Monastery of Nahyā. Ash-Shābushti says: 'Nahyā is in the province of Al-Jizah. The monastery there is one of the finest, most charming, and best-situated monasteries of Egypt, and one of the most beautiful spots inhabited by monks; it commands a wonderful view of the Nile, which surrounds it on all sides. When the water sinks, and the seed is sown, the earth brings forth rare flowers and different sorts of blossom. Nahyā is one of the favourite resorts for pleasure, and has a canal at which all kinds of birds assemble, and many fish are caught. Poets have described it, and sung of its beauty and charm.' I remark, however, that this monastery has been destroyed.

26. Monastery of Ṭamwaih. Yāḵūt gives this pronunciation, and adds: 'There are two places of this name in Egypt; one is in the province of Al-Mūrtāḥiyah, and the other in that of Al-Jizah.' Ash-Shābushti says: 'Ṭamwaih is on the west bank, and stands opposite to Ḥulwān, and the monastery commands a view of the river, and is surrounded by vineyards, gardens, palms and trees, forming a populous pleasure-resort. It has a fine view of the Nile; and when the earth grows green, it lies between two carpets—the water and the crops. It is one of the best-known places of pleasure and resorts for refreshment in Egypt.' Ibn Abī 'Āsim al-Miṣrī has the following verses in the metre of Al-Basīṭ:

'O that I could drink at Ṭamwaih of the bright juice,
which brings into contempt the wines of Hit and 'Ānāt,  
In flowery meadows
where the brooks flow between gardens!
The clusters of the red anemone which bloom there
seem to be cups of wine appearing in close succession;
The flowers of the narcissus there, from their beauty,
seem to be eyes secretly communicating by signs;

1 Two towns on the Euphrates. Hit is the Is of Herodotus; and 'Ānāt is the Anatho, Anathan, or Bethauna of classical writers.
The water of the Nile, over which the zephyr passes,
seems to clothe itself with ringed coats of mail.
Hospitable chambers in which I have been sorely tempted in heart,
when you were formerly my wineshops and my hostels;
Behold! I shall not cease to beg for the morning draught,
when the clappers\(^1\) strike, in my love for the monasteries.'

I remark: this monastery bears among the Christians the name of Saint George,
and the Christians of the neighbourhood assemble there.

27. The Monastery of Akfās, more correctly Aƙfāhs, is now destroyed.

28. The Monastery at the extremity of the district of Manharah stands in bad
repute, because the monks give no one food from thence.

29. The Monastery of Al-Khādīm (the Servant) is near the canal of Al-
Manhī, in the district of Al-Bahnasā, and is built in the name of the angel Gabriel.
It possesses gardens containing palms and olive-trees.

30. The Monastery of Ishnīn, named after the district of Ishnīn, stands to the
north of it, is a small monastery, and bears the name of the Virgin Mary; but
it only contains a single monk.

31. The Monastery of Jesus, or Yasa‘, is also called the Monastery of Arjānās.
There is a festival here on the 25th of Bashans. On the night of this day a spring
there, bearing the name of Jesus' Spring, is closed; and at the sixth hour of the
day people collect and take away the stone from the well, and then they find that
the water within it has risen and now begins to sink again; and from this they
reckon how high the Nile will be that year, counting from the point to which the
water of the well rose to the level to which it sinks.

32. The Monastery of Sadmant, at a short distance from Al-Manhī, on the
high ground between the Fayyūm and the Rif, bearing the name of Saint George,
has lost much of its former estate, and is now partly deserted.

33. The Monastery of An-Nākūn, also called Monastery of Al-Khashabah,
and Monastery of the Angel Gabriel, stands under a hollow in the mountain, called
Tārif al-Fayyūm; and this hollow is among them known by the name of Jacob's
Shade. They state that Jacob, when he came to Egypt, sought shade within it.
This mountain rises high above two places: Iṭfīlī Shallā and Shallā. The water
for this monastery is drawn from the canal of Al-Manhī, and it lies below the

\(^1\) I.e. the wooden gongs of the church to call the monks to the morning service.
Monastery of Sadmant. At the festival celebrated in this monastery, the Christians of the Fayyûm and other places assemble; and it lies on the road leading to the Fayyûm, which, however, is only followed by few travellers.

34. **Monastery of Al-Ḳalamûn.** This stands in a plain under the mountain-pass of Al-Ḳalamûn, through which the traveller reaches the Fayyûm, and which is called the Pass of Al-Gharak. This monastery was built in the name of the monk Samuel, who lived in the time between Jesus and Mahomet, and died on the 8th of Khâk. In this monastery there are many palms, from the fruit of which the 'Ujwâh¹ is prepared. Here is also the Labakh-tree (Persea), which is only found here; its fruit is of the size of a lemon (malum citrinum), its taste is sweet like the Rânîj (nux Indica), and its kernel is used for many purposes. Abû Ḣanîfah says in the *Book of Plants:* 'The Labakh only grows at Anṣînâ. It is a tree from which ships' planks are sawn; it sometimes excites nose-bleeding in the man who saws it; and if two planks of it are fastened closely together and placed for a year in water, they join themselves together and become one plank.' In this monastery there are two towers built of stone, both high, large, and brilliantly white; and within it there is also a well of running water, and outside another well. In this valley there are a number of old praying-places, one of which is the valley of Umailîh, where there is a running spring and fruitful palms, the fruit of which is gathered by the Arabs. Outside this monastery there is a salt-marsh, the salt of which is sold by the monks of the monastery, so that these districts are provided with salt therefrom.

35. **The Monastery of the Virgin Mary outside Ṭanîbudhâ** contains only one monk, and does not stand on a frequented road. In the district of Al-Bahnasa there were many monasteries now destroyed.

36. **Monastery of Bû Fânâ,** north of Banî Khâlid, built of stone, and of fine architecture. It belongs to the district of Al-Munyâh, and formerly there were a thousand monks here, but now only two; it lies on the dam below the mountain.

37. **The Monastery of Bâlâjah,** at a short distance from Al-Manhî, belongs to the inhabitants of Daljah, and was one of the largest monasteries, but is now ruined, so that it only contains one or two monks. It stands opposite to Daljah, at about two hours' distance.

38. **Monastery of Saint Mercurius or Abû Markârah.** This monastery stands

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¹ A juice with which children are fed (Wüstenfeld).
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below Daljah, at the exit from this place towards the east. No one now remains there.

39. The Monastery of Şanabû, at the exit from this place towards the north, bears the name of the Virgin Mary; it is now deserted.

40. The Monastery of Saint Theodore, to the south of Şanabû, has entirely fallen into decay on account of the poverty of the Christians there.

41. The Monastery of Ar-Rairamún, in the eastern part of the district of this place, which lies to the east of Mallawi and to the west of Anšinâ; and it bears the name of the angel Gabriel.

42. The Monastery of Al-Muḥarrak. The Christians state that Christ stayed at this place six months and some days. A great festival is kept here, called the feast of Olives, besides the feast of Pentecost, at which a great multitude assembles.

43. The Monastery named Dair Banû Kalb is so called because the tribe of the Banû Kalb settled around it. It bears the name of Gabriel, but no monk remains therein; for it is now only a church for the Christians of Manfalût, to the west of which city it stands.

44. Monastery of Al-Ĵâwaliyah. This monastery stands at the extremity of the district of Al-Ĵâwaliyah, towards the south, and bears the name of the martyr Mercurius, also called Markûrah. It has revenues from land, and votive offerings and gifts are brought to it; every year two festivals are kept there.

45. Monastery of the Seven Mountains. This stands on the summit of the mountain which rises to the west of Usyûf, on the banks of the Nile; it is also called the Monastery of Saint John the Dwarf. Several festivals are kept here; but the monastery was destroyed in A.H. 821 by a mob which fell upon it by night. Saint John the Dwarf was a monk and an abbot, of whom many stories are told; among others, that he at the bidding of his teacher planted a dry stick in the ground, and watered it for a time, and then it became a fruit-tree, of which the monks ate; and it was called the Tree of Obedience. He is buried in his monastery.

46. The Monastery of Al-Muṭill. This bears the name of the Virgin Mary, and stands beside the mountain, below the Monastery of the Seven Mountains, opposite to Suyûf. A festival is kept there, to which the inhabitants of the district come; but no monks remain there.

The Monasteries of Udrukah. The neighbourhood of Udrukah is one of the Christian districts of Upper Egypt; and the Christians living there are learned in their religion and in expounding the Coptic language; and they possess many
monasteries outside the city towards the east, beside the mountains; but most of these are destroyed. Among those still existing is

47. The Monastery of Saint George, a well-preserved building, but containing few monks. At certain times a festival is celebrated there.

48. Monastery of Arḍ al-Hāṣīz (the district of the Dam), [also called] that of Michael or that of Karfūnah, which bears the name of the Virgin, and is also named Arfūnah or Aghrafūnā, which means Scribe (γράφων); for the copyists of learned books of the Christians had their seat here in ancient times; it stands on the side of the mountain, in which there are many caves, in one of which a man may wander for two days.

49. Monastery of Bu Baghām, below that of Karfūnah on the Dam. Bu Baghām was a soldier in the days of Diocletian, and adopted Christianity, and was scourged that he might abjure his faith. He was put to death on the 28th of Kānūn the First, which is equivalent to the 2nd of Kihak.

50. Monastery of Saint Severus on the Dam of Udrunkah, named after the Virgin. Severus was a respected monk, who was made patriarch; and at his death a miracle took place. He had foretold to the monks, when he went to Upper Egypt, that when he should die the mountain would split, and a great piece of it fall upon the church, without injuring it; and one day a piece of the mountain fell, as he had said, and then the monks of the monastery knew that Severus was dead; and when they reckoned up they found that that event corresponded to the time of his death; and they called the monastery from that time after his name.

51. Monastery of Saint Theodore, below the Monastery of Saint Severus. Severus and Theodore were two soldiers of Diocletian: one was called the slayer of the dragon, the other was commander of the troops; both were put to death as others were put to death.

52. Monastery of Minshāk or Minsāk or Banī Sāk or Isāk, which bore the name of the Virgin Mārīhām, i.e. Mār Maryam (Saint Mary); and afterwards was known by the name of Minsāk, who was an old monk celebrated among them. Below this monastery there is a well on the dam of which the monks drink; and when the Nile rises they drink the water out of it.

53. The Monastery of the Apostles below that of Minsāk is also called the Monastery of Tamarisks. It belongs to the district of Būtīj; while the Monastery of Severus belongs to the inhabitants of Rifah, that of Karfūnah to the inhabitants of Suyūt, and that of Saint George to the inhabitants of Udrunkah. The Tamarisk monastery stood in a desert place, but a small village was built beside it, called
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Munsha'at ash-Shaikh (new building of the Shaikh), because the Shaikh Abū Bakr ash-Shādāli laid the foundation of it; and he also laid out a large garden, on the site of which he had found a well, containing a treasure. An eye-witness told me that, among the gold, four-cornered dinars were found, having a cross represented on one of their sides, and the weight of each dinar was 1½ mithkāl.

The above-mentioned Monasteries of Udrunkah stand near to one another, and between them are numerous caves in which there are tablets painted with characters in the old style, as in the ancient temples, adorned with different bright colours, and containing manifold learning. The Monastery of the Seven Mountains, that of Al-Muṭīl, and that of the Scribe stood outside Suyūţ among the caves, and on both the dams there are said to have been 360 monasteries, and the traveller went from Al-Badrashain to Asfūn, continually in the shade of the gardens. Now this part is laid waste, and deserted by its inhabitants.

54. Monastery of Mūshah. Mūshah stands to the south of Suyūţ. The monastery is dedicated to Thomas, the Apostle of India, and stands among the gardens in the neighbourhood of Rifāh. When the Nile rises, it can only be reached by boat. It has several festivals. The Christians of these monasteries generally understand the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, which is the chief branch of the Coptic language; after it follows the Buhairic (Memphitic) dialect. The Christian women of Upper Egypt and their children can hardly speak anything but the Sahidic dialect of Coptic; they have, however, also a perfect knowledge of the Greek language.

55. Monastery of Saint Macrobius. Abū Maḵrūfah is the name of the place where this monastery stands. It is hewn out at the foot of the mountain, and there are many caves in it; it bears the name of the Virgin. Among the Christians of Maḵrūfah there are many shepherds and herdsmen, who however are usually savages, and few among them can read or write. The monastery lacks water.

56. Monastery of Bū Baghām, before Timā, the inhabitants of which are Christians, and were formerly learned men.

57. The Monastery of Saint Sinuthius, also called the White Monastery, stands to the west of the district of Sūhāj. It is built of stone, but is now in ruins, and only the church remains. It is said to have possessed land to the extent of 4½ feddāns, of which only one feddān is left. It is an ancient monastery.

58. The Red Monastery, also called that of Abū Bishā'i, stands to the north of the White Monastery, at a distance of about three hours, and is a small monastery built of red brick. This Abū Bishā'i was a monk and contemporary
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of Sinuthius, who was his pupil, and under him were 3,000 monks; he had another monastery also in the desert of Shihât.

59. The Monastery of Bu Misâs or Bû Muṣîs (Mosiṣ), i.e. Moses. This monastery stands below Al-Bulaynâ, and is a large monastery. This Saint Moses was a monk, born at Al-Bulaynâ, and is revered there, and counted a saint; they relate many histories of him which deserve no credit.

After this there remain only the scantily-inhabited monasteries on the Dam of Isnâ and Nakâdah. At Asfûn there was a large monastery; and Asfûn itself was one of the finest towns of Egypt; and the most fruitful district of Upper Egypt; and the monks of the monastery there were famous for their learning and intelligence. With Asfûn, its monastery also was destroyed; and this was the most remote of the monasteries of Upper Egypt; but they are all destroyed and forgotten, though in former times they were so populous and their monks so numerous, their estates so large, and the offerings made to them so valuable.

As for the northern provinces, there were many monasteries there which have been destroyed; but some still remain. Near Al-Maḳs, outside Cairo, towards the north, there were several churches which Al-Hâkim bi-amri 'llâh Abû 'Ali al-Mansûr caused to be destroyed on the 19th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A.H. 393; and he gave away all that was in them, and thus much was plundered from them, after he had, in the month of Rabî’ the First of the same year, already destroyed the churches of Râshidah, east of the city of Misr, and instead of them had built a mosque which is known as Râshidah. Then he destroyed in A.H. 394, two churches in the same place, and forced the Christians to wear black garments and a girdle, took away the possessions of the churches and monasteries and gave them to the Divan of the government, burnt a number of crosses, forbad the Christians to decorate the churches on Palm-Sunday, oppressed them and had many of them scourged. In the island of Raudâḥ there was a church near the Nilometer, which was destroyed by As-Sâliḥ Niẓâm ad-Dîn Ayyûb in A.H. 638. In the district of Abu 'n-Numrus there was a church, the destruction of which was suggested by a man from Az-Ziyâlah, because he had heard the sound of the wooden gongs with which on the Friday night announcement was made in that church. During the reign of Al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'ban ibn Husain he had been able to do nothing against this on account of the respect in which the Copts were held; then he allied himself with the great Emir Barâkûk, who was administrator of the government, until he destroyed the church with the help of the Cadi Jamâl ad-Dîn Muḥammad al-'Ajâmi, superintendent of the market at Cairo, on the 8th of Râmâdān in the year 780. It was turned into a mosque.
60. *The Monastery of Al-Khandâk* (the Moat), beyond Cairo, towards the north, was built by the commander Jauhâr instead of a monastery which he had destroyed in Cairo, in the neighbourhood of the mosque of Al-Âkmar, where the well is which is now called Bi'r al-'Aḍâmâ and was formerly called Bi'r al-Izâm (well of bones), because he had the bones contained in that monastery carried away and brought to the Monastery of Al-Khandâk. On the 24th of Shawwâl, A. H. 678, in the reign of Al-Malik al-Mansûr Kâlâ'ûn, this monastery was destroyed, but afterwards it was renewed; and he also built two other churches which shall, if God will, be described below among the churches.

61. *The Monastery of Cyriacus.* This monastery was also known by the name of Saint Or, and a festival is kept there at which the people assemble. A wonder took place there, related as follows by Ash-Shâbushtî. If a man had the scrofula (*khanâzîr*) the superior of the monastery took him, made him lie on his side, and brought a pig (*khinázîr*) to him, which licked the sore place, and devoured the tumours, but without touching the healthy part; when the part was clear of the disease, the superior, after strewing upon it some of the ashes of a pig which had already been employed for a similar operation, anointed the man with the oil from the church-lamp, and thus he was healed. Then the pig which had eaten the tumours of the sick man was taken, slain, and burnt, and its ashes were prepared for a similar treatment. The monastery therefore was much visited by those who suffered from this complaint, and it contained a large number of Christians.

62. *The Monastery of Atrib*, also called by the name of the Lady Mary, keeps a festival on the 21st of Ba'ûnah; and Ash-Shâbushtî relates that on this festival a white dove comes and flies into the sanctuary; they do not know whence it comes, and only see it on that day of the year. I remark that this monastery has been destroyed so that only three monks are left, but the people still assemble on that festival; the monastery lies on the bank of the Nile, near Bânhâ al-'Asal.

63. *Monastery of Al-Maghâs* (the Tank) is beside the saline marshes, near the lake of Al-Burlus, and hither Christians make pilgrimages from the north and south of Egypt, as to the Church of the Resurrection. This takes place on a festival kept in the month of Bashans, which they call the Festival of the Appearance, because they state that upon this day the Virgin appeared, and they relate many things which are to be accounted lies. Beyond this monastery there are no buildings except a small building towards the south-east; and in the neighbourhood is the salt-marsh from which the Rashidic (i. e. of Rosetta) salt is obtained. This monastery was destroyed in Ramâdân, A. H. 841, during a rising of some faqîrs who joined together for the purpose.
64. The Monastery of Al-'Askar (the Troops) is in the salt district, at a day's distance from the Monastery of Al-Magħtas, under the name of the Apostles; in its neighbourhood is the salt-marsh from which the Rashidic salt comes; only one monk remains.

65. The Monastery of Jamyānah, named after Saint George, is near the Monastery of Al-'Askar, at three hours' distance; the festival there falls closely after that of the Monastery of Al-Magħtas; no one now lives there.

66. The Monastery of Al-Maimah, near that of Al-'Askar, was formerly in excellent circumstances, and in old times there was no monastery in the north which had more monks than this; but its prosperity died away and it was destroyed; then the soldiers settled there and it was rebuilt. Besides these four monasteries there is no other in the salt district.

As for Wādī Habīb, also called Wādī 'n-Naṭrūn, or the desert of Shīhāt, or the desert of Aṣḥīt, or Mizān al-Kulūb, there were formerly there 100 monasteries; but afterwards only seven remained, spread out towards the west of the plain lying between the province of Al-Buḥairah and the Fayyūm, where sandy flats alternate with salt-marshes, waterless deserts, and dangerous rocks. The monks took their drinking-water from cisterns, and the Christians brought them presents and alms. At the present day the monasteries are in ruins. Christian historians relate that 70,000 monks from these monasteries met 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣī, each carrying a staff; when they had declared their submission to him, he wrote to them a letter which still exists among them. One of them is

67. The Monastery of Saint Macarius, the elder, a famous monastery among them, and near it lie four ruined monasteries. This was formerly the monastery of the pious monks, and a patriarch was not recognized by them until they had made him take his seat in this monastery, after he had sat upon the throne in Alexandria. It is said that there were 1,500 monks here, but now there are few. There are three saints named Macarius: the greatest, who was abbot of this monastery, Saint Macarius of Alexandria, and Saint Macarius the bishop; and their bones are kept in three hollow pieces of wood, and are visited by the Christians of the monastery. Here is also the letter, written by 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣī to the monks of Wādī Habīb, about the treasurership of the northern districts, as it has been related to me by one who had heard it from a man who had seen it there. Saint Macarius the elder received the monastic rule from Anthony, the first among them who wore the monkish cap and the Askīm, which is a band of leather with which the monks alone gird themselves, and upon which there is a cross. He met Anthony on the eastern mountain-range, where the
Monastery of Al-'Arabah is, and remained for some time with him; and then Anthony clothed him with the monastic habit and bid him go to Wâdi 'n-Natîrân and there take up his abode. He did this, and a great number of monks assembled around him. They relate of him many noble deeds, among others that he fasted during the whole of the forty days, without tasting food or drink, and also watched through the nights; moreover he prepared palm-leaves and fed upon them, and never ate fresh bread, but he took old shoes, softened them in a mess of palm-leaves, and ate of them, together with his monks, so long as his breath remained, without anything more; this was their food during their whole life until they died. Saint Macarius the Alexandrian wandered from Alexandria to the aforesaid Macarius, and became a monk through him. Next was Saint Macarius the third, who became a bishop.

68. *The Monastery of Saint John the Dwarf* is said to have been built in the time of Constantine, son of Helena. This Saint John possessed notable qualities, and was one of the most famous monks. The circumstances of this monastery were very favourable, and many monks lived there; but now only three monks are left there.

69. *Monastery of John Kamâ,*

70. *Monastery of Elias,* which belonged to the Abyssinians; both of these are destroyed, for the worms injured their wood-work, so that they fell to pieces. Then the Abyssinians went to

71. *The Monastery of the Virgin of Saint John the Dwarf,* which is a small monastery near that of Saint John the Dwarf.

72. Near these monasteries stands that of Saint Anûb, now likewise destroyed. This Saint Anûb was a native of Samannûd, and was put to death at the beginning of Islam, and his body is placed in a house at Samannûd.

73. *The Monastery of the Armenians* near these monasteries is destroyed.

74. In their neighbourhood stands also the *Monastery of Bû Bishâ‘î,* greatly revered among them, because this Bishâ‘î was one of the monks who belong to the class of Macarius and John the Dwarf. It is a very large monastery.

75. A monastery opposite to that of Bû Bishâ‘î formerly belonged to the Jacobites, but for 300 years has been in the possession of the Syrian monks, and is now in their hands. The place where these monasteries are is called Birkat al-Adyirah (Lake of the Monasteries).

76. *Monastery of the Virgin of Baramûs,* dedicated to the name of the Virgin Mary; there are some monks there.

77. Opposite to it stands the *Monastery of Moses* or *Abû Mûsâ the Black,*
also called Baramūs; this monastery is dedicated to the Virgin of Baramūs, so that Baramūs is the name of the monastery. A story is told of it as follows: Maximus and Domitius were the sons of the emperor of the Romans, and had a teacher, called Arsenius; the teacher betook himself from the land of the Romans to Egypt, crossed this desert of Shihāt, there adopted the monastic life, and remained there till he died. He was an excellent man, and both the aforesaid sons of the emperor came to him during his life, and became monks at his hands. When they died their father sent and had the church of Baramūs built in their name.—Saint Moses the Black was a bold robber, who had murdered 100 men; then he adopted Christianity, became a monk, and wrote many books. He is one of those who kept the Forty Days' Fast entirely without food, and he was a Berber by race.

78. Monastery of Az-Zajāj (Glass). This stands outside Alexandria, and is also called Al-Ḥābatān (sic), and bears the name of Saint George the Great. Formerly it was the invariable custom for the patriarchs [at their election] to betake themselves from the Mu'allakah at Misr to this monastery of Az-Zajāj, but now this is not done.—The above named are the monasteries of the Jacobites.

79. The women have also special convents, as the Convent of Nuns in the Ḥārah Zawilah at Cairo, which is inhabited by virgins leading the religious life, and other Christian women.

80. The Dair al-Bandāt in the quarter of the Romans (Ḥārat ar-Rūm), at Cairo, inhabited by nuns.

81. The Convent of Al-Mu'allakah in the city of Misr is the most famous convent of women, and is inhabited by them.

82. The Convent of Saint Barbara in Misr is near the Church of Barbara, and is inhabited by virgins who are becoming nuns. Barbara was a saint in the time of Diocletian, who had her tortured that she might give up her religion and worship idols; but she remained constant in her faith, and endured severe torments. She was a virgin, and when he despaired of her, he had her head struck off and a crowd of women beheaded with her.

83. The Melkite Christians have a cell belonging to their patriarch beside the Church of Michael near the Bridge of Afram outside Misr; it is the assembling-place for monks coming from the land of the Romans.

84. Monastery of Saint John the Dwarf, generally called Al-Ḳūṣair. The correct pronunciation according to them is Al-Ḳāṣār, after the form shahîd, but it has been changed and is pronounced Al-Ḳūṣayyir. The Muslims call it
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Dair al-Kuṣair (‘Monastery of the Small Fort’), as if it were a diminutive of ḫaṣr, ‘castle;’ but originally, as we have said, it was Dair al-Kaṣīr, ‘Monastery of the Dwarf,’ the opposite of ṭawīl, ‘tall,’ and it is also called the Monastery of Heraclius, and that of the Mule. It has already been described above. It was one of the largest monasteries of the Christians, but now there is only one man in it to guard it, and it is in the hands of the Melkites.

85. Monastery of At-Ṭūr. Ibn Sidah says: At-Ṭūr means ‘the Mountain,’ and is especially used of Ṭūr Sinā (Sinai), the mountain in Syria. In Syriac it is ḣaḡ ṭūrā, and in derivation we say Ṭūr or Ṭūrāʾ, ‘a Turian.’ Yaḥūd says: There are seven places named Ṭūr: (1) Ṭūr Zaitâ, in pronunciation like Zail, ‘oil,’ with final ʾ: the name of a mountain near Râs ‘Ain; (2) Ṭūr Zaitâ, likewise a mountain of Jerusalem, east of Siloah; (3) Ṭūr, name of a mountain rising above the city of Tiberias by the Jordan; (4) At-Ṭūr, name of a mountain in a district containing many towns or villages, in Egypt, to the south, between Mīṣr and mount Fârān; (5) Ṭūr Sinā, which according to various statements is a mountain near Ailah, or a mountain in Syria; and Sinā is said to mean stones or trees there; (6) Ṭūr ʿAbdîn, name of a mountain in the province of Nisibis, among the mountains which rise above this city, and are connected with mount Jūdâ; (7) Ṭūr Ḥārân (i.e. of Aaron), the brother of Moses—Al-Wâlîdî says in his commentary: Al-Kalbi and others say that ‘the mountain,’ in the word of God ‘but behold the mountain,’ is the largest mountain in Midian, called Zabîr. Al-Kalbi mentions that Ṭūr has its name from Yaṭur the son of Ishmael; on which As-Suhailî remarks that the Ya perhaps has been dropped, if his statement is correct. ‘Umar ibn Shaibah says: ‘Abd al-ʿAzîz told me, [quoting] from Abû Maʿshar, from Saʿîd ibn Abî Saʿîd, from his father, from Abû Hurairah, that the Apostle of God said: There are four rivers in Paradise and four mountains and four battles; the rivers are Saīhān, Jâhân, the Nile, and the Euphrates; and the mountains are Sinai (At-Ṭūr), Lebanon, Uhûd, and Wârikân; as to the battles, he was silent. According to Kaʿb al-Aḥbâr, the Muslims have three places of defence; their defence against the Romans is Damascus; that against Ad-Dajjâl is the Jordan; that against Yâjûj and Mâjûj is Sinai. Shuʿbah says, quoting from Artāʾah ibn al-Mundhir: When Yâjûj and Mâjûj marched forth, God declared to Jesus, son of Mary: See, I have caused one of my creatures to march forth, over whom none except me has any power; therefore go now with thy companions to the mountain of At-Ṭūr. Then he went thither accompanied by 12,000 followers. Ṭâlîk ibn Ḥabîb heard Zuʿrah say: I wished to march out to Sinai, so I came to ‘Abdallâh ibn ʿUmar and told him this; whereupon he repeated: To three

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mosques the journey is difficult, to the Mosque of the Apostle of God (Medina), to the holy Mosque (Mecca), and to the most distant Mosque (Jerusalem); therefore now give up Sinai, for thou canst not reach it.—The Cadi Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Salāmah al-Kudā'ī says, after describing the districts of Egypt: To the southern region belong the localities of the Hedjaz, namely, the district of Sinai and Fārān, the district of Rāyā and Al-Ḵulzum, the district of Ailah and its neighbourhood, Midian and its neighbourhood, Al-'Uwaid and Al-Ḥaurā and their neighbourhoods, and next the district of Badā and Shagb. I remark: It is not disputed among Christian and Jewish writers that this Mount Sinai is that upon which or near which God instructed his prophet Moses. There is still there a monastery in the possession of the Melkites, peopled by monks, and owning a large garden with palms, vines, and other fruits.—Ash-Shābushtī says: Ṭūr Sīnā is the mountain upon which the light appeared to Moses so that he lost his consciousness. The monastery on the summit of the mountain is built of black stone, the thickness of its walls is seven cubits, and it has three iron doors, and on the west side there is a small door, before which a stone is erected which they can raise at pleasure; and when any visitor approaches they let it down, and the place is covered by it so that the position of the door is not detected. Within the monastery there is a spring, and without it another spring. The Christians state that there is a fire in the monastery like that fire which was at Jerusalem, of which every evening an equal quantity is consumed; it is white, small, of no great heat so that it burns nothing, but it grows stronger when a lamp is kindled at it. The monastery is inhabited by monks, is visited by the people, and is one of the monasteries which have been celebrated by poets. Ibn 'Āmīr says of it—

'O monk of the monastery! whence the brightness and the light? 
it shines from that which is in thy monastery At-Ṭūr.

Does perchance the sun dwell there, forgetting his zodiacal signs, 
or has the moon removed and hidden herself therein?

Then he said: Neither sun nor moon dwells there,
but wine-flasks have been brought thither to-day.'

I remark: Christian chroniclers relate that Justinian, emperor of the Romans at Constantinople, commanded the building of this monastery; a strong fortress was built within it, in the upper story of which were many cells; and a garrison, taken from the Arab tribe of Banū Ṣāliḥī, was placed there to defend the monks; in the time of this emperor the fifth council of the Christians assembled. Between this
place [Sinai] and Al-Ḳulzum, which was a town, there are two ways, one by land and the other by sea, both leading to the town of Fârân, one of the towns of the Amalekites, from which to At-Ṭûr there are two days' journeys: and from the city of Miṣr to Al-Ḳulzum there are three days' journeys. The mountain of At-Ṭûr is reached by 6,666 steps; in the midst of the mountain there was a church of the prophet Elias, and on the top a church bearing the name of Moses with pillars of marble and gates of brass; this is the place where God spoke with Moses, and the latter broke the tables. There was here only one monk for the service, and they state that none could pass the night here, but a place was prepared for him outside, where he passed the night. Nothing is now left of these two churches.

86. The Nuns' Convent in the Kaṣr ash-Shama', at Miṣr, bears the name of Saint George; here, before Islam, was the Nilometer, of which there are traces to this day.

These are all the monasteries possessed by the Christians, Jacobites, and Melkites, men and women, in Egypt; their number reaches the sum of eighty-six, of which eighty-two belong to the Jacobites and four to the Melkites.
ACCOUNT OF THE CHURCHES OF THE
CHRISTIANS.

Al-Azhari says: The word Kanīsah (church), or 'synagogue' of the Jews, in
the plural Kanīsāt, is an Arabicised form, and the original form is Kunisht'. Even
the more ancient Arabs mention churches in their poems; thus Al-'Abbas ibn
Mirdas al-Sulami says:

'They surround me in the shadow of every church;
as long as my people passed the night in the churches.'

And Ibn Ḫais ar-Rukayyat says:

'As if it were a picture painted in one of the churches.'

1. The Two Churches of Al-Khandak, without Cairo; one of which is named
after the angel Gabriel; the other after Mercurius and also after Ruwais, the
well-known monk who lived after A.H. 800. Near both of these churches the
Christians buried their dead, and the place is called the Burial-place of Al-
Khandak. Both of these churches were built in the time of Islam to take the
place of the churches of Al-Maḳṣ.

2. The Church in the Ḥārah Jawīlah in Cairo, a church revered by the
Jacobite Christians, bears the name of the Virgin; it is stated that it was formerly
known by the name of the physician Zābilūn, who lived about 270 years before
the appearance of the Islamic religion, was learned in many sciences, and
possessed a great treasure reached through a well which exists here.

3. A Church known by the name of Al-Mughithah in the Ḥārat ar-Rūm in Cairo
bears the name of the Virgin. These two are the only churches that the Jacobites
possess in Cairo. In the Ḥārat ar-Rūm there was another church, called the
Church of Barbara, but this was destroyed in A.H. 718. The cause of this
event was the Christians offered a petition to Al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad
ibn Ḫalā'ūn, in which they begged for permission to restore that part of this
church which had been ruined; he gave them permission, and they built the
church so that it became more beautiful than it was before. This angered

1 As Wüstenfeld pointed out, Kunisht is the Persian word; but the true
original of the Arabic Kanīsah, كنيسة, is the Aramaic אֶנֶסא = 'synagogue' or
'meeting-house,' from נֶסֶא 'to assemble.' (Syr. نفصه; late Hebrew נ hôš).
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a number of Muslims, who represented to the Sultan that the Christians had erected a new building beside this church, which had not been there before. He therefore charged the Emir and Treasurer 'Ilm ad-Dīn Sanjār, Wālī of Cairo, to destroy the newly-erected building; and the latter rode thither and found a crowd of Muslims assembled, who hastened to destroy the church altogether, as speedily as possible; they erected in its place a Miḥrāb, announced the hours of prayer, and recited the Koran, all of their own accord, and they were not hindered for fear of an insurrection. After this the Christians were heavily oppressed; and they complained to the Cadi Karīm ad-Dīn, Keeper of the Sultan's Privy Purse, who stood up as the champion of the religion of his forefathers, and brought the matter constantly to the Sultan's notice, until the latter ordered the destruction of the Miḥrāb, which was thrown down, so that the place became a rubbish-heap, and so it has remained.

4. Church of Saint Menmas. This stands near the dam between the mounds of earth on the road from Miṣr; it consists of three churches adjacent to one another; one of the Jacobites, one of the Syrians, and the third of the Armenians. A festival is kept there every year, at which the Christians assemble in this church.

5. The Church of Al-Mu'allakah, in the city of Miṣr, in the quarter of Kaṣr ash-Shama', named after the Virgin; it is highly revered among them, and is distinct from the above-mentioned Cell.

6. The Church of Saint Sinuthius in Miṣr, named after the ancient monk Sinuthius, of whom many things are related; among others, that he was one of those who entirely abstained from food during the Forty Days' Fast; under him there were 6,000 monks, who fed, as he did himself, on a mess of palm-leaves; he wrote many books.

7. Church of Mary, near the Church of Sinuthius. This was destroyed by 'Alī ibn Sulaimān ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Abbās, Emir of Egypt, when he received the government from the Prince of the Faithful, Al-Hādī Mūsā, in a.h. 169; he also destroyed the churches of the Ward of Constantine, for the preservation of which the Christians offered him 50,000 dinars as a bribe, but he refused it. When he was removed, however, and Mūsā ibn 'Īsā ibn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Abbās took his place in the caliphate of Hārūn ar-Rashīd, the new governor allowed the Christians to rebuild the churches which 'Alī ibn Sulaiman had destroyed; then they were all rebuilt in consequence of a decree of Al-Laith ibn Sa'd and 'Abdallāh ibn Lahi'ah, who both declared that it was for the advantage of the town, and bore witness that the churches
at Miṣr had first been built under Islam in the time of the companions of the prophet and his first successors.

8. Church of Saint George of Ath-Thikat. This church stands in an alley of the quarter of Kaṣr ash-Shama' at Miṣr, which is called Alley of Ath-Thikat; not far from it is the Church of the Virgin of Saint George.

9. The Church of Barbara in Miṣr is large, and is celebrated among them; it is named after Saint Barbara, a nun. In her time two other nuns were living, ʿĪsā and Thaklā; a great festival is kept in their honour at this church, and the patriarch is present at it.

10. Church of Saint Sergius near Saint Barbara, not far from the Hospital of Ibn an-Nuʿmān. There is a cave within it, in which Christ and his mother Mary are said to have sat.

11. Church of Babylon, south of Kaṣr ash-Shama', on the road of the Afram Bridge. This church is very old and small; below it the treasure of Babylon is said to be; its surroundings are in ruins.

12. The Church of Theodore the Martyr, in the neighbourhood of Babylon, is named after the martyr Theodore, the military commander.

13. The Church of Saint Mennas is also in the neighbourhood of Babylon. Both these churches are closed, on account of the ruins which surround them.

14. Church of Saint Mennas in the Ḥamrā; the Ḥamrā is now called the quarter of Kanāṭir as-Sabā', between Cairo and Miṣr. This church was restored in A.H. 177 by permission of the Emir of Egypt, Al-Walid ibn Rufa'ah; thereupon Wuhaib al-Yaḥsubī was angry, rebelled against the Sultan, and came to Ibn Rufa'ah to assassinate him, but was seized and put to death; Wuhaib was a traveller from Yemen, and had come to Egypt. Then the ʿĀrab, in order to avenge Wuhaib, rose against Al-Walid ibn Rufa'ah, and fought against him. Ma'ūnah, the wife of Wuhaib, went round at night to the settlements of the ʿĀrab to rouse them to avenge his blood; she had shorn her head, and was an eloquent woman. Then Ibn Rufa'ah seized Abū ʿĪsā Marwān ibn ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Yaḥsubī from among the ʿĀrab; he asked for mercy, and Ibn Rufa'ah set him free; and subsequently the rebellion was put down after a great number had been slain. The church in the Ḥamrā remained standing until the destruction of the churches took place in the days of Al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muhammad ibn ʿAlāʾūn, as it will be related, if it be God's will.

15. History of the Church of As-Zuhri, and account of the destruction of the churches in Egypt, and of the monasteries of the Christians all at one time.

The Church of As-Zuhrī stood at the place where now the Pool of An-Nāṣir
is, in the neighbourhood of Ḍaḥar as-Sabā', on the western bank of the canal, west of Al-Lawak; many events have taken place in connexion with this church. For when Al-Malik an-Ṭāhir Muḥammad ibn Ḍaḥar had in A.H. 720 built the hippodrome of the Māhrī Camels near Ḍaḥar as-Sabā', he wished also to erect an embankment on the chief branch of the Nile not far from the Mosque of Taibars; he therefore commanded that a rubbish-heap which lay there should be carried away, and that the earth beneath it should be dug out for the sake of the embankment, and he caused the water to flow into the excavated place, which is therefore called to this day the pool of An-Nāṣir. The excavation of this pool was begun on the last day of the month of Rabī′ I, A.H. 721; and when they brought it near to the Church of Az-Zuhrī at which many Christians had always dwelt, and beside which several other churches stood, on the spot now called Ḥakar Aḵbughā, between the Seven Wells and the Bridge of the Dam outside the city of Mīṣr, then the workmen began to dig round the Church of Az-Zuhrī, so that the latter remained standing in the middle of the spot which the Sultan had appointed for excavation and which is now the Pool of An-Nāṣir, and they continued to dig, until the church, as it were, hung in the air. The intention was that the church should fall without a direct attempt to destroy it. The general body of the slaves of the Emirs, who were working at the excavation, and the other workmen demanded, with incessant cries, permission to destroy the church, but the Emirs did not listen to them until Friday the 9th Rabī′ II of the same year, while the people were performing the Friday prayers, when the work of excavation was interrupted, and a body of the common people, without leave from the Sultan, crying out 'God is Great!' attacked the Church of Az-Zuhrī with axes and other tools, destroyed it and made a rubbish-heap of it, plundered the Christians who were there, and carried off all that was within it. Then they destroyed the Church of Saint Mennas in the Ḥamrā, which had from ancient times been much revered by the Christians; a number of Christians dwelt there, who had established themselves there, and to whom the Christians of Mīṣr brought all that was needed for the church; they also sent there costly offerings and many alms, so that there was there a large treasure of coined money, golden vessels, and other valuables. The people climbed the walls, opened the gates, and took money, vessels, and wine-jars out of the church; it was a terrible occurrence.

Thereupon they went from the church in the Ḥamrā, after they had destroyed it, to the two churches near the Seven Wells, one of which was called the Church of the Maidens, and was inhabited by a number of Christian
girls and by monks; they broke in the doors of the two churches, took captive
the girls, of whom there were more than sixty, took off their clothes, plundered
all that they could find, and burnt and entirely destroyed these churches.

All this took place while the people were making their Friday prayers; and
when they came out of the mosques, they beheld with horror the clouds of
dust, the smoke of the fire, the tumult of the mob, and the hurrying throngs
of those who were carrying off the plundered objects, so that this horror could
only be compared with that of the day of resurrection. The news of it spread,
and quickly came to the sandy ground under the Castle on the Mountain;
the Sultan heard a great tumult and noise which horrified him, and he sent
to enquire into the cause of it. When he was told what had happened, he
was much excited, and was angry that the people had undertaken to do the
deed without his command. He ordered the Emir Aidughmish Amīr-Akhūr to
ride to the spot with a detachment of pages, to put a stop to this disorder,
and to seize those who had done the deed. While Aidughmish was making
preparations to ride down, the news was brought from Cairo that the people
of Cairo had risen and had destroyed a church in the quarter of the Romans
and one in the quarter of Zawīlah; and at the same time it was announced
from Mīṣr that the people of Mīṣr had risen in great numbers and had marched
to the Church of Al-Mu'allakah in the Kasr ash-Shama', which had then been shut
up by the Christians who were besieged within it, but it was on the point of
being taken. Now the anger of the Sultan increased, and he wished to ride
down in person to attack the people, but he refrained when the Emir Aidughmish
dissuaded him from the attempt. The latter went from the Castle with four
Emirs to Mīṣr; the two Chamberlains, the Emir Baibars and the Emir Aḥamā's, rode
to the place which had been excavated; and the Emir Tīnāl rode to Cairo, each
accompanied by a numerous troop. The Sultan had commanded that all whom
they should capture among the people were to be slain, and none was to be
pardoned; so Cairo and Mīṣr fell upon their knees, and the plunderers fled,
so that the Emirs only caught those who were unable to move because they
were overcome by the wine which they had drunk in the churches. The Emir
Aidughmish now entered into Mīṣr. The Wāli had already ridden to the
Mu'allakah to drive away those engaged in plunder from the street of the
Mu'allakah, but, being received by a shower of stones, he had fled from them,
and the gate of the church was on the point of being set fire to. Now the
Emir Aidughmish and his followers drew their swords that they might fall upon
the people, but when he found that there was an innumerable multitude and
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a narrow way of escape, he refrained from slaughter, bid his followers disperse the crowd without shedding blood, and proclaimed that any one who stayed behind should forfeit his life. Then the assembled crowd turned to flight and dispersed, but Aidughmish, fearing lest the people should return, remained there until the evening-prayer was proclaimed; then he marched away, having ordered the Wâlî of Miṣr with his soldiers, to whom he added fifty of the pages, to pass the night on the spot. As for the Emîr Alamâs, he came to the churches in the Ḥamrâ and the Church of Az-Zuhrî to defend them, but only rubbish-heaps were left of them, not a wall was standing; he returned therefore, and the other Emîrs also returned and informed the Sultan, whose anger continued to increase; but they did not leave him until he was pacified.

At the destruction of these churches a wonderful event occurred. For when the people were assembled on that day in the Mosque of the Castle on the Mountain for the Friday prayer, and had just finished the prayer, a madman rose up and cried out in the midst of the mosque: ‘Destroy the church in the citadel, destroy it!’ and when he had repeatedly cried out in this disturbing fashion, he fell into convulsions. The Sultan and the Emîrs wondered at his words, and orders were given to the officer on guard and the chamberlain to investigate the matter; so they both left the mosque, and when they came to the Ruins of the Tartars in the citadel, where a newly-built church stood, there were people employed in destroying it, and they had not finished their work when the news of the attack upon the churches in the Ḥamrâ and at Cairo arrived. Then the Sultan wondered yet more at that faḳîr, and caused search to be made for him, but no trace of him was found. In the Mosque of Al-Azhar too it happened that when the people were assembled that day for the Friday prayers, one of the faḳîrs fell into a sort of trembling, and when the hour of prayer was announced, before the preacher appeared, he stepped forward and said: ‘Destroy the churches of the enemies and unbelievers! God is great! God grant victory and help!’ Then he began again to tremble, and cried out: ‘Down to the ground! Down to the ground!’ The people looked at him and did not know what he meant; they were of various opinions regarding him, some saying, ‘He is mad;’ and others, ‘This means something.’ When the preacher came forward the faḳîr ceased shouting, and at the end of the prayers he was sought for but could not be found; and when the people came out of the door of the mosque they saw the plunderers with the woodwork of the churches, the garments of the Christians, and other plunder, and when they asked about these things they were answered that the Sultan had proclaimed that the churches
should be destroyed; and the people believed this until they heard soon afterwards that all had happened without orders from the Sultan. The churches destroyed that day at Cairo were that in the quarter of the Romans, that by the Archers, and two churches in the street of Zawīlah.

On Sunday, the 3rd day after the Friday on which the destruction of the churches had taken place at Cairo and Miṣr, the news came from the Emir Ḍār ad-Dīn Bilbāg al-Muḥsanī, Wālī of Alexandria, that on Friday the 9th Rabī‘ II, after the Friday prayers, a tumult had arisen among the people, and when they had quitted the mosque, the cry arose: ‘The churches are destroyed!’ and that the Mameluke had at once ridden to the spot but had found the churches, four in number, already reduced to heaps; that he had also received by the pigeon-post a letter from the Wālī of Al-Buḥairah, announcing that at the town of Damanhūr, while the people on that day were making their Friday prayers, two churches had been destroyed. The astonishment increased over these matters until on Friday, the 16th, news was brought from the town of Kūṣ that while the people on the 9th Rabī‘ II had finished their Friday prayers, one of the faḵīrs had risen, and had said: ‘O faḵīrs! come out to the destruction of the churches!’ but when they went out, followed by a crowd of others, they had found the churches already destroyed; and that at Kūṣ and in its immediate neighbourhood six churches had been wrecked. Gradually information arrived from the southern and northern provinces, announcing the destruction of many churches and monasteries in all the districts of Egypt between Kūṣ, Alexandria, and Damietta, which had taken place on the same day during and after the Friday prayers. The anger of the Sultan against the people reached its highest point, because he feared that even worse things would be done. The Emirs tried to soothe his anger, saying that matters of this sort could not have happened through human power, and that if the Sultan himself wished to undertake anything of the sort he would not be in a position to do so; but that it was a decree and ordinance of God, who knew the great corruption of the Christians and their increasing pride, so that that which had happened might serve as a punishment for them.

While therefore the people of Cairo and Miṣr had become much afraid of the Sultan, because they had heard that he had threatened them with death, and many of the lowest people had taken to flight, the Cadi and Army-Inspector Fākir ad-Dīn tried to dissuade the Sultan from his intended attack on the people, and to reconcile him with them again, while Karīm ad-Dīn al-Kabīr, Keeper of the Privy Purse, incited the Sultan against the people,
until the Sultan ordered him to travel to Alexandria for the purpose of raising money and of enquiring what churches were there destroyed.

Scarcely a month had passed by since the destruction of the churches when in Cairo and Miṣr fire broke out in many places, at which horrors occurred equal to those which followed the destruction of the churches. In a house of the Roast-meat-Vendors’ Street in Cairo fire broke out on Saturday the 10th Jumādā I, and spread among the surrounding dwellings and lasted until the evening of Sunday; many buildings were destroyed. When this fire was extinguished, another arose in the quarter of Ad-Dailam in the street of Al-ʿArishah, near the dwelling of Karīm ad-Dīn, Keeper of the Privy Purse, on the 25th Jumādā I; it was a windy night, and the fire spread on all sides, until it reached the house of Karīm ad-Dīn. When the Sultan heard of this, he was much vexed, because a part of the Sultan’s treasures was kept there, and he sent several of the Emirs to put it out, and they took with them a crowd of people which continually grew in numbers. From the night of Monday to that of Tuesday the fire had continually increased, and the Emirs with their followers could not extinguish it, because there was a strong wind by which lofty palms were overthrown and boats were dashed to pieces, and so the fire spread on all sides. The people were already convinced that the whole of Cairo would be burnt, and they mounted the minarets in order to call to prayer. The faṣīrs and pious men appeared and began to pray with the cry: ‘God is great!’ but it was in vain, and the screams and weeping of men grew louder on all sides. The Sultan went up to the roof of the castle, but could not stay there on account of the strong wind; the fire lasted, and the Sultan repeated his command to the Emirs to extinguish it until Tuesday. Then the Sultan’s Deputy went down and took all the Emirs and water-carriers with him; and the Emir and Cupbearer Baktimur also went down; it was a terrible day; none more terrible has ever been seen. At the gates of Cairo guards were set to bring back the water-carriers if they tried to leave Cairo, in order to extinguish the fire; not one of the water-carriers of the Emirs and of the city was spared, all had to work; and they brought the water from the academies and baths; all the carpenters and attendants of the baths were taken to pull down the houses, and in this time of necessity many lofty buildings and great houses were pulled down. At this fire twenty-four of the principal Emirs were working, besides an equal number of the Emirs of the band, the Decurions and the Mamelukes; and the Emirs themselves set their hands to the work. The water stood from the Gate of Zawilah to the quarter of Ad-Dailam like a lake in the street on
account of the crowd of men and camels which brought water. The Emir and Cupbearer Baktimur and the Emir and Deputy Arghūn were employed in carrying the Sultan’s treasure from the house of Karīm ad-Dīn to the house of his son in the Lead-workers’ Street; sixteen houses which partly touched the house or stood opposite to it had to be destroyed before they could rescue the treasure.

The fire was not yet fully extinguished, the treasure was scarcely carried away, when a fresh fire broke out at the dwelling of Az-Zāhir before the Zawilah Gate, which destroyed 120 houses; among which was a hall known as the Hall of the Fakirs. During the fire a strong wind blew; then the Chamberlain and the Wāli rode down to extinguish the fire, and caused a number of the surrounding houses to be pulled down until the fire was extinguished. Two days later a fire broke out in the house of the Emir Salār in the street between the two castles; it began in the air-passage which had been constructed 100 cubits above the ground; but this was all destroyed before the fire was put out.

Then the Sultan commanded the Emir and Treasurer Ḥalīm ad-Dīn Sanjar, Wāli of Cairo, and the Emir and Chamberlain Baibars to keep guard and to be watchful; it was proclaimed that in every shop a barrel or jar of water should stand, and a similar one in all streets, by-ways, and alleys. Through this the price of a barrel rose from one dirham to five, and the price of a jar to eight dirhams.

A fire also broke out in the quarter of the Romans and in many places, so that no day passed without a fire in some place. The people now took heed to that which was befalling them, and came to the conjecture that the Christians were the cause of it, because the fire appeared in the pulpits of the mosques and the walls of oratories and schools; they were therefore prepared at a certain fire, and they followed up the track of it until they found that it arose from naphtha rolled up in cloths steeped in oil and pitch. One Friday night in the middle of Jumādā, two monks were captured coming out of the Academy of Al-Hakkarīyah, and fire had just been set to the academy, and the smell of sulphur was still on their hands; they were brought to the Emir and Treasurer Ḥalīm ad-Dīn, Wāli of Cairo, who sent word to the Sultan, who ordered that they should be tortured. He had not come down from the castle before people met him, who had seized a Christian caught in the Mosque of Az-Zāhir with rags in the form of an annular biscuit full within of pitch and naphtha; he had already thrown one of them down by the pulpit, and had stood by it until smoke rose from it; then he went to depart from the mosque; some one, however, had noticed
him, and watched him from a place where the Christian could not see him; then he seized him, and the people came up in crowds and dragged him to the Wâlí’s house; he had dressed himself like the Muslims. He was then tortured before the Emir and Chamberlain Rukn ad-Dîn Baibars, and he confessed that a multitude of Christians had bound themselves to prepare naphtha and to spread it about by means of several of their followers, of whom he was one, and that he had been told to place it beside the pulpit of the Mosque of Az-Zâhir. Thereupon it was ordered that the two monks should be tortured, and they confessed that they were among the inhabitants of the Monastery of the Mule, and had set fire to the places already described, out of hatred to the Muslims and to take revenge upon them for the destruction of the churches; and that many Christians had joined together, and had collected a considerable sum to prepare this naphtha.

Meanwhile Karîm ad-Dîn, Keeper of the Privy Purse, had returned from Alexandria; and the Sultan informed him of the capture of the Christians, whereupon he answered: ‘The Christians have a patriarch with whom they consult, and who knows their dispositions.’ Then the Sultan commanded to bring the patriarch to the dwelling of Karîm ad-Dîn that he might speak with him of the fire, and the share of the Christians in kindling it. The patriarch came therefore under the guard of the Wâlí of Cairo by night through fear of the people, and when he had entered the house of Karîm ad-Dîn, in the quarter of Ad-Dailam, and the three Christians had been brought from the dwelling of the Wâlí, they repeated to Karîm ad-Dîn in the presence of the patriarch and Wâlí all that they had before confessed. When the patriarch heard the confession, he began to weep, and said: ‘These are fanatical Christians, who wished to avenge themselves on the fanatical Muslims on account of the destruction of the churches.’ Thereupon he was released by Karîm ad-Dîn with ceremony; and found that Karîm ad-Dîn had caused a mule to be kept in readiness for him at the door, so that he might ride upon it; so he mounted and rode off; thereupon the people were angry and fell upon him together, and if the Wâlí had not accompanied him he would have been slain.

Next morning Karîm ad-Dîn wished to ride, according to his custom, to the Castle, and when he came out of doors as usual, the people cried to him in the streets: ‘It is not allowed, O Cadi, that thou shouldest take under thy protection the Christians who have burnt down the houses of Muslims, and shouldest let them ride upon mules.’ These words angered him and increased his desire to do injuries, and when he came before the Sultan he tried to
represent the crime of the Christians who had been captured as slight, saying that they were fanatics and fools; but the Sultan bade the Wâli increase the tortures. So the Wâli went down and caused them to be severely tortured, so that they confessed that fourteen monks had conspired together in the Monastery of the Mule to burn down all the dwellings of the Muslims, and that among them there was a monk who prepared the naphtha; that they had partitioned Cairo and Miṣr among themselves, so that eight came to Cairo and six to Miṣr. Then the Wâli had the Monastery of the Mule surrounded and all its inmates seized; four of them were burnt at the cross-ways by the Mosque of Ibn Tûtûn on Friday, where a great crowd had assembled to see them. From this time the common people were enraged against the Christians, and began to insult them and tore their garments off them, so that every form of outrage was allowed, and such as exceeded all measure. Thereupon the Sultan grew angry, and formed the plan of making an attack upon the people. It happened that when he was riding on a Saturday from the citadel to go to the great hippodrome, he saw a great crowd of people who were filling the streets and shouting: ‘God protect Islam! Protect the religion of Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdallâh!’ He rode aside to avoid them, and when he reached the hippodrome, the Treasurer brought two Christians to him who had just been caught in the attempt to set fire to the houses; he commanded that they should be burnt, whereupon they were led away, a ditch was dug, and they were burnt in the sight of the people. While they were yet employed in burning the two Christians, the Chamberlain of the Divan of the Emir and Cupbearer Baktimur, who was a Christian, came by, to reach the house of the Emir Baktimur. When the people saw him, they threw him from his beast, dragged off all his clothes, and carried him off to throw him into the fire; then he repeated in a loud voice the two formulas of belief, confessed Islam, and was set at liberty. Meanwhile Karîm ad-Dîn, clothed with a robe of honour, passed by the hippodrome; but they drove him away with stones, and cried out: ‘How long wilt thou protect and defend the Christians?’ They mocked at him, so that he saw no way of escape except to return to the Sultan, who was still in the hippodrome; the cries of the people were so loud in their anger that the Sultan could hear them. When Karîm ad-Dîn came to him and informed him of what had passed, he was full of wrath, and asked the advice of the Emirs who were with him, such as the Emir Jamâl ad-Dîn, deputy-governor of Al-Kark, the Emir Saîf ad-Dîn al-Bûbakrî, the Chamberlain Baktimur, and several others; Al-Bûbakrî thought that the people
* * * and that it was best for the Chamberlain to go and ask them what they wanted before any step was taken. This view, however, did not please the Sultan, who turned away from him. Thereupon the Deputy-governor of Al-Kark said: ‘All this comes from the Christian secretaries, for the people hate them, and my advice is that the Sultan should take no step against the people, but should remove the Christians from the Divan.’ This advice also displeased the Sultan, who said to the Emir and Chamberlain Alamâs: ‘Go and take four of the Emirs with thee, and cut the people down from the place where thou leavest the hippodrome until thou comest to the Gate of Zawîlah, and strike with the sword among them from the Gate of Zawîlah to the Gate of Victory, without sparing any;’ and to the Wâlî of Cairo he said: ‘Ride to the Gate of Al-Lawâk and the neighbourhood of the river, and let none pass without seizing him and bringing him to the Castle, and if thou dost not bring those who have stoned my deputy (he meant Karîm ad-Dîn), by my head I will hang thee instead of them;’ and he sent with him a detachment of his body-Mamelukes. After a hesitation on the part of the Emirs to carry out the command, so that the matter became known, and they met no one, especially no slaves or attendants of the Emirs, then at last they set out; the news was spread in Cairo, all the bazaars were shut, and an unheard-of sorrow fell upon the people. The Emirs went forth, but found on their long march not a single person until they reached the Gate of Victory; but the Wâlî at the Gate of Al-Lawâk in the neighbourhood of Bûlâk and at the Water-Gate seized a crowd of rabble, sailors, and low people, by which action such fear was spread that a great number removed to the province of Al-Jîzah on the western bank. The Sultan returned from the hippodrome and found on his way, until he reached the Castle, not one of the people; as soon as he arrived at the Castle he sent to the Wâlî, and told him to hasten to come to him; and the sun was not yet set when he appeared with about 200 people whom he had seized. Then the Sultan made a division of them, and ordered that some should be hanged, others cut in two, others deprived of their hands; then they all cried: ‘O Lord, that is not lawful, it was not we who stoned him.’ The Emir and Cupbearer Baktimur and the other Emirs present wept out of sympathy with them, and did not quit the Sultan until he said to the Wâlî: ‘Divide off a part of them and erect posts from the Gate of Zawîlah to the Castle in the Horse-Market and hang them up by their hands.’ Next morning, being Sunday, they were all hung up from the Gate of Zawîlah to the Horse-Market, some of them being distinguished and well-dressed persons; the Emirs who passed by them expressed

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sympathy with them, and wept over them. None of the shop-owners of Cairo and Miṣr opened his shop that day. Karīm ad-Dīn left his dwelling to go to the Castle as usually, but he could not go past those who were hanged up, and so he took another way, not that through the Gate of Zawīlah. The Sultan was already sitting behind a lattice, and caused a number of those whom the Wālī had captured to be brought and the hands and feet of three of them to be cut off. The Emirs could not speak in their favour because his anger was too hot; then Karīm ad-Dīn entered, bared his head, kissed the earth, and begged for mercy; the Sultan at last yielded to his prayers, and ordered that the prisoners should work at the excavation at Al-Jīzah. Then they were led away; but two of the mutilated had already died; and those who were hung up were taken down from the posts.

While the Sultan still stood at the lattice, the cry of fire arose in the neighbourhood of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, and in the Castle on the Mountain, in the dwelling of the Emir Rukn ad-Dīn al-Aḥmādī in the street of Bahā ad-Dīn, in the inn before the Water-Gate of Al-Maḵs and in the adjacent buildings. On the morning of this day three Christians had been caught, with whom cords steeped in naphtha were found, and when brought before the Sultan they confessed that they had caused the fire. The fire lasted at those places until Saturday, and when the Sultan, according to his custom, wished to ride to the hippodrome, he met 20,000 people who had coloured pieces of stuff blue, and had made a white cross upon them, and when they saw the Sultan they cried with loud and united voices: ‘There is no religion except that of Islam! God protect the religion of Muhammad ibn Abdallāh! O Malik an-Nāṣir, Sultan of Islam! help us against the unbelievers, and do not protect the Christians!’ The earth trembled with their terrible voices, and God filled the heart of the Sultan and the hearts of the Emirs with fear; they continued their way, while he was deeply sunk in thought, until he came to the hippodrome. As meanwhile the shouts of the people did not cease, he held it best to act cautiously, and he bid the Chamberlain go out and proclaim that he who should find a Christian should demand money and blood from him. The Chamberlain went out and made this proclamation, and the people cried: ‘God protect thee!’ and gave him their congratulations. The Christians then used to wear white turbans, so it was proclaimed at Cairo and Miṣr that any one who should find a Christian in a white turban should be allowed to kill him and to seize his goods; and a similar permission was granted to any one who should meet a Christian on horseback. A decree was issued that the Christians should wear
blue turbans, and that none of them should ride a horse or a mule, but that they might ride asses with their heads to the tail; that no Christian might enter a bath without a bell round his neck; and that none of them might wear the dress of the Muslims. The Emirs were forbidden to take Christians into their service; the latter were removed from the Sultan's Divan, and it was commanded in all the provinces that all Christians holding office should be dismissed. The attacks of the Muslims upon the Christians increased so that the latter no longer walked in the streets, and a large number of them accepted Islam.

Nothing had been said at this time of the Jews, and so the Christians began, when they wished to leave their dwellings, to borrow a yellow turban from one of the Jews, and to wear it so as to be safe from the people. Then it happened that one of the Christians in the Divans was owed 4,000 dirhams by a Jew, so he came by night in disguise to the Jew's house to demand the money; then the Jew seized him and cried: 'Help from God and the Muslims!' and shouted so that people ran together to seize the Christian; but he fled into the inner part of the Jew's house and hid himself with the wife of the latter; he was, however, obliged to write a receipt stating that the Jew had paid him his debt, and then he was set free.

Several Christians of the Monastery of Al-Khandaḳ were accused of having prepared naphtha to set fire to the houses; they were captured and nailed up. A decree was issued that the people might safely be present when the Sultan rode to the hippodrome according to their custom; this took place because they stood in fear of their lives on account of their having too frequently attacked the Christians and overstepped all bounds. Now they became bold, came as usually to the neighbourhood of the hippodrome, offered good wishes to the Sultan, and began to cry: 'God protect thee, Ruler of the land! we are spared, we are spared!' The Sultan heard this favourably and smiled at their words. At night a fire arose at the dwelling of the Emir and Chamberlain Alamās in the Castle; the wind was strong, so that the fire took hold and reached the house of the Emir İmish, and the inhabitants of the Castle and of Cairo were so much terrified that they believed that the whole Castle was burnt.

More terrible events than these have never been heard of, for the Christians burnt the houses at Cairo in the Roast-meat-Vendors' market and the alley of Al-ʻArīshah in the street of Ad-Dailam, sixteen houses near the dwelling of Karīm ad-Dīn, a number of houses in the quarter of the Romans, the house of Bahādur near the Chapel of Ḥusain, some dwellings at the stable of At-ʻṬārimah and in
the street of Honey, the palace of the Emir Silâh, and the palace of the Emir 
Salâr in the street between the two castles, the palace of Bisharî, the Khân 
al-Ḥajjar, Al-Jamalûn, the hall of Al-Afram, the house of Baibars in the street of 
Aš-Ṣâlîḥiyah, the house of Ibn Al-Maghrabî in the street of Zawîlah, many 
dwellings in the street of the Swallows' Well and at Al-Hakar, in the Castle 
on the Mountain, by several mosques and oratories and other buildings, which 
it would take too much space to mention.

Among the churches, destruction was wrought on the church at the Ruins 
of the Tartars in the Castle of the Mountain, the Church of Az-Zuhri on the 
spot where the Pool of An-Nâṣir now is, the Church of the Ḥamrâ, a church 
near the Seven Wells, which is called that of the Daughters, the Church of 
Saint Mennas, the Church of Al-Fahhâdîn (the Trainers) at Cairo, a church 
in the quarter of the Romans, a church near the Archers, two churches in the 
quarter of Zawilah, a church near the Flag-Store, a church at Al-Khandak; four 
churches in the frontier-city of Alexandria, two churches in the town of Damanhûr 
Al-Waḥsh, a church in the province of Al-Gharbiyah, three churches in the 
province of Ash-Sharkîyah, six churches in the province of Al-Bahnasâ; at Suyûṭ, 
Manfalût, and Munyat Ibn al-Khaṣîb eight churches, at Kūsh and Aswân eleven 
churches, in the province of Iṭṣîh one church; in the market-place of Wardân 
in the city of Miṣr, in the quarters of Al-Muṣâsah and Kaşr ash-Shama' at Miṣr 
eight churches. A great number of monasteries also were destroyed, and the 
Monastery of the Mule and the Monastery of Shahrân remained long deserted. 
These important events, such as could with difficulty be found a second time 
during a long series of years, took place in a short space of time; so many persons 
perished, so much property was destroyed, and so many buildings ruined that for 
their multitude they cannot be described. The end of all things rests with God!

16. Church of Michael. This church was by the canal of the Banî Wâ’il 
before the city of Miṣr to the south of 'Aḵabah Yaḵšub, and is now near the 
Bridge of Al-Afram; it was newly built under Islam, and is of fine architecture.

17. Church of Mary, in the Gardens of the Vizier to the south of the Lake 
of Al-Ḥabash; it is empty, and no one goes there.

18. The Church of Mary, in the district of Al-‘Adâwîyah towards the south, is 
old, but already ruined.

19. The Church of Anthony, in the district of Bayâḍ, north of Iṭṣîh, has 
been renewed. In the district of Sharmûb there were many churches now 
destroyed; one of them is in the district of Ihrit on the mountain, two days 
to the south of Bayâḍ, and still exists.
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20. The Church of the Virgin, in the neighbourhood of Ashkar; at its gate stands a tower built of large bricks, which is said to be the place where Mūsā ibn 'Imrān (the prophet Moses) was born.

21. Church of Mary, in the district of Al-Khusūs; it is a house of which they have made a church, which, however, is neglected.

22. Church of Mary, Church of Al-Kasīr, and Church of Gabriel; these three churches stand in the district of Abnūb.

23. Church of Asūfār, which means [σωτῆρ] the Saviour; this stands in the city of Ikhmīm, and is much revered among the Christians; it bears the name of the Martyrs, and there is a well there, the water of which, if it be put into a lamp, becomes of a deep-red colour like blood.

24. Church of Michael, also at Ikhmīm. There is a custom among the Christians at these two churches that when they are keeping the Feast of Palms, also called the Feast of Hosanna, the priests and deacons go in procession with censers, incense, crosses, the gospels, and lighted candles, and stand before the door of the Cadi, and then before the doors of the most respectable Muslims, where they burn incense, read a passage of the Gospel, and sing a hymn, that is to say, praise him.

25. The Church of Saint Pachomius, in the district of Atfah, is the last church on the eastern bank. Bakhūm or Pachomius was a monk at the time of Saint Sinuthius; he is called the Father of the Community, because he increased the number of the monks and gave a teacher to every two monks. He did not allow wine or meat to be brought into his monastery, and he commanded that the fast should be kept until the end of the ninth hour of the day; he gave his monks roasted chickpeas to eat, and they called them chickpeas of scarcity. His monastery has long been destroyed, but this church of his still exists at Atfā, to the south of Ikhmīm.

26. The Church of the Evangelist Mark, at Al-Jīzah, was ruined after A.H. 800 and then rebuilt. This Mark was one of the Disciples of Christ, and founder of the patriarchal see of Egypt and Abyssinia.

27. The Church of Saint George, in the district of Bū 'n-Numrus in [the province of] Al-Jīzah, was destroyed in A.H. 780, as it has been related above, but afterwards restored.

28. The Church in the district of Bū Fārā, on the farthest limit of the province of Al-Jīzah.

29. Church of Sinuthius, in the district of Harabshant.

30. Church of Saint George, in the district of Banā, is celebrated among
them; they bring thither votive offerings, and swear by it, and relate many remarkable stories of it.

31. Church of Saint Mārūţā, in the district of Shumustā. This Mārūţā is highly honoured among them; he was a revered monk, and his bones are kept in a chest in the monastery of Bû Bishā‘i on the plain of Shīhāt, and are visited even now.

32. Church of Mary at Al-Bahnasā. It is said that there were 360 churches at Al-Bahnasā, which have all been destroyed, so that this church alone remains.

33. The Church of the Monk Samuel, in the district of Shinarah.

34. The Church of Mary, in the district of Ṭunbudā, is old.

35. The Church of Michael, in the district of Ṭunbudā, is large and old. There were here many churches now destroyed; the greater part of the inhabitants of Ṭunbudā consist of Christian artisans.

36. The Church of the Apostles, in the district of Ishnin, is very large.

37. The Church of Mary, in the district of Ishnin, is old.

38. The Church of Michael, and 39. The Church of Gabriel also, in the district of Ishnin. In this district there were 160 churches, which have all been destroyed with the exception of the four above mentioned; the greater part of the inhabitants of Ishnin are Christians, and they maintain themselves by keeping watch over the palm-trees. Further on there are still remains of churches in which they keep their festivals, as the Church of Saint George, that of Mārūţā, that of Barbara, and that of Gafril, i.e. Jabrīl (Gabriel).

40. In Munyat ibn Khasīb there are six churches, that of Al-Mu‘allakah, i.e. the Church of the Virgin, that of Peter and Paul, that of Michael, that of Saint George, that of Saint Paul of Ţanwaţah, and that of the three youths, namely, Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, who were warriors in the time of Bukht Naṣr (Nabuchadnezzar) and worshipped God in secret; when they were discovered Bukht Naṣr wished to bring them back to the worship of idols, and when they refused this he had them thrown into prison for a long time that they might be perverted; but they would not, and so he had them brought out and cast into the fire, which, however, did not burn them. The Christians hold them in great honour, although they lived long before the time of Christ.

41. Church in the district of Taḥā in the name of the Disciples of Christ, who are called by them Apostles.

42. Church of Mary, also in the district of Taḥā.

43. The Church of the Two Wise Men, in the district of Manhari, keeps a great festival in the month of Bashans at which the bishop is present, and a great
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fair is held at the festival. These two wise men are Cosmas and Damian, the two monks.

44. The Church of the Virgin, in the district of Bû Karkâs, is old and large.
45. In the district of Mallawi there is the Church of the Apostles, and two ruined churches, one named after Saint George and the other after the angel Michael.
46. In the district of Daljah there were many churches of which only three are left; the Church of the Virgin which is large, that of Sinuthius, and that of Saint Mercurius; they (the others) are entirely destroyed.
47. In the district of Şanabû is the Church of Saint Paul and that of Saint George; Şanabû numbers many Christians.
48. In the district of Biblá’û, to the north of Şanabû, there is an old church on the western side of the city named after George; there are many Christians who practise agriculture.
49. In the district of Darûf there is a church near the town, like a monastery, and named after the Monk Serapion who lived in the time of Sinuthius and was elected bishop; many things are told of him.
50. In the district of Bûk Bani Zaid there is a large church named after the Apostles, in which a festival is kept.
51. In the province of Kûs is the Church of Mary and that of Gabriel.
52. In the district of Damshîr is the Church of the Martyr Mercurius; it is old and there are many Christians there.
53. In the district of Umm al-Κusûr is the Church of Saint John the Dwarf, which is old.
54. In the district of Ballûf, on the frontier of the district of Manfalût, is the Church of Michael, which is small.
55. In the district of Al-Balâgharah, on the borders of Manfalût, is a small church, inhabited by the priest with his family.
56. In the district of Shaκalkil are three large old churches, named respectively after the Apostles, Michael and Saint Mennas.
57. In the district of Munsha’ at an- Nasârâ is a church of Michael.
58. In the town of Suyûf is the Church of Bû Sadrah (i.e. St. Theodore) and that of the Apostles; and before the town is the Church of Saint Mennas.
59. In the district of Udrunkah there is a very old church named after the three youths Anamías, Azariâs, and Misâel; it is a school for poor Christians. The inhabitants of Durunkah are Christians, and understand the Coptic language, which is the means of communication there both for children and adults, and they are able to explain it in Arabic.
60. In the district of Rifāh al-Gharbī is the Church of Saint Coluthus, who was a physician and monk, and performed wonderful cures of inflammation of the eye; a festival is held in his honour at this church. There is also a Church of Michael here. Worms have already gnawed away one side of [the church at] Rifāh al-Gharbī.

61. In the district of Mūshah there is a church built over a bath, in the name of the martyr Victor; it was built in the time of Constantine, son of Helena, and has a terrace ten cubits wide, and three domes, each of which is about eighty cubits high; the whole is built of white stone; but the western half is already fallen. It is said that this church stands over a treasure which lies beneath it; and it is said that there was a passage under the earth from Suyūt to this town of Mūshah.

62. In the district of Bukūr, at the border of Buṭij, there is an old Church dedicated to the martyr Claudius, who stands among them on a par with Mercurius, Georgius i.e. Bū Jurj, the commander Theodorus. and Minā'ūs. The father of Claudius was one of the prefects of Diocletian, and he was himself celebrated for his bravery. When he became a Christian, the emperor had him seized and tortured that he might return to the worship of idols, but he remained steadfast until he was killed. Many things are related of him.

63. In the district of Al-Ḵaṭṭāḥ there is a Church named after the Virgin, where there was a bishop named Alduwin, who had a quarrel with his own party, so that they buried him alive; they are among the worst Christians, and are notorious for their wickedness. There was among them a Christian named George, son of the Nun, who overstepped all bounds, so that the Emir and Majordomo Jamāl ad-Dīn cut off his head in the reign of Al-Malik an-Nāṣir Faraj ibn Baršūk.

64. In the district of Buṭij there are several ruined churches; and the Christians are accustomed to say their prayers secretly in one of their houses, and when day breaks, they go out to the ruins of a church, there erect an altar of palm-stems in the form of a cage, and perform their devotions.

65. In the district of Bū Makrūfah there is an old Church dedicated to Michael, where two festivals are kept yearly. The inhabitants of that district are Christians, chiefly shepherds, and are people of a low class.

66. In the district of Duwainah there is a Church named after Saint John the Dwarf, who is much revered among them; there lived there a man named Jonas, who was elected bishop, and was celebrated for his knowledge, in several sciences; they were irritated against him for envy of his knowledge, and they buried him alive, but his body had already ascended to heaven.
67. In Al-Marâghah, between Tahtâ and Timâ, there is a church, and in the district of Kifâ’û a large church. The Christians of this place are celebrated for their knowledge of magic and kindred sciences, and there was there, in the reign of Al-Malik az-Zâhir Barlûk, a deacon named Absâlîs, who possessed great skill in them, and stories are told of him which I prefer not to repeat on account of their strangeness.

68. In the district of Farshûṭ there is a Church of Michael and a Church of the Virgin Mary.

69. In the city of Hûw there is a Church of the Virgin and a Church of Saint Mennas.

70. In the district of Bahjûrah there is a Church of the Apostles, and at Ismâ a Church of Mary, a Church of Michael, and a Church of John the Baptist, i.e. Yahyâ ibn Zakarîyâ.

71. At Nakâdah there is a Church of the Virgin, a Church of John the Baptist, a Church of Gabriel, and a Church of John the Compassionate. The last was a rich man of Antioch, who became a monk, divided all his goods among the poor, and travelled through the world; and he confessed the Christian religion. His father consoled himself on his son’s account, and it was believed that he was dead. Afterwards he came back to Antioch in such a condition that no one knew him; he lived in a cell on a dunghill, and fed upon that which was thrown upon the dunghill until he died. At his funeral his father was present and recognized the cover of his book of the gospels, and on further examination found that it was his son; so he buried him, and built in his name the Church of Antioch and that of the Virgin in the town of Kifî.

72. At Asfûn there were several churches which were destroyed with the town; in the town of Kûs also there were many monasteries and churches which were destroyed with the town, so that only one Church of the Virgin is now remaining.

Besides the churches hitherto mentioned by us there is none remaining in the southern provinces. As for the northern provinces there is at Munyah Surad in the district of Cairo a Church of the Virgin Mary, which is famous among them; in the district of Sanduwah a new church named after Saint George; at Marsâfâ a restored church also named after Saint George; at Samannûd a church named after the Apostles, built in a house; at Sandâṭ a church celebrated among them and named after the Apostles; at Sandafâ a church revered among them and named after Saint George; at Ar-Raidâniyah a Church of the Virgin, highly revered among them. At Damietta there are four Churches, of the Virgin, Michael, John the Baptist, and St. George, which are celebrated among them. In the district
of Subk al-'Abîd there is a church in a hidden house, named after the Virgin; at Al-Nahrâriyâh there is a new church in a hidden house; at Luğânâh there is a Church of Saint John the Dwarf; at Damanhûr there is a new church in a hidden house, named after Michael. At Alexandria is the Church of Al-Mu'allaqâh named after the Virgin, the Church of Saint George, the Church of John the Baptist, and that of the Apostles.

These are the churches of the Jacobites in Egypt; and they have also at Gaza a Church of Mary and at Jerusalem the Kâmânah (i.e. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, or rather a chapel in it) and the Church of Zion.

As for the Melkites, they possess at Cairo the Church of Saint Nicholas near the Archers, and at Mîr the Church of the Angel Gabriel in the quarter of Kâsr ash-Shama', where the cell of their patriarch is, the Church of the Virgin also in the Kâsr ash-Shama', the Church of the Angel Michael near the Church of Barbara at Mîr, and the Church of Saint John in the quarter of the Monastery of Aţ-Ţin.
I.

INDEX OF CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES
IN EGYPT,
ACCORDING TO ABÚ ŞÁLIH,

enumerating not only the churches contained within the walls of monasteries, but also the satellite churches or chapels. It is assumed that each monastery must contain one church if more are not named. It must be remembered that the churches and monasteries of the greater part of Lower Egypt, Cairo, and the Wāḍī Habib are not described, although some of them are incidentally named, in the existing portion of the work. The folios of the original MS., marked at the side of the text and translation, are here given.

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تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلمة

دباحتة الرب دينه نفسه وبرحمه يصلاته فصل وكان الغزاع من نسخته يوم الاربعاء وهو الثاني من شهر بوذة المبارك سنة اربعة وخمسين ولف للشهداء الابرار الموافق للعام من شهر ذا لعمرة سنة ثمان وثلاثين وسبعمائة احسن الله عاقبتها فصل وقصد العبد التحبير الناصح ان يختصر الكتاب كما تقدم الاويل ولا يخرج عما فيه من النص فلم يهتم ذلك وهو يسال كلمن وقف على ما فيه ان يبسط العذر مل اعترف في مثل ذلك والله الموافق للصواب يوقننا جميعنا لما فيه خصال نفسنا ويكفينا التجارب والمحب الرسولية ويحفظ علينا الإمامة الارثوبكية ويوصلنا الى مينانا السلامة سالمين امين والسح لله دائما الى ابن الأبدين
تاريخ الشيخ أبي سلمة

في حين بحثجارة مطلبة بالذهب وحجاروجبال تلك الارض منها
ما يصف كالذهب كالمقرشين الذهبية والنسائية وكانت هذه
المدينة لا تكامل بنائها إلا عند شعاع الشمس عليها يصير
منظرها عجيباً جدًا، لا يوجد في الارض شيء يمثل به ذلك
المنظر العجيب مدينة خلولاً بناءها ملك يقال له خيول وشيده
بناءها وصارت مدينة عظيمة وسكنها النساء الى عصر سليمان ابن
داود النبي عليه السلام ومن هاهنَا انتهى ما جمعه صاحب
التاريخ ولم يبلغ فيه الغاية القصوى لانساب الأرضا وما عليها
في مشاربها ومغاربها ولكننا جمع ما لم يجمعه غيره، واهتم غاية
الاهتمام وكان مع ذلك قصير العبارة لاطنابه في القول بما لم
تدعوه الحاجة إليه، فضل والعبير التحقيق المكسيك العاجز النافع
نقل ما وجد في نسخة المقول منها بغير زيادة ولا نقض
حسب الإشارة العالية المؤلفة السيدية الفاضلة العالمية العاملمية
العربية الأرثيوسية الأكرمية الشيخ الرئيس الأكرم أبو الغرج
الفرع المثير للراكب من الأصل الركي الظاهر دخل الشيخ الرئيس
الكامل السديد رفائيل ابن القس رئيس الإسماج أبو الغرابي
المكنا بصنوف العلم وكان هذا القسم كبير القوسوس بكنية
المعركة بمدينة مصر يقصر الجمع وضمن هذا الكتاب ان القسم
ابو العجاب ابن القس السبي أبو الفضائل ابن القس المهدي اتى
قدس في عين الصليب بكنيبة المعقولة في السابع عشر من توت
وضع اسمه في الكأس فانصب دم طبيعي ولم رأى هذا القسم
هذه اليد العظيمة كان يضم كتبنا في استيغا ديوان نغر
الاسكندرية عاده بطل نفسه مع الشغل وإقام في قرياته بالكنيسة
المذكورة وعلى اصبعه ستر دائم وهو في ذلك الحساب إلى حين
رجل حكيم كبير العلوم محب لله محسّسًا للناس عادلًا في إحكامه حسن السيرة مكرم من جميع الملوك ليس له عدوًا يخشى لحسن سيرته وسيرته كما شهد بذلك تاريخ الطبري فصل واحدًا مورر الدير وهي كنيسة عليها حسن منيع وهى الآن بسمى مقبرة الحكماء، وبهذه الناحية أمير الين من جهة كسرى أبو شروان والقرية المعروفة بشنيان وجد قردا في هذه البقعة التي وقفت عليها الفلك على عهد نوح وعند من الجبل المسمى الجودي وهو عالٌ جدًا لم يكن في جبال الأرض أعلا منه وهو يشرف على أربع زوايا الأرض شهدت الثورة أن الله سبحانه أرسل ريحًا على الأرض فانقطع الماء وسُنَّت ينابيع المياه وميادين السماء انقطعت وغاص من بعد مائة وخمسين يومًا وجلس الفلك هو سفينة نوح في الشهر السابع في سهبة عشرين يومًا منه على جبل قردا بقرب يقال لها ثنيين على ما تقدم ذكره الأبنية التي لم يعرف بانها أورت حفظًا لذكرها غمان كان بصنعا لم يدرك مثله همزة عثمان في الإسلام وله رسوم باقية إلى الآن وكان ارباط الحبشى الذي ملك الين من قبل النجاشى ملك الحبشة قد أخرب غمان مع غيرها قبل ظهور المسلمين صنعاً الأبل واصطخر بغارس والإيالة بالعرف من داخل المراري شهد تاريخ الينبجي أن سليمان الملك ابن داوود النبي أن داوود النبي كان له الملك على بني إسرائيل وكان شجاعًا مظفرًا مهابًا معظمًا وهو مع ذلك سهل متواضعًا بحيم عفيف ساكن الغرب غير غضب ولا حقد وهو الذي بنى مدينة تدمر وعمل فيها عجائب وسماها مدينة الشمس وينا غزوة التي في وسط البحر وينا من مذهب عظيم مجاور مدينة قيرون فصل مدينة أخرى بناؤها
من بها من النصارى نساطرة وهم بيعة للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتمريم وبيعة للقديس الحليم والشهيد العظيم ماري جرجس فظهر فيها عدة بيع وجميع من بها من النصارى نساطرة وتعال فيها كذلك وهي التي يصل منها الكافرون. هذا الصنف ينبع من الخشب وهي المدينة بها بيعة واحدة على اسم سنتنا السيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتمريم صنعا الييمن بها الكنيسة المعروفة بالقليس اشهاه إبراهيم ملك اليمن من قبل النجاشي ملك الحبشة وهذا إبراهيم الإشترر وهذا في الحرب شرمت أذى فسمى الإشترر بنا هذه الكنيسة المذكورة وزخرفها بالذهب والاصباع الحسننة الملوحة وبسط اذها بالرخاخ الملون وعمد الرخام فيها قائمًا ونائم وجلاءها باحسن الأجلا من الذهب والفضة والزجاج الذهبي والملون وصنع أبوابها بالصفائح الذهبية والفضة وسرر الصفائح الذهبية بسامير الفضة والفضة بسامير الذهب الملونة وجعل على أبواب المذابح بها صفحات ذهب عرشي ووضع فيها الجواهر من الاحجار الكرامة وجعل في وسط كل صنعة من كذلك صليب ذهب وفي وسطه بياقة بهرمان أحمر شفاف ينبعث جرم تلك الجواهر حولهم باوان تشب مختلفة اللونان تذهل الناظرين إليها وأسر الناس بالحجاج إليها فتواروا الناس إليها من كل الجهات وجعل لها حجابًا محكم الصنعة من خشب الابنوس والاسم مطعن بالعاج الأبيض اللين المنقوش بعس مصنعة وشاع خبرها في تلك البلاد وسمع بها من لم يراه وحص إليها كثيرين من الناس وحملوا لها النذور كثير من الناس جاوروا هناك ولازمو المقام فيها والليملية وكان الملك يهتم بالأيامورين بها ونا لهم بيوت يسكنوها ونا لها املاء كثير وحبسهم عليها وكان هذا الملك
جل اسمه ريح تتحمل البحر وتكشف طريق البيعة لاجتماع الناس إلى عبادة وبياناً على من كل الجهات ويبشروا في طريق البيعة كما مشوها بنى سرائيل لما اشتق لهم البحر الإحمر برعاية موسى النبي وصالواته عليهم قرام الرحب هكذا أن الله سبحانه اظهر مثل ذلك في وقتنا هذا بصلوات هذا الرسول العظيم ومنزلته الحيلية عند الرحب الذي أريدة وثلي هذه القوة العظيمة التي لم تبطل فان الشعب المجتمعين إلى هذا العين العظيم وعيدوا وتبادروا فان الكهنة يقصروا ويدخلوا السرائر المقدسة ويعمسوا للجنس المقدس في الدم الزكى ثم يضعوها في ذلك البين الطاهرة فيقبل كل أحد من الشعب ويتناول السرائر المقدسة من راحة تلك البين الطاهرة ولم يزالوا هكذا يتقربوا واحدًا بعد واحد إلى ان تمسك البين من الشعب واحد فعن ذلك مجدوا الله جميعهم ويعادوا الكهنة باقي الشعب ويرحموا ذلك التابوت بينهم بالترتب والفرح العظيم إلى حيث يضعوها مكاده بعد ان تقبله الناس وتبادراك ومنه ودعج فروع خروج البيعة عند ما يرتدوا الشعب الإسراف يتشاركوا من ذلك الإنسان الذي اختاره الله من دون الشعب ان يقيم سنة سنة يخضم هذا الجنس الطاهر ويقى عليه المصائب في الليل والنهار وديوسون عنه جميع ما يحتاجه البين ويدعوا كل منهم إلى وضعها فانها هم بلغوا جميعهم إلى البر ولم يبق منهم احد على البحر لما كان عليه وططا طريق البيعة وهنا عادوا العام الثاني للعين يجدوا ذلك الإنسان الذي يخدم جسد القديس مما تنبع فيه تلك الساعة وهو مخن وصار هذا رسمًا جاريًا لم ينطقع على مرّ الأيام فماتبه عظيم الله العظيم الجال في قريسيوة صانع الآيات لاجله له المجد مدينة كولم جميع
مصر وهو عظيمًا جدًا كثير الناس تحبظ به البحر واللنجة المسيرة
سفرهما إلى مصر وهو من البر يقرب إلى تخوم العالم وكان
قربيًا في عبادة الإصنام وظلمتهم وكان المرسل عليهم توما الأعظم
من الاثني عشر منذرًا آيهم بكرابة الخصائص وكان هذا الرسول
الجيلون قلهم من عبادة الإصنام إلى معرفة الحق وطريق
الخلاص وعدهم باسم الاب والأب والروح القدس وقبلوا منه
الإضادة الإدراكية وبنوا ديع عدًا وكرز منهم عليهم من عرف منه
وثوقة بالأبادن الذي قبله منه ساقفة وقوس وشماسة وعلمهم
وضع الخدمية وتقديس السائر المقدسية وفائدة تفع الخضر في
صلواتهم وقداساتهم وھدأتهم إلى معرفة الله وصنع امامهم ايات
معجزة وإعجاب خارقة ما لم يروا مثله ولم يسعوا وقوا إيمانهم
حتى طرأ عبادة الإصنام وتقديم القرادين لها وتحققوا من
موجب العقل ما كانوا عليه من ظلالة والكفر ثم لما استنارت
عقولهم وقلوبهم همروا ببداية بيعة لتوما العظيم الذي أرسلهم
وهذه البيعة الذي احتموا بعمرتها لهذا الرسول العظيم توما
الذي قبوا منه الإضادة الإدراكية أظهر الله لهم أية عرضية لما
اشتهت عمار البيعة ارسل الله سبحانه وتعالى البحر غطاء طريقها وما
تستشهد هذا الرسول العظيم وأكل جهاده ونال أكليل الشهادة
حمل جسدتهم المقدس إلى هذه البيعة فوضعها في تابوت محكم
الصعنة ومغفورة بالذهب ولي شاهدوا هذه الأعجوبة الأخرى بعد
الشهادة وإن يده اليمنى لم تتغير عن طبع الحياة كما كانت
أولاً وهو حتى عجبوا من ذلك وقويت إيمانهم فجعلوا في التابوت
موضع الخروج بديه المقدسية أية ظاهرة لكل من راهًا وعاد البحر
الذي سد الطريق الموصلة لهذه البيعة في كل سنة ارسل الله

[II. 7]
التاريخ الشهيبي ابن صلح

الزيتون كثيرًا جدًّا ثم يخرج قيم هذه البيعة وياخذ من الزبون ما يعصره ويقد منه قناديلها وتصلى الشعب المجتمع إليها ويتفرقوا ويتصرفوا عائدين إلى موضعهم. وبعد ذلك يجمع القيم بقيادة الزبون ويكثر فيها البيعة لوقود قناديلها في طول السنة هذا ما سطره الشيخ ابن البركات موهوب ابن منصور ابن مفرج الأسكندري الشهير في سيرة إبنا الخرسدان. وهو السادس والسابع في العدد مدينة الظلمات التي بينها وبين بلد الإقليم. يقال له جبريل عرضة تلائمهم قبل سنة خمسة، وابن الرسول واتشبيها عدة كنائس تحديمهم بيعة على اسم السيدة الظاهرة وطولها بالضبع الكبرى ثلاثة آلاف زرع في عرض الكنائس ثلاثة وخمسين زرع وقيل النهر بها وصار على ثلاثة عشر طرقًا، وشاعرها بطرس رأس التلامين عند ما وصل إليها بله بذهب كتاب الإقليم وكان أهل هذا البلد يعدين عيد اصنعائهم في الثانية عشر من أيار في كل سنة ثم ينضرون فيهم الورد كبيلاً ويجعلونه على روعة اصنعائهم وقرون لهم العص الطرى وفرد السبيلو من خلائهم وكان بمدينة اللوزريقين طلسم على صور المدينة ينشر بالغريب، فلا يروه يدخل إليها وأما هذا النهر بدعاء بولس انفرن ثلاث عشر طريقة. ويعيد فيه بها نمادرة عشر الف رجل وابتىوا عدة كنائس عظام وكسر الطلسم المذكور وابن الله سقىهم أيضًا الزبون يعصر منه زينًا لوقود مصابيح الكنائس بهذه المدينة الهند ليس فيه حر ولا بارد خط الاستواء وهي بلاد الحبالة المسماة الهندة وكل من فيه يعبدون البدر والشمس والنار وهو بلد الهند سقعة بعيدًا من
تاريخ الشيخ عبد صالح

توماس التلمدين وديره المقدسة التي لم تسا جنب السيد وهي إلى الآن حية شهادة لقيامة المسيح المبكر من بين الإيمان وصوَّرت إلى السماء، وهذة في جмысл القديس توما في كنيسة بحزيرية من جزر الهند في البحر المالج. يتخبر عنها المسافرون مما هو مشهور بين الناس إلى يومنا هذا. أفريقية من الغرب بشر بها فيليپوس الرسول وتفسيره محب الخيل بيعه مار يوحننا وبيعة على اسم السيدة العذرة الطاهرة مرتبطة انشاها بعض التجار المسافرين سنة احد وثلاثين وتسعين للإسكندر غرب الغرب بها الروم يسكنون سكوت فيها تlig كثير ويرد عظيم وبرن شديد فمات فيها من الناس واليهام كثير قربانة فيها

جسن فيليپوس المذكور صدرًا الإبل الادلرس كرسى مملكة المغارة البربر المسلمين فيしたい أقصاه كرسى مملكة الفرج المروه فضل تضمن كتاب الخضط بمصر ان عمر ابن العاص امبر مصر لما فتح قلعة طليطلة في الإبلرس في رجب سنة ثلاث وتسعين لمملكة العرب على يي موسى وجد فيها ناج ذكر أده ناج سليمان ابن داود الملك وسائدة وهي ذهب مكللة بالجزء وكان قيمتها خاصة مائتي ألف دينار معها وجرة من الإموال والذخائر النفيسة وال الجوهر الكريمة والآثرة والسراج ما لا قيمة له المكان المعروف انظر وتعجب هو قريبًا من المروية بينه وبينها ثلاثه أجمان فيها بيعة السيدة الطاهرة العذري مرتبية تصميت السيرة ان عند باب هذه البيعة شجرة زيتون ليس فيها ورقة خضراء وأن يوم عيدها عن طلوع الشمس تختصر هذه الشجرة والناس جميعهم ينظروا وتنفتذن اغصانها وتنبع اوراقها ويزدهر فوقها نهر الزيتون وينثرون زيتونها ويتراقصون ويتكرار إلى نصف النهار فيسير فيها من
الحبشة قرض خمر بغير خشوم وتزوج موسى ابن الملك ويقترب بالخل والماء والماله خاصة وليس ذلك من عدم الخضر بل عوائد توازته عن السلف فضل وفي بلاد الحبشة عده كبيرة مسلمين ويعقوب بالجربة على كل نفس ثلاثه الأفية الخليفة حريد وهو سفون مسطوش وفي طريقه ختم الملك وقد الملك في الخبرة كرسى دارو الملك الذي كان يجلس عليه للحكم وعليه بهما دار صلبان تذهب وفي جميع جوانب وكانت الباب البطاركة يكتبون ملوك الحبشة والنوبة دفعتين في السنة وأخرهم زخاريوس الرابع والستين فمنع من ذلك الحاكم وقطع إلى الآن بل أده أده حضر كتاب كل منهم إلى الخليفة بمصر ووزيره تقدم إلى البطريرك بمكتبة بما النصارى عليه من الجبال والآثار وغير ذلك من التصرف في عاداتهم التجارية ويوصي الملك بالحبشة ان يتوصى بالمسلمين التي تحت رعايته وكان عادة كل من ملوك الحبشة واهل مملكته ان تكون لكل واحد منهم عدة من النسا إلى بطريركية ادبا شنودة وهو السابع والستين في العدد امر الملك ان يردهم عن هذه الطريق الى طريق النصارى بمصر والشام ولا يمكن الملك مما هو عليه هو واهل مملكته فامتنعوا من ذلك وصار لكل منهم زوجة واحدة ففضل ويعتمد في تكرير الكنائس هناك ما جرت به العادة في جميع الكنائس بمصر امر الملك ان يمارسهم انه اذا نكمل بنا بيعة يزوج لها رأس من البقر اربعة ومن الضعان اربعة ومن المعدن اربعة لكل جهة من جهات البيعة ثلاثه ويصف بالجميع في يوم الغزاع من عمارة البيعة قريبة لله الذي أعاده ان كمال عماره بين تقرب فيه قرابين الله ويدكر فيه اسمه ويرفع فيه الدعا والصلوات والنسابح له فيها بيعة.
جميعهم كهنة يقدّسون على الهياكل ما دام الملك منهم لا يقتل بئره فاذن قتل لم يبق له قرسان ونتممة الشروط التي تلزم بعد ما يقتل وقد تقدم نكرها في هذا الكتاب وجمجمة الحبشة إذا اخطأ أحدهم يأخذ فيه بعضه من هذه الأصناف كما يبخر به على الهياكل عنهم ومجموعة لبنان وسدروس وعبيدة ولادن ومصطكا وعون وسلبّيقة ويعترف بصخطات أهيله ويطرد في المجامرة وأيضاً الور سباست وكل من ملوك الحبشة يتوج بنتناج الملك في بيعة الملك ميخائيل وبيعة القرص الخليل ماري جرجس تحت صورهما وليس ثم ناحى بل يبكره المطران ويضع يده على راسه ويستعده بنديل من على رأسه إلى احتاكه ويلبسه ثياب ديباج ومنهم نبات صلى الله عليه وسلم في اللوهي الحجارة المكتوبة باصفة الله بالوصايا التي أمر الله بها بنى إسرائيل ونابوت العهد وهو في علو المعبد في ارتفاعها وعرشة دون عرشة وينتهي في علوه إلى رقية الرجل وهو مصدق بالذهب وعلى غطاء الفوقادى صلبان ذهب وعليه خمس جواهر أربعة في أربع زوايا وفي وسطه جوضرة واحدة ويقدّس عليه في كل سنة أربع قرسات في قصر الملك وينشر عليه سرادق عند أخراجه من الكنيسة إلى الكنيسة التي بقصر الملك وذلك في عين البلد العظيم وعين الطواس المجيد وعين القيامة المقدسة وعين الصليب الأدنور وترمس خدمته وحمله بجماعة كبيرة من بنى إسرائيل منسوبين إلى نسل داود النبي وهم ببيت حمر شقر وفي كل بلد من بلد حبشة كنيسة واحدة في أكبر ما يكون من الاتّصال فصل وذكر ان النجاشي كان أبيض لاحمر اشقر وجميع دسله إلى اليوم وذكر أنه من نسل هارون موسي عند وصوله إلى بلاد الحبشة وقرابين
سنيس في البر الغربي منها عنده عدة كنائس معطلة خراب
فظل وقيل أن فيه بشارة بدون لاين كامل وفيه نحلة عجبية
ما سمع مثلها ويزلي انها تطرح به رب ودعا الأطبخ ما يكون
وبسر قشره وهذا خبر مشهور نظر في كتاب النصرابين زلاف
قهوة بها دير على اسم الملك الجنيل ميخائيل ويعرف بدير
العين وبقربه عين ماء طيبة يشرب منها الخاطر بتك الناحية
وقيد جوسيف وعليه صور دائر وذكر ان فيه جسد المسيح ابو
بستنة صاحب الدير بالصعيد، هو حروف فيها دير على اسم
الملك الجنيل ميخائيل وقيد جوسيف الاقربين قبالة بابها
اسنام مثل ذلك قاتل ومنهم صور سباح وكباش وهي قائمة على
ارجلها صغير ببيبة ويسيرة وهي حجاجة مأنع اسوس ملسي
وداخلها اسنام من حجاجة مانع اسوس كبير جدا ليس لهم عدد
بلاد الحبشة وهي في كرسى مرقص الاديجي وحشي مملكة
سابا ومنها حضرت ملكة اليمن الى اورشليم لتسمع من سليمان
كلام الحكمة وقررت له هنديا جليلة وادا ارد ملك الحبشة
ان يغزوا هذا البلد في يقيم سنة كاملة بطوف فيها سوى أيام
الاحاد والاعياد الس ideology الى ان يعود الى كرسى مملكة وحشي
مناخة لبلاد الهند وما يلي بلاد الهند ومن كرسى مرقس
الاديجي يقيم على الحبشة مطران من بطريرك الاسكندرية بارض
مصر والمطران على الحبشة يقيم لهم كهنة عيني قوس وشماسية
وملك المقرة الحبشى الملك الإردنى وهو الملك الكبير في الملوك
ملكة لان لملك مملكة أقصى الأرض القبليه المتسعة جدا والطيب
الكثير وهو رابع ملوك الأرض لا يطبق ملك من ملوك الاض
مقاومة وعند كيه في بعض بلاده سفينة نوح قل وملوك الحبشة
Fol.105 a

Fol.105 b
الخضر والكسرى والقمح وغير ذلك وفيها دخيل متفرق شوهد
لملكة الأرض ووقف للسواقي اربعين زوج بقر واصرف مال كثير
في الصرفات قبل وفاته دين الله نفسه الناحية المعرفة بقارة من
الصيهر الاعلى بها دير وبيعة على اسم القديس أبو بخوم وهذه
البيعه كبيرة متسعة طولها مائة وخمسون ذراعا وعرضها خمسة
وسبعين ذراعا وهي الا ان قد تشعنت جميع الصور التي فيها كانت
فص صاحب مذهب ومعلوم ومعلوم بإخاء هدمها المحاكم قمولة
فيها بيعة على اسم الشهيد الجليل تادريس بعيتين الشهيد
الجليل بو مقرورة له بها بيعة وأيضا بعيتين للملائكة الجليلين
ميخائيل وغيربال وكهذا أيضا بعيتين للشهيدين الجليلين قدس
مارى جرجس والقديس بقطر ابن اربانيوس وبيعيتين للقدسين
الجليلين ابن شنودة ويوحنا بو قرقاس فيها ديون للشهيدين
الجليلين ابا دوب ولأذالين مدينة الشموديين للابا القديسين
بطرس ومرقس بها بعيتين للشهيدين الجليلين ماري جرجس
ومقروروس بها أيضا بعيتين للملائكة الاظهار العلويين ميخائيل
وغيربال ورؤفئل لهم بها ثلاثة كنائس الناحية المعروفة بثغر
اسوان أيضا مضافا لما تقوم مجاور الخص من شرقية بيعة
للاربعة حيوانات وتحتها بركة ماء يقال ان ديوقلايدانوس الملك
الكافر سفك دما شهداء كثير على هذه البداية وكان على هذه
البركة صور وقى دثر معظمه فصل جزيرة بقيق من غربها بيعة
للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتيم وبها عدة كنائس معظمة خراب
وبيعة للقديس الشهيد الجليل تادريس جزيرة بلاق وبها اصمام
 كثير وربابي وبها بعيتين احدهما على اسم الملوك الجليل
ميخائيل وآخرة لاتناسيوس البطريرك وهولا عند البنيا ل بيت

Fol. 104 a

Fol. 104 b
مثال وذكر ان الجبابرة الذين بنوا البريدا احكموا بناءه هذه البتر
مدينة فقط أول مدينة بنيت بارب مصر بناها فقط ابن مصر
وعاش اربعين سنة وقف مع ولياءاتها بالواهات وفيها طريق إلى
عذاب وطرىق إلى مدين الرجاء بهذه طريق إلى بحر النعام
بيرة للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتزيم وفيها جسد العذراء أبو
شاي وبيعة أخرى للسيدة ايضا العذراء الطاهرة مرتزيم
وبيعة للقديس ساوس، دير للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتزيم
ودير للقديس ابو شنودة، ودير على اسم القديس انتونيوس
ودير على اسم القديس ابي جرج للنساء الرهبات ودير للشهيد
بقرة للرهبان ودير على اسم الشهيد الجليل دادس وبيعة
على اسم الملوك غير فال في علم الجبل بهذه الناحية وفي
وسطها عامود قائم وحيد وهو مكشوف للشمس وفيه انفعذن
النيل قد وضعت بحالة وهدية من الله تعالى فاننا كان في
اليوم السادس والعشرين من بتوده وهو يوم وقوف الشمس
بضع ابن دون بانزل الله تعالى حتى غلب الام الخنفرة الجبابرة في
الحرب بتبديل الشمس في عدة الهوان و بتضاعف هالاتها فاننا هي
وقشت على هذا العامود وانتهى حدها على احد الانفاذ علم من ذلك
نهاية النيل المبارك في تلك السنة على الجبل قناة هذه الناحية
بها ديين جردنها المعلم استحفا المعروف بالازرق التاجر الذي
من مدينة فقط احكمها على اسم قلقوس والاخر على اسم
الملاء الجليل ميخائيل وكانوا قد بلغوا الى الخراب وقد اهتم
ونشر جملة كبيرة وأقامهم احسن قيام وتوارثت اليهم الرهبان
وسكن فيها حمسون راهبًا وغرس فيها غروس كثير من الأشجار
والكرات واوقف عليها اراضي ملكه وعلىها سواقي يرعي عليها
تجعل على البجر أولها على أولها واخرى على اخرى في عرضه ولم يكمل استخلاصها من زمن الحبارة وهي الآن باقية على هذه الصغرى ناحية اسمها ونسخ السكر وكان بها شجرة من الهند وبها بذرة على اسم مغيض الراهب العابد ذكر إنه كان قد قعلم اعطى عليها اسم مدينة اسمها ووصل إلى هذه الناحية يحمله رجل مسلم من خارج البلد إلى أن يصل به إلى قلعة سكنه وفي أعراس المسلمين وأفرادهم ينصرون النصارى ويقروها قطبيا صغيرة ويبيرون قاع الصحراء في أسواقها وشوارعها وصار هذا عندهم عرف وعادة مستقرة إلى عصرنا دينهم، وفي ليلة عيد الميلاد المقدس من كل سنة يقوها المسلمين والنصارى شموع ومضارعات وإحتفالا بهجة كبيرة آمنت وكانت تسمى قريبا ارتوسية تفسيرها بُذاقة مباركة بأنها الملك ابن قطيرم وسهم يورق ابن قطيرم ابن مصر ابنة بيصر ابن حام ابن نوح بها بذرة للسيدة العذراء الظاهرة مرتبة وكبر بها صرح في سنة أخرى وتبينان للشهداء الابرار. أخذ من شقاق اوعية ماء تكرير ورسيت في البئر التي في البيعة فصعع الماء حتى انتهى إلى نصف البئر فعلموا الكهنة أحد صعود الماء وعلى الناحية إلى الان بذرة بالخضرة قريبًا من هذه الناحية على اسم بطرس رئيس الأباء الصواريون مكنوياً عنها أسمها، لما كرمت فاصل الماء من الوعي حتى ساح في صحن البيعة بذرة على اسم القديس ابنا سيدنا فجأة قريباً من دماسيل دترى بالصعيد مدينة كبيرة بنتها بعض بنات القبط في أيام منفوس بها بئر مربع البنا فتحها مائة دماغ ينزل الده بدرج تنزلها البئر والشور والفس والغنم وسائر البهائم يشرون عين هذا البئر ودهنها الناحية بيراً عاجبة جداً لم يرى a 103.

Fol. 102b

[II. 7.]

Fol. 103a
الجبل الأحمر في بلاد الكروبيس وارض هذا الجبل محرقة لا ديبات فيها ولا حيوان فصل وان بلاد السودان فيها نهر يعرف بالابيض وان زاد مدة من على نهر يعرف بالاسود وهو الورد إلى نهر النيل من الشرق وان زاد البحر الذي يمنى الى نهر النيل وهو الابيض كبير صحة الايدان بعصر وان هو نقص ومن البحر الاسود أخوه اهل مصر وعائل منهم كثير وهذا النهر الاسود يخرج من جبل اسود ويبعد على حجارة سود بعده شديد السوان ويجاوره نهر اصغر الماء ينزل من جبل اصغر كالزفغان قصل داحية أسوان تسكنها قوم عرب من رديعة وغيرهم ويها عيون نفط وهو ابيض في الجبل وجرها ابن عين الصيف الوالي كان بأسوان في سنة اربعمئة ولهذة الجههة يوجد طين الحكمة ومعن الذهب والمغرة الحمراء والصفراء قصل بيعة على اسم القديس أبو هجري وجسره بها وهي خراب في جزيرة أسوان ودير ايضا يجاوره هذه البيعة وفي ذلك الدير كان ناشئة ولاية خراب والبيعة كبيرة حسنة جداً كانت بيعة أبو مينا الشهيد وهي عمارة حجر نقى بيعة للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتمية كبيرة جداً كانت دقلها الحاكم مستجر باعة للملاء الجليل ميخائيل ظاهرها من شرقها خراب وهي في الجبل بيعة Fol.102 a

القديس الشهيد الجليل ماري جرجس دير للقديس أبو هجري في الجبل الغربي وهو غامر دير ابدا اندوحة سينا بالحجر وكان له عدة بساتين تغلب عليها العرب وافضوا الدير بيعة على اسم القديس ابباده على قلعة صوان على شاطئ بحر النيل المبارك وذكر عن هذا القديس انه كان يمشى على الها فصل ولهذة الناحية جبل اسود صوان وقد استخرج منه أسقالة طويلة
ميخائيل مطلة على البحر بين بلاد النوبة وبلاد المسلمين وهي برسم النوبة ويجاورها مسجد بين مستنجين وقصر محرس بين المسلمين والنوبة وهو أول عمل النوبة ومريرة بلاق وبيت ارض النوبة والمسلمين حفران على جبل في وسط بحر النيل المبارك والمسلمين مقابلها حصن مينيغ عالي يقال له بلاق بناه درويد وصاردبي فيه مساكنًا حصينة وفيدة تأثيرات مهيئة من أعمال الأوائل وبين أسوان منها خمسة أمثال وبعدها أسوان الثغر الأعظم والرياط الأكبر وآخر مناهل المسلمين وواحيلها معادن الذهب وفيها بروي فيه صورة عقرب يختتم عليه كل سنة بالطفل في أوانا عشر يومًا من برومية فلا يقرب العقرب من ميع شى من الطفل المختوم به على صورة العقرب وتفسير اسم أسوان اسطرو وهذة المدينة بناها الملك لقوم من الحبشة جعلهم حرصًا وكان فيهم شدة في الإكيل فقال لهم أرسطوا منها إلى العلا ثماني عشر يوما وات عيناب اربعين يومًا دير بابقاب على جبل عالي مطل على البحر وبيعته على اسم الملك التاجيل ميخائيل وهي قبة واحدة كبيرة جدًا بين أسوان وقوس واذا اخذ أحد من النذر الذي يحمل اليها شى قليل أو كبير وركب في مركب لا يقدر ذلك المركب يخرج من البر حتى يعبين ما أخذ وعرف هذا بين أهل تلك الأرض فلم يعود أحد يعترض الى شي من نذر الكنيسة بيعة على اسم السيدة العذري الظاهرة مرتبريما اشاغا الملك وكرها انا جربة الإسقف أسقف نتوا عند مسيرة من عين أحرسطادوس البطريرك الى هناك يلمس من الملك شيًا يساعده به بحكم أنه كان في مصادرة الجدير لآخر خلفها بيني اميحة فصل ذكر أن جبل القمر الذي يجري منه ماء النيل لون
يرسم الناظر إلىه إدن قطعة واحدة وهو مستقى بلاطات حجر أسود. مانع ملمس طول كل واحدة خمسة عشر دفعات بالعمل وعرضها خمسة وسمكها خمسة وعشرون قطعة متلاصقة، يظن بهم إدهم قطعة واحدة. وفي ذلك البري بئر منقوطة برجم وهو متسع فنذل أحد فيها إلى آخر البرج يعده أقيمة بعث الغطاس مختلفة ما يدرك لها آخر فتى ليخرج في الدخول يضع وربما يهلكه أن لم يرجع من قريب قفَّ، عند الجنادر الرابع دير عظيم في الشرف على جبل عال مطل على بصر النيل المبارك.

مدينة ثقة فيل أن موسى النبي قبل أن يتغيب من وجه فروعه ارسل فروعه في قرود بلاد السودان وينقص آخر البلاد، وتبادر البلاد التي أمره فروع من يغزوها بها أفاعي كثير وحشرات مهلكة وكان موسى النبي حكيمًا موفقًا من الله في جميع حركاته فسار قاصد إليها بجيشه واستقبل معه من الطيور الديوب والوقوف ثم فدخل في البراق المقطرة التي داوى إليها الحشرات والإفاعة الفتى المهاكمة فكانوا إذا سمعوا أصوات الديوب والوق في الليال والنهار يهرون ولا يستنون في أماكنهم وتغيب عن طريقه فتيسير في طريقه، ولا ينظر شيء منها. فبلغ إلى مدينة ثقة فنزل على هذه المدينة فراته إبنة الملك والطيور معه فأخبارة ورسلها في فتح المدينة ودليلة على طريق يسبتها فتسهل فتح المدينة عليه، وكتب لها إبنة هذة الملك الحبشة ففتحها بالآسان، وامس من بها من الناس وحملوا إليه مالًا ده هذه المدينة المذكورة. في مدينة ثقة دير يعرف بدير أنسون وهو دير عتيق متين البنا حسن الوضع، ولذلك لم تتغير معالمها على طويل مدة وقرية معذاء الجبل خمسة عشر ضيعة، بيعة للملأurile الجليل.
كتاب بخط بيرة بالقلم النوبي ما يدل على علامة ودينة ورهاناته، فجعل وعنه هذا الملك اعنى ملكة النوبة بالمملكة القدس فصلت، اعنى ملكة النوبة لها النوبة وأرض علما والمغرة والاجناس المضافية إليها وذكر أن عادتهم جارية بادية أما ذات ملك وخلف ولد وكان له ابن اخى فجعله بعد طالب بلاد النوبة وهي كربيس مارى مرقصاً الإنجيل ومنذ يقسم لهم وقاسهم وصلواتهم روماً وعدة ملوك النوبة ثلاثة عشر ملكاً هولا ضابطين البلاد وجميعهم تحت طاعة كريانوس الملك الكبير وجميعهم كهنة يقذعون على الهياكل ما دام الملك منهم لم يقتل بيده فان فقاس بلغ له قبض ولم يزال كذلك اعنى الملك يغفر قباس وأنا دخل الى حجاب الهيكل ينزع عنه ناج الملك ويقف مشوكر الراس الى ان يتقرب الشعب جميعه ولم يبق منهم احد يغفر قباس فيقرب آخر الشعب اذا أراد أن يتقرب مدينة درس من بلاد النوبة بها بيعة جليلة القدير حسنة وضع مطلة على البحر فيهاسfetch smuggling السيرة النبوية وهو شيوخ كبير كان يجلس على سرير ابتسوس مطقم وعاج مصلح بالذهب المبلد وعمره ثماني سنوات وعلى رأسه ناج الملك مرضع بالاحماض الكريمة وفي إعلاه صلاب ذهب وفي اربع جهاته اربع جواهر قفل وفي هذه المدينة بريا عظمى بنى على اسم كوكبة الشمس وفي صدره صنم يشبه ذلك وفي صدر الصنم صخرة القرم وهو قطعة واحدة وفي هذه البداية سور عجيبة مذهلة جداً وامتدت عظام يدهش الناظر إليها متعجبا لاقتدار البشرية ومثل ذلك الأعمال الشاقة وفي تلك البريا مجلس هائل متسع
والستون والخمسة ما يساعد السماحة السلطان واللوانين في سنة سبع وتلثين وسبعينات للشهداء الابراهيم. فجاء في روح القدس على أحد أروعهنما الذي أعطى لتكريمه البيعة وراوا الشعب دوماً على ذلك الماء ساطعًا فأخذ الملك ذلك الماء بيده وحمله إلى منزله، واعت الإسفاق ماً، وعمله للبطريرك ليتساع عليه ما دل على قسم البيعة الوادى وتعريف بالقديس أبو نصير وهي على اسمها تعبر ببركة * * * بينها وبين أطراف بلاد النوبة مسيرة ثلاثة أيام وبينها وبين اسوان مسيرة عشرة أيام وكان يتبع في البيعة سليمون ملك النوبة لما دلل على الملك وخلع نفسه وقال من ذا الذي من الملوك يخلص في الحكم بين الناس من قبل الله تعالى ولم يميل مع الهوا ولم يسفك الدماء ظلماً ولم يقتض الناس لما لم يستحقه عليهم فاتهى حالتى إلى والى الصعيد الإعلا وهو سعد الدولة القواسي في خلافة المستنصر بالله وزارة أمير الجيوش بدر قيس من أفخذه من هناك ووجه به إلى القاهرة ووصل إلى الباب اكرم كرامة عظيمة ونّقله الشرف بالطلب الخادم وبروك سليمان غاية وامر وجوه الدولة وأكابرها ان يجيبوه ثم ادخله في منزل جليل حسن الوضع محمل بكل جمال من الرخام والكنزجة ونقش الأسباع المهذبة فاقام بها سنة واحدة وهو يزوره في كل وقت ويحدث معه في امور أثيرة وسمع قوله فيهجوه طالبًا لله عز وجل بكل قلبه وديثه زاهداً فيها يغتن العالم فيه وبعد اقامته سنة تنبيه ودفني في دير القديس مارى جرجس بالصخرات في بطركي كيرلس وهو السابع والستين في العين وعلى من داخل صور البيعة مجاور للباب على يمين الداخل إليها وذكر ان يوجد في بعض كتبه
لما اتصل بملك مصر سبب مجعهم فقيل له أنه لما طلع البطريك أنه بطريق مصر يستخرج من التنصاري بالصعوب اتصل خبره إلى ملك النوبة وملك الحبشة وملك تتح طاعة بطريق مصر فقام لذلك فعند ذلك اطلق البطريق ولم يعود يعترضه وطلب منه أن يكتب ملك النوبة ويأمر بالرجوع فكتب إلى الملك بمثل ذلك فرجع ولم يعود يفعل كما كان يفعل ثم انصرف وعاد إلى بلاده فصل وشهدت سيرة البيعة واحذى ابي يوسف البطريقي وهو في العهد الثاني والخمسون أن ابراهيم أخو المامون العباسى أ偕ن كتاب إلى رخراه ملك النوبة يطلب منه البقت من الرقيق إلى أربعة عشر سنة واده لما لم يقدر على ذلك وجة البيعة جرجه وله إلى بغدان فلما شاهد ابراهيم هذا فرح به لكونه عجز عن القيام بما طلب منه فسير ولدته الذي لم يكن عليه أعتر منه ثم حجب لطاعة ولده له الذي ابدل نفسه لطاعة أبيه وسماحة بجميع ما طلب منه وعاد ولده إلى مصر ونزل في دار الإمبراطوري لمصر وقصد ولده زيارة الأزاب البطريقي فتوجه إليه وهو في غاية الأكرام فتبارك منه وسأله أن يكره له مذبحًا ويهمله إلى قصر الإمبراطور حيث هو دازلًا فاجاب سواله وحصل له مذبحًا مكررًا وعاد يوجه له الإسفاغة والنفسوس والشماسة وكانوا يقسنون على المذبح ويقروبا ابن الملك ومن معه وامر له وليا مصر أن يضرب له النافوس في علم منزلته ليتجميع اصطحابه للصلاة معه والقداس كما يفعل في بلاده إلى توجه جرجة ابن الملك إلى إبيه وهو سالمًا مكرمًا فصل وله وصل ابن الملك لأبيه انشا بيعة كبيرة واتقن وضعها شكر لله لوصول ولده إليه سالمًا وكرزها له ابيا جرجة أعرف نطو الذي كان سيره إنيا أخربسطايدوس وهو السادس
العاصمة لدى الله في جماد الأول سنة ثمان وستين وخمسمائة
في دولة الغر والأخبار في هذه الناحية بالعسكر المتوجهة صحبة
ومن اجتماع الله وقُرَّ المراكون من الجنادل وفيها الزاد والعداد
والسلاح وساروا إليها ولم تطبع عليهم صدروا خراب بعد أن
افتتحوها وسبوا من بها من النوبة وذكر أن عدتهم سبعمائة ألف
نفس من الرجال والنساء والغنيين والصغار ووجب بها سبعمائة
خنير وامرأ بصرف الصليب الذي على قبة هذه البيعة فإن يوزن
على علوها وذهروا جميع ما بهذة الناحية وذهب حاصل البيعة
وقبلت الخنازير ووجد بها اسقف فعاقة فلم بعده عنها شىء
يقربه حينئذ ساه مع السبي وركز بها في القلعة وهي على
جبل عال حصننة جدًا وترك بها عدة من الخليل وجعل عندهم
الزان والسلاح والعديد واللات ووجد بها قطع كثير فيلملل إلى
قوس وإداعة بجبله كبيرة وقد كان فتحها محمد الخازن قبله
في أيام كافور الإخشيدي في الدولة العباسية فصل من سيرة
البيعة المقدسية وتاريخ إبار الباطكة عن إدا خانبل وهو السادس
والإبنين في العدد اده لما صدور في خلافة مروان المجدع وهو
آخر خلفاء بنى إمارة بين أمير مصر صلاح الدين يوسف الكرد
وصعد اتى هذا البطريرك إلى الصعيد الإعلا ليسترفن من الشعب
هناك إنا لما اتصل به ذلك اتى كرياحوس ملك النوبة غار لذاك
ولحقة حميمة وغيرة لاهادة البطريرك ومصادرة فحص جيوشه
وعمساكه وسار قاصد إلى ديار مصر وصحبته سائبة ألف فارس ومائة
الف جمل وخيل النوبة قصار مثل كبار حمير مصر ولهم صبر
على التعبد ووضعوا إلى أعمال مصر دهروا وقتلوا وسبوا كثير
واخربوا مساكن كثيرا من الصعيد وهم متوجهين إلى مصر والجه
هذا النص هو نسخة مصورة من نص مكتوب باللغة العربية. يتحدث النص عن تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلح، والتحركات الهامة التي قام بها في البيض. يشير النص إلى الصراعات والمعرك التي تمت هناك. النص يحتوي على العديد من الأسماء والأحداث التاريخية التي تعود إلى العصور السابقة.

للهي، ليختموا له المكر واحضروا له البذار ويتكونو إلى جانب المكر ويخطوا عنه الزمر ويخيطوا فيبعدا البذار قد زرع في الأرض والمزرق شرب وكذلك وقت الحصاد يخرجون البعض ويتكونو عند البعض المزرق فيصبحون يجدون الحصاد قد كمل ويرعون ان خليفة أخرى تفعل ذلك مدينة دنقلة بها الصر المملك وهي مدينة عظيمة على شاطئ بحر النيل المبارك بها كنائس كثيرة وآذار كبار وشوارع متسعة ودار الملك شاهقة البنا بقباب عدة مبنة بالطوب الاحمر تحاكى ابنته العراق مما كان اقترحه فزائيل ملك التوبة إلى آخر سنة اثنين وتسعين وثمانية للعرب وفي هذه السنة حمل ملك التوبة على الإمام الحاكم بامر الله أبو رزقة وهو الولي ابن هشام العباسي لما قد أعتيده غلبته وشنت مساكير في تخوم بلاد التوبة وذكر ان التوبة كادوا في القدم يعودون الكواكب وان أول من انتقل منهم إلى معرفة الحف ومذهب شريعة السامع بعدها ابن اخ الملك وكان رجل عالمًا يعلم الفلك حكيمًا ماهرًا وله انتقال الى منزه السامع تبعه جمع التوبة السودان وأقام لهم ببع كثيرة بجميع بلاد التوبة وديارات كثير وهي الان عامرة أهلها فهنا ما هو متبعًا عن البحر ومنها ما هو قريبًا من البحر ومن بلاد التوبة مدينة ابريم وهي سكن صالح الحبيل وجميع من بها مريس وعليها حصان دائرة وبهاء جليلة كبيرة حسنة الوضع على اسم سنا السيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتينم وباعلاها قبة عظيمة وعليها صليب عظيم وله صعد إلى الصعيد الإعلا شمس الدولة أخو الملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف ابن ابوب الكردى اخو شيركو في خلافة المستثدي العباسي بعد زوال الخلافة الفاطمية وأخربهم

[II. 7.]
الوليد ابن هشام في ربيع الأول سنة سبع وتسعمين وثمانمائة
عربية ولهب مغنين الذهب جبل زيدان في درار أبو جراس بمدينة
في الغرب وله بسف وله مدينة جليلة وهي على جبل وترى
بالليل فيها كانت البُعد فازا قرب الناظر إليها لم يجردها وترى
بالأوان كان بها مشايل عظيمة وكذلك ترى ببغداد في أرض
عكبراً في ليلة من السنة مشايل كثيرة لا حقيقة لها وفي بلاد
النوبة عند الجنادل مدينة تسمى المسؤوللا لا يُرمز بين فيها
أحداً إلا يفتَبَشَوَو وهو كان ملكا في الملوك ومن جاز وخلاف قتل
ويعابضون بالمتعة والبيع والشراء عندهم مقاضية وكذلك يُقابلون
بالمواشي والرقيق وكل ما يتبع ويشربه مقاضية وفي هذا المكان
يوجد السمادين الذي تختصر به الجواهر يغاص عليه فيوجد
ليس مخلوقًا بالحجارة إذا استقبل على طالب فينفع عليه بما
يعرف فيعلم أنه السمادين وليس يوجد في الدنيا كله إلا
بسرداب وفي هذا الموضع لا غير وفيها جبل فيه عين ماء حار
كما في طريف وهاهنا جبل العطش ما يصل أحد من الناس الى
الماء في هذا الجبل لبده وله بالغة ليس من صعد إلى علو هذا
الجبل سوى ان يشاهد الماء وينظره لا يناله وينظر الماء قريبًا
ولا يصل إليه وإن توجه إليه قاسداً فلا يدركه مدينة علواً بها
جيش وملكية عظيمة جدًا وعمال متسمعة وهما اربعمائة كنيسة
وهذه المدينة في شرق الجزيرة الكبرى بين البحرين الأبيض
والأبيض وجميع منها ما هو على البحر وها كنيسة عظيمة جدًا
متسعة مسحكة الوضع والبنا أكثر من جميع الكنائس التي بها
وتسمى كنيسة بنابي وسرر راعهم على ماء النيل والبحر وها هموا
هناك وإن الجسم حمل إلى هذه البلاد بحكم أن ملك مصر وملك الشام اخوين فان الغارات والجبوع كانت تنور على الشام فكان أن يتم على هذا الجسم عارض ففصلت الجبهة دون الرأس إلى واحات لادها ارض لم تقتصرها الجيبو والغارات وتحقيق ذلك أن الحجاج الذين مضوا إلى القدس حضروا إلى لن يبتكرها من جسد الشهيد مارى جرجس ذكرو اذهما شاهدوا الرأس دون الجسم وكان ذلك في الصوم سنة تسعيون وثمانية للشهداء الإبرار، دير الإبرص في الواقح بدير بارا مدينة المريسي وهي مدينة عامة أهلها ونها مقام جوسار اللييس العصابة والقرنين والسوار الذهب وكان واحد وقع على العزيز بالله وأخبره أن مدينة وصل إليها قرى عميّ عميّ يغفر عقل البشر وهو أن في اليوم السابع من برمودة تظهر مدينة بحصن وساقية تدور على باب الحص، وشجرات جميلة يقبر يشرون من حوض الساقية ويقيم ذلك سبعين من النهار وتركض الخيل وتأتي إلى ذلك الحوض وتشرب ثم بعد ذلك تختفي ولا يرى مكانها شيء ولا يقدر أحد يصل إليها وترى قريبًا وهي بعيد تسمى هذه المدينة عند أهل تلك الأرض مدينة الفقي ولم ترجع تظهر إلى سنة في مثل ذلك اليوم، فضل وقوع بلاد مقترح دير يعرف بدير سفون ملك النوبة تحت الجبال الثانية دير ميكانيمل وقرما كبير متسع وله شجرة جميلة تعرف منها زيادة النيل ونضادة في كل سنة، دير يعرف بدير ديرا يجاوره ديرا بين جبلين عظيمين، مدينة تعرف بمدينة بوسقا مدينة حسنة كثيرة العالم والخبرات، وبها كنائس كثيرة وكان بها مقام صاحب الجبل الذي كتله جرجا ابن زكرياء إسرائيل، وبها دير أبو سنودة وفيه قبض على أبو ركّة
ما فيه من الماء ويغسلوه بما غير ماء فيخرج الماء من العين على جاري عادته الواليات وأواد البهنسية ببعض على اسم الفريض. مارى جرجس ذكر أن جسده الظاهر بها جنوة بغير رأس وفي يوم عين شهادته يخرج من الشادوت وتنجرد عليه كسوة أخرى. ويتفاءب به البلد جميعه بالشعير والصابان والقراة ثم يعاد إلى البيعة وكان قد خيف عليه من بيعة الروم لم يصرقوه فنزل إلى الجبل واحترز عليه وجعل في مغارة وسروا بالحجر واخفوا المغارة فرأه إنسان يوقع به إلى قرية في الروهلا قائلًا لم سجنتهم جسدًا لخروجه من هذا المكان ولم يزل الأسقف والشعب يتحملو إلى أن وجدوه واخرجوه وإعادوه إلى بيعته فاتصل شجاع ابن الخفيف وإلى الواليات في الخلافة الحافظية فانغذ من حمله من البيعة إلى دار الولاية وأخذ عنه وقال ما اطلقة للنصاري إلا بمال جزيل وعاد الاسباق ووجه النصارى متردين لبيده وحملوا إليه شىقل يقنعة ولم يرجع إليهم فاسل الله سحابة وربع عاصف ومطر وفرق ورد شديد أيام متواجدة لم يشاهد أحد مثل ذلك في تلك البلاد فقيل للولى لعل هذا الحادث؟ إما هو بسبب تعريق هذا الجسد فطلبه الإسقاق وسَلَّم له الجسد وللوقت بطل ما كان حرب جمعية وذكر أن الأسباق أقام إسقاقا على الكرسي ثمانية وثلاثين سنة فإذا لم يكفه هذا الجسد في طول هذه المدة غير دفعتين لم شاهده من أمراء وقال للقسوس الكهنة تولوا انتم هذا فإن الذي رأيته ما أقدر أشرحه ولا انطق به وذكر أن هذا الجسد لم يستمر اسمه بل بجده حقيقة واحدة لم يتغير منه شيء والمشهور بين الناس أن جسده هما الشهيد بمدينة لم في أرض الشام وذكر أن الرأس
ناحية أثلى دم السيدة العذراء بيعة أبو جرج الشهيد العظيم

بيعة الملك ميخائيل بيعة ساقية موسى بها بيعة للقديس أبو
بقطر داحية شنرا ذكر ان بها اربعة وعشرين كنيسة من جملتها
ما يشكل بيعة دو سرحة بمصر أهناس بها بيعة فيها جنس أبو
هليا الشهيد ديوان النور من الأعمال الاهنية على ساحل بحر
النيل وبيعته على اسم غير شمال الملك في فيه جوسف خمس طبقات
عالقة مستقى العمارة عليها حسن دائر وفية اربعة أربعة تدخل
مثمرة داحية المرافق بها دير على اسم الملك ميخائيل ظاهر
قلوسنا بيعة للقبط وبيعة للمرسي بوصير قويرة دس هذه البلدة
كان بها كاهناً لفرعون اسمه بوصير وكان ساحر وهنا قتل مروان
ابن محمد الجعفر وهو آخر خلقاء بنى امينة وهنا قتل عليهم
المارق وبهذة الناحية بيعة للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتبه
ودير يعرف برير ابيرون الية وصل مروان حمار الحرب المقدم
ذكره وهو آخر خلقاء بنى امينة وقبعون العرب الشراسين اصحاب
السلاج العباسى فقبضوه وصدهم منكتا وقتلوا وزيرة مدينة العقاب
بناها عون عبد الوهاب ابن دوموع من أولاد فلسطين أبين
بيصرب ابن حام ابن دوج نكر العين التي في وادى العين بشرقى
الحجرية وإملها على العين المصورة إذا استنها طامث لم يعود الامام
ينزل حوض العين حتى ينسف ويفجر قصة الحوض وهو الذي
يسمي الظاهر ذكر ان انسان شاهد حوض من حجر عظيم
يسيل فيه ماء من عين في اصل جبل بهذا الأرض ملافع
كنيسة يسيل سيلانًا دائمًا ماء حلو طيب الرائحة وانما مسّة
رجل منتجص أو امرأة حائض ادقع من ساعته وبينما قد
حصل في الحوض ذلك يعرف ذلك اهل تلك الأرض فينصبوا
وفية عادة من الرهبان ويجاوره جوسيف وبستان والدير قبلي الناحية دمياً بناها دلاك بنية لرجل كان يغدر نفسه على محالطة العالم وكان بها ثلاثية حُتاد يعملون اللحم الدراية بيعة أبو قلعة الطيبي وكان قسيسًا وأحرق بالنار حيال الناحية المعروفة بشرئي وكانت مقطعة لجماعة من الأرمن النصارى وبها سبعة دائق عامة بالكهنة والشعب دبجة للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرترم بيعة للملاك الجليل ميخائيل وبيعتين بو مكسين وبية وبين على اسم الملاك غديال وبيعة على اسم بسيبد وبيعة على اسم الشهيد الجليل مارى جرجس طراوة وهي اسم دابة كانت لفرعون كبرت الدابة ونشت فسيبي ذات الدعائم مدينة القيس بها منغاوس لرجل كان يعمل الوشى والرقم فصل تمس كتاب فتوح مصر أن القيس دار بها قيس ابن الحارث في ولاية عمر ابن العاص فسميته به الناحية المعروفة بديلجة بها دب وبيعة على اسم القديس المجاهد بو دفنة كان مائة فدان طين سوان مفرقة في عدة نواحي وذكر أنها تحتوى على اربعة وعشرين كنيسة منها ما يشاكل بيعة أبو سرجة التي يذكر إن أهل هذه الناحية كانوا أثنان عشر ألف نصارى يركوا في كل عبيد من عبيد ميكائيل في كل سنة أثنان عشر ألف خروف وهم الآنسين سنة تسع وستين وخمسمائة المواقة لسنة تسعين وثمانية للشهداء الأبرار في كل عبيد منها أربعمائة رأس ناحية القلعة ومقابل انضما من الإندونيسيين بها تسع كنائس السيدة الطاهرة العذراء مرترم بيعة أبو أفلودة بيعة بو بعطر بيعة نادر بيعة كفرى * * * الملوك ميخائيل بيعة الشهيد الجليل مارى جرجس بيعة بو يحسن بيعة بو مقرورة بيعة أبو بعام
التاريخ الشهيد أبى صلح

السيدة العذراء الطاهرة زرتهم ببعثة على اسم الملوك غبريال هروماً عوام المسلمين واحدة منهم في سنة تبادين وخمسينية في مملكة الغز الإزخار ببعثة على اسم الملوك ميخائيل وبعثة على الشهيد أبى لوكوم ببعثة على اسم الإباد التلامين وبعثة للشهيد أبو مينا وبعثة للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة زرتهم كبير على اسم الشهيد الجليل نادرس وبعثة للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة زرتهم وبعثة على اسم غبريال الملوك وبعثة على اسم أبى فلوج الشهيد وبعثة ملفاني الملوك وبعثة على اسم الشهيد العظيم ماري جرجس سامستاً من الصعيد الادناً ببعثة أبو هرومة الشهيد وجدت بها بعثة جسم بسكون وجسر سنّة في كابير في بعثة قبل بعثة مدينة القيس ودعوا فيها بعثة وها جسم أبى استحق الشهيد تفني داخلاً وخارجاً بعثة للملوك الجليل ميخائيل كبير جداً وهي على بحر النيل المباك وها اربع بعثة لسنا السيدة العذراء الطاهرة زرتهم وبعثة للشهيد الشجاع نادرس وبعثة لتلماس الشهيد. بعثة للشهيد الجليل بو بيسنس وإيضاً سنة بعثة للملوك ملفاني بعثة للشهيد أبو مرقوه بعثة لل صلى الله عليه وسلم هو للشهيد الشجاع نادرس بعثة للنبي الجليل دانيال بعثة وأبا فرو بعثة ومكاني الملوك أيضاً أفهيم بعثة بها ستة كناسيس تفصلها بعثة على اسم السيدة العذراء الطاهرة زرتهم وبعثة للملوك الجليل ميخائيل وبعثة للملوك الجليل غبريال وبعثة للشهيد نادرس وبعثة للشهيد أبى سبون وبعثة بولس الكاثب الشهيد من أفهيم. كنى أبى فيليمون الشهيد

1 In margin من أهل الإسكندرية.
تاريغ الشیخ ابی صلیم

قبله وصلاته وسمع خبر طلاعی ابن رزیکة من والی الصعیدین قبل وفاته فيحضر الیه وشاهدها ویتطرب فوجد الصالح صاحب
ویشره هذا الشیخ بانه برفع درجته ویصیر وزیر وان اللہ تعالی
فتح عليه بالوزارة فاطلق للدیر مضافًا إلى المقر له فیف طین سواه ويصوم ایضاً هذا الشیخ القدیس فی ایام الخمسین کل یوم
الى التاسعة ویغطر على قلیل ترمس فقط دیر ابن يحسن ویعرف
باشیا دیر على اسم السیدة العذري الظاهره مرتبه ویعرف
دیر ازیلی تیحیه بستان عامر بالاشجاع والتخجل دیر على
اسم السیدة ایضاً العذري الظاهره مرتبه ویعرف دیر ابن
الحات دیر یعرف دیر التنادیة على اسم الشهید ابن باغم دیر
الشهید ماری بقطر وبثبیة فيها جسده وحسن داود الشهید
وقولث الشهید هذا جسده فی دیره بسیوط وحسن باغم
الشهید ولدا دیر ابن بقطر بالخصوص من شریقها فی الجبل
وفی جسده الظاهر دیر یعرف بابسیدا وهو بین ریتة ویین
* بیعة على اسم القدیس سرجیوس ویعرف دیر ابن
مقروفة شرقی سیوط طبیعی داخلها وخارجها دیر وبيعة على
اسم القدیس الشهید تربیة جسده الظاهر فی الدیر بیعة اسم
الشهید بسمنة ویین جسده الظاهر بیعة على الصطیف ویو
سیدا یسوی المضیف للحج دیر ابا نوب الشهید ویین اجساد
ثلاثة وستین راهب شهداء وهو بحیری مداریة الإشیوهی قتلهم
واحد من السیدان اسمه حفاظ فی خلافة المستنصر بالله فی
وقت الهیج بالصعیب فی بطریة اخیرسطادولس وهو السادس
والستون فی العقد فی سنة ایت وثمانی وسبعیة للشهیدا
الابرار وینهذا الدیر جوسع شاهق عالی البنا بیعة على اسم
عمارة الباب السفلي لدير هنادة للرهبان في غربهم من أصحاب الدبابة الإرسالية. ذكره مالكوب، يشير إلى أنه كان يرتدي ملابس محايدة من الثوب والبكر، وكان يرتدي حذاء من الصاغة. في الآونة الأخيرة، تزداد الاهتمام بإعادة بناء هذا الدير كملاذ للرهبان الذين يرغبون في حياة مشتركة ودينية.

Fol. 89 b

وأعتز أولئك الذين يعيشون في ضيافة هذه الديرات بالطعام الذي يتم توفيره، حيث يتم تقديم الطعام في غرف خاصة للرهبان. يشمل الطعام مواداً غذائية متعدداً، منها الخضروات واللحوم وال，默认 وغيرها من الأطعمة المتنوعة. كما يتم تقديم القهوة والشاي خلال الوجبات، مما يساعد الرهبان على الاستمتاع بمواعيدهم في هذا الدير.

[II. 7]
دار وفيه طاحون وقرن ومعمرة زيت حار ويتجاوز جوسيف كبير
شاهق في العلو ويستلم فيه نخيل واشجار ولد رزق من الخفاف
فين طين سواح عشرين فدانًا استولى عليه أحد الغز الأكران في
سنة تسع وستين وخمسين وجعلها جامعاً ودخن البستان والقرن
وسك في الجوسيف وفي تلك السنة مات ولم يبلغ مقصوده
دير العسل المجاور لمنية بنى خصين وفية بيعة الغريرن ماري
جريس وحصدها حصن دائر وفيه جوسيفين وديراً أحدهما قبل
البيعة وفيه طاحون وقلالي الرعبان والجوسيف الآخر بحري البهاء
ومعمرة زيت حار زكرون أن بها أرعة عشر بيعة بيعة للقديس
بو شنودة وبيعة للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتميًّما بيعة للملوك
الجليل ميخائيل، بيعة على اسم القديس اكلوديوس الشهيد وبيعة
على اسم القديس بو هدى بالاشموديين بيعة باسم القديس الشهيد
ماري جريس يقرب فيها كل يوم طول السنة وذكر أنه كان
دير العسل المذكور راهباً يسمى سيمون القديس وسار اسقفًا
وكان بقلائته نخيل متعدرة وبها تعشش الغربان ومن أجل رحمته
وصاحبة الغابة الغريبة الغراب يأكل مما يده وعقبت الخصطة
من شعبه على خطاباهم وقيلوا تعاليمه المحمدية وتابوا عن خطاباهم
وعادوا يلزروها البيعة لسماع مواظة وتعليمها ويدمروا لها من
أتعابهم العشور والندور ناحية الخصوص من سيوه في المجادر
الشرقية فيها للقبط خمسة وعشرين بيعة ودير داخل البلد للإيوس
ويعتتين خارج البلد ويعتتين داخل البلد وهذه البيعة من اهتم
بتخليدهن من ياتري ذكره، بيعة أبو قادة اهتم بمدرستها وتجديد

1 Sic!
يخرج الشياطين باسم المستحي المعتزليين بالإرواح النجسة داحية

شطبه من أعمال سيوط بناها منغاموس الملك وتفسير اسمها
المحبوبة وترقبهم فيها طريق إلى واحات وكان بها
طباخين للملك وليس عليهم وجه الأرض طيب ابليز احسن من
أبلزها واطبي رائحة يطفي به جبل وروية ماء النيل ومساحته
ثلاثين الف فدان في دست واحد لو قطرت قرطة انشقت على
اعتدالها وفاضت على جوانبها يرزع فيه الكتان والتمحم والبرسيم
وسائر اصناف المزدروات ويقال انها لم يكن على وجه ارض مصر
صفة اعتدال باسط الزرع ولا ادرك وفرح منه عند كمال موعده
على الأرض وظهور ازهاره ولا اعجب منه ويعبض بساقر فيه
الغرب جبل أبيض على صورة الطبلسان كاه جدول فضة لا يسمع
فيه الكلام من عظم اصوات الطير وليس باسيوط ايضًا سكن ليهودي
ولا يمر بها يهودى إلا عابر طريق وعليها حص دائر طب لين
وبابها سبعة وهي باب الجبل قبلي باب وردس وشرقية باب
الإسر تنعرف بالقطرة وباب ام حرير باب السودان باب المقياس

Fol. 87b

دار أبو السرى فيه جسد القديس داوودون الإمبراطور الشهير وجسد
هروفوس الأسقف وهروفوس والجسدين على دكة خشبة في بيت
المذبح كبر يعرف داير أبو سادم كان وصوله الى شطب اعني
جسديه في خمسون هنوت وجزاويه جبل الطليعون طوله ثلاثة
ابره في الجوانب الشرقية الكبري بسربط وبه حمام خراب بعده
الشهير أبو باغام وجدسها بها ولدو دبعة أخرى بالخريدة دير سلطان
بالإشعاعيين وبيعة على اسم الشهير أبو باغام أيضًا وعلى سور

Fol. 88a

1 An unintentional repetition.
تنتشر رأس واحد منهم ويتغلب في الموضع فيضطرب بأجنحته حتى يموت فعن ذلك ينفر جميع الطير حتى لم يبق منهم واحد في ذلك الموضع وهو من الديار المشهورة بالآيات العجيبة وكان باختصار بيته مارية القبطية الذي وردت فيه وتربت هذه التي كان المغوس اهداها لمحمد فتزوّج بها وقرر المغوس بدينه مارية القبطية ليصير بها دينيًا لمحمد وصورة فجعل بيته مارية المسجد الناحية المعروفة باسمها وهو اسم من اسماء أولاد قط ابن مصرات وسكنها تقوم سحرة دير قديس يسوع أبو تبیئة وجسد فيه تذكیر على اسم القديس أبو قلته وكان قسیسًا واستشهد وأحرق بالنار حیثاً وكان حسن الوجه ونال أکلیل الشهادة وجسد في هذا الدیر وانضنا أيضًا بیعة على اسم القديس العظیم في الشهدا ماری جرجس وبیعة للشهید الشجاع فادرس المشیری ودير للقديس الكبير أبو شنودة في جبل اندريبا وفيه جماعة من الرببان القديسين وبخاصة القديس المجاهد الناسک ایضاً يسبب الطوبانی دییر الخدائم بالانضنا ایضاً والبیعة التي على اسم منشأ وعمرت على قبر يسبب هذا لكثرة التاکسیب وشغف الامراض التي تظهر منه وبانضنا ایضاً كنیسة تعزیب بكنيسة الملا ويعیب بها للشهداء العظیم المجاهدین على اسم المسيح وعندهم احد واربعین شهیداً وكنيسة ایضاً على اسم القديس نادریس بسرادیلس خارج انضنا دییر میتسیس بالجبل اهتم بمهمة وتجربته القس المبارک الصیاد بالانضنا وكان هذا القس المبارک يعمل الشباک ويتم قانون الربهنة وترعن فيه لاجل جماعة كبریة وكان متيوس من اهل اسیبیة وكان يصل على الزیت وای مرض اندهن منه شفی فی مرضه بقوة الله الحاقية فیه وکان
فيضرب ويفقد عنقه ويتصرعا قوة الله في هذا السر الغطيس
فتقدم إليها ذلك الرجل أشار له كبيرهم فضرب بقوة وحيلة
وقعت رأسها عن بدنها لفي وقت وقى حذتها بهذا حفظ بتواليتها
لتصل إلى المسيح بتكر عذري كمية خلقته بغير دنس الشهوة
الحبوبية فلم رأوا ذلك البشامرة الجهنما ما كان منها عرفوا
حينئذ ما أرادتهم العذري ثم دزموا وحزعوا حرذ عظيم ولم يعارضوا
بعدها لاحظ أولاده العذرين بل أطلقواهم وكفا عن ما كانوا
عرزوا عليه وعادوا للرهبانا ما كانوا يهبون من ديرهم
فصل وفي مدينة خميم سبعين بيعة إلى آخر سنة اثنين وخمسين
وخمسمائة عربية وأيضًا بناحية دمنو بيعة من البر الغربي على
اسم القديس الجليل أبو بثاغم وأيضًا دينار القديس أبو بخور
ببرجوس من أعمال طحا دير أبو حلبانية شرقي خميم عليه
عيب ما يجرى من الجبل إلى فسقيه هناك دينار القديس أبا
بول صاحب الزير بالصعيد دير أبو بثونة صاحب الردير
خميم فصل وحضت كتاب الديوان للشامشي أن بنواحى
خميم دير كبير عظيم مقصود من كل مكان وهو يقرب الجبل
المعروف بجبل الكهف وفي موضع من الجبل شق فانا كان يوم
فول 86

1) باخميم
الفائدة وهذا السر العظيم ودفعت لك ما عندي من هذا الدهن وإن كنت لا تصدقني فادهى ده من شئت وابصر صدق قولي فقال له اسذهني ائته من هذا الدهن فإن أحد ما يهون عليه نفسه ولا أجري إذا في أحد من أصحابي فقالت له تحالف لي قبل ما أظهر لك هذا السر اندك تتلف سبيلك وتزدد إلى ديري والموضع الذي ربيت فيه فصلف لها ائته اطلق سبيلك ولا أدع أحد من أصحابي يتمكن منك فقالت له دعنى ارجع إلى مكاننا إذا ودت لا غير حتى أخذ الدهن وأدرهن إذا منه قدامك ففضى معها إلى الدير فدخلت إلى صورة السيدة وصلت قلوبها وسالتها أن تعينها على الخلاص وانها اندلعت من زيت الغنديل على عنقها فقال ما أجري هذا إلا قدم أصحابي فعاد بها اليوم وعرفهم جميع ما جرى وقال لهم إعلموا ائته حلفت لهذه الصبيحة إنها إذا صم ما قالت إذا اطلق سبيلكها ولا أدع أحد من أصحابي يتمكن منها فانتقم موافقتنا على هذا فقالوا كلهم نحن من تخالفك وهذا السر إذا صم فنحص دبلغ به مقاصد كثير قال لهم هذه الصبيحة قالت جزيرة فذها ارتدت فقلت لها احفظ ما جرينها هذا فيك اجابت وقد دهنت عنقها منه ولم اري أن أجريه إلا بعضكم فامرأ أحد أصحابه كان معه سيف ماضي الحاج فقال له قم اضرب بهذا السيف معك على عنقها فانز رأينا هذا توافقوني على اطلق سبيلكها فاجابت على ما امرهم وقام ذلك الرجل وجرد سيفه فصحت هذه العذرية ركبة وابرت تتلك وهم ما علموا ما في قلبي ثم غطت وجهها وقالت من كان فيكم قدبًا

فيمس ١
فيه رهبات عذاري عددتهم ثلاثين راهبة وكان مروان المجدد

هو الامام خلفاء بنى امبية قد استدعى اهل البشروم وهم البشامرة

ان يساعدوني في حرودة عند اهتزازهم من العباسي واطلق لهم

النهب والسبي والقتل فاعتدوا بذلك وهم جملة ما قصدوه هذا

الدير فتهبوا وكان من جملتهم صبيحة عذرى تسمى فيرونية وكانت

هذه من الشام دخلت إلى هذا الدير وعمروها ثلاث سنين ونشت

فيه وكانت صورة جميلة حسنًا فلما راوها شهدوا لها لحسنها

وجمالها وقالوا 1 بعضهم بعض أنه لم يرى في العالم مثل هذه

الصورة الجميلة فاخروها واخرجوها عن الدير وإنفروها من

خواصها العذاري وتشاوروا عما يفعلوه بها فمنهم من قال دتتارع عليها

ومنهم من قال نهردها للملك فبنيهاهم يتشاوروا في هذا ومثله

قالت لهم ابن كبيرم حتى اعلموا بشريعي يساوي اموال كثيره

وتطلعني ارجع إلى خواتي في الدير الذي ربيت فيه فادنى

ухرى منقطعة في دير منفردة عن الناس عابرة للسبعات

فاجابها مقام الجمعية وقال لها هانا راكذة فيما الذي تقولي وما

هو السر الذي قلتني اده يساوي اموال عظيمة قالت له ابن ابى

1 كانوا حكام شجعان مقاتلين وكان لهم سر ورثوه عن أبائهم لم

يطلعوه عليه أحد غيرهم وكانوا يدخلوا في الحروبكبر ويرجعوا

سالمين لا يجرح احدًا منهم والسبي في هذا ادهم يعرفون اسماً

يقولوها على دهن وبدنها منهم ويخرجوا إلى الحرب فيما يفعل

فيهم السيف ولا النشاب ولا الرمي فعل واتتم فيحتاجين إلى

ذلك فإن خليت سبيلي وردتنى إلى ديرى فانى افيده هذه

1 اخواتها

2 لبعضهم
هذِه النَّقِّة وَتَدَعَى لِي أَن يَغْفِر الله لِي وَلَا يَقَابِلْنِي بِما اسْتَجَعَف مِنَ المَقَايِضِ لَكُونَهُ تَجَاسَرَتْ عَلَى بِيتِ الله وَدَخَلَتْ رَأْيًا إِذَا وَمِن مَعِي فِلَاطِعِ الشَّيْخِ الراَّحِبِ وَلَمْ يُرِدَّ أَن يَقُولَ مَن شَيْ فَحَلَفَ وَلَمْ يَقُولَ فَنَأَوَّلَ ارْبَعِمَائَةَ دَيْنَارٍ وَقَالَ لَهُ إِذَا أَسْتَغْفَر الله الْيَكِي اِبْنُ الشَّيْخِ أَن يَسْتَغْفَر الله لِي عَن هَذِهِ الْزَّالَةِ الَّتِي بُدِّرَتُ مَنِي وَكَانَ فِي الْبِيْعَةِ تَابِوَتْ خَشْبِ سَامِسْ مَطْعَمٌ بِالعَالِجِ فَبِأَثْرِ ثَلَاثِ طِبَاقَاتِ كَانَ الْكَدِيسِ أَبُو شَنُودَةَ عَمَلَهُ بِرَسْمِ الْكِتَابِ وَكَانَ يَرْسَمْ مَا يَحْصُلُ مِنَ النَّذُورِ فَالْسُّنْمُ الشَّيْخُ كَانَ مَعَهُ اسْمُهُ الْرِيَانُ وَكَانَ وَلِي مُصْرِقِ الْقَاسِمِ وَكَانَ صَاحِبَةَ فَطِلْبٍ إِن يُخْلِصُ الثَّابِوَتُ فَذَكَرَ لَهُ اِدْهُ حَبْسٌ وَلَا سُبْبَ الْإِخْرَاجِ فَلْمِلَّ يَقْبِلْ مَعَهُ ذَكَرُ لَهَ مِنَ الْعَجْوَبَةِ الْعَظِيمَةِ وَتَقْدِرُهَا إِلَى جُمْهُرَةِ مَنَ الْرَجَالِ إِن يُخْرِجَهَا مِنَ الْبِيْعَةِ فَلْمِلَّ يَقْبِلُهَا عَلَى ذَلِكَ فَلاَ شَاءَهَا هَذِهِ الْعَجْوَبَةُ الْآخِرَةُ أَسْتَغْفَر الله تَعَالَى وَفَدِعَ مِن مَّا لَّا ثَانِيَةُ دَيْنَارٍ وَتَوَجَّهَ وَقَدَ دَلَّهُمُ الرِّبْضُ وَمَشَقِّهِ وَلَمْ يُرِلَّ الْرُّوحُ النَّجِسُ مِوَكَّلٌ بِالْقَاسِمِ بَعْزَبُهُ فِي كُلِّ وَقَتِّ إِلَى حِينٍ مَّا وَقَلَ فَكَانَ بِهِراَمِ الْنَّصْرَانِ الْأَرْضِيِّ وَرَبِّ الْخَلَافَةِ الْبَحْطَرَيْنِ إِلَّا أَنْ نَفْقُ مِنَ الْوَزْرَىَّةِ تَرْهَبُ فِيهِ فَرَطَّلَ مِنَ الْقَاهِرَةِ فِي مَدِينَةِ الْقَاهِرَةِ وَكَانَ ضَعْفًا ضَعْفٌ كَثِيرٌ فَحَمَلَ إِلَى الْقَاهِرَةِ فُوْضَاءَ حَيَايِ فَقَلِّلَ وَقَبَرَ نَسْبَطَ الْمُخَالِفِ الَّذِي كَانَ بِطَرِيدِ الْقِسْطَسِطَى بَيْنَ مَدِينَةٍ أَخْمَمَ مُنْغِيًا إِلَيْهَا بَعْضُ سَنَبِينَ فِي سَنَةٍ أَحَدِيْ وَقَلِينَ وَخَصْمِينَ وَأَنَا مَطْرَتُ الْمَطْرَةِ تَحَصِّبُهَا عَنْ قَبْرِهِ وَلَمْ يَنْزِلَ عَلَيْهِ لَّا أَنَّ السَّبِيبَ فِي مَجْمَعِ مَلْكِ نَاحِيَةٍ فَقَلِلَ الْمُجَيِّدَاتِ مِنَ أَعْمَالِ الْحَيْقَانِ بِهَا دِيَرَ شَرْقِهِ هَذِهِ النَّاحِيَةِ كَانَ
حسن دائر وداخله بستان فيه من كل الشجراء وشهدت سيرة
البيعه في بطرقة ابنا خاليل وهو السادس والأربعين في العدد
أن القاسم ابن عبيد الله ولى مصر كان جاهلا كثير الظلم وكان
قد استعمل مراقب كبار عمده سارهده وكان يتوجه بهم إلى
كل الأعمال فبلغ بهم إلى اسوان في جيوشه وعسكره وإذ لما
كان في بعض سفره وصل إلى هذا الدير وصحته سرية واحدة
من ساريه كان محببًا لها جدًا وكل منها رآب فرس وكان في
هذا الدير راهب شيخ مقيم الرهبان فخرجوا الرهبان للقائه
فوصلوا إلى الدير هو والسيرة التي معه فدخل من الباب الأول
والثاني المحيط بالبيعه وإلى باب المدخل إلى البيعه راكب وبدية
ان يدخلوا إلى البيعه فصرخ هذا الشيخ رئيس الدير وقال له
انزل ايها الامير ولا تدخل الى بيت الله بهذا الكبربا وبخصاص
معك هذه الامرأة لأنه ما دخل من باب هذه البيعه امرأة من
قطر ابنا وأخشى على هذه الامرأة ان تدخل الى هذه البيعه
فلم يلتفت الامير الى كلامة بل دخل راكبًا هو والجارية والجد
الذي معه فلم توسط البيعه نفر الفرس به فوقع على الاض
فين وقعت نفر الفرس الذي تحت الحجاره فانذى ذلك سقطت
على الأرض وماتت لوقتها ومات الفرس الذي تحتها واما القاسم
الوالي الذي فنذر عليه روح شيطان نجس فمضطه حتى ازدهر
وصرت اسنانه كالخنجر البرز وها افاق وأهتدى قليلًا عرف
سو ما فعله ودرهم على تجاسره وكفنهما قبل من الشيخ الرئيس
ما امره به ثم استدعه الرئيس وقال له ادا اليوم اختطت لكودى
ما قلبت منه ما قلبت لي من النصيحة وأن لا فقد ظهر لي من
سر هذا المكان ما لا اشك فيه واريد منك ايها الشيخ ان تقبل
[II. 7]
وملكوا الغز الراكد وواعظهم شيركو الكردي فصل الامور المعروف بينهم العرب بين الشرف في الناحية المعروفة باقين كانت في أقطاع مرا من العرب انشروا على ساحل البحر الأعظم كنيسة على اسم القديس الجليل الشهيد ماري جرجيس من ماله وكان معتصبًا لهذا القديس وظهر له في المنام وقال له ابنه كنيسة على اسم كأنهم أسلمياً ينكو ذلك عليه ويعيبو وكان يسببها قد اختبأ الماء فارس صهري شاور عند كوهالي قوص وقيمه وقصده فحمل الده مالاً كثير وساءعده النصارى بجمعية كبيرة من اموالهم يتنحى من بادية ثم قتلوه الغزبان في البرية وحمل ودفع إليه جانبه هذه الكنيسة حتى قبل قتله إن القديس أبو جرجي في حال اعتقاله كان يحضر إلى اليد ويخاطبه وافده فقه القيوس من رجلية في اعتقال واستنج في هذه البينة سقف خشب جديد وصور فيها صور الشهداء والقديسين والملائكة وعماره أخرى مستندة اهتم بذلك فحكم الدولة أبو المكارم ابن الغنج الإسكندراني الكاتب عند كوهالي وذكر ذلك في سنة اثنين وسبعين وتمامان للشهداء الابرار فصل دير القديس العظيم أبو شنودة باحميم وبهذا الدير المذكور بيعة عظيمة كبيرة جدًا. شرحت هذه البينة فتح الوف من الامامية فيها جسد القديس التلميذ الظاهر برونومواسوس وسماح القدامى من الرسل الاثني عشر وقصر الباب العظيم القديس أبو شنودة ارتش مديريد وتفسيره رئيس الروسيا وهو في دير علو الجبل المعروف بادريبه وكان في صندوق إلى حين وصول شيركو والغز صحبتهم إلى مصر وعمالها أتسروا الصندوق فنقل منه واحفظ جسد في الارض في خزادة مجاور المذبح وليس الخزاعة مكرزة وفي هذا البمرة جوسة وعليهما...
بها بيعتها للقديس全程 مارى جرجس وهي حسنة
الوضع دير شرحة مدينة قوص وتفسيرها الكفج كان فيها من
يكفه الملوك وعليها صور دائر وله هذه المدينة بناها قوس ابن قبط
ليسافر عنها في الغرب إلى الرايات وفي الشرق إلى معاني
النير والبرسير والالحجاز، الدير المعروف جابر بسنة استف
قفيته وبيعتها على اسم السيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتبريم وهو غرب
فهي في ربو سنة شاهرا وغرب الدير عين ما وردت
عليها سنتا السيدة السين المسيح معها وصيحتهم الشيخ البار
يوسف النجار وبيعتها على اسم القديس أبو قلتنا بيعة على
اسم القديس全程 موقريوس، بيعة أبو يعنس بيعة على
اسم القديس أبو قلنة بيعة للشهيد全程 او مينة بيعة
على اسم الشهيد全程 مارى جرجس خارج العباسة، بيعة
على اسم الشهيد全程 اسطفانوس رئيس الشامسة بيعة
للاباء الكنائين بطرس وبولس بيعة الشهداء العظماء المجاهدين
قريش ودميان وأخواتهم ووالدتهم، بيعة الملك全程 ميخائيل
بيعة الشهداء العظيمين全程 الذين بطرس وبولس خارج المدينة
جذب عمروها الشيخ المبارك عز الكفالة ابن الشيخ مصطفى الملك
ابو يوسف في مملكة الغز الأكراد، بيعة تعرف بالعباسة خارج
هذه المدينة على [اسم] القديس الشهيد جرجيوس وقد قدم
نكرها وكان شاور السعدى الوزير قن حضر إليها في حالي لابنته
فوق وانزرفها أنه متنى صار وزيرا حمل النذر إليها وبلغ الله
قصده وملكت وزارة الخاضدة لدين الله الخليفة بصر في المعصر
سنة ثلاث سنوات وخمسين وخمسين وأربعون ما كان انذريه إلى حين
سبعة في قامى عشر ربيع الآخر سنة اربع وستين وخمسين
التاريخ الشعيب ابي صالح

النصارى البيئين بعد ثلاثة سنين من مملكة المسلمين والبطريق
بنيامين مَّلَأَفِي سمع بقيةترة عمر ابن العاص فكشيت له أمان
ولجميع شعبه وهو يقول في نسخة أمان فليظهر الشئ البطريرك
مطماً على نفسه وعلى طائفة القبأ جميعهم التي بالديار المصرية
وغيرها أمانين على نفوسهم من كل مكروه وتنتهي المكتوب فوصل
هذا الإمام إلى البنيامين البطريرك فظهر بعض ذلك وهو أمان
على نفسه وشعبة وعاد إلى الإسكندرية فضل كان ابتداء ظهور
المسلمين الطوريكتس البطلان الكابن وهو السابع والثامن في
العدو في السنة الثانية عشر لهرقل ملك الروم وهي سنة ثلاث
وتلتين وتسعمائة للاسكندرة فضل دير بعام ال صعيد هرب اليه
هرب يعقوب القس ليبعد فيه وكان هذا القد أواً في دير أبو
مقار عند خرابه وغيره من الدير بواءي هيب بي من المفسرين
وأنا صار بطريركًا مدينة البليتة غربي بصر النيل ببلاد الصعيد
الدير المعروف ببنى موسى والصغى صاحبة المهتم به وغريب هذه
المدينة كثير أن اسم أبو ميسسم وبيعته وفي هذا الدير إثار
عمارة لم يشاهد مثلها وعليه فوراء دائرة وواباء حرير صفائح مطوبة
بمسامير وبية ساقية تسقي فرش خضر وجميلة الطاهر مرفوأ
فيها تضمنت سيرة أبا أخرسدة البطريرك وهو السادس
والمستون في العدود ان أعدة هذه الدير عرقت جميعها حتى صار
عرقها كالعطار التجارية وعجبت هذا حديث بالله تعالى مات
منه أحد وعشرون ألف صبيًا في دون شهر وبلغ القسم بمصر
الانقلان ثمانين دينارًا وبالأسكندرية أثنيان وسبعين ديناره

1 An unintentional repetition by the scribe.
2 الادبیر ٢.
متباس الراهب بانصنا وترهب فيه جماعة من الراهبات. ولهذا الراهب عجائب كثيرة منها أن صبيحة كان لها أخين أثقل فحش الشيطان لهما أن يبرتو بها فضاجعها فصبت وظهر أمر حبلها ولم يعلم أحد من ائ رجل حل بها هذا فاقضروها أهلها إليها واستعلم منها قضية حالها فاعترفت له بامرأها فرفع يده إلى السماء وصلى فابتلعتها الأرض لوقتها وأبوها ينونر ذلك وشهدت بيه سيرة البيعة واخبار الأداب الأسكندرية القص من دير هودندانو

Fol. 80a

فصل الناحية المعروفة

بمجرده فيها ثلاث بيع، الناحية المعروفة بسمها فيها سبعون وعشرين بيعة، الناحية المعروفة بينغرة فيها ثلاثة بيع قصر وبطاشصر ابن بختصر عمر أرض مصر بعد خرابها أربعين سنة وأول ما عسر بها ارض الأسديد، فقرر على اسم الملك الجليل ميخائيل بمدينة قوص داري أبو شوتو مثله، داري أبو بشودة مثله داري بوقهس هرب الده ابدا سنهوت أسقف مصر خوفًا من عوام ميخائيل السنجرات الطريرك وهو النامن والسبني في العد وانشق عليه واقام في الدير ثلاثة سنين، فصل داري في البرية بالصعيد كان ياوي فيه بنيامين الطريرك مختفيًا وهو النامن والسبني في العد وفي مملكة هرقول ملك الروم الخلقوني وجريج ابن سينا الموقس بمصلى أقصى سنة عشرة سنين خوفًا منهما كما وعدة الملك وله مدة تسلية على اليوسفيين وطلب منه الاعتراف له بالإمامة المخلفة للحق الصحيح ودل النصارى منهم صعوبة شديدة ولم يجدوا أمانتهم، وفي وقتهم ظهرت الإلهة الصريفية فاغوا الروم وقتلوا منهم كثيرين واستولوا على بلاد مصر جميعها وبهذا السبب تخضو من جورهم

Fol. 80b
من ما زال الباهر وصار كل من يرث عليه بادٍة ويشرب منه ويستعمل فيشغى من ووعاجة وشفى كثيرين من أمراضهم وصار هذا الماء في فم من يشرب منه حلو مثل ماء جيوبون وعن ذهور دبل مور ويجري إلى هذه البيعة من قديم الزمان لما شهر من الآيات والاعجوب وشفاء الامراض المختلفة عالم عظيم من جميع الافق وهو عند الفصح من كل سنة وآخر السنة المسيح ان لا يوجد أحد في هذه البيعة زائد مما هي عليه بل تبقا تحالها واتر كف السباد في الجبل الشرقي والغربي قسط ويجاور هذه البيعة جوسف كبير عنف البنا وكان قد توهن فاهتم بمرمتة وتحدد معالمة على ما كان عليه اوال الشيخ أبو زكى ابن بو نصر عامل الاشعوبين رحمه الله تعالى وبني نفسه في الخلافة الصحابية وكان يسكن بهذه الناحية في القبر خرببا ابن ماليق من الجبابرة الفساة فرئي بساعة زللة على من السما فاخترق بها ولم يبقى له اثر فسُميت المحرقة وكان خرببا ابن ماليق هذا الجبار لمال كثير وثروة وكان محباً لفعل المعاصي ولم يراقب الله ولم يخشى عذابه في رماده الله بساعة فاخرقتة حتى لم يبق له اثر فسُميت المحرقة كما تقدم القول اولاً قسط وغربي هذه البيعة قبة نقر في الصحراء بالجبل كانت السيدة تأوي إليها وصار شعب النصارى تأتي إلى هذه القدة ويتباركون منها وذكر ان في عبد الفصح من سنة احد وتسعين وثمانية للشهداء الإبرار تحول الماء خمرًا في البئر بشهادة جمعة من الكهنة والاساقفة والشعب وكتبوا بذلك فصل الدير الكبير بالجبل الذي انشى
الظاهرة مرتبطة بالمحرقة من أعمال الأشمونيين. فعمل منها
عاد المسيح إلى مصر ومنها إلى الشام، وهي أول بيعة أنشئت
بالوجه القبلي وكرزت. وهذه تعريف بعض قام في البريد وتفسير
قوس قام في الكفّ بالمحرقاء للإسعاف، بما قام بردب قسم ابن قطع ابن
المراة وهذه حصل بها سيدنا يسوع المسيح والسيد المسيح
الظاهرة مرتبطة بالحبس والشيوخ يوسيف التجار عند
هربهم من هيرودس الملك الكافر قائل الأطفال في بيت بعلوها
وتصدع البلاط دفع في هذا البلاط طاف افتحت بتفحص السيدة
في الحنان ولم تفتح بيد وراء بالآلاف من الآلاف وفي البيعة مزبح
واحد وكأن تكريره بحلول سيدنا المسيح فيه والتلميذ الكبير في
السماحة على ما شهد به ميمر فييلتisos البطريرك. وهو الثالث
والعشرين في العدد ومنها عمل مثال التكرير والقدر المعلوّما
والقراءة على الياء إلى أن يتقدس والريحان والإواريث والسرح على
المئات وان تشر بالباء حيطان البيع وتقود إلى بطرس بنكرير كل
البيع على هذا المثال مثل التكرير الأول بالمحرقة من أعمال
الاشمونيين كنيسة السيدة العذراء الطاهرة وهي أول كنيسة بنيت
في أرض مصر ومنها ورد المسيح إلى مصر ومنها عاد إلى الشام
وهذه البيعة تعريف بقوس قام وهذه البيعة طيفية جدًا وكان
معهم موسى ابن اخي يوسف النجار، وأمر سيدنا المسيح أن
يجعل حجر تحت راسه فعمله ولفق من ودبض بها وقبالة
باب البيعة بئر ما معين وفي البيعة حوض يملأ ماء قصار بعده
ذلك خمسًا. وكان هذا المثال في تكرير هذه البيعة رسميًا جارياً
eli باقي الزمان. وكان ذلك في سادس من شهر هتوري ثم بارك
سيدنا المسيح في ماء ذلك البئر لما شربوا هو ووالده وهم معهم
N 2
جميعها ولم يبق لهم سوى كنيسة واحدة على اسم أبو سينا
الشهيد وقرر على ابقت هنئالي البيعة الواحدة ثلاثة آلاف دينار
فجمع الفي دينار من السلالة المدينة وقى الف جعل الثلاث منها
مسجداً على القيسارية، دورة الصرام بها بيعة للسيدة العذري
الطاهرة مرتمي وبيعة باسم غيربال الملك وعرف ببعير التلنج
وتجاورها ناحية تستوبا بها بيعة السيدة في الأدرمان جبل
اشتر وفلاحية بيعة على اسم بو دليل الشهيد وقى تهبتت وهي
واحة جماهيرة مننة بنى خصيب الذي اشة هذه المدينة دمشق
كان اشناها يعرف باب خصيب وعرفه به وكان يسكنها هو
وجماعة اهله وس يلون به وينا بها إدر ودولانو وذكر ان مننة
بنى خصيبغلب عليها اسم القوم الذي عرفت به لادهم كانوا
جماعة كبيرة ولهم ذروة وعينهم تخدموهم ومنينة بنى خصيب تعرف
قديماً بعينه بو قيس وهي في البر الغربي وبها عدة بيع بيعتين
للسيدة الطاهرة العذري مرتمي وبيعة للقديس الجليل مارى
جرجس خارج المدينة بيعة للملك الجليل ميخائيل ولها أيضاً
بيعة أخرى مننة بيعة داخل المدينة وبيعة خارج كنيستين
واحدة للشهيد موقرنيوس والاخر لأبو قيس هذى وفي الربا
للسيدة العذري الطاهرة مرتمي وبيعة للشهيد موقرنيوس وبيعة
للملك ميخائيل وبيعة خارج المدينة على طريق دلالة، دير
على اسم الشهيد تاديس خارج دهور في بشرابق وذكر ان
منينة بنى خصيب تعرف بعينه بو قيس القديس ابن فقط ابن
مقرام وفيها جسد بو هبلس الشهيد، بيعة السيدة العذري

(?) صنبو ١
فروا السيد المسيح والسيدة ويوسف النجار فسجدوا لهم وللوقت ساروا حجارة عندتهم خمسة وفي هذه الجريدة ثلاثمائة ضيعة كان دخول السيد المسيح إليها من الباب الشرقي وها سجدوا الهجن له وفي اخبار ادبا خائقين البطريرك وهو في العهد السادس والاربعين أن هذه المدينة التي بناها السيكلدر المقدوني وسماها كلاوبطر وتفسيدها البادية وهو المكان الذي وصل إليه على الصخرة مروان الجعدي آخر خلفاء بني أمية وقتله فيها تنبيه الراهب الشيخ عليه مما يشهد به *** من دواجية جسد أبو مقار الشهيد وفيها دري عند بابها القبلي وفيها عدة كنائس بيعة على اسم السيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتينم تحتوى على عدة مزابيح ومد رخاي أحد الأعمدة التي بالبيعة هناء يعرف في كل وقت وفيها آخر باب السيد وخارجها شجرة مخفية شامى وتمر مخبطة أحمر وهي قريبة من البرياء وهذه لما مر بها السيد والسيدة دكست رأسها ساجدة له وإن ولى المدينة أراد قطعها وكان تحت هذه الشجرة أغاثا البطريرك فضرب القطاع فيها بالغاس فعاد الغاس في وجهة فخاف الوالي ولم يرجع يأمر بقطعها وحمل إلى البطريرك رفيقاً من الصلاة واصله أن يقبل منه وصار فيها اراد من وجوه الخضر فنسك كان بها بيعة ولم أعلم هي على اسم احد من الشهداء كانوا هذه المدينة كان بها في القدم خمسة عشر ألف دصارى ولم يكن بها جهيل ولا يهودي وكان بها ثلاثمائة وستين بيعة وبا كان في زمن خلافة مروان الجعدي وهو آخر خلفاء بني أمية ارسل إليها موت فأخرجوه منها ومنه ان يقيم بينهم فعاد إلى مروان واعلمة بما كان منهم فادغن لهم من جنده من قبل منهم جماعة كبيرة وشرهم وهم الكتائس

Fol.77a

Fol.77b
لا يغنا ابنًا وعلوها بيعة مبنية بالحجار على اسم السيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتيمم وياء لها في الحادي والعشرين من طودة يوم دينامتها ونجتزع اليها جماعة كبيرة وهذا الجبل يقابل الناحية المعروفة بالبيها من شرق البحر ركاز أنه بمدينة الإشمونيين ويعرف بجعل الطير فان في هذا الجبل صليبان حجر لودهما أحمر حجر كبير وحجر صغير بيعة للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتيمم بمدينة الإشمونيين كبيرة جدًا نقلها الحاكم جامعًا وعلى هذا الجبل أيضًا كنيسة دكر في الجبل محملة على ثمانية عمد وقابلتها دكر مثل وسع الذراع وفيه رمل أبيض يخرج منه كلما يضع يده وباخت منه لا يغنى ابنًا ولا يدخل فيه يد خاطي ولو كان في في عقة الإصبع وذكر أن الغريب لما وصلوا إلى الصعيب مع ملكهم أطر شبحة من الغر الآكران ورجاله عن البلاد المصرية تقبوا على مكان الكف من الجبل وأخذوه صحبتهم إلى الشام في سنة ثلاث وتستين وخمسمائة عربية دير بيذو المجاور لاشنين ذكران بيسوس من الإشمونيين وصل المسميح اليها وصار بها بيعة في ذلك الدبر وفي وسطها بكر ماء معين يصل عليها في وقت زيدان النيل في كل سنة فيزيه ماء البتر وفيه اشارات ازعر النيل متحكمة فانها زان ماء البتر ووقع على بعض الإشارات فيعلم منه ما تنتهى زيادة النيل اليه من الادعاء جزيرة الإشمونيين الإشمون اسم أخذ أباد قام فباين مصراين بها فرعون ولي خربت بنابها بنخناء المكان بابل نكران كان في علو هذه البلدة ديك ونحتة صفة جمال هنفي أنا وري اليها غريب بصغر الديك فخرج الهمج يهلكوا ذلك الغريب فلما وصل سيدنا المسيح له المجن إليه صفر الديك خرجوا الهمج على العادة
تاريخ الشيخ ابي صالح

وجسدت في بيعة قريش بها وبيعة تادرس وبهذة الناحية عدة
كنائس، الشيخان اصطفاون ابن أبي بكر، وما مال البلاء، الدينين الإبا
الحواريين، ستلا السيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتميرم، بيعتها في
المدينة وله بيعة كبيرة شرحة جدًا وللملاك الجليل ميخائيل
وغيريال الملاك اصطفاا الالهة، وكان إذا يعرف بوجه الكلب وهو
إحد الذين كانوا مع الاباء التلامين الإطهار وهذه البيعة على
الخليج خارج المدينة مرقس الشهيد موقروبوس له بها بيعتين
القدس الهرمل الجليل مارى جرجس أيضًا له بها بيعتين
القديس ابو يهونس وله حنا الشهيد، اشروة للصليب بيعتين
ولسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتميرم بيعة داخل المدينة وله أيضًا
خرج المدينة بيعة ميخائيل الملاك الجليل بيعة للشهيد
الملاك مرقروبوس بيعة على حافة البحيرة، وليقدس الجليل
مارى جرجس بها بيعة وليشهد الجليل تادرس بها بيعتين
وادبا دول وترمويس بيعة بسقف رشين على اسم الشهيد الجليل
نادران الشرقي هنما الفرع الأكران ونقلوها مسجدًا، وله بيعة
الملاك غيريال كانت قد تشعلت، فصلدها بعض الإимальة، الإمكان
التي وصل إليها سيردا يسمع المسيح له المجد والسيدة العذراء
مرتميرم والشيخ الباري يوسف التجار في بلاد الصبرين، بيعة جبل
الكاذ على اسم السيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتميرم وهذه البيعة تقر
في الجبل وفي الحجر اثر كف السين المسيح له المجد لما لمس
الحجر عند سجود الجبل له عند وروده من الشام فسمك
الجبل عند إقباله له، ساجدًا قره بيره، قصر اثر كفه طابعًا في
ذلك الجبل إلى يومنا هذا وفي اثر ذلك التف نعى لطيف مثل
وسع الميل ينزل فيه الميل ويطلع منه ويكبل به بكحل أسود
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلاح

ابعين سفط أبو جرجا بها عدة بيع بيعة على اسم السيدة العذري الطاهرة مرتمريم، بيعة توماس بيعتى الملك ميخائيل والملك غزبار، الكفور بيعة على اسم الشيخ تادرس طحا المدينة من الإشمونيين بيعة للسيدة العذري الطاهرة مرتمريم، وأخرى للسيدة أيضًا بيعة للملك غزبار وبيعتى للشهديين الجليلين المجاهدين ماري جرجس ومرقوريوس وبيعتى على اسم القديس مرقس الإنجيلى وبيعتى على اسم الشيخ يليل اصطغادوس، رئيس الشامسة سفط المهلى بيعة على اسم الملك الجليل ميخائيل وبيعتى على اسم الملائكة الجليلين غزبار ورفائل ملوى بيعة على اسم الشيخ الشجاع ابنى، وبيعتى للشهيد مرقوريوس وبيعتى للسيدة العذري الطاهرة مرتمريم، ولملأى الجليلين ميخائيل، ريقة وادركة بيعة على اسم السيدة العذري الطاهرة مرتمريم بيعة للشهيد الجليل ب قطره وبيعتى للشهيد الشجاع تادرسَ وبيعتى على اسم الصيمر وبيعتى على اسم الشيخين توماس وساويرس، دبر على اسم القديس العظيم بو شندوة نجاج من البهنسا بيعة على اسم الشيخين بو عحنس أدفاف بها بيعة للشهديين الجليل مرقوريوس طفقة بها بيعة على اسم ديرتوماوس الساقية المعروفة بساقية محفوظ بها خمس كنائس الشهيد مرقوريوس ومرقس واصطفانوس ونادرس وبيعتى على اسماء التلامين البهنسا تفسير اللفظة موضع الترويج بنين لجوار من بناة الملك عزارى تزوجو لإبنا الملك من هذه المدينة وبقربها معبد لموصف الصديق، وبيعتى على اسم دير برتاو الشهيد بواح البهنسا.
كلم باتي الية ويسمع أقوالها وهذا سار بضيوفًا على الإسكندرية
حجر الالهون والدرب أبو استحفل والبيعة على اسم السيدة العذرى
الطاهرة مرتديم وعُلمت البيعة شرحة متسعة حسنة الوضع محكمة
البناء والهندسة تشارك بيعة دير الالهون وفقًا أيضًا بيعة لطيفة
على اسم الشهيد الجليل أبو استحفل وعلى هذا الدرب ثلاثة
اموار حجر وهو كثير الطارف وهو في الجليل من بحري الالهون
في الموضع الذي يقال له برضودة على الجليل قبل الغيوم
وقبل البهنسا أنه بها عدة بيعة أبوون بيعة مرقس، بيعة
بو يحسن بيعة الشهيد الجليل مارى جرجس بيعة الشهيد
الجليل مرقوبروس، يهومليس بها عدة بيعة جبريل غربال
بيعة أيضًا على اسم الملك جبريل ثاني، بيعة على اسم الملك
فانيل، بيعة القديس الجليل بو شنودة وبيعة على اسم
القديس أبو هراونية، ناحية فغارة بيعة على اسم السيدة
العذرى الطاهرة مرتديم وبيعة الملك الإكليل ميخائيل، وبيعة
للملوك فانيل، بيعة الشهيد الجليل مرقوبروس، بيعة الملك
الجليل غربال، أبطوجه بيعة فانيل الملك، بيعة الملك
ميخائيل، بيعة السيدة العذرى القديسة الطاهرة مرتديم

بيعة ديوسقورس جلالة بها بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتديم
بيعة على اسم القديس ديوسقورس، بيعة على اسم القديس
الشهيد الجليل بقطر ابن إرمانيوس بيعة على اسم بو تليهة
بردفوة بها عدة بيعة إلا باسترسلام بيعة للملوك ميخائيل
بيعة للملوك فانيل، بيعة للملوك غربال بيعة مرقوبروس
الشهيد الشجاع بيعة القديس الشهيد الجليل مارى جرجس
بيعة على اسم الشهيد الشجاع المجاهد دارينس، بيعة القديس
قَرَر حجر وعليها قلالي للرَّهْبَان وذكر أن الاب إنيما صامويل كان يتبع في الجبل اعني مركز هذا الدير المشهور وهذا الجبل المعروف بالريان قبالة الدير المذكور وعدة الرهبان الذين فيه إلى آخر أشهر من سنة اربع وتسعين وثنيمئة للشهداء الإبّار ماتي راهب مهجّرين نسأله فصل دير الشهيد الجليل كاودروس على النهاي بافلوج الريتوت وتاردية هذا هو من الغيوم واستشهد بالصبر وحمل جسده على عجلة خشبة ودفنه عليها سائلً ولم تزل تسير به الى هذه الناحية التي هو منها وفيها بيعة على اسم وجسده بها، وبها عدة بيعة للسيدة العذري الظاهرة مرتميّم ودير على اسم الإبّطاليين وبيعة على اسم الشهيد مقروديوس وبيعة للملال غريبال وبيعة على اسم أبو يحنس وبيعة الصغير، ناحية فانون وقلّيغة هولا الناحتيين بهما عدة بيعة بيعة القرسي الجليل مري جرجس، بيعة للسيدة العذري الظاهرة مرتميّم اهتم بتجديددها الشيخ المهذب أبو أسقف إبراهيم ابن أبو سهل الملازي كان و يعرف بالرقوف بيعة الملال الجليل ميخائيل، كرير الصليب ناحية فانون يقرّس فيه دفعة واحدة في السنة في عيد الصليب، بيعة للقريص الجليل جرجيس، ناحية سيلة دير على اسم السيدة العذري الظاهرة العذري مرتميّم يجاور جوسف مستجذل الأنشا على الطريق المسلوك ولم يكمله، الدير المعروف بدير الاحواة وبيعة على اسم الشهيد الجليل إنيما وكان جاوي فيه القسم يوحا السنوي وكان هذا القسم ناسكاً عالماً متوئفع معرى بتعاليمة

1. وكان يعرف
تأريخ الشيخ أبي صالح

بيعَة على اسم السيدة العذري الظاهرية مرتبطة هذه البيعة
متسعة جدًا رسمت في ربع عشر هتوم وأربعة صامويل رئيـس هذا
الدير ومديره كان عالِمًا ومعلًـمًا ولم تكن الإعلاـيم كثيرة وكشف الده
له ما سيكون في آخر الـزمان وتكلم به وكتب عنه وصى في وقته
من الزمان كما تنبأ عنه فضل وهذا الدير أيضًا بعض من دائرنا
وقيمة بستان كبير فيه دخيل وزيتون وفصول وفترة أربعة جواـصف
ويشتمل على أثنا عشر بيعة وابلاها صومعة راقية وبها راهب مقيم.
ينذر الرهبان بالفاصل إلى الدير من البعد ان كان من الجند أو
من الطرام أو من الولادة فيضرب الناقوس على كل منهم ضرب
مختلف فنعملوا الرهبان عند سماهم ما القاصد للـدير فيهموا
بما يناسبه قبل وصوله للـدير وتستهل هذه البيعة على أثنا عشر
بيعة علوية وسنفية وفي عين ماء مالحة تجري ليلًا ونهارًا
ويخرج منها الى بركة متسعة فيكون فيها على مصر الأماكن يلقى
يروكل معه وهو طيب ولوده اسون ويحلو الماء في هذه الـبركة في
الشتا قليلًا والرهبان يشربون منها على مصر الزمان وخارجًا عن
الدير مغارة فيها راهب يسـى فهـنا لا يخرج منها ليلًا ولا نهارًا
ويصوم اسمبوع الجمعة مستمرًا والرهبان يقومون به ويتباركون منه
وحول مغارة دخيل كثير محمرة وكان معه من المال مائة دينار
ولا صلوا الغز الإكراد إلى هناك ساعد بها الرهبان ولم يبق
معه شيء وكانت الـحوض يجمعون الـه ولا يوزيه منهم شيء
والغوا البئر حتى مس يطعمهم من يبلا وكأنه الشياطين يتشخصون
له وقابلوه مواجهة ولا يب躲وا البئر سبيل فضل وابر هذا الدير
مصفح بالحيدين متقن الصناعة وعمل هذا الرهبان ونها المذكور في
بداية رهبتة قبل أن يصير حبيسًا في المغارة في الجبل كنيسة

M 2
كبيرة جداً وفيها عين كبار ظلال دائم لم يشاهد اسم منهم إلا قليل وهذه البيعة قريبة من باب المدينة المعروف بسورية بيعة للسيدة العزري الظاهرية مرتديم خارج المدينة وبيعة للشهداء مرفوعين اهتم بمربيهما وتحديدها الشيخ أبو زكريا بيعة الملكية في حارة الإبرهيم الدرب المعروف بدير الثقافون شرقي الناحية المعروفة بنوكاً ومن هذا الدرب بيعة على اسم الملك ميخائيل وفيها عامون يختم يعرف عرق مثل الماء الجاري وفيه يOUSEIF كبير يشرف على جبل فيلة شقيقاً وذكر أن اساس هذه البيعة وضع في ثلاث عشر هفتوه وكرشها السيد المسيح وتمامها في ثامن عشر أبيب وتجاوزه بيعة على اسم الملك غريبال عمل حصنها قبلها دائر في ثلاث عشر امشير كمل الصور في هذه المدة الطويلة وابتدئ في عمارتها في السادس والعشرين منه واكملت في الثالث عشر من بروادة وكست في العشرين منه وذكر أن الجبل المعروف بالنقلون هو المكان الذي كان فيه ملحة يعقوب ابن أسحق ابن إبراهيم عليهم السلام وكانت عبادته فيه وفي رفع القصابين لهم أيام يوسف وله عند تدبير يوسف لعمارة الغيوم وحجر اللافون وكان تكريم كنيسة جبل النقلون في استغاثة ابن إسحق على يد اوباء بنيت الملكة الذي رفعته من إبراهيم الساحر وكتمته عنها ونذاردها الدرب المعروف بالنقلون وهو كثير الطارق وله فرد طين في عدة دواحة بالصعيج له في شبر سنين عشر فدانًا ولله ملاحم يحصل منها في كل سنة ما يناله ثلاثة الف ارب وبحصل من ثمرة النخيل بما يباع في كل سنة بجملة فصلت

1. فية
2. الف
في مملكة الروان ابن الوليد ابن دومغ. بعد تفسير يوسف له المنام الذي رأى. نعم ما فسر له المنام اخلع عليه ودفع له خاتم الملك من يده وسلم إليه تدبير مملكته وتعزز عنه بصعوده على المنبر. فصل ولنا حفر يوسف الخليج واخرج الماء عنه جرى ماء النيل ودخل في رأس المنها وجرى فيه حتى انتهى إلى اللاعون فقطع إلى الغيوم فدخل إلى خليجها وسقاها فصار فيه لجئة عظيمة ولناج جمعة في تسعين يومًا. فلما شاهد الملك وزراءه ذلك قالوا هذا عمل الغيوم في يوم فسقي الغيوم وجعل الماء على نوعين مطاطينًا المرتفع ومتهجعًا للمناطيق باوقات. وساعات في الليل والنهر. وأحكم لها قبضات لا يقدر أحد من الناس باخت من الماء فوق حقه شيئًا. فصل واول مدينة أمه يوسف في الغيوم شادة. وله التي كانت ابنة فروع بها ثم وقع الأرض والماء قياسيًا ومنه عرفت الهندسة يوسف أول من قاس النيل ببصر ذو الذراع وجعل مقياس لبيض. ثم وضعت العهج بدول مقياسًا بانصانه ومقياسًا باخميم وضع عبد العزيز بن مروان مقياسًا بحلوان. ثم اقطع الأعمال الغيومية للذين الأكران في مملكة يوسف ابن ابوب الكردي على ما استقر إلى آخر سنة ثلاثة وسبعين وخمسين مثلاً مائة ألف وثلاثة وأربعة وسبعين دينار. ثم اقطع لبروية إخوة ولرجاله لسنة ست وسبعين ومائتين وسبعين ألفًا ومايين. وتفنديًا ثم اقطع لثني الدين عمر ابن شاهنشاه وابن اخته للسنة المذكورة بالبلغ العين. ومدينة الإيل بيعة الملكة الجليلة ميخائيل وهي

دلاً 1. للمطاطي

II. 7.1 M
تاريخ الشيخ أبي دحل

مرقويس وبيعته على اسم غبربال الملوك وبيعته على اسم السيدة العذراء الطاهرة مدينة الغيوم وإعمالها الغيوم اسم أحد أولاد فقط ابن مصراهم هؤلاء بنائها لنفسها لها فخرجت فنها إليها وكانت الغيوم قبل يوسف ابن يعقوب ابن أبراهيم الخليل عليهم السلام وخربت وجردت عمارتها يوسف الصديق وعمل المقاييس ونها الغيوم وحجر اللاحون الذي بنى بالحكمه ونمس بالنقوى والمروحة من الله والقين باللحي له من الله سبحانه وحفر خليج المنهى وعمرى مصر وعدة النواحي به ثلاثمائة وستين قرية عدد أيام السنة تمر كل قرية يوم وخراجها ألف دينار وهذه الأعمال تروى أراضيها من أثنا عشر ذراعًا ولا تفرق من ثرابية عشر ذراعًا وهذا من المعجب العجيب وبها من المباح مما ليس لاحق فيه ملكًا بل مباح للناس يتصرون فيه ويستعينوا به على أحوالهم والباح سبعين صنفًا فصل واستخرج منها في أيام كافور الاستنام أمير مصر المشهور بكافور الاحشيد في الدولة العباسية على ابن ابن طرخان سنة خمس وخمسين وثلاثمائة للعرب ستمائة ألف وعشرون ألف دينار ونذك باراه عقد الرملة وطبرية ودمشق فصل وكان بهذه الأعمال خمسة وثلاثون ديرًا وكان الاستقم بها أفراهام في بطركي ابن تالودور وهو الخادم والابنوع في العدد والخراج مما يزيدع برسم هذه الذائرات مما يحكم في بيت المال في كل سنة خمسمائة دينار ونذك مما شهد به كتاب فتح مصر بيد عمر ابن العاص وذكر أيضًا أن الغيوم كان يعرف بها بجودة وكان مصلحة لها الصعيد وفصوله فاستنبط يوسف الصديق وحفر الخليج وأخرج الماء عنه وكان ابتدى جرى النيل إليه فصل وكان عمر يوسف ثلاثين سنة
يسى بساؤيس والكبير استخرج بعد اربعائة دورة طول ملكة
حتى مات في زمن صاحب الرسالة ويتجاوز هذ ه الاهرام الصنم
الصوان العظيم الهائل وهو خاص في الرمل إلى وسطه. فصل
وينتهي أيضا بعد ذلك الوجه القبلي بالدوار المصرية، يوصير بنا
وذفس على يمين ساحر اسمه يوصير كان مقيمًا بها وسبيت
باسمها وليها البلدة أ بيعة الكبيرة العظيمة التي بنيت جميعها
بالحجر المائع على اسم السيدة العزى الطاهرة مرتديم داخل
القصر بهذة المدينة وهذة البيعة عمرت في القدم ولما توالت
النوب واحتاج الملك إلى حجرها دخل منها معظمه وهي الآن
معطية ومعالمها ظاهرة وهي قريبة من سجى يوسف السديف ابن
يعقوب ابن اسحاق ابن إبرهيم الخليل عليهم السلام. بناءة
بناء بيعة على اسم القديس العظيم ماري جرجس، منية القائد
بها بيعة، والنسيدة العزى الطاهرة مرتديم أهتم بتحذين
عمرتها الشيخ مفضل ابن الصالح من أصحاب الوزير إبي الفرح
ابن كلمنين جبدها في الخلافة الحاكمة وجدت أيضا بيعة على
شاطئ بحر النيل المبارك فاقامت مدة وعدي عليها البحر واقلمها
فلم يبق لها اثر، ونا بوصير بها على اسم الشهيد العظيم أبو
مرقورة بيعة والنسيدة العزى الطاهرة مرتديم بيعة، والشهيد
القديس ماري جرجس بيعة، ولملأ ك العظيم ميخائيل بها،
بيعة وليلهم أبو بحوش بها بيعة وجميلة الطاهر فيها،
أ بيعة من قرى بوش بها بيعة على اسم القديس ماري
جرجس طنسا بها بيعة على اسم دهادة وبيعة على اسم الشهيد

١ ادرجية
فصل منف ذلها بيسر ابن حام ابن دوح وعمره سبعница وثمانين سنة في ثلاثين من أوله واوته فسميت منافقة وتفسير هذه

اللغة ثلاثون وواولاده مصرانم وفارق وباح وصاحب هولا أولاد مصرانم

قغط اشمون تفسير هذا الاسم لا تصل إليها ابيسر هذه بها

حتم عظيم صوان يسمى بو الهول مطروح على جنابة ثم حققت

أعنى منافقة فيها كان الملك الفراعنة وماهات بيسر دفهي في موضع

يعرف بابي هرميس وهو أول من قبر في ارض مصر والنيل كان

يتقبلي إليها قال اخرون بناها مصرانم إبنة فقط الذي يسمى

بريم وقال اخرون بناها منفاؤون ابن عديم وضع طولها ثلاثون

ميلاً في عشرين ميلاً وضع حولها ثلاثون حصناً في كل حص

حمام في أيام سروع ابن اعوا بناها فرعون الملقب بمحمداً

 وهو ملك الفراعنة ففصل ويعرف الصديق عمل مقياساً عظيم

بمنيف وهو أول من قاس النيل بمصر بالذراع وها من العجائب

والابنية والإصمام والدفائن والكنوز ما لا يحسى وهنا بيت صوان

اخر ضامع ملمع قطعة واحدة مرير وسقفه منه وبيعته مغرش

حصير فصل وبها بيعجة جدته في مكان منها وقيل إله الملك

الذي كمن فيه موسي للرجل المصرى قطعة كما ور في إخباره

وكان كل ذراع من ارضاها تباع بثابة ديناره فصل وتتجاوز هذه

البلدة الاهرام وهي ثلاثية قصل طول الهرم الكبير اربعمائة ذراع

وهي الاوتاد والمنازل التي بناها أصغوسا الملك الاعظم في ملوك

الارض وأرهاش نحو شداد وشداد ابن عاد ولاند ابن عاد

وفرماشى اخو عاد الذين جدهم الملك ارزوقوا بني فيها ثلاثية

دوة ثم مات وجعلوا كنوزهم وقبرهم في هذه المنازل العليات

وهما الوتدان العظيمان واستخرج مال احدهما أحد ملوك الروح
فيه وينام فيه عمرو، وهو بارز حلاوي من الشرق الدير المعروف بهما شهد به كتاب الدوريات للشابكية ويعتبر بهذا الدير حصن دائر وبيعته على اسم القديس ماركوبوس وهو مطل علىبحر رابع عليه ويجاوره جوستا يتصل إليه من هذه البيعة وعلوها مناظر حسنة وبشروٍ على البساتين والأشجار والأراضي المزروعة والمكرمة المشهورة وهو عمارً أهيل وته جماعة من الرهبان فصل وجد عمارة الشيخ أبو اليمن وزير متولٍ ديوان اسفل الأرض والشيخ أبو المنصور ولدَه وذلك في الخلافة الأموية ووزارة الأفضل شاهنشاه وكان الأفضل هذا ينزل فيه ويقيم به منتزهًا ومترفج ونشا بسماً يجاوره وافرج فيه من جميع الأشجار والنخيل وحفر أبار وركب عليها سواق والديد على البساتين سياج ماكن والحكم عنه مما يحمل إلى بيت المال في كل سنة عشرة دنانير فصل ثم اقطع أيضاً الحكم المذكر واعمر به معاصر للزمن من داخل حصن الدرب مكتملة العين والآلات وله اراضٍ مبلغها سبعة وأربعين قنادًا واقطعت هذه الأراضي الغز الأكراد وغيرهم في مملكة الناصر يوسف ابن إبوب الكردي، فصل وهجه البيعة جسر القديس ببنوده رئيس هذا الدير يعيد له في خمسة عشر امشير وفيه صورة السيدة العذري الظاهره مرتين، وكان الأفضل يهيئ مقامة في علوه فصل وأهتم الشيخ أبو اليمن المذكر بتحصيل آذية لهذه البيعة من القمة الحجر فعمل صينية وكأس وملعقة ومجرة وصليب وكوسية حزام فاخرة، فصل وهده الناحية البيعة الكبيرة الحسنية الوضع للفروس الجليل المجاهد مارى جرجس، وبيعة على اسم الشهيرة مهرابيل وبيعة إبا ديمة، وبيعة الملك ميخائيل وبيعة للسيدة العذري الظاهره.
أدم في نابوت على وجه الأرض نذر تهن جسده حسبين ابن
الحافظ بين العرب وكان الدير قد تشتث أيضًا في بعده عمارتها
ابنا غريبال البطريق [المعروف] بابي العلا صاعد ابن تريك في
الخلافة الحافظة وهو السبعين في العقد وهو من الدوارات
المذكورة وفيه جماعة من الرهبان وقباليه يوسف كبير يتوصل
اليه من الكنيسة وفيه مناظر حسنة وله بستان وإراضي وأملاك
بنية الشمس ابناها بنى سويس من إخوان الشتية مصطفى
ملك أبو سف يعقوب ابن جرجس وهم من أهل دمارة القبولية
من الغربيه وهذا الدير كان من كرسي منف وطويلة أيضًا وصار
بطريقي والبيه يحمل وبرهون وبئر الشروق مخفية ودعت
الحاجة إلى ذلك وكان ابنا مينا البطريق وهو البادي والستون
قد عمل مذبح على اسم مارى مرقس بمحلة دانيال التي كان
يسكنها البطرقية ورفع عليه الميزان لخوف الطرقات من الغلا في
ابتداء خلافة الخليل بصرف منية الشماس و بهذ الباوية دبعة
والناحية المعروفة بالصرف غربي دير الشمع وكان يسكنه إبنا
يوحنا ابن أبو غالب وهو الثالث والسبعون في العقد] ومدة
بطريكية ثمانية وعشرين سنة فصل وغرب دير الشمع دبعة على
اسم الشهيد العلامة تادرس كسمة دبعة أبو قرشان ودميان
واخوته ووالدهم جدد عمارتها الشيخ ابن سعيد الكاتب كان
بديوان المكاتبات ويجاورها بستان وفية بئر ساقية على الطريق
المسلوك وللبيهوه بهذه الناحية متعبه وعليه تصوير دائر وله منازلة
لهم وبستان فيه انشاب وتخيل وئر ساقية دائر وبين طاقة
الربانيين والقرايين فيه منازعات بسبب وقوع السراجون وذكر أن
موسى النبي في أيام فرعون كان يحضر اليه هذا المكان ويصلأ
تاريخ الشيخ ابن صلح

غربي طموح، الدار المعروف بدير الشمع، قسط يعرف بدير الـشياطين والسبب فيه ان في أيام المستنصر في سنغ الطرب بدأ بالرحب عنه وبعث خراب وكانت البهائم ترتع فيه بعد ذلك وكان يخرج منهأشخاص ويركزوا الخيل من أول الليل إلى بكرة فيدخلوا ضياعة خيرة فعرف بذلك وصار إليه بنودة وسكنه وجدت قيبًا بها وكان قبة لطيفة فاهتم الأرخنة بتجديد عمرته إلى ان صار على هذه الصفة التي هو عليها الآن وبنودة هذا كان قد حضر إلى أبو ذعفر المقدس الساكن وقام عنه مند وأذا سمع بالحود المقدسين يقضى إليه وباختترك كأنه في وقت وفاة أبو دغر حاضره وكان بموضع نحلة واحدة مشرفة فجاء في قلبه أن يكون مقامة عوضة فالرسل الله رضيًا عافه فارم وأما تلك النحلة التي كان أبو ذعفر يقضي منها قربها في أيام حياة وارتب العين الماء التي كان يشرب منها هولة إلى غيرة وكسين يبص صورة يعتقد أنه كان تلميذه وليس الأمر كذلك ثم صار تلميذه أبو مقار الكبير دوابى هبيب وصار إلى دير الشمع ويحيط به عنى دير الشعم البيعة التي بها ثلاثة مزابيع المذيع الوسطائي على المقدس اندونية والبحري على اسم بدوشنة والقابل على اسم بنودة وهذه البيعة على اسم المقدس ابو شوندة وعلى هذا المذيع الذي على اسم المقدس بنودة يقدس عليه في نصف من صوم الاربعين في كل سنة وفبدأ كانت نباحة وشهدت سئرته ان ذبحته في اليوم الخامس عشر من امشير وعمر هذا الدير في سنة سبع وستين وستمائة للشهداء الإبرار مما وجد في الحجر المكتوب تاريخه على باب النجوس وفي هذا الدير جسد المقدس ابنا بنودة تلميذ المقدس أبو مقار الكبير دوابى هبيب في مرقع
علم صناعة الكيما وصنع الجوهير ومولدته بمنف وقيل أنه ادريس المذكور أده زفع مكاناً علياً والصادق ينصون إلى الهرميين الكبرى ويرمون أن هرمس قبر في أحدهم وفبر أغاديبان والصادق يحضرت اليهما من حران ياتون حجاجاً فطل وليس على وجه الأرض بنيانًا بالبير حصير على حجراً أطول منها وهولا الهرميين هما قبر حرم واغاديبان فذكران مساحة الهرمين الكبيران منها اعتنا عشر فدانًا وفي كل منها بئرلا يعرف قراءة وكان يجاوره دير يعرف دير الكرم يسموه المخالفيين دير الكلاب وهم ثالث دونهما سفته مبنى حصير صوان جافية ملمعة الدرب ملاصق الأهرام في الجناحين الغربي وبيعته تعرف ببيعه طيفاتوان الراهب من اهل منف وغسده مدفونًا بها وكان له هذه البيعة شفاعة عظيمة حتى أن من زار وصل فيه وطلب من الله بقوة امانته قضية حاجته ومن زار وقدم على شيء وطلب من الله يرشيء لما فيه خيرته فإنه يظهر له في منامة ما سيكون له فيه من الخير أو يعذر عن القدوم على ذلك الشيء وشهد له بذلك كتاب قصص المجامع. لحف الجبل فيها مدينة تسمى مسيانة وفي لحف الجبل بالجبيرة خمسون دير عامرة اهله كادت اخربت وأحرقت من المخالفين بيد المغارة البربر الذين لا يعرفون الحف ولا يرجعون إلى الشرع ولا يعرفون ما بين الحلال والحرام وهذا الجبل الغربي يتصل لجبال الغرب ويشعب منه إلى أن يبلغ بعد اجتيازه برقة والسواحل الغربية كلها إلى ارض برقوة وشاطى البحر المظلم وفِيه مدينة تسمى مستانة كانوا يحملون إليها موتى الملك بجميع اموالهم وزخارفهم وأكثر طلبة المطالب يدورون هذه المدينة وسموها دار مانويل مدينة الشماس وهو ببنوة المتهربين
بالعربية بالدير المعروف بدير الكلاب والصواب دير الكرام إما الملكية حرقوه لبعضهم لليقووبة ذكر أن جسديه وجمس العازر بالقسطنطينية نقلها إليها من جزيرة قبرس وشهد خلال الإعيان أن ميلاد السيدة يعود له خارج أوشليمي في مملكة اوغسطس قيصر وسمي عبد السنبلة في أول شهر بنفس من كل سنة وفي تسخية دلال آخر أن تكرر دير نهيا على اسم السيدة، فصل كان هذا الدير لاقف الجيزة وجزيرة مصر أفرى هذا الدير إدا مركس الطريركي لنفسه وهو الثالث والسبعينة وسامحة من الدياربة بها مبلغه في كل سنة ثلاثة دنانير، الناحية المعروفة بهبيا بالجيزة الدير المقدم ذكره بها يحيط به صور دائر والبعة التي فيه على اسم السيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرترميم جددها انسان تاجر وصل من الغرب وكان الإمام الامر باحكم الله يأتي إلى هذا الدير ويتزه فيه وانشا فيه منظرة وجرد عمارة الحصن الدائر عليه وشهد قانون الإعيان ان بيعة هذا الدير باسم مركا ورميم اختي العاطر ويعيد لهما في ثامن عشر سنة من كل سنة أو تاسع عشر، فصل شهد كتاب الديارات للشامشي ان هذا الدير من احسن ديات مصر وادرهها ومنظره جديبًا جدًا فيما في أيام النيل والزراعة ولا خليج تجتمع الناس إليه يتنزهون وهو أيضًا مصد شمال متسع وماء النيل المربي يحيط بهذا الدير من جهاته الأربع سفط ميدوم به بيعة جامعا فيها ثلاث منابع أحرهم للقبط وهو الوسطائي باسم الشهيد الشجاع نادرس والثاني للإرمان على اسم الشهيد الجليل ماري جرجس، والثالث للسيدة العذراء مرترميم وهو للملكيين الاعترام بناهم هرس الحكم المثل بالحكمة وهو الذي بعلمه سر الطبيعة استصرف

[II. 7]
فكان ندمية عشر نذيراً بالمرفق ومن مكان القبر إلى صدر الحائط القبلي الذي للبيعة الداخل فيه نزع الريح تشهوة وعشرون نذراً بالمرفق أيضًا والعالم أنه لم يكن بيدي شيءًا لجعل على قبرهما قبة ليعرف بها قبل وفي البيعة هذه مغطس كان يجري له الماء في قناة من هذا البئر فعميت وفي الدير طالون فارسي وكان فيه مقشرة فبطلت قلب وتجاوز هذه البيعة جوسف كبير وفيه ثلاث طبقات شاهق البنا ومدخلة من داخل البيعة استقالة وكان هذا الجوسف تشمع فرقة الشعب الكبيرة أبو الورشات الكاتب المعروف بابن كاتبة وجد عمارة الحائط الملائفي للمرحاض أسفل وجد عمارة الغناة قلب وقربًا منه بيعة على اسم الإب القديس ادودة وهو ادوديوس وقد تلقته وقبالتها عنى الدير من خارج عدة قلالي كانوا للرقبان في وقت خروجهم من دير أبو مقار في بطريركية ابنا بنينين الثامن والثاني في العدر وهو الآن خراب قلب وفيه طافوسين أحدهما لرف الاضافات الجزيرة قريبًا من بيعة ادوديوس طافوس حالفة والآخر لرف الرقبان تحت الجوسف وفديه مدافع لاهل القرى قلب وكانت الاضافة قد استولت على اخشاب هذا الدير والبيعة فاهل هذا السيد أيضًا بنقضها وجعل عوض السقوف أقربة وجعل العبد مرفودة في اركان ولي بيع من العبد طاهرًا إلا العاملين الصوانين الذين قبالة صورة السيدة العذراء الطاهرة والبسط الخشب باقي لكونه دهن بالصبر فمنع الاضفة أن تفسده وعده من اجتمع في هذا الدير في وقتنا نحن من شعب نفر إلى ما دوهم قلب شهد دلال الأعيان بخط ابنا يودس الاسقف الدماني ابن في ثلاثين يومًا من بوعنة من كل سنة يعبد لبرهم ومرضا اختها الذين
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صالح

الغز الإكراد في سنة أربع وتستين وخمسين سنة انتزعوها من ملك
الدير لم يبق لهم سوى المصيرة ينقطعوا بهاديه ومنها صل
وكان أحد الكتاب المصريين قد دخل إلى هذا الدير يطلب ما
يشرب منه ويغسل بديسه فوجد الماء عندهم قليلًا جدًا فاهتم وحفر
بئر من داخل الصحن قبالة حائط البيعة القبلية وكان تحت
الصغير صغرية فتسرب في قطعها وقطعها من حساب كل زراع
دريانر وكان إحدى نزاعها أربعة عشر نزاعًا خارجًا عما اتفق في الحفر
والعمارة وهذا البئر هو الذي يشرب منه اليوم ديج الله نفسه
ويصلح دنية المهتم طلعت ماء هذا البئر حلو طيب خفيف همام
فصال وقال داقل هذا الخبر وكتب قد أعلمنه أن بيعة هذا الدير
على اسم مرتاح وأربعمائة عشرة العازر الذي اقامة سيدنا يسوع المسيح
له المعبد من بين الاموات وعاش عند ذلك تسعة سنين وصار
استغف قبره مدة طويلة ومرة الشاهدين لقيامة العازر من اليهود
سبعة الأف رجل واربعمائة سرو النسا والصبيان وقال داي ناقل
هذا الخبر الصحيح ادنا كنت تحت رأى أبي الراهب بالروح
ولقد كان يذكري بكما سمعته منى وكان مقيمًا بهذا الدير
وأرى فيه مشايفه لخبره بما اخبرتك به كنت في بعض الأوقات
اردت أن أراق الماء في مكان مقابل هذا البئر فعنى هذا
الشيخ من ذلك قائلًا هذى المكان الذي اردت أن تزيل فيه ضرورة
الجسم بالراحة فيه يا ابنى قبر مرتاح وأربعمائة تحته في طافوس
عمل لهم وهن فيه فافتنت وصرت أوقفر هذا المكان وصلت فيه
وألون ذات يوم قمت من هذا المكان الذكور إلى حد هذا البئر

1 أرقى
داخل الباب وزحف الي ان دخل البد واستقام الي ان دخل الى المذبح فقال لأحد الحرفيين اбин مكان وقوق المسك فآورة وقال ابين موسع وقوق الشمس فاعمل به فسوق مكان الشمس وقال للراهبين اقتف مقابلتي مكان الشمس ففعل ذلك ثم طاف الكنيسة ودفع للراهبين الف درهم بعد ضيافتهم لله خرج من الدير يتصد ولم يجاب في الدير في هذه الدفعة وكان المذبح ينزل اليد بديح ويدعوها اليه المنزلي تلقىها الشيخ أبو الفضل اتين السقف ود رحم الملك وباطت لهم سريعا بلاط على الإسكانا على ثلاثة أيام خارج ثم صار الإمام الأمر يتردد الى الدير في مراكب وعساكر يتصدر فذاها فيها منظرة عالية عمل قبة طالعة الى فوق من الجذاب البحرى ووابها من خارج الدير ولها سلم معقود حماية يصعد اليها منده وبالباب الاين مسدود كانت الإزينة قد استولت على هذه المنظرة وغيرها فسقطت ولم يبق لها اثر ويات في الدير ليلتين متفرقة وصار في كل يوم يتردد للصيد ويشيوع الرهبان فجعل لهم من كل زاوية يطرف الدير فيها الف درهم فحقق لهم من ذلك خمسة وعشرون الف درهم ورقا صبحًا وكان الصور القديم قد تهدم فجسد الحصن القائم الان من هذا الملل وكان عدة الجبال الذين يحملون له القمح والطرب في كل يوم اربعين جمل ويعاوا الدير من داخل الحصن في زاويته الشرقية القبلية بئر ماء ممتع مسقوق نم صم ان الرهبان لما زالوا من الإمام الأمر مثل هذه الانعما وصار لهم ادلا على الله سالوا ان يلفد للدير طيب يزروعه في كل ستة فاجبك ساعة وادعى على الدير من راية داحبة طهران من الجبرية تمليكا نابتا منه بخط يده قطعة ارض قابلة بغير مساحة ما يقارب ثلاثون فدان وأستمرت بايديهم الى ان ملكوا
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صالح

قد سُئِلَ عما وصفها الشيخ أبو العيسى البراز واتهم بها وسَمّى بيعة السيدة جنَّة عمارتها القسم جرحة الصغرى كاذب الاستن صندل المظفر ومثله كان بوسام قلائد وسنة وسِنتين بيعة يقرس فيها كل يوم ولها كُنْهَة قوسوس وشمسة ويجتمع فيها شعب

المحرقة تنقولون بنبراس بنبراس عظيمة ودير كبير وجمعه كبيرة من الرهبان، فصُل قضية دير نhiba على ما أطلعت عليه من سعيد

الشمس ابن نجاح المترحم وهو من أهل نhiba عند حضورى البهاء في شوال سنة تسع وسنين وخمسينئة في عين الخضين ألفية للقربان فيه ذكر انه وافق في تاريخ على أن هذا الدير المقدس اهتم بعمارته انسان ناجر ورد من الغرب إلى ديار مصر وبا حضور إلى مصر من ثغر الإسكندرية قبل مملكة دقلاديانوس الكافر الذي سفه دما الشهدا وامير الناس ان يعبدوا الابوان ويشبعوا لها النبات وفيبها ويبقى لها حضر هذا الناجر من الغرب قبل ذلك بارعين سنة وما صل المعر لدين الله من الغرب وملك مصر دزل تحت هذا الدير وأقام سبعة أشهر وانشا قبالته بستان وبطر ساقية تحت الكروم غربي الجمرة وحوض سبيل وهو الآن مردوم

وحوض السبيل قد دثر ثم دخل الى مصر والبستان حراب اليوم وهذا لم يبق فيه غير اصول جميل وسدر واحرف الحكم هذا الدير المذكور التي ان وصل بالرخص ثم جرى عمارته انسان اريخ من اهل وسَمّى من الجزيرة وأطلق الحكم للرهابان رزقه هناك وقيت باقية الى اليوم وعملت على هذا الدير بعد تجميدته

صوان وكان الامر باحكام قن حضر الى هذا الدير في وزارة محسن ابن فانك وبج بن بشور فقير وعليه باب جديد فلم يرى ان يدخل العب منكسر الرأس بل جعل وجهه الى خارج وجعل ظهره الى
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلح

طلوع نجم السماء وقطع الإيباس من وفاة النيل، فصل ثم قال دارون: إلى مصر كيف تقبل الله سوال النصارى والاجهزة أيضاً بيعة على اسم الملكين ميكائيل تحولها الخبيرزادية إلى سبعة عشر زراعًا وأكثر من ذلك وتضمنت سيرة ابنها خليل أن دهایته كانت نهائية عشرة زراعًا فصل البابا صاربا خليل البطريرك، وهو في العهد السادس والأربعين ومن مكة من الإساقفة عند خلافتهم من بين مروان الجعدي آخر خلفاء بني ابي بكر ثم عدى عليها البحر ولم يبق لها أثر به دير على اسم الشهيد الحمدين مرقوصوس وبيعته هدمها الخراسانيين عند تعديتهم إلى البر الغربي لقتل مروان البلقب بحمار الصرد بيعة للبشير مرقس الرسول بالقصر الذي بناه خوش ملك الفرس وقصر الجمبع بصرى وكان ينزل إلى كل منها من المركب بيعة الملك ميكنايل وعرف بالدير الاحمر على شاطئ بحر النيل المبارك، وبيعة باسم قرمان ودمايان بقيادة حجر شاهقة بالدير المذكور الخبيرزادية بيعة القديس بيمين فيها تخيل شمسة ودورة إنغبار منة اندوة بها بيعة القديس أبو بيئة، وبيعة باسم أبو باغام الشهيد وجمهور فيها ودورة بسبوط وداو الكوم بيعة واحدة بنبرس وقصر خاقان، بيعة على اسم القديس الشهيد ماري جريجس جدي علمها عبد جر_recommendation:translated?_###_Recommendation:translated?
المؤمنين الذين شاهدوه وغيرهم من التقات وهذة البيعة عمل البحر في اصولها وكانت تذهب فاتهم بها وتبث أصولها وانشا لها زراعة في البحر مَكّنة الثبات الشيخ عز الكفاعة إبن الغفار ابن سليمان الكاتب وأصرف على ذلك جملة كبيرة من ماله ولذكورة من المعروف والصيقات ما هو مشهور عند في جيئة وكانوا الغز الأكراد قد هدموا بعضها فأظهر الله بسبر ذلك آية عظيمة فلم يعودوا يعرضوها وهو إن الذين عرضوها لم يبق منهم أحد في دون السنة وبتجاوز هذه الكنيسة بستان وبعده مدة استولى عليها البحر وغلبوا المهندسين عن الحيلة فيها فأخذ البحر منها جزءاً من الشرق وأخذ فخر الدين وإلى مصر المعروف بعلم البانباسى ثماني سنة عاحون وعليها رسم الصبان إختيار بها فدفقت له وملاك وعزل من ولاية مصر وصارح عقب ذلك وأخذ جميع ملكه في المصادرة ومات في الاعتقال وإما فخر الكفاعة كان دار سكنه على البحر فافناف ان يهديما البحر مثل غيرها فهزمها وحمل جميع فلسطين وإخشابها وإخسابة جملة البيعة المذكورة وإقعاسها وجد في البيعة كانت قد وفت على اسم مرقس الانجيلا ووضع فيها كثيراً عطرها حسنة وإقامت سنين في ترتيب حسن وعدى عليها الغز وعوم المسلمين وشعتها ولم يعور أحد يهم بها وفي الان قاعدة التاجران خراب معطلة من القداس والصلوات وذلك في تقدمه انها يوحنا ابن أبو غالب وهو الرابع والسبعين في العهد فصل بيعة مارية بطرس بالجزيرة على شاطئ البحر والاساس فيها البحر وإليها اجتمعوا النصارى في وقت كان النيل قد تأخر فعلا من أجل ذلك صلوات ليلية وهديرة وصوم مدة أسبوع كامل واخر ذلك الأسبوع اوفا ما النيل وزاد عن الوفاة بعد
ذكر أن بحر الغلام وهو البحر الاحمر قبالة دير انطاديوس الذي
غرق الله فيه فرعون وجنوده وأجاز موسى النبي وبنو اسرائيل في
البيس منه في اثنا عشر رفقة ومنها ما هو باق إلى الآن لم يغيب
شاهدهم وهو بحر سروى.
فصل شهر تاريخ سعيد ابن بطريق
الملك ان الغلا كان في المدينة بمكة وكادوا أهل المدينة من الملة
الصينية في جهاد عظيم فكتب عمر ابن الخطاب من الحجاز إلى
عمر باع العاسان ابن جزرا امير مصر بذلك وهذا في السنة الثامنة
من خلافة عمر ابن الخطاب فبعث إليه عمر باع العاسان قروال من
الجمال موقرة حنطة أولها المدينة وأخرى مصر وكتب عمر ابن
الخطاب إلى عمر باع انه يعبس خليجنا حتى يصل إلى القلزم
فيسهل حمولة القم فيبطر عمر الحجري الذي في القنطرة المعروف
بامير المومنين فكانت المرافق تحمل القم والشعير من الفسطاط
في الحجاز إلى القلزم ويعمل في البحر الماء إلى المدينة وهي
مدينة أغرام من كرسي القلزم بها بنو اسرائيل فرعون في ذلك
الرسان، فصر وذكر أن خليج القاهرة أوله السد قريبًا من الوضعة
بمصر ومنتهاج السدير من الشرقية وهناك قطرة ينقل القم من البر
إلى الجلاب الذي يسير إلى مكة وارض الحجاز الجابري الغربي.
الجزيرة حصن الجابري بناء عمر باع العاسان سنة اثنين وعشرين
اللهجة كثيل لهدمان وهي قريبة من العرب وهم سكنوها عند فتح
الاسكندرية. فصل الجابري الغربي من الجزيرة مقابر الملوك الغرابنة
وفيها نخافهم مطوعة اثارة، وبهذة الناحية بيعة الشهيد
بقطر ابن ارجوانس بساحل البحر كان يحفظ بها ابن الخمير الصيرفي
من اهل الجزيرة وشهد النور على صورة السيدة التي في شاوا
هذه البيعة عتة دفع وشهر هذا الامر وتحدث به جماعة من
باسم اولاده منهم تنبيس ودمامات ودوبة ودوبة ودوبة وجدن أبدا سمنود وقيل أن فرعون بنا الفرما وكانت بحيرة تاء ماء فغرق فيها الف مركب ورمي البحر منهم الف رجل فصبت الف رجاء فصل وتبث أتلاوبطرة ملكة الإسكندرية حائط الحجوز في الجانب الشرقي من بلاد النوبة إلى الفرما وفي الجانب الغربي من بلاد النوبة إلى الإسكندرية تحصنا من أوغسطس قصر ملك الروم وهنا فتح اوتليم ونقل اليهود منها إلى رومية فصل وكان سيير بادويل ملك الفرنج بالشام قد وصل في خلافة الأمر ووزارة شاهنشاه الإفضل إلى الفرما في السنة الخامسة عشر من بطريركية ابنا مقارة وهو التاسع والستين في عهد البابا البطارية ووصل ملك الفرنج المذكور بعساكره وجنوده فنهبها وإنهبها وعول على الوصول إلى مصر ليلكعنا ففرض بها في اليوم الثالث من وصوله إليها واشتهر مرضه فامر اصحابه أن يحملوه ويعودوا به إلى الشام ففعلوا كما أمرهم وله وصل إلى قرب العريش مات فصبروه وعادوا به إلى البيت المقدس وفق هنافه القلزم 1 حرصا للملك من ناحية الحجاز وسماها بعض اللئسم الذي يمسك التوب واسم قلزم له كنيسة ابنا سيدو سيد بناحية راسة ادشا يسيطانيوس الملك فصل إلى القلزم كان يستقي السكين بالقاهرة هاهنا الصاحب وهو البرزخ وهو أضيف بر علي وجه الأرض بين البحرين وما الشام ومن الحجاز وهو ما بين الفرما والقلزم مسيرة يوم وليلة وهم بعض الملك بكفر بهلهيا ليبنطي البحران فضفاض أن يفسدون الروم سبقها في الحجاز 2 قفل والفرما عليها حصن دائر حجر بغير ابواب وهي خراب قفل

1. حرسا

[II. 7] K
ذكر وذكر إنها كانت من طرق إلى جزيرة قبرس في البر وغالبًا على البكر وخايل البكر أيضًا على مقطع الرخام الفردي الإبلق
ومقطع الرخام الإبلق فهم بلوبيه وكان بها عادة كنائس وادرة
خرجها الفرس والعرب وذكر أن حسن المدنية باقي إلى الآن.
فصل شهد كتاب فضائل مصر أن كان بمدينة تنيس عامًا يعرف
بابين المنطقة وجاء إلى الغمر من يهدم حجاجة أبواب شرقية الغمر.
فلما وصل إليها المتوجهين لقطع الحجر خرج أهلها لهم بالسلاح.
فمنوعهم من قلع الحجر وقالوا أن هذالي شروك من حجاجة قديمة.
لم يتعرض له أحد من الملوك ولا من الناس جميعًا فكيف يمكن
من قلعة ونقله إلى أرض أخرى وهذه الأبواب أيضًا دخل منها
يعقوب أبو السبساب ابن أسحق ابن إبراهيم الخليل عليهم السلام.
وعل قائمًا يقوم الملوك الموقعين بالله يجعلهم لهم العمارة فيكون
حجورهم سالمًا فيوجد فوضوا ولم يقلعوا حجر واحد فقيل وكان
أوليس ابن خرخبا الذي أهوب لسارة آمارة إبراهيم الخليل الإمام.
جارتها هاجر في السنة الخامسة والثلاثين من عمر إبراهيم وفي
نسمة النسمة وثامدين وهو الصحيح وولى له منها اسماء.
فسمى وزله من هاجر وسموها العرب نسبين لإله تزوج منهم.
وسميوا اسمائهم لاجعل أن ابنهم اسمائهم ولأن اسمائهم
نشأ بين العرب وتكلم باللغة العربية وعاش اسمائهم مائة وتسعة
وثلاثين سنة وولى له من النسا العربيات أثنا عشر عائلا من
الجبارة العرب وهم افتخار وقبش من أولاد اسمائهم وكان سكنه
إي اوليس بالغمر وقيل أن اسمه صادوق ونبا مدين عدة.

1 Add من.
السيدة العذراء مريم الطاهرة وَبِعْيَة على اسم الشهيد
الجليل الشجاع لادريس الشروقي وَبِعْيَة القديس الجليل أبو
يعنس، ثانية اغتيال أيضاً في المدينة وخارجها كان بها أكثر
من عشرين بيعة ولم يبق منها إلى وقتنا حسب غير عشرة بيع
منها البيعة بناحية بالوجه على اسم التلاميذ بحسب دائر
عليها ونستانا وساقية بدير معيين حلوة فيها، كنيسة أبو مرقورة
وكنيسة للسيدة للرهبان، كنيسة على اسم الشهيد الشجاع
ودرساً وكنيسة على اسم أبو قرصان وَبِعْيَة على اسم السيدة
العذراء الطاهرة وَبِعْيَة على اسم القديس أبالجول، وبيعة
لله شهيد أبو مينا المعروفة كنائس العامة وعليها قرة وتحمل
البيه دُنْور كبيرة وِلَلملكية بها هيكل يُقَسَّم عليه وَبِعْيَة أخرى
على اسم الشهيد أبو مينا مجاور البرية، دير آخر في البرية
يعرف بدير البغل وفيه عَدّة رهبان وداخل البرية دير القديس
ابنبا، وهو على شاطئ البحر المالح، بين دير الجموح
التي ينصل إليها في البرية يومين ويعبر إليها من هذا الدير عنى
دير القديس العظيم ادنايوس قوسن رهبان وشمامة يقسون
فيه بالنوبة وهو بوادي العروبة وبحيرة مريم وهو قريبًا من طور
سينا بينهم تعبيلة في الملاح. جهة العريش بين الجهة
كنيسة كبيرة بالغدا مريم، وهو خراب وحيرادها باقيا إلى
وقتنا نحن وصور البلد الذي من جانين الملاح باقي إلى
الآن، فضل ذكر أن جميع الرخام والعمى التي بصر معظمها
وتلك منها من العريش. مدينة الجزيرة، هنا هذه المدينة فرعون
واسمها بغمرونس على نهر النيل وهو الفرما في سنة ثمان
عشرين من مولى موسى النبي وهي أكبر عجائب وأقامت اثار

Fol. 56 b
تاريخ الشيخ ابن صالح

تاريخ سعيد ابن بطريق وهو الذي صار بطريرك الملكية في مملكة الرومان في سنة خمسين وثمانية وثمانية للهجري. وفي سنة أخرى سنة خمسين ورابعة وخمسين للهجري. فصل وشهد تاريخ مجيب ابن فاضل الباجي بنشك ذلك وجمع أيضًا بقرون الراهب وهم أول من ليس الصوف وسكن البراري و젝ن في بطرسية ديونيسوس وهو الرابع عشر في العهد وكان في وقته اتناسيس الكاتب بطريرك الإسكندرية وداهبا بحوم الراهب المصري وديونيسوس استحق قياسية وداخل هذه الناحية سبع بيع للقبط ومنهم ستة ولارين واحدة على اسم الشهيد ماري جريس. فصل الديونيسوس بدير الجميرة على شاطئ بحيرة الينابيع إلى بجاوة قيسون ويوسف ولاحون ومعصرة وهو قريبًا من دهروط وفيه إلى وقتنا نفس ثلاثين راهبًا فصل وكان بالدير المعروف بابنا ادودة وهو انتانسوس راهب يسمي بلطوس وكان غالبًا ومعملًا كبيرًا بوضاع الدين السماح وكبيرة الدير ماهير في حقوق ما يترمن من القوانين الشرعية واصاده الشيطان في شرك من شركه وعتقد اعتقاد مختلف لما وضعه الإبي الخانشة وثماني عشر وافقه عقول جماعة كبيرة من ليس له معرفة ولا دراية بالإضافة الإتفاضية واسعًا من قمه النجوم ومنطقته المحيط، إن المسيح رينا له المجاد كأنه الإديب وصار مجتمع بالإضطرار من أهل الرئة وهو لايفش شكل الرهبة منطقًا بالروحية والإسكيم، وإنما سأل عن مذهبه واعتقده، فيقول ابن موحى وظهرت مقالته في سنين أخرى سنة تسع وثلاثين وثمانين للشهيده الإبراهيم وموت وانقطع ذكره إلى الإبراهيم بناحية البرميل بيعة للسيدة العذراء مرتميًا الطاهرة، ومعه أخرى على اسم القديس أبو الإلهة ناحية صول بيعة على
البحر دبل ثلاثة أيام في البرج التي هي برجة القدر، ومجدة الظاهر فيه موفوقًا في مغارة النجفة التي كان يصلى فيها وهو مسعود عليه وبيعة على اسمه على علم الجبل المقدس وللبحر قوافين وإملاك عادةً وعليه حصن دائرة في جماعة كبيرة من الرهبان وداخل الحصن منهم بستان كبير وفيه نخيل مثير، وأُحرز تغازيم وعمران وغير ذلك وارض مفغرة بقولات لثلاثة عيون مياه تجري دائمًا يُيسق منها البستان ومنها يشرب الرهبان ومن جملة البستان فدان وسوس كرم عنب مما يحتاج إليه وقيل ان عدة نخيله الف رأس نخل ويد يوجيف كبير محفوم البنا وقلالي الرهبان مطلة على البستان ولا باطليف أيضًا املاك وساسان ولم يكن مثله في سائر الديارات التي يسكنها رهبان المصريين وهو بين اليعاقبة من الرهبان فصل وكان ظهور اذان الأندوحة المصري وسمي أيضًا انطانيوس نجم البرية واب الروحان وهو أول راهب سكن البرية واجتمعت إليه الروحان ببرية مصر وابتدأ عمارة الديارات وإجماع الروحان إليها وبنى هذا الدير المقدس في مملكة يوليواس الملك الكافر وهو ابن اخت قسطنطين الملك الموسى وملكية ساكور ابن ارشير ابن دايب من نسل ساسان فصل وهذا القديس العظيم انطانيوس أول راهب لبس الصوف وظهر شكل الرهبة وخرج عن العالم وسكن البرية وظهر له ملاك الرب وأزاه كيف يلبس شكل الرهبة وصرف الملائكة كيف ينبغي له ان يفعل في سكنه البرية ليكون مثلًا لغيره من الرهبان الذين يقتدون به ويسيرون مثل سيرته الظاهره فصل وهذا الملك المذكور أولًا اعني الأوليسس قتلة الشهيد مراقيوس مما ذكره ياسيلوس اسفغ فيسارية وشاهد شبه الدم في سين رميه مما شهد به
الناسك يعين في هذا الدير في سابع عشر من طوبة من كل
سنة القديسين العظيمن في الربة مكسيموس ودومادوس
أخيه ولد الملك أوتاديوس اصحاب دير ستنا السيدة المنسية
بوموس برتية أبو مقار ووادي هبيان وكان عادة الزوار من
النصارى أن يخرجوا لهولا القديسين للزيارة ثلاثة دفع في
السنة من ذلك عديد الصليبي في سابع عشر شهر توت وعيد
الغطاس في الحادي عشر من طوبة وثاني عيد الفصح وكان
للمسلم فيهما فرح ومسيرة واجتماع روحاني ومن جملة ما لهذه
البيعة وهذا الدير بالناحية المعروفة بدهشور من أعمال الجيزة
إلى إجراء على هذه البيعة وهذا الدير على يديه كما يحكم الهيما من
العيين والغطاس مما يحصل لهما من الأوقاف والندوز وغير ذلك
تتغير ذلك الحال وذهب لذهاب الناس اهل الخير وصارت
هذة الكنيسة مسجدًا ونعت بمسجد موسى والدير عدى عليه
البكر جميعًا بيعة على اسم السيدة مرتيريم العزى الطاهرة
جذبت في بطرسية أبا اسميق وحدهاووالنعمان في
الدير على يد اغريغريوس استفف القيس وهكذا دقل طوبها
وخبشها في تغلب الأمير حسين ابن الحافظ واختلاف الرياحية
والنحوية العبد وقتل من الغربيين عدة كبيرة وجدن بهجمة
المسيح المعروف بالدب بطيئة في سنة ثمان وعشرين وخمساً
هلالية قضى ذلك بخبار هذه البيعة وبلغت للارض ؛ اطفيح
سُمِيت باسم ولي من أولاد مالبق ابن تدريس من أولاد مصرام
إلى أن بلغ الظلمات وعين عجائب كثيرة إلى الدير المعروف بادبا
البكار وهو شرقى اطفيح من قبلى مصر ومن هذا الدير إلى

Fol. 54 a
العُرِيزُ هُدمَ الجَامِعُ العَتيِقُ بِمَصرِ المَعْروَفِ بَشَاشَا عَوْرَمِ ابْنِ العَاصِمِ
وَإِلَى مَصرِ وَبِنَاهُ وَزَاهُ فِي إِسْتَعَامَةِ وَبِشَا بِحَلَوَانِ بَرَكَةٌ عَظِيمَةٌ وَسَافَ
إِلَيْهَا الَّذِينَ مِنْ عِيْونِ دَاخِلِ الجَبلِ المَسْميِ الجَبلِ المُقْطَمِ عَلَى
فَنَاذِرُ بِنَاهَا إِلَى الَّبِرَكَةِ وَعَلَيْهَا عَرْشُ مِنْ زَجْاجٍ وَبِنَا بِهَا
مُسَاجِمٌ كَثِيرٌ وَالْفَيْحَاءُ فِي حَلَوَانِ مَالِهُ كَثِيرٌ وَتَضَمَّنَتْ نَسْخَة
الْتَارِيْخُ اَلَّذِي اِدْفَقَ الفِلْفَ الْفِيْنَارُ وَغَرْسُهَا تُخْبِيَ وَإِشْجَارُ
وَكَانَ يُنْتَخِبُ الْجَلْفَاءِ دِفَاعًا فِي كَلِّ جَمِعَةِ يَخْشَى مِنْ فَتْنَة
تَقُومُ وَتَنْزِلُ بَيْنِ الْفَيْحَاءِ إِلَى الَّالِلِّ وَبِنَا الْفَنَاطِرُ عَلَى خَلِيفَة
إِلِيْهَا وَيَعْطِلُ الْغَسْطَبُ وَكَانَ بِيْتُ الْمَالِ بِحَلَوَانِ فِي دِبَرِ عَلَى
الأَسْمَ السَّبيِّةِ مَارْتَبِرِهِمُ العِنْزِيِّ الْطَاهِرَةِ هَتْمَ بِعَمَارَتِهِ الْإِسْقَافَةِ فِي
بُطُكَبِيَّة اِبْنُ اسْحَاقِ الْرَأْبِيِّ وُضِعُ الْمَعْدَادُ وَالْاِسْتِعَامُ وَالْإِسْبُكَةُ وَالْاتِجْهَارُ
وَإِبْنُ سَيْمُورُ السَّريَّيِّ بِعَدَّةٍ وُضِعُ الْثَانِيُّ وَالْإِسْبُكَةُ وَالْاتِجْهَارُ
فِي وَلَادِهِ عَلَى ابْنِ العَرْيِزِ إِبْنِ مِروانِ عَلَى يَدِ ابْنِ اسْحَاقِ الْبَطُّرَدِrit
الْقِيسِ وَيَجْعَلُ بِدِرِ ابْنِ مِروانِ عَلَى يَدِ امْعَأَرْيِغُو يرْدِ.rit
ذَانِي جَدَّ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ وَرَسَمَ عَلَى ابْنِ العَرْيِزِ إِبْنِ مِروانَ إِبْنُ يَنِشاَ
لِبُودِيَّةِ الْبَطُرَدِ.rit
وَكَانَتْ هَذِهِ الْبَيْعَةُ لَطِيفَةٌ وَتَعْرِفُ بِكَنيَّةِ الْغَرَاسِيَّيِّ وَكَانََّهَا هُوَ الْبَيْعَةُ اِلْتَصْرَأَيِّ
ابْنِ العَرْيِزِ إِبْنِ مِروانِ عَلَى أَسْمَ الشَّهِيدِ اِلْجَلْفَاءِ مَارِيِّ جَرِخَسٍ
وَفِي هَذِهِ الْبَيْعَةِ لَطِيفَةٌ وَتَعْرِفُ بِكَنيَّةِ الْغَرَاسِيَّيِّ وَكَانََّهَا هُوَ الْبَيْعَةُ
الْتَصْرَأَيِّ الْغَرَاسِيَّيِّ مَلْكَةُ.rit
بَيْعَةُ مُوسَى كَلِيمِ اللَّهِ وَهُوَ مِنْ الْبَيْعَةِ اِلْتَصْرَأَيِّ الْغَرَاسِيَّيِّ،
الْعَظِيمَةِ المَنْتَسِحةِ فِي الَّمَارِحِ عَلَى شَاهِدِ ذِهِرِ الْبَيْعَةِ اِلْتَصْرَأَيِّ فَرْقَيَةُ
مِنْ حَلَوَانِ وَمِنْيَةِ السُّوْرِ وَفِيْلْعَوْنُ مُوسَى وُلْدُهُ إِبْنُ مِروانٍ إِبْنُ بُضْبُعُ
فِي الدِّبَرِ المَجَاوِرِ لَهُ وَهُوَ مِنْ الْأَعْمَارِ الْكَبَارِ مَحْكُومُ فِي الْبَيْعَاتِ
وَالْهَنْدِيَّةِ فِي وَضُعِ الَّمَارِحِ وَفِيْهِ جَمِعَةٌ كَبِيرَةٌ مِنْ الْرَهَبِّيَّ وَالْشَيْخِيَّاتُ.
Warsار معه جمعة من التابعين له مقيمين معه وقام به مرة عشرين سنة ومات في يوم الاثنين أول جمعة البيضا من الجمعية الثانية في الثالث والعشرين من أميشير سنة تسعمائة واربعة وعشرين للشهراء الإبرار وهو الآن بين تابعية وهم جمعة كبيرة ولكن أحوالهم غير مستقيمة وذكر كان فيه متوقٌّماً وفي الغائر المنقورة التي بالجبل ما ينادى سنة الاف راهب، فسل وكان ككلي ابي حرابا ابي ماليق من أولاد بيصر ابن حام ابن توح ذو حكمة بالغة ويقال ان مملكة هرمس وهو أول من عمل الكبيبة وضع الرصاص ذهبًا وعقد الزبير حجرًا ذهبيًا أبيض وسبك من الرمل زجاجًا وكان مطبع الزجاج في موضع يقال له التنور في علو الجبل الشرقي ظاهر مصرف بديعة السيدة مرتين رضي الاعزى الطاهرة بالقنطرة المعروفة بكنيسة الروم وعرفت بالغراشين النصارى جرى عمارتها فراشين المامون ابن الله ابن الرشيد هارون قريبًا من قبة الهواء الذي انشأها على جبل المقطم وكانوا النصارى يلمدون السواح ويركبون التخيول إلى خلافة المتوكل جعفر فابطل ذلك علوان وكان عبد العزيز ابن مروان ابن الراهن وكتب أبو الاسبع سكتها وحلوان اسم ولده الأكبر وبهذه الناحية ذكر الإمام الحاكم بامر الله عن الاصمار الذي كان راكبا وتحرم إلى الزرابي الذي كان يصحبه حيث يذهب يابن يعرف الاصمار وهب هو وحده إلى داخل الجبل ولم يرجع عام ولا غريبه إلى ابن توجه إلى يومنا هذا وكان ذلك في شوال سنة احد عشر واربعمئة واعمر بها هذا عبد العزيز عمار حسنًا ومقياسًا لما النيل وانه اعترى الداء المعروف بداء الأسد وهو الجذام وانه استعمل ادوية كثيرة ولم ينفع فيه الدوا واحتار الاطبا في مداواته وهذا عبد
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صالح

كبيرة واسعة شاهقة وفيها صور الأربعين شهيد من سبسطية وقد جمعها قبر أبي الفضائل هذا بيعة الشهيد بدرة طيبة مارى توما بيعة زمان ودميان وأخوهما وأمهما الذين استشهدوا جميعهم على اسم المسيح وفي سلفهما بيعة ماريو 홓ا المعمدان السابق في مغارة سقفها حجر محمل على عامون كدار خافي وفي وسطها وفي السقف صور كنائسية قد مكى أكثرها وقربان منها قبر يوحنا الراهب الذي هانس صور القاهرة وأوابها في الخلافة المستنصرية ووزارة أمير الجيوش بدر وعلى هذا القبر لوح رخام في الحائط وبيعة القديس ماري جرجس المقدم ذكرها في جملة هذه الكنيات العريقة خارجة على قرنة الجبل

نشاهد الشيخ أبو الحكم ابن أبو الخصيب صهر أبي البركات ابن أبي الليث وفي الجبل المذكور عدة مغائر تقر في الجبل سقوفها منها أحدهم مغارة القديس إراسيوس الذي ينوب على اسمه والحجر الذي كان يتوسده بها وداخل هذا الدير صهريج يصل الماء إليه من الجبل في وقت المطر وكان به بئر ماء معين تقر في الجبل منه يشربو الرهبان ومن يطرفه وفيه طاحون نقر في الجبل وكنيسة كذلك وتجاور كنيسة ماري سابا الذي اشتاهد ابن البركات منظرة عملت للإمام كان يحضر إليها في رمضان صبر الوحوش ومكان لإصطياد وفية منظرة خماراوية ابن أحمد ابن طولون في علو الدير من الجبان الشرقى وقد تشعثت فيه الين في وقتنا لحمسة رهبان ضعفاء الإحوال إلى آخر برهمات سنة احدى وتسعين وثمانية للشهدا الإبرار بعد ذلك فيه ف thủy ابن القرن المظلل الجيال بعث قائد المخالف للح cargar

الملخص

[II. 7: 1]
سنة أحدث وتسعة وثمانين للشهداء الابرار عشرة بيع وهي في العلو، بيعة القدس ارساديوس معلم أولاء الملوك وgisرة من فوقًا تحت مذبحها وهو مذبح واحد وعليه قبة وفي وسطها قبو طويل، بيعة على اسم ستنا السيدة مرتديم الظاهرى القديسة وفيها مذبح واحد مثل ذلك، بيعة الاستلميين التلاميين. وكان فيها صورة السيدة حاملة للسيدة والملائكة عن يمينها ويسارتها وصور التلاميين الاثنا عشر تلمين جميعهم فصول وميماء المحكمين الصنعة كما في بيت لحم وفيهم فصول زجاج مذهبة وملونة وكان خماروته ابن احمد ابن طلون يقف عند هذه الصورة وينبظر في حسن صنعته ويعصف كبيرًا من ذلك وبالخاصية صورة السيدة العزيزي حتى أنه ادعا في هذا الدير منظرة لنفسه يتنزه فيها وكانت هذه البيعة كبيرة جداً فهدمها الحاكم في سنة اربعمائة للهجرة ثم جرى منها بعد ذلك بيعة على اسم بطرس وبولس وفيها مذبح واحد وعليه قبة وفي وسطها قبو، بيعة اسطفسووس رئيس الشامسة واول الشهدا على اسم المسيح من بني إسرائيل، بيعة على اسم القديس مارى جرجس، بيعة القدس مارى سابا الاستلميان اهتم بتجريدها الشيخ ابن الابرات يوحنا الكلابن ابن ابو الليث في خلافة الامير وزواره، الافضل شاهنشاه وتولى المصور عليها ابن الفضل اخيه وكان ابن الابرات هذا متوالي ديوان التحقيق في الخلافة الافضلية وبعد هذا الى ان قتل في سنة ثمان وعشرين وخمسانات وفيها مذبح واحد وعليها قبة طيفة فوق المذبح ووسطها قبة واحدة

1 Read الوزارة.
من حبيس وهو مطل على القرية المعروفة بشهران وعلى الصحراء، وهي قرية كبيرة عاملة على شاطئ البحر على ما شهد به كتاب الديانات للشامشي ودير شهران والقصير هذا أحد الديانات المقصودة للتعبد والتنزه، وإصوات البطريرك انشا في هذا الدير بيعة الإبسطالي وانشأ قلعة للاستفادة وهو بين الملكيين وفيها جماعة من رهبانهم وعيديه له كل سنة عبد القهيد اساسيوس في ثالث عشر يشمس واصطاف هذا كان تاجراً في الكتان فوق الدون كنز في المدق وترهيب في هذا الدير وينا فيه ما تقدم ذكره وصبر بعد ذلك بطريركاً للملكيبين وقام مرة بطركة اربعة وستين سنة وفي هذا الدير ثمانية كنائس وعليهم حصى دائر وفية منظرة وفيه مرافق ودحته مغائر كثيرة تغر به الجبل وكان هذا الدير هدم منه كنيسة الإبسطاليين في الخلافة الحاكمة في شعبان سنة

Waxxab من نفقة ثم رسم لهم بتجريد ما تشمت منه وربت له الباصت اخو تاج الدولة بهرام سنة عشر فداها زرقة وكان فيه بغل لحبل للدير الماء من البحر والصعود به إلى الدير وكان ينزل منه أحد الرهبان يبدا عليه النقلة ويبقى الراعب مقيم على البحر والبغل متردق في الرواح إلى الدير والمجي بمفرده إلى حين يكلل حاجته منه وعلى هذا الدير حصى حصير دائر وكان في بعض النوب الحادثة قد صعد عوام المسلمين إليه وتبوا على الرهبان حيلة ففتحوا لهم الباب فدخلوا الدير ونهروه وقتلوا من الرهبان جماعة والدير المعروف بالقصر الحضائي داخل البرية غامراً غير أهل وهو من الدير المقدم ذكره مسافة نصف بينه في برمائية

Fol. 50a
بعمارتها أول ابّن مشكور وفي تكريزها أبو المنصور متولي عمار
ة صورى القاهرة ومصر وفي الدير المذكور جوفّ وطاحون وبستان
كان للإداية ولا خلا منهم صار للبعوضة بعية سنة ستمئة هجرية
ومات القس أبو ياسير وصار الدير المذكور ببين تلامذته ويبن القبط
مستمرًا فيه إلى وقتنا نحن الآن الّجبل الشرقي المعروف بالمقطم
اسم ابّن مصرى ابّن مصر ابّن حام ابّن نوح بالمقطم أول من
تعتبر فيه مقطم المذكور و Valve في العبادة اللة وعرف الجبل بعده
بالمقطم وهو متاجور طرا عند مقطع الحجازة وهو متصل بالطول
الي طرا وهو مقرس للّجبل الغربي متصل بجبال الغرب
والمواح الغربية كلها إلى ارض ابّن غواطة ونشاطي البحور الظلم
والنهر بين بّين الّجبلين المقطم المعروف بالقصير على قرنة
الّجبل الشرقي وهذا الدير يشرف منه على بصر النيل المبارك وطرا
انشأه إراديوس الكبير ابن نسيان الكبير ملك الروم على قبر
معملة القدّيس إراديوس وسماه باسمة وكان إراديوس هذا قد
هرب منه وتعبد في بِرية القدّيس أبو دارى بوارى همبي ثم
انتقل إلى هذا الجبل وتعبد فيه وعرف هذا الدير بقصير وعبّد
له عيني عظيم ويتجمع إليه خلف كثير وتحت بيعته على الجبل
بيعة أخرى تفرى في الجبل بالزمر فيما عرف وهذا الدير في
اعلا الجبل على علبة في قرنة الجبل وهو حصن الوضع في
العمارة ودرة المنظر وله بئر منقوش في الصخر يستقي لها
وئية صور جميلة صنعة محكمة مليحة في الغابة وفي إعلاء طاهة
ابو النجيش خمارية ابّن احمى ابّن طلوب ولها أربعة طاقات
على أربع جهات والطريق إلى من مصر فيها صحوة وأما من
قبلية فسهم الصعود إليه والنزول منه وإلى جانبة صومعة لا تخلو

٨٠١٩ د. تز. الشهيد ابّن صلاح
الشهيد تادرس، واتباعيَ بيعة على اسم القرين العليل ماري جرجس الذي هي بناحية طرا على ساحل البحر وكانت لطيفة وهى للقبط الباعقة وله وصل اراضيروموفس بطريقه اسمنية وكانوا الأروس مع أمير الجيوش بدر في بطرسية إدبا كيرلس بطرسية الباعقة واقتضى لامرس طرا فأخذوا هذه البيعة وهدموها وجدوا عوضاً كنيسة كبيرة متسعة بعدة قباب وكرست على اسم ماري جرجس وعلوها جوسف بابا من داخل البيعة وعيتها حصان دائراً وفيها بئر وساقية وعليها وجه دائرة وترعى عليها اصول دارج ودورة تبين فيها تخيل متشرة وشجر وله جرى للإرس ما جرى دفعة بعد أخرى رجعت الكنيسة للباعورية في بطرسية إدبا مرقس المعروف قبل تقديمته بابي الفرح ابن زرعة الكاتب وهو في العهد الثالث والسبعين وها القس المذكور اسمه في بيعة المرتوني المسن أبو ياسر المعروف بالمعروف وجرد عمرة ما احتجت إليه فيها وعاد الشعب يمرون إليها في كل وقت وخارجه اساس حجر ظاهر على وجه الأرض وذكر أحد كان عمل ليثنا عليه منظرة فلم يتهيأ ذلك وهو الين ثلث قطقة واحدة وحصر هذا البطرس إلى هذه البيعة وكرزها بحضور جماعة من الإسافحة والكنيسة والشعب المسبكي وقَّعَ نسيمة أن دير القرين ماري جرجس صارت بين

القس أبو ياسر المذكور المعروف بابن الفسطاط وكرز هذا الدير في بوابة سنة سبع ومائتين وخمسين وخمسين في بطرسية إدبا يوحنا بريماً من الأرمن وجد علواً بيعة للشهيدين أبو مينا وبيعة علية اسم القرين العظيم يوحنا المعمدان وألفريدوس وهذه البيعة قبل الهيكل الكبير الوسطى بدير الأرس بطراء وكرزت في الثلاثين من بدورة سنة اثنتين وتسعمائة للشهيد الأبرار وهذه البيعة اهتم
تقصت الجميرة القبلية بطرًا قبلًا صلى موسى النبي عليه السلام
وهما آثار عين العزير ابن مروان وطرًا مقطعة منه ملكوا الغزداك
واطفيف اسم واحد من أولاد مصرامة وشكران قرية كبيرة كانت
عامة آهلة على شاطئ البحر وينصرفون أن موسى النبي عليه السلام
ولده فيها ومنها القنعة عود إلى البحر في التوابع الخشب
وشكران من المزارع الحمية المقصودة لحيس وضعها وإشرافه على
مصر وبحر النيل هنا على ما شهد كتاب الأديرة للشافعى
وقبالة هذا الدير يعني دير شهري في الجبل الشرقية مغارة
كبيرة على عبد كفار نقري في الجبل واسعة جداً ذكر أنها تعرف
بالمدينة لا يعرف أخارها الدور المعروف بشهران جرده بعين
الراهن الذي كان انتقل إلى دين المسلمين وعاد إلى مذهب
في خلافة الإمام المحاكم وعاد صاحبًا له هذا الراهن كان سبب
فتح النائين بدلاً من غلقها وتغيير الفيض الذي كان المحاكم أمر به
واستمر تسعة سنين وفيها اعتقل أتبا زخارف البطريرك وهو في
الهجر الرابع والستين وطرح أيضًا للسياح ولم تزوده ومنع الله
السياح أن يدوروا منه لأجل قيامة وقوة إمداده بالله وكان السبب
في هذه العقوبة راهبًا من دير أبو مقار يسمى يونس عند ما
النمس الاستفريدة من هذا البطريرك فمنعها عنها ميخائيل ابن إسمى
هذا البطريرك بسبب مالا النمسة منه وتنبأ دينه في سير البطارية
وفي هذا الدير المذكور دوسوف يتوصل إليه منه هذا الدير وهذا
كان له بستان مساحتها ستة أفدنة وفيه نخيل مثير وارضى
زراعة وكان الإمام المحاكم ملازم البرية بهذا الدير والتنزه فيه
ومنه كان يخرج إلى الجبل ويسسح في البرية الدير المعروف
دير الغفار على اسم القديس ماركونيوس وذكر أنه على اسم
ابو ياسرة ابن القسم أبو سعد المعروف بابن القسطال أعتيностباً

تولف ما حره الإجا الإظهار وهو تربية الشعر وشغف رآسة في

وقت الدراسات وتنصير الأطفال بغير ختانة والفسحة لا يملك

بنات الناس ان يشاهدهم الديس قبل الملائك وان قرر فسًا

معلومي الشعر مغطى الرأس لا يتقرب من يره بل يجئه قواس

فاني لنفسه وأقسم البيعة قسماً وانكر ذلك عليه عدة دفع ولم

يرجع ولم ينتهى على رأيه اقتضى الحال لحفظ القوادين أبعاده

عنها والله يصلة لنفسه فصلى وكان لبيعة هذا القس المذكور

بستان وقد تقدم ذكره فملك هذا البستان الامير جبريل ابن

الامام المحافظ وإنشا قبالة هذه البيعة مما يلي البحر في المكان

المعروف بالخيمة القبلية لحفظ المكوس منظرة وحل بها الامام

المحافظ والامام الظاهر ولد في حياة الامير جبريل هذا وحضر

بعد وفاته الامام العامد وكل منهم يراعي هذه البيعة وديب ما

يعمله من طعام الديس وهذه البيعة في وسط الديستين وينظر

من علوها ببحر النيل المبارك وألي بر طموحه من الديسية ومنية

الشمس وغير ذلك في البحر الغربي وهي من اماكن العبادات

الفرحة وهذه البيعة مقصودة جدًا لأن لها شغفتيات مقبولة وبات

ظاهرة لاصحاب الإيمان، فصلى ملك هذا البستان والعدوية

وكنيسة السودان وساحل البحر بها الاجل سيف الإسلام

طغيتين ابن المك صلاح الدين يوسف ابن ابوب الكردي وعمرو

هذة المنظرة وحاز في علوها طراوة وزرع احشاب كثير في البستان

وشف في مال كثير وبدعوية مقاطع الديس في الجفر الذي يعمل منه

الخاف وهو يجبر في ملك الوزير ابن الجفر الغربي الخط

المعروف بطر المسلك منه إلى اطغيان على طريق دير شهيرانٌ

Fol. 46b

Fol. 47a
السياضيس التركي والقاهرة، وكلها من ماله اهتم لها بقبة وجعلها على البابية قبة خشب يدكرها وبناء بهما مذيعين ادأه بهم اسم القديس مارس جرجس والآخر على اسم الملك ميخائيل وسطها قبو طويل وفتح فيه باب إلى المذبح التي بالبيعة القديمة وفصل بعضها بعض وصار عدد من بابها خمسة قربًا ومستجداً بكبلي بالبياض والتصوير وكرست في يوم الاثنين والحاديث والعشرين من برمات وهو اليوم الثاني من الجمعية الخامسة من الصوم المقدس بحضور أدا مرقس ابن زعيم البطريرك وهو الثالث وسبعين في العدد وميخائيل أسقف بسطة والخنافس ابن غيرyal أسقف مصر وابن سيمون أسقف البهنسى وآذا بطرس أسقف الغيوم وجماعة من الكهنة والإرخنة وأعم الخؤل سيد الأهل ابن توماس الإرشيد، يأتي بها فوق علمها بيعة على اسم القديس مرقس بعذال خشب وكرزها أدا يوحنا البطريرك وهو الرابع وسبعين في العدد في عشرة بنسس تسعة وعشرين للشهداء الإدراكو النضحي أبو اليمام ونذر قد نقل جسم القديس أبو يحيى من البيعة بدونه من ضواحي القاهرة إلى هذِه البيعة لما ذكر أده بقرب منه ولما كان في بعض الليالي سمع من نابوت الشهيد يقول فيها ما يمكن أن يبقا في كنيسة السيدة وليس للابيعة التي كنت فيها أولاً، عند ذلك أهجلس إليها وكان للنسطور بهذا الخط دبير كبير كان قلعة عظيمة بعض دائر حجر منحوت وفية بيعة كبيرة مشهورة ظاهرة وجمع معالمها باقية إلى الآن بل أده جعل مكان الشارق قبلة وعلو مازدة شاهقة وءائر بيوت كانت للرهبان سكنتهم المسلمين وذلك في الخلافة الحاكمة قَسط وكان في بيعة المرتوى المشروحة حالها قس يسمى
وإذ حشا اله القصط على اسم السيدة فاما انها عرفت بالمرزوق وهي في غزاة بالرومي متمزت اني الله الكلمة ولها تقادم بها العلم، وهب ونشست فاهلهم بتتجريد عمارةها الشيخ ابن اليمين وزيد كان من اهل سنهر متولى ديوان اسفل الأرض وأبو المنصور ولده في الخلافة الأموية ووزارة الأفضل شاهنشاه وعمر علمها منظورة حسنة وسبيت هذه المنظرة السلوقيه وكان يجمع إليها الكهنة ويفرح معهم وزلته في ابيه سنة ثمان وسبعين وامعماة الهلالية في بطربيطه كيرلس واسفية دادبال وإتهم بعمل أثية مصافحة لهذه البيعة كاملة بسم القرآن والبخاروما تحتاج البيعة وعمل علوها عدة حقوق ومرافق وكان برسمها بستاني لطيف يتوصل الى من داخل البيعة والباب شاهدا به فوضعت عليه البح السلطانية وخرج عنها فصل وكان قن تنصر يهودي يسمى أبو الفضير ابن زهر الصديع ورغب في المذهب المسيحي وتعبد في هذه البيعة وعمده ادا يوحنا اسقف طبرية من الجيرية والفس ابو باسر ابن ابو سعد ابن القسطال في الخلافة الغازية ووزارة طلائع ابن زرتوك وطربيت يودس الناصي وسبيعان في العدد وزلته ففي رجب سنة اربع وخمسين وخمسة هجريه ودور الله على ذلك اليهودى حتى قرى القبطى وفسرة عربيا وكرش شمسا بيعة السيدة الظاهرة بصالح زويلة بمدينة القاهرة من ين ادا غريبال اسقف مصر لما انغمر في قضيته لنفسه في خمس عشر ابيض سنة أخرى وتسعمسة كنائسة وتجارها كنيسة كانت قد وهبت اهتم بتتجريدها ابن الفضائل ابن الشهرامري واعضته فيها جماعة من النصارى ونزله في سنة اثنيان وتسعمائة للشهدا الابرار وكتب عمارة البيعة المذكورة الشيخ ابولغرج ابن زهدور كاتب

[[II. 7]]
وستين في العدود مدونًا بها وترك الناس به لاحقًا أوصًا عن
وفاته باب يذكر بين المصريين لما شاهده من جودة إبداعهم وما
قاسوه في الخلافة الحاكمة بها أيضًا مراقى اسقاف مصر
وبالقرب من هذين الدارين بُني ما معين احدهما اعمره أبو الحسن
سعيد ابن منصور الكاتب، والآخر دصير حفار الغبور، وفيها علامة
ظاهرة حجار صوان منقوشة صلبة نظر وتتجاوزها بئر الدرج
والحميرة عليه والمحرس وفي علو هذه الأرض مقابر اليهود
والساهرة وان قربوا من المقابر الذي للفصيرة ظهرت لهم علامة
الملقب يعودوا إلى فوق إلى القطعة الأرض التي اباعها لهم إربا
خائيل البطريرك لليهود وهو السادس والخمسون في البطاركة في
وقت مصادرة أحمد ابن طولون له وأباع كنيسة اليهود بقصر
الجمع واملاك البيع بالاسكندرية وزمزم الرهبان بديبر أبو مقار
وليس لغرفة الملكية مقبرة بارض الحبش بل مقبرتهم في
كتانسهم وفي الجبل الذي فيه دير القصير وكذلك الأرض
والنسطور في كتانسهم البستان المعروف بالعدوية ومنية السودان
عرف بأسماء وسمة عذوبة ومنى من المغرب في الأيام العريقة
وكان لهما جزء ودفنت بهما المكان وعرف بها بعده السيدة
الطاهرة مرتين المعروفة بالمرتوى داخل قبة وكانت في القدم
معبر لبني إسرائيل لما كانوا في العبودية بارض مصر وما ود
سيدها يسع المسجى إلى مصر ووالدة بالجسر ستنا السيدة
العزيزة الطاهرة والشيخ البار يوسف التجار من الشام جنسوا
في هذا المكان الذي فيه صورة السيدة الابن قرية المذبح المقدس

الشيخ
فيه على اسم القديس فيلالاتوس الإناطالي وله مناظر وجميع
ذلك حجر منحوت باطنة وظاهره وكرز وقاس فيه في أول جمعة
من الصوم المباكر وهو سادس عشر امشير في يوم الثامنة سنة تسع
وتسعين وثمانية للشهداء الإيراد المواقف للرابع والعشرين من
شهر رمضان سنة ست وسبعين وخمسمائة هجرياً بحكم الله لا
يشف بمصر من النساطرة إلا رجل أو رجليان لا غير وكرز هذا
الدير أيضا بطرس الأسقف بالغيوم وله ثلاث مزابج أحدهم على
اسم فيلالاتوس الإناطالي والثاني على اسم يوحنا الاندجيلي والثالث
على اسم توما التلميذ والذي اهتم به الشيخ أبي المنصور ابن
بولس وهو المهتم أيضا بقداساته وما يرفع عليه من القرابين وغير
ذلك ولم يزل يقوم بجميع ما يحتاج إلى تعيين المذكور
بقى وله بعد مهتم به كاهن الدير رابع الله نفسه وأقام له
كينة قوس وشمامة وهو الآن مستقيم الحال والصعيردين
يلعبنا به ويتفتحوا بابا وسكون النصارى اليعاقبة القبط والاساقفة
بمصر بارض الحبش وجلس أبا زخريوس البطرك وهو الرابع

1 الجزيرة
مصر ومصر هذه القراءة تعبر عن بني حجحسر وبني يوسف ابن وأيل
نزلوها في فتح العرب لمصر وكانت تعبر بقراءة وتفسير هذه
اللغة النسيخية نسخ الكتاب وكانوا الرحبان بها في صوامع
ودبائر وبث كثير من العدد همها المسلمين العرب الذين وصلوا
مع عمر ابن العاص ابن عدي وكان فتح مصر في المحرم سنة
عشرين هجريا ومن الصوامع ما هو باق إلى الآن جعلهم المسلمين
مواقع، تم امتزاج الأولي إلى أن عمروا من بعض جردائها أسس
هذا البستان، وهي في المشاهدة عامرة وأنشاء الأجل تاج الملوكة
بورى الكردي آخر صلاح الدين يوسف عده مناظر في هذا
البستان، وخارجة وزخرفها بالرخام والذهب، وانفق في ذلك
جميلة كبيرة من المال، وفي هذا الخط أيضًا دير وهو المعروف بدير
النسطور كان على اسم القديس مارى جرجس وهو يحتضن دائر
حجر منحوت وهو من العمارة الحفنة المنحوتة في المستنقعات
الشهيرة المعروفة وكان الشيخ ابن الغصان النسطوري المعروف
بطبيب الطائفة المعروفة بالعظمية في الخلافة الإمبراطورية، اهتم بعمارة
ما تشتهر منه وجوده احسن عمارة بالحجر المنحوت وكان فيه
عدد كبير من راهبان النسطور وانتهى ذلك إلى الإمبراطوري عليه
وصادر، واخذ جميع ماله واتمر به الترسيم إلى أن انشا فيه
مسجداً والسبب في ذلك جميعه أبو الفضل جعفر ابن عبد
المنعم المعروف بن أبي بكر قيصر متولي الديوان الخاص لدى
وهذا الدير كان للزراعة ملكاً للديان من خارج الحصن، وهذه
الاراضي محكورة من ابي الشربات ابن كتانية البعقوبي الكابب
وليس في الدير أحد وهو خال محترف من الدراسات والصلوات
ياوى فيه أحد عمالين كتامة في بستان ملكاً له هناك واستولى

Fol. 42b

Fol. 43a
التاريخ الشهيد إبراهيم بن صلاح

الجوامع والمساجد محلى الانصارى وكتب عليه اسمه بيعة
القديس مارى جرجس للقطب كانت قريبة من دير ماري يوحنا
المعدان وكانت كبيرة جدا فمدى البحر عليها فلم يبق لها إثره
ارض الحبش وبئر الدرب وبئر الغنم وثالثة فدادين طين سواق ذكر أن
هادى البئرين والفردان ملك تاج الدولة الشامى ابن سبيل المعروف
بادف الذهب وذكر أن جميع ذلك كان للوزير إبرى الحرص المغرى
في الخلافة المستنصرية ومقاطع الطين الأصغر بالعدودية الذي
يعمل منه الخرف بيعة للشهيد أبو بقطر بارى حبش وبئر الدرب.
وجد مكتوب في شار هذة البيعة بالقبطى تاريخت تصوير السنار
سنة تسع وخمسين وسبعينة للشهداء في بطرسية إبى شنوده وهو
الخامس والستين قلبه في العهد جعل في أخباره مذيعين أحدهما
باسم الشهيد أبو قرمان واحتوى ووالداه ووالده وآخر باسم بو
يعنس الشهيد بسوان مما اهتم به أبو السراك المذكور في سنة
اثنين وسبعين وخمسائة هجرية وعلواها كنيسة على اسم جرجيس
الشهيد اهتم بأمها الشيخ المكي أبو البركات ابن كنامة الكاتب
في الخلافة الفائيرة وجد المذكور متجاوزا كنيسة على اسم
الشهيد أبو مينا سنة ثلاث وسبعين وخمسائة وفيها بئر ماء
معين وبجاوهرها بستان منبتها لها وهو خراب من الأنشات ولم
يقبل فيه سوى نخيل قائم، بيعة قبالتها داخل حصى البستان
المعروف بانشة الوزير أبو الحرص المغرى في الخلافة المستنصرية على
اسم أبو بقطر أيضا وهو الآن عامة مكملة القباب والحيتان ولها
مرة طويلة غبير قداس ولا تساوي حالها تقدم الوزير طلاع ابن
رزيق باخن بعض عمرها لعمارة المسجى الذي كان أنشأه بقرافة
ابن الفرج هذا وانتقل من الملة النصرانية واسلم واحتفل وعمره
بنازير أربعين سنة ووضع يده على البستان المذكور وملكة على
حكم المرويات وتسلط على الرهبانواخريج منه وهدم المنظرة
وجعلها معبدًا وصنع الذهب وعمل فيه هيئة للإمام المحافظ
وحصر عندهة قاذا دينه ضعفًا وامتنع الملكيين من زيارته ثم
تواتر الغنوة وهم معظم الدخرين وحبسه وصار أمره النافذ وكان
للملكية اقتصأ بمصر يسبي يوسف فجده وتم فيه ما وصلت
قدسته إليه وهو باب إلى الآن لم تكمل عمارة كما كان لضعف
الطائفة وقتلهم وأعمال رؤسائهم ونفعة عن النظر فيه وفي
غيره وعدهم اقتص مصر على هذه الطائفة بالبحور إلى هذا النهر
في يوم الاثنين دائمًا أول الجمعة الثانية من الصوم الكبير وجمع
أبي الفرج هذا وجزءه وأيضًا يعيب فيه في ثاني يوم عيد الغطاس
وشهد كتاب الديارات للشامشي أن هذا الديار على شاطئ بركة
البحب وهو قريب من البحر والشي جاديد ينادي بساديين شتى احدهم
إدشان الامير تيميم آخر العزيز بارعه وفيه مجلس على عيد وهو
حسن وضع محجب البناء والصناعة مصمو وبقية بعر وهي المرونة
ببئة نجاة وعليها جمعة كبيرة جدا ولها ظل تعيش يجتمع
البي الناس للظل والفرجة ويتزودون عندها في أيام النيل ويزادتها
في البحر وامتنلا البحب وذئ بذئ في أيام النعمة والثورا وقربًا من
الجميلة المذكرة القطرة التي يتواصل منها إلى عدة طرق وبها
ينصب في البرم لصيد السمك في أيام النيل وهو منظر حسن
جديدًا فقل وكأن المهاجم قد اخن من الدخرين والبيعه جزءه له من
ذلك وأنا مسيسًا بعزة وهو أول من ابتدا يعمل المواطن في
فأعيد له الدير فرجع إلى نميم قصده، ولم ينفع فيه الدوا فاخرج منه وسلم غيرة تذكر أن الذي ساعد على اخراجه منه أبو شاكر الكاتب الإسكتندي، قدما منه باب يغزى بسكن الجوسيف والنهرة فيه فحسى له الشيطان الخروج من الملة النصرانية قاسم وجعل في بيته العقيم قبلة وعلي باب المدخل إلى الدير قبلة فاضر بالدير مشردة واحتاز الرقاق الذي كان منه باب المدخل إلى هذا الدير وأفصل الجوسيف منه والبستان وصرف فيها دون النصارى وتحصيل النصارى في فتح باب يجاور الباب الأول ومنه المدخل البي ونكل في الخلافة الحافظية واستولى على الجوسيف أيضًا والبستان وما هلك هذا التاجح بالوفا بعد ما دالتا من الندم والضرغام في جوهر دينه ملكا أولاد الديسوس والجوسيف وتصرموا فيهما وهم مسلمين، وبهذة البركة قريب م من هذا الدير الدير المعروف بماريوثنا المعمدان المشهور بالنصرة والفرح وهو الان بيد الملكيين واهتم بتوجيه عمارة قديما أبو الفضل ابن البغدادي وابو نصر ابن عبدون يعرف بابين العباس متولى ديوان الشام في الخلافة الحاكمة ورفع في امور الدولة ونظر فيها وكانت علامه العلم الله على ما يستحق، وعلو هذا المكان المشرف العظيمة المعدة لاجتماع المتنزهين وكان بها عدة من الرياحات الملكيين وكان تهمهم بهم أبو الغضائل ابن أبي الليث الكاتب ويجاور هذا المكان بستانًا ملكًا له محتكر من الديوان السعيد فيه من النخيل الفاخرة والرمان والمرسين وتعدد كثير من الإشجار المنخفضة المنطرة ما لا يجمع مثله في غيره وانفق وفاة أبي الغضائل هذا وكان له ابن اعت يسمى ابن الملك مصعب ابن أبي الغرج العابودي وكانت أخت ابن البركات ابن أبي الليث زوجة
تاریخ الشيخ ابی صلاح

بسردار بلادس جدیدها المعلم زویین المامی بمصر فی الخلافة

الحاکفینة، ثم ویتربت بِنیادها فی جزیرها السیدین المکین ابو
البرکات المعروف بابین کناییة، ثم تشتغلت فی جزیرها امین الدولة
ابن المصطفی وکرزا ابی غزیبال اسقف مصر فی دولة صلاح الین
یوسف الكردی، ویبعت بینی المتعرف ویبجاوها هیکل على اسم
السیدین بینها وین بیعة دو قلیتہ المقدم ذکراً بیعة الفللان الجامیل
غزیبال، ویبعت على اسم القدیس یوحننا الدعیمان علو المطلب
اهتم بتجريد عمارتها الینوس ابی الفتح الصیبیری بالعملة فی
وقطعها صواری کبار فعم السودان فی بعض الیوب الحادثة الى
دیب هذا الدیون وفعلوا هذة الوقف اقتضی ذلك بهدمها وکی
خرب الین تم جدیداً عمارتها المکورین بعد ذلك وکرزا هیکل
دیب ابی فتح الصیبیری بینه مینکین سنی تسعمائة للشهداء الدیوان
ودیاب عمارتها الینوس مصر وادیبا زین الورن اسقف الینویم ویبجاوها
الجوسف المشیر فی الیه من الكنيسة والبستان تحته وهو يشرف
على دیرة الحبیش وبدیر الین ویسیل، دیب ماری یوحننا وهو من
المناظر المفضرین الباربة من دیرة دیرة الحبیش سیما فی ایام
الین ویسیل ویحرث الینز وزراعة الصیفیة وکان يعیب ابی
السیدین المکین يتمول امر هذة الید واتضح لابی غزیبال البطریرک
المعروف بابو الیبونساء ابن تربیک الكاتب السبیعین فی العهد
من ذیم میطنیة وخصاریة بمساعدة المسلمين فی الیوبین فادكر
ذلك علىه مرة بعد اخرى وهو لا يرجع ولا ينتهي اقتضی الامر
افلاخه من ویسیل الین ویسیل الینوس من يرجع الى اماشته فناله من ذلك
صعوبة شریدية فی عاتیة الینویم تیجب ان بترک عاداته الرودیة
ميخائيل في السابع من هنور وقدس بها سنة تسع وثمانون
للشهداء الابراهيم، وكنيسة تجاوزة على اسم الشيخ الحليل ابا
جوب اهتم بها ابدا عبريان البطريرك وذكر ان ابا جوس اخو ابا
العلا ابن مهنا الكاتب، ثم اختار القس ابو الخير المعروف بابن
الإمدي يصف بكنيسة ابا جوب وبعض الساحة التي قادم
ميخائيل وكانوا البطريرك يجلسوا بها في أكثر الواقت على
ذك اخبار امنا في أيام الصيف وجدوها كنيسة بعد الحريق على
اسم القديس ابا دنونو وكرها ابا جوسا الامام والسبعين في
عدد الابا البطريرك في اول بطركة في السنة الثالثة للتسع مائة
للشهداء الابراهيم وكان كل منهم يهتم بعيدها في كل سنة وتنبی
في سنة تسعة وثلاثة وعشرين للشهداء في يوم الخميس أول
بشنس وفي تلك السنة بعينها تنبیج القس اخوة الكبير بهاء كنيسة
عندية متسعة بحبة تزهت جذراتها وتساقط بعض اصولها تعرف
بجبا صفيا وكانت رسومها عجيبة الوضع والبنا والهندسة
اهتم بتوریها الشيخ صفي الدولة ابا ابد ابی عربون
الكاثب، كنيسة على اسم القدیس ابا مقربى هذه البحيرة، وتحتد
ما تشتیت منها من جهة الشباس ابا اسحاق ابی عبد المسيح،
كنيسة الاربعة الملائكة الصيادیات الحاملين المرتبة العليا جنی
عمارة الشيخ ابن امين الملك ابن المهور ابا سعيد ابی عربون
الاسکندرانی الكاتب، وتقین لها جملون خشب متقن الصنعة في
شهر سنة ثلاث وتسعين وثمانية للشهداء وکریت في يوم الاربعا
فات هنور وهو عید الاربعة ووجه بضع مفرین ومزیج على اسم
السین عند دخوله الى الهیكل ومزیج للشهداء الشجاع تادرس

[II. 7.]

G
الإسفاقية. الذين قسموا على الكراسي الخالية على حكم التبرع
منهم بحكم أن هذا البطريرك منع من أخذ الشرطودية اقتناها بما
أمر به الناموس أنه ملعون من باب خان ملعون من يعرف وهو من
حسنات هذا البطريرك وذلك في الخلافة العاطفية ووزارة الإجل
أبو يوسف الناصر ابن أيوب آخر أسد الدين شيركو الكردي وهي
دولة الغز وتولا عمارتها ثلاثة صناع بنائيين من أكابر صناع مصر
وهي البيعة كانت إسقفيه إلى حين وفاة إدبا فيلاناوس إسقف
مصر تقبلها بطريرك لخربطادلوس وجعل له إدبا غيبرال الإسقف
بعد إدبا فيلاناوس رسمياً أخذها منها وقرارات معلمة يقدسها
فيها في كل وقت مما نشهده المنظورة وكان بأعلاها كنيسة أبو
جرب ذات القبة العالية اعمرها الشيخ أبو الغافر يوحنا ابن كيبل
الإسقف وسمى أبو يوحنا عند تقدمه إسقفيًا على كرسي أدربين
والقبة والهيكل وهو المذبح وحبراتها سلالة لم تتصرف في حال
العوف يحمل لها ابن إدبا الغفائر ابن كيبل حصن وبيضها وبلطها
وكرزت في سنة سبعين وخمسين كنيسة ميخائيل الملك وكانت
قلابة البطراء منذ تقدمه إدبا غيبرال ابن العلا ابن تريك الكاتب
وهو السبعين في العهد وبعد إدبا يونس الثاني والسبعين في
العهد، وكان تريك هنا قسيسًا وترمّل وطلب الإسقفيه وطلب منه
مال. فلم يفعل أنه يتقدم لدرجة الكهنوت بشراً وكان له مال ونعمه
فأغمر هذه الكنيسة وكف على طلب الإسقفيه وذلك في بطريركية إدبا
ميخائيل السنجاري جرد عمارتها الشيخ السديرين أبو الغافر
المعروف بابن ستمنية كاتب أمير على ابن أحمد الكردي في خلافة
المستغي من أولاد العباسي ووزارة الناصر يوحنا ابن أيوب في
شهر ثماني وستين وخمسينات للعرب وكرزت يوم عين الملك
المذبح الأوسط وكان يوم عظيم الفرح والسرور بما فعله الله في 
الأول والآخر وشرع البلد البطريرك بعد ذلك في ترميم ما تشتّت
في البيع واصلاح ما فسد منها وخير ذلك جمعية مكتبًا في سير
البطاقة ويختصر القول ليلًا يطول الشرح في ذلك واستمر حال
البيع ووظامها في لحسن الحالات، فصل بعد حريق مصر بين
عوام المسلمين من المشردين والإسكندرانيين وذلك في الخلافة
العامة وزوارق شاور وذلك في شهر صفر سنة أربع وستين
وخمسين وكان أبو يونس البطريرك وهو الثاني وسبعين في العقد
قد تنبّأ على حريق هذه البيعة وان ذلك يكون في أيام غيرة
وهكبا كان والسبين في حريق هذه البيعة ان النصارى كانوا
يجملون إلى هذه البيعة أرزة كثيرة ويعملون لها من الأوانى
الخافرة أشيا كثيرة فارادوا عوام المسلمين أن يلهبوا ما كان فيها
حاسالاً فلم يقدروا فاجتمع منهم جمع كبير وتعصموا واحرقتوا
البيعة وقى جدرانها قائمة وكنيسة لطيفة داخلها لم تحترف وهي
كنيسة يوحنا المعمدان وصار القداس فيها مستمرًا إلى أن رسم
النصارى تجريد عمارة البيعة المذكورة فجذدوا عمارتها وعملوا
الإسكان ووضعوا عوض الأخطار قبيًا وأقيمة طوب أجر وجدن القدبة
الخشب على المذبح الوسطائي وعمل عليه أيضًا مقغ خشب والقبة
الخشب التي عملت على المذبح الوسطائي حسبًا جدًا محكمة
الصنعة محملة على أربعة عمد بخام جافة اهتم بذلك الشيخ
ابو البركات ابن أبو سعيد هليل الكاثب في سنة اثنين وتبعين
وثمامة للشهداء من ماله دون العدم فاتها من حاصل البيعة
وذلك في بطريركية أدي公益活动 المعروف قبل تقدمته بابي الفرج ابن
زينة الكاتب مما اجتمع لها من جماعة الإراقة وما احضروا
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلاح

سواء وليا لم يمكّنوا المعتقدين من إعادة البيعة لما كانت عليه واقموا الغاية وتعصبوا في ذلك فبلغ أمير الموميين الزيز بالله أن البطريرك لم يبكي من العولم أن يفعل ما رسم له بما إعادة البيعة لما كانت عليه فاسم لجماعة من جنده ومماليكه ان يخرجوا يقفوا على عمارة البيعة وأي من يعرض لهم في ذلك يردعون ويلقبونه بما يستذكيه من خلاف ما يسميه لهم فلما رأوا العولم ذلك كفروا عن التعرض وبدوا في العمل وانفج في ذلك الوقت أن الشيخ أبو اليمين قرمان ابن مينا الكاتب استوجه إلى فلسطين وأعماله وقال بها مرة من الرمان في الشغل متصرفًا في خدمته التي نذب إليها فاكتسب مالًا جزيلًا وكان بمفرده فاده كان بنؤل ليا بزور ولم يكن عند نفسه سوى علمائه ومن يختره لا عبر مع زهده وقناعة وترتيب حاالة فعمل ما اجتمع له من المال إلى البطريرك المذكور وعاد متوجهًا إلى الشام مستمرًا فيما دنب اليه من أشغال دولة الخلافة وقال للبطريرك اصرف هذا المال جميعه في سبيل الله من العمارة في البيع وغير ذلك من الضغع والإيام والمساكين كما يريد الله تعالى ويجبره على بدل من الخير وأصرف متوجهًا إلى الشام ودفع من قبل توجهه إلى الشام الفني دينان للإبادة التي في بركة القديس أبو مقار وسالمهم ان يزكرونه في صلواتهم ويدعوا بهما السلامة وجمال العاقبة فبدا البطريرك في العمارة وجماعة الإراكمة والشعب الأرثكنية يعاضدون ويفقرون في خدمته في تحصيل ما يحتاج إليه من الإصانة التي يحتاج إليها في العمارة وعلماء أمير الموميين وجنده ومماليكه وافقين معه يبعون من يتردد له فيما يفعله إلى حين كملت عمارة البيعة بعودة الله تعالى وكررت وقصده فيها أول قياس على
فول 35 a

وهو في العهد [الثاني والستون] وذلك في خلافة الإمام العزيز
بالله أبن الإمام المعز لدين الله وذلك في القدم كنيسة على
اسم مرموسم على شاطئ النهر وهمت وجعلت شوة قصب
وفي أيام هذا البطريق اخترت اعتقاد النصارى وإن كانوا على
الحق أبا الباطل فجمع النصارى وخرج إلى الجبل وخرج
لخروجهم المسلمين واليهود لامر اتفق في ذلك تصنفه سيرة
البيعة فتقدموا جمعة السادة المسلمين وصلوا وكبروا واستعانا فلم
ظهروا لهم اية ثم بعدهم اليهود وكان كذلك ثم تقدم الإبراهيم
والدبان الذي اظهر الله له أية يتبوعه وجميع الشعب الإندخسي
يتبوعهم فدعوا إلى الله تعالى وصلوا ورفعوا البخور وصرخوا
كرياليصور ثلاث دفعات فأظهر الله عجائبه وتحرك الجبل المعروف
بالمقطع مما يلي الكبش بين القاهرة وصلى وذكر بعامة الدبان
الذي قلع عينه بالشفا وذكر بحضور العزيز وأشراف دولته وقصة
المسلمين فلم شاهد هذة الإية العظيمة قال له العزيز حسبه يا
بطريرك قد عرفنا ما فعل الله لكم ثم قال له تبنى على ما اخترت
فاعله فشكروا ودعاه ولم يزل بيده إلى ان تبنى عليه بيعة
له كانت قد ذكرت فامرأه بتجردها وقبل اذده بيعة
ابو مرموسم فلم ارك ان يبتزها فيها بالعمل تعرض الية عوام
المسلمين وذلك ان الكنيسة لما دشعتها ولم يبق من معالمها سوى
حيطانها وقد تهدموا فعملت شوة للقصب فوضع له بعمارتها وإن
يطلق له من بيت المال ما يستعين به في العبارة فأخذ السجل
وعاد المال معتذرًا له قالوا ان الله سبحة الذي ظهر قدرته
العظمية قادر أن يعين على إقامة بيوت العبادة وهو غني عن مال
العالم وسالة ان يعيد المال إلى مكاده ولا يلزمها ياخذه فاجاب
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلاح

بيعة أبو قلعة كانت كنيسة مغلقة في الخلافة الأموية. قد تقدم ذكرها وذكبة أبو منة من الحجر الوسطاء. ففي حال الحريق المقدم ذكرت نقلت العتبة الصالح السوادا المقدم ذكرها وجعلت لباب المدخل وبيضاها بئر ماء معين، وبها مدافع. فصل والبستان قبالةها كان ملماً لها ثم انتقل إلى الديوان السلطاني في الخلافة الأموية، ففصل مجمع الآداب التي كانت تتجاوزها ملك ابن روبور. اتبعع أنفاغها وصارت ساحقة واحدة. وفيها بدر ساقية محكم الدبا حسب جميع تلك الكليت صنيعة الملك. ابن الفرج ابن الشيخ من السقاء أبو اليسوع ابن الشيخ صنيعة الملك. ابن الفرج ابن الوزير وجعل الوالد للشيخ ابن المكارم ابن حنا. ولن يختاره ابن حنا بعده. وصارت هذه البيعة من داخل الحصى الذي كان شوار الوزير انشاء وجعل لها خوافة يتوللها. من مدخل المسجد القرى من الحجر الدبا، فب هنا المسجد السكريا ابن الحكم. وكان في هذه البيعة الإغوانس بشير ابن النصر من إهل منية الإمراء. وكان عالمًا خبير حسن الكهنوت شجعي الصوت مليج الوجه تام القامة كهل في الرجال وإن الذي ابن الشيخ ابن الفضل ابن الأسقف كان الافضل شاهنشاه بلازم الصلة في هذه البيعة ويتناول القران فيها. وكان إذا تطا قرائه يطرح في الطبق لهذا القس في كل يوم يحضر إليها ديناراً واحدًا فرحًا بكهنوت وشجاعة صوتها. وفرق هذا القس في بحر الجبيرة دينج الله نفسه الحمراء الرديئة الخط المعروف كان بالبواصير قريباً وكان البحر فيه يعرف بسائل السعيد. وشهد كتاب الخطوط بصر قياسية الجمال. بيعة الشيخ مقردوس الخطيرة. وكانت هذه البيعة على شاشي البحر. وقد تعدد الإبن عنها جرد عمارها الإباب اببا إفراهام السرياني.
التاريخ التاريخ

اتخذ انور إنينة إنينة إنينة إنينة إنينة إنينة إنينة إنينة إنينة إنينة إنينة إنينة إنينة إنينة إنينة إنينة إنينة إنينة إنينة إنينة إنينة

فيية وخصم إلى جماعة منهم احرز فصيح الحمام دون العصور

الدروجي يدخل إليها واحترقت في حريف مصر في صغر سنة

أربع وستين خمسة وثمانية في الخلافة العشيرة ووزيرة شاور وجود

عمرها قبائ واقبة الشيخ أبو المكارم ابن حنا الكاتب وغيره من

الناصرية وبها من الكنائس في السفلى كنيسة أبو قلعة جردها أبو

الفخر ابن فرماج ابن خورس كنيسة جزيرة مصر. كنيسة أبو

مينا عمرو المرح سعيد الدولة ابن منجا ابن أبو زكريا ابن السرين

كنيسة الإبا الإطهار إبراهيم وإسحق ويعقوب جردها الشيخ أبو

سعيد جبريل ابن بعتر المعرق بابن الإزرت ثم جردها أبو الفخر

كابر المركب المعرق بسعيدان. كنيسة أبا هور جردها الشيخ

إبو الفخبر كابر المركب ديوان المجلس أيضًا كنيسة كبيرة جدد

عمرتها أبو الفخر ابن زكريا في برنعمات سنة تسعة وتسعين

وثينية للشهداء، صارت هذه البسعبية بطرقية في طفولة سنة تسعمائة

بعم الرمز، فصل في دلال الإيمان. إن في السابق من كيهك

أخذت رأس ابن كابر الفرحاني وكان هذا الفرحاني تولا عمارة

مقياس النيل في سنة سبع واربعين ومائتين هجرية ومساء في
بابن عقيل فصل وشهد كتاب الخطط لكتنرى أيضًا أن الحمراوات الثلاث الحمراء القصوى والحمراء الوسطا والحمراء الدنيا فاولها ما خططه لابن العمر ابن الحاقد ابن قضاعة من ذبي الرجاحين الذي يخرج منه إلى سوق وردان إلى رقاق أبو فروة وغيره وينتهي إلى خوخة الاستبل في الحمراء وما خططه بني بجرابين سوادة لابن أفقي من الحمراء الدنيا مقابل مسجد القرنين إلى سفيقية السرى وغيرها ما خططه هزيل ابن مركة من الحمراء الوسطا من مسخر أبو المهاجر وغيره إلى بني الكوميين ما خططه بني الأزرق من الحمراء القصوى إلى خط يشكر ابن جريلة ابن لخدم وله ألفين قنطرة ودرها تام إلى الخنرف وهو النهر الذي في اصل جبل الكبش إلى المبعوث والدير لمريم وغيره وسهل الجبل كله يشكره من المقبرة ومسجد الخلوق ودرك قارون وجيل يشكر ابن عدوان بن لخدم فصل وتضمن كتاب الخطط أيضًا ابن كنادة ابن عمر ابن الغبرابين فهم أنه خط بالحمراء الوسطا من رقاق سهل ابن عقيل إلى القناة حيث القمدوين ورقاق الترس المقابل لكنيسة أبو معان ابن بني روبيل وكان يهوديا خطوا بالحمراء إلى ان بلغوا إلى دير مريم بحري جنان حتى ومسجد الخلوق في السهل مما خططه بني يشكر ابن جريلة ابن تخدم بالحمراء القصوى فامامها فخي الدينها وقصص الراية وقتل من دير القنطرة إلى سوق وردان مما كان من شارع الحمراء وما وراء من البيل يسمى فضوي القبائل فننة الاستبل إلى حماه الصليبة والكنيسة وبالحمراء أيضًا بيعة أبو دغر القديس السائح المتوحش جرد عمارتها امرأة اسمها نفجة مما شهد بها لوحة كان مضروبًا على بابها المجاور للبئر وقد سن الأئين كان دخول النسا إليها منه وكان يجاورها
ما كانت عليه وكَرَّت وقَرَس فيها قُضٍ وَعَمّّر الْشَّيْخ خَاصَّةً الدُّوْلَة
ابن الفضائل المعروف بابن دخان كنيسة أبو يحسن في علم هذه
البيعة ووَقَرَس فيها وقد تقدم نكرها وكِذَلِك وَانِشأ قُبَالَتَها
جوسقاً كان قديماً وهَمّ يجاورها وعملت ثلاث طبقات في بعض
مكاك من الدير اهتم بهذاك وعمّرتها الْشَّيْخ الأسع صليب المقدم
ذكروا ولم يكمل وسبب تأخير كِمَالَة أبو الْبَرَكَات ابن الْشَّيْخ السبعين
ابن الحَذَر ابن سيبويه وفي حال تحديد عمارة البيعة المقدم ذكروا
هَمّ معظم الْدِرَر وحفر فيها بَرْكِيَة بِنْسِمَة وعمر في الجوسقا
الطبقة الأولى ونصف الطبقة الثانية وكان سَجَتَهُ في تكملة
فعاَرة أبو الْبَرَكَات المذكور وقال ما يكمله إلا إنا من مالٍ ويهذه
البيعة مراقب في ساحاتها الخارجة عنها وقيقية الدير والجوسقا
لم يكملوا إلى الآن ويكمل في هذا المكان تُعِنِي الْدِرَر وما حوله
من الساحات التي من حقوق خمسة أَبَارٍ فَصْلُ فاما الإدالة
والحوادث المنتجة لهذا الدير لما تجردت عمارةها فإن أكثرها
تهدم وحَزْب والذى يبقى منها خلي من المسكن واشترى على
الْخِرَاب فاباعهم أَيْبى مرقٍّ أسْقَف مصْرٍ مِن هَٰرْبِم وحَلَل طَوْبِهِم
واضْحَبِهم وَيَقِى هُذَا الْدِرَر في الخِرَاب بِين الكِبْرَاء فَصْلُ مِن
حقوق البيعة من داخل الحصن الدائر عليها من الجابرين
الْبَحْرِيٍّ بِعَضْنَة على اسم الْقَدِير تاَرِس مَعْلِقة مَسْحُولَةٌ على
عَمَد بَيْنِي فَهُمُتْ واخْتُزِت أَعْمَدَتُهَا وَجُلَّت مَسْجِدًا في الخِلاَفَة
المحامية وجعل عليها مَائِدَة وَمَعْلَم هذِهِ البيعة وصُورَها بَاقٍ تَأَهَّر
الْبَيْنَانِ إِلَّا كَبْيَةٌ على اسم الْقَدِير بَوْلَةٌ بالحُمْرَاء الوَسْطَا
في الخِلاَفَة الامْرِيّة وولِدَة سُوارِد بِفَرْعَاةِ مَا اِبْنَابَ النَّصَارَى مِن
الأَرْضِ مِن بَيْنِ فَهُم وَهَٰيْةٌ عَنْ حَمَامِ أَيْبى نَجَاحٍ وَالرَّفْق المَعْرُوف

[II. 7.]
العجین وفيه قبر مرسى فاخرًا هذا البيت الشيخ الاسم صليب
ابن ميخائيل ابن الأعمود وفرقه وجعله كنيسة على القديس
ماري جرجس بباب مفرق يجاور البيعة الكبيرة ولها باب من
الاسكنة وكمل عمراًها وكزرت بين الاسكنة ابدا مرقس أسقف مصر
بحضور ابيوس البطريرك وقدس فيها وجرى في عمراًها خطوب
كثيرة من اشرار المسلمين وعملت النصارى مشارع اسمها من حقوق
هذة البيعة ولم تكن مستتبة ونصرا الله الحق وشهد من المسلمين
من يعرف اسمها كانت بيت داخل الكنيسة ومن يقبل شهادتها من
جيران البيعة وهذه البيعة بين البساتين حسنة الوضع كثيرة
المترددين من الرهبان وغيرهم فصل ولما كان في شهر جمادى
الأول سنة سبع وخمسين وخمسمائة عند وصول الغز الأكرام مع
صلاح الدين يوسف ابن أيوب والاستنصرار عليهم بملك الفرنج
احرق هذا الدير والبيعة إلى أن صاروا أرض ما خلاف الجفاف
وجابى الاسكنة السحيق والقبائل فاتهم سلموا وجدت العمارة
منهما ونباه قباب واقبة واكتان عوضًا من العهد الرخام في
الخلافة العادمية ووزارة شاور واهتم بذلك الشيخ الاسم صليب
المذكور وكرم الدولة ابن عبيد ابن قروص ومنصور ابن سليم
الجليلين بالقاهرة وغيرهم وبما استخره مكارم ابن أيوب المنا القس
 بكنيسة السيدة المعلقة بمصر إلى ابى يوسة البطريرك من الشرطية
التي منعت القدوين من تناولها ليصبح أسقفًا على طنبدى
فتناول ذلك لهذا الوجه وقم أسقوًا وليحصل من شيء ما ابيع
من الاواني الغضة التي للبيعة وتمكنت هذه البيعة بالعمارة على

1 الشاوا
كبيرة وكان في هذا الصدع جماعة من رؤوساً نصارى فغمس لهم في تجديد كنائسهم فاتبعتوا بعمرات الحمرة وتجدد ما هدم منها ف بهذه البيعة وعملوا لها وانحاء من القصة وغيرها وابتاعوا عدة أملاء وبستان وفية بترتين ساقياً وكان جميع ذلك الملك مسكون وبها مغطس كبير وجد في علوها كنائس عدة وهي كنيسة مارى جرجيوس وذكر انها أولاً كانت على اسم الشهيد تادريس وكنيسة على اسم الشهيد ادبا يحيى وكان بها أيضاً بيعة أبو مينا الكبيرة جنس الشهيد ادبا يحيى في دلالة خشب نقي وكان البحر قريب من هذه البيعة ثم بعد البحر من هناك فنقل إلى بيعة تادريس بدمهور وعلى البحر فرع البحر على هذه البيعة وانطلق إلى كنيسة السيدة بشرا وجد عمارة امها بيعة ادبا يحيى بعد الحريق الشيخ الأكرم ابن أبي المغافل ابن أبي مجد في الخلافة العادمية وزارة شاور كنيسة الميلاد المقدس مطلة على صحن البيعة الكبيرة وبيعة طغية جداً اهتم بتجديدها ادم غالب ابن ادبا المكارم البليبيس على اسم القديس مرقصيوس وبيها امها البيعة الكبيرة ادبا رخام ملون أكثره أحمر شفاف محمل على عدد رخام محكم الصنعة وكائنة خشب ويجاوره من الجدار البلاط من زجاج وعلى مقاطع خشب باسم الشهيد مرقصيوس اهتم به الشيخ ادم الغفيل ابن الاسقف وعلى المذبح في الأسكنة قبة خشب محملة على عدد رخام ومقاطع خشب ويجاره هذه البيعة الدور بباب معزوف وفية عدة من الرهبانات في مساكن متفرقة وبيته بئر ماء معين اهتم ببحرة وفية وعمارة الشيخ ادم زكى الصيرفي ونلت فيه الخلافة المحافظة فصل وكان داخل الاسكنة بيت
محمد مكرمًا الله في أهل الدُّّقة أهل البرية السود الجعدي
الإمام فان لهم نسماً وصمراً ولهم ميرزة على جميع أهل الدّقة
وكان محمد قد سير حاطب ابن أبي بلعتة من لخم إلى الموقس
صاحب الإسكندرية ان يكون على دينه فلم يفعل ولما عاد إلى
محمد سير إليه على حكم الهيئة أربعة جوار منهم مارية القبطية
وسبير بختها وبغتة دخل وحمله يغفر وكس وخصوص خصت به
معهم إما ماردة فركف منها إبراهيم وأما سبيرن بختها فاهداها
إلى حسان شاعر محمد فركف منها عبد الرحمن ولده فصل
ينكر فيه الحمراوات ثلاثة الكبرى وهي القروى والوسطاً والحضا
الرديما مما شهد به كتاب الخطط للكلدري في نسخة فتح مصر
أن الحمرا قوم من الروم منهم بنو دبة وبنو الازرق وبنو روبيل
وقوم من الفرس وسباه عمر ابن العاص الحمرا لادهم من العجم
وتقروا الحمرا الوسطى وتعرف الحمرا بالقسطرة وهو المكان الذي
كان يقف فيه الرأية الحمرا في فتح العرب مصر وكان يستمع
إليها من يتأسّس اليهم ويسير في الساقة فعرف بالحمرا فصله
الدير المعروف بالسيدة أؤ مينا صاحب الثلاثة اكيل النازلة
عليه من السما وهو من أهل دقيوس وجدته الطاهر مدفون في
كنيسة مربوط جنده بناءها في خلافة هشام ابن عبد الملك ابن
مروان في ولاية الوليد ابن خليفة باهتمام من جماعة من النصارى
السلاطين بهذا الخط في سنة ومائة هجرية بعد ما خرج من
العرب لما اشتد النصارى أن حرمهم وأولادهم عند ما يضروا
إلى الكنائس الداخلية بمصر وفي عودتهم لا يأمنوا من معترض
يتعترضهم وخاصة في ليالي صوم الأربعين فقتلت من العرب جماعة
من الخليج وعادت مستقيلة الإحاول وبها رهبان مقيمين وهو
مهتم بالكنيسة وهم وعاد يحضر إليها في كل أحد جماعة من
القصوس والشماسة والشعب المسيحي وذلك جماعة في بطرية
ابنها يوحن وهو الربع وسبعين في العدد وله ذكر أن هذا الخط أيضًا كنيسة
للملكيين فكان عدة البيج بهذا الخط خمسة يخرج من حديثهم
الزبيدة ويصعد بها إلى القاهرة فاستولوا الفيز الأكران على أربعة
منهم وذهبوا اخشابهم وهدموا الحيطة إلى أن لمحلوا بالاضر
لضعف الملكية وقفة عندهم وعقبت منهم بيعة واحدة تجاوز بيعة
القدس مارى جرجس الذي بين القت بهذى الحارة وهذا الخط

وشهدت سيرة المعتمد من الخلفاء العباسيين وهو الخمسة عشر
منهم أن عدة من قتله ابنه عبد الطلب ومات بحسبه إلى نفره
فصل وشهد كتاب فضائل مصر في عدة روايات أن جلب مصر أهبار
إبراهيم الخليل ويوسف الصديق والإنسان عم ياتى ذكره من
اصحاب محمد قال اشهد ابن عبد العزيز إذا افتتحتم مصر
فاستوصوا فإن لهم ذقة ورحم وقال اسماعيل ابن عباس مخبرًا
عنة استوصوا بكعب مصرا فذجروا منهم نحو الأعون على [عدوك]
وقال ابي سلمة قال محمد عن وفاة اوصيكم ان تخرجوا اليهود
من جزيرة العرب ثم قال الله الله اوصيكم بكعب مصرا فذجروا
عليهم ويكدون لكم عدة واعونة في سبيل الله وقال استوصوا
بالإمام الجعير بكعب مصرا فذجروا اخوال وأصها واعونهم على عدولكم
واعونهم على دينكم فقيل له وكيف يكونون اعوانا لنا على ديننا
قال] يكفوكون اعمال الدنيا فتنغرون للعبادة وبايضان عبد الله
ابن عمر ابن العاص ابن محمد قال القطب آكرم الأعاجم وسمعهم
ين وافضهم عنصرًا وأفظهم رحما للعرب عامة ولقريش خاصة وقال
كِبرَة مستوطنة يحيط بها سور طوب لِبن بَاب مغرد يدخل منه إلى هذه البيعة وهي بين الباشائين والمراة وتشرف على الخليج ولا أحرقت مصر في شهر صفر سنة أربع وستين وخمسين دهبت هذه الكنيسة وهم بعض حيطاتها ولم يجد أحد من النصارى في الوقت يهتم بها ويقيت باقية إلى الآن بين الرحا والتلف وهم سور الرباعة المذكورة ولحقت بالارض انتهكت هذه البيعة بهم سورها واختلطت بغيرها من الطرق واضعت إلى دويره في البستان تعرف بدوير صندل وهم بعض الجملون الخشب من علوا الإسكندر فاهتم به الشيخ الجلال ابراهيم وعَلَى بعض الاراحناء واصبحوا بعض هذه البيعة وقدس بها دفعة واحدة ويقيت مغطاة لبُعدها عين العمارية وقيت تزار في السنة دفعتين أو ثلاثة وكان اصلاح بعضها بعناية وكتبه عظيمة من ضمن البستان المجاور لها وهو في السادس والعشرين من بيودة وهو ان ما بقي ينصل إلى الكنيسة من الرجال والنساء إلى البستان بسبب ما اضافه للبستان من الأضر التي كانت داخل حصن الكنيسة ولما كان في السنة الثالثة للتسعينات للشهداء في عشر التسعينات وعشرة اهتم بها الشيخ أبو سعيد ابن ادودة المستوفي بالديوان الخاص العادل، وجد ما هائم منها وكل الجملون وبضها وكرزت بُين ابنا غريبال اسفك مصر وحضور جماعة من الإسكندري والقسوش والشماسة والإражаية والشياب الاندكسي بمصر والقاهرة واستمرت بها القداسات في كل عيد وكل احت وليلة الاحاد ويحضر الشيخ أبو سعيد الذكور ومعه جماعة قسوش وشماسة من أولاد الاراحنة إلى هذه الكنيسة في كل وقت وكل عيد وكل ليلة احد ويوم الاثنين وشترى الساحة التي قدمت البيعة وفتح الطريق إليها
في الحائز والخاط المذكور فصل شهر كتاب فضائل مصر أن
الوليد ابن زوارة تولى الخراج بمصر في خلافة هشام ابن عبد
الملك الإحول فخرج لاحقاً الروس فاقام سنة اشهر بالصعيد
وباسفل الاضعة ثلاثة أشهر فاحصي فوق العشر آلاف قرية اصغر
قرية منها فيها خمسمائة رجل من القبط يكون جملة ذلك من
القطب خمسة آلاف الف نفس فصل واجمع أهل العلم ادا ليس
بالرديا نهر اطول ميداً من نهر النيل وهو ان يسير مسيرة شهر
في بلاد المسلمين وكثير من ذلك وشهرين في ذوبات واربعة في
الخراب حيث لا عمارة الى ان يخرج من جبل القمر خلف خط
الاستوى وليس في الريديا نهر يصب من الجنوب الى الشمال
غير نهر النيل وليس في الريديا نهر يصب في بحر الروم والصين
غير ديل مصر وليس في الريديا نهر يزيد ويجد في ابتداء ما
يكون من البحر في الوقت الذي تنقص فيه الانهار ويتجف بعضها
من الانهار والعيون بسارها وكلما قوى البحر قويت زبادة النيل
وليس في الريديا نهر يزيد ونقص بترطيب غير نهر النيل ولا
يجبى من خراج نهر من انهار الدنيا مثل ما يجبى من ما سقا
النيل وبالخاط المذكور بيعة للملك عريان جربه صرعه الجلال
وعلوها كنيسة ميلاد مسيح يسوع المسيح بالجنس وقبة الإسكنندا
 عالية جداً تنظر من البحر انشئ عمارة اناه ابن المسيح وكانوا
الخ وعوام المصريين يبنوهما وكسروا اعمدة البيستات وأحرف
بعض علوها فاعلم بتجريد عمارة الشيخ الشيخ الثقة جبريل الكاتب
في الخلافة العادمية وجد تكرزها وقسما فيها وكان بهذه
البيعة سورة كثيرة هائلة معتمدة صاعدة الى علم البيعة قطعت
وابيعت بنس جزييل واصفت في عمارة البيعة في صفل ولاها رابعة

Fol. 27 a
الآن وبهذه البيعة مغطس وبدر ما معين فصل فاما الاسعد أبو الخير ابن الميقات المذكور احضار شاور الوزير واتكر عليه بغتي سبا يوجب الاكتوار وبربا يعاقبة قلمات شهيدا وحمل اليها ودفن فيها الرب نسي نفسه الظاهر وقبر في الرواف البحري منها وتتجاوز هذه البيعة مرافق الناسى خارجا عنها وكان يجاور كنيسة يوحنا المعمدان المقام ذكره مطبع فاطمة الشيخ السعيد ابن الفخر صاعد ابن بسيوة وأعمره بيعة على اسم ستنا السيدة العزيزة الظاهرة وجمعت وكررت من يد الاب الاسقف هنا غير بالبسطف مصر وحضور هنالك بطرس البسطف الديوم في يوم الاثنين وهو الاثنين الرابع من الصوم المقدس في خمسة شهر برهات سنة ثلاث وتسعمائة للشهودا الإبزار المواقف للتباع عشر من زى الحجة سنة اثنين وثمانين وخمسمئة وعمره هذه البيعة يشرف منه على بركة قارون ومنظر هذه البيعة نزه ولي يحيط بها من البساطين والمنازة والعمائر الحيسنة وهي شرفة درهمة في حالتى النيل والزراعة كبيرة الابن بما يجاورها من البساطين والملاحض ومن القاصدين لها في كل وقت وكان طاغية من الرجال السودان يعرفون بالبجيوشية قد طعوا كثيرا ودعا وامتت إبديهم إلى قطع الطرق واحذر أموال الناس وسفك الدمها فلما ملكوا الغز الآكران اقليم مصر في ربيع الآخر سنة أربع وسبعين وخمسمئة تسلطوا عليهم جمعة من طاغية الاسد النصارى وطردوهم وقتلوا منهم جمعة كثيرة وخليت الحارة سكنهم المجاورة بالقرب من الحما كما تقدم القول وابناب الحارة حطابا الغزي واللى مصر من الديوان وحرثها ودشها بها ابار مهين وسواقي واعشرها بساطين وزرع عليها دبابات كثيرة وزرع ارضها خضر أولا ونقل المدخل إلى هذه البيعة من غير باب بهذه الحارة بل هو
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلة

سُبع وتسعة وثمانية للشهداء الابرار واهتم باصلاح البيع التي
بالقرب من البيعة الكبيرة الشيخ الوجبة أبي الحسن ابن الامام
الكاتب في سنة اثنتين وتسعين وثمانية للشهداء الابرار فصل
واستمرت العمارنة إلى حين دخول شاه سعيد ووزير الخلافة
العندية والغز والابرار التي مع يوسف صالح الدين ابن ابوب
الكرد الذي صار ملك مصر وسما على البابهم والرمانير تسبيح
ابن المؤمنين دخول ملك الفرنج للنصر عليهم في شهر سنة
تسع وخمسين وخمسمائة فعدي على هذه البيعة الغز الابرار
ووافق اهل مصر وارحب بالنار واهدنت للإعراض وغيرهما من
البيع في جمادى الأولى سنة تسع وخمسين وخمسمائة ثم
جددت في سنة ستين وخمسمائة اهتم بتاجيرها الشيخ السبئ
ابن الفخور كاتب الرواتب في الخلافة الحافظية وعاصره في ذلك
الشيخ الوجبة ابن حسن ابن الامام في سنة اثنتي وتسعين وثمانية
للشهداء الابرار ثم جخر ما تشهبه من البيع المشاهد الإزاحة
الشيخ السبئ شيد الملك ابن الفخور ابن بسية وابو الباركات

وله والاسعد ابن الخضر جرحة ابن وهب المعروف بابن المبقات
وكزرت الكنيسة التي تجعلوا بعوطة الله واستمر فيهم الصلوات
والقداسات إلى يومنا هذا، فصل ولا تجد ولا عمرو هذه
الكنيسة الكبرى أعنى الحضرة غاروا لاقامتها الحسنة والمعادين
واستعدوا بعوام القوم فنهبوا وهدمت أيضا ثم استمر ما تشعث
منها وجدت تكبيرها واستمر بها القنادس والصلوات على جاري
العادة فصل وترقي المعلم سرور الجلال المقدم ذكره باقية بها إلى

الاولى

[II. 7]
المذكور ذو مالا وجاهة حتى أنه كان إذا صعد مولانا المستنصر إلى المنظرة المعروفة بالسُكرة لفسّ السيّد الخليج الذي حفره عمر ابن العاص امّير مصر في خلافة أمه السهيلين عمر ابن الخطاب يقدم له المعلم سير الجلال المذكور دُقاق حسان من أنواع الاطعمة والشراب والخلاصة وكان يعمل له الوان من الاسماء الطيبة والسكر ولا أباد المتنوعة فيقبلها منه ويضرع عليها ويقضي حوائجها وأنغده إلى القلمز وهو حربيا للملك من جهة داحية الحجاز واسم هذا المكان بحبل المنسم وهي التي تسمى الثوب وأسمه قلمز وكان جوهر المعزى قد بنا قنطرة في هذا الخليج تخرج إلى ساحل المقسم نسبة المحمرة المعروفة بالمصوننة وقد كان قبل هذه القنطرة قنطرة هدمت وإثارا باقيا وكانت من الجنبات الشرقي وبعضها من الجنبات الغربي تحت البستان مجاور الطريق المملوك منه إلى الزهري لتحمل المياه فيه إلى الخليج من مصر إلى الزهري ومنها إلى أرض العبادة ومولايا المستنصر متوّج بدنبر النجور والملحة منشورة علية وهو في *** جاس فوقع دكّة الوقار فخرج إليه المذكور لخدمته ولسلم عليه وعلىه ثوب دفايع وعمامة صقلى مشدود الوسط بشملة ديبقى منبهة ويستعدا باسمه في حالتى صعوده وبوحده إلى القاهرة أعني هذا المعلم سير الجلال فصل وكان المذكور فيه خير ومعرّف وخدمة لساد الناس كل أحد بما يلائمه واهتم لنفسه بعمارة تربة وهي قبة وقبو تحت الأرض ملمسش شاور البيعة وعم وله نجاح علوا كنيسة على اسم قديس يوحنا المعمدان وكانت جميعها خشب نقي منقوشة فصل جزى عمارة كنيسة يوحنا المعمدان الشيخ السعيد أبو الفجور والد النبي أبو البركات المعروف بابن صاعد وكرزت في توت سنة
سبيعين الف دينار وكان الزائد في النفقات عن الارتفاع مائتي الف دينار. وفي سنة اثنين وستين ومائة في خلافة المهدى ابن المنصور الصباسيين. عقد الخراج ببصير الف الحماة في المهدى الف وثمانية وعشرين الف. وخمسونات دينار قصر في ختام مرزبان الشرف دخل مصر على اشد مغنم وبغيان. قصر وربطناه ولد عمر مصر بعد خرابها اربعين سنة وأول ما عمر بها ارض الاشرميين. قصر وافِل من قسم اساقفة على بلاد مصر وعمالها مسترويس البطريرك. وهو في العهد الثاني عشر قصر شهدت سيرة البيعة واخبار اضطرابات الجدوع وهو في العهد التاسع. واربعين ان البيع التي بحجة مصر بنيت وامير بعمرتها في ظهيرة اول هرمها اولى في بطرسية ابنا يوحنا الثاني في العهد. مدينة مصر وخارجها مدينة الشمس ومصرم بناها وهو ابن كنعان ابن حام ابن نوح ابن لامك الامام. سبنت باسم ملك الفاطميين مصري وخارجها ما بين الكتاتيب خلف العرش، واول كنيسة بنيت بفسطين مصر الكنيسة التي خلف الفاطميين ابنا مسلمة ابن مخلد الإنصاري واسم مصر باليونانى جبة وجال أو الفرنسي بابلون القلعة بالقاهرة بين القاهرة ومصر من كنيسة الغرباء. مارى جرجس النسيدة القمراء وكانت في وسط حارة وسمى بحارة الروم وكانت سكين النصارى والألوهة الحبش الرهبان وغيرها، ولا تلاشت الحارة كم تلاشها غيرها من ظاهر مصر وهدمت الآدر التي بها وحمل طوبها واشباها الى عمارة أخرى ببصير والقاهرة. ووقع فيها بعض رسوم واهية سكنها رجال مبوبون. بيعة الفرس يرجون. دول الصمرى، كانت قد وهبت وتششت اهتمام بأصالحها وتجديدها المعلم سروم الجلالة في الخلافة المستنصرية وكان...
العاص ابن عبّد قيس نضرب عظيم الهامة ذات الجبهة واسع
الغم عظيم اللحية عرض ما بين الكنتنين والثربنين وكانت وفاة
في سنة ثلاث وأربعة ودفنت في المقطم من داحية الجف على
طريق الناس إلى الحجاز، فصل ووجدت في تاريّخ مهرب
ابن قسطنطين المبعوض في الجعز الأول منه ومدينة منبج تعرق
بمدينة اللهان العتيقة على شجر الغرّة أن ملك يسيي اقطكيس
في عصر أسحق ابن إبراهيم أول من أحدث الكتب والعلوم
والنحوّ والحساب من كتب الكلدانين واهل المشرق وحملها
إلى مصر وعلم السحر والنحاس وفي ذلك الزمان بنى سدوم
وغامورا وبنيت بابلادوّة آيًا على بصر النيل وأقام هذا الملك
اثنين وثلاثين سنة فصل وبلغ خرج مصر على يد يوسف ابن
يعقوب بعد عمارتها Associated الأربعة وعشرين الف ألف وستمائة الف
دئان واستخرج فروع موسي واسمه الوالي ابن مصعب تعسرين
الف ألف دئان وحفّر خليج سرديس على يد قارون وهامان وهو
 أكبر عطوفا واستخرج الروم عشرين الف ألف دئان وتبقيها جريج
ابن المروق من الهربل وما مبلغة ثمانية عشر الف ألف
دئان واستخرج عمر ابن العاص في سنة اربعين وعشرين للهجرة
الف ألف دئان وفي سنة اثني عشر وعشرين أثنا عشر الف ألف دئان
وفي أيام بنى العبّاس على يد أحمد ابن طولون خمسة آلاف
الف وعلى يد يعقوب ابن يوسف أربعة آلاف الف وانتهى إلى
ثلاثة آلاف الف ومسحت اراضي مصر في أيام هشام ابن عبد
الملك مما يرتب النيل فكان ثلاثون الف ألف فدان واتصل ارتفاع
مصر وما معها وجميع دفقاتها لسنه في مملكة كافور الإستبان
الأخشيدى بتقدير فكان ثلاثة آلاف الف ومائتي ألف وينيف
يوم الجمعة مستهل المحرم سنة عشرين للهجرة في خلافة عمر

ابن الخطاب بين الحصين المعروف بخصب الحمام وكان عدد القبط بارزين مصر دون الشيخ الكبير العاجز والقنى الذي لم يبلغ الحكم سنة آلاف الف نفس وفرض على كل منهم في كل سنة ستة وعشرين وثلاثي وعلى الغني الموسر منهم دينارين مثل احدهم وثلاث آحاد قمح بكل بلد سكنه وكان المحمول من جهتهم اثنا عشر ألف دينار خارجًا عن جزية اليهود ببصر وإعمالها وحمل إلى عمر ابن الخطاب وهو أول مال حمل اليه من مصر.

وفي كان عمر ابن العاص دخل إلى مصر في التاجم فيه وعرف طرقها في تجارة له مع دفعة من قريش، فصل وجدت في تاريخ البيعة أن دخل المسلمين إلى مصر ومملكة في أيام من بودة سنة أحد وعشرين وثمانية لشبهاء الأبرار، فصل عدة القتائف الذين حضروا الفتح ببعض سوي من قتل في الحصاراثنا عشر عقا وثمانية الآماكون التي عرفت بين خطها من العرب في فتوح مصر.

في المحرم سنة عشرين هجرية شهر حيدان ابن عمر ابن الخطاب ابن قضاعة تحتيب ابن عدي لخيم وجذام ابنها عدي ابن مرة راشدة ابن جريدة ابن لخيم ابن المغافر ابن يعفر بن وائل عرف الخليج والقنطرة والخítica ابن مغفل صاحب وادي هبيب بن الفرقة بنو حجش ابن يوسف ابن وائل الملك أبو الخبير ابن شراحيل وذان الرومي صاحب عمر ابن العاص، شجاعة ابن مند غان ابن ملك ابن كعب ابن الحارث ابن كعب سوف بربر يرفي بربر ابن ابي حصيب درب الخديجي كان فيه عبد الرحمن ابن معاوية ابن خريجة ابي حيدر أمير مصر في خلافة عبد الله ابن الزبير ببكة ومروان بالشام وصفة عمر ابن
كتاب سير البيعة واخبار الابا البطارة ان عمر ابن العاص والعرب
والواصلين معه اخونوا الطريق من الحيل حتى ادغم وصلوا إلى
قصر مبنى بالحجارة بين الصعيد والريف سمي باللون فصرروا
هناك بيتهم مشور وترقبوا جميعهم لملأفاة الروم وصبرتهم وسمعوا
ذلك المكان الفضته بلغتهم وتفسير هذه اللفظة الخفية وبذلك
قصر الجمع بمصر سموه العرب فتساطع باللون فصل ووجدت في
كتاب الجناح ذكر فتح مصر يقول ان عمر ابن العاص فتح مصر
في سنة عشرون هجريا وكان خارج موضع يعرف ببجان
الريشان فنزلوا فيه لمحاصرة مدينة مصر وكان الاسقف من الروم
بمصر والإسكندرية يسمى قرة وقد خندق اهل الفضته عليهم
وكان اسم الفضته اللوئية فسماء العرب الفضته لأنهم قالوا هذا
فسطاط القوم ومجمعمهم وإذا وصل إليها في ثلاثما الاف وخمسة
رجل ثم حملهم الزبير ابن العوام في اثنا عشر ألف وملك الحص
وفتحته عنوة واستباح ما فيها وآمن اهله على ادتهم زمّة ووضع
عليهم الجبرية والخراج في ارضهم وإن صاحب اللوئية اعنى
الفضطة قرر على كل حاكم دينارين وسما سبعة وعشرين درهما
لا نظل إلا ان يكون الحالم فقيراً والتزم كل غني معشر في كل
سنة دينارين وثلاث ارباع حنظلة وان عمر اكتم من مصر
وجريتها الغي الف دينار وجبها عبد الله ابن سعيد ابن مفرح
اربعاء الاف الف دينار ومدة ولاية عمر ابن العاص عشرة سنين
واربعاء شهر وعبد الله ولده سنين وذكرن المسلمين لما وصلوا الي
مصر عملوا زيب قس من الخط المعروف بالغر الى المكان المعروف
بدرة خلف واجتمعوا إليه فسوى الفضطة ای مجمع القوم ولم
ينصبوا العرب خيمة ولا عرفوها فصل فتح عمر ابن العاص مصر
دائمًا، ويشفع فيه ظاهرةً فصل وذكر الله نتيل مصر على السن
ابيه ذهابه قال اشعيا النبي الله يبارك اهل مصر ومن خلقته بياها
بالموصى فصل ومن الادعية أيضًا وتراعبا ملاك الرب في الحلم
قائلًا قاخ الصبي وامه وانهبين إلى ارض مصر وكني هناك الى
ان اقول لك وأقام بصبر السيد المسيح ووالدته العذراء الطاهرة
والشيخ الباري يوسف التجارستين فصل ومن دبودة هوشع مما
شهد به الادعية الطاهر قولة من مصر دعوت ابني فصل تفضيل
مصر على غيرها من ساد الإقليم حلول سيدنا يسوع المسيح
بها بالجنس والسيدة الطاهرة مرتميم والشيخ الصديق يوسف
التجار باامر من الله ومرقس الادعية التلميذ بالسكونية وهو
ابن اخت استفادة رئيس الشامسة وأول الشهير باورشليم.
ودخل إليها من الابا الإطهار وهم ابراهيم الخليل ويعقوب ابن
عشق اقام بها سبعة عشر سنة وتنبيه بها ونقل جسدته الى
الشام والإسباط اولاده واحصل بها من ذريتهم سبعة الف
وهما متسنا وخمسين نسخاً يوسف الصديق وأولاده، هما متسنا
وافرم وتلبية بها ونقل جسدته الى الشام صلى وسجى موسى
النبي عند سجينة خارجًا عن بنى لاوى وعندهم اثنين وعشرون الفًا
ومائتين وثلاثية وسبعين نسخًا وموسى ويهرون اخه واجتهدا مريم
ودخل إليها أيضًا لوط ابن اخى ابراهيم وبوعيش ابن دون ودانيال
النبي وارمييا النبي وحرقيال وغيرهم من الملوك والعظام والحكمة
والأفسارة والرؤساء والمسلطنين في كل مصر وزمان، فصل والاما
امتنى بلاد مصر فمن المشرف العباسة ومن المغرب الإسكندرية
وطلوها من العريض الى عيداب وعرضها من البرقة الى ابنة وذكر
أن برقة تعرف بالجنس مدينًا فصل اخبار مدينة مصر تضمن

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من ذلك الصدع حتى تقطعة الرياح وبها حائط العجوز من
العريش إلى أسوان وتسمى الكحوز وفي بحر النيل سماحة وهي
التي تسمى الرعدة إذا وضع الرجل الجربيرية عليها فلا يملكه
قواء دون أن يضطرب جسده وترتد زراعة مقدار ساعة وتشكل
عند وبها مجمع البكرين وسمى البرزخ الذي فيه يلتقيان
البكرين وبينهما حاجران وهما بحر الروم والصبى والحاجز بينهما
مسيرة ليلة بين القلزم والفرما وليس يتقربا في بلد من البلدان
اقرب منهما في هذا الموضع وبينهما في الشرق مسيرة شهور
وليس في الدنيا بلد يأكل اهلها صبي البكرين طريًّا غير إلا موسر
وبها القماش المطر القصب التنسيس والشرب وهو الشباشي والدبقي
الملون وليس في طرز مبلغ الذهب منه مائة دينار وليس فيه
ذهب غير ينبس ودبسات والمتحك والقلعى وله الثياب الصوف
والاكساء المرع السمالوسات وليس هي في الدنيا إلا منصور ولهم
المنتج العجيب من الخيل والبغال والحمير ولهم معدن الذهب
والرمز والغرة الحمر والصفر والمرقشين الذهبية والفضية والحسانية
وبركة النظور والملاحم وجب الطين الأسواى الذي يسمى طين
الحكمة وتعمل منه كبران الفقاع وعمل الورق البياض وطابع السكر
 ومعاصر القصب المملوء ومزازع الزار وزيت الفجل والسلجم ودهن
البلسان والأفيون والأبريس والشراب العسلى ف설ام وإما نيل
مصر فانه من أهلها التي تتعجب منها اهل الأرض إذا سمعوا به
فانه يطلع في العيش الشديد الذي فيه تنقص سائر البخار
والعيون وتجف وطلع في وقت الاحتياج اليس كذلك ذؤلة في
وقت الاحتياج اليسة عناية من الله بسكان مصر وتزيد الإبار بعد
نقبة والزراعة عليه لا على الإمطار وهو ينجر إلى البحر المالج
واخرج الملك عنة وكان ابتدى جرى النيل إليه وكان عمر يوسف ثلاثين سنة في مملكة الريان ابن دومغ وعنت باسم قريبون بعد تغسير المندام له وتعبيره عليه واخضع عليه وسلم الله خانه وتمدير مملكته ثم سیرت سيرة البيعة السابعة عشر واخبر أبدا خانئة السادس والرابعين في عهد البطالة ارتفاع مصر وعملها إلى آخر خلافة مروان حمار الحرب وهو آخر خلافة بنى أمية وابتداء خلافة السفاح عبد الله العباسي في السنة سبعة إلى بدون المال سوى النفعات مائتين الف دينار فصل المتبوع بعبادة الإchemas اهل مصر وباكل وأفرتفاج واهل السواحل فصل قحطان ابن فالق أبو العرب في اهليها كانوا الناس يصروون كذن يعرف بمعروف ولا ذكر جميل وشجاعة وحسن صورة ويعبدون صورته فصل بو نباث ابن نوح وهو الرابع تعلم باللهام لله هو علم الفلك وحسابه للسينين والشهور والأيام والساعات وما أشبه ذلك ثم تعلم منه دمرون الحب بوضع كتاب في علم الفلك وحسابه وتعجب الناس من حكمته التي وضعها في كتاب وعقلها عنه فحكمه أشير وخدم الشيخان وصام له ونبذاته له نبائح وقدم له بخضوع وتصرع له وفظاهر له وعلم السحر والخيالات التي لا حقية لها فظهره دمرون الحب وتعلم دمرون الحب منه علم الطغوت وهو أول من ليس النتاج المذهبين مرضع بالجهر وهو في البزغ وظهر بهذا الشكل فصل في الخواص التي بصرف والعجائب بها وموسى وهارون خديمة وديم اختصهما ولدوا باسكر من أقليم مصر وبالطور كمل الله موسى واتى عصاة ويه فلك البحر وصنع العشرة إيات وملكه يوسف الصديق ويه النخلة وبها الوادي المقدس وصنع الإيوان الذي يحمي الله جنس هذا الطائر المذكور في كل سنة فيمسك منه طائر واحد فلل معلقاً

[II. 7.]
للشهيد محمد يوحنان كيسي أبو يحيى نور وجماله الطاهر، فإن هذه البيعة وبيعها للملاء الجليل ميقاتي رئيس الملائكة، ادربجة من قرى بيوت البيعة للشهيد العظيم مارس جرجس طلسا بيعة على اسم دهادة بيعة على اسم الشهيد الشهاب مقروروش بيعة على اسم الملاء الجليل غيربال وبيعه على اسم السيدة العذراء الطاهرة مدينة الفيوم وإعمالها الفيوم اسم أحد أولاد فقير ابن مصر ر لناها لابنها فنجرت فنفها إليها كانت قبل يوسف ابن يعقوب ابن إبراهيم الخليل عليهم السلام وجد ومارتها يوسف هذا وعمل المقايسون ونا الفيوم وحفر اللاهون بني بالحکمة واسست بالتقؤية وتقين بالحکمة من الله وحفر خليج النهى وعمد اضما مصر وعدة التواحه بين ثلثمائة وستة وسبعون قرية عدد أيام السنة تتميز كل قرية يوم وخرجانها الف دينار وهذه الأعمال تروى أراضيها من اثنين عشر ذراع ولا تغرق من ثمانية عشر ذراعًا وبها من البول مما ليس لاحظ فيه ملكًا بل للناس مباحًا يتصرون فيه ويستعينون به على أحوالهم سبعين صنفًا استخراج خراجها في أيام كافور الاستان أمير مصر المشهور بالأخشيدي في الدولة العباسيه على يد ابن طرخان سنة خمس وخمسين وثلاثين سنة للعرب وما مبلغه ستمائة ألف وعشرون الف دينار وزيادة زار عق الراحلة وطرقية ومشف ويان بهذى الأعمال خمسة وثلاثين ديرًا وكان الاسقف بها ادنا أفراحهم في بطريركية ثاودوروس وهو الخائس والأربعين في العدد والخرجان مما يرجع برسم هذه الديار مما يحمل في بيت المال في كل سنة خمسمائة دينار في كتاب فتح مصر للأسيديين ابن الغيوم كان يعرف بالجودة وكان مصلحة لما الصعيد فاستنبطه يوسف الصديق وحفر الخليج
وعده فاس كان يريد قطعها ويلقاء انسانا ومنعها قطعها وضمنها
منذ انها تشر وانها في تلك السنة لاتيمة تشر قدر ثمانية سنتين.
فصل خبر الحجارة توفج بموضع يسمى بالبرمَك ما بين خريج
وبحتاك وهي عقبة جبل إذا مر بها قافلة أو جيش شدوا على
حوافر دوابهم صوفا كثيرا ورفعوا في السير لان تلك الحجارة انا
اصطفخت ببعض ثمار للوقت ضم عمهم السير ومطر
فؤد وقيل ان هذه الحجارة احتمتها الحكام في تلك الارض
اذا تخلفت عليهم المطر حارب تلك الحجارة بحمايتها فكان فيهم
المطر عند الحاجة إلى زول المطر وذkte في الامطار العصيبة وتضمنه
بعض التوارينج وهو صحيح فصل الوجه القبلي بالديبار المصرية
بصبر ونا سميت باسم ساحر كان هناك اسمه بوصير بها بيعة
كبيرة متنسة جد مبنية بالحجر داخل المدينة تجاور القصر
عمرت في القدم ولما نوادرت النوب واحتاج الملوك إلى حجرها نقل
منها حجر كبير جدًا وهي الان خراب ورسومها ظاهرة وهي قريبة
من سجى يوسف الصديق اعني ابن بقوق ابن اسحق ابن
ابراهيم الخليل عليهم السلام. مدينة ونا بها بيعة جرجيوس
منبج الفائز بها بيعة فصل ابن صالح كان غلام الوزير ابن الفرح
ابن كليمين جد بنها في الخلافة الهاشمية وعلى اسم السيدة
العذراء وهي على البحر ونا بوصير بيعة على اسم الشهيد
العظيم الشجاع مرجيروس الكبير وبيعتين اخر واحدة للسيدة
العذراء الظاهرة والمأوى للقديس الشهيد ماري جرجس وبيعة

1 In margin: فيدخلون في الماء وتحركون عن ذكر مشر في الأول
2 In margin: بمكم نقدمة
تأسست في الجحيم في حف موتها ودفعة يقول اخذ من الشيطان كل ممسك في الجحيم فاجب على السيدة إنها ما ماتت إلا عن خطبة، وكذلك عمتها من زناج الإنجيل وغيره من كتب العتيقة واعتقد أن بعد موت العالم وحشة في الفردوس يجري لين لا يتأذب في حال حياته مثل ما جرى لأدم واعتقد أن العقاب والندوب في الآخرة على النفس العاقبة النافعة دون الجسد فإن التأديبة في هذه الدنيا للجسد حتى لا يعود يوافق النفس على ارتكاب الخطايا لنفوره من آلام الغانون فيخلص في اليوم الآخر وجميع ما شرده من سوء اعتقاده موجود في كتبه التي ألفها ومنهم كتاب الفقه وكتابه بالعشرة رؤوس فيما كتبه التي الفها أيضًا كتاب الفقه وكتابه بكتاب المعلم والتلميذين يتضمن تجربة إبداع: كتاب الفقه وكتابه بالمجموع فيما اليد المرجوع وكتب غير ذلك فصٍّ يذكر فيه خبر المصيبة بارض النيل مكان يسريع البه في يوم معين سمك كثير يخرج أهل ذلك المكان فيصيرونه بايديهم ولا يهرب منه شئ حتى أن أهل ذلك المكان يأخذوا منه ما يأكلون ويملحون جميعهم فان غريت الشمس في ذلك اليوم لم يعود أحد يأخذ شئ منه بالجملة ولا أهل العام لا يوجز في ذلك المكان سمك في يوم من الأيام إلى مثل ذلك اليوم المكث كِلّ خبر مدينة الحجر هذه المدينة كلما فيها حجر أسود مائع وصورة معلم صبيان جالس وبين يديه صبيان كثير كبير وصغار ومثاليات سبع ووجوش وغير ذلك فصٍّ خبر الإسطوانة المتحركة بارض مصر وهي أسطوانة رخاخ ارتفاعها من الأرض سعة عشر ذراع بالعمل وعرضها نزاعين وهي تتحرك يوم في السنة حركة واحدة فصٍّ خبر الشجرة التي لا تشرد إلا اذا جرى انسان إلى نحوها
ومؤكدين باسمه وان كل واحد من هؤلاء الثلاثة عمل لكي يشرِّك
في الآخر وذالك ان الايب باسم والاب يختلف ما باسم الاب بخلقه وروح
القدس يحبب ما باسم الاب باحيا وان كل مخلوق موجود
الاب باسم الاب خلقه وكل حي موجود روح القدس باسم الاب احيا.
ثم اعتقادات ان في طبيعة الله تأتيها وخص بالتأنيث روح القدس.
وعتقد ان كلمة الله الإلزيمة مولودة في إزليتها من الايب ومن روح
القدس ويصرح ويعقل وكم ليس للاب ابتداء كذالك روح القدس لم
يزل مثبت منتهى غير ابتداء والاب هو ايضا لم يزل مولود منهما بغير
ابتداء ثم اعتقادات ان الله لم يتكلم شيء من مخلوقاته بل كلاما لإبة
روح القدس وخلاف جميع ما جاء في كتاب الله العتيقة والجديدة
من كلام الله تعالى لم اعتقادات ان الايب والإدبيا كانوا محشورين في
الجيش لذويهم الذي لم يقدروا يخلصوا انفسهم مما عملهم من
طاعة الله وأوهم كانوا في الجيش معاقبين بعقوبة الى ان خلصهم
الرب المسيح الذي هو بلا خطيه ثم اعتقادات ان الايب والإدبيا خالبين
من موهبة روح القدس ثم ان روح القدس لم يتكلم على أفعالهم
وبسبب الايب والإدبيا فامة روح القدس وقال لن يكون فيهم روح
القدس لما هبطوا الى الجيش واعداهم سو هذا اعتقادات بان كل
الحساسات التي عملها الايب والإدبيا كان الله يحسب ذلك للشيطان

ولان هذا الحكم كان الشيطان يساعدهم على عمل الحساسات بغير
روح القدس ثم عضد ذلك اعتقادات الحساسات التي عملها التلاشيين
وكلفة شبع المسيح يعتنى بها للمسيح بحكم اتتهم يعملوها بروح
القدس واعتقد ان لا يموت احد من لدن آدم وإلى هائم جر اي
اذا عمل خطية يستحق بها الموت وان جسد المسيح خاصة لم
يعمل خطيه يستوجب بها الموت فلما مات اخذ من ابيه كل
فخير ابن القنبر الذي صار قسيس بتغير استخفاف من وجهة عدة وتسمى مرسى وفساد راهد فيما وضعه من مصنفاته في الكتب المخالفة للحلف الذي استمال بها من الناس السادعين العباديين الغهم واستمالهم إلى طريق المعاففين وله في هذا الطاغي المخالف كان قد نزوج امرأة أقامت عند ربيمة وانه اراد ان يترهب وينعزل منها فلم توافقه على ما اراد فتحيل وسلها في الخفية بغيرة واجه إلى اديب يونس استغل دمسيس وأولهما انت ترهبت وسكت الدبجر مع الرهبانات فرحة ورسم قسيس فلم يخف امره بعد ذلك وبلغ الاب البطريق اديب يونس خبره وهو الثاني وسبيعين في عدد الابا البطاركة حريمه وحقده وهرو من قصة قسيس لإنه لم يكشف عن صحيح امره بما يثبت صدقه قبل ان يرهبه ويسمى قسيس وصار شريكا له في ائمته واستخفافه بالقوانين الإبضالية ان بولس الرسول يقول ان الامرأة اذا هي اختيار انت تعزل عن بعدها بموجبة منا لها فيما ارادت فلا تتزوج بغيره فان آدرت النزوج فتعود الى بعدها الأول والرجل فلا تعزل زوجته بالجملة وهذا اعتزل زوجته وأخوجها تعزل عنها وزوجها لغيره ثم لم أظهر نفسه بالعلم وتفسير الكتب المقدسة ترجها من القبطي للعربي ثم تفسير ذلك تفسير التفسير على قدرا ما يتصور في عقله ولاما اقام في كنيسة دمسيس اخفاء الدلال الذي يدل على ما يجبر قراءته في كل يوم من فصول الأناجيل وكتب البيعة المقدسة وجعل هو نفسه الدلال أي متنى امر بإخراجه من فصول الأناجيل والرسائل والقتاليقون والإيركيسيس يخرج ما يقوم في نفسه بما يفسره تفسير التفسير مما يقوى به بدعته ويستند به سوء اعتقاده إلى أن سرق عقول بعض الشعب الإرثيكي الذي حملهم خوفهم من
لهما عادة فقال ابن القنبر لعن الله ساعة صرت منكم فقال له البطريرك:

«نحن ما عندنا إلا الخير والسلامة ثم بعد ذلك ملقي أن يفرغ له كنيسة في سبباد بعد ما جرى له فيها فقال مطراداً للبطريرك: اغتنى من المطراده ودعه يأخذ له كنيسة أنا رسمت له انت فسكت البطريرك لم يتكلم وجرى له مع هذا المطران اغتنى مطران سبباد امر قبيح اقتضى وثوب المطران عليه وضيام ضرب موجعاً وكشف رأسه في ملا من الناس وذلك في شهر ابوب سنة احده وتسعمائة ثمانية وفيه أيضاً جسر هذا الشقي ابن القنبر ورجع طلع إلى الاب البطريرك انباء مركس ومعه ابن عبدون وواحد من اجل اصحاب البطريرك يدل عليه إلى فلانيته بالمعلقة وهو في جمعه فقال له البطريرك ايش بفعج جاذبته إلى عندي يا محروم بهذا الزى المغير عن مغننا ومقد يده إلى رأس وطرح البرطنة ودقي مكشور الراس وان أحد تلامين البطريرك اعان البرطنة على رأسه فصبه ذلك على البطريرك وذكر على التلمين ما فعله يعتبر اذن وقام من عنده وخرج مخبر لاحترم كيف يعيش ثم اتصل ذلك البطريرك الملكية فاحضرة وذكر عليه وقال له تعالى إلى بطريرك قل خالفت امانتك كيف يستفيض لك ذلك ثم ان بطريرك الملكية شيعه دبر القصير وقام به هو واصحابه أمالاً لامرأ لا يرجع إلى شيء غير المضللة لكل طاقة مطلق بنفسه اذ حكيم وظنه غلب عليه الجهيل وقام بعد ذلك مرة سيبرة ومات وقد خسر نفسه ودفوس الذين اظهروا بخداعه فصل ثم بعد موتة وجدت رقعة في اوراق بخط ابنا مباشئ مطران دمياط وهو يقول مولف هذا الكتاب وربما كانت جواب عن مكاتبته له في امر ابن القنبر وما اثر في الوجود من الشر ضمنها التحبير المسكين مباشئ دمياط يوضع لمحبة الاخ ما اتصل به من امر
سقط ودخل في جملة الهراطقة المخالفين الذين ظنوا ان مشاعر الناسوت مخالفة لمشاعر اللاهوت وصار مصورًا من ثلاث بطاركة: أدب يونس وهو في العهد الثاني والسبعين وتنينج هذا البطريق وهذا الشقي معقوب بصرموحة ليس له منها خلاص وديثان البطريق اصطكافيه وهو أدب ميخائيل واذا مرقص وهو الثالث وسبعين في العهد وستين اسقفة بالوجه المبكر والقبله. فصل وكان هذا ابن الفنبر قد جمع جماعة من الملكية المخالفين لنا في الإمامة الإرنكيسية مع من اتحى الية من جهان القبط الساحجين قد ورث إلى قليوب وارى ان يستميل بها قوةً من اهلها فسمع به كاتب البلد وضامن البلد وغيرهم من الجماعة الإرنكيسين فراحوا البدء وقامت عليه ومسكوه هو وجماعته وحروهم بوزن الجرية ورسموا عليهم واعلموا وابلوا إلى البلد بان هذه الجماعة المخالفين لشرعهم وهم تحت حرومو البطريك وكل ارض حلاو بما لا بَّد ان يحصل لاهلها نكذ فاططب منهم الجاهلية ولا تغرقهم حتى ناخب منهم شيء ليلا يطلعوا البلد في خفية فيحصل لأهل البلد نقد ف عليها الوالي واعتقلهم ولم يفاقهم حتى اقاموا بسعة عشر دينار على سبيل الجرية وبعد وزنهم الطرفة كتبا عليهم جميع مهوجاً ادتهم لا يطلبوا قليوب سوى عبار طريق طالبين المدينة أو غيرها ولا ينزلون بها بالحملة الكافية وخرجوا من قليوب باسو حال ثم بلغه وصول بطركة الملكية من الإسكندرية واده مقيم بايوان فتوجه اليه ليسلم عليه وتهنه بالسلامة ومعه جماعة يركوها مغالتة ان اشتكى حالة وكان قد جتمع من هذا البطريك جماعة من المطارنة اعني مطارنة البلاد فادعوا للبطريك ما احدثه عليهم مما يخرج عن قوادين منهم فنظروا في ذلك وقالوا ان هذا رجل قبطي وهو يفعل ما لم نجر

[Fol. 13 a]
من السرائر المقدسة استحلاغها الإبل البطريرك بحضور جماعة من الإساقفة والكهنة فإنه لا يوجد لما ذكرت عن تحقؤ بالإيمان المؤكد والمؤذن في المحرمة قبل أن يتناول السرائر المقدسة وتوجه إلى موطنه فيما لبث يومًا واحدًا حتى عاد لما كان عليه ولم يقف عند ما عقد ثانية عليه فدام مذبح الله بحضور الإساقفة وحضور الكهنة والإخوة والشمامسة ومجمع الشعب الإرتداسي فحصل ابنه لم يخف من الله ولم يستخير من الناس بعد ان فسخ الله في تناولة القرابين فوق هيكل الله وفسخ الله لن اتبع عليه ابنه إلى أن تقتربوا بابًا يوم عبد الأربعين شهيد الكاتب في ثالث عشر برهات الذي هو من عدد صوم الأربعين المقدسة ومنع فيه من تناول النبي وربط الأقارب لبعضهم بعض إلى غير ذلك مما شهر عنه وصار يربط وحوله جماعة من اتباعه ويسير في بلاد الريف بمنزلة الوالة ويعمل له ولجمة ولأجل ثم انتهى عنه ابنه انتقل إلى طائفة الملكية واعترف بالطيبتين والمشتتين وقبلوه اليهود وترى من امامة ساويرس وديوسقيس ابانًا البطراركة الذين قاموا الملوك والروسا بالدين واروا تبع الملك في اعتقاده ولم يرجعوا عن امامة الناشئة وثمانية عشر الإبل الأولين الذين قاموا ديفولديانوس الكافر وقاموا العذاب انواها قطعت أيضًا بعضهم على الإمامة الصاحبة التي قررتها الإبل البطراركة والإساقفة بتعبيد روح القدس ومنعوا وأحمرها من يخرج عنها ويعتقلها، وكان هذا الشقى الأعلى البصرة والقلب كما قال بعض الإبل أفرز نفسه من طقس الإخوة كمثل يوهذا الاستخفاضي لها بعد هذه الله عن طقس الإرثيسين كما اتبع الشيطان من طقوس الملائكة العلويين لكبارة وظنه بزيادة ابنه الكبير فلهذا سقط وهذا الشقى مرقس فلن بنفسه أده حكيم ولذلك
باده لا يجوز له فعل ما جسر عليه. بعده ما يكتب ما ينصح عنه فكتب كل منهم خطة بما جرى من خلافه لشرعة واده لا يجوز له فعل ما جسر عليه. ولا يفسح له في هوئ نفسه الذي ارتكبه وخلاف الشرع ويوفر كل منهم عليه القطع والحريم ثم لم يقتعه ما فعله وكوهنة لم يقف عند إيماءته التي حلف بها على الانجيل وجسد القديس العظيم المطودة في دبعة الله ولا خلافه لشرعة وقبوته. ما وجب عليه في شريعة النصارى الذي هو منهم حتى كتب قصة ورفها للسلاطن ضمنها أنه يقوم عليهURL.S. وعند مجلس مع البطريرك وكلهم فيها وقال ما اراد والتمس اماما عليها. 4 بخط القاضي الفاضل ابن على البساتي ما هذه نسخته أدت رجل كبير الفضول وبطريرك النصارى يقول عن رجل بزيان عن الخروج عن حقيقة مذهبه اذه خرج واتى بمقالة غير معاهدة قررت بها كلمة شعب وقطعت سنة الامير الجامع لإهل دينه وقد ذهبته وقعت على العودة من النفى غير فسحة ومع هذا أما خرج إما ليس له رتبة ولا حكم ولا تنصرف في تقدمه على النصارى ولا حكم بينهم إلى أن يعقد له مجلسا شرعيا ينقصه اخره اما ان تكون منهم فلا تجالسهم واما ان تكون خارجا عنهم فانتظار عن المؤمنين وأصحاب الكتاب فيلمحكم الإسلام فائم إن يهوديا ولا نصاريا انتهى ذلك قصل ولا استقر في دحبة أقامته مستمرة على ما كان عليه في طريقته الأولى ثم حضر إلى القلاية بكنيسة المعلقة بدمير ومثل بين يدي البطريرك واعترف بذبه وسلاع العفو عنه فأجاب إلى ذلك وأصبحت الصلة والقداس وما حضر ليبقى

\[1\] In the margin "allas.
\[2\] فكتب القاضي الفاضل على قصته ما هذه نسخته
\[3\] يهود
\[4\] نصارى
سواهم وكتب لرئيس الدير بحضور معين. هذا إلى المكان الذي فيه جسد القرداس بابا انطوية ويستقل عنه وعلى بعد. يوحنا بناده لا يغفو يفعل شيء مما كان يفعله وبعد ذلك يفسح له في غيد وغيد، فإنه، وامرأته، فعاد إلى بلده بهذا الشرط فصل وكان مرقص المذكور قام وصل إلى الربيع من دير انطوية بعد استحلاله على الادوية المقدس، وحرب أبنا انطوية المذكور والتشويق منه أنه لا يغفو مما كان عليه ولا يضيق على قوانين البيعة وما حلته الشرعية وأن هذا مرقص المذكورا، وصل إلى بلاده عاد لما كان عليه واشد واشر واجتمع إليه من جهلة الأرياف والكفور والبلاد جمع كبير جداً مما ينام خمسة آلاف رجل ووصلت الخبرة إلى قلنوب ومنهم من اطاعة ورجع إليه واجبوا على نفسه ما قرر على كل منهم ورجب حتى أن منهم من اوجب على نفسه ما يعمم إليه من ماله وثمرة بستانته ومدرة وعشر ما يتحصل له من المال ويعمل إليه ورجب عما كان عليه أولاً فكتب إليه الباب البطريرك يشعري بما سيكون من أمره أن لم يرجع يريدته ويتوجه بما سوف يجعل بها أن تم على طيادته وخروجه عن ما حلبه ولن يقف عند إبادته ووعظه وحنزه عن عاقبة الأيمان والختاف وقبول المعوان، فإن عاقبة هذا تنتمي إلى الهلاك السوق قبل لتلغى للكتاب البطريركي بل تواقيز ورجب في طيادته وخلافه ولم يرجع فكتب البطريركي للساقفة بالموجه البطريركي كتاب تتضمن قضية حالته من ابتدائها إلى انتهائها وما تضمنه القوانين التي بها يجيب قطعه بالحرم المؤكد أنه هو استمر على طيادته ونسكن بظلالة شيطانه وان يكتب كل منهم خطبة

1 Effaced.
أن يتشبهوا باليهود والصقرا في شيء من شيءهم المستعملة بينهم. في وقتنا هذا وقام لهذا القول ادلة كثيرة ومع أن لا يبخر في الكنيسة بالسندروس بل باللهان لانه قد للسيدة مع الذهب والمر
فس هذا الوجه لا يجيب ان يبخر في الكنيسة بغيرة ويقول من يعترف له ان احمل عنك بعض خطبتك والبعض يغفر له من الله
بعمله القانون ومن يأخذ عن خطاباه قانونًا في الدنيا لم يجيب
الله عليه قانونًا ثم أخذ في الصرورة وصاروا أصحابة المعترين عليه
يسعونه إبنا المعلم واذا وقف في الكنيسة اجتمع البه جمعة كبيرة
واثر أسباب كثيرة لم تكن في البيعة ثم تحقق ذلك الا يا الإساقفة
بالوجه البخارى وطالعوا به الإب الطريرك ابنا مرقس وهو الثالث
والسبعين في الهجرة فذكر ذلك عليه وكتب له كتاب يحتوى وبينه
ويمنيه بمواضيع تعزيز له فيلم يسمع منه ولا يرجع له فاوجابت الضرورة
الطريرك ان يسير له يطلب فطلع البه إلى القلادة بكتيبة المعلقة
بمصر وعقد له سنوس بحضرته جمعة من الإساقفة والكلهنة القسموس
والإراثنة وقال له أعلم أن من حل شئ من اوضاع البيعة وامر
الشعب بخلافه فإنه تحت تبعية الشرع فلم ان ترجع عن ما انت
عليه وجرت معه خطوبة كثيرة تقرر اخريها أنه يبضى محتفظًا به
مع وكلا من جهة الطريرك الى دير ابنا انتونية قريباً من اطياف
وذلك في شهر أمشير سنة تسعيين وثمانية للسيدة الإبدرار وان
 هي وجميز أخوته يصلىون شعور رؤوسهم ثم تصرف من هذه
الحالة وقضى الإب الطريرك ويطارح عليه دوالته وأخوته وخلاصة
ولم يزيلوا علىشيء ورجلية وسوسال الإراثنة له حينئذ اجاب

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1 يجيب
2 ثانياً
3 يكون
واربعين ديناراً البوصريدة أربعة عشر نواحي ثلاثة عشر كفور
كفر واحد نساة وثلاثمائة ألف وخمسين ديناراً الفيومية سنة
وسبعين نواحي خمسة وخمسين كفور واحد عشر مائة ألف وخمسة
واربيعين ألفاً ومائتي اثنين وسبعين ديناراً البهنساوية مائة وخمسة
نواحي أربعة وثمانين كفور واحد وعشرين مائتي ألف اثنين
والثمانية ودينار واحد الابنوردين مائة واحد عشر نواحي أربعة
وخمسين كفور سبعة وخمسين مائة ألف وسبعة وعشرين ألفاً وستمائة
وسبعين ديناراً السيوطية أربعة وخمسين نواحي اثنين
وكفور اثنين وثلاثين وكان في الخلافة المستنصرة

وستخرج ذلك في أيام ابن الكحال القانوني فصل ثم تدلحت في
أيام أفضل ولده في الخلافة الإدارية دينار واحد وثلاث فصول
في وزارة رضوان ابن وله الشبي في خلافة المحافظ دينارين فصول
وكان بالوجه البكري مرقس الصريء ابن مهوب المعروف بأبي القنبر
قد جعله أسقف دمياط قشًا وقدن ونول الشعب من السرائر
المقدسة فانتهى أمره للباب البطريركي أيها يوحنا وهو الثاني وبعض
في العهد فاكرة ومنعة وقعت منه نصبه لنفس كتب البعيدة
وغيرها من ظاهر قببها معما عنده من العلم ثم امرهم الشعب أن
من لا يعرف لمعلم بخطابه ويعمل القانون عن خطابه لا يجوز
له أن يتداول القران وإن مات بغفر اعتراف لل까هن مات بخطيطه
وراح للجيشين فعد الشعب يغتفرن له وتركوا الاعتراف على المجمرة
ومالا جمعهم اليه وسمعوا قوله واجتمع اليه جماعة من السامرية وكان
يجلالهم ويوجه لهم أن الذي جاء للعالم هو المسيح المنتظر ود
منهم جماعة وقسم للشعب في تربية شعورهم مثل الملكية ومنع
من الختاحة وقال اما الختامة لليهود والحنفية ولم يجعل للنصارى

ولكن الواحد والعشرين سبعين ألفًا وثمانية وخمسة وخمسين دينارًا،
الدقهلية سبعين دواحي تسعًا وثمانية وثلاثين دينارًا، كفور
ثالثة وخمسون ألفًا وسبعمائة واحد وسنين دينارات الإبداعية ستة
دواحي وكفور أربععة آلاف وسبعمائة دينار جزيرة قوشتينًا أربعة
وسبعين دواحي ثمانيات وسبعين وكفور ستة مائة ألف وتسعة وخمسين
الفًا وستمائة وأربعة وستين دينارًا الفردية وثمانية واربعة عشر دواحي
مائة وتسعة وأربعون دينارًا مائة خمسة وستين أربعين ألفًا وثلاثين
الفًا وسبعمائة وخمسة وخمسين دينارًا السمنودية مائة وتسعة
عشرين دواحي سبعين وسبعة وسنين وكفور أثنيون وثلاثين مائتين
الف وسبعمائة وسبعة وخمسين دينارًا المباهتين مائة وواحدة دواحي
تسعة وستين وكفور أثنيون وثلاثين مائة ألف واربعين ألفًا وسبعمائة
وثلاثة وثلاثين دينارًا قوة والزاحفيتين عشرة عشرة عشرة
كفور مائتين وسباعون وسبعين دينارا المستراوية ستة دواحي ستة
اربعة عشر الف وسبعمائة عشرة دينار شيد الجديدية وانكو
ثلاث دواحي ثلاثة آلاف دينارًا جزيرة بني دصر أربعية وستين دواحي
أحد وأربعين كفور ثلاثة وعشرين أثنيات وسبعين ألفًا وخمسين
ثمانيات دينار البحيرة مائة وستة وسبعين دواحي سبعة وثمانين
كفور وتسعة وثمانين مائة ألف وسبعمائة ألفًا وسبعمائة وثلاثة
عشر دينار حيوف رمسيس مائتي وكفر واحد الوجه القبلى خمسمائة
ثمانية وثمانين دواحي ثلاثمائة وسبعين وكفور مائتين وتسعة
الف ألف وعشرين ألفًا وسبعمائة وثلاثة وخمسون دينارًا الجزيرة
سبعة وسبعين دواحي سبعين وكفور سبعة وعشرين مائة ألف وسبعة
عشرين ألفًا وسبعمائة واحد وأربعين دينارًا الأطفيحية سبعة عشر
دواحي ثلاثة عشر وكفور أربععة تسعة وثلاثين ألف واربعمائة وتسعة
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلاح

يعبر عليه ارتفاع فتح البيع والإدارية بالوجهين القبلي والبحرى لسنة خمس وسبعين وخمسمائة مما كان بين النصارى في إعجام الخلافة الفاطمية إلى آخر سنة تسعة وستين وخمسمائة الهلالية الخراجية ونقل عليهم إلى المسلمين ولم يبق شيء من فتى النصارى وذلك في دولة الغز الأكبر في آخر خلافة المستضيء بأمير الله وملكية صلاح الدين يوسف ابن أيوب الكردي من العين

الى فتح تسعون دينار و من الغض تسعون وخمسة عشر فدانا

الوجه القبلي تسعون وسبعة وستين ديناراً والغلاة المعينة وتسع مائة وستة وعشرين ارداً ومن الغض تسعون وخمسة عشر فدانا

الوجه البحرى تسعون وسبعة وستين ديناراً والغلاة المعينة وتسع مائة وستة وثمانية أجرياً فضل تجربة إضاحية في هذا الكتاب ووصف الذي اشتغل عليه عامة النواحي والكفور باعمال الدولة وغيره مال اقطاعها خارجاً عن مدينة الإسكندرية وغفر دمياط وتنبس وقطف وذو دينار عن الفى ومائة ستة وثمانون ناحية ونواحي الكفور الف

وثمانية وسبعين ناحية وكفور تسعون وكفور تسعون وكفور عن ألف وعمود وسنين الف ديناراً فضل الوجه البحرى من جمعة

عن الف وخمسمائة وثمانية وتسعة نواحي تسعون وتسعون وكفور ثلاثة أجرياً وثمانين أجرياً واربعين ألفاً واربعين ديناراً

الشرقية تسعون نواحي وثمانين مائتين أجرياً واربعين ألفاً وثمانين ألفاً ومائتين أجرياً وثمانين نواحي وثمانين أجرياً وثمانين ألفاً واربعين


1 دينار 2 الفان 3 الشي
والتمس منهم شيئًا على حكم المقصورة مما تصل القرينة إليه فاغفل في الكنيستين بعد دهش الكنيسة الكبيرة وسمار بابها بلحو إلى آخر يوم الجمعة الثالث عشر شعبان سنة أندلن وثمانيين وخمسين وأصل إنسان ارمى وزكر بال المتاح عن أصحاب تاج الدولة بهرام الآراء الذي كان قزانًا للإمام الحافظ وزكر لكان دفن ملالاً لتاج الدولة الوزير
المذكور في الكنيسة الكبرى وإن كان حضر ليظهره فقط يسمع لوقيل إله جاه ينخبل حتى تفتح الكنيسة ويجف في بعض المواضع ويقول المال عدم من هنا والذين تهموا الكنيسة لفحوى ويتظم وتتم لهم الكنيسة مفتوحة فيقي فيها ما قبض الخليل إلا اده وقبي عليها تختم نادي من قبل الملك المظفر ولم يجد في ذلك شيء ونها توجه تقي الدين إلى الشام في شهر شعبان سنة انتين وثامينين وخمسين وأصل الملك العادل أبو بكر إلى القاهرة اسم بالإفراج عن هذه البيعة الاثنين في العشر من شهر رمضان سنة المذكورة وتسلم القبط البيعتين هم والأئمة وتصرفوا وكان مدة غلتهما سنة واحدة خمسة عشر يومًا وقترا القبط في الكبرى أحد من شهر كهية المبارك سنة ثلاث وتسعين دجة للشهيدا الإبلار ثم منع القبط الآراء من البيعة الكبرى وتحدث في ذلك جمعة من الأكابر وعادت البيعتين بين الإبلار بين مصر والقاهرة وبهذا الخط المذكور بيعة يوجد متوقدًا ثم صارت ساحة وباقي جدرانها ظاهرًا على وجه الأرض وجعل موقعها مسجدًا انشئه حسين الكردي صهر صلاح ابن رزيق الوزير في خلافة الإمام العادل لدين الله، فصل والذي

\footnote{1}{احدى} \footnote{2}{Effaced.}
العسكر عدد شهور ثم مرض ومات ولم يبلغ مقصوده ودفن في كنيسة الأomens بالزهور دين الله نفسه فصل ولها كان في يوم الاحتفال في أحد البيتات أول جمعة الثالثة من الصوم المقدس أول شهير برموده سنة 1187 وتسعين وثمانية للشهداء الإبرار حضر إلى هذين البيعة جماعة من الكهنة والشيعة من جملتهم أبو سعيد ابن أبي الفضل ابن فهد النحال وابو اليس من ابي الفرج ابن ابي اليمن ابن زيدون وصحابتهم انا فيه زيت طيب فيآكلا به العجلان وجعلا داخل الكنيسة ثم طلأت فلم يحدها فانهم الحرس المسلمين به وخلا غلمانهم ضروا فمضوا الحجاس الى الفقيه بها الدين على الدمشقي مستغيثين لما حل بهم وقالوا له يضرب المسلمين بين النصارى في شهر رمضان في وجوههم ولوقت طالع السلطان بهذه القضية فعظم ذلك عليه واحضر صفي الدولة إبي الماضي ابن شراقي كابره وانكر عليه ذلك وطلب منه التوقيع الذي كان اخذه بان يتمكنوا النصارى القبط من التصرف في هذه الكنيسة وكان بالاتفاق الردى التوقيع في كهف فاخره ونارها له ورسم نان يغلق باب هذه الكنيسة فامتنع ذلك لوقته وغلق باب الكنيسة، وبعد قليل رسم للقبط بتوقيع ثاني بإعادة الكنيسة لهم وان يفتح لهم بابها ويصلون فيها وإن لا يعارضهم أحد بوجه ولا سبب واستمر بعد ذلك حالها على الوضع الصحيح وافد للصلاة فيها أيام الاحد والإياد لاحد 4 السيدة السيدة الطاهرة بسارية الروم 5 وبعد هذا وصل إلى الباب من طوس قفية إمامتي واقطع له البستان المتقدم ذكره مما كان بين الفقيه على الدمشقي بعد وفاته فضيف على النصارى
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلح

بالإحالات الذي كان قاضي القضاة بمصر في يوم الاثنين السابع والعشرين من شوال سنة ثمان وستين وخمسة، فضلاً وأبدًا لم يبق في طاعة الأمم من له كلمة تسليوا القبط بتوقيع مولانا السلطان بسفارة الشيخ الرئيس صيف الدولة أبي أبي الفعلي المعروف بابن شرافى كاتبه هذه البيعة الكبيرة العتيقة البناة، وجد عمالها الامير سعيد الدولة بهرام زمام الأسر وليًا كيل الشيخ صيف الدولة، ما يحتاج اليه في العماره للبيعة على يد الفلا أبو الوظا أبا ابن البشير حصر إليهما الباب البطريرك أبا مرسى وهو الثالث والسبعين في العمر، وذباه يوحننا أسقف طموحة، واسقف بسطة أبا ميعشاق، وجماعة من الكهنة والإراخنة، والشعب الإردنسي، وأكرز في يوم الاربعاء السابع والعشرين من بوحة سنة أثني وتسعون وثمانية للشهداء الإدراكي، وقدس فيها وقرب الشعب من يده وصارت هذه البيعة بطريركية وتولا القداس بعد ذلك بها كهنة بيعة السيدة باحرة الروم بالقاهرة، واهتم أبو سعيد أبا الزيات بتصوير جاف هذه البيعة من صنعة أبي الفتح أبي الاقصي المعروف بأبا الكوهى المصري، وجل ذلك في امشهر سنة أثني وتسعين وثمانية للشهداء الإدراكي، فصل وصل من بلاد الأنس أسقف ومعه ثلاث قوسين من قبل ملك الأرسل والبطريقو على يده تقليد منه وكتابين أحدهما من الملك صلاح الدين، والأخر من الملك سيف الدين، بوكر اخون إلى الملك تقي الدين يوكذا في كتبهم باكرام الإسقف، وأن يسلم الابه كنيستى الایمن بالزهري والبستان، وانزل هذا الإسقف بكنية يوحنا المعمدان بحارة زويلة فلم يمكند الفقيه الطوسى من ذلك وقوى عليه، واقام

1 For أبا أبا 2 For أثني وتسعين. 3 وقيل. 4 تولى أبي 5 شاه (؟) 6 ثلاثة 7 كنابان 8 أبو.
قال له اريد اليوم اكشف الب록 سراً لم يطلع عليه أحد غير استناء
وأحد وانثت تكون الثانى فقال له ادنى اكتمل فكشف عن سوءة وقال
ابصر هذا الحالة فرايت قضيب ذكره قد عدم بالإصالة ولم يبق
الا جزءا طويلة والانيثيين وفي هذه الحالة جدة فاستعملت منه
قضية الحالة فذكر أنه كان قد لحقت مثل هذه الحبة وهو صبي
فأكلت منه القضيب جمعية حتى لم يبق منه غير هذه الجدة التي
ترى وهو قد عادت الحبة في هذا الوقت وقال ادنى داوينته إلى
ان برؤ وازالت الحبة واستعملت منه حال الاستناء فذكر أنه كان
رفع فيه إلى المحافظ بسبب ابنة الياصين فانها كانت جميلة
الصورة وكانت تأتي البية وتخدمه وتستشيره وتعترف عليه وتعمل
قانونه ولم يكن أحد يقدر أن يدخلوا بها لاجل دبانتها وعقلها
واستشعر أمر خلوتها بها وترددها إلى قنائته فاجتمع به ذلك الاستناء
في أمرها وقال له ان بعض الناس يتهورون بها فقال له لم يكشف للناس
امرى في حال عضو النانسل لم يتحدث في أحد ولكل الله متولي
السرائر بعلم الظاهر والباطن واده حملته نفسه ان الخبر المحافظ بصورة
الحالة وسلالة في ان يسر من امناه من يتخبره لكشف ما ادعاه
البطلريك في حال عضو النانسل فسأر الاستناء من أكابر خدامه
مؤتمن عليه على خرايين ماله وصافد القول عنده بكشف له عن
ذلك فلم يمكنه ان يمنع من ذلك فاطلغه على أمره وزالت
الشبهة عنه وظهرت براءته ونابت ما نقلوه عنه وكان هذا القول بعد
توجهه إلى الشام ووفاته به وكان اجتماعي اذا التحق داهم هذا
الكتاب بابي القاسم هذا عن الاعز حسن ابن سلامة المعروف
يعد من آدمة المزابيح ودنايير ذهب وذكر أن في هذا الدير من
الإسراء عشرون راهباً وجعل له بالقاهرة قيساً دارباً عنه مع وله
القسم لإقامة الصلوات والقداسات في أوقاتها في كنيسة يوحنا
المعذن على بيعة السيدة الطاهرة بعثة زويلة على ما تقدم شرحه
اولًا وتعجب بها جماعة من طائفة الإسراء من الرجال والنساء والدير
الذي لهذا الطائفة والكنائس فداء خالى مسجد الباب صل
وصلت البشائر بوصوله الى البيت المقدس سلماً وتلقاه جميع
الصيام بالابتهاج والفرح والصلاة والصلاة قدامة والشروع سل
والمحاجر والبضائع صل ثم أقام أياماً في عيشة صالحة وتزبيد إلى رحمة
الله سباعية في الخامس من شهر طويلاً من السنة المذكورة وذلك
في دير يعقوب 3 ابن ربيعة باوريشيم وكان حسن الخلق جميل
الصورة نائم القامة مستدير اللمحية وقد وخطة الشيب من العارفين
هذا وعمره ما ينافس ثمانين سنة فصل وزكر أن أسقف الإسراء القيم
بالبيت المقدس لما رأى اجتماع الناس الى هذا البطريرك لنادي
لما فيهم الخصال الجميلة حسدة واسفاه فمات ولم يمهل الله هذا
المسف بعده ولا هناه عيشة صالحة ومات بعده بعشرين يومًا
والله أعلم بالسر فيما كتبت عن الأسقف وكان البطريرك المتقدم ذكره
كاهنًا علمًا بمصر بكتابة الإلهية مفسراً لها وكان قومه حسبهم لنشأ
الجبل بين الناس فقالوا عنه أنه يحاجر الناس وكان هذا قول
من المجذبة زيادة في دره وقال جامع هذا الكتاب إذني اجتمعت
بابي القالم خليل الطبيب الفيلسوف العقلاني وقال إنه حضر
الى هذا البطريرك المذكور في بعض الأعيام في قلابته بدير الرهبان

1 ثمانين 2 بن 3 الموتودة 4 عشرين 5 قوم 6 من Add
تاريخ الشيخ ابن صلاح

المغدان على بيعة السيدة الظاهرة بحارة زويلة وسكنها البطريقي
في سنة 1497 وتحملت خلافةً على حكم البطريقي كان 3 اسفاقاً
إنه حذف التحقيق في خلافة الفضل إلى ضروراً وبيالاً صاعد
به وضمن للمحافظة على الولي وملأها وجعل له بلال
الحضور إلى قصر الخلافة في يومي الاثنين والخمسين ليس
عليه ويعرف ما يتجدد في كل جمعة والإياد مع الإمراء ووجه
الدولة وصار مهمه يظهر به من السير والملأها والتواريخ واخبار الملوک
المتقدمين يحضره إلى قصر الزمن ويتجعد به على مثل ذلك
وبدفع هذا حالته إلى حين وفاة الحافظ في جمادى الآخرة سنة
اربع وإربعين وخمسنائة فصل وتجاور هذا الدبر من خارد عن
الخليفة كنيسة طينة بنها في الخلافة الأموية للملكيين
وعلى الكنيسة التي كانت بحارة زويلة وهدمت في الخلافة
المذكورة عن بعثت مسجداً في الخلافة المحافظة قد في اديبه
ابن البركات 4 ابن أبي الوليد الملكي على هذه البابفة المستحيلة
ومارتها على اقبيتها وفتحتها طابور للمؤتى فصل وكان توجد بلطريرك
الرس إلى البيت المقدس وصحته خمسة وسبعين كتاباً من الكتاب
الالهياء أحدثها فيها الابرة اجاج مصور من نسب المجيد
له المجد ومسيرة في يوم السبت الخامس عشر من هتيرة سنة ثمان
وثمانين وفي سنة وستين وخمسمائةبعكم تلف طغته بين الفجر
الاكران وذكر أنه انشا 5 دير وقية كنيرة خارج اورشليم على اسم
شريك وشريك هو أبو سرحة وحمل بها جميع ما كان تحت

1 اربع  
2 اسفاق  
3 Add  
4 ابن  
5 أبو  
6 بلال  
7 دير
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلاح
الأرمني

تذكّر فيه أخبار من دواحي مصر واقطاعها

الفصل الأول: دبئي بعون الله وارشاده أن في عصرنا هذا في
ابتداء سنة أربع وستين وخمسين كان بنا الكنيسة التي على اسم
ماري يعقوب بناحية البساتين، انزلت فيه، فاضطرت لمصر بناحية الجبل
في زمن مام إمبراطورًا مسلطاً عليها من جانب الخليفة وكان
مبحباً لجميع النصارى الكبير منهم والصغير وكان له في كل شهر
عشرة دنانير على الاقطاع، فكتب تجديد همته عماره هذه
البيعة التي احرقت وعمل لها قبة عالية على الإسكندرية نظر من
البعد وجعل له إكبة وعقودات وكتبها بالإبواب الكبير ثم خذت
الابواب فجتذبها عوضها فأخذت ثانياً فجتذبها وكتب تجديد البيعة
ولما ملك الغز الأكراد أقليم مصر في شهر ربيع الآخر سنة أربع
وستين وخمسين، وجرى للأريوس ما هو مشهور، وبعث المطريرك
الأرمني هو وهبان الأرمن من هذا الدهر ستة باب وقيت
هذه الكنيسة حالية ولا يجسّر أحد يسالة إليها فصل واقطع
البستان للفقيه البها على الدمشقية، وافق للإريان كنيسة يوحنا

1 Prefix 2 Perhaps 3 Elsewhere

[II. 7]  A 2
تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلاح

الارمني

تذكر فيه اخبار من ناحية مصر واقطاعها

طبع

في المطبعة المدرسيّة في مدينة أوكسفورد

سنة 1894 المسيحيّة
EGYPT

to accompany

"THE CHURCHES AND MONASTRIES OF EGYPT"

attributed to Abu Salih.

ENGLISH MILES

Railways
Principal Canals
Routes