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PREFACE.

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 Yâkût, 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 'Abu 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 Abû Šâliḥ, 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 Abû Šâliḥ, 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, according 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 אֶלֶּחָה on fol. 12a is translated as 'Extreme Unction,' a meaning which the word bears at least in Africa. In late Arabic, however, אֶלֶּחָה is also a *nomen verbi* of אִלְךָ, 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 Ŧâlib, 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 Şâlih the Armenian.' It is a recognized fact in Arabic orthography that the proper name Şâlih (سلاىه) 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, Amelineau, and others. It must, in the absence of further proof, remain doubtful whether 'Abû Şâlih' 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 (Սերգիոս, Sarkìs) is, as Mr. F. C. Conybeare recognizes, correctly transcribed in Arabic as شركيس, Sharkìs, and explained as being equivalent to سرجه, Sirjah. It may be maintained, therefore, as a proba-
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 Šāliḥ, 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-Jamâli, 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-Kâsim al-'Askalânî, 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 Nahyâ. 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’ (Giogr. 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‘ūnah 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’Égypte.’ 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 Ṣāliḥ 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-Makrizī 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-Maṭrizi, composed works, which are now lost, on the subject of the Christian monasteries, and the most celebrated of them was Ash-Shābushti, who is quoted by our author and also by Al-Ḳazwīnī, Yāḳūt, Al-Maṭrizi, 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, incendiaryism, 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, Khamârâwâlih, the son of ʿAbd al-Malik, 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-_allocated, 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 Fayyūm on fol. 18 is repeated in slightly different terms on fol. 70; the description of Būṣir Banâ 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
that they were filled with an account of the churches of Lower Egypt and Cairo, and of the monasteries of the Wâdi Habîb, 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 Bûsîr 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 Aftûtîs, 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 Nahya 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-Shâbushti, a work in prose and verse much read at the time. The author, Abu 'l-Ḥusain 'Ali ibn Muḥammad ash-Shâbushti, 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
wines. Besides Ash-Shâbushtî, other writers, such as Abû Bakr Muhammad al-Khâlîdî, Abû 'Uthmân Sa'd al-Khâlîdî, and Abû 'l-Faraj al-Isfahâni, 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-Shâbushtî contained an account of all the monasteries of Al-'Irâk, Al-Mausîl, 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-Shâbushtî, who is said to have died at Al-Fustâṭ or 'Old Cairo' in A.H. 388 or 390, was private librarian and reader to the Fatimide caliph Al-'Azîz, 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-Shâbushtî, 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-Ushmunain, 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 Alexandrinarum 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-Ḳâsim 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 Khâ'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 Sa’îd ibn al-Batrîk, 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-Fuṣṭâṭ 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 Maḥbûb ibn Kuṣṭânṭin al-Manbaji, that is ‘Maḥbûb, 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 Maḥbūb himself lived in the fourteenth century. Maḥbūb is a writer several times quoted by Al-Makīn in the first part of his history. According to the Florentine MS., Maḥbūb 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 Aurā, 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 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ahmad ibn Sulāʾīm, quoted by Al-Maḵrīzī. 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 ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and Al-Kindi. Copies of the Futūḥ Misr 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-Ḥakam, 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-Suyûṭî. Al-Kindi, who is called by Ḥāji 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 Khīṭāt Miṣr or Topography and History of Miṣr, its object being to describe the foundation of the city of Miṣr and its subsequent alterations. This work seems to have been the basis and model of the later works named Khīṭāt, 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 Fāḍīl il Miṣr 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-Kindi. 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-Ṭabarî 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 Ṣâliḥ'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 Mahometan 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-ʿĀṣi 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 'Muḥāḳīḳīs.' 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-Saffāḥ, 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-Ushmānain. 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 Tulūn, who ruled the country from A.H. 254 to 270. By this time the importance of the city of Fustāṭ 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 Tulūn, that Ahmad built his great mosque. He no longer, however, chose to reside here, but founded the new quarter of Al-Ḳatāʾī, which extended from the lowest spurs of the Muḥtaṭām hills to the mosque of Ibn Tulūn. Neither Al-'Askar nor Al-Ḳatāʾī 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 Ṣāliḥ 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 Ṣāliḥ 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-Saʿdī, the vizier of the last of the Fatimide caliphs, Al-ʾĀḍid li-dīn īlāh. Shāwar had been in the service of a former vizier, Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ ibn Ruzzik, who
appointed him wāli 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 As-Sâlih. 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 Ramaḍân 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 Nūr ad-Din, the most powerful Mahometan prince of his time. Accordingly, in the month of Jumâdâ the First of the year 559, Nūr 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 Shirkuh. On the arrival of the army of Nūr 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 Nūr 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-Sharkiyyah. 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 Nūr 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 Shirkuh 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 Nūr ad-Dīn had captured Ḥārīm, and was marching upon Bāniyās. 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-Dīn Shīrkūh was again sent to Egypt by Nūr ad-Dīn, who was now filled with the desire of subduing that country, and had obtained from the Abbaside caliph Al-Mustaḍī 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 Shāwar and his nominal master Al-ʿĀḍid, and this time actually entered Cairo, while a sandstorm destroyed part of the army of Shīrkūh, who was forced to retreat. In the same campaign, part of Amaury's army was defeated by Shīrkūh, 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 Shīrkūh 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-Faramā, the ancient Pelusium, he had put the inhabitants to the sword. Shāwar now once more asked for help from Nūr ad-Dīn, whom he had treated so unfaithfully, and Shīrkūh with his nephew Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn, 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 Shāwar, and who now had to beat a hasty and disastrous retreat. Shīrkūh now took possession of Egypt, under the sanction of the Fatimide caliph, whose nominal rule he for the present maintained. The assassination of Shāwar, however, was a natural and rapid consequence of the Kurdish occupation; and Shīrkūh became vizier in his place. After filling this post for two months and five days, Shīrkūh 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 Ayyūb 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 Muhammad Ghiyâth ad-Din. 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 soldiery 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-ʿĀḍîd 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-Din, 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 Miṣr 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 Ṣalih. 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-Din, 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 Saladin, 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 Meso-potamia in the first centuries of Islam, and in the twelfth century entered the service of Nūr ad-Din.

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 Tamīm 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 Fātimide 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 ٍ is sometimes written for ی, ی for ی, ی for ی; once or twice even ی for ی. 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 ی=ی the confusion of cases is especially frequent. Mistakes in gender are also common, especially in the demonstrative pronouns هذ ها for ی, ی for ی, ی 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 ی for ی or ی; compare Spitta, Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten, p. 132, where such forms as ی, ی, ی, ی, ی 'two-thirds,' ی, ی, ی, ی, ی '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 ی is used for the nominative, just as in the plural ی takes the place of ی. 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. ی, ی, ی, ی, ی, ی, ی, ی, ی, ی, ی, ی, ی, ی, ی, ی, ی, ی; 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-Kindi, and in other places has composed his sentences for himself.
CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES
OF EGYPT.
HISTORY
COMPOSED BY
THE SHAIKH ABÛ ŞÂLIH,
CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICTS AND FIEFS OF EGYPT.

Armenian Monastery and Churches at Al-Basâtin.

Section I. Let us begin 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 Muţatţam 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
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

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\(^1\) 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 *Askina* (أَسْكِيَّة) or *Asêkêta*, from the Greek *askêna*, is used in this work in the sense of 'sanctuary,' and appears to be synonymous with *Haikal* (هجايل). Cf. Vansleb (*Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1677, p. 50), who speaks of 'la lampe de l'Askêna 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-Saifain 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 والغر 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 of 'Ali, the Damascene, who set apart for the Armenians the church of John the Baptist, built over the church of the Pure Lady, in the Hárah Zuwîlah; 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 árak, which would be correct, and the árak, which, would be correct, and

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. 601. 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-Mustanṣir; his son, Al-Afdâl, vizier to Al-Āmir; and Taj ad-Daulah Bahrân, the vizier of Al-Ḥâfiz.

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 Zuwîlah, and is almost beyond question to be identified with the church mentioned in the text; it bears marks of great antiquity. See Butler, Coptic Churches, vol. i. p. 273. (A. J. B.)

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

§ This patriarch had been bishop of Itfih\(^1\); and afterwards, during the caliphate of Al-Ḥāfīz\(^2\), he conceived the idea\(^3\) of becoming patriarch by means of money which he gave in bribes. He made an agreement with Al-Ḥāfīz, 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\(^4\), 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\(^5\), the patriarch imparted to Al-Ḥāfīz all the results of his researches among biographies by the Berber tribe of Zawilah, 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 Zawilah or Zuwallah is one of the principal gates of the city. See Al-Maqrīzī, Khīṭāt, Būlāk, A.H. 1270 = A.D. 1854, vol. ii. p. r.; Ibn Duqmāk, Kitāb al-Inṭisār li-wāsītah 'ikd al-aṃsār, Būlāk, A.H. 1310 = A.D. 1893, v. p. rv.

\(^1\) Now called İṭfīh; generally written ابض; see fol. 8 b, 10 a, 47 a, &c. The town lies south of Cairo, on the eastern bank, and is the Coptic ΝΕΤΠΕΩ, 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. Wörter. i. p. 71; Amélineau, Géogr. de l'Égypte à l'époque copte, p. 326. Under the Fatimide dynasty, and for some centuries after, İṭfīh was the capital of a province; see fol. 8 b; Ibn Duqmāk, v. p. 177.


\(^3\) "חפ" should be "חפל".

\(^4\) These were the two days of public reception at the palace during the rule of the Fatimide caliphs. See Al-Maqrīzī, Khīṭāt, i. p. 381.

\(^5\) The Emerald Palace (قصر الزمرد or قصر الزمرد الكبير) was part of the Great Palace (قصر الزيت) 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-Maqrīzī, Khīṭāt, i. pp. 5, 6, 6; cf. p. 78 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 Jumāda the Second, in the year
544 (A. D. 1149).
§ Outside this monastery\(^1\), and in its neighbourhood, beside the
pottery, there stands a small church, which was rebuilt in the caliphate
of Al-Āmir\(^2\) bi-ahlāmī 'illah, for the use of the Melkites, instead of the
church which had stood in the Ḥārah 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 sacred\(^3\) books, among which was a copy
of the Four Gospels with illuminations\(^4\) in colours and gold, represen-

\(^1\) The monastery of Al-Basāṭin, described above.

\(^2\) The tenth of the Fatimide caliphs, reigned A. H. 495-524=A. D. 1101-1130.

See Introduction.

\(^3\) 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 repre-
senting 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
(\(\Lambda\)ὐκάς, proving the nationality of its designer (ibid. p. 77). A similar employ-
ment 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 Ḥatūr\(^1\), in the year 888 of the Martyrs, which is equivalent to the 23rd of Rabi\(^\prime\) 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 Ḥārah 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\(^2\).

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\(^1\) The Coptic Athor (ละเอ) = 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.'

Alexander (Zoega, Catalogus Codicum Copticorum, &c. cod. clxxiii; Amélineau, Histoire de S. Pakhôme, &c. p. 296).

On the approach of the officers of Theodosius to Lycopolis, the modern Asyût, 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 Tūbah¹, 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 bishop² 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-Ḳāsim 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 (טיבي) = Dec. 27-Jan. 25.
² At the Armenian synod of Hromkla in A.D. 1180 an Armenian bishop of Jerusalem appears among the signatories who subscribed to the creed of Nerses IV. See Ter-Mikelian, Die armen. Kirche, &c. p. 104.
day in his cell in the monastery of Az-Zuhri¹ [and the result of the visit was that the patriarch was proved innocent].

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 Hasan ibn Salâmah called Al-Bâkilânı, who was chief cadi² at Misr, that I the poor author of this book met Abu 'l-Kâsim, on Monday, the 27th of Shawwâl, in the year 568 (A.D. 1173).

Fate of the Armenian Churches of Al-Basâtîn and Az-Zuhri.  

§ Since no Armenian of authority was now left in Egypt, the Copts acquired possession of this large and ancient church³ by a decree of our Lord the Sultan, through the intercession of the Shaikh ar-Ra'is Şaфи ad-Daulah ibn Abu 'l-Ma'âli, known as Ibn Sharâfî, his scribe. Then its fittings were renewed by the emir Sa'id ad-Daulah Bahram the steward of the Armenians. When the Shaikh Şaфи ad-Daulah had fully provided all that was needed for the construction of the church, through the priest Abu 'l-Wafa ibn Abî 'l-Bashar, the patriarch Anba Mark⁴, who was the seventy-third in the succession, came with Anba John,

---

¹ Janân az-Zuhri or Bustân az-Zuhri was the name given to gardens between Fustât and Cairo, from the former owner of the land 'Abd al-Wahâb ibn Mûsâ az-Zuhri. The pool called Birkat an-Nâşiriyah was excavated on their site in A.H. 721 by the Sultan Al-Malik an-Nâşir Muḥammad ibn Ka'lâ'un. See Al-Makrizî, Khīṭat, ii. pp. 118 and 119.

² The cadi of cadis (chief judge) 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-Makrizî, Khīṭat, i. p. 74; As-Suyūṭî, Ḥusn al-Maḥâḍarah fi Akhbâr Miṣr wa 'l-Kâhirah, ii. p. 142. Al-A'azz became chief cadi in A.H. 549.

³ I.e. the church of Al-Basâtîn or Al-Bustân 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 ⲱⳳⳫⳫ and means 'father.'
bishop of Ṭamwaiḥ, 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 Baʿūnah, 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 Ḥarāt ar-Rūm in Cairo. Abū Saʿīd ibn az-Zayyāt provided for the painting of the apse of this church,

---

1 On west bank of Nile, a little south of Cairo, and opposite Hulwān; see Yāḥūṭ, Geogr. Wort. ii. p. v. It is the Coptic Ṭhṭḥṭ, and is now in the district of Badrashain, province of Jizah; its population in 1885 was 794, besides 454 Bedouins; Améli, Geogr. p. 478. M. Amélineau does not explain why he writes the Arabic name as طورمة and transcribes it as Tamouieh.

2 Bastah is the classical Bubastis, Coptic Ποτάμιος or Ρωμαίος, and under the name of Tall Bastah is now a small hamlet close to Zagazig, in the province of Kalyūb; see Améli., Geogr. p. 89. (A. J. B.)


4 The 'Quarter of the Romans,' who came with the army of the caliph Al-Muʿizz, and took their part in the foundation of Cairo. The quarter was sometimes called the Lower Ḥarāt ar-Rūm in distinction from the Upper or Inner Ḥarāt ar-Rūm. See Al-Makrizī, Khitat, ii. p. 8; Ibn Duʾmāk, op. cit. v. p. rv. The word 'Rūm' 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 جا‏‏ئ here and on fol. 31 a evidently stands, by a clerical error, for شاء, 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 ح.

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 synthronus, 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 Abū Ṣalih is alluding. See Butler, Coptic Churches, i. pp. 40, 112, &c. (A. J. B.)
which was executed by Abū 'l-Fath ibn al-ʿAkmaṣ, known as Ibn al-Ḥaufi 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 Taḵī 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-Zuhrī\(^5\) and Al-Bustān\(^6\) should be given up to him. So this bishop alighted at the church of John the

---

\(^1\) 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, *Leon le Magn.* p. 294, &c.


\(^4\) Taḵī ad-Dīn Ḥumayd, surnamed Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, nephew of Saladin, had been appointed viceroy of Egypt by the latter, when he summoned Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil to Syria in a.h. 579 = a.d. 1183 (see fol. 6 b). Taḵī 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-Ṭihir, *Al-Kāmil*, xi. p. 182; Ibn Shaddād, *Sīrah Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn*, p. 64; As-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥādaraḥ*, ii. p. 50; Abū ʿl-Fida, *Ann. Musl.* iv. p. 60.

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

\(^6\) See fol. 1 b.
Baptist\(^1\) in the Ḥārah Zawīlah; but the Fākīh 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 Sa‘īd ibn Abū ‘l-Faḍl ibn Fahd and Abū ‘l-Yaman ibn Abī ‘l-Faraj ibn Abī ‘l-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 Fākīh Bahā ad-Din\(^5\) ‘Ali 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 fākīh at once informed the sultan of this occurrence, and it greatly angered him; so he sent for Ṣafī ad-Daulah Abū ‘l-Ma‘āli 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

\(^{1}\) 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 (Φάρμουθι) = 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 Imâmite Fâkîh, to whom Al-Bustân, of which we have spoken, was allotted as a fief, after the death of Al-Fâkîh 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, 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 Tâj ad-Daulah Bahram, who had been vizier to Al-Imâm Ḥâfîz; and he said that he had buried money, belonging to Tâj ad-Daulah the said vizier, in the Great Church, 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; but nothing was restored there.

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1 In Khorassan.
2 I. e. the two adjacent churches of Al-Bustân.
3 Became vizier to the caliph Al-Ḥâfîz in the month of Jumâda the Second, A. H. 529 = A. D. 1135. Being a Christian, he aroused the enmity of the Mahometans, a body of whom collected under Ruḍwân ibn al-Walakhshi (see fol. 9 a), and marched to Cairo with intentions hostile to Bahram, who fled in the month of Jumâda the First, A. H. 531 = A. D. 1137. See Al-Makrizi, Khītāt, i. p. 197; As-Suyûṭî, op. cit. ii. p. 130; Ibn Khaldûn, iv. p. 57; Abû 'l-Fida, Ann. Musl. iii. pp. 460, 468; Ibn al-Athîr, xi. p. 71. For the subsequent fate of Tâj ad-Daulah Bahram, see below, fol. 50 a.
4 I. e. at Al-Bustân.
5 I. e. Taḳî ad-Din (see fol. 5 a and note), then acting as viceroy of Egypt for Saladin.
When Taḳi ad-Din went away to Syria, in Sha'ban A. H. 582 (A. D. 1186), and Al-Malik al-'Adil Abū Bakr came to Cairo, the latter ordered that these two churches should be separated from one another on the 10th Ramadān 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 Kuhiak 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 Istabl al-Fil.

§ The street called Istabl al-Fil lies near the two pools of...
Karun, which are between Misr 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 Husain the Kurd, the son-in-law of Šalāḥ ibn Ruzzik, the vizier in the caliphate of Al-Imám Al-‘Adid li-dini ‘Ilāh.

of the Birkat al-Fil were much built upon and surrounded by lofty manzarahs; 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 manzarahs were illuminated. Ibn Sa‘īd says:

انظر الى بركة الفيل التي أكنتت بها المناظر كالآدماب للبحر
كأنها هي وانصار ترمها كوكب قد اذروها هن الفناء

'See the Elephant’s Pool, encircled by manzarahs, like lashes around the eye;
It seems, when the eyes behold it, as if stars had been set around the moon.'


The copyist has probably omitted the words ‘and of the elephant’ after بركة الفيل ‘the two pools of Karun.’ There was but a single Birkah Karun, which was, however, only separated by a dyke from the Birkat al-Fil. The passage should therefore doubtless read ‘the two pools of Karun and of Al-Fil.’ When the quarters of Al-‘Askar and Al-Katā‘ī were founded (see Introduction), the borders of the Birkah Karun were thickly inhabited, but were afterwards partly deserted. See Al-Maqrizī, op. cit. ii. p. 111.

Abū ’l-Gharāt Ta‘lā‘ī’ ibn Ruzzik, surnamed Al-Malik as-Ṣāliḥ. Šalāḥ must be an error. He was born in A.H. 495 = A.D. 1101; was appointed vizier to the caliph Al-Fā‘iz in A.H. 549 = A.D. 1154; and on the accession of Al-‘Adid he remained vizier to the new caliph, who married his daughter. He died in Ramadān A.H. 556 = A.D. 1161.

The fourteenth and last of the Fatimide caliphs; reigned A.H. 555-567 = 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 Šalāḥ ad-Din Yūsuf 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.

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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 Rabī' 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 Muḥarram A.H. 567= A.D. 1171, during the lifetime of the last Fatimide caliph Al-'Āqid. 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, Tārikh Mukhtarṣar ad-Dinwal (ed. Pococke), p. 406 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit. xii. p. 381 ff.; Ibn Shaddād, op. cit. p. 38; Ibn Khaldūn, iv. p. 81.

3 I.e. of the Fatimides.
nor the frontier-district of Damietta nor Tinnis¹ nor ḫīṭ² nor Naḵādah³ nor the Lake of Al-Ḥabash⁴, outside Mīṣr; the sum total of the revenue

¹ Tinnis, the Coptic Ṣennēci, 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. 187; Yākūṭ, Geogr. Wört. i. p. 887; Ibn Dūkmāk, op. cit. v. p. 88 f.; Al-Idrīṣī (trans. by Jaubert), i. 320; Al-Maḵrīzī, op. cit. i. pp. 117–118; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 507 f.


³ Now in the district of Kūs, province of Kana; and in 1885 had a population of 4,534. See Recensement de l'Égypte, ii. p. 258; Ibn Dūkmāk, v. p. 320.

⁴ I.e. Lake of the Abyssinians. This was a tract of low ground, more than 1,000 acres in extent, between Fuṣṭāṭ and Cairo, approaching on one side the cemetery of Al-Ḳarāfah, 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-Ḥabash or Ard Ḥabash. The name was, perhaps, earlier than the Mahometan conquest, and was a translation of the Coptic ephācy. The Lake of Al-Ḥabash was given as a wakf to the sharifs, or members of the Prophet's family, by the vizier Ṭalāʾī ibn Ruzzīk; it also bore the names of Birkat al-Maghāfīr, Birkah Himyar, Iṣṭabl Kurrah, and Iṣṭabl Kāmish. Ibn Saʿīd sings:

"يا بكرة لشبى الى يومي بها
طول الزمان مبارك وسعيد
حتى كأنك في البيضة جينة
يا حسن ما يبدو بك الكنان في
والتر في رواه محدود
ولا منك سبوع مسلمة
كآن ابراجا عرايس
حالب وطرق حولها غردد
يا ليل شعي هيل زمانك عائد"
REVENUES OF EGYPT.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northern Egypt</th>
<th>Total No. of Places</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Villages</th>
<th>Dinars.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provinces:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ash-Sharkiyah</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>694,121</td>
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<tr>
<td>Al-Murtahiyah</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>70,358</td>
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<td>Ad-Dakahliyah</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>53,761</td>
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<td>Al-Abwaniyah</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>74</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>149</td>
<td>165</td>
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<td>70 or 97</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>200,657</td>
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<td>Al-Manufiyatain</td>
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<td>69</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>140,933</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fuwah and Al-Muzahamiyatain</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6,080</td>
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<tr>
<td>An-Nastarawiya</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14,910</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rosetta, Al-Jadidiyah and Adku</td>
<td>[3]</td>
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<td>Jazirah Bani Nasr</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>41</td>
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<td>62,508</td>
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<td>Al-Buhairah</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>89</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hauf Ramsis</td>
<td>[101]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>[59,080]</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 unveiling, 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-Maqrizi, op. cit. ii. pp. 107-109; Ibn Duqmâk, iv. pp. 88-89; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 162. M. Amélineau has overlooked the fact that Al-Maqrizi speaks of the Arḍ Ḥabash as well as Abû Ṣâliḥ.
### Southern Egypt

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Provinces</th>
<th>Total No. of Places</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Villages</th>
<th>Dinars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Al-Jiziyah</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>129,641</td>
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<td>Al-Itfihiyah</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>39,449</td>
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<tr>
<td>Al-Buširiyah</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39,390</td>
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<td>Al-Fayyumiyah</td>
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<tr>
<td>Al-Ushmûnain</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>127,676</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### As-Suyûtiyah

|                     | 54                  | 22        | 57       |

**Total** 464 311 153 716,119

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1 Most of these names will be well known to the reader, but a few of them may be commented on. Al-Murtâhîyah is now part of Ad-Daḵahlîyah. Al-Abwâñîyah 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-Buḫairah. See Ibn Duk̄mâk, v. p. 88; Yâḵût, Geogr. Wört. i. p. 181. Jazîrah Khâsanîya lay between Cairo and Alexandria, ibid. iv. p. 181. An-Nastarâwîyah lay between Damietta and Alexandria, and was named from its capital Nastarû, ibid. iv. p. 88. Al-Jadidâh is reckoned by Yâḵût in the province of Murtâhîyah; but Al-Idrîsî names Al-Jadidiyah as a separate district [p. 121] (ed. Rome). Hauf Ramsîs was between Cairo and Alexandria; see Yâḵût, Geogr. Wört. i. p. 747. Our copyist omits some names and figures.

The nomenclature and the boundaries of the Egyptian provinces have fluctuated much under Muslim rule. Al-Kuḏāﬀī, who wrote at the end of the eleventh century, divides Lower Egypt into thirty-three provinces (ضٰكر) and Upper Egypt into twenty; see his list quoted by Yâḵût, Geogr. Wört. iv. p. 833.

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-Ḳalyûbîyah, Ash-Sharkîyah, Ad-Daḵahlîyah, district of Damietta, Al-Gharbîyah, Al-Manûfîyah, Abyar and Jazîrah Banî Nasr, Al-Buḫairah, Fûwah and Al-Muzâḥamîyatain, An-Nastarâwîyah, district of
This revenue was drawn in the caliphate of Al-Mustansir\(^1\) and in the days of Al-Kaḥhāl\(^2\) the cadi.

§ Afterwards, in the time of Al-Afdal\(^3\) his son, in the caliphate of Al-Amir, one dinar and a third was imposed as a poll-tax.

§ In the vizierate of Ruḍwān ibn Walakhshī\(^4\), in the caliphate of Al-Ḥāfiz, [this tax was raised to] two dinars.

Alexandria, Al-Jīzīyah; and Upper Egypt: Al-Iṭsīḥīyah, Al-Fayyūm, Al-Bahna-sāʿiyah, Al-Ushmūnain, Al-Uṣyūṭiyah, Al-Ikhmīmīyah, Al-Ḵūṣiyah.

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-ʿArīf (6), Kuṣair (2), Al-Buḥairah (1,882), Ash-Sharkīyah (1,868), Ad-Dākāhliyah (1,147), Al-Gharbīyah (1,817), Al-Kalyūbīyah (717), Al-Manūfīyah (603), Al-Asyūṭīyah (436), Banī Suwāʿīf (423), Al-Fayyūm (567), Al-Jīzīyah (369), Minyāḥ (734), Isnā (627), Jirjāh (870), Kānā (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 Kāḍī ʿl-Kuḍāt 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 Shāḥanshāḥ 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 Shāḥanshāḥ 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-Mustaʾli, and after the accession of Al-Āmir (in a.h. 495 = a.d. 1101), who eventually caused him to be put to death in a.h. 519 = a.d. 1127. Treasures of immense value were found in his house. See Al-Maḥrizī, op. cit. i. p. 157; Ibn Khallikān, op. cit. i. p. 612; Ibn Khaldūn, iv. p. 54 f.

4 Successor in the vizierate of Tāj ad-Daulah Bahrām, the Armenian, whom he deposed from his office by force in a.h. 531. Ruḍwān was an oppressor of the Christians. In a.h. 533, on account of intrigues against him, Ruḍwān 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-Ḳanbar.

§ In the northern region, Mark ad-Ḍarîr (the Blind) ibn Mauhûb, called Ibn al-Ḳanbar, 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-Ḳanbar 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-Ḳanbar and neglected the practice of

had been deprived, but he was resisted and slain. See Al-Maḳrizî, op. cit. i. p. 350; As-Suyûṭî, op. cit. ii. p. 100; Ibn Khâlidûn, iv. p. 47; Ibn Khâlikân, op. cit. ii. p. 179.

1 Cf. Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 550-554; Al-Maḳrizî, op. cit. ii. p. 437. The doctrines of Mark ibn al-Ḳanbar 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-Ḳanbar, brought out by Abû Šâliḥ, 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-Ḳanbar'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 Damis; 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, Perpétuités, 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 forbade circumcision\(^1\), saying that circumcision belongs to the Jews and ʻHanifs\(^2\), and that it is not lawful for Christians to resemble the Jews or the ʻHanifs in any of their traditions which are in force among them in our time. For this doctrine he set up many proofs. He forbade the practice of burning sandarach\(^3\) in the churches, and allowed only frankincense\(^4\); 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. 15 a), that Ibn al-ʻKanbar approved of a circular tonsure. Whether this latter notice refers to the clergy does not appear, but it seems that Ibn al-Kustal, whose views on the shaving of the head seem to have resembled those of Ibn al-ʻKanbar, particularly objected to the shaving of the whole head in the case of the priests; see fol. 20 a.

\(^1\) 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 ʻʻHanifsʻ instead of ʻMuslims,ʼ 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:

\[
\text{ثَنِّيَّةَ أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ أَيَّ أَتَّبَعْ حِيْلَةً إِذْ أَهْلَهُمْ حِينِيفًا وَمَا كَانَ مِنَ ِالمُشْرِكِينَ}
\]


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

\(^3\) This is a resinous substance, the gum of a coniferous tree, Callitris quadridivalvis, 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. 105 b. See also Vansleb, ʻHist. de lʼÉglise dʼAlc.ʼ, 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, 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 at the church of Al-Mu'allakah in Misr. There the patriarch assembled to meet him a synod consisting of bishops and priests and chief men, 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 (κελάτινα, from the Greek κέλατινον) 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 أَرْأَحَةٌ, plural أَرْأَحَةٌ, is derived from the Greek ἀράχησις, through the Coptic, which employs the word to denote the chief men or official class.
CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

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 Iṣfih; 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-Kanbar 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 Iṣfih,' 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 الريف, 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.
ACCOUNT OF MARK IBN AL-ΚΑΝΒΑΡ.  

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 Κalyûb¹. 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

¹ About ten miles to the north of Cairo. It is the Coptic ΚΑΛΥΠΠΟΣ, and is now the capital of the district of Καλυῦβ and of the province of Καλυῦβιγγ. 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 Duḵmāḵ, op. cit. v. p. 54 v f.; Amel., 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-Ḳanbar 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 Ḫāḍiʾ ʾl-Ϝadīl ibn ṬAli al-Baisānī¹ 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

¹ Abū ṬAli 'Abd ar-Raḥīm al-Lakhmī al-'Askālānī, generally known as Al-Ḵāḍiʾ
ʾl-Ϝadīl, 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-Muʿallaḳah in Miṣr, 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 early¹ on the festival of the Forty Martyrs², which is on the 13th of Barmahāṭ, and takes place during the fast of the Holy Forty Days; and on this day he forbade communion of the wine³. He forbade also

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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 Barmahāṭ 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.
CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

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 Willst; and the Melkites received him. Thus he threw off the faith of Severus and Dioscorus, our fathers the

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. 1680, 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, Syriacs, 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 armen. 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-Кanbar 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, Concilium. Eccles. Arm. cum Romana ex ypsiis 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

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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 (أَنْمَل اَلْأَبِي) 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 Amshīr 14 = February 8; and the translation of his body to the monastery of To Eunaton 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 ملکي, منَلک, 'king' or 'emperor.'

2 Of Nicæa.

3 It is true that some of the bishops who took part in the first Council of Nicæa 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-\(\text{K}\)anbar 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 Copts, and he went down to \(\text{K}\)alyub with the desire to pervert some of the inhabitants of that town; but the scribe of the town, and the d\(\text{d}\)\(\text{d}\)\(\text{d}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{m}\)\(\text{i}\)\(\text{n}\)\(^3\)

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\(^1\) Or John, see fol. 9 a. In Arabic the names دوّناتس and دوّناتس are frequently confused. Al-Makrizi 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-\(\text{K}\)anbar, 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 d\(\text{d}\)\(\text{d}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{m}\)\(\text{i}\)\(\text{n}\) was the farmer of the taxes. The fact that he and the scribe were both Copts is an illustration of the rule followed by the Mahometan governors of employing Copts 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-Makrizi which contains the following words, in which he speaks of the unsuccessful rebellion of the Copts in A.H. 216=A.D. 831:

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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, and gave them orders, and informed the wāli 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 dāmin] '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-Ḵanbar heard that the patriarch of the Melkites was arrived from Alexandria, and was spending his time in a hall of reception; so he made his way thither to salute him and to congratulate

'None of the Copts after this was able to rebel against the government; and the Muslims subdued them throughout the country villages. So they betook themselves to cheating instead of fighting, and to the employment of cunning and guile, and to cheating the Muslims; and they were appointed scribes of the land-tax, and there were many affairs between them and the Muslims.' (Ḵितṣ, ii. p. 83 ff.)

1 Laid upon all who refused to adopt the Mahometan religion, by the conditions of conquest. The Ḵanbarites 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 lʾbeid 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 Ḵिलān, corrupted into Liwán, is the name given by the modern Egyptians to the raised part of the reception-room (منظرة) 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 Sanbat, 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 Sanbat, 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 'Abdun and one of the most distinguished friends of the patriarch, to whose Cell at the Mu'allakah they conducted him. The patriarch was

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1 Also called Sunbûṭiyah (Yâkût); situated in the Jazirah Ḳusaniya, as the district was then called. It was the Coptic Ṭeṣeṭṭeṭ, and is now included in the district of Zisfah, in the province of Al-Gharbıyah, having a population in 1885 of 3,223. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. iv. p. 161; Al-Idrisî, op. cit. (ed. Rome) [p. 116]; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 415.
surrounded by a company, and said to him, 'Why has thy reverence\(^1\) returned to me, thou excommunicate, in this guise so different from our fashion?' and he put forth his hand to Ibn al-\(\text{\textsc{K}a\textsc{n}b}r\)'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-\(\text{\textsc{K}a\textsc{n}b}r\) 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-\(\text{\textsc{K}a\textsc{n}b}r\), 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-\(\text{\textsc{K}a\textsc{n}b}r\) to the monastery of Al-\(\text{\textsc{K}u\textsc{s}a}r\)\(^2\), 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\(^3\), having destroyed his own soul and the souls of those whom he seduced by his deceit.

§ After the death of Ibn al-\(\text{\textsc{K}a\textsc{n}b}r\), I found a report on sheets of paper in the handwriting of Anba Michael\(^4\), metropolitan\(^5\) 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-\(\text{\textsc{K}a\textsc{n}b}r\) and the evil which he wrought in the world. Within it were the words:

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

\(^1\) 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. جَنَّاءُكُمُ the phrase 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'\textit{\textsc{E}glise d'\textsc{A}lexandrie}, 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.
'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-ʿKanbar, 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-ʿKanbar 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 ṭeṛeṣīw. Yākūt 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 Copto-Arabic lists of places give Damsīs between Sandafāt and Sabrajj 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 Yākūt, Geogr. Wörterb. ii. p. 611.; Ibn Dūknāk, op. cit. p. 1.; Al-Idrīsī (ed. Rome) [p. 117]; Amelieu, Géogr. p. 119 f.

2 Some words seem to be omitted here.
ACCOUNT OF MARK IBN AL-ΚΑΝΒΑΡ.

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 *Tafsīr at-Tafsīr* 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-

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1 Coptic had become a dead language long before this time in Lower Egypt, although Al-Μάκριζι informs us that near Uṣyūt, at Mūshah 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-Μάκριζι’s words with regard to Mūshah are:

والأغلب على نصارى هذه الأديرة معرفة القبطية المعيدة وهو أصل اللغة القبطية وبعدها اللغة القبطية المحرمة ونسا نصارى المعيد وأولادهم لا يكادون يتكلمون إلا باللغة القبطية المعيدة.

(*Khīṭat*, ii. p. 507)

Of Udrunkah he says:

وذكرها أهلها من النصارى يعرفون اللغة القبطية فتحدث صغيرهم وكبيرهم بها ويفسرونها بالعربية(*Ibid.*. p. 518)

For a translation of these passages see Appendix.


A *kutmārus*, 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

Greek text:

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

οὐλονος ἑτε πανιος ἱωάνικς πιξρυςοτολλός εἴδε ἐν ἐστιν θεο
οὐλονος ἑτε πανιος άθαναίος αλέξανδρινός εἴδε πο
οὐλονος ἑτε σεβερος αντιοχενός εἴδε πανιον καββατοπ

'Kutmarus: 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, Tût, Bâbah, Hatûr, Kîhak, Tûbah, Amshîr;
'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, Protmartyr; 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’înah, Abib, Misrî; 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\textsuperscript{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

\begin{quote}
Lent. See Vansleb, \textit{Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.} p. 76; Danhauer, \textit{Ecclesia Aethiopica} (Strasburg, 1672), cap. vi. (A. J. B.)

\textsuperscript{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, \textit{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-Maqrizi (\textit{Khīṭat}, ii. p. \textsuperscript{4}11). (A. J. B.)
\end{quote}
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. 16a  ‘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

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 נַחַשׁ וֹתָר . . . Sed et in evangelio quod, juxta Hebraeos scriptum, Nazaraii lectitant, Dominus loquitur: modo me tuliit 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’:

‘“Εὰν δὲ προσιται τοι τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους ἐναγγέλων, ἑνδικα αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτήρ φησιν. “Αρτι ἔλαβε με ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἁγίον πνεῦμα ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριῶν μου καὶ ἀπήνεγκε με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα Θαβώρ.”’ (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, מַשָּׁא, 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 ماء 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, الرُّوحُ الْقُدُسُ or الرُّوحُ الْقُدُسُ. The ancient form was فَسَأَ مَعَ بِعَمٍ، from the Syriac.

1 Here the metropolitan of Damietta attributes to Ibn al-Ḳanbar 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'ūs, the hegumen of the patriarchal church of St. Mark at Cairo, it is said (p. v):

الاقترح الثالث يتميز بخصائص الابن الثالث لابن الروح القدس المنتبأ إلى المنتبأ من الاب العالي

'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 88 of the Catechism of Filta’ûs, which has already been quoted:

س هل تنفع الأنفس الموعمة بالصلوات وفعل البر ج نعم اSSLات الكنيسة وتقدمه القران الشريف وفعل الآحسان تنفع تلك الأنفس المتنقلة ببعض فائضات ورات بشرة (لا المستغرقة في الرذائل وعدم الرحمة بدون توبة ولا استغفار) وهذه القضية تعتبرها كنيسة المسيح لجامعة من الأجيال الأولى وقديمة إسرائيل تشهد في سفر المكابيين الثاني أن يهودا المكابي كان يقدم ذبائن على لبند المائتين ص 12 عدد 43

‘Question: Are the souls of the faithful profited by prayers and good works?

‘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 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 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. 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 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-Maqrizi among the ‘wonders of the Nile.’

2 Madīnat al-Hajar, or the City of Stone, is still existing in the south of the Fayyum, close to the village of Al-Gharāk. 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...
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, 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.' (Husn al-Muhādarah, i. p. 40.)

Cf. Ibn Dușmâk, who says, in speaking of Abwiṭ:

'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.' (Op. cit., v. p. 3.)

Al-Maḳriẓì tells a similar tale of the minaret of Barzakh, a suburb of Damietta; see Ḫiḥṭat, i. p. 33.

1 This is no more than a grossly exaggerated report of the well-known sensitive properties of the Mimosa Nilotica, named سنط in Arabic.

Al-Maḳriẓì gives the following account in his description of the wonders of Egypt:

'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.' (Ḫiḥṭat, i. p. 33.)

The fruit of the sant was used in medicine; see 'Abd al-Laṭīf, Mukhtāṣar Akhbār Miṣr, ed. White, pp. 48, 50.
BUSIR BANÅ.

§ Account of the stones 1 which are found at a place called Al- Fol. 17 b
Barmak, between Khuraij and Yakhtäk. 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 2; and
certain of the chronicles contain the account of it, which is a true one.

Churches of Būṣir Banå and other places.

§ The southern provinces of the land of Egypt. Būṣir Wanå 3 is
named after a sorcerer 4 who liyed there and was named Būṣir. The

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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 Hárún ar-Rashíd, 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, Mém. Hist. et Géogr. i. p. 110 ff. Our author,
followed by Quatremère, evidently confuses Būṣir Wanå or Banå with Būṣir
Kûridus, which lies to the south of Cairo, at the entrance to the Fayyûm. Būṣir
Kûridus is, however, spoken of by name on fol. 92 b. Būṣir Wanå or Banå
is situated in the district of Samannûd, in the province of Al-Gharbiyâh, 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 Banå or
Wanå, here called (beginning of fol. 18 a) Wanå Būṣir. The Coptic form of
Būṣir is Boûcîpî, and of Banå or Wanå Paûnây. Four Būṣîrs are mentioned
by Yâkût: Būṣir Banå in the district of Samannûd; Būṣir Kûridus; Būṣir
Dafadnû in the Fayyûm; and Būṣir as-Sidr in the province of Al-Jîzah. See
Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. i. p. v.; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 117]; Amélineau,
Géogr. pp. 7-11.

4 On fol. 92 b, Būṣir 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 Wanâ\(^2\) contains the church of George\(^3\).

\(^1\) Here our author is making a fresh mistake. The ‘prison of Joseph’ was neither at Bûṣîr Banâ nor at Bûṣîr Kûridus, but at Bûṣîr as-Sidr in the province of Al-Jîzah. Al-Maḳrizî says:

قول الفلكي سجن يوسف عليه السلام بوصفه من عمل اللى اجتمع اهل المعرفة من اهل مصر على صحة ذلك المكان

‘Al-Ḳuḍâ’î says: The prison of Joseph, upon whom be peace! is at Bûṣîr in the province of Al-Jîzah; all the learned men of Egypt are agreed upon the authenticity of this spot.’ (\textit{Khîṭât}, i. p. r.v.) This passage of Al-Ḳuḍâ’î is also quoted by Yâḳût, \textit{Geogr. Wör.}, iii. p. s.v. Al-Maḳrizî goes on to state that the flat roof of the ‘prison’ was called \textit{Ijbat ad-Du’ā},—the ‘answer to prayer,’—and that it was much visited at particular times by those who had special petitions to make: notably by Kâfûr al-Ikhshîdî.

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

Bûṣîr or Abûṣîr 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, \textit{Geogr.}, p. 10.

The pyramids of Bûṣîr and the mummies found there are described by ‘Abd al-Laṭîf, \textit{Mukhtasār Akhbār Miṣr}, ed. White, pp. 156, 158.

\(^2\) Wanâ or Banâ is near Bûṣîr Wanâ, 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, Wanâ or Banâ Bûṣîr. It was named in Greek \textit{Kvρόπόλις}, and in Coptic \textit{Nkhotqat}; it is now included in the district of Samannûd in the province of Al-Gharbiyâh; and it had in 1885 a population of 3,021. See Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 117]; Amélineau, \textit{Geogr.}, p. 84 f.; \textit{Recensement de l’Égypte}, ii. p. 69.

\(^3\) This church is mentioned by Al-Maḳrizî, see Appendix. We shall find, as
§ At Munyat al-Kā'id¹ there is a church. It was restored by Fadl ibn Šāliḥ, who had been a page to the vizier Abū 'l-Faraj ibn Killis², in the caliphate of Al-Ḥākim³; it is named after Our Lady the Virgin⁴, 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 Barmūdah 23 = April 18; whereas the western calendar gives his name to April 23. His Acts exist in Coptic and Ethiopic. See Zoega, Cat. Codd. 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 Fustat (Old Cairo), according to Yāḵūt, in the most northern part of Upper Egypt. The Ka'id from whom it received its name was this very Fadl who restored the church. See Yāḵūt, Geogr. Wort. iv. p. 760. There were thirty-nine Munyaks in Egypt at this period; see Yāḵūt, Mushtarik, p. 396. The word Munyah, now popularly pronounced Munya, or shortened into Mit, is an Arabicised form of the Coptic Ṣ̄ụṭ, which signifies 'port,' and is not derived from the Greek μόνη, 'mansion,' as it was formerly suggested. Mit al-Kā'id is now included within the district of Bibā 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 كلمة. Abū 'l-Faraj ibn Killis was vizier to Al-'Aziz from A.D. 979 to A.D. 990, see Ibn Khallikân, iv. p. 359 ff.; As-Suyûṭi, Ḥusn al-Muhāḍarah, ii. p. 167.

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 Bûsîr\(^1\) 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 Hâitûr 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 ماري, Mâri, so often used by the Copts in speaking of the saints, is, as it is well known, derived from the Syriac مٓ، '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 Yuhannûs, and whose pure body is preserved in this church. There is also a church to the glorious angel, Michael the Archangel.

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

§ Tansa contains a church, named after Nahâdâh, and churches named after the valiant martyr Mercurius, the glorious angel Gabriel, and Our Lady the Pure Virgin.

The Fayyûm.

§ Madinat al-Fayyûm and its province. Al-Fayyûm was the name of one of the sons of Kifî, the son of Mizraim, who built it for one


2 Bûsh or Bûsh Kurâ was the Coptic ΠΟΥΜΗ, and still exists a little to the north of Banî Suwaif, 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 Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. i. p. νε; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 366 ff. (A. J. B.)

3 Now in the district of Bibâ, in the province of Banî Suwaif; and in 1885 had a population of 1,465. See Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. 9; Rec. de l’Égypte, ii. p. 303.

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

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

6 'The capital of the Fayyûm,' still existing, and having in 1885 a population of 25,799. It was the Greek Arsinoe or Crocodilopolis. The name Fayyûm is, as it is well known, the Coptic φιοκέλλα = 'the sea' or 'lake:' a name given on account of Lake Moeris, identified by some with the modern Bîrkat al-Kurâ, but by Mr. Cope Whitehouse with the low ground, now dry land, in the Wâdî Rayân, to the south of the Fayyûm. See Al-Maḳriẓî, Khīṭăt, i. p. rσ1; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 339 ff.

The following passage on the Fayyûm 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 Joseph⁴, the son of Jacob, the son of Abraham the Friend of God, upon whom be peace! and Joseph rebuilt it. He also made the Nilometer². And he built [Madinat] al-Fayyûm and Ḥajar al-Lâhûn³, which was built with wisdom, founded with divine assistance, and constructed by the inspiration of God. Joseph also dug the canal of Al-Manhi⁴. He supposed personages in remote antiquity. Many towns were supposed to be named after sons of Kift, 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-Kindî, Al-Ḳudâ’î, Al-Maḳrîzî, and As-Suyûṭî borrowed so much of their work. See As-Suyûṭî, Husn al-Muháḍarah, i. p. r... The name Kift was in reality borrowed from the town of Kift or Coptos, and from its resemblance to the Arabic term denoting the Egyptians, namely Kift (قفت, an apocopated form of Αἰγύπτιος, 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 Isḥâk, state that Joseph superintended the digging of the canals of the Fayyûm and the building of its towns. See below, fol. 69 b f.

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

قال ابن عبد اللّه حكّام أول من قاس النيل ببصرة يوسف عليه السلام وضع مقياساً وافق

'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, Bibli. 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-Lâhûn, which regulated the supply of water into the Fayyûm. This ancient structure, attributed by the Mahometan historians to Joseph (Al-Maḳrîzî, Khīṭat, i. p. rūv f.; Yâkût, Geogr. Wörtl. iv. p. rūf; As-Suyûṭî, Husn al-Muháḍarah, i. p. rū), 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 Yāsuf 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 year¹, 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 land², 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 Râs al-Manhî or 'Head of Al-Manhî,' near Darwah Sarabâm (fol. 77 b), to Ḥajar al-Lâlûn, where it branches out into the many canals which irrigate the Fayyûm. See Vâkût, Geogr. Wûrt. iii. p. 927; Marâṣid al-Īṭīlî ad voc.; Al-Maḳrizî, Khîṭat, i. p. vi.

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 Nîṣîf.

² Here our author quotes Al-Kindî's Fudâ'îl Miṣr. Al-Maḳrizî says, quoting by name from the same book:

فيها من المباح مما ليس عليه ملك لأحد من مسلم ولا معاهد يستعين به القروى والضييف

فاذو هو فوق السبعين صنفاً

'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-Kindî, 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-Maḳrizî 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, lêntîls, chick-peas, flat peas, flax, leeks, onions, garlic, lupîns, water-melons, haricots, sesam, 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:

ذكر اصناف أراضي مصر وقسام زراعتها

'Account of the different kinds of land in Egypt and of the various crops grown there,' in Khîṭat, 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 Fayyûm was estimated by Ibn Tarkhân in the time of Kâfür al-Ustâdh, Emir of Egypt, generally known by the appellation of Al-Ikhshidi, 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 Abû 'l-Misk Kâfür al-Ustâdh, or the eunuch, was the son of 'Abd Allâh. He was a negro slave, sold, it is said for eighteen dinars, in A.H. 312 = A.D. 924 to Abû Bakr Muḥammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid, governor of Egypt, who subsequently emancipated him and appointed him guardian over his two sons. When Al-Ikhshid died in A.H. 334 = A.D. 946, his eldest son Abû 'l-Ḵâsim Anûjûr became ruler of Egypt, but the state was actually administered by Kâfür, who is known as Al-Ikhshidî on account of his having belonged to Al-Ikhshid. When Anûjûr died in A.H. 349 = A.D. 960, his brother Abû 'l-Hasan 'Alî succeeded to the government of Egypt, and Kâfür acted as his lieutenant, as he had acted for his brother. 'Alî died in A.H. 355 = A.D. 966, and then Kâfür became uncontrolled ruler of Egypt, as the son of 'Alî was too young to reign; and this state of affairs continued until the death of the negro in A.H. 357 = A.D. 968. Kâfür is celebrated as the most successful and powerful of all the black eunuchs who rose to eminence under Mahometan rule. The poet Al-Mutanabbi wrote in his praise. See Abû 'l-Maḥāsîn, ed. Juynboll and Matthes, ii. pp. 245–247; Ibn al-Athîr, viii. pp. 145–147; Al-Makrizî, Khîṭâṭ, i. p. 244; Ibn Khallikân, trans. De Slane, ii. p. 524; As-Suyûtî, Ḥusn al-Muḥâdarah, ii. p. 16. (A. J. B.)

2 The Abbaside caliph reigning at Bagdad in A.H. 355 = A.D. 966 was Al-Muṭi', 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 Zûlāk:

'Îbn Zûlāk says in Al-Kindî's book of information on the emirs of Egypt, that the Fayyûm was reckoned for Kâfür al-Ikhshidî in this year, namely the year 356, as yielding a revenue of more than 620,000 dinars.' (Al-Makrizî, Khîṭâṭ, i. p. 244.)

4 I.e. Ar-Ramlah on the coast of Syria, a little to the south of Yâfâ or Joppa.
THE FAYYUM.

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-

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1 Occupied the see from A.D. 727 to 737, Renaudot, Hist. Patr. p. 201 f.

2 The form Ḥafrahâm, is intended to reproduce the Coptic pronunciation of Ḥafrahâm, the Ḥ being pronounced as v 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-Kâsim the wâli of Egypt:

وكان هناك الباب الأسقف أنبا إبراهيم أسقف الفيوم لأجل امرئ فلما حضرنا أعنا دعا واحدة من السراي وكان مغربيا فقال لأنبا إبراهيم هذه ابنتك وجعل يده في يده وكان قلبها كالاطفال وقال له أنت تعلم أنني أحب أبا جدًا من زمان أبي وكما كنت تطلب من أبي أفعاله ألا فقال له القديس إبراهيم نعم فقال له أردى منك ثلاثين دينارا فتقدم إليه أبى الأرشدياق وكان أقنعة اسمه سمعان كان قد جاء رسولا وهو الذي أستحق الأسقفيه من بعدة فقال له أحضر الشهامة دنيار فأحضرها وسلمها للناس وكان له مال كبير لبيع لكن كان عليه في كريمه خمسة وثلاثين دينارا بالفيوم وهو المتولى عليهم وكان عليه خراج جملة من المال الذي ليبت مال السلطان لأجل ذلك وكانوا يجاورون مصر دباعوه ويشتروا منه

'And the bishop Anba Abraham, bishop of the Fayyûm, was present on matters of their business. And when we entered the presence of Al-Kâsim 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-Kâsim 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.'


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 Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. iii. p. 329 ff., 1840, on Geschichte der muḥammadanischen Eroberung Ägyptens. Yakūt quotes the passage of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam as follows:

هكذا تولى مصرا عظمة منزلته من فروع وحارث سنة مائة سنة قالت وراء الملك أن يوسف ذهب معه وتعى عقله وفتى حكمته فعندهم فروعون ورد عليهم مقالتهم واسا اللظ لهم ففكروا ثم عادوه بعد سنين فقال لهم هلموا ما شئت من شيء فسرت به وكانت الفقيهم يومئذ تدعى البونة وانها كانت للمصالحة ماء الصعيد وفصوله فاجتمع رأيهم على أن تكون المحتلة التي يعتني بها يوسف فقالوا لفروع سل يوسف ان يصرف ماء البونة فيرد بلاد إلى بلدان وخرج إلى خراج فين يوسف وقال قد تعلم مكان أنتي فلنتي فقد أنتي إذا بلغت ان اطلب لها بلدا وان لم أضرب لها البونة وذلك انه بليد قريب لا يئتي من ناحية من نواحي مصر اذا من ميزة وجهاء إلى هناك والغيم وسط مصر كشاق مصر في وسط البلاد اين مصر لا تئتي من ناحية من نواح اذا من صيراي أو ميزة وقد اقليعتها انا فلا تتكرى وجهاه ولا أضررنا ونلحن اي يوسف نعم ايها الملك متى اردت ذلك عملته تال ان ابيه إلىي فأوحى إلى يوسف ان يصرف ثلاثين خليقا من موضع كذا الى موضع كذا وخليقا شربا من موضع كذا الى موضع كذا وخليقا غربيا من موضع كذا الى موضع كذا فوضع يوسف العملا خليف الخليفة المنهى من اعلى اشهم اللاهد

'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-Rayyân¹, the

ibn Ishâk 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. Wörterb. iv. p. 377 f. Cf. Al-Makrîzî, Khitat, i. p. 413, where the same passage is quoted; As-Suyûtî, Husn al-Muḥājarâh, i. p. 111.

¹ Ar-Rayyân ibn Walîd ibn Dauma' is the name given by most of the Arabian historians to the Pharaoh of Joseph; although Al-Makrîzî 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.

Fol. 19 a  § The seventeenth section of the history of the church, and the biography of Anba Khâ’îl, the forty-sixth patriarch, contains an estimate of the yearly revenues of Egypt, at the end of the caliphate of Marwán, the ‘Ass of War,’ the last caliph of the dynasty of the Omeyyads, and at the beginning of the caliphate of As-Saffâh ‘Abd Allâh, the Abbaseide, which sets the amount carried into the public treasury at 200,000 dinars, apart from the expenses.

called him Nahrá’ûsh. 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-Hakam, who was himself indebted to Ibn Ishâk.

1 The seventeenth section of the patriarchal biographies compiled by Severus of Ushmunain begins with the life of Khâ’îl, 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 خلايل, Khâ’îl, is an abbreviated form of خلايل, Mikhâ’îl or Michael. Another form of the name is خالال, Khâyâl. The biography of Michael, included in the history of the patriarchs compiled by Severus of Ushmunain, 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.


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

وكان ارتفاع مصر بعد افتخارات الجنان ونفقات دار السلطان وما يحتاج إليه لتدبير المملكة
CERTAIN MATTERS CONCERNING EGYPT.

§ 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 Kuhtan, 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.

§ Abū Naitur, the fourth son of Noah, learnt, through the inspiration of God, the science of the sphere, and the art of reckoning it by years, months, days, and hours, and the like. Afterwards Nimrod 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 magic, and how to raise false phantoms; and

ما يفضل بعد ذلك وحمل إلى بيت المال مالاً حملًا في كل سنة مائتا ألف دينار سوى النفقات

'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 Naitur 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 ισφαίρα 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. Ḥājī Khalfah remarks upon the use made by Ptolemy in the Almagest of the work of Chaldaean astronomers; Lex. bibliogr. (ed. Fluegel) 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 Tāghūt\(^1\). Nimrod was the first who wore a crown\(^2\) 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\(^3\), 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 Ḥārūt and Mārūt (see Sūrat al-Bakarah, 96), who still hang head downwards among the ruins of the great city.

\(^1\) An idol of the ancient Arabs of Mecca; see Koran, Sūrat al-Bakarah, 257, 259, where the religion of Tāghūt is placed in antithesis to the true religion of Islam. Cf. Sūrat al-Ma'īdah, 65.

\(^2\) 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 בְּנֵא in Genesis x. 8, 9.

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

\(^3\) This was a well-known town, two days to the south of Al-Fuṣṭāt, in the province of Al-Itfīḥiyah. Many of the Muslims, as well as the Christians, accepted the tradition that Moses was born there; see Yāḵūt, Geogr. Wort. i. p. 80; Al-Maqrīzī, Khaṭṭ, ii. p. 174; Ibn Dukmāk, iv. p. 177. The MSS. of Al-Maqrīzī write the name as إِسْكَر.

Askar still exists in the district of Itfīḥ in the province of Al-Jizah; see Rec. de l’Égypte, ii. p. 51.
CERTAIN MATTERS CONCERNING EGYPT.

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 Valley\(^2\), and the fissure of the \(\textit{Abu Kir}\)\(^3\), 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 \(\textit{Ha'it al-`Ajaz}\)\(^4\), from Al-`Arish to Aswàn; which is sometimes called \(\textit{Ha'it al-Hujaz}\).

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1 This is a constant epithet of Joseph among the Mahometans, and originated in the Koran, \(\textit{Sura Yusef}\), ver. 51:

\[
\text{كَانَتِ الْأُمِّ ابْنَاءِ الْهَيْكَانَ حَصَنَتْ لأَنَّهَا رَوْدَتْهُ عَنِ النَّفْسِ رَبِّهِ لِيَنَّ الصَّادِقِينَ}
\]

'The wife of Al-`Aziz 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:

\[
\text{بُوْسَفْ أَبِيَ الْمَيْدَنَى أَفْتَيْنَا فِي سَعْ بَقَارَانِ يَمِينِي}
\]

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

2 I can only conjecture that this may mean the Wâdî Nafrûn or Wâdî Ḥabîb, the ancient Nitrian valley, so famous in the annals of monasticism.

3 This legend of the \(\textit{Abu Kir}\) birds is found in most of the Arab historians who have written on Egypt; see Quatremère, \textit{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-`Tair, the well-known hill which still bears the name, on the Nile, opposite Samallût and Ṭâla. As-Suyûtî, who reckons the Jabal at-`Tair as one of the twenty wonders of Egypt, on account of these birds, describes them thus:

\[
\text{بَلَى سُودَ الْاَعْتَاقِ مَطْرَوقَةَ لِلْوَاصِلِ سُودَ اَطْرَفَ الْاجْتَعَةَ}
\]

'They are piebald, with black necks, striped on the breast, with black tips to their wings.' \(\textit{Husn al-Muhâdarah}\), i. p. 31.

Al-Makrizî says that the prodigy had ceased in his time. \(\textit{Khitat}\), ii. p. 503 f.; cf. i. p. 31.

4 'Wall of the old woman,' also called \(\textit{Jisr al-`Ajaz}\), 'dyke of the old woman.' It still exists in portions near Jabal at-`Tair, near Kûsîyâh, and at other places.

The 'old woman' is said by some writers to be Dalûkah (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. 11; Al-Maqrîzî, Khîtât, i. p. 71; As-Suyûtî, Husn al-Muḥḍarah, i. p. 73.

Our author, on fol. 57 b, makes Cleopatra the builder of the Ḥâʾit al-ʾAjûz, which extended not only from Al-ʾArish 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., Bibl. Hist. bk. i. cap. 57.

1 I.e. the electric eel, gymnus electricus, the properties of which are well known. They were much celebrated by Arabic writers on Egypt. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. iv. p. 577; Abû ʾl-Maḥâsin, op. cit. i. p. 71; Al-Maqrîzî, Khîtât, i. p. 77; Al-Masʿûdî, Murûj adh-Dhâhâb, ii. pp. 392–3; ʿAbd 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 Timsâḥ is still called Al-ʾāṣr, '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 Mardṣîd al-ʾĪṭtîlā' make it four days.
them, between Al-Kulzum\(^1\) and Al-Faramâ\(^2\). 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.

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

\[\text{بِحْلِ الْبَيْتِ الْمَاءِ فِي الْمَرَّكِبِ وَمِنْ مَوْضُعٍ عَلَى بَرْدِ سَيْفِ سوْسٍ عَلَى الْجَمَالِ مَا أَجِنَّ}\

\[\text{رَدِّي وَمِنْ أَمْتَالِهِمْ مِمْرَةٌ أَهْلِ الْقَلَّامِ مِنَ الْبَلَيْسِ وَشَرْيَهُ مِنْ سوْسٍ يَأْكُلُونَ لَحْمَ الْنِّيْسِ}\

'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 Tāis (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 Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. iv. p. 108; Marāṣib al-Ittičila' (ed. Juynboll), ad voc.; Al-Idrīšī (ed. Rome) [p. 49]; Al-Maḵrīzī, Khīṭat, i. 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 Ṉepebēxōnta, 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, Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. iii. p. 888; Al-Muḵkaddasi (ed. De Goeje), p. 143; Al-Maḵrīzī, Khīṭat, i. p. 111; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 317 f.

Al-Maḵrīzī reckons the ancient remains at Al-Faramâ among the wonders of Egypt; see Khīṭat, i. p. 111.

It was at Al-Faramâ that the first engagement took place between the Arabs and Egyptians when 'Amr invaded Egypt in a.h. 18; see As-Suyūtī, Husn al-Muḵkdarah, i. p. 182.

M. Amélineau does not explain why he adopts the form El-Ferma.
In this country brocaded stuffs are made: gauze of Tinnis\(^1\), and sharb\(^2\), a stuff used for tents, and coloured Dabîk\(^3\); and there is no

---

\(^1\) The fine tissues of Tinnis are much celebrated by Arab historians and geographers. Ibn Ḥaukal, who wrote in A.H. 367 = A.D. 978, says of Tinnis and Damietta:

وهمان رثعم الدبيقي والنرب والصغيات من لحمة السنة التي ليس في جميع الأرض ما يدانيها في مال والقامة

'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-.MONTH (Khitat, i. p. 111) 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 Ḥaukal, 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.

\(^2\) A precious tissue; see Glossary to De Goeje's Bibliotheca Geog. Arab. p. 272.

\(^3\) Al-Mafrizi says:

"دبيک قرية من قرى دمياط ينسب إليها التباع المنقلة والععامه الشرب الملونة والدبيقي

العلم المذهب وكانت العامه الشرب المذيعة تجعل بها ويكون كل عمامة منها مائة ذراع

وفيها رمبيع منسوجة بالذهب فتبلغ عمامة من الذهب خمسمائة دينار سوى الهر والفرز

وحدثت هذه العامه وغيرها في أيام العزيز الله بن المعز سنة خمس وتسعين وثمانية إلى أن

مات في شعبان سنة ست وثمانين وثمانية".

Dabîk 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 Dabîk 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-'Azîz bi ʾl-lâh, son of Al-Muʿizz, who reigned from the year 365 (A.D. 975) until he died in the month of Shaʾbân, in the year 386 (A.D. 996)." Khitat, i. p. 111.
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stuff, not interwoven with gold, of which garments are made, of the value of 100 dinars, except the stuffs of Tinnis and Damietta, and Al-Manhab (? ) and Ṣikilli. 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

Cf. Quatremère, Mémo. 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'llah, left at his death in A. H. 390 = A. D. 1000, one thousand pairs of trousers of the stuff called Dabik; see Ibn Kahlilān.

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


The town of Dabik no longer exists.

Al-Makrizī likewise says:

' 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.' Khīṭat, i. p. 177.

Cf. Quatremère, Mémo. i. p. 308, who makes the mistake of translating كتان by 'cotton.' Al-Makrizī 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-Īrāk alone. Cf. Al-Idrīsī (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 320.

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 Ṣikilli was also made in Spain. See Al-Muḳaddasī (ed. De Goeje), pp. 195 and 139.
have the gold-mines\(^1\) and the emerald-mines\(^2\), and red and yellow ochre;

\(^{1}\) In the Wādī 'l-'Alākī, which lies to the south-east of Aswān, in the country of the Bajjah or Bishāris. 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, \textit{Khīṭat}, i. pp. 130, 157, 158; Abū 'l-Fidā, \textit{Tab. Aeg.} p. 35 f.

\(^{2}\) 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{Khīṭat}, i. p. 337), who copies however from Al-Mas'ūdī, and Al-Mas'ūdī’s informant was 'Abd 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 Kift, 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 'Abd Allāh ibn Zanbūr 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 Cailliaud. The results of his visit were published in a large work by the French Academy; and the ruler of Egypt, Muḥammad 'Alī, was so convinced of the value of the mines that he sent a number of miners to work them under Cailliaud’s supervision. Cailliaud, 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
and marcasite of gold, silver, and copper; and the Lake of Nitre, and

command of an expedition sent by the Khedive Taufik, 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-Ethai* (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 (FeS₂), 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, πυρός (Λίθος), marchasita (Arab.), kis (Germ.) or kies, mundic (English miners), schwefelkies (Germ.), besides xanthopyrites, chalcopyrites. The name marchasite 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 πῦρ), and gives sparks when struck.'

The word *κρασιτίς* seems to have come into the Arabic from the Syriac *κρασιτίς*, which translates the Greek *πυρίτης* (Bar Bahlul). 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, 39, &c.) The Arab Gebr (Jābir al-Kaftī) gives a chemical analysis of marcasite; see Mangeti, *Bib. Chem.* i; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der arab. Aerzte*, p. 12 f. Ibn al-Baiṭār 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
the salt lakes\(^1\). 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 *fuqkā*\(^2\) are made. The manufacture\(^3\) of white paper exists here; factories for boiling sugar\(^4\) are found here; and presses for sugar-canes; and fields of rice\(^5\); and oil of turnip\(^6\) and radish; and oil of balsam\(^7\); and opium\(^8\) and the *abramîs*\(^9\) and honey-wine.

against iron.’ This paragraph is based upon the article by Sadebek and Hoffmann, ‘Über den Namen Marasit,’ in the *Neves 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 *marcaxita*, 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 Wâdî Naṭrûn 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-Maḳrīzî, *Khīṭat*, ii. pp. 11., 12. Bûrī near Damietta was famous for paper, which was also made in the Fayyūm. The chief constituent was linen.

\(^4\) Al-Maḳrīzî gives an account of the method of cultivating the sugar-cane in Egypt in his time; see *Khīṭat*, i. p. 11. The use of sugar in Egyptian cookery is described by ‘Abd al-Laṭīf, *Al-Mukhtaṣar*, ed. White, pp. 178-182. The sugar-factories of Egypt were very numerous; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, 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. 81.

\(^5\) ‘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.

\(^6\) For these notes see next page.
The Nile.

Moreover, the Nile of Egypt is one of the miracles\textsuperscript{10}, at which the people of the earth marvel when they hear of them; for it rises at the

\textsuperscript{6}‘Abd al-Laṭīf, who was a contemporary of our author, says of the Egyptians:

\textit{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-Laṭīf, \textit{op. cit.}, ed. White, p. 176.)

\textsuperscript{7}‘Abd al-Laṭīf 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; \textit{op. cit.} pp. 22–26. See also Butler, \textit{Coptic Churches}, ii. p. 331. (A. J. B.)

\textsuperscript{8}‘Abd al-Laṭīf says that opium was made from the black poppy (اللُحُطَاش) in Upper Egypt, and was often adulterated; \textit{op. cit.} p. 48.

\textsuperscript{9}The \textit{abramis} was a fish found in the Nile. It is curious that our author should place it here among the vegetable products. Al-Idrisī says that the \textit{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 \textit{ābromaĩs}, which occurs in Oppian’s \textit{Halieutica}, i. 244–7:

\textit{χαλκίδες αὐτ ὑφίσται τε καὶ ἄβραμίδις φορεῖνται}
\textit{ἀθρώας, ἀλλατε ἐν ἄλλον ἄλος πόρον, ἢ περὶ πέτρας}
\textit{ἡ πελάγη, δολιχοῦσα τῆ ἐπέδραμον αἰγαλόον,}
\textit{αιὲν ἄμειζονται ἡπιῆν ὅδων, ἢντ' ἀληταὶ.}

\textsuperscript{10}The Nile was naturally reckoned to be one of the twenty wonders of Egypt; see As-Suyūṭī, \textit{Husn al-Muḥādarah}, i. p. 6.; Al-Maqrīzī, \textit{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, \textit{Aethiopica}, cap. 28; ‘Abd al-Laṭīf, p. 4 ff.; Al-Maqrīzī, 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 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’ûdî, Murâj adh-Dhahab (ed. Barbier de Meynard), ii. 77:—

مالك 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 مارثمرم or مارثمرم is the Syriac صديم, '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\(^1\) 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\(^2\), including the descendants of Joseph the Truthful and his sons Manasseh and Ephraim, without\(^3\) 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\(^4\).

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

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\(^1\) This passage is based, like that above, upon the *Fadā’il Miṣr* of Al-Kindī. As-Suyūṭī, borrowing from the same source, mentions, among the prophets who sojourned in Egypt, Abraham, Ishmael, Jacob, Joseph, the fathers of the twelve tribes, Lot, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Daniel, Jeremiah, Jesus; see *Husn al-Muḥāḍarah*, i. p. r.1.

\(^2\) Cf. Numbers i. 46, 47.

\(^3\) I have here dislocated the translation in order to avoid an awkward parenthesis.

\(^4\) See above, fol. 17 b. The tradition among both Christians and Muslims was that Moses visited the prison of Joseph at Būṣīr, and consequently there was here a mosque erected in the name of Moses, and called *Masjid Mūsā*; see Yāḵūṭ, *Geogr. Wörterb.* iii. p. r.v; Al-Maqrīzī, i. p. r.v.
CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

prophet Daniel¹ and the prophet Jeremiah, and Ezekiel; besides others, kings, great men, wise men and philosophers, captains and rulers, in all ages and all times².

Boundaries of Egypt.

§ The furthest point of the land of Egypt on the east is 'Abbâsah ³, and on the west Alexandria. Its greatest length is from Al-'Arish⁴ to 'Aidhâb⁵,

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:

‘With regard to Daniel I have not, up to the present time, met with any record [of his sojourn in Egypt]; but Ibn Zûlâk counts him among those that were born in Egypt.’ (Husn al-Muhâdarah, i. p. 37.)

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-Muhâdarah, i. p. 37 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 Tûlûn. It is now included in the district of Sawalah, in the province of Ash-Sharkiyah. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. iii. p. 644; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. 344; Quatre-mère, Mém. i. pp. 62, 189; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 3. (A. J. B.)

⁴ The classical Rhinocolura; 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. 777; Al-Ḳazwînî, ii. p. 187; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. 111 f.; Quatre-mère, Mém. i. p. 53; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. pp. x, xi, 20. (A. J. B.)

⁵ On the Red Sea, opposite Jiddah, and near the frontier of the Bishârîn tribes. There was a road to it from Kift (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.’

\*\*\* 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-‘Āsi, 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-Maqrizi’s, which proves that Aidháb 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-Maqrizi, i. p. 99.; Al-Idrisi (ed. Rome) [p. 49]; Quatremère, Mem. ii. pp. 162–172, where Ibn Ḥaukal and Abū ʾl-Fidā are also cited. M. Amélineau (Geogr. p. 160) would identify ‘Aidháb 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 خمس مدن, ‘the Five Cities.’ The province was not, strictly speaking, part of Egypt. See Yākūt, Geogr. Wört. i. p. 99.; Al-Maḳīn, Taʾrīkh al-Muslimīn, ad ann. 27.


\(^3\) ‘Misr’ here denotes the city of Al-Fustat or Fustat Misr, the remains of which are now called Maṣr al-ʿAtikah, and incorrectly named by foreigners ‘Old Cairo.’ The city was founded by ‘Amr ibn al-ʿĀsi, 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-ʿAskar, 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:

فأخذوا للجبل حتى وصلوا إلى قصر معينة بالجاجرة بين المعبد والرفف يسي بابلون فضرموا
until they reached a fortress, built of stone\(^1\), between Upper Egypt and 
the Delta\(^2\), which was called Bâblûn\(^3\). 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-Fustâṭ’ in their language; and the 
meaning of this word is ‘The Tent.’ In this way the Arabs called 
the Fort of Ash-Shama\(^4\) at Miṣr ‘Fustâṭ Bâblûn.’

\[\text{خِيَامِهِمُ هَلَكُتِ جِيَدًا حِيَتِ يِرْتِبُوا الْمَقَاتِلَةَ الْرُّومَ وَحَمَارَتُهُمْ ثُمَّ أَنْهَمْ سَمَوا ذَلِكَ الْمُوْصِلَ إِلَى الْقَصَرِ غَلْطَتِهِمْ.}

‘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 Fustâṭ 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 الرَّبْنِ the ‘Delta’ because that is its obvious meaning here. 
See note on fol. 12 a.

\(^3\) The Arabic form of Babylon (بَابُلُ، رَبُّلَ، لَمَوُنُ)، 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 Bāblûniyâh (بَابُلُنيَّةُ)، Bābliûn (بَابْلِيْن)، Bāb al-rûn (بَابِ الْرُّوْن)، but the 
Arabs only knew the Greek form of the name, and never called the place Babil 
(بَابِ) 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 كَسَرُ اَشْ-شَّامَة‘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 كَسَرِ، ‘Egypt.’ The 
town and fortress of Babylon were called by the Copts رَبُّلَ، لَمَوُنُ يِتِئ 
k asr ash-Shama or ‘Castle of the Candle.’ Thus, in the Acts of the Coptic martyr John of 
Phanijoit or Zaitûn, we read that the saint resolved to go to رَبُّلَ، لَمَوُنُ يِتِئ 
Kasr al-Shama, to appear before the Sultan Al-Kâmil (ed. Amélineau, p. 37). كَسَرِ is also used by itself to denote Cairo (op. cit. pp. 44, 45, 47, 48). See Quatremère,
THE CITY OF FUSTAT MISR.

§ I found an account of the conquest of Egypt in the Book of Al-Janâh. It says that 'Amr ibn al-'Âši conquered Egypt in the year 19 of the Hegira. He encamped outside a place called Janân ar-Riḥân, whither the Arabs came down to besiege the city of Misr. The bishop of the Romans at Misr and Alexandria was named Cyrus. The Mém. i. pp. 49, 50; Champollion, L'Égypte sous les Pharaons, i. p. 184 f., ii. p. 110 f. It is further noticeable that the Arabic name, Misr, '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-Fustat dug a moat against the Arabs. Al-Fustat was then called Al-Luniyah; but the Arabs called it Al-Fustat, because they said: 'This is the tent (fustat) 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-'Awwâm, 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-Luniyah, or Al-Fustat, 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 Allâh ibn Sa'id ibn Mufarraj raised four millions of dinars. The government of 'Amr ibn al-'Âsi lasted ten years and four months, and that of 'Abd Allâh 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 Khalî; and hither they assembled themselves; and it was called Al-Fustat, 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 Bâbluniyah (بابلعنيه) or Babylon, which the Arabs supposed to be two words, meaning Gate of Luniyah.

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

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

4 Al-Makrizî (i. p. 98) says that 'Amr raised a revenue of twelve millions, and 'Abd Allâh ibn Sa'd ibn Abî Sarî fourteen millions. The latter succeeded 'Amr as emir of Egypt (op. cit. p. 94). Our scribe has evidently altered the figures.

5 Some say that it was not 'Abd Allâh the son of 'Amr who governed Egypt after the latter, but 'Abd Allâh ibn Sa'd.
§ 'Amr ibn al-Âsî 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-Ḥammām. 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-Âsî 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-Makrizi, Khītāt, i. p. 94.
2 See Al-Makrizi, i. p. 91.
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, Husn al-Muhāḍarah, i. p. 64; Al-Makrizi, Khītāt, i. p. 108; Ibn al-Athir, iii. p. 77; Abû 'l-Maḥāsin, i. p. 4.

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

'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‘ūnah, 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 Muḥarram of the year 20 of the Hegira, were [the streets or quarters named after] Muḥarrah ibn Ḥaidān ibn ‘Amr ibn al-Ḥāf ibn Kuḍā’ah; Tajib Umm ‘Adi; 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:

انذَرَ مَلَكُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ سَرِيًّا، مَعَ امْبِنٍ مِنْ أَصَابُهِ يُسِىٰ عَمْرَ بنِ الْعَاصِيُّ، فِي سَنَةِ ثَلَاثَةٍ وَنَصْرَةٍ وَخَمْسِينَ، لِدِينَالَّيْدِيَالِيَانُوسَ، قَاتِلَ الشَّهْدَاءِ، فَنَزَلَ عَسْرُ الْإِسْلَامِ إِلَى مَصرِ بِقِرَأٍ عَظِيمَةٍ فِي الْبُيُومِ الثَّانِيِ عَشْرَ مِنْ بُوْرَةٍ دُنْكَسْرِ، مِنْ شَهْرِ الْرُّومِ.

‘The king [i.e. caliph] of the Muslims sent an expedition, under one of his trusted friends named ‘Amr ibn al-‘Aṣī, 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‘ūnah, [that is to say] in the Roman month of December.’ (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 26,100, p. 105, lines 7–10.)


Ba‘ūnah 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-Makrizi, Khīṭat, i. p. 244.

3 This passage seems to be somewhat corrupt. Perhaps the copyist did not understand it. It is doubtless borrowed from Al-Kindi’s Khīṭat Miṣr.

Al-Makrizī says:

وَلَمْ أَضَعْ عَمَروُ مِنْ الْإِسْكَانِدِرِيَةِ وَنَزَلَ مُوْضِعَ فَسَاطِ، اَنْضُمْتُ القِبَالَ بَعْضَهَا إِلَى بَعْضِهَا، وَتَنَاشَدُوا فِي الْمَوْضِعِ فَلَمْ أَضَعْ عَمَروُ عَلَى الْفَلَطَطِ مُعاوَيَةَ بْنِ حَدْيَدِ النُّجَيميِّ وَشَرِكَ بِنِ سَعْيَ الغَفَطِيِّ.
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 Khalîj and Al-Ḳanţarah and the Quarter1); Habib ibn Mughaffal, who dwelt in the Wâdi Habib2; the Ḳarâfah3; the Banû Ḥâjaṣ ibn Yûsuf ibn Wâ'il; Al-Malik Abû 'l-Khair ibn Sharâhil; 

وعمر بن قعزم بن ولداني وحبيب بن ناشر المغافر وكانوا هم الذين انزلوا الناس وفصلوا بين القبائل وذلك في سنة احدى وعشرين

'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 Khâdij of the tribe of Tajib, and Sharîk ibn Simî of the tribe of Ghaṭîf, and 'Amr ibn Ḥâzm of the tribe of Khûlân, and Haiwil ibn Nâshirah 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.' (Khîṭat, i. p. 34v.)

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-Mâķrîzî (ibid.) and Ibn Dûkmâk, iv. p. 1 f., with the addition of others.

1 This passage seems to be corrupt.

2 Habib was one of the companions of Mahomet, 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 Habib is the most usual of the names given by the Arabs to the Nitrian valley (see fol. 20 a), which they also called Wâdi Natrûn, Wâdi 'l-Mulûk, Desert of Asḳît (Σκαθῆς, Scaetis), Desert of Shîhât and Mîzân al-Ḳulûb (Balance of Hearts). Of the last two names the former is simply the Coptic Shîhît (ΣΗΗΗ), from which Σκαθῆς and Asḳît are derived, and the latter is an Arabic translation of the two elements of which the Coptic name appeared to be composed, namely ΣΗ, 'measure,' 'weigh,' and ΗΗ, 'heart.' See Al-Mâķrîzî, Khîṭat, i. p. 121; As-Suyûṭî, i. p. 150.

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 Yâḳût, Geogr. Wôrt. iv. p. 168.
Churches and Monasteries of Egypt.

Wardán the Roman\(^1\), the friend of 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣi; Shajâ'ah ibn Mandaghân ibn Malik ibn Ka'b ibn al-Ḥârith ibn Ka'b. The marketplace of Barbar\(^2\) was named after Barbar ibn Abî Ḥabîb. The street of Al-Khadijî was the settlement of 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Mu'âwiyyah ibn Khadij ibn Ḥajar, emir of Egypt\(^3\) in the caliphate of 'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubâir\(^4\) at Mecca and of Marwân\(^5\) in Syria.

\(\S\) 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣi ibn 'Adî 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 Mukâtâm\(^7\) 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'âwiyyah, 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-Fusṭâṭ was named after him. See Yâḳūṭ, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. 148.

\(^2\) In Al-Fusṭâṭ; see Yâḳūṭ, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. 147.

\(^3\) From Sha'bân A.H. 64 = A.D. 684 to Rajab A.H. 65; he succeeded Sa'id ibn Yazîl. Al-Mâkîrîzî calls him 'Abd ar-Raḥîm ibn 'Utbah ibn Ḥajdâm. See *Kitâb*, i. p. r. i f.

\(^4\) 'Abd Allâh 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 Jumâdâ 'l-Ūlâ, A.H. 65, the Omeyyad caliph Marwân invaded Egypt, and fought with 'Abd Allâh and his emir 'Abd ar-Raḥmân, whom he defeated and slew, so that the Omeyyad dynasty was established throughout the Mahometan world. See Al-Mâkîn, *Târikh al-Muslimîn*, ad ann. 64 and 65; Abû 'l-Faraj (ed. Pococke), pp. 194-8; Abû 'l-Fidâ, *Annales*, i. p. 402 ff.; Al-Mâkîrîzî, i. p. r. 1 f.; As-Suyûṭî, *Husn al-Muhâdarah*, ii. p. a.


\(^7\) The well-known hills to the east of Al-Fusṭâṭ and Cairo, about which many legends were told by the Arabs; see Al-Mâkîrîzî, *Kitâb*, i. p. 147.
King Aṣṭūṭîs.

§ I found it written in the history of Maḥbûb1 ibn Ḳūṣṭāṇṭîn Al-Manbajī (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 Aṣṭūṭîs3, in the time of Isaac son of Abraham, was the

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1 Otherwise called Agapius (אַגאַפִיוס); see Introduction.
2 The Syriac Ṿâbûg (ܡ##_ܒ##_ܓ), 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 Bambij or Bugûk Manbej, 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 الكهان) is a translation of the Syriac name of the place, ܚܫܲ̈ܡܐ ܛܘܡܐ or ܚܫܲ̈ܡܐ ܚܲܫܲ̈ܡܐ, which the Greeks converted into Hierapolis. This parenthetical passage of our author is based upon the words of Maḥbûb, son of Constantine, himself:

في ذلك الزمان بنت سمرينة الملكة بتيّا عظيمة لقيوس الصنم في مدينة على شاطئ الفرات وأقامت لقيوس من الكهان سبعين رجلاً وسميت تلك المدينة أيرولوس [sic] الذي تفسيره مدينة الكهان وهي مدينة منيق العتيقة

‘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 (قبوس) 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 Ūtîs 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 \(^1\) 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 \(^2\). The Pharaoh of the time of Moses drew a revenue of ninety millions of dinars; his name was Al-Walid ibn Muṣṭab \(^3\); and he dug, by the shortened form Ṭūṭīs (طوطيس), the name of a king whom Al-Maḳrīzī calls the son of Māliyā, son of Kharābā; see Khīṭat, i. p. 18.; As-Suyūṭi (Ḥusn al-Muhdādarah, i. p. 81) calls Ṭūṭīs 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 Daḥyah 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-Asadi. See Al-Maḳrīzī, Khīṭat, i. p. ve.

\(^3\) This is the name commonly given by Arab writers to the Pharaoh of the time of Moses; see Al-Masʿūdī, ii. p. 397 f.; An-Nawawī, Tahdhib al-Asmā, p. 69.; Al-Maḳrīzī, Khīṭat, i. p. 18.; As-Suyūṭi, Ḥusn al-Muhdādarah, i. p. 81. Other names, however, are mentioned by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam.
agency of his officers Ḥāmān and Ḥāmān¹, the canal of Sardūs², which has more windings than any other.

The Romans derived a revenue of twenty millions of dinars³ from Egypt. The country was placed by Heraclius under the government of George, son of Mennas, the Mukaukīs⁴, on condition of receiving

¹ Ḥāmān, the minister of Pharaoh, is mentioned in the Koran, Sūrat al-Ḳisas, v. 5 and 7; al-'Ankabūt, v. 38; al-Mu'min, v. 25 and 38; and (Ḳārūn) Korah in al-Ḳisas, v. 76; al-'Ankabūt, v. 38; and al-Mu'min, 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-Maqrizi, Khitaṭ, i. p. f.; As-Suyūṭī, i. p. 76; Quatremère identified the so-called canal of Sardūs with the ancient Tanitic branch of the Nile, now named the Baḥr Mu'izz (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. od. 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 Sīmaika's Province 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 Mukaukis van Egypte, and by Prof. Karabacek
a sum of eighteen millions of dinars yearly. 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣi 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 Tālūn, it produced five millions; and, when administered by Ya‘ḳūb ibn Yūsuf, four millions; and it finally went down to three millions 1.

§ A survey of the provinces of Egypt, so far as the Nile waters them, was made in the days of Hishām 2 ibn 'Abd al-Malik, and their extent found to be thirty millions of feddāns 3. The annual revenue also of Egypt and its dependencies, during the government of Kâfūr

in his article Der Mukaukis von Aegypten in the Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, vol. i. pp. i–ii. The latter authority concludes that the full designation of the Muḳauḳīs was probably Georgios son of Menas (Mennas) Parkabios, according to the Coptic custom of double names, thus explaining the name Farkab (ظرف) given to his father by Yâḳūt, Al-Makrīzī, and As-Suyūṭī; 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 Ṣalḥāb al-muwtān or عامل المعونة, and Pagarchos by عامل or simply عامل ضرائب, while As-Suyūṭī says that he was chief military officer as well as superintendent of the taxes. The term Muḳauḳīs itself is believed by Prof. Karabacek to be the Greek μεγαύχής (v. Aeschylus, Persae, 641), an honorary epithet which would be analogous to μεγαλοπρεπήστατος, ἐνδοξόστατος and εὐκλεῖστατος, found in papyri of the time of the Mahometan conquest and later as applied to the Pagarchs. (A. J. B.)

1 Cf. Al-Makrīzī, Khīṭat, i. p. 441.

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 feddān 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. Fol. 23 b

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 Bagdad 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-Suyútí, i. p. 84 f.; Al-Mašrîzî, i. p. 343, &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 f.

3 Belshazzar. Eutychius writes the name بانشمس; At-Tabari بانشمس, and Ibn Khalidîn بانشمس.

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 مونى, on the west bank of the Nile between Munyah and Mansafit. It is now in the district of Raudah in the province of Usyût, and in 1885 had 2,312 inhabitants; but it has much declined from its ancient importance. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. i. p. 342; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 47]; Al-Mašrîzî, i. p. 339; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 167 ff.
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CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

The Patriarch Demetrius.

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

Restoration of Churches of Al-Fustát.

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

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1 This statement is borrowed by our author from Eutychius:

فان منذ حنانيا الذي أصلح مرقص البشّر بطريرك الإسكندرية إلى وقت ديميترس بطريرك الإسكندرية وهو للحادى عشر بطريرك كان على الإسكندرية لم يكن في عمل مصر استقفا ولا تكون البطريرك الذي قبله أصلح استقا فلما صار ديميترس بطريرك أصلح ثلاثا استقا وهو أول بطريرك بالاسكندرية عمل الاستقة فلما مات صير بعده هراقل بطريرك على الإسكندرية استقفا

From the time of Ananias (Annius), 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 Annius (Annaeus) 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 (Melitios) the third patriarch, of Celadion (Kladion) the ninth, and of Julian (Julianos) 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-Fustât; see *Coptic Churches,* i. p. 181. (A. J. B.)
Fustat Misr 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:

When they understood the discourse of the wali, and his care for the affairs of the churches, Anba Michael, bishop of Misr, said: Now is the time for us to take measures for the restoration of the churches, since it is evident that the wali bears an affection towards the Christians. Next day, therefore, the patriarch returned to the wali, 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 wali that he should order the restoration of those churches; and all the churches in Fustat Misr 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\(^1\), the forty-eighth in the succession.

§ The city of Misr, outside which is Madinat ash-Shams\(^2\), 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-Fustāṭ.**

The first church built in Fustāṭ Misr was that which is beyond Al-Kantarah\(^3\); it was built in the time of Maslamah ibn Mukhallad al-Ansārī\(^4\). The name of Misr in Greek is Μίθρας; and in Frankish Roman\(^6\) it is Babylon the Fortress. The church above mentioned was in the

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

\(^2\) Or 'Ain Shams: the Coptic Ṣen or Ṣeqhaf, the Hebrew On (יון) or Beth Shemesh (שֵּׁמֶשׂ הָיִם Jer. xliii. 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. 31; Yāḳūṭ, *Geogr. Wort.* i. p. 111; Améliaueau, *Géogr.* p. 287.

\(^3\) Literally, 'The Bridge' or 'Arch': a suburb of Al-Fustāṭ, 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 Mu’āwiyah and Yazīd, from A.H. 47 = A.D. 668 to A.H. 62 = A.D. 682; see Al-Maḳrīzī, *Khitat*, i. p. 31; As-Suyūṭī (ii. p. v) names this first church.

\(^5\) Evidently an apocopated form of Ἁγίων, and therefore a formation analogous to Khīṭ (Copts). As the Egyptians give the hard pronunciation to the כ, they would sound the word Ghibt. The Greek γ becomes כ in Arabic in the words *Jirjis* for Γεώργιος, *Sirjah* for Σέργιος, *Jaghrāfīya* for γεωργία, and many others.

\(^6\) I.e. the *lingua franca*. Babylon, as the name of Fustāṭ, or Fustāṭ 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 . . . hee
quarter, between Cairo and Miṣr\(^1\), 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\(^2\), 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\(^3\).

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-Mustansīr. The said Al-Jullāl was full of wealth and honours. Thus when our lord Al-Mustansīr went up to the manẓarah called As-Sukkarah\(^4\) 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 kyngge Herode. And there lyeth the body of Saynte Barbare vyrgyn, and there dwelleth Joseph whan he was solde of his brethrene . . . There dwellethe 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-Fustāt or Fustāṭ Miṣr, and in antithesis to Cairo, which was nevertheless sometimes called Miṣr al-Ḳāhirah, and is now called Maṣr; the remains of Al-Fustāṭ 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. 95, 107, 108.

\(^4\) This was a pavilion erected by the caliph Al-ʿAzīz (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-Maḳṣūṭī's long description of it in *Khīṭat*, i. p. 556 ff. The pavilion seems to have been destroyed in the twelfth century (*ibid.*). See also Ibn Duḫmāk, iv. p. 173.
canal¹ dug by 'Amr ibn al-Âşî, emir of Egypt, in the caliphate of the Prince of the Faithful, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb, 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-Kulzum², 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 kulzum³. Jauhar al-Mu'izzi⁴ built a bridge⁵ over that canal, leading to the bank of Al-Mâkṣam. Here is the watercourse called Al-Majnûnah⁶. 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-Zuhrî, for carrying provisions to the canal which runs from Cairo to Al-Kulzum, that they may be taken thence to Mecca and Medina, and also to the region

¹ The famous Khalij or canal of Cairo, sometimes called Khalij Amîr al-Mu'mînîn, or ‘Canal of the Prince of the Faithful,’ after 'Umar, the first who assumed that title. It runs from the Nile at Al-Fustât northwards to Bâštâh (Zagâzig), whence it turned eastwards and terminated in the Red Sea, near Al-Kulzum. Its original purpose was to furnish Mecca and Medina with provisions from Egypt. The Khalij 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 Khalij in Mahometan times, see Al-Mâkhrîzî, i. p. vi; Ibn Duṣmâk, 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, 410, Amsterdam, 1776, tom. i. p. 89. See also Al-Mâkhrîzî, Khîyat, ii. p. 185 ff. (A. J. B.)

⁶ Al-Mâkhrîzî gives this name to a canal in the Fayyum; see Khîyat, i. p. 164.
CHURCHES OF AL-FUSTÂT.

Our lord Al-Mustansir was crowned with the jewelled turban and the canopy was spread over him, and he was * * * sitting on the dařs of state, and the aforesaid Sarûr came out to wait upon him, and the caliph saluted him; and Sarûr wore a garment of Nasâftî, and a turban of Šikillî, bound round the middle with a band of Dabîktî, 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 Sarûr al-Jullâl.

§ Sarûr 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, Najâh, 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-Sâ'îd Abû 'l-Fakhr, father of An-Najîb Abû 'l-Barakât, known as Ibn Šâ'îd; and it was consecrated in the month of Tut, in the year 897 of the Blameless Martyrs (A.D. 1180). The Shaikh al-Wajih Abû 'l-Hasan ibn al-Amâhî, 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 Shâwar as-Sâ'îd, vizier in the caliphate of Al-' Ādîd, and of [the invasion of] the Ghuzz and the Kurds, who came with Yûsuf Šalâh ad-Din ibn Ayyûb, the Kurd, who became governor of Egypt, and was called, on the dirhems and dinars, Partner

1 Erasure in original.
2 The Coptic Thôouth (έωτοθô) = Aug. 29–Sept. 27.
3 Vizier from A.H. 558 = A.D. 1162 to A.H. 564 = A.D. 1168 to the last of the Fatimide caliphs, Al-' Ādîd. See Introduction. As-Sâ'îd is incorrect.
4 Here the copyist has correctly written the Coptic Thôouth instead of the Coptic Thôouth as on fol. 2 a and elsewhere.
of the Prince of the Faithful ¹, upon the invasion of the king of the Franks, on account of the victory gained over them during the year 559² (A.D. 1164). The Ghuzz and the Kurds attacked this church, with the mob of Cairo, and it was burnt with fire³, and rased to the ground like the other churches, in the month of Jumādā the First in the year 559

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

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم نصر هذا الدين بالقاهرة سنة احد وسبعين خمسة وثلاثينه لا الا الله

الله وحده لا شريك له. أبو محمد المستفي بامر الله أمير المومنين محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى

ودين لهما لليظهروا على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون صلى الله عليه وعلى اله وعلى الملك غاية

الناصر يوسف بن يوب

² '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. Abū Muḥammad Al-Mustaḍi bi-amri 'llāh 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 Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb.' (Poole, Brit. Mus. Cat. of Or. Coins, iv. p. 63.)

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

الامام المستفى بامر الله أمير المومنين لا الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله الملك الناصر

&c.

³ 'Al-Imām Al-Mustaḍi bi-amri 'llāh, Prince of the Faithful. There is no deity but God alone. Mahomet is the Apostle of God. Al-Malik an-Nāṣir Šalāḥ ad-Dunyā wad-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb, &c.' (Ibid.)

From these inscriptions it does not appear that Saladin (Al-Malik an-Nāṣir, &c.) was actually called 'Partner' of the caliph al-Mustaḍi, 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-Fustāṭ 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 Abû 'l-Fakhr undertook its rebuilding. He had been scribe for religious matters in the caliphate of Al-Hâfiz; and he was assisted in this act of restoration by the distinguished Shaikh, Abû Hasan ibn al-Amahh, in the year 560 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'id Shadid al-Mulk ibn al-Fakhr ibn Busaiwah, and Abû 'l-Barakât his son, and Al-As'ad Abû 'l-Khair Jirjah ibn Wahab, known as Ibn al-Miḳâṭ. 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-Hamrâ—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 Sarûr al-Jullâl, which has been mentioned before, remains in this church to the present day. In this church there is also a tank, and a well of running water.

§ The aforesaid Al-As'ad Abû 'l-Khair ibn al-Miḳâṭ was sent for by Shâwar 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

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‘i\d\(\) Abû ‘l-Fakhr Sā‘i\d ibn Busa\i\vah, 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 Mi\s\r, in the presence of Anbā Peter, bishop of the Fayyûm, 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 Ghuzzi, 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.

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

\(^{2}\) The Coptic Phormouthi (\(\text{φωɾmου øθi}\)) = March 27–April 25.

\(^{3}\) This was one of the pools between Al-Fuṣṭāt and Cairo, and its banks were thickly peopled when Al-‘Askar and Al-Ḵaṭā‘i\' were flourishing, but were desolated when Cairo superseded these suburbs. See Al-Mašrīzī, ii. p. 111.

\(^{4}\) This was one of the troops of which the army was composed; see fol. 54 a.
POPULATION OF EGYPT.

Population of Egypt.

§ The book of Faḍā’i ʿil Miṣr relates that Al-Walid ibn Zuwā’ah was set over the taxes of Egypt, in the caliphate of Hishām ibn Ṭā’l al-Malik al-ʿĀhwal, 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.

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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 Yākūt, Geogr. Wört. iv. p. 47.

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-Maʾmūn, A.H. 198 = A.D. 813 to A.H. 218 = A.D. 833, although this translation has long been lost; see Hājī Khalfah, ed. Fluegel, i. pp. 602-3. Ptolemy says (Geogr. bk. iv. viii) that to the west of the Anthropophagous Aethiopians 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 ὄβρ' οὗ ὑποδέχοντα τὰς χώνας οὗ τοῦ Νείλου λίμνα καὶ ἐπέχει μοῖρας τὰ πέρατα τοῦ τῆς Σελήνης ὄρους ἱκ νότη. ζῆ λ καὶ ζῆ νότη. ζῆ λ.)

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 Buhairatā ʿn-Nil (ed. De Goeje, p. 119).

Al-Muḳaddasi says that according to Al-Jihānī 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 Chinese, 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 quarter there is a church dedicated to the Angel Gabriel, which was restored by Ṣu’lūk al-Jullāl. 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-Masih. The Ghuzz and the people of Cairo pillaged it, and broke the pillars of the apostles, 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. 74.).

‘Abd al-Laṭīf 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-Idrisī 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 Marāṣid al-Ḥītalā‘ says:

البحر الفارسي شعبة من بحر الهند

‘The Sea of Al-Ḵulzum 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 (Khalīj Amīr al-Muʾmīnān). (A. J. B.)

2 I.e. Al-Ḥamrā.

3 The expression Al-Bustulāt (البسطات) 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 Abū 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-'Āḍid; and it was consecrated afresh, and the liturgy was celebrated in it. Now at this church there was a lotus-tree¹ 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 Şafar, 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 Şandal². Part of the roof also disappeared, namely the timber above the sanctuary; therefore the Shaikh Al-Jullāl Ibrāhīm 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 وثمرة التبق حلو جداً

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

Al-Maκrızī mentions the lotus-tree among the principal objects of cultivation in Egypt; see Khiṭat, i. p. 1.ṣ. (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'ûnâh. 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'id ibn Andûnâh, 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'id 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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1 The Coptic Paøni (ΠΑΩΝΙ)= May 26–June 24.
2 I.e. the vigil services of Saturday night: the παννυχίδες or διανυκτέρευσες 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-Mutamid, 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 Fadî'il Miṣr 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 Wāli 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 Sayyidīna Muḥammad, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. p. 8 f., where the author quotes Ibn Ishāk, who died A.H. 151 = A.D. 768. Cf. Abū ʾl-Mahāsin, i. p. 93.
6 Through Asenath, daughter of Potipherah, priest of On. As-Suyūṭī says:

'Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam says: ‘Umar ibn Ṣāliḥ informed us that he had learnt from Marwānī al-Kassās 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.' (Husn al-Muḥādarah, i. p. v.)
the companions of Mahomet. Ashhab ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz\(^1\) said: 'When you conquer Egypt take charge [of the inhabitants], for truly they may claim your protection, and kinship with you!' Ismā'il\(^2\) 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 Salimah\(^3\) 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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\(^1\) 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, *Husn al-Muhādarah*, i. p. 5. Cf. Ibn Hishām, *Sirāh Muḥammad*, i. p. 5, and Abū l-Mahāsin, i. p. r5o.

\(^2\) As-Suyūṭī's words are:

وأخبر ابن عبد المك عن مسلم بن يسأر أن رسول الله . . . قال استوصوا بالقبط خيرًا

فأنتم سُتْهَدُونهم نعم الأعوان على قتال عدوكم

'Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam quotes from Muslim ibn Yusār 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.' (*Husn al-Muhādarah*, i. p. r).

\(^3\) This is a mistake of the author or his copyist for Umm Salimah, the name of one of Mahomet's wives. As-Suyūṭī says:

وأخبر الطبراني في الكبیر وأبو نعيم في دلائل النبوءة بسنده صحيح عن أم سلما أن رسول الله . . . أوصي عند وفاته فقال الله إنه في قبیط مصرب. فأنتم سُتْهَدُونهم نعم الأعوان على قتال عدوكم

واعوًا في سبيل الله

'Aṭ-Ṭabarānī in *Al-Kabir* and Abū Naʿīm in *Dala'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.' (*Husn al-Muhādarah*, i. p. r.)

\(^4\) This command of the Arabian prophet is handed down among the 'genuine' traditions collected by Al-Bukhārī; see his *Kitāb al-Jāmiʿ as-Sahīḥ*, ed. Krehl, pt. i. p. r93, 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-'Âsî, Mahomet said: 'The Copts

1 As-Suyûtî says:

2 Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam quotes from Mûsâ ibn Abî Ayyûb al-Yâsî, who reports the words of a man of the tribe of Al-Marbad to the effect that the Apostle of God...fell sick and swooned, and when he recovered, he said: Take charge of the men with curling hair. Then he swooned a second time, and when he recovered said the same words. Again he swooned for the third time, and said the same words. So the bystanders said: The Apostle of God commits to our charge the men with curling hair; and when he recovered they asked him his meaning. So he said: The Copts of Egypt are our uncles and our brothers-in-law, and they shall be your auxiliaries against your enemy and on behalf of your religion. Then they said: How shall they help us in our religion, O Apostle of God? Then he answered: They shall relieve you of the affairs of this world, so that you shall be at leisure for religious worship,' &c. (Husn al-Muḥādarah, i. p. 5.)

3 Abû 'l-Mahâsin 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\(^1\): 'God! God is among the protected people, the people of the desert, the blacks, the men with curling hair.\(^2\) 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 Ḥāṭib\(^3\) ibn Abī Baṭṭa'ah, of the tribe of Lakhm, to the Mukaukīs, governor of Alexandria, to urge him to adopt the religion:

\[ \text{ قال عبد الله بن عمر بن العاص ... اهل مصر أكرم الأعاجم كلهَا وسمعهم بدأ وافضلهم عمرً واذرهم رحبًا بالعرب عامة وتشر خاصة } \]

'ʻAbd Allāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-ʻĀṣi says: The people of Egypt are the noblest of all foreigners; the gentlest of them in action, the most excellent of them in character, and the nearest of them in race to the Arabs generally and to the Kuraish in particular;' i. p. 33.

\(^1\) Cf. Ibn Hishām in his Life of Mahomet:

\[ \text{ حدثنا عبد الله بن وهب عن عبد الله بن لهيعة عن عمر مولى غفرة ابن رسول الله قال } \]

\[ \text{ الله الله في اهل الدنيا اهل المدرة السودآ السمح لبعاد فان لهم نسبا وصهر } \]

'ʻAbd Allāh ibn Wahb informed us, quoting from 'ʻAbd Allāh ibn Lahi'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. 4.

\(^2\) It is said to have been the curling hair of Mary the Coptic maiden which attracted the admiration of Mahomet.

\(^3\) The mission of Ḥāṭib 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-Tabari (ed. De Goeje), ser. i. p. 100 ff.; Ibn Hishām, *Sirah Muhammad*, p. 171; An-Nawawī, *Tahdhib al-Asmā*, pp. 141 and 105; As-Suyūṭī, i. p. 88 ff.; Ibn al-Athir, ii. p. 57 ff.
THE THREE ĤAMRÂS.

of Islam; but he did not do so. Hatib, when he returned to Mahomet, brought him as a gift four maidsens, among whom was Mary1 the Copt, and Sirin, her sister, and his mule Duldul2, and his ass Ya'fûr, and a purse of money, and a eunuch3 whom the Muçaukîs also sent with them. Mary became the mother of Ibrâhim4. Her sister Sirin was given by Mahomet to Hassân5, the poet, and she became the mother of 'Abd ar-Rahmân, his son.

The Three Ĥamrâs.

§ Section in which are mentioned the three great Ĥamrâs6, which are Al-Ḳuswâ, Al-Wustâ, and Al-Ĥamrâ ad-Dunya. According to the Khitaṭ of Al-Kindî, in a copy of the Futûḥ Miṣr, the Ĥamrâ were a people of the Romans, among whom were the Banû Nabîh and the Banû 'l-Azraḳ and the Banû Rûbil; or, perhaps, a people of the Persians; and 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî named them Al-Ĥamrâ, 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 al-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. rra.

3 The eunuch's name was Ma'bûr; see Ibn al-Athîr, ii. p. rrv.

4 Ibrâhim, 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 Fâṭimah was the only child of Mahomet who survived him.

5 Hassân ibn Thâbit died at Madînah A.H. 54 = A.D. 674; see An-Nawawî, Tahdhib al-Asmâ, p. r.r f.

6 The three quarters named Ĥamrâ, a word which is apparently the feminine of aḥmar, 'red,' lay between Al-Fustâṭ and Cairo. The quarters or suburbs of Al-'Askar and Al-Ḳatâ'î were subsequently built upon their site. The Ĥamrâs 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-Makrizî (Khitaṭ, i. p. rîa) and Ibn Dukmâk (iv. p. r f.) mention the foundation of the three Ĥamrâs in terms similar to those employed by our author here and below, fol. 32 a ff.
The Hamra al-Wusta, which is known as Al-Kantarah\(^1\), is the place where the Red Standard stood at the time of the conquest of Mīṣr 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\(^2\).

**Monastery and Church of Saint Mennas.**

§ 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

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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-Fustat and Cairo, in the Ḥamrā, 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 ʿAlāʾūn, the monastery and church of Abū Minā were wrecked; but they have since been restored; see Al-Makrizi, *Khitat*, ii. p. 21. (A. J. B.)

4 The festival of St. Mennas is kept by the Copts on Ḥatūr 15=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 Mareotis. 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 Nakýús, and whose pure body is buried in the church at Maryûţ, 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-Ḥamrâ, and to renew what had been destroyed there. They renewed the church [of Saint Mennas], and made for it beautiful

1 The Arabic Nakýús was called Nukios or Nuklov by Greek authors, and Niciu in the Itinerary of Antoninus. It is a town frequently mentioned by Coptic writers. It is also called Ibshádi (إبشادي) in the Copto-Arabic lists of names, and is the Coptic Νυκύς. The modern village of Ibshádi, which in 1885 had 1,059 inhabitants, is probably on the site of the ancient Nakýús; 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, Geoogr. Wörterb. iv. p. 81.; Quatremère, Mém. i. pp. 420–446; Amélineau, Geoogr. pp. 277–283.

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.

3 This town, the Coptic Μαρεωτίς, and the classical Marea (Μαρεώτα), 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, Geoogr. pp. 241–3.

4 Al-Maqrizi mentions as the chief act of Al-Walid 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-Maqrizi, Al-Walid died in A.H. 117 = A.D. 735, after governing Egypt for nine years and five months. See Khitaṭ. i. p. 377.
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 Damanhûr upon the river, and did damage to that church, and afterwards removed to the church of the Lady at Shubrá. The church of Saint John was restored, after the fire, by the most honourable Shaikh Ibn Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il 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 (Amshîr 28 = Feb. 22), St. Theodore the Eastern (Tûbah 12 = Jan. 4), or St. Theodore of Shuṭb (Abîb 20 = July 14).

3 There are four martyrs of the name of John in the Coptic calendar, commemorated respectively on Abîb 11 = July 5, and 19 = July 13, Ba’ûnah 14 = June 8, and Tût 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’allaḵah in the Roman fortress. In the Naṭrûn desert, Dair as-Sûriyyânî contains another, and a third belongs to the chapel of Al-‘Adhrâ adjoining the church of Anbâ Bishâṭ; while several bodies are preserved at Dair Abû Maḵâr. See Coptic Churches, i. pp. 219, 304, 320-1, 338, &c. (A. J. B.)

5 Damanhûr Shubrá, close to Cairo; not to be confounded with Damanhûr 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-Fustâṭ by order of Shâwar.
Abû Sa'îd, in the caliphate of Al-Âdîd, and the vizierate of Shâwar. 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 Ghâlib ibn Abî 'l-Makârim al-Bilbaisî, and named after Saint Mercurius.

In the Great Church[1] 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 'l-Faḍl, son of the bishop, which has a wooden tablet[2] upon it. Above the altar in the sanctuary, there is a wooden cupola[3], 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 Zakârî Âs-Şairafî, in the caliphate of Al-Hâfîz.

§ Within the sanctuary was [the entrance to] the bakehouse[4], in which is an ancient tomb. This bakehouse was selected by the Shaikh Al-As'ad Ṣalîb ibn Mikhâ'il, the son of the hegumen[5], 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 Balt al-'Ajîn or 'House of Dough' is the chamber in which the eucharistic breads are prepared. (A. J. B.)

5 The Greek ἤγοιμενος, borrowed through the Coptic. A commoner form of the word in Arabic is كُمَّس (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'Eglise 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.

\(\text{§}\) In the month of Jumâdâ the First, in the year 559, when the Kurds and the Ghuzz came with Šalâh ad-Dîn 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-‘Āqid, and in the vizierate of Shâwar. The expenses were paid by the most excellent Shaikh Šalîb, already mentioned, and by Karîm ad-Daulah ibn ‘Ubaid ibn Kurruş al-Jullâl, and by Manşûr ibn Salîm al-Jullâl, of Cairo, and by others; and out of the money brought by Makârîm ibn Abû ‘l-Minnâ, the priest of the Church of the Lady, called Al-Mu’allakah, at Miṣr, to Anbâ Jonas, the patriarch, as a consecration fee\(^4\), that he might make him bishop of

\(^1\) 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.

\(^4\) Shartúnyah (σκηπτονία) is the Greek xepovió̂a, 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.
Monastery and Church of Saint Mennas. 107

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 Khâşṣat 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 Ṣâlib, 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 Sibuwaīh.

While the aforesaid church was being restored, the greater part of the monastery was destroyed. [The Shaikh Ṣâlib] 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 Tunbadhah (طَنْبَدَه), see Yâkût, Geogr. Wort. iii. p. 60., whereas in i. p. 580 he gives طَنْبَدَث. It was the Coptic TANPÔT, and is now in the district of Banî Mazar in the province of Minyah, with a population in 1885 of 1,487. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 479. Tunbudhâ and Ishnin were called the 'Two Brides' (العرسان) on account of their beauty; see Yâkût, op. cit. i. p. 580.

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-Wusta, a church named after Saint Coluthus, built in the caliphate of Al-Āmir, and under the government of Suwārr 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 Zuqak ibn 'Aṣīl.

The Three Ḥamrās.

According to the Book of Al-Khitat, by Al-Kindi, the three Ḥamrās were the Ḥamrā al-Ḳuṣwā, the Ḥamrā al-Wusta, and the

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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 Thebaïd 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 Kullah (قلعت) is analogous to Jirjah (جرجة), Sirjah (سرجة), Tādrah (تاره), Kurrah (كورة), Andūrah (اندورة), &c., and to Syriac forms such as دل, derived from the Greek vocative; see Nöldeke, Syr. Gram., p. 79. Cf. Coptic κολθε, &c.

3 Ibn Dūkmāk calls it زناق سبيل بن عقيل بأخمار; 'The Alley of Sahl ibn 'Aṣīl in the Ḥamrā;' see Kitāb al-Intisār li-wāsītah 'ikd al-amṣār, iv. p. 16.

4 Here follows an account of the laying out, at the time of the Arab conquest and of the first foundation of Al-Fustāt, 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-ʿUmar ibn al-Ḥāf ibn Kuḍāʾah, from the street called Darb Az-Zajjājin, by which the market-place called Sūk Wardān is entered, to the alley called Zuḵāk Abū Farwah, or its vicinity, and it ends at the passage called Khaukhat al-İstābl in the Ḥamrā. That which was laid out by the tribe of Banū Bahr ibn Suwādah ibn Afṣā extends from the Ḥamrā ad-Dunyā, opposite the mosque of Al-Ḳurūn, to the covered passage called Saḵifat as-Sari or its vicinity. That part of the Ḥamrā al-Wusṭā 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-Kūmain¹. That

of these quarters is given by Al-Maḵrīzī, Khīṭat, i. p. r38, and by Ibn Duḵmāk, iv. p. r 5f. It is difficult at the present day to identify many of the points described.

¹ Bain al-Kūmain is south of the Roman fortress where Dair Bāblūn and Dair Tādūs are situated. Jabal al-Kabsh is a rocky elevation in the quarter of Ibn ʿṬūlūn, and upon it stood the well-known Kalʿat 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 Ṣāliḥ is speaking of a quarter extending from the Bāb Ibn ʿṬūlūn 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 Mīna; and this would show that Al-Ḥamrā extended also west of the line from Bāb Ibn ʿṬūlūn 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-Maḵrīzī states that under the Abbaside caliphs the Further Ḥamrā was again built over, and called Al-ʿAskar, so that a plain which had grown bare save for the Christian monasteries dotted over it was once more covered with houses. See Hamaker's Expugnatio Memphidis, notes, p. 102. 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 ʿl-Azraḵ extended from the Ḥamrâ al-Ḵuṣwâ to the street of Yashkur ibn Jazîlah ibn Lakhm, and to Al-Ḵanṭarâh and its road, down to the moat or canal, at the foot of the Jabal al-Kabsh, and to Al-Majâʿız 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 Ḵârûn and the hill of Yashkur ibn ʿUdwân ibn Lakhm.

The Book of Al-Khīṭât also relates that the tribe of Banû Kinânah ibn ʿAmr ibn al-Ḵibr ibn Fahm laid out that part of the Ḥamrâ al-Wuṣṭâ which extends from the alley of Sahl ibn ʿĂkîl to the conduit where the wheat-sellers are, and the alley called Zuḵâḵ 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 Ḥawî and the mosque of Al-Khalûk on the flat. The sons of Yashkur ibn Jazîlah ibn Lakhm laid out part of the Ḥamrâ al-Ḵuṣwâ, namely the open place of Ad-Dunya and that of Ar-Râyah, and the road of Khûlân from the Darb al-Ḵanṭarâh 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-Ḵabâʾîl, to the stable and to the baths of ‘Aṣ-Ṣalîb’ or ‘the Church’¹.

of the district too narrow: and it is not even marked on the plan which professes to show Fuṣṭâṭ 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-Khalîj 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-Khalîj to Қâṣr ash-Shâmaʿ was still eastward of the present line. (A. J. B.)

¹ The baths of Al-Fuṣṭâṭ 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 القبو). See Ibn Duḵmâḵ, iv. p. 137.
Church of Saint Onuphrius.

In the Ḥamrā also is the church\(^1\) of Saint Onuphrius\(^2\), 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-Umanā Abū 'l-Yaman Sūrus ibn Makrawah, son of Zanbūr, who was nāzir of the Delta, and his son the inkomparable vizier, the lord of those that wield the sword and the pen, Abū Sa'd Mansūr\(^3\). The latter was sent out to meet Nāṣir ad-Daulah ibn Ḥamdān and the tribes of Kais\(^4\) and Lawātah\(^5\), the traitors, and a body of the chief officers of the army were with him; this was in the caliphate of Al-Mustansir. Abū 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

\(^1\) Ibn Dukmāk (i. p. 118) mentions this church as

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

\(^2\) This saint, called in Arabic Abū Nafar, whose festival is kept on Ba‘ūnah 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. Arabē 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-Mustansir. See As-Suyūṭī, Ḥusn al-\textit{Muḥādarāh}, ii. p. 106; Quatremère, \textit{Mém.} ii. p. 353.

\(^4\) The Ḥais were an Arab tribe who settled in Egypt soon after the Mahometan conquest. See Al-Makrizî, translated by Quatremère, \textit{Mém.} ii. p. 207 ff.

\(^5\) The Lawātah were a tribe of North Africa, of Berber origin, who settled in Egypt. According to Al-Makrizî they pretended to be of Arab descent and connected with the great tribe of Ḥais. See Yâkūt, ii. p. 314; Al-Makrizî, translated by Quatremère, \textit{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-Makārim 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 Munjâ ibn Abû Zakari ibn as-Sarid. There is also a church of the Pure Fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, restored by the Shaikh Abû Saʿīd Gabriel ibn Bukṭur, known as Ibn al-Aʿraj, and afterwards by Abû ʿl-Fakhr, the scribe of salaries, known as Saʿīdān. There is also the church of Saint Or, restored by the Shaikh Abû 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 Pientius, 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 Raḍlah 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 Kaṣr ash-Shama. (A. J. B.)

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

4 Ḥūr, whose festival is kept on Kihak 2 = Nov. 28, is a saint famous in the annals of Egyptian monasticism. His name appears as Θω in Greek, and as Ḥwāp in Coptic, and Or in Latin. He was an abbot in Upper Egypt. Sayings
CHURCH OF SAINT ONUPHRIUS.

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the Diwān al-Majlis. 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, Vitæ Patrum, p. 714 f.; cf. Zoağa, Cat. Cod. Copt. p. 299; Synaxarium (Paris MS. Arabe 256), ad diem; Acta SS. at Aug. 7. The prefix Abā (ل) is the Coptic أب، 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 ﯾ، generally written in Coptic as ﯾ، is disputed. It was sometimes applied to secular officers.

1 The preposition has been omitted by the scribe before دیوان. 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. 314-5...

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:

اليوم السابع عشر من هتوم الذي أتيفقت عليه دلالات السكندرية والدلال الذي كتبه أنا يونس استضاف فقط ودلالة الملكية أن ‘اليوم السابع عشر من هتوم نياحة القديس يوحنا فم الذهب

‘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 Kift, 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 Ḥamrâa.

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-Makrizî, As-Suyûtî, and Al-Isâkî 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-Farghânî, 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'adā Abū 'l-Yaman, son of the Shaikh Ṣan'itat al-Mulk Abū 'l-Faraj ibn al-Wazir, who handed over the management to the Shaikh Abū 'l-Makārim ibn Ḥannā, and to those whom he should choose after him. This church was included within the fortress built by Shāwar the vizier, who constructed a passage leading to the church, at which you arrive from the entrance of the mosque of Al-Ḵurūn, in the nearer Ḥamrā. This mosque was built by As-Sāhri ibn Al-Ḥakam. To this church belonged the hegumen Bashir ibn an-Nashr, a native of Munyat al-Ūmarā, who was wise and learned, a good priest, sweet-voiced, beautiful in countenance, perfect in stature, respected by men. The Shaikh Abū 'l-Faḏl ibn al-Ūskuf, scribe of Al-Afdal Shāhanshāh, 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 Baḥr al-Jīzah; 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-Sāhri (or As-Sirri) ibn al-Ḥakam, after it had been burnt down, and was called Mosque of the Horns (قرون), because its pillars resembled horns! See Ibn Duḥmāk, iv. p. 21.

2 A small town in the neighbourhood of Cairo, on the road to Alexandria. Yāḵūt 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-Āmir and Munyat al-Shiraj. There seem to have been two other places called Munyat al-Āmir. Minā 'l-Āmir is now included within the district of Badrashain in the province of Al-Jīzah, and had in 1885 a population of 2,935. See Yāḵūt, Mushtariḳ, p. 31; Revenue-list of A. D. 1375 in De Sacy's Abd-Allatif, pp. 599 and 676; Al-Maḵrizī, Khīṭat, ii. p. 17; Ibn Duḥmāk, v. p. 215; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 218. Cf. below, fol. 61 a.

3 For the ṭabāḳh or ‘plate’ see Coptic Churches, ii. p. 33. (A. J. B.)
Church of Saint Mercurius or Abû 's-Saïfain.

The Hamrâ ad-Dunyâ was formerly called Al-Bawâsir, and the river ran by it, and it was also called the Bank of As-Sa'îr. The book of Al-Khitât bi-Mîsr testifies [that near] the Kâsâriyat al-Jamâl\(^1\) stands the important church dedicated to the martyr Mercurius\(^2\); and this church was upon the bank of the river, which has now receded from it. The church was restored by the father Anbâ Ephraim, the Syrian, the [sixty-second] in the order of succession\(^3\), in the caliphate of Al-Imâm Al-'Aziz bi-llâh, son of Al-Imâm Al-Mu'izz li-dînî lâlîh. 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

\(^{1}\) The passage is slightly corrupt. The reference is, of course, to the Khitât Misr of Al-Kindî, from which our author so frequently borrows. There were many Kâsâriyâhs in Cairo and Fustât Misr; and accounts of them are given by Al-Makrizî, Khitât, ii. pp. 43-44, and Ibn Duḵmâk, iv. pp. 3v-8v. 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 (κασαρία) 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 Abû 's-Saïfain. The tradition that the Nile came near it consists with the similar tradition concerning Kâshr ash-Šama' (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 Abû 's-Saïfain 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-Mâkin 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 Abû Šâliy's earlier version. (A. J. B.)

\(^{3}\) Occupied the see from A.D. 977 (i) to 981 (i); 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 sayyids 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 eleison three times; and God showed his wonders, and the mountain moved: namely, that part of the Muṣṭṭam hills which is near the hill of Al-Kabsh, between Cairo and Miṣr. 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-'Aziz and the chief men of his government, and the cadis of the Muslims. When Al-'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-'Aziz 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-'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-'Aziz bi-llâh Abû Mansûr Nazâr, fifth of the Fatimides, reigned from A. H. 365 to 386 = A. D. 975 to 996.
CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

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-'Azîz 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-'Azîz bi-llâh, that the common people would not allow the patriarch to carry out the decree for the restoration of the church. Then Al-'Azîz 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 'l-Yaman Kûzmân 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 contented 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

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1 The first person is used in this last clause only, apparently a quotation from the decree.
of Saint Macarius¹, 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 restoration², 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 Patriarchs³; 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 Misr, caused by the mob of Mahometans of that city and of Alexandria, in the caliphate of Al-'Adid, and in the vizierate of Shawar, in the month of Ṣafar, in the year 564 (A.D. 1168), [the church of Saint Mercurius also was burnt]. Now the patriarch Anbâ Jonas⁴, 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 Wâdî Naṭrûn, where the principal monastery is dedicated to St. Macarius. (A. J. B.)
² Of St. Mercurius or Abû ʾs-Saifain.
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-Farâj 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

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 Šâliţ 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-Àdîd, and the vizirate of the most glorious
Yûsuf an-Nâşir ibn Ayyûb, brother of Asad ad-Din Shirkûh, 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 Anbà Philotheus, bishop of Cairo; but Christodulus transformed it into a patriarchal
church, and appointed an income for Anbà 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 manzarah bears witness. In the upper story of this church was the chapel of

1 Šalâh ad-Din (Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb) was, of course, nephew, not brother, of Asad ad-Din Shirkûh.

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. 111, and plan on p. 78. (A. J. B.)

4 This passage refers to some inscription in the manzarah of the church. The manzarah 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 manzarah in the still existing mosque of Kâ“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 (Abû Jirj or Mârî Jîrjis) is in the south triforium of the church of Abû 's-Saîfain, and the cupola referred to is part of the external fabric, although it rises over the sanctuary. It is curious that Abû Šâlîh 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 Abû Šâlîh's expression only applies to the haikal and dome, and seems to imply that the rest of the chapel
Saint George\(^1\), with the lofty cupola, erected by the Shaikh Abū 'l-Faḍl Yuhannā, son of Kiīl, the bishop; whose father received the name of John at the time of his promotion as bishop to the see of Atrib\(^2\). 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 Abū 'l-Fadā'il ibn Farrūj 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\(^3\) 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 Abū Ṣāliḥ. '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 Jirjiyūs (جريجوس), Jirjis (جرجس), Jirj (جريج), Jirjah (جريجة), and the diminutive form Juraj (جريج); and in Coptic we find veopv, veopv, veopv, veopv, veopv, veopv, and veop. See Mr. W. E. Crum's *Coptic MSS. from the Fayyûm*, Index 1. (A. J. B.)


\(^3\) Abū Ṣāliḥ now mentions three churches, the church of St. Michael, the neighbouring church of Abā Nūb which was destroyed by the fire, and the
the time of the promotion of Anbâ Gabriel¹ Abû 'l-'Ulâ, son of Tarik the scribe, the seventieth in the order of succession, and after him under Anbâ 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 Anbâ Michael³ the Sinjârite⁴. The church was restored by the Shaikh As-Sadîd Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il, known as Ibn Sittumî'ah(?), the scribe of the Emir 'Ali ibn Aḥmad, the Kurd, in the caliphate of Al-Mustaḍî, the Abbaside, and in the vizierate of An-Nâṣîr Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb, in the year 568 (A.D. 1172); and it was solemnly opened on the feast of the angel Michael, the 7th of Hatûr, in the year 809⁵ of the Blameless Martyrs, when the liturgy was said in it.

Church of Saint Anûb.

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

church of St. Anthony, built on the same site as Abû Nûb. These, I think, were separate buildings, i.e. not part of Abû 's-Sâfîain; indeed this is proved by the fact of St. Michael being the patriarchal Cell, and having its own courtyard, and by the fact of Abû Nûb 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 Abû 's-Sâfîain: 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 Sinjâr, the Coptic nqimbepi, 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.
the glorious martyr Saint Anûb, to the expenses of which the patriarch Anbâ Gabriel contributed. It is said that it was founded by Abû Naṣr, brother of Abû 'l-'Ulà ibn Tarîk, but was not finished; and then was newly built by the Shaikh As-Ṣâfî 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 Anûb, 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 Anûb] 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 Abû Nûb represents the Coptic Ṣnû. 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 MM., 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-Maḳrîzî makes it only one year earlier; see Renaudot, Hist. Patr., 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 Ṣnû-一封信 = April 26-May 25.
formerly named *Agia Sophia*; and the building was wonderful for its plan and its construction and its symmetry. It was restored at the expense of the Shaikh Ṣafī ad-Daulah ibn Abū Yāsir ibn 'Alwan, the scribe.

*Church of Saint Macarius.*

There is a church named after Saint Macarius, 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. It was restored by the Shaikh Ibn Amin al-Mulk ibn al-Muhaddith Abū Sa‘id 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 Hatūr, 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 4.7-9; Ezekiel i.5 and x) is kept on Hatūr 8=Nov. 4. See *Synaxarium* (MS. Arabe 256) ad diem.
Theodore Basradiladus\(^1\). The church was restored by Al-Mu‘allim Zawin, who was dâmin\(^2\) of Cairo in the caliphate of Al-Ḫâfiz. Afterwards it fell into decay and ruin, and was restored by the Shaikh Al-Makín Abû 'l-Barakât, known as Ibn Kitámah; 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 Ṣalâh ad-Dîn Yûsuf\(^3\), the Kurd.

*Other Churches in the Ḥamras.*

§ 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 ΠECTΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗC, which is the Greek οτρατηλάτηs with the Coptic article prefixed. This word translated the Latin *Magister militum* or general of troops (in Arabic ܐܣܦܐ-ܠܡ), a post held by Theodore under Licinius. The saint is also called St. Theodore of Shūṭb, 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. Théodorus Dux (στρατηλάτηs) 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 ΠΟΕΜΗ. 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-Fath, of Upper Egypt, who was priest at the church of Al-Mu'allakah. 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 Barmahat, 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, 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-'Ulā Ṣâ'īd, 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. Yahyâ 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 Yahyâ was expelled again, and another was appointed in his place. It is said that through Abû Shâkir, the scribe, of Alexandria, the removal of Yahyâ 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 Yahyâ to abandon the Christian religion, and he became a Muslim, and made a kiblah 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-Ḥâfiz. Thus Yahyâ 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, 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 Abû 'l-Faḍîl ibn al-Baghdâdi and Abû Naṣr ibn 'Abdûn, known as Ibn al-'Addâs, the metwallî of the Divan of Syria, in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâkim. Ibn al-'Addâs rose high in the affairs of the government and became Nâzîr; his sobriquet was Al-ḥamdû lillâhi 'alâ mà 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 mihrâb, and kiblah denotes the point to which the eyes are directed in prayer. The meaning here is that Yahyâ set on these two places the symbol of Mahometan worship. (A. J. B.)

2 I. e. the lake of Al-Ḥabash.

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 'l-Faḍā‘īl 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 'l-Faḍā‘īl died, he left a nephew named Abû 'l-Makârim Maḥbûb, son of Abû 'l-Faraj al-Âbûdî, whose wife was the sister of Abû 'l-Barakât ibn Abû 'l-Laith. Abû 'l-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-Ḥâfîz, 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-Maghtas 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
CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

The Book of the Monasteries, by Ash-Shâbushti, bears witness that this monastery is on the bank of the lake of Al-Ḥabash, near the river, and that beside it are several gardens, one of which was laid out by the emir Tamîm, brother of Al-'Aziz bi-llâh; and in this there is a pavilion, the roof of which is supported by pillars. The pavilion is beautifully designed, skilfully constructed and adorned, and decorated with paintings; near it is a well called Bir Najâ'i, 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 the first who constructed minarets in mosques was Mukhallad al-Anşâri.

night of the Epiphany was still observed; and not only the Christians but the Mahometans also followed the practice, and marked the festival by illuminations, and a fair with its usual accompaniments; many of them pitching tents beside the river. Al-Maṣûdî, who witnessed the festival in A.H. 330 = A.D. 942, describes the illuminations and festivities on this night ordered by Al-Ikhshîd, then governor of Egypt; and Al-Masîlî describes the observance of the festival by the Fatimide caliph Az-Zâhir in A.H. 415 = A.D. 1024. See Al-Maṣûdî, Murâj adh-Dhahab (ed. Barbier), ii. p. 364 f.; Al-Maḳrizî, Khīṭat, i. p. 345 f.

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 (مَارَةٍ=lighthouse) took its origin from the Pharos at Alexandria (مَارَةِ الأَسْكَنْدَرِيَة), and that theory has been rather strengthened than shaken by subsequent research. Al-Maḳrizî 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'awiyah 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] Khazaf are made.

Church of Saint Victor.

The church⁴ dedicated to the martyr Saint Victor⁵ stands in the

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¹ The district of Al-Ḥabash was adjacent to the lake of Al-Ḥabash, and was called in Coptic nioudq (Amélineau, Géogr. p. 162). It is mentioned, not only by 'Abū Selah,' as M. Amélineau remarks, but by Yākūṭ, who speaks (Géogr. Wört. i. p. 511) of

بستاتين تعرف باللحش والبركة منسوبة الى

'Gardens named Al-Ḥabash, after which the pool of Al-Ḥabash is so called;' and by Al-Makrizi, Khīṭat, ii. p. 107.

² So called because a flight of steps led down into it. This well was constructed by Al-Ḥākim. See Al-Makrizi, Khīṭat, ii. p. 441.

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-Makrizi, Khīṭat, ii. p. 441.

⁴ This church is named in two Copto-Arabic lists of churches and monasteries as ʿAṣāb lhktw nqoudqa—iba, '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 Martyrs¹ (A.D. 1043), in the patriarchate of Anbā Sinuthius², 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 Cosmas³, 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 ʿl-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 ʿl-Barakāt ibn Kitāmah, the scribe, in the caliphate of Al-Fāʾiz⁴; 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 ⁵ʿl-Faraj, the West-African, in the Roman army; and he was beheaded after manifold tortures in the persecution of Diocletian. See Syntaxarium (Paris MS. Arabe 256) ad diem; Amélineau, Actes des MM. 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 'frescoes,' 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 Ḥatūr 22 = Nov. 18.

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

⁵ Abū ʿl-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar al-Maghribi became vizier in A.H. 450, and remained in office about a year. See Al-Maqrizi, ʿIrāq, i. p. 301; As-Suyūṭi, Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah, ii. p. 100.
in the caliphate of Al-Mustanşir, 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 ɬahāt ibn Ruzzik commanded that some of the columns should be taken to build the mosque which he founded in that part of Mişr named Karāfah. The tribe of Karāfah were called Banū Ḥajāṣ or Banū Yūsuf 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. Afterwards, Al-Ajall Tāj al-Mulûk Būri, the Kurd, brother of Ṣalāh ad-Din Yusuf, 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. 7a.
2 The Greater and Lesser Karāfahs were the principal burying-grounds 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 mamlûks' 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 Maghāfir; or, as the text suggests, a word of Greek origin (γραφέων), meaning 'writer' or 'copyist.' See Yāḥû, Geogr. Wost. iv. p. 48; Al-Makrizî, Khiṭat, ii. pp. 235-236.
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 بوري
'The fall of Aleppo has been dearly bought by the death of Būri.' (Abū l'Fidā, Annales, 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-'Azamiyah, in the caliphate of Al-Āmīr, 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-Āmīr was informed of this restoration, he issued a decree against Abû 'l-Faḍā'il, and acted extortiously 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'im, known as Ibn Abû Kīrāt, the metwalli of the Diwân al-Khâṣṣ of Al-Āmīr. 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 Misr, 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-Mausil, 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 Misr 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 Philotheus¹ of Antioch. In the upper story of the monastery there are manzarahs; 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 Ramadan 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 Anbā Peter, bishop of the Fayyūm. 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 Shaikh Abū 'l-Mansūr ibn Būlus, 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 Anbā Zacharias², 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-Ḥākim³. In [the same burying-ground] also are the tombs of the bishops of Miṣr; and near

¹ The festival of this martyr is kept on Tūbah 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 Abū Ṣāliḥ.

it there are two wells of running water: one constructed by Abû 'l-Ḥasan Sa'îd ibn Ma'nṣûr, the scribe, and the second made by Nāṣîr, 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 Anbâ Michael, the fifty-sixth patriarch, sold to the Jews, at the time when Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlûn 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-Ḳuṣâir stands. The Armenians and the Nestorians likewise [bury] in their churches.

Church of Al-Martûtî.

§ The garden called Al-'Adawiyah, or Munyat as-Sûdân, was

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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 Khâ'il 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-'Adawiyah and its monastery stand about eighteen miles to the south of Old Cairo, on the same bank of the river. The church of Al-Martûtî, however, is not now in existence, possibly because the confiscation recorded by Abû Ṣâllû was permanent. Yâḳût calls Al-'Adawiyah a village on the eastern bank, possessing many gardens; and he suggests other derivations of the name; see his Geogr. Wort. iv. p. 136. (A. J. B.)

5 Two villages of this name are now in existence, but neither of them is near
CHURCH OF AL-MARTŪṬĪ.

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-Martūṭī, 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-Martūṭī, which is the Greek word Ματέρ-τά, and means 'Mother of God the Word.' When this church grew old it fell into decay, and was restored by the Shaikh Abū 'l-Yaman Wazir, a native of Sanhūr, and metwalli of the Divan of the Delta, and by Abū 'l-Mansūr, his son, in the caliphate of Al-Āmir, and in the vizierate of Al-Afḍal Shāhanshāh. In its upper story Abū 'l-Yaman built a beautiful manzarah, called As-Salûkīyah, 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-

1 Mrjrrjp
3 The sixty-seventh patriarch; occupied the see from a.d. 1078 to 1092; see Renaudot, Hist. Patr. pp. 449-470.

Al-'Adawiyah; see Rec. de l'Égypte, p. 222. Cf. Yākūt, Mushtarik, p. 94. Al-Idrisī, however, mentions the place named by our author, saying, according to Jaubert's translation: 'Quand on part de Misr 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 Misr.' (Tome i. p. 311.)

[II. 7.]
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 as-Şānī', became a Christian, and was converted to the religion of the Messiah, and was baptized in this church by Anbā John, bishop of Ţamwaih, in the province of Al-Jiziyah, assisted by the priest Abū Yāsir ibn Abū Sa'd ibn al-Ḳustāl, in the caliphate of Al-Fā'iz, in the vizierate of Ṭalā'i' 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 Hārah 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-Martūtī, is a church which had fallen into decay, but was restored by Abū 'l-Faḍā'il ibn Ash-Shubrāmurayyīki², 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 Shubrā Murayyik (شبرا مرق), in the province of Al-Gharbīyah, is mentioned by Yāḵūt, Musḥtarīk, pp. 545.
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 Baṣṭah 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-Ḥākim.

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1 The classical Oxyrhinchus, and the Coptic neektâ; 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. Wört. i. p. vvi; Al-Maḳrizî, Khiṭāṭ, i. p. rrv; 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-Martīṭṭī, the history of which has been related, there was a priest named Abū Yāsir, son of the priest Abū Saʾd, known as Ibn al-Kuṣṭāl, 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\(^1\), and christening infants without circumcision\(^2\), and giving permission to the bridegroom to see the bride before marriage\(^3\). 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 Imām Al-Ḥāfiz, who built opposite to the church, near the river, in the place called Al-Khaimat al-kibliyah, for the survey of the taxes, a manṣarāh, which was visited by the Imām Al-Ḥāfiz and the Imām Aḥz-Zāhir\(^4\), his son, during the lifetime of this emir Jabril; and after his death the Imām Al-ʿĀḍid 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 Ṭamwaḥ, in the province of Al-Jiziyah, is situated, and as far as Munyat ash-Shammās\(^5\) 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-Ḥāfiz 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
closest adequate here, and
visible miracles are performed for the faithful.

§ Al-Ajjall Saif al-Islám Tughtíkín¹, brother of Al-Malik Salák ad-Dín Yúsuf ibn Ayyúb, the Kurd, acquired possession of the garden,
and of Al-‘Adawiyyah, and the church of As-Súdán, 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-‘Adawiyyah are the quarries of yellow clay,
of which the [pots called] khasaif are made; and they are to the north,
on the estate of the vizier Abú l-Faraj Al-Maghrabi.

Ţurá

The district known as Ţurá², which leads to Itfih³, by way of
the monastery of Shahrán⁴. Under the southern sycamore, in the
south of Ţurá, Moses the prophet prayed—upon him be peace,—and in the town there are monuments of ‘Abd al-Aziz ibn Marwán⁵.
Ţurá was allotted as a fief to the Ghuzz and the Kurds, when they
conquered Egypt. Itfih is the name of one of the sons of Mizraim.
Shahrán is a large village, and was flourishing and populous. It is

¹ Ruler of Yemen after A.H. 577; died A.H. 593.
² To the south of ‘Adawiyyah and to the north of Ḥulwán, on the eastern
bank. It is now in the district of Badrashain in that province, and in 1885 had
a population of 883. See Yāḳūṭ, Mushtarik, p. 6. v; De Sacy, Abd-Allatif,
p. 676; Rec. de l’Égypte, ii. p. 221.
³ See fol. 2b, and note.
⁴ The site of Shahrán cannot be identified. (A. J. B.)
⁵ Son of the caliph Marwán I, and wáli of Egypt from A.H. 65= A.D. 685 to
A. H. 86=A. D. 706. He attempted to make Ḥulwán 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 born⁴ 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 cavern², 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 Țurâ.

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 costume³ which Al-Ḥâkim had enjoined, and which he had maintained for nine years, during which Zacharias, the sixty-fourth patriarch, was imprisoned⁴, 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 Macarius⁵, named Jonas⁶, 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 Muḥattam range near Țurâ. 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.)
⁴ See Renaudot, Hist. Patr. p. 391 ff. ⁵ In the Nitrian desert.
⁶ Or John. See the story in Renaudot, Hist. Patr. p. 388 f.
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-Imâm 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-Juyûsh Badr was surrounded by Armenians, in the patriarchate of Anbâ 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 Anbâ Mark, known before his promotion as Abû '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.
In this church the priest named Abū Yāṣir, whose history has been related with reference to the church of Al-Martūtī, which is called Al-ʿAdawiyah, 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 manṣārah; 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 Yāṣir, known as Ibn al-Kuṣṭāl, and was solemnly opened in the month of Baʿūnah, in the year 559 (A.D. 1164), in the patriarchate of Anbā John, with the consent of the Armenians. Abū Yāṣir 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 Baʿūnah, 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 Yāṣir 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-Muḳaṭṭam. It is situated near Tūrā, by the stone-
quarry, and is contiguous to Tūrā lengthwise, and it is a holy place.
§ The western range unites itself to the mountain chain of Western Asia
Fol. 49 a Africa and to the western shores, which at last reach the land of Ibn¹
Ghawāṭah, and the Dark Sea². The river Nile flows between these two
mountain-ranges.

Melkite Monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair.

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 Tūrā. It was founded by Arcadius³, 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 Wādī Habib;
but afterwards he removed to this mountain, and spent his time in
worship there. This monastery was known as Ḳuṣair⁴. A great festival

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¹ A mistake for Baraghwaṭah (بِرَغْوَاطَةٍ), which was a district in north-western
Africa, inhabited by a tribe of the same name; see Yāḵūṭ, Geogr. Wört. i. p. 818;
Al-Idrīṣī (ed. Rome) [p. 87]; Ibn Khaldūn, vi. p. r.v.
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 monas-
tery is, however, probably authentic. The full name of the convent, according
to Al-Maḳrīẓī, was monastery of John the Dwarf (Yūḥānna al-Ḳaṣīr or Al-
Ḳaṣayyir), i.e. St. John Kolobos; see Khīṭat, ii. p. 81. (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 Mém. ii. pp. 499-502, which consists of translations from Al-Maḳrīẓī, Khīṭat,
ii. p. 81., where Ash-Shābushtī is quoted, as by our author. Yāḵūṭ also describes
the monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair among the few monasteries which he writes of; see

[II. 7.]
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 pickaxe¹, 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 ʿl-Jaish Khamārawaih², son of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, 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-Shâbushtī. This Al-Κuṣair is one of the monasteries that are visited for worship, and also for the pleasure of sauntering around them.

The patriarch Eustathius³ 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. 51a.
² Khamārawaih, son of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, and second of the Ṭulūnid 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-Κuṣair is told also by Yâkūt, Geogr. Wört. ii. p. 105.
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 بدى فيه الكتان

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. 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. 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 Sha'ban, 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 Bahrām, 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-Ḥaššāni 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-


\[2\] This must be a confusion with the length of Eustathius' life.
ing to a description, of the date of Barmahât, 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 Šalih 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 Šalih'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 Hárah 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 Šalih'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. Khamārawaih, son of Ahmād ibn Tūlūn, 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 Vogt in his Églises de la Terre Sainte, p. 66 ff.

The word rendered tesserae in the text is فصول, the plural of فصول. But Eutychius, in the passage just quoted, uses the word فسایس as the term for glass mosaics—a term derived from the Byzantine ψύφωρις. Now the author of the History of Damascus speaks of فصول or tesserae, coloured and gilt, which are known as فسایس; and similarly Kamāl ad-Dīn defines فسایس as equivalent to فصول or gilded tesserae. Further, Ibn Baṭṭālah 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 Abū Sa‘īdī, here and on fol. 104 a. The splendid lamps of the type called Kalā‘ūnī, 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 glassworks at Fustāṭ. 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-Hākim 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 Sabas1 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-Fadāʾil, was charged with the control of the outlay. This Abū 'l-Barakāt was the metwalli of the Divān at-taḥkīk2, in

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 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, 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.)

1 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 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 Abū '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
the vizierate of Al-Afḍal, 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 Abū 'l-Faḍā'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 Fore-runner, 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 gates¹, in the caliphate of Al-Mustanṣir, 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-Maḵrīzī confirms the statement of our author that Abū 'l-Barakāt was put to death in A.H. 528. See Khīṭat, i. p. v. i.

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 Abū Šāliḥ says is that John the monk planned the new walls of Cairo in the vizierate of Badr, under the caliphate of Al-Mustanṣir. The original walls, of brick, were built by Jauhar, under the caliph Al-Mu'izz in A.D. 969 or 970 (see Al-Maḵrīzī, Khīṭat, i. p. r.vv ff.); but a century later these walls, being outgrown, were demolished by Badr al-Jamālī, 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-Maḵrīzī, Khīṭat, i. p. r.vi). 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 Mémo. 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.\(^1\)

The church of Saint George\(^2\), 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-Khašib, 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 Khamârawâih, son of Ahmad ibn Tulûn, 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\(^3\), 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\(^4\), in the second week [of the Fast], on the 23rd of Amshir\(^5\), 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.)

\(^5\) The Coptic Mechir (\textit{M\(\text{e}\)c\(\text{h}\)R}) = Jan. 26 to Feb. 24.
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 Mâlik, 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-Ḳanṭarah._

The church of the Lady Mary, the Pure Virgin, at Al-Ḳanṭarah⁵, 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-Maḳrizî and As-Suyûṭî write this name Kulkan (كُلَان), and the father's name Khartaba (خَرَتَبا) or Khariba (خَرِيبا); see Khīṭat, i. p. 37; Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah, i. p. 76.
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 Mukṭṭṭam hills, to the east of Cairo. For the legends related of the spot, see Al-Maḳrizî, _Khīṭat_, ii. p. 460.
5 This village, or suburb of Al-Fuṣṭṭṭ, 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 Mukṭṭṭam 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-Ḳanṭarah; see Eutychius, _Annales_ (ed. Pococke), ii. p. 430.
the chamberlains of Al-Ma‘mūn\textsuperscript{1} ‘Abd Allāh, son of Hārūn ar-Rashīd, since it was near the ‘Dome of the Air\textsuperscript{2}, which he founded on the Muḥāṭṭam hills. The Christians wore black garments\textsuperscript{3}, and rode on horses, until the caliphate of Al-Mutawakkil Ja‘far, who forbade them to do so.

**Hulwān.**

Hulwān\textsuperscript{4}. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz\textsuperscript{5} ibn Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam. surnamed Abū Fol. 52 b \textquoteleft]Uṣbu\textquoteright, lived in this place, and Hulwān was the name of his eldest son. It was in this neighbourhood that Al-Imām al-Ḥākim bi-amrī’llāh 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 Shawwāl, in the year 411 (A.D. 1021)\textsuperscript{6}.

\textsuperscript{1} The seventh of the Abbaside caliphs; reigned from A.D. 813 to 833.

\textsuperscript{2} The Kubbat al-Hawd was on the mountain near the citadel of Cairo; see C. Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, &c., i. p. 93. (A. J. B.)

\textsuperscript{3} Al-Mutawakkil reigned from A.D. 847 to 861. It would appear from Abū Salīh’s remark that the Christians voluntarily affected a black dress at this time, and that the ordinance of Al-Ḥākim two centuries later was an enforced reversion to an old custom. (A. J. B.)

\textsuperscript{4} Hulwān or Halwān (Helouan), the Coptic ΞΡΟΣ or ΞΡΑΝ, 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 Yākūt, *Geogr. Wörör*. ii. p. r1; Al-Maqrızī, *Khīṭāt*, i. p. r机械设备.; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 584. (A. J. B.)

\textsuperscript{5} See fol. 47 a.

\textsuperscript{6} Bar-Hebraeus states that Al-Ḥākim was assassinated at the instigation of his sister, and that this was the explanation of his disappearance. Al-Maqrızī also mentions this report but denies its truth (ii. p. r机械设备.). Ibn Khalūdān, iv. p. 11; Ibn al-Athīr, ix. p. r机械设备; Abū 7-Fidā, iii. p. 48; As-Suyūtī, ii. p. 18; and Ibn Khallikān relate the same story.
At Hulwân 'Abd al-'Aziz erected some handsome buildings, and set up a Nilometer. He was attacked by the disease called lionsickness, or elephantiasis, and he took many medicines, but the medicines did him no good, and so the physicians, in treating him, selected [Hulwân¹ as a residence for him]. This 'Abd al-'Aziz pulled down the Old Mosque at Miṣr, known as the foundation of 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀsi, governor of Egypt, and rebuilt it, adding to its extent². At Ḥulwân he made a large lake, into which water flowed from springs in the hills, named the Muḥaṭṭam hills, by an aqueduct which he constructed [from the hills] to the lake. Beside the latter he erected a pavilion of glass³. 'Abd al-'Aziz also built several mosques at Ḥulwân, 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 Faithful⁴. It was his wish to remove the seat of commerce by land and water to [Ḥulwân], and to depopulate Al-Fustāṭ. [In his time] the public treasury was at Ḥulwân. § [There is at Ḥulwân] a monastery named after the Lady Mary, the Pure Virgin. It was erected at the expense of the bishops, in the

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 Ḥulwân as a residence for him.’ (Annales, ii. p. 369.)

² This was in A. H. 79=A. D. 699; see Al-Makrīzī, Khīṭāṭ, ii. p. 718. An abstract of Al-Makrīzī'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.
churches of Anbâ Isaac¹ the monk, who was the forty-first in the order of succession, and in the patriarchate of his successor, Anbâ Simon² the Syrian, the forty-second patriarch, during the governorship of 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn Marwân, through the agency of Gregory³, bishop of Al-Kâis⁴. The monastery is called the monastery of Abû Ḫarkâr; 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-Makîn gives the name of the patriarch as Īsâk (Isak) in Coptic, transcribing the word ٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩ in Coptic, transcribing the word ٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩ in Coptic, transcribing the word ٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩; see Ta’rikh al-Muslimîn, ad ann. 66. The foundation of a church by the patriarch Isaac at Ḥulwân, 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 حلوان لأن في ذلك الموضع كان يعتني إلى الأمير عبد العزيز وكان قد أمر ارخينة

المعبد وكل الكور أن يبنى كل واحد لنفسه مسكنًا في حلوان المدينة.

'And [Isaac] built a church at Ĥulwân 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 Ḥulwân.' (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 أطلق الأساقفة إلى كرسهم ان يبنوا بيعتيم في حلوان وكانوا الأساقفة

يتقنون من عندهم على عمارةها و وكل الوالي بعمارتها إغرافودين أسقف الفيس.

'After three years 'Abd al-'Azîz dismissed the bishops to their sees that they might find means for building two churches at Ĥulwân; 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-Kâis.' (Ibid. p. 135, ll. 4-6.)

⁴ The Coptic ٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩. 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 Jonas\(^1\) 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 Chamberlains\(^2\). 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 Hulwân\(^3\) and Munyat as-Sûdân. (Now the Pharaoh of Moses was Al-Walîd\(^4\) ibn Mu's'âb.)

There is a monastery adjacent to this last-named church. This Fol. 53b 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 Tûbah, every year, in memory of the two saints, so celebrated for their monastic life, Maximus and Domitius, his brother, the sons of the emperor Valentinian\(^5\), 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. 52a. Both accounts, however, are based on Eutychius, who speaks of the church built by the chamberlains of 'Abd al-'Aziz at Hulwân 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 Hulwân.

\(^4\) The father of Ar-Rayyân according to most of the Arab historians; see above, fol. 18b.

\(^5\) The form of the name is corrupt. The two saints are commemorated on Tûbah 17 = Jan. 20. They are said to have been the sons of the emperor
of the monastery of Our Lady, named after Baramús, 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, on the 11th of Tübah; 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, 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.

Church of the Virgin.

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 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 Hulwán, but further to the south. See Yâḳût, Geogr. Wort. ii. p. 187; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 93.
Husain ibn al-Hāfiz and of the quarrel between the Rahláníyah and the Juyushiyah, when many on both sides were killed. With the materials thus seized, the mosque called 'Mosque of the Hyena,' at Iṣfih, 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.

§ Iṣfih received its name from one of the sons of Mālik, son of Tadrās, one of the sons of Mizrām; for most of the large towns are called after the names of their sons. [Iṣfih] travelled towards the west, until he reached the [Sea of] Darkness, and beheld many wonders.

§ The monastery named after Saint Anthony. This stands to the east of Iṣfih, and to the south of Mīsır, and from it to the river Nile there

1 These two sections of the Egyptian army quarrelled and fought in the reign of Al-Hāfiz, and his son Husain had much trouble in quelling the riots. See the account in Al-Maqrizī, Khiṭat, ii. p. 1 v ff.

2 The Atlantic Ocean, called by the Arabs Az-Zulmah or Baḥr az-Zulumāt, 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-Kḥīḍr drank and so lives on to the Day of Judgment. (A. J. B.)

3 Abū Sālīḥ 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 Antāniyūs 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 Antāniyūs 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-Ḳulzum. 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 Miṣr. 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 feddān 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 Iṭfīḥ. 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 Anbā Andūnah, 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 Dāir Antānyās, 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, 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, as it is related by Basil, bishop of Caesarea, who saw the similitude of blood on the point of his lance. According to the history of Sa'id ibn Baṭriḳ, who was patriarch of the Melkites,

was born at Ḫumā or Ḫumā near Heraclea, and where his life is given; Bibl. Magna Patrum, tom. ix. p. 729; Athanasius, Op. tom. ii. p. 450 ff.; Rosweyde’s Vitae Patrum, s.v.; Sharpe’s Hist. of Egypt, ii. p. 274, &c. (A. J. B.)

1 Hence called the Angelic Habit; see Coptic Churches, i. p. 347 and p. 334. (A. J. B.)

2 This story is related in the legend of St. Mercurius given in Coptic Churches, ii. pp. 357–360. (A. J. B.)

3 The story is not to be found in the works of St. Basil now extant in Greek.

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.)

5 I. e. Eutychius; see the story in his Annales (ed. Pococke), i. p. 485, whence Abū Ṣāliḥ 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. 301 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.)
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 Mahbûb al-Manbaji, son of Constantine, relates the same incident.

With [Anthony] also was Paul 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 Dionysius, the fourteenth in the succession. In the time [of Anthony] also lived Athanasius, the scribe, patriarch of Alexandria, and Saint Pachomius, the Egyptian monk, and Basil, bishop of Caesarea.

In this district [of Itfih] there are seven churches, of which six

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1 The name is corruptly written; it probably passed through the stages بقش, بقش, بقش, بقش, بقش, بقش, بقش, بقش, 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 360 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 Bûlus, as it is now called, a day’s journey to the south of Dair Antûniyûs. Abû Sâlihiy’s account of Dair Bûlus—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 Aegypti, 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 Itfih 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 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 Dahrút, and contained, up to our own time, thirty monks.

**The Heretic Balūtus.**

§ In the [aforesaid] monastery of Anbā Andūnah, or Antonios, there was a monk named Balūtus, 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. 10 a.

1 There are two places of this name: Al-Jummaizah the Great (Al-Kubrâ) and Al-Jummaizah the Little (Aš-Ṣughrâ), both near Itšilî. This monastery is mentioned by Al-Maqrizī (Khitṭat, ii. p. 3 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-Bahasâ; see Yāḵūt, Geogr. Wort. 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 
\textit{zi'nīyah} and the \textit{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.

\textit{Churches at Al-Barnīl and Šaul.}

§ In the district of Al-Barnīl\(^3\) there is a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary. Beside it there is another named after the saint Abū 'l-'Arah\(^4\).

\(^1\) I have already explained that by the \textit{askīm} is meant properly the \textit{σχήμα ἀγγέλικῳ} or angelic habit, but it sometimes denotes merely the leathern girdle, as Al-Maqrīzī says:

\[\text{الاشكيم وهو سير من جلد فيه صليب يتوشع به الرحمن}\]

'The askīm, which is a leathern belt with a cross upon it, and with which the monks gird themselves.' \textit{(Khitāt, ii. p. 693.)}

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—\textit{χιτῶν ἀκερίδωτος}, a hood—\textit{σκέπασμα} or \textit{koukouλion}, a girdle—\textit{ζώνη}—the \textit{zi'nīyah} of the text, and the \textit{ἀναβολέως}, which is defined as \textit{tóu ὄμους καὶ τῶν βραχίων 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 \textit{ἀναβολέως}. He says that the habit is a sort of 'pallium ou scapulaire' of leather, called the \textit{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. \textit{(Nov. Mém. des Missions dans le Levant, v. p. 150.)} (A. J. B.)

\(^2\) Or 'a Unitarian.' (A. J. B.)

\(^3\) Yākūf 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 Ifṣīḥ and Šaul. See Yākūf, \textit{Geogr. Wort.} ad voc.

\(^4\) I can only conjecture that this saint is the martyred priest of Shatnūf, Abā 'Arī (ایا (أي)), commemorated in the \textit{Synaxarium} on Misrī 9 = Aug. 2. See Hyvernat, \textit{Actes des MM. de l'Égypte}, p. 202 ff. Cf. Amélineau, \textit{Actes des MM. copies}, p. 151.
In the district of Şaul 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 Itfih, 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 Bálūjah, 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

\[1\] On the east bank, to the south of Itfih; the place is now included in the district of Itfih (Atfih), in the province of Al-Jiziyah, and in 1885 had a population of 3,184. See Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 48]; Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. iii. p. 370; 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 M.M. p. 179 ff.; Synaxarium, ad diem. He fought in the Roman army against the Persians together with St. Theodore of Shutb, 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 الذمب), commemorated on Abîb 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-Maqrîzî places close to Daljah, i.e. on the west bank, to the west of Mallawi and Ushmûnain (Khîṭāt, ii. p. 50), whereas our author seems to set it on the east bank, near Itfih.

\[5\] Aba Jûl is without doubt a corrupt form of Aba Bajûl, the Coptic  appropriated.
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

πξωλ or ρσωλ, 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 birbā, existing in the twelfth century near Ḩīfī, as Abū Šāliḥ 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-Makrizī (Khitat, ii. p. 34) 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. 50 a.

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 fuisse 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 Abū Šāliḥ, the ‘father of monks.’ (A. J. B.)

4 The sea is called Jūlūs in distinction from Jūlūs 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 Wādi '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-'Arîsh. 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-'Arîsh.

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 Wādi '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 (Maḳrīzī, Khīṭat, ii. p. 324; cf. Murray's Guide, p. 324).

2 It is interesting to know that remains of the ancient Rhinocolura existed in the time of Abū Ṣāliḥ. 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 Tūlūn and the Christian architect who built his mosque; see Al-Maḳrīzī, Khīṭat, ii. p. 170 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 Faramûnus\(^1\). 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-Faramâ 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 Misr*\(^4\) relates that there was in the city of Tinnis a governor called Ibn al-Mudabbar, who sent men to Al-Faramâ 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-Faramâ 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. Abû Ŝâliḥ states above that the Arab town was on the sea (fol. 19 b); Al-Maṭrīzī is evidently wrong in placing it at the distance of a day's journey. Al-Faramâ 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 Abû Ŝâliḥ 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 Pharemoun or Baramoun. Both the Coptic name and the Greek Πηλούσιων, as well as the modern Arabic designation At-Tih, have the connotation of 'mud.' (A. J. B.)

\(^2\) This account of Al-Faramâ is borrowed from Al-Kindî; see Al-Maṭrīzī, *Khitât*, i. p. rii.

\(^3\) 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 Utis, 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

1 The allusion is, although somewhat incorrectly made, to the Koran, Surah Tûsuf, ver. 67, where Jacob says to his sons when they are about to journey to Egypt:

\[
\text{يا بنى لا تدخلوا من باب واحد ولادخلوا من أبواب متفرقية}
\]

'My sons, do not enter by a single gate, but enter by different gates.' Cf. Al-Maârîzî, Khîlût, i. p. 11. Cf. the Midrash Rabbah on Gen., Par. 91 (quoted by Geiger, Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen? p. 148):

\[
\text{أيوم لما يذهب إلى بلاد فلما بحث إهات}
\]

'Jacob said to them: Do not all of you assemble at one gate.'

2 We have here another of our author's digressions. Utis is the ancient king of Egypt who is named Aftûtis 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 Ishâk quoted by Ibn Hishâm, Surah Muhammad, p. 48.
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 Útis, dwelt at Al-Faramâ. His name is also said to have been Sâdûk. He built many cities, and called them by the names of his sons: such as Tinnis and Damietta and Nûbah\(^2\) and Daḵahlah\(^3\); and he rebuilt Samannûd. 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 \(\text{Al}-\text{Hujáž}\)\(^5\), 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 Ishâk; the Hebrew is Nâphish (נַפִּישׁ); see Gen. xxv. 15.

\(^2\) Nûbah or ‘the Nubians’ is the name of a tribe, not of a town.

\(^3\) The Coptic \(\text{τκε} \text{ξ} \text{λι} \text{ν} \). It is the town which gives its name to the province of Ad-Daḵahlîyah in the Delta. It stands between Damietta and Damîrah, 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. 681; 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 \(\text{Ha} \text{'} \text{i} \text{t} \text{al}-\text{Hujáž} \) or ‘barrier-wall,’ generally called \(\text{Ha} \text{'} \text{i} \text{t} \text{al}-' \text{Ajáž} \) or \(\text{J} \text{i} \text{s} \text{r} \text{al}-' \text{Ajáž} \), ‘wall’ or ‘dyke of the old woman,’ has already been mentioned on fol. 19 b. 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-Âmir and the vizierate of Shâhanshâh al-Afdâl, in the fifteenth year of the patriarchate of Anbâ Macarius, 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 Mîr, 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-Îkulzum.

§ Al-Îkulzum 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 kulzum. Here is the church of Athanasius. There is a monastery in the district of Rânah, founded by the emperor Justinian. At Al-Îkulzum 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-Îkulzum, a distance of one day and one night’s journey. A certain prince 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 δαχμών.
4 Anbâ Sîyûs is incorrectly written for Atanâsiyûs or Athanasius. His death is commemorated on Misrî 29 (Aug. 22). See Synaxarium at that day. Eutychius names the church of St. Athanasius at Al-Îkulzum, and states that it was built by order of the emperor Justinian; see Annales, 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; and this sea is the Bahr Sîf.

§ The history of Sa'id ibn Baṭrīḳ, the Melkite, relates that the dearth was raging at Medina, near Mecca, and the people of Medina, of the Hanifite religion, were in great distress; so 'Umar ibn al-Khaftâb, in the eighth year of his caliphate, wrote from the Hedjaz to 'Amr ibn al-Âsi ibn 'Adi, emir of Egypt, to inform him of this. Then 'Amr ibn al-Âsi sent to 'Umar a caravan of camels loaded with corn, for which the point of arrival was Medina, and the point of departure Misr. Then 'Umar wrote to 'Amr commanding him to dig a canal to Al-Ḳulzum, that thus the transport of the corn might be facilitated. So 'Amr dug the canal, which passes through Al-Ḳantarâh, 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-Mas'ūdī (quoted by Quatremère, Mém. i. p. 175), who states that the caliph Harūn 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 יְהוָה.

3 See Eutychius, Annales, ii. p. 321. This canal of Cairo, or Khalîf Âmir al-Mûminîn, 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-Ḳulzum, 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-Sharkiyyah, where there is a bridge, and where the wheat is transferred from the bank to the dealer who travels to Mecca and the Hedjaz.

Churches in the Province of Al-Ｊīzah.

§ The western bank [of the Nile]. The province of Al-Jiziyah\(^2\). The fortress of Al-Jizah was built by ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀsi, 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 khalij was doubtless the old Amnis Trajanus, and it starts from the Nile, as described, at the Fum al-Khalij, near the island of Raudah. Yakut (Geogr. Wör. iii. p. 64) speaks of As-Sadīr 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. Abū Ṣāliḥ 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-Sadīr, 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 Ghizah, 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 फरσनσ or परσιον. (A. J. B.)

\(^3\) The caliph ʿUmar 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 ʿAmr built a fort for them there. See As-Ṣuyūṭi, Husn al-Muḥāḍarah, 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 ʿl-Khair as-Ṣairafī, 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 ʿIzz al-Kufat Abû ʿl-Fakhr ibn Sulaiman, 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 wâlî 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-Kufat 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 Anbà John, son of Abù Ghâlib, 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 Anbà Michael states that they reached eighteen cubits; and men ceased to despair of the

1 'Izz al-Kufat.

2 Mentioned by Al-Ma'qrizi, 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-Fustat, 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:

وَلَمَا كَانَ السَّابعُ عَشْرُ مِنَ الْيَوْمِ تَمَاتُ عِبَادَةُ الْقَرْنِينَةِ وَالْمِلَاءِمَةِ وَأَكْثَرُ
اِبْنِ الْفُسطَاطِ وَالْكَبْرِ وَالْحَسَامِ وَشَبَابُ الْأَلْوَافِ وَمَبَاحِرُ الْأَنْجَلِ وَدَخُلَّهَا إِلَى الْبَيْحَةِ الْكَبِيْرَةٌ
rising of the Nile. Then Nārūn, the wāli of Miṣr, said: 'How does God receive the prayers of the Christians?'

At Al-Jizah there is also a church named after the angel Michael, near to which lies the village of Al-Khaizarniyyah. It was to this

القِتالوِكِيَةُ التي على اسم القديس يطريس وكان أسسها في النحولم تكن البيعة تعَّن الناس من كَثِرَتهم حتى أنهم كانوا في الخطيئة والمواعظ ورفع اليوكرة السليب وكان معه إنا مينا اسقف منف والأنجيل المقدس معه وخرفنا جميعنا وكُن حاملين السليب والأنجيل المقدس ووقفنا على شاطئ المعرقل طلوع الشمس وصل الآب الباري وانا مينا الإسقف ولم يزال الشعب صارخين كزليعمون إلى ثلاثة ساعات من النهار حتى نهت جميع يجمع من الهود والمسلمين وغيرهم من صارخنا إلى الله سعماً؛ وتُلْعِب جَلَّ اسمه الكليم وطلع البحر ورد ذات واحد وجد كل أحد الله وشكر، ولما اتصل لُحَبُّ بنياوان تُجْبِب وحاف هو وجميع عسكره.

‘When the 17th of Tūt came, which is the festival of the Glorious Cross, the clergy of Al-Jizah and of distant places assembled, with most of the lay people of Al-Fuṣṭāṭ, 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 Anbā 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 Anbā 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 Nārūn 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 Miṣr. Al-Maqrīzī 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 Marwān 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 Khorassanians\(^1\), when they were transported to the western bank of the river, in order to fight with Marwān, surnamed the Ass of War\(^2\).

§ There is a church of Mark\(^3\), the evangelist and apostle, in the fort built by Khūsh\(^4\), king of the Persians, at the same time as the Kasr ash-Shama\(^5\) at Miṣr. The king used to alight at both of them Fol. 60 b from his boat.

§ The church of the angel Michael, also called the Red Monastery\(^5\), 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.

\(^1\) The best account of the attack upon Marwān made by the Khorassanian troops of the Abbaside caliph As-Saffāh 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 Ḥōsus, and the points over the ʾ are, of course, incorrect. Eutychius, after mentioning Artaxerxes Mnemon, says:

وملك بعده ابنه ارطخشاست وسما احسوس

'And after him reigned his son Artaxerxes, called Ochus.' Further down Eutychius says:

وتنا احسوس ملك الفرس بسطاط مصر الفراعنة اليوم بقصر الشمع

'And Ochus, king of the Persians, built at Fustāṭ Miṣr the fort which is now called Kasr ash-Shama.' (Annales, i. p. 267.)

\(^5\) This must still be in the province of Al-Jīzīyah, and is not to be confounded with the Red Monastery of Upper Egypt.
Al-Khaizrâniyah\(^1\). Here is the church of Saint Poemen, [the garden of] which contains fruitful palm-trees and an arbour of trees\(^2\).

Munyat Andúnah\(^3\). Here there is the church of the saint Abû Bîmah\(^4\); and a church named after Abû Baghâm\(^5\), 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

\[
\text{إِنَّا بِعِينٍ حَرُانِيةٍ}
\]

['Church of'] Saint Poemen at Pohlít or Al-Khaizrâniyah.' M. Amélineau, in spite of his study of Abû Sâlıh, 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-Khazrâniyah, or Al-Khaizrâniyah (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 ائضاب, seems to denote trees, and is probably the Syriac جذب.

\(^3\) This village, on the west bank, a little to the south of Al-Jîzah, is said to have been named after Almâd al-Madâ'înî, whose riches excited the cupidity of Ahmad ibn Tûlûn, so that he fined him 50,000 dinars. See Al-Ma'ârizî, Khijat, i. p. 79.

\(^4\) In Coptic \(\text{Α.Ν. Φάουρες}\), which is more correctly transcribed in Arabic as 'Abâ Abîmah.' He was a celebrated martyr, born at Pankoleus in the nome of Pe'mje or Al-Bahna's. Pankoleus appears to be the same as Jâlfah, which is mentioned by our author on fol. 73b and 74a; 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 Ahnâs. 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.
martyr, whose body lies within it, although his monastery is at Suyût.

§ Wadâb al-Kûm. Here is one church.

§ Bunumrus or Kašr Khâkân. There is here a church named after the holy martyr Saint George, which was restored by 'Ilm aš-Šarf Abû 'l-Makârim al-Wizân bi 'sh-Shafâ'îf; and within it there is a tablet of wood fastened with thread.

§ Bûlak. Here is the church of Saint George, beside which grows an ancient lotus-tree; and the church of the valiant martyr Theodore.

At Mukhnân there is a single church.

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1 Suyût or Usyût, now more commonly called Asyût, is the largest town in Upper Êgypt, since it contained, in 1885, 31,398 inhabitants. It is the Coptic CIWOR 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 'n-Numrus by Al-Maṣrīzî and others. It is now in the district of Badrashain, in the province of Al-Jîzah, and had in 1885 a population of 2,593 inhabitants, besides 299 Bedouins. It was called in Coptic ποιμενπος, and the Arabic form with ب 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. Bûlak ad-Dakîfur. The suburb of Cairo named Bûlak was not founded until A.D. 1313; see Al-Maṣrīzî, Khîyat, ii. p. 117.

4 This place, the Coptic LLOXONOF, lay in the province of Al-Jîzah, a little to the north of Cairo, on the east side of the Rosetta branch of the Nile, and was sometimes called Mukhnân Munâ 'l-Amîr, as being close to the latter place. M. Amélineau's article on the name consists of the following words: 'Mokhonon, LLOXONOF, مخنن. 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. Wort. i. p. 881; De Sacy, Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif, p. 676.
Munā 'l-Amīr. Here there is a single church.

Tamhā. Here is the church of the martyr Theodore, which was restored by the Shaikh Abū 'l-Yaman al-Bazzāz, 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-Ustādhi Şandal al-Muẓaffari. 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 Nahyā.

§ The following is the history of the monastery of Nahyā, as I learnt it from Sa'īd the deacon, son of Najāh, who was a novice

1 See above, fol. 34 b. Near Mukhnān, and now included in the district of Badrashain, in the province of Al-Jizah, with a population in 1885 of 2,935. Munā (مَنَا) is the plural of Munyāh, and the place in question was sometimes called in the singular Munyat al-Amīr. Nevertheless M. Amélineau writes it 'Minā al-Emīr' (مينا الامير), as if it were compounded with the Arabic مينه, 'harbour.' The modern pronunciation Minā (مين, less correctly مينه) arises from the present vocalization of the singular as Minyah (مينه). De Sacy transcribes the name as Mona al-Amīr. The place is called in Coptic مِنْهَّة. See Yākūt, Mushtarik, p. 83; 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-Jizah. In 1885 it had 7,170 inhabitants. In Coptic it is مُنْعَة. See Yākūt, Geogr. Wort. iv. p. 83; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 51 ff.

3 This village, if correctly placed here, must not be confounded with Al-Muḥarrakah at Kūsaḵām, named on fol. 78 a.

4 A little to the west of Al-Jizah, in the same province, and now, with a population of 3,914, included in the district of Wasim (Ausim). See Yākūt,
[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 Mīṣr 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-Muʿizz li-dīnī ʾllāh 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-Muʿizz] entered Mīṣr. At the present day the garden is a waste, and there is nothing left in it except the roots of sycamores and lotus-trees.

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1 That this monastery once possessed a good library may be inferred from Ibn Maṇṣūr, 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 Mīṣr al-Ḵādimah, or Ancient Mīṣr.

3 Al-Muʿizz 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-ahlāmī [‘llāh] visited this monastery in the vizierate of Muḥammad ibn Fātik; but he found the doorway, which was closed by an iron door, too low for him1, 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 dirhams, 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 ascent2, but the steps were removed by the Shaikh Abū ‘l-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 marble3.

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1 This is the usual form of doorway to a dair in remote places even now, as at the Natrūn 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 ٨١٨٢. 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 worms^1^ 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 Tuhurmus^2^ in the province of Al-Jiziyah, and in their neighbourhood, of about thirty *feidâns* 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

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^1^ *Termes Arda.*

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 digestible.

§ 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 forbad 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 Barmahât \(20=\) 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\textsuperscript{1} 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\textsuperscript{2}, 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 Fol. 63\textsuperscript{b} 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\textsuperscript{3}, the thirty-eighth in the succession, but which are now ruined.

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\textsuperscript{1} Ṭāfūs is a transcription of the Greek τάφος. (A. J. B.)
\textsuperscript{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.)
\textsuperscript{3} It seems to have been in the patriarchate of Damianus, the thirty-fifth patriarch, that the monasteries of the Wādī Habīb 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

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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 Anbā 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.

1 I.e. Ibn Katāmah.

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-Karrām into Dair al-Kildāb, as they transformed the name of the Church of the Resurrection (Kiyāmah) 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\(^1\), which is called the 'Id as-Sunbulah. In another copy of the Guide, the monastery of Nahyâ 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 Anbâ 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 Nahyâ\(^2\), 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-Imâm al-Āmir bi-Āḥkâmi ʾIlâh 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-Shâbushti\(^3\), 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. Arôbe 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 Nahyâ.

\(^3\) This passage from Ash-Shâbushti is quoted in much the same words, but without mention of the source, by Yâkût (Geogr. Wort. ii. p. v.\(v\)) and by Al-Ḳazwînî (Kitâb Aṭhâr al-Bilâd, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 1\(v\)) and, with due acknowledgment of the author, by Al-Maḳrizî.
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-Ĵizah.

The Pyramids. These were built by Hermes, the wise, the three-fold in wisdom, who by his knowledge of the secrets of nature, invented

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1 I.e. during the annual inundation.
2 Or Saft Maidûn. Formerly in the province of Al-Bahnasâ, but now in that of Banî Suwaif and in the district of Zawiyah, with a population in 1885 of 1748. See Yâkût, Mushtarîk, p. râs; Recensement de l'Égypte, ii. p. 279. The insertion of the passage referring to Saft Maidûm here, in the midst of a description of the province of Al-Ĵizah, 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 Lactantium, if the passage of Manetho quoted by Georgius Syncellus is an interpolation. A papyrus of the reign of Gallienus speaks of τριμερέστως Ἑρμης as the god of Hermopolis in Egypt, i.e. Ushmûnain; 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 Háji Khalifah (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 ( Διήνεμος).
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. Wórt. iv. p. 969;
As-Suyútí, Husn al-Muhádarah, i. pp. 9, 46, 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, Súrah Maryam, v. 27,
where it is said:

وَذَكَرَ فِي الْكِتَابِ إِذْ أَرْسَلْنَا إِنَّهُ صِدِّيقًا نَبِيًّا وَقَدْ عَدَثَ مَكَانًا 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
to Heaven. See Al-Baidawi, Anwar at-Tanzil, &c. (ed. Fleischer), i. p. 56.

Eutychius says that Enoch was called Idris by the Arabs (Annales, i. p. 30).
Ibn al-Athir says that Enoch (خنوخ), 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 اليونانين) 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-Kómil, i. p. 47). As-Suyútí says that Enoch, Hermes, and
Idris are the same person (Husn al-Muhádarah, i. p. 19). Háji Khalifah 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—

جمع العلماء 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 (هربس الهرامسة)
make pilgrimages to the two great pyramids, and say that Hermes is buried in one of them, and Agathodaemon [in the other]. The Sabaeans come to the pyramids from Harran, on pilgrimage. 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, 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; 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 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. Fluegel, 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 Khâfîh, 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-Suyûtî 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 12\(\frac{3}{4}\) acres, the former 13\(\frac{1}{4}\). The pyramid of Chephren, however, is smaller, covering now about 10\(\frac{3}{4}\) acres, and formerly about 11\(\frac{1}{2}\). (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 Mastájah. At the foot of the mountains in [the province of] Al-

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-Latif says:

'Wama al-thalath fitqash unham bainhu ar-rub‘ kadh min ni‘mijjarah al-sawan al-hamr al-muntaq sharkid
al-salabiya wa la yathur fihi fi al-ludd al-si‘ani fi al-ram al-dalil

'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.)

This must be the martyr Timothy of ancient Miṣr (مصر القديمة), a name given to Memphis by Arab writers, who is commemorated on Bā‘unah 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.

I transcribe this name conjecturally as Mastájah because De Sacy names a town called Mesṭájah in the province of Al-Gharbīyah. A few lines further down our copyist writes مسطاتهم Mastáta (†).
CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

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 and the shores of the Sea of Darkness. In this western mountain-range is the city called Mastâyâh, 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'.

§ Munyat ash-Shammâs [or Munyah of the Deacon], namely, of Paphnutius, the novice, is to the west of Ţamwaih.

The monastery called 'Monastery of Ash-Shama'.

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1 See note on fol. 49a, where the name is incorrectly written Ibn Ghawâtah. See Ibn Khaldûn (vi. p. 11), 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 Dair ash-Shama' or 'Monastery of the Candle.' Compare the name Kasr ash-Shama' and its supposed derivation from Xheî, '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 Shammâs, which is in the district of Badrashain, in the province of Al-Jizah, with a population in 1885 of 883. See Yâkût, Mushtarîk, p. 63 v.; 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-Fuştât 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. Wörl. ii. p. 187.)
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-Mauṣil in Mesopotamia; see Geogr. Wörterb. ii. p. 467.
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 Amshīr 15 = Feb. 9; see Synaxarium at that day. The name is γαφνοτητ (‘the man of God’) in Memphitic, and γαφνωττε 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‘ūnah 16.
Picle of Saint Macarius the Great, in the Wādī Habīb; and then he went to the monastery of Ash-Shama'. This monastery contains his body. 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 ΜΗΡΟΤΕ or ΜΗΡΟΤ, and, in the Graecizing form found in Coptic MSS., ΜΗΡΟΤΟΤ, 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 Pjol (אנה פיגול), 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 Synaxarion at Abīb 7; Zoega, Cat. pp. 375-502; Amélineau, Vie de Schnoudi and Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Église Chrétienn. (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 Wâdî 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-Ḥāфиз, 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-'Ulah Sâ'id
ibn Tarik, in the caliphate of Al-Ḥāфиз. It is a famous monastery,
and contains many monks. In front of it there is a large keep,
which is entered from the church; and there are also handsome
manzaráhs in it. It possesses a garden, and land, and houses at
Munyat ash-Shammâs, bought by the tribe of Bani Sârus 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 Ṭamwail; 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 Ada SS. ii. 15 for a statement of St. Antoninus that he saw at Clysma 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 ꞌfεε🌐p; now included in the district of Sharbin in the province of Al-Gharbiyah, with a population in 1885 of 3,185. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 118.

3 The Arabic mirûn (مîrûn) transcribes the Greek μîpov, 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. Pâtr. pp. 354-355), who relates that, during the great famine in
is consecrated there. The roads are dangerous, and this course was found necessary. Anbā 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-Muʿizz in Egypt.

Other Churches of the Province of Al-Jīzah.

§ Munyat ash-Shammās. In this district there is one church.
§ The district called As-Šarāf lies to the west of the monastery of Ash-Shama', and here resided Anbā John ibn Abū Ghālib, 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 Abū Saʿīd, the scribe, who was a member of the Diwân al-Mukātabāt. Near it there

the time of the caliph Al-Muʿizz, 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-Jīzah, 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-Jīzah. At the present day there is a Damūḥ as-Sabā' in the district of Dakarnas in the province of Ad-Dakahliyah. 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 Tamūḥ. 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.

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1. Al-Maqrizi says that this had been a church.
2. 'Abd al-Latif states that Moses lived at Damûh in the province of Al-Jizah; see Al-Mukhtasar, 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-Shâbushtî is quoted by Al-Maqrizi in his article on the monastery of Tamwaih (دير طموح); cf. Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. ii. p. 416. Both of these writers quote verses by Ibn Abi 'Âsim al-Miṣri, 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.
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-Nâṣir Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb, the Kurd.

In the church lies the body of Paphnutius, 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-Afdal 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 paten, and a chalice, and a spoon, 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 Mahrâbil.

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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 sinîyah (صينية) is remarked upon by De Goeje, in his note on Ibn Ḥankal, p. 164, 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 Abâ Bimah.
And a church named after the angel Michael.
And a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin.

Memphis.

Memphis¹. Baisur, 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 Manâfah², which means 'thirty.' His sons were Mizraîm and Fâriq and Bâh and Mâh. The following were the sons of Mizraîm: Kîft; Ushmûn, the meaning of whose name is 'Come not hither³!' and Atrib. At this place⁴ 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 Baisur 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 Mizraîm for his son Kîft, who was called Barîm; and others say that this city was built by Manfâûs, 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-Laţîf, p. 116 ff.; Al-Mâkrîzî, Khiṭat, i. p. 137 ff.

² Yâkût, who gives the same derivation, states the Coptic form as Mîfû (مٍفٍف), which corresponds to the Thebaic مفف, better than to the Memphitic مفف. (Geogr. Wort. iv. p. 667.)

³ The Coptic مفف better than to the Memphitic مفف.

⁴ I.e. Memphis. The image must be the great statue of Rameses 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 (ب父 الطول), or 'Father of Terror,' i.e. 'Terrible' 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 Aṣghūsa, the greatest of all the kings of the earth, and by Arghâsh, the brother of Shaddâd, and by Shaddâd, son of 'Ād, and Mâlik, son of 'Ād, and Farmashât, brother of 'Ād, 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, 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 Muḥibb 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 Būṣīr Banâ and other places.

Būṣīr Banâ. This town is named after a sorcerer, called Būṣir, 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 Musaqdâl ibn aṣ-Ṣâliḥ, 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.

Wanâ Būṣîr. 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, Khilât, i. p. 117. 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. Būṣîr Banâ and Banâ are again wrongly placed in Southern or Upper Egypt.

2 seems to be a clerical error for جنون; see above, fol. 18 a.

[II. 7.]
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-Fayûm 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-Lâḥûn, 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 Ṭarkhân, 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,
under the patriarchate of Anbā 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-'Āṣī, it is said that the Fayyūm 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 Dauma', 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 Rās al-Manhī until it reached Al-Lāhūn, through a break in which it flowed into the Fayyūm, 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-Fayyūm. 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 Fayyūm was Shānāh, 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 Yūm, according to the present Egyptian pronunciation.
2 So also Yāḵūt, Geogr. Wort. iii. p. 147, where he also gives a second form Shanānah.
Dalūk founded a Nilometer at Anšinā, and a Nilometer at Ikhmīm; and 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Marwān set up a Nilometer at Hulwān. In later times the province of the Fayyūm was settled as a fief upon the Ghuzz and Kurds, in the reign of Yūsūf ibn Ayyūb, 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 Būrī, the brother [of Yūsūf ibn Ayyūb], and his followers, in the year 576 (A.D. 1180), when its revenues were 100,046 dinars. Then it was settled upon Taḵī ad-Dīn 'Umar ibn Shāhanshāh, and the son of his sister, in the year already mentioned, its revenues were of the amount given above.

In Madinat al-Fayyūm 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 Sūrus.

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 Abū Zakārī.

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1 Generally called دورك. She was said to have been queen of Egypt in her own right in remote antiquity.

2 The ancient Antinoe or Antinoupolis, founded by the emperor Hadrian in memory of Antinous. In Coptic it is called ḌANTIMWOT. 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 'Abādah, included in the district of Mallawi, in the province of Asyūt, and having in 1885 a population of 1,179. See Yāḵūt, Geogr. Wörterb. i. p. r81; Al-Maḵrīzī, Khīṭat, i. p. r9; Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 48-51.

3 The Greek Chemmis or Panopolis, and the Coptic ḌEIRM. 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 Yāḵūt, Geogr. Wörterb. i. p. r19; Al-Idrīsī (ed. Rome) [p. 48]; Al-Maḵrīzī, Khīṭat, i. pp. r1 and r9; As-Suyūṭī, Ḥusn al-Muḥādarah, i. p. r8; Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 18-22.

4 See above, fol. 52 a ff.

5 This passage is quoted by Quatremère, Mémo. i. p. 411.
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 Amshir 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...
of Jacob, when Joseph superintended the building of the Fayyûm and the Ḥajar al-Lâḥûn. The church in the mountains of An-Naklûn was consecrated, in the episcopate of Anbâ Isaac, by Aurâ, son of the queen’s daughter and of Abrâshît, the magician, whom she hid away from him (?) and from her parents.

Monastery of Al-Kalamûn.

§ The monastery called that of Al-Kalamûn. This monastery is much visited. It possesses land in several districts of Upper Egypt; and at Shubrâ it owns sixteen feddâns. It possesses 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 Ḥatrûr. Anbâ Samuel, the superior and administrator of this monastery, was

1 See Amélineau, op. cit.
2 The hill of Al-Kalamûn, upon which this monastery stood, rises to the south-west of the Fayyûm near An-Naklûn and near Al-Gharâk and the Wādī 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-Maqrîzî; but is barely mentioned by Yâkût, who merely says that it was in the Fayyûm and was widely celebrated. The Coptic name is \textit{Ke\textsuperscript{3}λαμ\textsuperscript{3}ηλιν}. See Yâkût, \textit{Géogr. Wört.} ii. p. 184; Amélineau, \textit{Géogr.} 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 Kihâk 8 = Dec. 4. See \textit{Synaxarium} at that day. He was the founder of the monastery of Al-Kalamûn, and Ḥatrû 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-Naklûn are said to have come over to Samuel. He employed his monks in preparing salt from the saline pool (\textit{ελατείας}), mentioned by our author below. See Zoega, \textit{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] ḏulṭī, 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-Idrīsī 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.
The door of this monastery is plated with iron, and is of skilful workmanship.

This monk, Muhna, 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, Anba Samuel, the celebrated administrator of this monastery, used to worship on the mountain, at a place called Rayân¹, 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 Aflâh az-Zaitûn.

The monastery of the glorious martyr Theodore, on the [canal of] Al-Manhi, at Aflâh az-Zaitûn². This Theodore was a native of the Fayyûm, 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 Saviour³.

¹ I. e. the Wâdi Rayân, still so called, to the south of the Fayyûm, and, according to some, on the site of the ancient Lake Moeris.

² More commonly called simply Az-Zaitûn, or 'The Olives;' in Coptic ΦΑΙΛΙΧΩΙΤ. The Acts of the martyr John of Phanıjoit have been published by M. Amélineau; see Un Document copte du xiiie Siècle, 1887. The place is on the west bank, close to Dalâs and Bûšh Kurâ, and a little to the north of Banî Suwaîf, to the province of which it belongs; and in 1885 it had 1,300 inhabitants, besides sixty-two Bedouins. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wörl. ii. p. 140; Ibn Dukmâk, v. p. 8; Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 327-330. This passage of our author is quoted in substance by Quatremère, Mém. pp. 412-413.

³ As-Suṭîr is of course the Greek σωτῆρ.
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-Mushârifî, who was known as Az-Zaḵrûḵ; 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 Fayyum, 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 Fayyum, to the west of Nakalîfah, but is not named in the Rec. de l'Égypte. See Yâḵûṭ, Geogr. Wort. iii. p. 77.; Ibn Dukmâk, v. p. 1.

3 He succeeded Agatho, and was the fortieth patriarch, occupying the see from A.D. 677 to 686.
Hajar al-Lāhūn.

Hajar al-Lāhūn. Here is the monastery of Saint Isaac; 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-Ḳalamūn. 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-Lāhūn, at the place called Barniyūdah, in the mountain-range in the south of the Fayyūm.

Churches of Al-Bahnasā and the neighbourhood.

§ At Al-Bahnasā there are several churches, namely, the church of Saint Ammon; the church of Mark; the church of Saint John; the

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1 The following passage is quoted in substance by Quatremère, Mém. i. p. 413. The village of Al-Lāhūn still exists, and in 1885 had a population of 2,416. It stands at the entrance to the Fayyūm, where the ancient lock of the canal of Al-Manhī was; and it is included in the district of Tubhar. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 232.

2 Saint Isaac of Dīfīrī (†Φpe), in the province of Al-Gharbiyāh, 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 Abāmūn, Abāmūn, or more correctly Abá Aμūn or Apā Ammon, is the name of two martyrs, of the time of Diocletian, whose deaths are commemorated respectively on Abīb 13 and 27 = July 7 and 21. See Synaxarium at those days; Amélineau, Actes des M.M. p. 103. Quatremère borrows from this passage, Mém. i. p. 255. Al-Maṣrīzī says that there were once 360 churches at Al-Bahnasā, of which the church of Mary alone remained in his time. We shall return to Al-Bahnasā on fol. 74 b.

4 Since Abā Yūḥannān 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 Bahumalis¹ 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 Sinuthius²; and a church named after Saint Armenius³.

§ The district of Kufādah⁴. [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 Abţūjah⁵ 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.

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 Abīb 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. Shanūdah or Sinuthius the martyr, of Al-Bahnasā, commemorated on Barmahāt 14 = April 9; see Synaxarium at that day.

³ Abū Harmīnah is said by Al-Maḵrīzī to have been one of the earliest monks, and very famous among the Christians. Cf. Paris Synaxarium at Baʿunah 8 = June 2. There was a St. Harmanūs, a champion of the monophysite doctrine, who is mentioned in the Patriarchal Biographies, Anc. Fonds Arabe 139, p. 167, 1. 1 ff. The Synaxarium translated by Mr. Malan commemorates a Harman, bishop of Kāʿū, in Upper Egypt, on Kihak 2 = Nov. 28.

⁴ A little to the east of Al-Bahnasā, and nearer the bank of the river.

⁵ The Coptic Twx1, a little to the south-west of Al-Bahnasā, but on the same side of the river. The village is now included within the district of Bani Mazar, in the province of Munyah or Minyah, and had in 1885 a population of 1,000. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 517 ff. 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 Talihah.

§ At Bardanūhah there are several churches, namely, the church of Abā Kusṭūl; 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 Aimin.

§ Saft Abū Jirjā. 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-Kufur. Here there is a church named after the martyr Theodore.

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1 The Coptic μξελδα. 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 Yākūt says was near Al-Kais, in the district of Al-Bahnasā. See Yākūt, 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 Ḫalūsanā, 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-Bahnasā, and near Al-Kais and Al-Kafūr. See Ibn Dūkmāk, v. p. 1; Rec. de l’Égypte, ii. p. 64.

4 A little to the south-west of Al-Bahnasā, south of Abūjāh and north of Abū Jirjā. 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 Yākūt, Geogr. Wort. iii. p. 64, and Mushtarak, p. 188; Ibn Dūkmāk, v. p. 1; Rec. de l’Égypte, ii. p. 279.

5 On the west bank, to the south-east of Al-Bahnasā and a little to the north of Ḫalūsanā. It is called in Coptic μικαφα, and is now comprised in the district of Ḫalūsanā, with a population in 1885 of 798. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 276 f.
MALLAWI.

Taḥā.

§ Taḥā al-Madinah\(^1\), belonging to the province of Al-Ushmūnain. Here there are a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary\(^2\); 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-Muhallabi\(^3\) there is a church named after the glorious angel Michael; and two churches named after the two glorious angels Gabriel and Raphael.

Mallawi.

§ At Mallawi\(^4\) [there is a church] named after the valiant martyr Abatir\(^5\); a church of the martyr Mercurius; a church of the glorious

\(^1\) On the west bank, a little to the north of Munyah or Minyah Bani Ḳhasib, in the province of which it is now included, being in the district of Kalūsanā. It is the Coptic TOYGO. In 1885 it had 1,113 inhabitants. See Al-Idrisī, trans. Jaubert, i. p. 124; Yāḥūt, Geogr. Wort. iii. p. 617; Amélineau, Geogr. p. 471 f. Taḥā is again mentioned by our author on fol. 77 a.

\(^2\) Al-Maḳrizī mentions two churches alone at Taḥā, viz. those of Mary and the Apostles.

\(^3\) Our copyist writes اَلَمُهِلِيّ, but الْمُهِلِيّ is the form given by Yāḥūt in his Mushṭarīk, p. 493, where he says that the village was in the province of Al-Ushmūnain.

\(^4\) This is thought to be the place called in Coptic EΔΗΠΛΑΔΥ. 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 Asyūṭ. Mallawi is on the west bank, a little to the south of Ushmūnain. See Amélineau, Geogr. p. 239 f. Al-Maḳrizī 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 Abatir and identify the saint with Apatīl, 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.

Rīfah and Udrunkah.

§ Rīfah¹ 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-Bahnasā and the neighbourhood.

§ At Najāj³, in the province of Al-Bahnasā, there is a church named after the martyr Saint John.

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fort of Babylon, whose martyrdom is commemorated on Abīb 16 = July 10; see Amélino, Actes des MIII p. 97. There is a martyr Abadīr 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. Rīfah is a little to the south of Usyūṭ, on the west bank, and was called in Coptic ẹpēbē. In 1885 it had a population of 4,119, and is now included within the district and province of Asyūṭ or Usyūṭ. See Amélino, Geogr. p. 165. Al-Maḵrīzī names churches and monasteries at Rīfah 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 Rīfah, 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-Maḵrīzī. See Yāḵūṭ, Geogr. Wort. i. p. 171; Rec. de l’Égypte, ii. p. 99.

³ I cannot identify this place. It would be some distance to the north of Rīfah and Udrunkah.
CHURCHES AT AL-BAHNASÁ AND NEIGHBOURHOOD. 215

§ Idfāk. Here there is a church of the glorious martyr Mercurius.
§ Tūrfaḥ. Here there is a church named after Bartholomew.

As-Sākiyah, called Sākiyah Mahfūz. Here there are five churches, [respectively named after] the martyr Mercurius, Mark, Stephen, Theodore, and the Disciples.

§ Al-Bahnasa. 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-Bahnasa, 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-Bahnasa, is now included in the district of Kalūsanā, in the province of Munyah or Minyah, and had 435 inhabitants in 1885. Its Coptic name was Tepē. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 492 f.
3 See Ibn Dukmak, v. p. 8. The name Sākiyah means, of course, 'water-wheel.'
4 I.e. apparently ⲡⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲟⲩ
CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

Stephen; Abatir; 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 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-tâfarus (اَشْطَفْارَس) ; and it is added

الذي 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 δρόκος, 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 Barmūdah 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 Abu 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 Paul and Thomas.

§ At Saṭ 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-Kaff, 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. 3; and it is now included within the district of Banî 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-Bahnasâ, 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-Bahnasâ, and to the south of Banî Suwaïf, in the province of which it is now included. Yâkût includes it in the province of Al-Bahnasâ; see Mushtarik, p. 483.

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
Tūbah, which is the day of her death, when a large congregation
assembles. This mountain [of Jabal al-Kaft] is opposite to the district
called Al-Bihû, [but is] on the eastern side of the river. It is also
said to be near the city of Al-Ushmûnain; and it is also called the
Jabal at-Ţair. 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.

fol. 76 a, identifies this mountain with the Jabal at-Ţair, which rises opposite to
Samallût and Bihû, and to the north of Munyah Bani Khasib.

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 Kalûsanà, in the province of Minyah. In 1885 it
had a population of 1,252. See Ibn Duılmâ, v. p. 18; 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 'Tshibei Deœir,' 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-Ba'ârâ, 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-Ushmūnain there is a church of the Lady, the
Pure Virgin Mary, which is very large, and which Al-Ḥākīm 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 Shīrkūh 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 Bīṣūs\(^3\), which is near Ishnin\(^4\). It is said by some

\(1\) 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
Shāwar against Shīrkūh; and again in 1163, when the Latin sovereign entered
Cairo, and Shīrkūh retreated. Amaury continued to assist the Fatimide caliph
and his vizier, until in 1168 he took a powerful army to Al-Faramā, which
he took and sacked. This unscrupulous piece of treachery against his Egyptian
allies forced Shāwar to implore Nūr ad-Dīn, his former enemy, to assist him
against the Franks, and Amaury was driven to retreat.

\(3\) Al-Maṇṣūrī calls this the monastery of Ḥusūs (دير إسوس), explaining this
word as equivalent to the Arabic Ḥasūs (искوع) or 'Jesus,' and it is, of course,
simply a transcription of the Graeco-Coptic \(\text{IHCOTC}\). Al-Maṇṣūrī 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 Bīṣūs as the name of a place; but this
error must have arisen from his seeing the monastery mentioned as
دير إسوس، i.e. 'A monastery which is named after Jesus.' (A. J. B.)

\(4\) On the west bank, a little to the north of Al-Bahnasā, but a long way from

\(\text{f} \ 1 2\)
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 Mizraim. The town was built by Pharaoh, and after it had fallen into ruin it was re-built by Nebuchadnezzar, 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 Al-Ushmûnain. There must have been a confusion on the part of some writers between Ishnûn and Al-Ushmûnain. Ishnûn was formerly in the province of Al-Bahnasâ, but is now, under the name of Ashnûn an-Nasârâ, or 'Ashnûn 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. Wörtl. i. p. 188; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 22.

1 Also called Ashmûnain, Eshmûnain, or Oshmûnain. Al-Ushmûnain is the Coptic [some text],. 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-Idrîsî [p. 47] (ed. Rome); Yâkût, Geogr. Wörtl. i. p. 204. 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 Bahr Yusuf or Al-Manhî on the west and south, and a connecting canal on the north.

2 On fol. 23 b and 80 a 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 patriarch¹, it is said that this is the town which was built by Alexander the Macedonian, who called it Cleopatra², 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 monk³ 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 temple⁴, 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] sebestan⁵, 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 Agatho⁶ was standing under the

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 overturned, 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 Mukkhat 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.

§ Ṭahâ. 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 Yâḥûṭ calls it Darwat (들도) Sarabâm, and Al-Maqrizî Darûṣ Sarabân. The latter writer says that it is also called Darwat ash-Sharîf. The place lies to the south of Al-Ushmûnain and Mallawî, and a little to the north of Râs al-Manhî, the spot at which the Bahr Yûsuf or Al-Manhî issues from the Nile. In Coptic it is Tepuyt capanât; the latter word being an abbreviation of capanâlewîn, and being sometimes pronounced Sarabân in Arabic. The town now gives its name to a district of the province of Asyût, and in 1885 had 5,588 inhabitants. See Yâḥûṭ, Geogr. Wort. ii. p. 8v.; Al-Maqrizî, Khîtât, i. pp. vi and r.o; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 496.
PLACES IN EGYPT VISITED BY OUR LORD.

the Pure Virgin Mary; and a church named after the angel Gabriel, which is called Maghîr ath-Thîlîf\(^1\).

Near the last-named place is the district of Šanabû\(^2\), where there is a church of the Lady, built of baked bricks.

§ Jabal Ashtar or Halâliyah\(^3\). Here there is a church named after Bû Nadîl\(^4\), the martyr, which has fallen into decay.

§ Munyah Bâni Khâšîb\(^5\). This city was founded by a Christian named Ibn Khâšîb, 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 Khâšîb 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 Kâṣ. 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

\(^1\) I.e. ‘Place where snow has fallen.’

\(^2\) Al-Maḳrîzî gives Šanabû (صَنَابُ) and Yâḳût Sanabû (سَنَابُ). The place was a little to the south of Biblâ’û, and close to the Râs al-Manhî. It was famous for the manufacture of excellent horse-cloths. See Yâḳût, Geogr. Wört. iii. p. 10v; Al-Maḳrîzî names a monastery, but not a church of the Virgin at Šanabû.

\(^3\) 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 ṭemuḥh, or, with the article, ṭemuḥḥh. It was also called Munyat Abî ʿl-Khuṣâib. In our author’s time it was a flourishing and populous town; and it is one of the most ancient cities of Egypt. See Yâḳût, Geogr. Wört. iv. p. 17v, and Mushtarik, p. r.v; Al-Idrisî, trans. Jaubert, i. p. 124; Al-Maḳrîzî, Khîṭâṭ, i. p. r.v; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 257 f. Al-Maḳrîzî mentions only six churches as existing in his time at Munyah Bâni Khâšîb, viz. the Virgin, Saints Peter and Paul, St. Michael, St. George, St. Paul of Tamwaih, and the Three Holy Children.
CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

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 Khaṣīb is also called Munyah Bū Қais, after the saint, son of Kift, son of Mizraim; and it possesses the body of Bū 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 Kūṣ Kām in the desert; and the meaning

1 See a few lines lower down.
2 This town is at some distance to the south-west of Munyah Banî Khaṣīb; 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 Asyûṭ, and in 1885 it had 8,209 inhabitants. It seems to be the same as the Coptic χάκε, mentioned in one of the papyri of the Archduke Rainer; and its Arabic name is said now to be written ٍDaljâ, دلّج. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wörterb. ii. p. 53; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 175 f.
3 A martyr of Ahnâs, named هلياس, is commemorated in the Paris Synaxarium, on Barmahât ١٥=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 Kûsakâm, and is in the district of Manfalût, in the province of Asyûṭ. The convent contained in 1885 a population of ١,١١٠ inhabitants, consisting of monks, peasants, and Bedouins. Yâkût has an article on Dair al-Muḥarrak, which he praises for the beauty of its situation, mentioning the tradition of Christ's visit to it. Al-Maḳrizî also mentions the monastery in a few words. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wörterb. ii. p. ٨٣; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 264. Our author makes a mistake in placing Al-Muḥarrak in the province of Al-Ushmûnain.
5 The Coptic كوكکٍ. Yâkût writes it as one word، فوسکٍ، 'Kûsakâm;' see his Geogr. Wörterb. iv. p. ٧١. It is also found in the forms قُسِّمٍ and قُسُمٍ.
of this name of Kūṣ Kām is 'one who makes shrouds of reeds for the poor.' It was built by Kūs, the son of Kīfūt, 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 Kūṣākām, and is named after it Jabal Kūṣākām. Vansleeb stayed at Kūṣākām 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. Kūṣākām is identified with Apollinopolis Parva. (A. J. B.)

1 The Coptic κωκ means to prepare for burial, by enshrouding, swathing, or embalming; and κάους means 'reed.'

2 The Paris Synaxarium says, at Hatūr 6 = Nov. 2:

[On this day is commemorated] the meeting of the Saviour, our God and our King, our Lord Jesus Christ, with his pure disciples at Kūṣākām, 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 ممير is, as Professor Margoliouth points out, the Syriac ممير. 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-Muḥarraigah, 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 Miṣr, 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 Hatûr.

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 Abū Zakarī ibn Bū Naṣr, the administrator of Al-Ushmūnain; may God have mercy on him and grant rest to his soul! this was in the caliphate of Al-Ḥāfiz.

In this district there lived in ancient times Kharbatā, son of Mālik, 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-Muḥarrakah1.

This Khartabā, son of Mālik, 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,' جرة being understood. When the form is masculine (Al-Muḥarrak), دير is understood.
Monastery at Anšinā.

§ The great monastery on the mountain, founded by Matthias the monk, near Anšinā. Many monks entered upon the monastic life here. This monk [Matthias²] performed many wonders; one of which was

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¹ Whether this should be Anšinā, 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.D. 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 ΑΠΑ. ΕΛΕΘΕΡΙΟΣ ΠΩΜΗΚ, 'Saint Matthew the Poor,' 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 Kīhak 7=Dec. 3; and the Synaxarium has the following notice on that day:

في هذا اليوم تتبعة بالبركة التي يسكنها هذا الدير كان رئيس دير جبل من أسوان وكان يعمل في رفع عظمة وذكر الرياضات واستحقاق نعمة الشفاء وحتى أن كل مرض يأتوا به إلى عينه يملأ عليه ويشفى الرب بطولاته

'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:

والله من فعال نجم هذا الديار كان يستعمل الوعود بيده، فلما أكل سهية تبجي بسلام

واخذ الرب إليه صلواته المقبولة تكون مع جميع بنى المعوية أمين

'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 Sanabû\(^2\) 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 (دموتيرس) 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 منصوري, '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-Zajdj, on the sea-shore, nine miles to the west of Alexandria, and therefore called in Greek To Henaton (τὸ Ἑνάτων), and in Coptic مجنانون, is testified by the patriarchal biography. Al-Maârîzi also informs us of the identity of the Dair az-Zajdj with the Dair al-Hanatûn. See also Zoega, *Cat.* p. 337; Amelincau, *Géogr.* p. 532.

2. See fol. 77 b.

3. This piece of information has already been given us above, fol. 23 b.
CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

the city of Kūș; and a monastery of Saint Sinuthius likewise; and also a monastery of Saint Pachomius.

It was to a monastery at Aẖfahs that Anbā Sanhût, bishop of Miṣr, fled¹, in fear of Anbā Michael of Saṃjār, 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 Benjamin², 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 Muḵauḵis, 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-Ushmûnain 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-Munâ, whence he travelled to Wāḏī 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 Wāḏī Habīb. Then Benjamin quitted the monasteries of Wāḏī 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 Muḵauḵis (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-‘Asi 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.

Bulyanâ and Bahjūrah.

§ City of Bulyanâ. This lies to the west of the Nile, in Upper Egypt. Here is the monastery known as the monastery of Banî 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-Ṣafī, 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. 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.

At Bahjūrah there is a church of the glorious Saint George, which is beautifully constructed, well-lighted and spacious.
The town of Kūš. 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 Kūš, 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 Kūš; 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 Kūš Wārwīr (كوس واربير). Formerly the capital of a province, but now in the province of Kanā (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-Idrīsī (ed. Rome) [p. 48]; Al-Makrizī, Khitat, i. p. r. r; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 400. Al-Makrizī says that in his time only one church remained at Kūš.

2 The Coptic κως means 'to prepare for burial.'

3 See above, fol. 20 a.

4 A famous bishop of Kift in the seventh century. See Amélineau, Un Évêque de Kift au VIIème Siècle. The Synaxarium says at Abīb 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-Ṣaʿdî, 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-ʿĀdî dînî ʿl-lâh, 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
Rabi' 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 Banî Humaim, the Arab tribe,
lies to the east, in the district called Iḵnû. 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-Mâjîd
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 عرَّان, 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 الأبيض) 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 Χεμμις (Χεμμώ) 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. 151), 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'oeuvre 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 coupoles. 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 Abâ Bajûl, 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, Bartholomew\(^1\) and Simon the Canaanite, two of the twelve Apostles. The body of the great saint Sinuthius, the archimandrite\(^2\)—a word which means 'superior of the superiors'—is in a monastery at the top of the mountain called Atribah\(^3\); it was contained in a chest until the invasion of Egypt by Shirkūh 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, relates\(^4\) that Al-Kâsim ibn 'Ubaid Allâh, wâli of Egypt, was an unenlightened and wicked man. He employed large boats\(^5\) 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, Mêm. i. p. 14 f.

\(^2\) So the Coptic and Arabic panegyrics on this saint call him:

\[
\text{απά αποιοπτίς παπρεκατεροσ ουσόν παρχιεδεπιτίς}
\]

\(^3\) There was a mountain and also a village of this name, called in Coptic \(\text{ατρηνός} \) or \(\text{ατρενέ} \), and in Arabic "أدرية, and below on fol. 87 a even إدريا. On the mountain the 'White Monastery' was situated, so that it was called 'The Sinai of St. Sinuthius' (Amélineau, Mêm. 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 "ماركبت مثل قصور الملك", 'boats like royal palaces.'
So the monks went forth to meet Al-Kāsim 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-Kāsim, 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 shouldst 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 sásam-wood inlaid with ivory\(^1\), and containing three shelves, which Saint Sinuthiōs had made to contain books, and he used to inscribe there the amount of votive offerings accruing to the monasteries. And a certain šaiḵh accompanying the emir, named Ar-Rayân, who had been wāli of Egypt before Al-Ḫāsīm, 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-Ḫāsīm, chastising him at all times until the hour of his death.

§ Bahrām\(^2\), the Armenian Christian, who had been vizier in the caliphate of Al-Ḫāfīz, 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 Ikhmīm, 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 Abū Šālīḥ 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.

\[\text{Story of Febronia.}\]

§ At Al-Jimûdât\(^1\), 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. Marwân al-Ja‘dî, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs, summoned the Bashrûd or Bashmurites\(^2\) 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\(^3\), 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,

\(^{1}\) I cannot identify this place.

\(^{2}\) On the Bashmurites see Zoega, Cat. p. 139\text{ff.}; Quatremère, Recherches, p. 147\text{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 Khâ’il, included among the patriarchal biographies collected by Severus of Al-Ushmûnain; see Anc. Fonds Arabe 139, p. 170\text{ff.}; cf. Renaudot, Hist. Patr. p. 226\text{ff.}, and Quatremère, Recherches, p. 155. The events are also stated in a few words by Al-Makin, Hist. Sarac. (ed. Erpenius), p. 99, and by Al-Makrizi. The name Febronia (Fibrûnîyah) is well known to the Copts through the commemoration of the martyr of Nisibis of that name on Abib 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 whomsoever 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.

**Ikhmim and the neighbourhood.**

§ In the city of Ikhmim 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.

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¹ Yâkût mentions a large and much frequented church at Dimnû, which is on the west of the Nile, opposite to Ikhmim, and is now included in the district
There is also the monastery of Saint Pachomius\textsuperscript{1} at Barjanūs, in the district of Taḥā.

There is the monastery of Abū Ḥalbānāh\textsuperscript{2}, 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-Shābushti 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 Ḥabal al-Kāhif\textsuperscript{3}. 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 Ḫār\textsuperscript{4} 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

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\textsuperscript{1} This famous abbot of Tabennesi or Tabenna is commemorated by the Copts on Bashans 2=April 27, 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. Pakhôme et de ses communautés.

\textsuperscript{2} It is apparently this convent which Pococke describes (vol. i. p. 78) as lying ‘to the east of Akhmîm’ and ‘being one of the most dismal retirements he ever saw.’ Pococke mentions the spring and the well called ‘Bir Elaham.’ In Pococke’s name for this monastery ‘Dermadoud’ (Dair Madūd?) there is no correspondence with that given by Abû Šâliḥ, which is, of course, a name of dedication, not of locality. (A. J. B.)

\textsuperscript{3} Al-Makrizī says that this is part of the Ḥabal aṭ-Ṭair.

\textsuperscript{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.

Anṣīnā and the neighbourhood.

§ At Anṣīnā¹ was the house of Mary the Copt², who was born and grew up at this place. She it was whom the Muḥāinqušis sent as a gift to Mahomet, who married her; and the purpose of the Muḥāinqušis in sending Mary the Copt, was that through her he might be connected by affinity³ with Mahomet. The house of Mary was afterwards turned into a mosque.

The district known as Anṣīnā. This was the name of one of the sons of Kift, son of Mizraim, who built it for certain sorcerers. [There is here] the monastery of a saint called Abū Tabīḥ⁴, 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.

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At Anṣīnā 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 Andaribā⁵, in which many holy monks have lived, especially the holy champion and ascetic, the blessed Anbā Yasib.

¹ We now return northwards to Anṣīnā or Shaikh ‘Abādah, the famous ‘Red Monastery’ opposite to Ikhmīm being disregarded. The want of plan and completeness in the work of Abū Ṣāliḥ 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 Anṣīnā. See Ibn Hishām, Sirāh Muḥammad (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. pp. 8 and 11; cf. Yākūt, Geogr. Wörter., ii. p. 113.

³ Rather, that the Egyptians might be connected with Mahomet by affinity.

⁴ So Quatremère, who makes use of this passage of Abū Ṣāliḥ; see Mém. i. p. 41.

⁵ I take this to be another form of Atribah or Adribah (see above, fol. 82 b),
At Anṣinā 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 manifest at it.

At Anṣinā 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.

There is also a church named after Saint Theodore Basràdîlâdus outside Anṣinā.

The monastery of Matthew on the mountain, which was restored by the blessed priest, the fisherman of Anṣinā. 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 Shuṭb, in the province of Sûyût. This town was Fol. 87 b

and the allusion to be to the White Monastery, opposite to Ikhmîm, which has already been spoken of. The MS. has اندرینا, 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 Habib.

4 A little to the south-east of Suyût, Usyût, or Asyût, on the same side of the river. It is the Coptic Ꙓ生产总; and in 1885 it had 4,008 inhabitants. See Yâkul, Géogr. Wört. iii. p. 84.; 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 Ꙓ生产总, 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 Yâkul, Géogr. Wört. i. p. 84; Al-Idrisî (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 126; Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 464-466.
built by Manfâ‘ús, the king; and its name means the 'Beloved.' The Ra‘fî¹ 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 feddâns, 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 fields², 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 tailasân³, 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 Usyût 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, Bâb al-Jabal on the north; Bâb Wardis; on the east Bâb al-Arman;

¹ The Egyptian pound weight.
² Referring to the mountains just mentioned, the writer in Murray’s Egypt says, in curious agreement with Abû Šâ‘îlîh, ‘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.)
³ (A. J. B.)

² The tailasân 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.)
a gate called Al-Ḳanṭarah; Bāb Umm Harīz; Bāb as-Sūdān; Bāb al-
Mikyās.

The monastery of Abū 's-Sirrī. This monastery contains the body
of Saint Theodore, the military commander and martyr, and the body of
the bishop Harūfūs; these two bodies lie upon a wooden stand in the
altar-chamber.

The monastery called the monastery of Abū Sādir, whose body
arrived at Shutb on the 5th of Haṭūr. Near the monastery is the
mountain of Aṭ-Ṭalimūn, the length of which is twelve posts on the
eastern side.

At Al-Khabībah, at Suyūṭ there is a ruined bath.

There is a church of the martyr Abū Baghām, whose body lies
within it; and he has another church at Al-Khabībah.

There is a monastery at Samallūṭ, in the district of Al-Ushmūnain,

1 Al-Maḳrizī also speaks of the church of Abū Sadrah (Serī). Sādir and
Sadrah both seem to be forms of the name 'Theodore.' The Paris Synaxarium
does not commemorate the bringing of his body to Shutb; but that translated
by Mr. Malan has at Haṭur 5, 'Bringing of the body of St. Theodore to Shutab.'
2 Al-Idrisī names this mountain under the form Tailamūn (طيلامون);
3 The mention of the ruined Roman bath at Usyūṭ 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
Usyūṭ. 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 Abū
'J-Fidā (ed. Michaelis), pp. 14, 25, 92, for an account of the town of Usyūṭ, and,
for the life of John the monk, Rufinus and Palladius, in Rosweyde's Vitæ Patrum;
also Sozomen, lib. vii. 22, and Claudian, in Epitropium, 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-Tāir. It is now in the
district of Kulasna (Kulusna), in the province of Minyah, and had 3,855 inhabi-
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 Khaṣib. 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-Ushmūnain; and a church named after the

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1 Mentioned by Al-Mašrīṣī.

2 The mill and oven are used for preparing the eucharistic bread, the oil-press for the secondary oils—*galilaon* and ‘oil of the lamp.’ A wine-press in addition is a common possession of the monasteries, and is used for making the eucharistic wine. (A. J. B.)

3 I.e. ‘Monastery of Honey.’ Yākūt speaks of it as charmingly situated, and containing a large number of monks; see his *Geogr. Wörterb.* ii. p. 186.

4 This is apparently the same as Hadrī (*ἐνθρη*), the monk and friend of Saint Or (*ἐωρ*), in the fourth century. Abū Hadrī (*إِبُرُ هَرَدَيْ) is commemorated according to the Paris *Synaxarium* on Kībak 12 = Dec. 8, but he is there said to be from Aswān. Cf. Zoega, *Cat.* p. 299.
THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF USYÛT.

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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 Usyût.

District of Al-Khuṣūṣ, in the province of Suyût, 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 Abû Fânah, restored by Ar-Rashid Abû 'l-Faḍl; the church of Abû Hakandâ, named after a relation of Ṣaфи ad-Daulah, and restored by Hakandâ Abû Zakari Minâ ibn Kafri, known as Ibn Bûlus, 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 Bandalûs. The convent of Hanâdah, which is inhabited by nuns, is at Rifah, in the province of Suyût.

1 Al-Khuṣūṣ, opposite to Asyût, 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 Abû Ṣâliḥ. See his Géogr. p. 222 f. Yâkût says that the inhabitants of Al-Khuṣûṣ were all Christians (Geogr. Wört. ii. p. 333).

2 The Coptic Ḍāpā Ṣi[hne], a monk, and contemporary of the emperor Theodosius I; see Zoega, Cat. p. 356. The Bib. Nat. of Paris possesses an Arabic life of Abû Fânah; see Cat. No. 153, Anc. Fonds Arabe 149. Al-Makrīzî mentions a monastery of Abû Fânah in the district of Minyah or Minyâh.
At Suyūt, on the western bank, there are sixty churches; and on the mountain there are churches hewn in the rock 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 Қаrғūnāh.

There is a monastery named after Saint Severus, 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

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1 See Norden's Plate LXXXIV. (A. J. B.)
2 See Al-Makrīzī's mention of this monastery near Usyūt, which he calls Қаrғūnāh (Ққүнə), Ӓr非凡 (藪非凡), or Ӓғh非凡 (藪非凡), adding that the name means 'writer,' i.e. γραφον.
3 The Dair Аbî Sаwīrīs at Usyūt is mentioned by Yākūt (Geogr. Wort. ii. p. 451) and by Al-Makrīzī.
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 Ṭalâ‘î’ ibn Ruzzik, through the wāli of Upper Egypt; so Ṭalâ‘î’ 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 Ṭalâ‘î’ 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 [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 'l-Hārith.

There is a monastery called Dair at-Tinādah, 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 Coluthus 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.

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1 See above, fol. 7 a.

2 Yāḳūṭ 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. Wörterbuch ii. p. 715).
A monastery called Ibsidiyâ\(^1\) stands between Rifah\(^2\) and another place\(^3\).

There is a church named after Saint Sergius\(^4\), which is called Dair Abû Maârûfâh, and lies to the east of Suyût.

\(\text{Ţunbudhâ.}\)

Ţunbudhâ. Within and without this town there are [respectively] a monastery and a church named after the saint and martyr Tarnimah; 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 Haffâz, in the caliphate of Al-Mustansir bi'llâh, at the time of the disturbances in Upper Egypt, during the patriarchy 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 Şâlih, quotes a mention of Ibsidiyâ in the Synaxarium, in the account of St. Victor there, and says the place must have been to the south of Usyût; see Géogr. p. 202.

\(^2\) The churches and monasteries of Rifah, a little to the south of Usyût, are mentioned by Al-Maârîzî. The Coptic name of the place is εφάδε. 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 \(10=\text{Oct. 7.}\) See Synaxarium at that day; Eutychius, Annales, i. p. 412.
VARIOUS CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES.

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-Sumustâ\(^1\), 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.

Ishnîn, 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,

\(^{1}\) Sumustâ or Samastâ is on the west bank, and is now in the district of Bîbâ, in the province of Bani 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 Samestâ al-Wakf. The MSS. of Al-Makrizî write علامة. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. ad voc.; Ibn Duqmâk, v. p. 4; Rec. de l'Égypte, ii. p. 288.

\(^{2}\) Bûtij or Abû Tij is the Graeco-Coptic ΤΑΠΟΘΥΧ. It is now the capital of a district in the province of Asyût, and in 1885 had 10,770 inhabitants. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wört. i. p. 700; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 111.
CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

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 Abâ Fû, besides a second church of the angel Michael.

§ Akfahs. 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 Abâ Siyûn; the church of Julius, the scribe and martyr of Akfahs. [There is also] the monastery of Saint Philemon, 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.

Dalâs was founded by Dalâs, for a man who separated himself from intercourse with the world; and it contained three hundred smiths, who forged the bits of Dalâs. [Here is] the church of Saint Coluthus,

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1 This town, the Coptic ΚΒΕΓ Ω or ΧΒΕΓ Ω, is on the west bank, a little to the north of Tunbudâ 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. Akfahs is well known in Coptic hagiology on account of Julius of Akfahs, the biographer of the martyrs. See Yakût, Geogr. Wört. i. p. 228; Ibn Dukmâk, v. p. 3; Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 56-58. Al-Makrizî, who gives Akfâs (اتفاس) 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 Tût 22 = Sept. 19. His body was taken to Alexandria, where the emperor Constantine afterwards erected a church to his name. See Synaxarium ad diem; Amélineau, Actes des MM. p. 123 f.

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 Synaxarium at that day; Amélineau, Actes des MM. p. 63.

4 On the west bank, in the district of Az-Zawiyah in the province of Banî Suwâlî, and in 1885 containing 1,665 inhabitants. The Coptic name is ΤΑΛΟΧ. In the time of our author the place was in the province of Al-Bahmasâ. See Yakût, Geogr. Wört. ii. p. 681; Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 136-138.

5 Al-Idrišî says (trans. by Jaubert): 'Delass est une petite ville où l'on
VARIOUS CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES.

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.

§ Tûwah. 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-Îai. This town was built by Manfâ'ûs for a man who fabricated brocades and embroideries. The Book of the Conquest of Egypt relates that at Al-Îai lived Kais ibn al-Hârith, when 'Amr ibn al-'Âsi 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 αϕενεφ. The Arabic name is sometimes written ٣٥٠; and Al-Makrizî mentions a ٣٥٠٥٠, 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 Yâkût does not name it, although he speaks of a Tûwah in the province of Manûf. The Coptic form of the name is ταύβα, ταύβα, or τούβα. 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 at Misr. 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.

§ District of Al-Kalandimûn, 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 Athlidim. Here is a church of the Lady and Virgin; a church of Saint George, the great martyr; a church of the angel Michael. At Sâkîyah Mûsâ there is a church of Saint Victor.

§ District of Shinarâ. It is said that in this district there are twenty-four churches, one of which resembles that of Saint Sergius at Misr.

§ At Ahnâs there is a church which contains the body of Abû Halbâ, the martyr.

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 Athlidim 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 Ithdim. See Yakût, Geogr. Wort. ad voc.; Ibn Dukmâk, v. p. 11; De Sacy, Abd-Allatîf, p. 693.

3 See above, fol. 91 b.

4 The Coptic Ενησίκ. It still exists, under the name of Ahmâsiyat al-Madinah, in the district and province of Bani Suwaif, with a population in
The monastery of An-Nūr is in the territory of Al-Ahnās, 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-Marāghāt¹. Here is a monastery named after the angel Michael, without the town. At Ḫalūsanā there is a church of the Copts and a church of the Armenians.

Būṣīr Kūridus². In this town lived a sorcerer, in the service of Pharaoh, named Būṣīr, who possessed magical powers. It was here that Marwān ibn Muḥammad al-Jaʿdī, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs, was killed. 'Alyūn 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 Abirūn³, to which Marwān, 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-Bahna-ā. See Yāḵūt, Geogr. ṭört. i. p. s.; Al-Idrisī (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 128; Ibn Duḵmāk, v. p. 8; Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 196–198.

¹ Or Al-Marāghah, in the singular. There is now a place of this name in the district of Ṭahtāh, in the province of Jirjā, which in 1885 had 8,658 inhabitants. Our author is probably in error in supposing that there was a place of this name near Ḫalūsanā, although Al-Idrisī mentions a village called Al-Marāghah, five miles from Anṣīnā. The Al-Marāghāt of the revenue-list was in the district of Ikhmīn, and so might be that now existing. See Al-Idrisī (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 124; De Sacy, Abd-Allatīf, p. 701; Rec. de l’Égypte, ii. p. 210. Al-Maṣrīzī mentions a Coptic church at Al-Marāghah, meaning the place of that name which now exists, since he sets it near Ṭahtāh.

² See fol. 17 b. This place is also called Būṣīr al-Mal'āk, and stands at the entrance to the Fayyūm. Being included in the district of Zawīyah in the province of Bani Suwaid, with 1,886 inhabitants in 1885, besides 511 Bedouins. See Yāḵūt, Geogr. ṭört. i. p. v.; Ibn Duḵmāk, v. p. r; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 10.

³ An Arabic form of the Coptic Pīrōu (ἰππώτης), the name of a martyr of the time of Diocletian, who, with his brother Atūm (Ἀτωμ), is commemorated on Abīb 8 = July 2. The name also appears in Arabic as Abīrū (أبيرو) or Abīrūn (أبيروئن). See their Coptic Acts in Hyvernat, Actes des Martyrs, p. 133 ff.
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-Saffāh, 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 Kift, the son of Mizraim, the son of Baisur, 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,

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1 For Al-'Ukāb see Al-Makrīzī, Khīyat, i. p. r#.  
2 Otherwise called the Little Oasis (Oasis Parva). The Coptic name Ṣalāḥ al-bahriā is translated by Salāḥ al-bahriā. Another Arabic name is Wāḥ al-bahriā, given because it lies to the north of the Oases of Al-Khārijah and Ad-Dākhilah. The Oasis of Al-Bahnasā, to which there is a road from the town after which it is named, is reckoned a part of the province of the Fayyūm, and consists of four districts: that of Al-Buwiti with 1,675 inhabitants; that of Al-Kasr, the chief town, with 1,387 inhabitants; that of Mudishah with 1,506 inhabitants; and that
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.'

of Az-Zabû with 808 inhabitants; the total being 5,436 inhabitants. See Amélineau, *Geogr.* 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 سجنه is worth noticing on account of the final vowel sound, expressed by the ی.
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 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 Bujarâs, the capital of the province of Al-Marîs, 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-'Azîz bî'llâh and informed him that he had

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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 (Μ.Μ.ΡΗΣ, 'the South') was the most northern province of Nubia, bordering upon Egypt. The south wind was likewise called Marisâ. Yâkût names Marisâ 'an island in Nubia from which slaves are exported.' See Yâkût, Geogr. Wörterb. iv. p. 610; Al-Makrizî, Khîṣâṭ, i. p. 152; 'Abd al-Latîf, p. 12. Al-Masûdî gives, as the chief divisions of Nubia; Dunkulah (Dongola), Mukurrah, 'Alwah, and Marîs; 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 Dodecaschoenus.
visited a certain city, and had seen a great wonder, passing man's understanding; namely, that on the seventh day of Barmúdah 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.\(^1\)

\(^{\circ}\) The first place in the province of Mukurrah\(^2\) is the monastery called that of Safanuf, king of Nubia, which is in the country below the second cataract.\(^3\)

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1. A mirage of the same sort is described by Al-Maqrizi, Khiṭāṭ, i. p. 199, in his article on Aswān. (A. J. B.)

2. Yāḳūṭ writes this name مکر (Geogr. Wörl. iv. p. 15.), and says (iv. p. 86.) that the king of Nubia called himself مکر مکر ونیه

3. "The king of Mukurra 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 (πορο Ṣελλεκορπία), 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, Sa'ī, Termus, Suenkur,' and refers for them to a letter published by the Père Bonjour, entitled In Monumenta Aegyptiaca Bibliothecae Vaticanae 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-Ushmūnain 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 حبش وملك النوبة), bidding them live at peace together, and abstain from conflict with one another; and that the wāli 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 Wāḍī 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 Hishām\(^1\) 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 ‘Ukbarā\(^2\), 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

\(^1\) 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 Barkhā. 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 Ḥādī’s, *Annales*, ii. p. 676.

\(^2\) Yākūt mentions a place of this name, which, he says, was eleven parasangs from Baghdād; *Geogr. Wörterb.* iii. p. v.e.
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 emery\(^1\), 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 Ceylon\(^2\) 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 'Alwah\(^3\). 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 island\(^4\) between the two rivers, the White

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\(^1\) Emery is a species of corundum found in gneiss, limestone, and other crystalline rocks. Abū Ṣāliḥ 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-IRāḵ, Syria, and Egypt. See Al-Idrīsī (ed. Rome) [p. 42]; Yâḵūt, Geogr. Wörterbuch. iii. p. 27; Reinaud, Rel. des Voy. faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde, &c. The name Sarandib is said to be of Sanskrit derivation.

\(^3\) Yâḵūt writes the name علاء, and says it is to the south of Mukurrā. Al-Idrīsī writes علاء as our author does. See Yâḵūt, Geogr. Wörterbuch. iv. p. 27; Al-Idrīsī (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-Azraq), for so it is now called. The town of Khartūm stands at the junction of these two branches. The existence of four
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 Abima [sic: but read Abūna, 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 [Suākin], which is close to the Red Sea.’ (A. J. B.)

1 All the Arab historians and geographers who mention Nubia state that the natives of the country were Jacobite, i.e. monophysite Christians. See e.g. Yâkût, Geogr. Wort. iv. p. 267; Al-Mašūdī, Murāj adh-Dhahab, ii. p. 329; Al-Idrīsī (ed. Rome) [p. 19]; Al-Maqrīzī, Khiṭat, i. p. 138; Eutychius, Annales, ii. p. 387.
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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, 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 Dongola. 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-Írâk; and this novelty was introduced by Raphael, who was king of Nubia in the year 392 of the Arabs (A.D. 1002). In that year Abû Rakwah, who is also called Al-Walid ibn Hishâm al-Khârijî, rebelled against Al-Ímâm al-Ílák bi-amri Ílâh, and attempted to ravage his country; but Al-Ílák defeated the rebel; and his troops wintered at Takhúm, in Nubia.

It is said that the Nubians formerly worshipped the stars, and that the first of them who was converted to the knowledge of the truth

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 (Dumkûlah), and this is the residence of the king. It stands upon the bank of the Nile.' (Geogr. Wört. iv. p. 87.)

Al-Ídrîsî 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 Ordî.

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-Írâj, 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-Mustaфи, 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 Blemmyses, 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-Maqrizi. (A. J. B.)

3 Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Shams ad-Daulah Turan Shah, surnamed Fakhr ad-Din, 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 Khallikân (trans. De Slane), i. p. 284 ff.; Ibn Shaddâd (ed. Schultens), p. 39.
extinction of the Fatimide dynasty, the last caliph of which was Al-'Aḍīd li-Dīnī Īlāh, 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 Kūş and sold for a large sum. Before this time, Muḥammad al-Khāzin had captured Ibrin, in the days of Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī, 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 Khā’īl, the forty-sixth patriarch, that when money was extorted from him, in the caliphate of Marwān al-Ja’ḍī, the last of the Ŭmeyyad caliphs, by the emir of Egypt, Šalāḥ 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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1 Cf. Al-Maqrīzī, Khīṭāt, ii. p. 337.
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.

\(^1\) According to the history of the church and the biography of

\(^1\) 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-Makrizī, Ḳẖiṭṭaṭ, i. p. 198.

\(^2\) The patriarchal biographer says (loc. cit.):

\[\text{وَلَقدْ شَاهَدْ مِنْ أَخْبَرَتِنَا بِعَيْنِيَّ اِنَّ الْلُّهِ الَّذِيْ تَحْتُهُمْ كَانَّ تَقَافَلُ تَقَافَلًا بَأَيْدِيْهَا وَارِجَلَهَا فِي الْحَرَّم}

\[\text{كَمَا تَقَافَلُ فَضَلْتِهَا وَكَانَا حُبْلَ قُصُمَ مِمْلَكَ مِنْ لَهَمْ}

'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-Maṣūḍī also testifies to the smallness of the horses; see Murūj adh-Dhahab, ii. p. 382. Yāḵūt says that the Nubian king had thoroughbred horses (الْعَلَّامة), but that the commons (الْبَرَادِ) had slow, heavy horses, of no particular breed; see Geogr. Wörterbuch iv. p. 84.
Anbâ Joseph, the fifty-second patriarch, Ibrâhîm, brother of Al-Ma’mûn, the Abbaside [caliph], sent a letter to Zacharias, king of Nubia, asking him to send a tribute of slaves equivalent to the amount for fourteen years. But as the king could not do this, he sent his son George to Bagdad, to Ibrâhîm. So Ibrâhîm 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 Ibrâhîm also admired the submission of the son, who exiled himself in obedience to his father; and therefore Ibrâhîm conferred upon the king all the favours that he asked for, and sent his son back to Miṣr, 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, 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 ‘Uthmân, the Nubians were allowed to live at peace with their Muslim neighbours, on condition of paying a yearly tribute (bîsî) of 400 or 360 able-bodied slaves to the caliph. In the time of Al-Ma’mûn this custom fell into desuetude, and for that reason Ibrâhîm 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 Bâkt in Al-Maqrizi, *Khiṭat*, i. pp. 148-157; cf. Al-Mas’ûdî, *Murîj adh-Dhahab* (ed. Barbier), iii. p. 39; Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört*. iv. p. 88 .

3 This narrative is taken from the biography of the patriarch Yusâb in the compilation of Severus of Al-Ushmûnain; 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 Anbâ George, bishop of Naṭū, who was sent by Anbâ 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 Lawâtis, 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-Wâdi. 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 Uswân. 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,

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1 Close to the modern Sahraî, which is in the district of Mît Ghamr, in the province of Ad-Dakahlîyah in the Delta. It is the Coptic ٍ١ٌ١ٌ١ٌ, and the Greek Leontopolis. M. Amélineau has not noticed that, in the Copto-Arabic lists which he himself publishes, Leoutôn corresponds to Naṭū, as well as to نَتَي, 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-Mustanîr bîllâh, 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

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1 The monastery of Al-Khandâk, the suburb of Cairo, is mentioned by Al-Maârîzî, who says that it was built by Jauhar.

2 According to the Kitâb al-Fihrist, 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 Christian. Eutychius, however, speaks of six kinds of writing among the ‘Hamites,’ and one of these is the ‘Nubian’ (نوبی), see his Annales, 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 there are said to have been twenty-eight kings who owned obedience to the Negus; see Tellez, Historia geral de Éthiopía 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\(^1\), within which there is an idol resembling * * *\(^2\), 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\(^3\), on the eastern bank, there is a large monastery, upon a high mountain which overlooks the blessed Nile.

Town of Tafah\(^4\). 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.

\(^4\) Tafah still exists, on the west bank, seven miles to the south of Jartassi, in northern Nubia. It must have been in the province of Maris. The ancient temple here was turned into a church in the reign of Justinian I, like several others; see Letronne, op. cit. p. 37.
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 Philae. Between the land of Nubia and the land of the

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1 The Arabic ٱلٌ preserves the Coptic ⲧⲡⲧⲟⲧⲡⲣⲓⲧ. The island is mentioned by Yâkût, *Geogr. Wûrî* i. p. 81; by Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 37]; by Al-Maqrîzî, i. p. 151; 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 Sarâdîb, 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 Uswân¹, 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 mines². 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 Barmûdah³; 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-'Ulâ⁴ it is a distance of eighteen days; and to 'Aidhâh a distance of four days.

The monastery called Ibêkâh 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 Kûş. 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

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¹ Uswân, Aswân, or Suwân is, as it is well known, the Greek Σωμή, the Latin Syene, and the Coptic coxyâ, and is mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel (xxix. 10; xxx. 6) as Ṣôm. It is now the chief town of a district in the province of Isnâ (Esneh), and in 1885 had 6,421 inhabitants. See Yâkût, Geogr. Würt. i. p. 141; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 21]; Al-Mâkûrî, i. p. 113; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 467.

² See above, fol. 20 a.

³ I. e. April 7.

⁴ On the confines of Arabia and Syria. See Yâkût, Geogr. Würt. iii. p. 144.
Mary, which was founded by the king. It was consecrated by Anbā George, bishop of Naṭū, when he was sent by the patriarch Christodulūs to Nubia, to ask the king for assistance on account of the extortion from which he suffered at the hands of [Marwān] al-Ja'ḍī, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs.

It is said that the Mountains of the Moon\(^1\), 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 art\(^2\);' 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 Uswān\(^4\). 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.

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\(^1\) See above, fol. 26b.

\(^2\) See above, fol. 20a.

\(^3\) He was a native of Uswān; see Paris Synaxarium at Kīhak 12 = Dec. 8.

\(^4\) I.e. Elephantine.
PHILAE AND USWÂN.

[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 Hadîr 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 Psòti (ποστι), 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 (πςο), named in Arabic Absâ'î (ابسائي), or, by its modern designation, Munshiyah, and still exists a little to the north of Jirjâ. The festival of St. Psòti or Ibsâdah is kept on Kihak 27 = Dec. 23. See Synaxarium at that day; Zoega, Cal. p. 237; Amélineau, Actes des M.M. p. 30, and Geogr. 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 Ṣakâlah (الصفا), 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. Wort., 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

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 CristH and the Greek Latopolis. Yâḵût says that the only places of importance in Egypt to the south of Isnâ were Udûf and Uswân, and that in his time Isnâ was a flourishing place with much trade. See Yâḵût, Geogr. Wort. i. p. 235; Al-Idrisî (ed. Rome) [p. 49]; Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 172–175.

2 Our author seems to derive the name from the Coptic yûhH.

3 The Coptic church tones correspond to some extent to the Greek and Latin tones, and are called respectively the tones of Adam, of Wâṭus, Sanjâri, Kihak, Atribî, the tone of the Great Fast, the tone for the Dead, the tone Istâsimûn. The tones most commonly used are that of Adam (HΧΟC أَذَمُّ), on the three first days of the week, and that of Wâṭus (HΧΟC ṭαɾOOC, i.e. ṭeɾOOC, الزن راّطس) on the other days. Cf. Vansleb, Hist. de l’Église d’Alex. 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 Armanūsah; and the name means 'Blessed spot.' The town was founded by Būsim the king, son of Caphtorim, son of Mizraim, son of Baisur, 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-Khazārah, 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 Damāmīl there is a church named after the saint Anbā Michael.

§ Dandarah in Upper Egypt is a large town; it was built by one
of the daughters of the Copts in the days of Manfāʿūs. 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.

*Kifṭ and ḳanāḥ.*

§ The town of Kifṭ is the first town that was built in the land of Egypt; it was founded by Kifṭ, the son of Mizraim, who lived 400 years, and was buried with his treasures in the Oases. From Kifṭ there is a road to ʿAidḥāb, and a road to the mine of emeralds, and a road to the Sea of Naʿām. 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

district and province of ḳanāḥ, and in 1885 contained 4,492 inhabitants besides 1,383 Bedouins. It is the Coptic *TENTWPT* and the classical Tentyris or Tentyra. The village of Denderah is well known to tourists, who here meet with the first great Egyptian temple which is to be seen on the voyage up the Nile, and which was as celebrated in the time of our author as it is now. See Yāḵūt, *Geogr. Wörterb.* ii. p. 11.; Al-Idrīsī (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 125; Al-Maḫrīzī, i. p. 777, cf. p. 71; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 140–142.

1 Quatremère quotes part of this passage in *Mém.* i. p. 150.

2 See above, fol. 21 a and note.

3 Apparently part of the Red Sea.
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 Ba‘unah 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 Kānāh. In this district there are two monasteries which were restored by the Mu'allim Ishāk, called Al-Azraḳ, 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!

Fā‘ū.

§ The district called Fā‘ū 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 Kānāh is now the capital of a province, and in 1885 had 15,402 inhabitants. Its Coptic name seems to have been KUWIF, and the Copto-Arabic lists give the corresponding Arabic name as قونة. The more usual form, however, would seem to be قنا, Kana; and in English it is generally written 'Keneh.' In the time of our author the place was in the province of Kus. The Greeks appear to have called the town KATPI πόλις. See Amélineau, Géogr. p. 493 f.

3 Yākūt names both this place and the monastery of Abū 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\(^1\); but it has now fallen into ruin. All the pictures in this church were composed of tessellae of glass, gilded and coloured\(^2\); and its pillars were of marble; but it was wrecked by Al-Hākim.

\(\text{Kamūlah.}\)

§ Kamūlah\(^3\). 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 Abū Karkās. There are also here two monasteries of the glorious martyrs Abā Nūb and Theodore.

possessed. Another Arabic name of the town is Bāţū (بطن), which is nearer to the Coptic \(\text{Φυωτερ}\). The Coptic life of St. Pachomius describes the foundation of the great convent here which bore his name. Fāţū is now in the district of Dashnā, in the province of Ḫanā, and in 1885 had, if its northern and southern divisions are added together, 4,743 inhabitants, besides 990 Bedouins. See Yākūt, Geogr. Wort. iii. p. 834; Amélineau, Géogr. pp. 331-333; cf. his Hist. de S. Pakhôme, p. 70 f.

\(^1\) 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 Šāliḥ'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-Ḳuṣair, fol. 59 b. (A. J. B.)

\(^3\) The Coptic \(\text{Καξολαί}.\) It was celebrated for its palms and vegetables. It is now in the district of Ḫuṣ, in the province of Ḫanā, and in 1885 had 1,020 inhabitants. See Yākūt, Geogr. Wort. iv. p. 117; Al-Idrisī (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 127; Amélineau, Géogr. p. 391 f.
USWÂN AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Al-Ushmûnain.

City of Al-Ushmûnain ¹. 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 neighbourhoood.

§ 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 Kâmîl, 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.

Κâmûlah.

§ At Κâmûlah ² 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 Κâmûlah 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-Aksurain, the dual of Al-Aksur (الكسور), was often used
as the name of the place, e.g. in the Synaxarium, and the Copto-Arabic lists
of places. The form Al-Aksur, however, is used by Yûkût and Al-Maqrizi,
and is now vulgarly pronounced 'l-Aksur (Luxor). The Coptic name of the
place is ΠΛΑΝΕ; and the modern village, as it is well known, occupies part
of the site of the ancient Thebes. See Yûkût, Geogr. Wörterb. i. p. 173; Al-
Maqrizi, i. p. 73; Ibn Duqmâk, v. p. 61; Amelineau, Géogr. p. 234 f.

2 The text has 'like that,' apparently referring to the signification of Al-Aksur,
which may be taken, as Yûkût remarks (loc. cit.), as a 'plural of paucity' of the
word کسر (qasr) '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 noticia 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 see of Mark the Evangelist to Abyssinia, from the patriarch of Alexandria in Egypt; and this dali por diante todos os mays bispos ou Abunas foram mandados a Ethiopia da mesma Cadeyra Patriarchal até os nossos tempos, em que Roma mandou alguns Patriarchas como a diante veremos.'

'Since the Abyssinians have had knowledge of the Faith of Christ, they have never had more than a single bishop in all Ethiopia, whom they call Abuná, which signifies "Our Father." The first of all was Saint Frumentius, of whom we have spoken above; and as that Saint was sent from Alexandria by Saint Athanasius, so, from that time onward, all the other bishops or Abunas have been 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\(^1\), 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\(^2\).

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\(^3\).

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\(^4\), together with dried rose-leaves.

All the kings of Abyssinia are crowned with the royal crown\(^5\) in

\(^{1}\) 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, 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 alta, 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'Egypte 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 upon 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, 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 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.

The eucharistic loaves of the Abyssinians are disks of leavened bread, without stamp.

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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 ወጂ. The form ጥጂ: has been borrowed in Arabic as كَسَحَٰشِي.

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 (Ἱσβωδικόν or Σπούδικόν, a corruption of δισπούτικον), and the former appears in the Arabic Isbŭdikān, 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 (Ἁγίος Άγιος Άγιος Κριτίκος) or the like. See Vansleb, Hist. de l'Église d’Alex. p. 99 f.; Buuler, Coptic Churches, ii. p. 278 seq.

Tellez says of the Abyssinians:

'Detraz da Igreja para a banda do Oriente esta sempre hũa 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\textsuperscript{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 Ethiopía a alta, p. 97.)

The cazinha of which Tellez speaks corresponds to the bakehouse (بيت غبس) attached to the Coptic churches, as we have seen above, fol. 30 b, &c. (A. J. B.)

\textsuperscript{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 à 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 Ethiopía 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 Anbâ 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

\(^{1}\) Apparently a word of Greek origin.

\(^{2}\) Danhauer’s testimony on this point agrees with Abû Šâliḥ’s: ‘reges olim sex aut septem habuerunt uxores, aulici committer 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 supplica-
tions and prayers and praises should be offered.

\(^{1}\) 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. (\textit{Mod. Egyptians}, ii. pp. 292, 296.) But the Muslim
sacrifices are far more numerous and more distinctly ritual in character (\textit{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.
(\textit{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. Assemmani 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 Hatür 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-Khiṭat 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.

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1 By Al-Kindī.

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-Makīn, Hist. Sarac. p. 85. Yakūt says that Toledo (Ṭulaitulah or Ṭulaitalah) 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-‘Ajab 1 is near Marea 2, 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 it 3; 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 Abū Ḭ-Barakāt Mauhūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarraj, the Alexandrian deacon, in the biography of Anbā Christodulos, the sixty-sixth patriarch.

North-western Africa.

The City of Darkness. Between this and the town of Al-Ikran there is a river called the Jarjar, the width of which is 300 miles [or] 100 parasangs 4.

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1 I. e. ‘Most remarkable and most wonderful.’ The б has been omitted before انظر.
2 Marea (Μαρεία) 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-Lûzariḳû\(^1\) is in North-western Africa, near Carthage; and Paul\(^2\) 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 Ḥyār, every year; and on this day they wove roses into garlands and placed them on the heads of their idols, and offered them fresh honey\(^3\) and farîk as-sabil from among their stores.

There was in the town of Al-Lûzariḳûn a talisman\(^4\) upon the walls, which warned the people of the approach of a stranger, and then they forbade him to enter. That river [Jarjar], at the prayer of Paul, was

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\(^1\) This name is apparently so written in the MS., but the copy of the Book of Clement at the Bodleian Library writes the name الکردنو, 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 صور 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:

'And I arrived there on the 12th of the month of Ḥyār, 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:

'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 Abyssinia\(^1\), which is also called Al-Hindah. All its inhabitants worship the Buddhas\(^2\) 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. India lay in ancient times in the darkness of idolatry; and Thomas\(^3\),

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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. 116 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, *Méthodes 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.)

2 Cf. Al-Birûnî (ed. Sachau), pp. 87, 89, 90, 195, for mention of Buddha (🎊).

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 Gundapherres 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 hand¹. 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 Oddo of St. Rémy to a Count Thomas. Oddo 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 Oddo’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.

accipiant sacramentum de manu apostoli. Patriarcha vero ministrat seu porrigit
apostolo sacramentum ad digitos qui dignis tribuit et retrahit indignis. Apostoli
autem manus stat aliquoliter elevata et semiclasa, et ob reverentiam duo archie-
piscopi apponunt manus suas ad brachium apostoli, non tamen regendo manus
ejus. Corpus autem apostoli est integrum et illesum cum crinibus et barba
vestimentisque suis quibus vivus utebatur. Est itaque pannis pretiosissimis
coopertum. Etiam ad praedictam ministracionem corporis domini servunt duo
alii archiepiscopi tenentes patenas sub manu apostoli. See Gustav Oppert, Der

1 One of the first visitors to the church and relics of St. Thomas at Mālapur
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.

2 I.e. Quilon, on the coast of Travancore. See Yâkût, Geogr. Wort. i. p. 84.
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.

Ṣanā’ in Al-Yaman. Here is the church called Al-Ḳalis, 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. 454–458. 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 (منصور) 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 Yâkût, Geogr. Wörterb. iii. p. 217. Yemen was conquered before the birth of Mahomet by the Christians of Abyssinia; see the account given by Gibbon in chap. xliii and Johannsen’s Historia Ymanae, 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-Ṭabarī, Ta‘rīkh ar-Rusul wa’l-Mulūk (ed. De Goeje and others), prima series, pp. 92–94. 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-Ṭabarī, op. cit. p. 94 ff. (A. J. B.)

4 ‘The scarred’ or ‘mutilated.’

5 At-Ṭabarī says:

فِنِيَاهَا بِنَاء مَعْجَباً لَمْ يَرْمَهَا النَّجَفَاءِ بِالْأَدْمَغَةِ وَالإِبْصَابَةِ المَعْجَبةِ وَكَتَبَ إِلَى تِصْرِيحِهِمُّ أَنَّهُ يَرَى بِنَاءَ كَنيَّةٍ

بِسَبَعٍ يَمِيَّزُ أَيْرَهَا وَذُكَّرَهَا وَسَأَلَّهَا المَعْوَىَةُ لِيَلْحَظَهَا بَيْنَ الْمَنَافِعِ وَالْفَضْلِ وَالفَسِيقِ وَالرَّاحِمِ

and in his article on China (الصين), i. pp. 454–458. 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 (منصور) 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 Yâkût, Geogr. Wörterb. iii. p. 217. Yemen was conquered before the birth of Mahomet by the Christians of Abyssinia; see the account given by Gibbon in chap. xliii and Johannsen’s Historia Ymanae, 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-Ṭabarī, Ta‘rīkh ar-Rusul wa’l-Mulūk (ed. De Goeje and others), prima series, pp. 92–94. 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-Ṭabarī, op. cit. p. 94 ff. (A. J. B.)

4 ‘The scarred’ or ‘mutilated.’

5 At-Ṭabarī says:

فِنِيَاهَا بِنَاء مَعْجَباً لَمْ يَرْمَهَا النَّجَفَاءِ بِالْأَدْمَغَةِ وَالإِبْصَابَةِ المَعْجَبةِ وَكَتَبَ إِلَى تِصْرِيحِهِمُّ أَنَّهُ يَرَى بِنَاءَ كَنيَّةٍ

بِسَبَعٍ يَمِيَّزُ أَيْرَهَا وَذُكَّرَهَا وَسَأَلَّهَا المَعْوَىَةُ لِيَلْحَظَهَا بَيْنَ الْمَنَافِعِ وَالْفَضْلِ وَالفَسِيقِ وَالرَّاحِمِ
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 Abrahâ bid men make pilgrimages\(^1\) 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 *silīsam*-wood, inlaid with pure white ivory, beautifully carved\(^2\). 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-Ṭabari.

\[^{1}\text{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'}\text{(p. \textit{95}).} \text{ \textit{Caesar} was the emperor Justinian I. Cf. Wright, \textit{op. cit.} p. 95. (A. J. B.)}

\[^{2}\text{So At-Ṭabari, \textit{loc. cit.} The announcement that Abrahâ 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.)}

\[^{2}\text{Many such screens are now to be seen in Coptic religious buildings, though perhaps of less magnificence. See \textit{Coptic Churches}. (A. J. B.)}\]
Marûr ad-Dair. This is a church inclosed within a strong wall; and it is now called Maḳbarat al-Ḥukamâ. In this district lived Abû Sharwân, the emir of Al-Yaman under Chosroes.

Thamânîn.

The village called Thamânîn. The mountain of Ḳardâ 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 Ḳardâ 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, now a heap of ruins, such as are unknown elsewhere. 'Uthmân overthrew it in the days of Islâm, but its ruins remain until now. Āryāt, 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.'
4 A fortress in Yemen between Ṣa’n’ā and Ṭaiwâh. Some said it was built by demons at the command of Solomon. It was destroyed by the caliph 'Uthmân. See Yâḳûṭ, Geogr. Wört. iii. p. 817.
Şan'ā in Al-Yaman and Iṣṭakhr in Fars and Al-Ailah in Al-ʿIrāk 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, and made wonderful things there, and named it City of the Sun; and that he built Durrah, which is in the midst of the sea; and built a great altar near the city of Kīrūn.

The city of Auḵır 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 Khauliya. 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!

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-Iṣṭakhrī, passim; Al-Maṣūdī, iv. p. 76; Yāḵūt, Geogr. Wört. i. p. 813. 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, Viaggi (ed. 1606), vol. i. f. 107: and the first full accounts were given by the Augustinian friar Antonio de Gouvea, see his Relação (1611), fol. 30; and by Don García de Silva y Figueroa, De rebus Persarum Epistola (1620). pp. 6-12, translated in Purchas, Pilgrims (1625), ii. p. 1533 f.

2 Tadmor was said, like Iṣṭakhr and Ghumdān, to have been built by demons for Solomon; see Yāḵūt. Geogr. Wört. i. p. 820. 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-Akrām Abū 'l-Faraj, son of the Shaikh Raphael, son of the priest Abū 'l-Farābī, surnamed Şandık al-'Ilm. 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 Abū 'l-Ma'ābī, son of the priest As-Sabi Abū 'l-Faḍā'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 Tūt, 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'ūnāh in the year 1054 of the Blameless Martyrs, which corresponds to the 8th of Dhū '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!

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1 I here omit the complimentary epithets as untranslatable.
2 Renaudot tells a story of a similar event in Hist. Patr. p. 70.
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ACCOUNT OF THE MONASTERIES AND CHURCHES OF THE CHRISTIANS OF EGYPT;

Ibn Sīdah says: Ad-Dair (monastery) is an inn (khān) of the Christians, in the plural Adyār; and the superior of it is called Dayyār 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-Ḳilliyah, the Cell at Misr. This Ḳilliyah stands beside the Mu'allakah in the Kasr ash-Shama 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 Tūrā 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 Sha'rān. This monastery stands at the boundary of the district of Tūrā, 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 Sha hrān.

1 Al-Makrīzī, like Abū Ṣalih, also uses the plurals ʿadwār and ʿdwarat.
2 Wüstenfeld remarks that the commoner form is Ḳilliyah, قلية, which is nearer to the original κελλίου.
3 I.e. Fustāṭ Miṣr or Al-Fustāṭ, 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 Barṣûmâ ibn at-Tabbân lived here, it was called the Monastery of Barṣûmâ. 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-Wadi¹, and is an old and small monastery.

5. Monastery of Peter and Paul. This monastery stands near Iṭṣîh 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-Ḳasriyâh. 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 Ḥazîrân, 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-Jummaizah is also known as the Monastery of Al-Jûd; and sailors call the place Jazâ'îr ad-Dair (Islands of the Monastery), and it is opposite to Al-Maimûn² and west of the Monastery of Al-'Arabah; it is built in the name of Saint Anthony, who is also called Anṭûnâh; he was a native of Kaman, 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-'Arabah³. This is reached by a three days' journey on camels, and is among the eastern mountains; between it and the Sea of Al-Ḳulzûm

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¹ Two places in the province of Iṭṣîh (Wüstenfeld).
² Al-Maimûn and Kaman were two places in the district of Bûṣîr in the province of Al-Jîzâh.
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 Barmalāt\(^1\), when their fast lasts till the stars come out. \textit{Al-Barmalāt} means in their language a fast of this kind.

8. \textit{The Monastery of Saint Paul}\(^2\), also called Monastery of the Sons of Paul, or Monastery of \textit{An-Namūrah}. This monastery lies in the country west of At-Tūr (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-Ḳulzum, 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. \textit{Monastery of Al-Ḳusair}. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ash-Shābusṭī says in his \textit{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 Khamārawaih ibn ʿAlīmad ibn Ṭūlūn, 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 Miṣr 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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\[^1\text{Wüstenfeld, on the authority of Prof. Fleischer and Prof. Seyffarth, compares with this word the Coptic \textit{ςπεραοτρ} (ς\textit{πρωλ}) \textit{ζωοτιτ}. Is it not more probably the Greek \textit{παραμονή}, which was much used in Coptic in the sense of 'vigil'?}\]

\[^2\text{This is the famous Monastery of St. Paul, near that of St. Anthony.}\]
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-Ḳuṣair 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-Ḳuṣair; according to Ibn Lahi'ah it is not the fortress of Mūsā (Moses) the prophet, but of Mūsā the magician; but on the other hand Al-Mufaḍḍal Faḍʿalah gives a tradition from his father, who says: 'We came to Ka'b al-Allābār, who asked us, Whence are you? We answered, From Egypt. He said, What do you say about Al-Ḳuṣair? We answered, It is the castle of Moses. He answered, It is not the castle of Moses, but the castle of the 'Azīz 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 Muḥaṭṭam 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 Muḥaṭṭam 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-Ḳuṣair, 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-Ḥākim bi-amri 'Ilāh ordered that the Monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair 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).
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10. Monastery of Saint John. Ash-Shâbushtî says: 'The Monastery of Saint John lies on the bank of the Lake of Al-Ḥabash, 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 Mammâti; 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 At-Ṭin.'

11. Monastery of Abû 'n-Nâ‘nâ‘. This monastery stands near Anṣinâ, 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. This 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 Manfalût and Umm al-Ḳuṣûr, stands opposite to an island surrounded by water called Shaḵalkîl, on which are two villages, one called Shaḵalkîl, the other Banî 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 Banî Murr, 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 Şâliḥ on fol. 40 a, ff.
2 In the district of Usyûṭ (Wüstenfeld).
3 In the district of Usyûṭ (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 Buk‘urshu, north of Abnūb, is a small monastery, but deserted, and has long been visited by the Christians only once in the year. Buk‘urshu 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 Hatūr. He was a soldier.

15. Monastery of Abū ‘s-Sarī, built in the name of Saint George, near Al-Ma‘sarāh, in the district east of Banī 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 Khamās. Khamās 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-Ta‘ir (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 Samallūt. Ash-Shabhushī says: ‘In the district of Ikhmīm 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 Abūkīr 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 Cadi Abū Ja‘far al-Kuḍā‘ī says: ‘Among the noteworthy features of Egypt is the ravine of the Abūkīrs near Ushmūm in Upper Egypt. This is a ravine on a mountain, in which there is a cleft at which the Abūkīrs on a certain day of the year assemble, and betake themselves

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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 Ikhmîm. 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-Karkas, 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-Ƙarkas there is a journey of three hours, and below the Monastery of Al-Ƙarkas is a well of fresh water surrounded by Bân-trees.

21. The Monastery of Sabrah, east of Ikhmîm, is named after an Arab tribe named the Šabra, and dedicated to the angel Michael; but there is only one monk there.

22. The Monastery of Abû Abshâdah (Psôtî), the bishop, near the district of Atfah, stands on the dam and opposite to Munshât Ikhmîm, 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 Bânî Khaşîb, 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-Sab‘a’, 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-Shābushtī 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 Tamwaiḥ. Yâkūṭ gives this pronunciation, and adds: ‘There are two places of this name in Egypt; one is in the province of Al-Murtāḥiyah, and the other in that of Al-Jizah.’ Ash-Shābushtī says: ‘Tamwaiḥ is on the west bank, and stands opposite to Hulwān, 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-Basīt:

‘O that I could drink at Tamwaiḥ of the bright juice,
 which brings into contempt the wines of Hit and ‘Ānāt,1
 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.
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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 Akfâs,* more correctly Akfâhs, 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-Khâdîm* (the Servant) is near the canal of Al-Manhî, in the district of Al-Bahnasâ, and is built in the name of the angel Gabriel. It possesses gardens containing palms and olive-trees.

30. *The Monastery of Ishnîn,* named after the district of Ishnîn, 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 Arjanûs. 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-Manhî, on the high ground between the Fayyûm 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-Nâkîn,* also called Monastery of Al-Khashabah, and Monastery of the Angel Gabriel, stands under a hollow in the mountain, called Târif al-Fayyûm; 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: Iṭfîlî Shallâ and Shallâ. The water for this monastery is drawn from the canal of Al-Manhî, 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 Fayyūm and other places assemble; and it lies on the road leading to the Fayyūm, which, however, is only followed by few travellers.

34. Monastery of Al-Ḳalamūn. This stands in a plain under the mountain-pass of Al-Ḳalamūn, through which the traveller reaches the Fayyūm, and which is called the Pass of Al-Gharaḵ. 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 Kihak. In this monastery there are many palms, from the fruit of which the ‘Ujwah¹ 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 Rānij (nux Indica), and its kernel is used for many purposes. Abū Ḥanīfah says in the Book of Plants: ‘The Labakh only grows at Anṣʿinā. 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 Umailīḥ, 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 Timbudhdā contains only one monk, and does not stand on a frequented road. In the district of Al-Bahnasā there were many monasteries now destroyed.

36. Monastery of Bū Fānā, north of Banī Khalīd, built of stone, and of fine architecture. It belongs to the district of Al-Munyah, and formerly there were a thousand monks here, but now only two; it lies on the dam below the mountain.

37. The Monastery of Bālājah, at a short distance from Al-Manhī, 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 Abū Markūrah. This monastery stands

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-Rairamán, in the eastern part of the district of this place, which lies to the east of Mallawî and to the west of Anşinâ; 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-Jâwaliyah. This monastery stands at the extremity of the district of Al-Jâwaliyah, 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 Udrunkah. The neighbourhood of Udrunkah 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 Ardj al-Hâjîz (the district of the Dam), [also called] that of Michael or that of Kârfûnâh, which bears the name of the Virgin, and is also named Arfûnâ or Aghrafûnâ, which means Scribe (γραφον); 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 Bû Baghâm, below that of Kârfûnâh on the Dam. Bû Baghâm 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 Kânûn 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 Minshûk or Mûnsâk or Bânî Sâk or Išâk, which bore the name of the Virgin Mârîhâm, i.e. Mâr Maryam (Saint Mary); and afterwards was known by the name of Mûnsâk, 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 Mûnsâk is also called the Monastery of Tamarisks. It belongs to the district of Bûîj; while the Monastery of Severus belongs to the inhabitants of Rifah, that of Kârfûnâh to the inhabitants of Sûyût, 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
Munsha’at ash-Shaikh (new building of the Shaikh), because the Shaikh Abû Bakr ash-Shâdah 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 \(1\frac{1}{2}\) mithkâl.

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-Muṭill, and that of the Scribe stood outside Suyūṭ among the caves, and on both the dams there are said to have been 360 monasteries, and the traveller went from Al-Badrashain to Asfünn, continually in the shade of the gardens. Now this part is laid waste, and deserted by its inhabitants.

54. **Monastery of Mûshah.** Mûshah stands to the south of Suyūṭ. The monastery is dedicated to Thomas, the Apostle of India, and stands among the gardens in the neighbourhood of Rifâh. 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.** Abû 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 Bû Baghâm,** before Timâ, 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 Sûhâj. 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 \(4\frac{4}{4}\) feddâns, of which only one feddân is left. It is an ancient monastery.

58. **The Red Monastery,** also called that of Abû Bishâ’î, 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 Abû Bishâ’î was a monk and contemporary
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 Buṭ Miṣâṣ* or *Buṭ Muṣîs* (Moses), i.e. Moses. This monastery stands below Al-Bulyanâ, and is a large monastery. This Saint Moses was a monk, born at Al-Bulyanâ, 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-Ḥâkim bi-amrî '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 Miṣr, 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, forbade the Christians to decorate the churches on Palm-Sunday, oppressed them and had many of them scourged. In the island of Raudhâ there was a church near the Nilometer, which was destroyed by As-Sâliḥ Nîjm 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-Ziyâlîhâ, 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’bân 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 Barḳûk, who was administrator of the government, until he destroyed the church with the help of the Cadi Jamâl ad-Dîn Muḥammad al-‘Ajami, superintendent of the market at Cairo, on the 8th of Ramaḍân in the year 780. It was turned into a mosque.
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60. *The Monastery of Al-Khandak* (the Moat), beyond Cairo, towards the north, was built by the commander Jauhar instead of a monastery which he had destroyed in Cairo, in the neighbourhood of the mosque of Al-Akmar, where the well is which is now called Bi'r al-'Azamâ 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-Khandak. On the 24th of Shawwâl, A.H. 678, in the reign of Al-Malik al-Mansûr Kalâ'ân, 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-Shâbushî. If a man had the scrofula (*khandätzir*) the superior of the monastery took him, made him lie on his side, and brought a pig (*khinzätzir*) 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 Atriq*, also called by the name of the Lady Mary, keeps a festival on the 21st of Ba'ûnah; and Ash-Shâbushî 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 Banhâ al-'Asal.

63. *Monastery of Al-Maghtâs* (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 Ramadhân, A.H. 841, during a rising of some faqûrs 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-Maghṭas, 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 Jamyánah, 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-Maghṭas; 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 Shiḥāt, or the desert of Aškit, or Mīzān 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-'Aṣī, 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-'Aṣī 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 Askim, 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
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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-Natrûn 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 Kamû,

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 Baramús; this monastery is dedicated to the Virgin of Baramús, so that Baramús 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 Shihât, 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 Baramús 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-Zajáj (Glass). This stands outside Alexandria, and is also called Al-Hâbatân (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-Zajáj, 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 Ħârah Zawilah at Cairo, which is inhabited by virgins leading the religious life, and other Christian women.

80. The Dair al-Bandâl in the quarter of the Romans (Ḫârat ar-Rûm), 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-Ḳușair. The correct pronunciation according to them is Al-Ḳaṣr, after the form shahid, but it has been changed and is pronounced Al-Ḳuṣayyir. The Muslims call it
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_Dair al-Kūṣair_ (‘Monastery of the Small Fort’), as if it were a diminutive of _kašr_, ‘castle;’ but originally, as we have said, it was _Dair al-Kašir_, ‘Monastery of the Dwarf,’ the opposite of _tawil_, ‘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 _Aṭ-Ṭūr_. Ibn Sidah says: _Aṭ-Ṭūr_ means ‘the Mountain,’ and is especially used of _Ṭūr Sinā_ (Sinai), the mountain in Syria. In Syriac it is _ḥal ṭūrā_, and in derivation we say _Ṭūr_ or _Ṭūrā_, ‘a Turian.’ Yāḥūt says: There are seven places named _Ṭūr_: (1) _Ṭūr Zaitā_, in pronunciation like _Zail_, ‘oil,’ with final _d_: the name of a mountain near Rās ‘Ain; (2) _Ṭūr Zaitā_, likewise a mountain of Jerusalem, east of Siloah; (3) _Ṭūr_, name of a mountain rising above the city of Tiberias by the Jordan; (4) _Aṭ-Ṭūr_, name of a mountain in a district containing many towns or villages, in Egypt, to the south, between _Mīșr_ and mount Fārān; (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 ‘Abdīn_, name of a mountain in the province of Nisibis, among the mountains which rise above this city, and are connected with mount Jūdā; (7) _Ṭūr Hárien_ (i.e. of Aaron), the brother of Moses—Al-Wāḥidī says in his commentary: Al-Kalbī and others say that ‘the mountain,’ in the word of God ‘but behold the mountain,’ is the largest mountain in Midian, called Zabīr. Al-Kalbī mentions that _Ṭūr_ has its name from Yaṣur the son of Ishmael; on which As-Suhailī remarks that the _Ya_ perhaps has been dropped, if his statement is correct. ‘Umar ibn Shaibah says: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz told me, [quoting] from Abū Ma’shar, from Sa’īd ibn Abī Sa’īd, from his father, from Abū Hurairah, that the Apostle of God said: There are four rivers in Paradise and four mountains and four battles; the rivers are Saiḥān, Jaḥān, the Nile, and the Euphrates; and the mountains are Sinai (Aṭ-Ṭūr), Lebanon, Uḥud, and Warikān; as to the battles, he was silent. According to Ka‘b al-Aḥbār, the Muslims have three places of defence; their defence against the Romans is Damascus; that against Ad-Dājjāl is the Jordan; that against Yājūj and Mājūj is Sinai. Shu’bah says, quoting from Arṭā’ah ibn al-Mundhir: When Yājūj and Mājūj 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 Aṭ-Ṭūr. Then he went thither accompanied by 12,000 followers. Tālkh ibn Ḥabīb heard Zur’ah say: I wished to march out to Sinai, so I came to ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Umar and told him this; whereupon he repeated: To three
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 Abû 'Abdallâh Muḥammad ibn Salâmah al-Kudâ'i says, after describing the districts
of Egypt: To the southern region belong the localities of the Hedjaz, namely,
the district of Sinai and Fârân, the district of Râyâ and Al-Ḳulzum, the district
of Ailah and its neighbourhood, Midian and its neighbourhood, Al-'Uwaid and
Al-Ḥaurâ and their neighbourhoods, and next the district of Badâ and Shaghb.
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-Shâbushtî says: Ṭûr Sînâ 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 'Āmir says of it—

'O monk of the monastery! whence the brightness and the light?
   it shines from that which is in thy monastery Ṭûr.
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 Banû Šâliḥ, 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-Ṭūr there are two days' journeys: and from the city of Miṣr to Al-Ḳulzum there are three days' journeys. The mountain of At-Ṭūr 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 Ǧaṣr 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-Azharî says: The word Kanîsah (church), or 'synagogue' of the Jews, in the plural Kanîsîs, is an Arabicised form, and the original form is Kunîsht\(^1\). Even the more ancient Arabs mention churches in their poems; thus Al-Abbâs ibn Mirdâs al-Sulâmî says:

'We surround me in the shadow of every church;
as long as my people passed the night in the churches.'

And Ibn  Kháis ar-Rukayât says:

'As if it were a picture painted in one of the churches.'

1. The Two Churches of Al-Khandâk, 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-Khandâk. Both of these churches were built in the time of Islam to take the place of the churches of Al-Mâqs.

2. The Church in the  Ħârah Zawîlah 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 Zâbîlûn, who lived about 270 years before the appearance of the Islamitic 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-Mughîthah in the  Ħârat ar-Rûm in Cairo bears the name of the Virgin. These two are the only churches that the Jacobites possess in Cairo. In the  Ħârat ar-Rûm 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-Malîk an-Nâṣîr Muḥâmmed ibn  Khálûn, 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 Wûstenfeld pointed out, Kunîsht is the Persian word; but the true original of the Arabic Kanîsah, كنيسة, is the Aramaic כנסייה = 'synagogue' or 'meeting-house,' from כִּנָּשׁ 'to assemble.' (Syr. כנסית; late Hebrew כנסית.)
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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-Din Sanjar, 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 Karîm ad-Dîn, 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 Mennas. This stands near the dam between the mounds of earth on the road from Mīṣr; 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 Mīṣr, in the quarter of Ḵāṣr 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 Mīṣr, 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 ‘Alî ibn Sulaimān ibn ‘Alî ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Abbās, Emir of Egypt, when he received the government from the Prince of the Faithful, Al-Hāḍī Mūsâ, 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 Mūsâ ibn ‘Īsâ ibn Mūsâ ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alî ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Abbās took his place in the caliphate of Hārūn ar-Rashíd, the new governor allowed the Christians to rebuild the churches which ‘Alî ibn Sulaimān 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, Īsā 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-Nu‘mān. 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 Ḍaṇāṭir as-Sab‘a‘, 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-Yaḥsubi 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 Karā, 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 Karā to rouse them to avenge his blood; she had shorn her head, and was an eloquent woman. Then Ibn Rufa‘ah seized Abū ‘Īsā Marwān ibn ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Yaḥsubi from among the Karā; 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 Ḥalā‘ūn, as it will be related, if it be God’s will.

15. History of the Church of Az-Zuhr, and account of the destruction of the churches in Egypt, and of the monasteries of the Christians all at one time.

The Church of Az-Zuhr stood at the place where now the Pool of An-Nāṣir
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is, in the neighbourhood of Ḳanāṭir as-Sabā', on the western bank of the canal, west of Al-Lawāk; many events have taken place in connexion with this church. For when Al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Ḳalā'ūn had in a.h. 720 built the hippodrome of the Mahārī Camels near Ḳanāṭir 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 Ḩakar Aḵbughā, between the Seven Wells and the Bridge of the Dam outside the city of Misr, 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 Menas 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 Misr 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
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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 Miṣr that the people of Miṣr had risen in great numbers and had marched to the Church of Al-Mu'allakah in the Kašr 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 Miṣr; the two Chamberlains, the Emir Baibars and the Emir Alamās, 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 Miṣr 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 Miṣr. The Wālī 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
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 Zawilah. 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 Baḍr ad-Dīn Bilbag al-Muḥsani, Wālī of Alexandria, that on Friday the 9th Rabi‘ 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 Damānhūr, 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 Rabi‘ 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 Fakhr 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-‘Arishah, 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 faḵirs 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-Zahir before the Zawilah Gate, which destroyed 120 houses; among which was a hall known as the Hall of the Fakīrs. During the fire a strong wind blew; then the Chamberlain and the Wālī 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 ‘Ilm ad-Dīn Sanjar, Wālī 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 ‘Ilm ad-Dīn, Wālī 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-Zahir 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 Wâli's house; he had dressed himself like the Muslims. He was then tortured before the Emir and Chamberlain Rukn ad-Din 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 Aq-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 Wâli 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 Wâli, they repeated to Karîm ad-Dîn in the presence of the patriarch and Wâli 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 Wâli 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 Ṭūlūn 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 Karīm 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 Karīm 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 Jamāl ad-Dîn, deputy-governor of Al-Kark, the Emir Saif 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 Wâli 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 Wâli 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 Wâli, 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 Baktîmûr and the other Emirs present wept out of sympathy with them, and did not quit the Sultan until he said to the Wâli: '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 Misr opened his shop that day. Karim ad-Din 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 Zawilah. The Sultan was already sitting behind a lattice, and caused a number of those whom the Wali 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 Karim ad-Din 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-Jizah. 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 Tulun, and in the Castle on the Mountain, in the dwelling of the Emir Rukn ad-Din al-Abimadi in the street of Bahâ ad-Din, in the inn before the Water-Gate of Al-Makhs and in the adjacent buildings. On the morning of this day three Christians had been caught, with whom cords steeped in napththa 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 Abdallah! O Malik an-Nasir, 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 Misr 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-Khandak 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 Īmish, 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-'Arīshah 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 Ḫūsain, some dwellings at the stable of At-Ṭārimah 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 Khán al-Ḥajjar, Al-Jamalûn, the hall of Al-Afram, the house of Baibars in the street of Aṣ-Ṣâliḥiyah, the house of Ibn Al-Maghribî 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-Fâhhâdîn (the Trainers) at Cairo, a church in the quarter of the Romans, a church near the Archers, two churches in the quarter of Zawîlah, a church near the Flag-Store, a church at Al-Khandâk; four churches in the frontier-city of Alexandria, two churches in the town of Damanhûr Al-Walîsh, a church in the province of Al-Gharbiyah, three churches in the province of Ash-Sharkîyah, six churches in the province of Al-Bâhmasâ; at Suyûṭ, Manfalût, and Munyat Ibn Al-Khaṣîb eight churches, at Kûsh and Aswân eleven churches, in the province of Iṭfîh one church; in the market-place of Wardân in the city of Miṣr, in the quarters of Al-Muṣâsah and Ǧâsr 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 Wāʿîl before the city of Miṣr to the south of ‘Aḵabah Yaḥîṣûb, 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-ʿAdawîyah towards the south, is old, but already ruined.

19. The Church of Anthony, in the district of Bayâḍ, north of Iṭfîh, has been renewed. In the district of Sharnûb 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.
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 'Imrân (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-Kašīr, and Church of Gabriel; these three churches stand in the district of Abnūb.

23. Church of Asaṭīr, which means [σωτήρ] the Saviour; this stands in the city of Ikmīm, 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 Ikmīm. 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 Ikmīm.

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 Bu '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 Bu 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 Mârûṭâ, in the district of Shumustâ. This Mârûṭâ is highly honoured among them; he was a revered monk, and his bones are kept in a chest in the monastery of Bû Bishâ‘î on the plain of Shiḥât, and are visited even now.

32. Church of Mary at Al-Bahnasâ. It is said that there were 360 churches at Al-Bahnasâ, 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 Tunbudâ, is old.

35. The Church of Michael, in the district of Tunbudâ, is large and old. There were here many churches now destroyed; the greater part of the inhabitants of Tunbudâ consist of Christian artisans.

36. The Church of the Apostles, in the district of Ishnîn, is very large.

37. The Church of Mary, in the district of Ishnîn, is old.

38. The Church of Michael, and 39. The Church of Gabriel also, in the district of Ishnîn. 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 Ishnîn 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 Mârûṭâ, that of Barbara, and that of Gafrrîl, i.e. Jabrîl (Gabriel).

40. In Munyat ibn Khasîb there are six churches, that of Al-Mu‘allakâh, i.e. the Church of the Virgin, that of Peter and Paul, that of Michael, that of Saint George, that of Saint Paul of Tanawâlîn, 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 Taḥâ in the name of the Disciples of Christ, who are called by them Apostles.

42. Church of Mary, also in the district of Taḥâ.

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 Sanabû is the Church of Saint Paul and that of Saint George; Sanabû numbers many Christians.

48. In the district of Biblîû, to the north of Sanabû, 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 Darût 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-Ḳusûr is the Church of Saint John the Dwarf, which is old.

54. In the district of Ballût, 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 Shaḳalkîl are three large old churches, named respectively after the Apostles, Michael and Saint Mennas.

57. In the district of Munsha'at an-Ḳasârâ is a church of Michael.

58. In the town of Suyûṭ 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 Ananias, Asarîas, and Mîsaël; 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 Rifah al-Gharbî 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] Rifah al-Gharbî.

61. In the district of Mushah 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 Suyût to this town of Mushah.

62. In the district of Bukûr, at the border of Bûtiţ, there is an old *Church* dedicated to the martyr Claudius, who stands among them on a par with Mercurius, Georgius i.e. Bû Jurj, the commander Theodorus, and Minâ’ûs. 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-Ḳaṭîţah there is a *Church* named after the Virgin, where there was a bishop named Alduwîn, 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 Jamâl ad-Dîn cut off his head in the reign of Al-Malik an-Nâṣîr Faraj ibn Barâkûk.

64. In the district of Bûtiţ 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 Bû Maḳrûfah 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 Ţahṭâ and Ţimâ, there is a church, and in the
district of Kilfâ’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 Barkûk, a deacon named Abîsalîs, 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 Farshûţ 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
Iznâ a Church of Mary, a Church of Michael, and a Church of John the Baptist,
i.e. Yâhyâ ibn Zakarîyâ.

71. At Naḵâdah 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
consolated 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 Kiţ.

72. At Aṣfûn 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 Ŝurad 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 Sânbat a church celebrated among them
and named after the Apostles; at Sandafâ a church revered among them and named
after Saint George; at Ar-Raidânîyâ 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

\[\text{APPENDIX.}\]
of Subk al-'Abîd there is a church in a hidden house, named after the Virgin; at Al-Nahrârîyah there is a new church in a hidden house; at Luţânah 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'allakah 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 Kumânah (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 Miṣr the Church of the Angel Gabriel in the quarter of Kaşr ash-Shama', where the cell of their patriarch is, the Church of the Virgin also in the Kaşr ash-Shama', the Church of the Angel Michael near the Church of Barbara at Miṣr, and the Church of Saint John in the quarter of the Monastery of At-Ṭin.
I.

INDEX OF CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES IN EGYPT,

ACCORDING TO ABŪ ŚALIH,

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 Wādī Habīb 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 إبراهيم صلح

دجاجة الله بمنح نفسه وترحمه بصلات عزالق وكان الغرائم من تصفية يوم الاربعاء وهو الثاني من شهر بوحة المباركة سنة اربعة وخمسين والثاني للشهداء الإبرار المرافقة للثامن من شهر ذا لقعة سنة ثمان وثلاثين وسبع وعشرة أحسن الله عافيتهما فصل وقصد العباد الصغير الناسخ أن يختصص الكتاب كما تقدم الأول ولا يخرج عنا فيه من النص فلم يكمل ذلك، وهو يسال كلمة وقف على ما فيه ان يبسط العذر لم اعتذر في مثل ذلك والله المؤلف للصواب يوفونا جميعنا لما فيه خلاق نفسنا ويكفينا التجارب والحكاية الرسنية ويحفظ علينا الإعادة الأدنى ويوصلنا إلى مينا السلام سالمين أمين والسّحاب لله دائما إلى ابن الإبداعين
قيوين بحجارتهم مطلية بالذهبي وحجارة جبال تلك الأرض منها
ما يوصف بالذهب كالمغربة الذهبية والنحاسية وكانت هذه
المدينة لم تكامل بناءها إذا أشرف شاعر الشمال عليها يصير
منظرها عجيبًا جدًا لم يوجد في الأرض شيء يمثل به ذلك
المنظر العجيب مدينة خليابيا بناءها ملكه يقال له خيول وشيّد
بناها وصارت مدينة عظيمة وسكنها النساء إلى عصر سليمان ابن
داود النبي عليه السلام ويتكلم هنا انتهينا ما جمعه صاحب
التاريخ ولم يبلغ فيه الغاية القصوى لانساع الأرض وما عليها
في مشارقها ومغاربها ولكنما جمع ما لم يجمعه غيره واهتمام
الاهتمام وكأن مع ذلك قصير العبارة لطنهبه في القول بما لم
تدعو الحاجة إليه. فصل والعبير الحصير المسكن العاجز الناصح
نقول ما وجدته في نسخة المقول منها بغير زيادة ولا نقص
حسب الإشارة للعالية المولوية السيدية الفاضلية العالمية العاملية
ال췸دية الإردنية الأكبرية الشيخ الرئيس الأمير أبو الفرج
الفرع المشترى الراهن من الإصل الركز الطاهر نخل الشيخ الرئيس
الكامل السيد رفيق بن القسي الرئيس الإمجد أبو الغريب
المكنأ بصورة العلم وكأن هذا القسم كبير القسوة بكتيبة
الملعقة بمدينة مصر يقصر الجمع و tiềmن هذا الكتاب أن القسم
إبو المغالي ابن القسي السبي أبو الفضل بن القسي المهرب أده
قد قرر في عين القسيب بكتيبة المعلقة في السابع عشر من توت
ووضع اسمه في الكأس فانصب دم طبيعي ولم يرا هذا القسم
هذا الإبة العظيمة كأن لجدها كتابًا في استيغا ديوان نفر
الاستثنارية واده بطل نفسه من الشغل وأقام في قليته بالكنيسة
المذكورة وعلى اسمه ستر دائم وهو في ذلك الحساب إلى حين
رجل حكيم كبير العلماء علماً لله محسناً للناس عادلاً في
احكامية حسن السيرة مكرور من جميع الملوك ليس له عدواً
يخشاته لحسن سيرته وصبرته كما شهد بذلك تاريخ الطبري.
وإياً مرور الدرب وهي كنيسة عليها حسن منيع وهى الآن بكر
مقبرة الحكماء وهذه الناحية أمير الين من جهة كسرى أدو
شروان والقرية المعروفة بثنين وجبيل قردا في هذه البقعة التي
وقف عليها الملك على عهد نوح وصهر من الجبل المقدس
الجودى وهو عال جدًا لم يكن في جبال الأرض أعلا منه وهو
برشفي على أربع زوايا الأرض شهدت الثورات ان الله سبحانه
ارسل ريحًا على الأرض فانقطع الماء وسميبين الميا وصياغين
السما اندفعت وغاص من بعد مائة وخمسين يومًا وجلس الملك
وهو سفينة نوح في الشهر السابع في سبعة وعشرين يومًا منه
علي جبل قردا بقرية يقال لها ثنيين على ما تقدم ذكر الإبنية
التي لم يعرف بانها أوربت حفظًا لذكرها غمان كان بصنعًا لم
يرك مثله هذى عثمان في الإسلام وله رسوم باقية إلى الآن
وكان ارتباط الحبشى الذي ملك الين من قبل النجاشى ملك
الحبشة قب أخر غمان مع غيرها قبل ظهور المسلمين صعًا
الين واصطفى بفارس والإلياء بالعراف من داخل البراري شهد
تاريخ النبي أي سليمان الملك أبو داود النبي أن داود
النبي كان له الملك على بي إسرائيل وكان شجاعًا مظفرًا مهابًا
معظمًا وهو مع ذلك سهل متواضعًا رحيم عفيف ساكن القلب
غير غضب ولا ح撞 وهو الذي بنا مدينة تدير عمل فيها
عجانب وسماها مدينة الشمس ونا درة التي في وسط البحر
ونبا مزدهر عظيم مجاور مدينة حمرين تصل مدينة إورير بناها
من بها من النصارى نساطرة وبية بيعة للسيدة العذراء الظاهرة
مرتبرم وبيعة للقديس الخليل والشهيدين العظيمين مارى جرجس
فهصور فيها عدة بيع وجميع من بها من النصارى نساطرة والعال
فيها كذلك وهي التي يصل منها الكافرون وهذا الصفن ينبع من
الخشب وحدها المدينة بها بيعة واحدة على اسم ستنا السيدة
العذراء الظاهرة مرزبرم صنعا اليمن بها الكنيسة المعروفة بالقليس
إداها إبراهيم ملك اليمن من قبل النجاشي ملك الحبش وهذا
ابره الإشرام وهذا في الحرب شرعت افغى فسم الإشرم بنا هذه
الكنيسة المذكورة وخارجها بالذهب والإصباغ الحسناء الملونة وبسط
ايلها بالرخام الملون وعند الرخام فيها قائمًا ونائم وجلاهما
باهسن الجلا من الذهب والفضة والرجاج الذهب والملون وصفح
إوابها بالصفائح الذهب والفضة وسر الصفائح الذهبي بسامبر
الفضة والفضة بسامبر الذهبي الملونة وجعل على اباب المذابح
بها صفحات ذهبي عراض ووضع فيها الجوهر من الاحجار
الكرديب وجعل في وسط كل صفحات من ذلك صليب ذهبي وفي
وسطه بوقوفة بهرمان احمير شقاقين ينبدس جرم تلك الجوهر
حولهم بادوار تنش مختلفة الألوان تذهب الناسين إليها وإمر
الناس بالصح اليها فتردوا الناس إليها من كل الجهات وجعل
لها حجابًا محيط الصنعة من خشب النبتون والسام مطعم
بالالواح الأبيض النقي المنقوش بحسن الصنعة وشاع خبرها في
تلك البلاد وسمع بها من لم يراها وهج اليها كثيرين من الناس
وحملوا لها الذئور وكثير من الناس جاورا هناد ولارموا المقام
فيها والبيت وكان الملك يهتم بالحجارين بها وينا لهم بيوت
يسكنوها وينا لها املاك كثير وحبسهم عليها وكان هذا الملك
جل اسمه ريح تحمل البحر وتكشف طريق البيعة لاجتماع الناس إلى عبده ويتآمون الله من كل الجهات ويبشروا في طريق البيبة كما شموا بني إسرائيل لما اشتفى لهم البحر الأحمر برجاء موسى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم. هذا رسول العلماء الظاهر مثل ذلك في وقتنا هذا بصلوات هذا الرسول العظيم ومنتزه الجليلة عند الله الذي أبدى بمثل هذه القوة العظيمة التي لم تبطل فان الشعب المجتمعي إلى هذا العيد العظيم وعبروا وتبادروا فان الكهنة يقدسوا ويدخلوا السراير المقدسة ويعملوا الجسد المقدس في الدم الزكى ثم يضعوه في تلك البيض الظاهر فيقبل كل أحد من الشعب وينتخل السراير المقدسة من رحمة تلك البيض الظاهره ولم يزالوا هكذا يتقربون واحدا بعد واحد إلى ان تنسك البيض من الشعب واحد فعن ذلك متحدون الله جميعهم ويدربوا الكهنة باقى الشعب ويدخلوا ذلك النابوت بينهم بالترنيم والفرح العظيم إلى حيث يضعوه مكانه بعد ان تقبله الناس وتشاركون منه وعند فروع خروج البيعة عند ما يريدوا الشعب الانصراص يتبادروا من ذلك الإنسان الذي اختاره الله من دون الشعب ان يقيم مدة سنة يستمع هذا الجسد الظاهر ويقوم عليه المصابيح في الليل والنهار ووضعون عليه جميع ما يحتاجه البيض ومضوا كل منهم إلى موضعه فانه هم بلغوا جميعهم الى البحر ولم يبق منهم احد عاد البحر لما كان عليه وغطا طريق البيبة وان عادوا العام الثاني للعبيد يجدوا ذلك الإنسان الذي يقدم جسد القديس تمنى تهيب في تلك الساعة وهو سخت وصار، هذا اسمًا جاريًا لم يقطع على مرأة الأيام فالمجد لله العظيم الجال في قربيسية صانع الإبدات لإجلاتهم له المجد مدينة قولم جميع
مصر وهو عظيمًا جدًا كثير الناس تعيش به البحر؛ واللؤج، المسيرة
ف و ما على مصر وهو من البر يقرب إلى تحويم العجم وكان
قريبًا فيه عبادة الإسطوان وظلمتها وكان المرسل لهم تموا الأعظم
من الاثنين عشر من ذئب اياهم بكرهالة الخلاص؛ وإن هذا الرسول
الجليل نقلهم من عبادة الإسطوان إلى معرفة الحق وطريق
الخلاص وعمدهم باسم ابن الايب والوضاب والروح القدس وقيلوا منه
الإمامة الإرشادية ومنوا بنوا ببع عدة وكرز منهم عليهم من عرف منه
وثقة بالايبان الذي قبلته منه ساقفة وقسوسة وشامسة وعلمهم
وضع الخدمة، وتقديس السراح المقدسة، وزائدة رفع البحور في
صلواتهم وقواساتهم وهم، إلى معرفة الله وصنع أمامهم أيات
معجزة وأعمالهم خارقة ما لم يروا مثله ولم يسمعوا وقوا الإبادهم
حتى تزرو عبادة الإسطوان وتقديم القرادين لها وتحققوا من
موجب العقل ما كانوا عليه من الظلالة والكفر ثم لما استنارت
عقولهم وقلوبهم هم مما بناء بيعة تنمو العلم الذين أشرهم
وهذه البيعة الذي اهتموا بعمارة لها هذا الرسول العظيم توما
الذيقيلوا منه الإمامة الإرشادية أظهر الله لهم إية عظيمة لما
انتهت عمار البيعة أما رسول الله سباحة البحر غطاء طريقها واما
استشهد هذا الرسول العظيم، واكتهل جهاده ونال كليل الشهادة
حمل جسدية المقدس إلى هذ البيعة فوضعه في تابوت محكم
الصنعاء ومغروه بالذهب ولما شاهدوا هذه الإعجوبة الأخرى بعد
الشهادة، وان يدد اليمين لم تتميز عن طبع الحياة كما كانت
أولًا وهو حتى عجبوا من ذلك، وقويت انهم، فجعلوا في السابات
وضع لخروج به المقدسة أية ظاهرة لكل من راهها وعاد البحر
الذي سد الطريق الموصى لهذ البيعة في كل سنة برسل الله

[II. 7]
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلح

الـربع كنـىًا جدًا ثم يخرج قيم هذه البيعة وياخذ من الربعون ما يعتصره ويقد منه قناديلها وتصل الشعب المجتمع إليها ويتفرقو ويتصرفوا عائدين إلى مواضعهم. وبعد ذلك يجمع الفيء بقيمة الربعون ويعاصره في كهف البيعة لوقود قناديلها في طول السنة هذا. ما سطره الشيخ أبو البركات موهوب ابن منصور ابن مفرج الأسكندراني الشماش في سيرة إدبا الخرستادللس وهو السادس والسنين في العهد مدينة الظلمات التي بينها وبين بلاد الأقانى دهر يقال له جراح عرضة تقع في المدينة فعرضت البلاد المعروفة بالروزريق بالمغرب عند قرطاجنة التي آكرز فيها بولس الرسول واتشأ بها عدة كنائس تحديهم بيعة على اسم السيدة الطاهرة وطولها بالذراع الكبير ثلاثة آلاف ذراع في عرض الفقمادة ثلاثة وخمسين ذراع وقُلقت النهر بها وصار على ثلاثة عشر طرقًا وشاهرا بطرس رأس التلامين. عند ما وصل اليها شهى بهذا كتاب إقليدس وكان أهل هذا البلد يعدين عديدًا في إصلاحهم في الثاني عشر من أيار في كل سنة ثم ينصون فيه الورده اكبتًا ويجعلون على رووس اصلاحهم وقرونهم لهم الفعل الطريفس ففرك السبيل من غلائمهم وكان بمدينة الروزريقون طقس على صور المدينة ينذر بالغريب فلا يدعوه يدخل اليها وآخذه. هذا النهر بداء بولس انفرق ثلاثة عشر طرقًا ويعبد فيه بها ثمانيئة عشر ألف رجل وابتدأت عدة كنائس عظام وكسر العلم المذكور واتبت الله بدعاء أيضًا الربعون يعصر منه زيتًا لوقود مصابيح الكنائس بهذه المدينة الهند ليس فيه حر ولا بارد خط الاستواء هو بلاد الحبشة المسماة الهندة وكل من فيه يعبدون البدون والشمس والقبر وهو بلد الهند سفعة بعيدًا من
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة.
جميعهم كهنة يقدسون على الهياكل ما دام الملك منهم لا يقتل ببره فانما قتل لم يبق له قداس وانتفاعة الشروط التي تلزمه بعد ما يقتل وقد تقوم زكرها في هذا الكتاب وجميع الحبشة إذا اختار أحدهم ياخذ ببره بعذرا من هذه الأصناف مما يبغض به على الهياكل عنهم ومجموعة لبنان وسدررس وصبيعة ولادين ومسطخا وعود وسليمانة ويعترف بخصبتها عليه ويطرحه في المجمرة وأيضًا الورى اليابس وكل من ملوك الحبشة يتوجه بناج الملك في بيعة الملك ميخائيل وبيعة القديس الأجليل ماري جريس تحت صورهما وليس ثم ناح ببره المطران ووضع يده على راسه وبحثته بدمهيل من على رأسه إلى احتاكه وليلبسه قباب ديباج وعندهم تابوت العهد الذي فيه اللوحي الحجازية المكتوبة باسم الله بالوصايا التي أمر الله بها بنى إسرائيل وتابوت العهد وهو في علو المذيب في ارتفاع وعروبه دون عرضه ويستهي في علوه إلى رقية الرجل وهو مصفح بالذهب وعلى غطاء الفوقادي صلبان ذهب وعلية خمس جواهر أربعة في أربع زوايا وفي وسطه جوهرة واحدة ويقدس عليه في كل سنة أربع قداسات في قصر الملك وينشر عليه سرادق عند إخراجه من الكنيسة إلى الكنيسة التي بقصر الملك ونلوك في عين البلاد العظمى وعين الغطاس المجين وعين القيامة المقدسة وعين الصلح الإدوار وترسم خدمته وحملته بجماعة كبيرة من بنى إسرائيل منسوبين إلى نسل داود النبي وهم بيض حمر شقر وفي كل بلد من بلاد حبشة كنيسة واحدة في أكبر ما يكون من الاتساع فصل وذكر ان النجاشي كان أبيض أحمر اشقر وجميع دنله إلى اليوم وذكر أنه من نفس هارون موسى عند وصوله إلى بلاد الحبشة وقواريبن
سنن في البر الغربي منها عنة عنة كنائس محتلة خراب
فصل ويقبل ان في بشواة بستان لابن كامل فيه مختبة عجيبة
ما سمع مثلها وذلما ادتها تطرح بسر بيلك دوا اطبب ما يكون
ويزري قرية وهنا خبر مشهور ذكر في كتاب النسرا ابن زوالق
قلمة بها دير على اسم الملوك الجليل ميخائيل يعرف بدير
العين وبقربه عين ماء طيبة يشرب منها الخاطر بتكلا الناحية
وفي جوسيف وعلى صور دائر وذكر ان فيه جسد القديس ابو
بسترة صاحب الدار بالصعيد دو حروف فيه دير على اسم
الملوك الجليل ميخائيل وفي جوسيف الاقتررين قبالة بابها
キャン현 مثل ذلك قنامة ومنهم صور سباع وكباش وهي قنامة على
ارجلها صفين بديعة وسببة وهي حجارة مانع اسم الملس
واختلها اصنام من حجارة مانع اسم كبر جدا ليس لهم عدد
بلاد الحبشة وهي في كرسي مرقس النيجلي والحبشة مملكة
سابا ومنها حزرت ملكة اليمين الى اورشليم لتسمع من سليمان
كلام الحكمة وقررت له هزانيا جليلة واذا اران ملكة الحبشة
ان يغزوا هذا الاقليم يقيم سنة كاملا يطول فيها سوى أيام
الاحاد والاعيان السيردتة التي ان يعود الى كرسي مملكتة والحبشة
مناخة للبلاد الهند وما الى بلاد الهند ومن كرسي مرقس
النيجلي يقام على الحبشة مطران من بطريرك الاسكندرية بارض
مصر والمطران على الحبشة يقيم لهم كهنة اعنى قسوس وشمامسة
وملك المقطرة الحبشى الملك الإسيفوسي وهو الملك الكبير في الملوك
ملكة لن له مملكة اقاصى الاضق القيمة المتسعة جدًا والجبوري
الكثيرة وهو الرابع من الملوك الارض لا يطبق ملك من ملوك الراض
مقاومته وعندئذ في بعض بلاده سفينة نوح فصل وملوك الحبشة
الخضرة والكتابة والبقية وغير ذلك فيهما تحريت متفرقة شواهد
لملاء الأرض ووقف السرياق اربعين روج بفر صرف مال كثير
في الصرف قبل رفاته نور الله نفسك الناحية المعروفة بما من
الصعيد الإعلاني بها دير وبيعة على اسم القديس أبو بخور وهذه
البيعة كبيرة متستع schönة ثولان مائة وخمسون نارًا وعرضها خمسة
وسبعين نارًا وهي الآن قد تشمت وجميع الصور التي فيها كانت
قص زجاج مجهب ومنه ومنها رخام همها الحاكم قَمُولة
فيها بيعة على اسم الشهيد الحجيلة ماهر بعينين الشهيد
الحجيلة بو مرقوسة له بها بيعة ويعتين للملاكان الحجيليين
ميخائيل وجريبال واليه أيضا بعينين للشهيدين الحجيليين القديس
ماري جرجس والقديس بقطر ابن ابي ارماتو، وعينين للقدسين
الحجيليين أبو شنودة ويوحننا بو قرقاس فيها فيرين للشهيدين
الحجيليين أبا نوب ونادرس مدينة الإشمونيين لإبي القدسين
بطرس ومرقس بها تعينين للشهيدين الحجيليين ماري جرجس
وبريروس بها أيضا بعينين والملاكان الإظهار العلوين ميخائيل
وبريغال وفائائل لهم بها ثلاثة كنائس الناحية المعروفة بهما
أسوان أيضا مضافًا لما تقدم مجازا الحصن من شرفية بيعة
لإربعة حيوانات وتعت بها بنهاية ماء يقال ان ديوان عندوس الملك
الكافر سفك بها شهداء كثير على هذه البحيرة وكان على هذه
البحيرة شرق دير معظم قصل جزيرة بقيق من غربها بيعة
للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتبة وبها عدة كنائس معظمة خراب
وبيعة للقديس الشهيد الحجيلة ماهر جزيرة بلاس وبها أستاذ
كثير ويرائبه وبها بعينين أحدهما على اسم الملك الحجيل
ميخائيل وآخرة لاتناسيوس البطريرك وهولا عن الجينا ل بيت

Fol.104 a

Fol.104 b
مثال وذكر أن الجبلة الذين بنوا البراء احكموا بناء هذة البئر مدینة فقط أول مدينة بنعت بارض مصر بناها فقط ابن مسرام وعاش اربعمائة ودفن مع ائذاء بالواحدات وفيها طريق إلى عيزاب طرف إلى معدن الرمز بهذة وطريق إلى بصر النعم بيعة للسيدة العذري الظاهرية مرتميم وفيها جسد القديس أبو شايج وبيعة أخرى للسيدة إبیة السيدة العذري الظاهرية مرتميم وبيعة للقديس ساوس، دير للسيدة العذري الظاهرية مرتميم ودير للقديس أبو شنودة، ودير على اسم القديس انطونيوس ودير على اسم القديس أبو جرج للنساء الرهبات ودير للشهيد بقطر للرحبان ودير على اسم الشهيد الجليل تادرس وبيعة على اسم الملوك غيبرال في علم الجبل بهذة الناحية وتسطيرها عامود قائماً وحده وهو مكنوف للشمس وفيه انبرج بلشة النبيل قد وضع بحكمة وهدایة من الله تعالى فانما كان في اليوم السادس والعشرين من بوطة وهو يوم وقوف الشمس ليوسغ ابن نون بابن الله تعالى حتى غلب الامام الكفرة الجبلية في الحر بتبديل الشمس في عدة الواح وينتسبفع حالاتها فانما هي وقفت على هذا العامود وانتهى حينها على أحد الانبع علم من ذلك نهاية النبيل المبارك في تلك السنة عسلم الجبل قناة هذة الناحية بها دیرين جربهما المعلم استحق المعروف بالإزرق التاجر الذي من مدينة فقط احدهما على اسم قلابوس والآخر على اسم الملوك الجليل ميخائيل وكانوا قد بلغوا إلى الخراب وازده اهتم وبغرم جملة كبيرة واقامهم احسن قيام وتواردات اليهم الرهبان وسكن فيهما خمسون راهبًا وغرس فيها غروس كثير من الأشجار والكرمات وإوقف عليهما اراضي ملكه وعليها سواقي يزرع عليها...
تجعل على البئر أولها على أولة وأخرى على أخرى في عرضة ولم يكمل استخلاصها من زем الحبارة وهي الزن باقية على هذه الصغرى ناحية أسنا وتغمرها الشجرة وكان بها شجرة من الهند وبيعة على اسم منشور الراهب العابد ذكر أنه إذا قدم استقلا عليها اعني مدينة أسنا ووصل إلى هذه الناحية يحمله رجل مسلم من خارج البلد إلى أن يصل به إلى قلعة سكنة وفي إعراس المسلمين وإفراحهم يحضروا النصارى ويرقوا قبضًا صعيدي ويبسوا قدم العريس في أسواقها وشوارعها وصار هذا عنهم عرف وعادة مستقرا إلى عصرنا دينه، وفي ليلة عيد الميلاد المقدس من كل سنة يقرون المسلمين والنصارى شموع ومصابيح واحطاب بحوللة كبيرة آمنت وكانت تسمى قريباً ارتوسية تغمرها يعسكة مباركة لناها الملك ابن قطريم يفسيم ابن قطريم ابن مصرايم ابن بيصر ابن حام ابن دوح بها بيعة للسيدة العذرى الظاهرة مرتبتهم وكرز بها عزب في سنة أخرى وثمانية للشهداء الإثرار اخذ من شقاق اوعية ماء التكزير ورسب في البئر التي في البيعة فصى الماء حتى انتهى إلى نصف البئر فعلموا الكهنة جذع صور الماء وعلاقتها باقيه إلى الزن بيعة بالخزارة قريبة من هذه الناحية على اسم بطرس رئيس الإباء الكحجريون مكتوبًا عنها أنهما لما كررت فاض الماء من الوعية حتى ساح في صح البيعة بيعة على اسم القديس إدبا ميطرائي قريبًا من دمامل دندنة بالصعيدين مدينة كبيرة بنتها بعض بنات القبط في أيام منفوس بها بئر مربع البنا ففتحها مائة نراق ينزل اليه بدرج تنزلها الجمل والثور والغرس والغنم وسائر البهائم يشرون عين هذا البئر وذهب الناحية بردا عجيبة جدًا، لم يرى
الجبل الحمر في بلاد الكروبيس ورست هذا الجبل محرقة لا دبات فيها ولا حيوان قتل وان بلاد السودان فيها ذهير يعرف بالابيض وإن زاد مدة من على ذهير يعرف بالاسود وهو الوران الى بحر النيل من الشرق وإن زاد البحر الذي يمضى إلى بحر النيل وهو الابيض كبير طبقة الإلدن بمن مصر وإن هو نقش ومن البحر الاسود اوجام أهل مصر واعتلت منهم كثير وهذا النهر الاسود يخرج من جبل أسود وينصب على حجارة سود ببلا شردين السوان ويجاوره نهر اصغر الماء ينقل من جبل اصغر كالرعان فصل داحة أسوان تسكنها قوم عرب من ربيعة وغيرهم ويهن عيون نفاذ وهو ابيض في الجبل وجرها ابن عين الصيف الوالي كان بأسوان في سنة ازعمانية وبهذة المعهود يوجد طيب الحكمة ومعين الذهب والفضة الحمراء والصفراء فصل ببيعة على اسم القديس أبو هدري وجهدا بها وهي خراب في جزيرة أسوان ودير أيضا يجاور هذه البيعة وفي ذلك الدير كان نافعجوة قلاد خراب وبيعة كبيرة حسنة جدا كانت ببيعة أبو مينا الشهيد وهي عمارت حجر نقي بتهة للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتبرع كبيرة جدا كانت دقلها الأحكام مستعدًا ببيعة للعماد الجميل ميخائيل ظاهرها من شرقيها خراب وهي في الجبل، بيعة القديس الشهيد الجليل مارى جرجس دير للقديس أبو هدري في الجبل الغربي وهو غامد دير اندونة مينا بالحفر وكان له عدة بسانين تبلغ عليها العرب وفقروا الدير بيعة على اسم القديس ابصورة على قلعة صوان على شاطئ بحر النيل المبارك وذكرنا هذا القديس انه كان يمشي على الماء قصل وبهذة الناحية جبل أسود صوان وقد استخرج منه أسقاطة طويلة
ميغانيين مطلة على البحر بين بلاد النوبة وبلاد المسلمين وهي برسم النوبة ويحورها مسجد بني مستعنين وقير عقل مخزون بين المسلمين النوبة وهو أول عمل النوبة وجريزة بلاق وبيين ارض النوبة والمسليين حجران على جبل في وسط البحر اليناب يبارك ومسليين مقابلها حسن منبع عالي يقال له بلاق بناء دروبا وسرابيا وفيه مساكنًا حديثة وفيه تأثيرات محكمة من أعمال الأوائل وبين أسوان منها خمسة أمثال وبعدها أسنان النثر الإعتوم والرياح الأكبر واخر مناهج المسلمين وكحالتها معادن الذهب وفيها دريا فيه صورة عقرب يختتم عليه كل سنة بالطفل في اثنا عشر يوما من برمودة فلا يقرب العقرب من معا شيء من الطفل اللختوم به على صورة العقرب وتفسير اسم أسوان اسرتو وهذه المدينة بناها الملك لقوم من العبشي جعلهم حرصًا وكان منهم شدة في الاكل فقال لهم اسرتو منها إلى العلا ثمائمية عشر يوما ولي عيناب اربعة أيام ثير بابقى على جبل عالي مظل على البحر وبيعته على اسم الملك الجليل ميغانيين وهي قبة واحدة كبيرة وجدًا بين أسوان وقصو وإنما اخذ حدد من النذر الذي يحمل اليها شيء قبل أو كبير وركب في مركب لا يقدر ذلك المركب يخرج من البحر حتى يعظه ما خذه وعرف هذا بين أهل تلك الأرض فلم يعود أحد يعترض إلى شيء من ذكر الكنيسة بلعة على اسم السيدة العزيزة الطاهرة مرتين انشاه الملك وزكها انا جرحة الاستف أسفاق ذات معززه من عن اخترسطادوين البطريرك إلى هناك يلتمس من الملك شيئًا يساعده وعده بحكم أنه كان في مصادرة الجددى لآخر خلفًا بيئية قل ذكر أن جبل القمر الذي يجري منه ماء اليناب بين
يرسم النظراء اليهاد قطعة واحدة وهو مسقف بلاطات حجر أسود مأفع تمسك طول كل واحده خمسه عشر درج بالعمل وعرضها خمسة ومسكها خمسة وعددهم خمسة وعشرون قطقة متصلة يظن بهم اثمن قطقة واحدة وفي ذلك البريه بئر مفتوح برتج وهو متسق فكانا ذل احدهما إلى اخر الدرج يبعد اقيبة بعطفات مختلفة ما يدرك لها اخر فتى ليصق في الدخول يضيع وربما يهلك أن لم يرجع من قريب قبل وعين الجنادل الرابعة دير عظيم في الشرق على جبل عال مطل على بحر الين المبارك مدينة قافلة فيل ان موسى النبي قبل أن يتغيب من وجه فرعون ارسله فرعون ليغزوا البلاد السودان ويقصس اخر بلادهم وتلك البلاد التي امره فرعون ان يغزوا بها افاعي كثير وحشرات مهلكة وكان موسى النبي حكيمًا موفقًا من الله في جميع حركاته فسار قاصد إليها بجيشه واستصحب معه من الطيور الدود والقوف ثم فدخل في البرية المقفرة التي داوى إليها الحشرات والافاعي العنق المهلكة فكانوا اذا سمعوا اصوات الدود والقوف في الليل والنهار يهرون ولا يستمرون في أماكنهم تغيب عن طريقه فتسير في طريقه ولا ينظر شيء منها فبلغ إلى مدينة قافلة فنزل على هذه المدينة فرثه ابنته الملك والطيور معه فاحكته ورسلته في فتح المدينة ودالت على طريق يسلكها فتسهل فتح المدينة عليه وكتب ابنته ابنة الملك الحبشة ففتحها بالإسمن وأمن من بها من الناس وحملوا اليه مال وذهن هذه المدينة المذكورة اعني مدينة قافلة دير يعرف بدير انسون وهو دير عتيق متين البنا حسن الوضع ولذلك لم تتغير معالها على طول مده وقربية ميكانى الجبل خمسة عشر ضيعة بيعة للملاك الجليل
كتاب بخط يده بالقلم النوبى ما يدل على علمه ودبيته وجهادته وفصل وتفت هذا الملك اعنى ملكه النوبية بالمملكة القديسة

 Anaheim الهياكل واذكر أن عادتهم جارية بادية إذا مات الملك وخلف ولد وكان له ابن اخ فيملك بعد خاله دون ولد الملك وإن لم يكن له ابن اخ فيملك ولد بعد بلاد النوبية وهي خرسية مارية مرقس الإنجيليين ومنذ يقسم لهم وقادسهم وصلواتهم روميًا وعدة مللوك النوبية ثلاثة عشر مللوكًا هولا ضابطين البلاد وجمعهم تحت طاعة كريانوس الملك الكبير وجمعهم كهنة يقدمون على الهياكل ما دام الملك منهم لم يقتل بيده فذّاق قتل لم يبق له قراس ولم يزال كذلك اعنى الملك بغير قراس وإنما دخل إلى حجاب الهياكل ينزع عنه تاج الملك ويقف مكشور الرأس إلى ان يتقرب الشعب جميعه ولم يبق منهم أحد بغير قربان فيتقرب آخر الشعب ان نا ينقرب مدينة دروم من بلاد النوبية بها بيعة جميلة القدم حسناء مطلة على البحر فيها صورة الملك الكبير وصورة صاحب دروم فصل جرجي ابن زكريا ملك النوبية وهو شيخ كبير كان يجلس على سرير ابنوس مطمع بعاج مصقح بالذهب الخلاص وعمرة ثمانين سنة وعلى رأسه تاج الملك موضع بالإحجار الثمينة وفي إعلاه صليب ذهبي وفي اربع جهاته أربع حوارت يفصل فيه هذه المدينة بريًا عظيم بدأ على اسم كورك الشمس وفي صدره صنم يشبه * * وفي صدر الصنم صفة فير وهو قطعة واحدة وفي هذه البيرة صور عجيبة مذهلة جدا وأعمدة عظام يدهش الناسر إليها متعجبًا لاعتقاد البشر على مثل ذلك الأعمال الشاقة وفي ذلك البريا مجلس هائل متسع
والتستون والتنس ما يساعده بحكم ما داله من مصادرة السلطان واللوهتين في سنة سبع وثلاثين وسبع بعثة للشهداء الإبرار فحلت روح القدس على أحد أوعية الماء الذي أُعت لتكريم البيعة وراوا الشعب نوراً على ذلك الماء ساطعاً فأخذ الملك ذلك الماء بيده وحملته إلى منزلة وأطع الاستفاق مالماً يحمله للبطريقة ليتساعره به على ما داله فصل بيعة الوادي وترجم بالقديس أبو نفر وهي على اسمه تعرف ببريدة * * * بينهما وبين اطراف بلاد النوبة مسيرة ثلاثة أيام وبينما وبين اسوات مسيرة عشرة أيام وكان يتعبد في البيعة سلمون ملك النوبة لما نزل 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 ظلما ولم يقتص الناس لما لم يستحقه عليهم فأنهى حاله إلى والى الصعيد الإعلا وهو سيد الدولة الغوسي في خلافة المستنصر بالله ووزارة أمير الجيوش بدر فسخير من أخذه من هناك ووجه به إلى القاهرة بنا وصل إلى الباب أكرم كرماء عظيمة وتلقا الشريف بالطلبه خادمة وبمرشب مليح غاية عمر ووجه الدولة وأكبرها ان ينجى فأنزله في منزل جليل حسن الوضع مجمل بكل جمال من الرخام والكبرية ونقوش الابساع المذهبة فاقام بها سنة واحدة وهو يزوره في كل وقت ويحدث عنه في إمورة كثيرة وينبغي قوله فيه طالبًا لله عز وجل بكل قلبه ودينه زاهداً فيما يرغب العالم فيه وبعد أقامته مدة السنة تنبيه ودفنا في دير القديس مارى جرجس بالخندق في طوربيد كيرلس وهو السابع والستين في العين وقبره من داخل صور البيعة معاو تاب على يمين الداخل إليها وزكر أن وجد في بعض كتبه
لم يأتب ملك مصر عبد الدفاع فقيل له أنه لما طلع الطرى، أتى بترى مصر يسترن من النصارى بالصعيد، اتصل خبره إلى ملك النوبة، وملك الحبشة، وملك تحت طاعة بطرى مصري فغير لذاك فعين ذلك أطلق الطرى، ولم يعوز يعترضه وطالب منه أن يكتب ملك النوبة ويأمر بالرجوع فكتب إلى الملك به مثل ذلك فرجع ولم يعوز يفعل كما كان يفعل ثم انصرف وعاد إلى بلاده فصل وشهدت سفرة البيعة، وانصرف إدنا يوسف الطريرك، وهو في العد في الثاني والخمسون، أن إبراهيم أخو المامون العباسي أذنف كتاب إليه بنو عبيد ملك النوبة يطلب منه البيع من الرقيق إلى أربعة عشر سنة وادعى له لم يقدر على ذلك، وجد عليه جريمة وله ببغداد فما شاهد إبراهيم، هذا فرح به ليكونه عجز عن القيام بها طلب منه فسند ولده الذي لم يكتب عنه أعتر منه ثم عجبه لطاعة ولده له الذي أبدل نفسه لطاعة أبى وسامحة، بكتمن ما طلب منه وأعاد ولده إلى مصر و-os في دار الإمبراطوري لمولى مصر وقصد ولده زيارة الاب الطريرك، فتوجه إليه، وهو في غاية الإكرام فتباه منه وسلاطين، إن يكرز له مذبحة واضمه إلى قصر الإمبراطور حيث هو دازل فلجب سواه وحل له مذبحة مكرز وعاد يوجه له الأساقفة القصور، والشامسة وكانوا يقدرون على المذهب، ووقدروا ابن الملك ومن معه، وأمر له وليلة مسران يحضر له الناقوس في عزم منزلة ليضمنه اصحابة للصلاة ومعه، والقياس كما يفعل في بلاده إلى توجه جريمة ابن الملك إلى أبيه، وهو سالمًا مكرمًا، فصلى، ولا وصل ابن الملك لابي إدنا البعيدة، انشا بعيدة كبيرة، واتفقت وضعها شكر لله دومًا، ولده إليه سالمًا وكرهًا له. انبا جريمة، أسقف ديو الذي كان سيرته إدنا خرستادويس، وهو السادس
التاريخ الشيعي ابني صلحب

العائم لدين الله في جماد الأول سنة ثمان وستين وخمسين
في دولة الغز والجزر قصد هذه الناحية بالعسكر المتوجه صحبته
وسامع الله وقفر المراكب من الجنادل وفيها الزاد والعدد
والسلاح وساروا إليها ولما تعرت عليهم تركوها خراب بعد ان
فتمعواها وسبها من بها من النوبة وذكر أن عدتهم سبعمائة ألف
نفس من الرجال والنساء والفتحان والصغار ووجه بها سبعمائة
خنزر وأمر بصرف الصليب الذي على قبة هذه البيعة وان بوزى
على علوها وذهبوها جميع ما بهذه الناحية ونهرو حاح البيعة
وقتلوا الخنازير ووجد بها اسقف فعاقيه فلم بيجع عنه شيء
يربى حينئذ سباه مع السبي وركز بها إلى القلعة وهي على
جبل عال حصنين جدًا وترك بها عدة من الخيل وجعل عندهم
الزاد والسلاح والمعدم والالات ووجد بها قتيل كثير فحمله إلى
قوص وإداعه بجملة كبيرة وقد كان فتحها محمد الخاقان قبله
في أيام كافور الأخشيدي في الدولة العباسية فصل من سيرة
البيعة المنفردة وأهاب البابا البطريرك عن ادا خانبل وهو السادس
والإربعين في العدو اده لما صدور في خلافة مروان الجعدي وهو
اخر خلفاء، بنى أمه بني أمير مصر صلاح الدين يوسف الكردي
وくんع عن هذا البطريرك إلى الصعيد بالإعلا ليستفز من الشعب
هناك إذ لمتا إصل به ذلك عنى كوراكوس ملك النوبة فار للملك
والتقلة حضرة وغيرها لاهاحة البطريرك ومصادرة فجوع جيوشه
وسائر قاصد إلى ديار مصر وضعبته مائة ألف فارس ومائة
الف جمل وخيل النوبة قصار مثل كبير حمير مصر ولهم جميع
على التعب ولا وصلوا إلى اعمال مصر دهروا وقتلو وسبوا كثير
واحروا مساقين كثيرا من الصعيد وهم متوجهين إلى مصر وادبة
بالزرع خطوا له الحرف واحضروا له البذار ويتزركوه إلى جانب
الحرف ووضعوا عليه البرزور ومضموا في جزء البذار قب الزرع في
الأرض والمزرو قد شرب وكذل الذحة وقت الحصاد يحبصون البعض
ويتزركون عند البعض المزر فيصبحون يجدون الحصاد قد كمل
وينعمون ان خليقة أخرى تفعل ذلك مدينة دنقلة بها سرير
الملك وهي مدينة عظيمة على شاطئ بصر النيل المبارك وبها
كانت كثيرة وآدر كبار وشوارع مستعمرة ودار الملك شاهقة البنا
بقباب عدة مبنية بالطوب الأحمر تحاكي ابنتي العراق مما كان
افترحه رؤسائها ملكة النوبة إلى آخر سنة أثنيين وتسعين وثمانية
للبر في هذه السنة حمل ملكة النوبة على الإمام الحاكم
بامر الله أبو رزق وهو الولي ابن هشام التخارجي لج قد يغزو
فغلبى وشنت عساكره في تخوم بلاد النوبة وذكر ان النوبة كانوا
في القدم يبعدون الكواكب وان أول من انتقل منهم إلى معرفة
الحلف ومنهذ شريعة السعيد بعبيا ابن اخ الملك وكان رجل
عائن يعلم الملك حكيمًا ماهرًا ولما ان انتقل إلى مذهب السعيد
تبعه جميع النوبة السودان وأقام لهم ببع كثيرة بجميع بلاد
النوبة وديارات كثير وهي الآن عامرة شاهقة فمنها ما هو متبعًا
عن البحر ومنها ما هو قريبًا من البحر ومن بلاد النوبة مدينة
إبريم وهي سكن صاحب الجبل وجميع من بها مريس وعليها
حصن دائرة ويهدمها بناء جليلة كبيرة حسنة الوضع على اسم ستنا
السيدة الفذة الظاهره مرتضي وزاعراها قبة عظيمة وعليها
صلاب عظيم وما صعد إلى الصعيد الإعلا شمس الدولة أخو
الملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف ابن أيوب الكردى أخو شيركو
في خلافة المستمسى العباسي بعد زوال الخلافة الفاطمية وأخروهم

[II. 7] Q
الوليد ابن هشام في ربيع الأول سنة سبع وتسعين وثامن عشرة
عبيرية ودعا معدن الذهب جبل زيدان فيدي دير أبو جراس بمدينة
الغربي ودعا مدنية جليلة وهي على جبل وترى
الليل فيها دار من البُعد فاؤا قرب الناظر إليها لم يجزها وترى
بالدائم كان بها مشاعل عظيمة وكذلك ترى ببغداد في أرض
كبرا في ليلة من السنة مشاعل كثيره لا حقيقة لها وفي بلاد
النوبة عند الجنادل مدينة تسمى المقدس العليا لا يمر بين فيها
أحدا إلا يغتاه ولو كان ملك من الملوك ومن جاز وخلف قتل
ويقابضون بالفتعة والبيع والشراء منهم مقاضية وكذلك يقابضون
بالمواشي والريفي وكما يبيع ويشترى مقاضية وفي هذا المكان
يوجد السبادق الذي تضرر به الجواهر يغاص عليه فيوجد
لمسات مخالفة للحجرنة إذا اشتكى على طالب فيمنع عليه بعمر
فيعس في العلم مدا السبادق وليس يوجد في الدنيا كلها إلا
بسردليب وفي هذا الموضوع لا غير وفيها جبل فيه عين ماء حار
كما في طبرية وهاهنا جبل العشان ما يصل أحد من الناس إلى
الماء في هذا الجبل لبدهة وعلوا وليس من صعد إلى علم هذا
الجبل سوى أن يشاهد الماء وينظر ولا يناله وينظر الماء قريبًا
ولا يصل إلى البحر ولا توجه إليه قاصدا فلا يدركه مدينة علوا بها
جيش وملكة عظيمة جدًا وأعمال متصلة بهد واحده كنيسة
وهذة المدينة في شرق الجزيرة الكبرى بين البحرين الأبيض
والأخضر وجميع من بها نصائ يعاقبة وحولها ديات متبتعة
من البحر ومنها ما هو على البحر وبها كنيسة عظيمة جدًا
متسعة محلة الوضع والبناء أكثر من جميع الكنائس التي بها
وتسنى بكنيسة منبلى ومنه عالم على ماء النيل والنظر وإذا هما

Fol. 95 a

Fol. 95 b
هناك، فإن الجسد حمل إلى هذه البلاد بحكم أن ملك مصر والملك الشامي، فكان الفدح والجيوش كأنه تنتظرون على الشام فخطف أن يتم على هذا الجسد عارض فحملت الجيئة دون الرأس إلى واحات لأرض لم تقصرها الجيوش والغارات وتحقيق ذلك أن الحجاج الذين مضوا إلى القدس حضروا إلى لينتشركون من جسد الشهيد مارى جرجس ذكروا أنهمشاهدوا الرأس دون الجسد وكان ذلك في الصوم سنة تسعين، وثمناذة للشهداء الإبرار، دير الدير في الواح بجراح مدينتى المريسي وهي مدينة عامة أهلك وله مقوم جوسارريسوصفه العصابه والقرنين والسوار الذهب، وكان وافد وفد على العريز بالله ولأخبره أن مدينة وصل إليها قراً عجيبة عجيبًا، يغفو عقل البشر وهو أن في اليوم السابع من برمودة تظهر مدينة بحبيبة وساقية تنير على باب الحصن، وشجرات جميل وقطر يشرون من حوض الساقية، ويقيم ذلك سبعين من النهار وتكف الخليل وتانتى إلى ذلك الحوض وتشرب ثم بعد ذلك تنتفق ولا يرى مكانها شيء ولا يقدر أحد يصل إليها وترى قدريًا، وهي بعيد وتمى هذه المدينة عند أهل تلك الأرض مدينة الفي ولم ترجع تظهر إلى سنة في مثل ذلك اليوم، فصل وأول بلاد مقى دير يعرف بدير سفوف ملك النوبة تحت المجانيد الثانية دير ميكانيك وقرما كبير متسع وجه شجرة جميل تعرف منها زراعة النيل وتقصاده في كل سنة، دير يعرف بدير ديرًا يجاوره ديرًا بين جبلين عظيمين، مدينة تعرف بمدينة دوما مدينة حسنة كثيرة العالم والخياطات وبها كنائس كثيرة وكان بها مقام صاحب الجبل الذي كاهله جرجاس ابن زكريا، أسرائيل وبها دير أبو نويرة وفيه قبض على أبو ركوة
ما فيه من الماء ويفصلوه بما غير ماء فيخرج الماء من العين على جارية عادته الواحات، واحات الروهم، بيعة على اسم الغديس. مارى جرجس ذكر أن جسده الطاهر بها جثة بغير رأس، وفي يوم عبد شهادته يخرج من النابوت وتجرد عليه كسوة أخرى ويطاف به البلد جميعه بالشع، وصلة وقرا، ثم يعود إلى البيعة وكان قد خف عليه من بيعة الروم لتبلا يسقروه فنقل إلى الجبل واحتذره عليه وجعل في مغارة وسوما بالحجر ونفخوا الْمَغَّارَةُ فِيَّا اسْتَدْنَى يَوْثِيقَهُ بِهِ فِي قَوْلِهِ فِي الْرُّؤْيَا قَالَ، لم سجنتموا جسدي، وخرجوني من هذا المكان ولم يزل الاسقف والصعب ينتخبوا إلى أن وجدوه وأخرجوه وإعادوه إلى بيعته وأطلق شجاع ابن الخغير، وإلى الواحات في الخلافة المحافظية فانغز من حمله من البيعة إلى دار الولادة وأخذ عليه وقال، ما أطلق للنصارى إلا بمال جزيل وزاد الاستفى ووجوه النصارى متردين إليه وحملوا إليه شيء فلم يقعة ولم يرجع اليهم فارسل الله صبابة وريحت عاصف ومطر وبرقه ورد شديد ابابه متواصلة لم يشاهده أحد مثل ذلك في تلك البلاد فقيل للوللى لعل هذا الحادث إذا هو بسبب تعزيز هذا الجسد فطلبه الاستفى وقلّم له الجسد ويلم الولى، بل ما كان حاول جميعه وذكر أن السيد قام أسفا على الكرسي ثمداية وثلاثين سنة فإنه لم يكلف هذا الجسد في ظل هذه العدة غير دفعتم لما شاهده من أمره وقال للقسوس الكهنة تولوا انتش هذا الناس الذي رأيته ما أقولضTelefone تولوا انتش هذا الناس الذي رأيته ما أقولض ونقطة واحدة لم يتغير منه شيء والمشهور بين الناس أن جسوس هذا الشهيد بمدينة لد في إرض الشام وذكر أن الرجال
ناحية السيدة العذري تبعة أبو جرح الشهيد العظيم

بيعة الملك ميخائيل بيعة ساقية موسى بها بيعة للقديس أبو
بقطر ناحية شنرا ذكر ان بها اربعة وعشرين كنيسة من جملتها
ما يشكل بيعة أبو سرجية دمعر أهناس بها بيعة فيها جسر أبو
هليا الشهيد دير النور من الأعمال الإلهامية على ساحل بحر
النيل وبيعته على اسم غبرال الملك وفيه جوسيف خمس طبقات
عالمة منشق العمارة عليه حسن دائر وفيه اربعمائة رأس ثعالب

Fol. 92b

مثمرة ناحية المراعات بها دير على اسم الملك ميخائيل ظاهر
فلوسنا بيعة للقبط وبيعة للرسين بوصير قووديس هذه البلدة
كان بها كاهنًا تغرون اسمه بوصير وكان ساحر وبها قتل مروان
ابن محمد الجعدي وهو آخر خلفاء بنى امية وبها قتل عليون
المارد وهذه الناحية بيعة للسيدة العذري الطاهرة مرتميم
ودير يعرف بریر ابراهيم اليد وصل مروان حمار الحرب المقدم
ذكره وهو آخر خلفاء بنى امية وتبوعه الخزاسانيةي اصحاب
السقاح العباسي فقبضوه وصلبان منكسة وقتلوا وزيرة مدينة العقب
بناها عون عن الوليد ابن دومع من أولاد فقط ابن مصرم ابن
بيصر ابن حام ابن دوح زكر العين التي في وان العين بترمي
أخميم وإذنها أعين العين المذكورة إذا لم تسته طامس لم يعود الماء
ينزل حوض العين حتى ينضف ويزيف قصة الموضى وهو الذي
يسمي الظاهر زكر انسان شاهد حوض من حجر عظيم
يسيل فيه ماء من عين في اصل جبل بهذا الاضر ملاصق

Fol. 93a

كنيسة يسيل سيلانًا دائمًا ماء حلو طيب الرائحة وإذا مسّه
رجل متنجس أو امرأة حائض ادتقع من ساعته وبينما قد
حصل في الحوض ذلك فيعرف لذلك اهل تلك الراض فيضحكوا
وفقية عدة من الرهبان وبجواره جوسيف وبستان والدير قبل الناحية دلالاً بناها دلالاً بنيت لرجل كان يعرف نفسه على مخالطة العالم وكان بها نشتهر حثت يعملون اللحم الراصبة بيعة أبو قلعة الطبيب وكان قسيسًا واحرق بالنار حيًا الناحية المعروفة بشنري وكانت مقعمة للجماعة من الأرمن النصارى وكان بها بيعة عامرة بالكهنوة والشعب بيعة للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتين بيعة للملوك الجليل ميخائيل وبيعتين بو مكسين ويبحثون على اسم الملك غريبال وبيعة على اسم يستدير وبيعة على اسم الشيخين الجليل مارى جرجس طواء وهي اسم دابة كانت لفرعون كبر الناحية ونشت فسيت ذات الدوامات مدينة القيس بناها منغاوسة للرجل كان يعمل الوشى والرقم فصل تضيتي كتاب فتح مصر أن القيس ذرل بها قيس ابن الحثار في ولاية عمر ابن العاص فسيت به الناحية المعروفة بدلجة بها دير وبيعة على اسم القديس المجاهد بو دغر له كان مائة فدان طين سوان مفرقة في عدة نواحي وذكر أنها تحتوي على اربعة وعشرين كنيسة منها ما يشاكل بيعة أبو سرجية التي بصر ذكر إن اهل هذه الناحية كانوا أثنا عشر ألف نصارى يرذوا في كل عيد من عبيدى ميكائيل في كل سنة أثنا عشر ألف خروف وهو الآن إلى آخر سنة تسع وستين وخمسمائة السنة لسنة تسعين وثمانية للشهدا الإبرار في كل عيد منها إبراع تسع كنائس السيدة القليوبية مقابل انضما من الأشمونيين بها تسع كنائس السيدة الظاهرات العذراء مرتين بيعة أبو قلعة بيعة أبو إقولة بيعة به بنطر بيعة نادرة بيعة كفرى * * * الملك ميخائيل بيعة الشمالين الجليل مارى جرجس بيعة بو يحسن بيعة بو مرمرة بيعة أبو بعام
التاريخ الشهيد إبى صلح

السيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتضية بيعتني على اسم الملوك عبيرالهودموا عوام المسلمين واحدة منهن في سنة تبادين وخمساء في مملكة الغز الأكراد بيعتني على اسم الملوك ميغان في على الشهيد إبى لوكوم بيعة على اسم ابا التلامين ويعة للشهيد إبى مين وبيعتين للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتضية كبر على اسم الشهيد الجليل تادريس ويعة للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتضية تعايدة على اسم عبيرال الملوك ويعة على اسم إبى فلوجه الشهيد ويعة رفائيل الملوك ويعة على اسم الشهيد العظيم ماري جرجس سمستا من الصعيد الإدا بيعة أبو هروحة الشهيد وجدت بها دونية جنس بيتيه置换 وجدس سنّة في دابوتيين في بيعة قبلية

نثميا مدينة القيس ودفوا فيها بيعة وبدا جنس إبى استحق الشهيد، اشتيت داخلها وخارجاها بيعة للملوك الجليل ميغان في كبيرة جداً وهي على بحر النيل الباسك وإبى اربع بيعة لستنا السيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتضية ويعة للشهيد الشجاع تادريس ويعة لتلمواس الشهيد. بيعة للشهيد الجليل دو يحسن إياها سنة بيعة للملوك رفائيل بيعة للشهيد إبى مرفارة بيعة للشهداء كلودية بيعة وهي للشهيد الشجاع تادريس بيعة للنبي الجليل دانيال بيعة وإبى قر بيعة وميغان الملك آيا أيضًا أقحمت بها ستة كنائس تفصيلها بيعة على اسم السيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتضية ويعة للملوك الجليل ميغان ويعة للملوك الجليل عبيرال ويعة للشهيد تادريس ويعة للشهيد إبى سبون ويعة يسول الكابن الشهيد من أفغيس 1 12 1 إبى فيليمون الشهيد

1 In margin من أهل اسكندرية.

P 2
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صالح

بقلبه وصلاة وسمع خبر طالع ابن زعيمة من ولى الصعديين قبل وفاته فحضر إليه وشاهده واختبره فوجد الحال صحيحة ونشره هذا الشيخ بادي بزوجته ويصر وزيدان الله تعالى فتجعله بالوزارة فاطلق للدير مضافًا إلى المقررة ففن طين سواد ويصوم أيضًا هذا الشيخ القديس في أيام الخمسين كل يوم إلى التاسعة ويغير على قليل ترس فقط دير أبو يحنس يعرف بابشان دير على اسم السيدة العزى الطاهرة مرتبرم يعرف بدير ازيلون تحته بستان عامر بالأشجار والنخيل. دير على اسم السيدة أيضًا العزى الطاهرة مرتبرم يعرف بدير أبو الحثار دير يعرف بدير التنادة على اسم الشهيد أبو بعجام دير الشهيد ماري بقطر وبيعة فيها حجيرة وحسن داون الشهيد وقولون الشهيد هذا جسره في ديرة بسيوط وحسن بجام الشهيد ولد دير أبو بقطر بالخصوص من شرقها في الجبال وفيها جسرة الطاهر، ودير يعرف بابدريا وهو بين ريفية وبين بيعة على اسم القديس سرجيوس وعرف بدير أبو مقروفة شرق سقطر طبدي داخلها وخارجها دير وبيعة على اسم القديس الشهيد ترنيمة جسرة الطاهر في الدير بيعة اسم الشهيد بسمتة وفيها جسرة الطاهر بيعة على الصرطير وهو سيدنا يسوع المسيح له المجد دير أبا نوب الشهيد وفيه اجساد ثلاثة وستين راهب شهداء وهو بحري مدينة الاموديين قتلهم واحد من السودان اسمه حفاظ في خلافة المستنصر بالله في وقت الهجيز بالصعيد في بطراء أخر بسطادوس وهو السادس والستون في العدد في سنة أحد وثمانين وسبعينة للشهداء الابرار وبهذا الدير جوسف شاهق عالي البنا بيعة على اسم
عمرتها الرشيد، أبو الفضل بيعة أبو هفظدا اسمه قريب صفي الدولة جددها هفظدا، أبو زكري ميلان، ابن ذكرى الامام، د.ب.م.

أبو رهمان النجيب بن خقية، بيعة السيدة العذراء الظاهرية مرتبطة بيعة القديس الجليل مارى جرجس. بيعة القديس الجليل الشهيد

أبو مرقوم، بيعة بندلوس د.ب.م. هنادئة للرهبان في ريفية من أعمال سبوع وفي سبوع في المجيب الغربي ستين بيعة وفي المجيب مما هو د.ب.م. في المجيب بالإزيل ولكن منهم جوس إ.م. في اسم السيدة العذراء الظاهرية مرتبطة يعرف بقرودة د.ب.م. على اسم أبو سوريس خارج المدينة. د.ب.م. في علم المجيب استغلال من المجيب فيه جوس إ.م. فيه صهر مجحول الف راوية بع.ا.م. في ماء النيل المبارك. في هذا المجيب مكان فيه ثلاث طقات د.ب.م. في إعلاه وفي سلام قرقات باقاتاتForms في مكان إذا كان خوفًا عظيم يصعدوا الرهبان على القرقات فدا حصول فوق رفعو

القرقات وفيها طاحون وهذه أفران ومعصرة زيت حار وفيها ثلاثين راهبًا وتحتة بستان فيه أشات ودخيل عوان منمرة وزد.م. ورمان ومغطرات ومية بتعمل من ذلك للدير فضة جيدة تقوم بما يحتاج إليه الدير في كل سنة خارج عن ما يفتح الله لهم به من الصفقات وعلى ذلك من النذور وهو د.ب.م. مستقبل وسكنة رهبان رؤساء قريسين د.ب.م. ماجتهرين علماء وكان غير خراج و لا ملفكوا الغز الأكتر قرأوا عليه وعلى غيره من الباشائين التي هي برسم الادب مع اخذ رقز الادب د.ب.م. أبو سوريس فيه راهب مربي شيخ يصوم د.ب.م. اسمه اسمب.ه.ب. د.ب.م. ثم يتقرب يوم السبت ويقوم على قراءة ويتقرب يوم الاثنين ويغطر هذه طريق هذا الشيخ في عبادة ووجهاده إلى أن تنفيج الرب يرحمنا

[II. 7.]
دائر وفيدة طلحة وفرن ومعصرة زيت حار ويجاوره جوسيف كبير
شاهد في العلم ويساعد فيه فقلاً واستولى عليه أحد الغز الكنع في
فترة طين سواد عشرين فداراً استولى عليه أحد الغز الآكران في
سنة تسع وستين وخمسينما وجعلها جامعاً واحذ البستان والفرن
وسكن في الجوسيف وفي تلك السنة مات ولم يبلغ مقصورته
دير العسل المجاور لمنية بنى خصبر وفيدة بيعة الغريض مارى
جريس وعلى حصن دائر وفيدة جوسيلين ويساعد احدهما قبل
البيعة وفيدة طلحة وقلالي الرحبان والجوسيف الآخر بديرة البيعة
ومعصرة زيت حار تذكر أن بها أربعة عشر بيعة بيعة للقديس
بو شوندة وديرة للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتديم. بيعة للملوك
الجليل ميخائيل بيعة على اسم القديس أبوليوس الشهيري وبيعة
على اسم القديس بو هدرو بالالشومدود بيعة باسم القديس الشهير
مارى جريس يقرب فيها كل يوم طول السنة وتذكر أنه كان
دير العسل المذكور راهباً يسمى سيمون القديس وصار أسقٍ
وكان بعيونه فقلاً محلية وبها تعيش الغربان ومن أجل رحمته
وصلاحة الغابة الغراب الغراب يأكل من يده ورقية الخضاتة
من شبعه، عن خطاياهم، وقبلوا تعاليمه الحكيمة وتابوا عن خطاياهم
وعادوا يباعوا البيعة لسماع وصوته وتعاليمه وحملوا له من
اعتقاؤهم العشور والنذر دخيلة الخصوص من سيوط في الجنب
الشرقي فيها للقُبط خمسة وعشرين بيعة ودير داخل البلد للارمن
وبيعتين خارج البلد وبيعتين داخل البلد وهذة البيعة ١١٠ اهتم
بتجديدها من يانى ذكره بيعة أبو قادة اهتم بمرمتها وتجديده

1  Sic!
خخرج الشياطين باسم المسيح المتعززين بالروح القدس داحية

شُطب من أعمال سييس بناها منفوس الملك وتفسير اسمها
المحبوبة وطلعتها الف درهم ومنها طريف إلى واحات وكان بها
طباخين للملك وليس على وجه الأرض طيب ابليز احسن من
ابليزها واطبى رائحة يطيف به جبل ودروعه ماء النيل ومساحته
ثلاثين ألف فدان في دست واحد لو قطعت قرطة أبسطت على
اعتدال وفاضت على جوانبه يشرع فيه الكتب والفنان والرسيم
وسائر أصناف المزدروات وقيل أنه لم يكن على وجه الأرض مصر
صفة اعتدل بساط الزرع ولا ادره وأفرج منه عند كمال معوه
على الأرض وظهور علامة ولا اتمع من وحيد حب في
الغرب جبل أبيض على صورة الطيلسان كانت حرباً ضلة لا يسمع
فيه الكلام من عظم اصوات الطير وليس ب السيسيو أنيثا سكن ليهود
ولا يمر بها يهود إلا عبر طريق ويليها حصن دائر طوي بين
وبالها سبعة وهي باب الجبل قبلي باب وردبس وشرقى باب
الإيمن ويعرف بالقائمة وباب ام حرير باب السودان باب المقياس
دير أبو السرى فيه جسد القديس داودوس الإمبر الشهير وجد
هروفوس الإسفاق والحواس والتحسنين على زكة خشبة في بيت
المذبج كبير يعرف بدير أبو سادر كان وصوله إلى شطب اعنى
جسده في خمس هنتر ويجاوره جبل الطليمون طيلة ثلاثة
ابره في الجامع الشرقي الخريري يسبوع وبها حمام خراب بيئة
الشهيد أبو باغم وجلسه بها وإله بيعة أخرى بالخندل دير سلوق
بالإشعدين وبيعة على اسم الشهير أبو باغم أيضًا وعلى سور

1 An unintentional repetition.
تيسك رأس واحد منهم ويتعلق في الموضع فيضطر به، وبحسب
حتى يموت فنذ ذلك ينغر جميع الطيور حتى لم يبق منهم واحد
في ذلك الموضع وهو من الديارات المشهور بالآيات العجيبة وكان
باستثناء بيت مارية القبطية الذي وجدت فيه وربت هذه التي
كان المغوفس أهداها لمحمد فنوفج بها وقاص المعقوس بهريته
مارية القبطية ليصبر بها دليلًا لمحمد وصورة فجعل بين مارية
مسجدًا الناحية المعروفة بانصنا وهو اسم من اسماء أولاد الدف
ابن مصرى وسكنها قوم سكة يلقبون في القديس يصلى أبو تينة
وجسد فليت ثوبًا على اسم القديس أبو قلعة وكان قسيسيًا
واستشهد وأحرق بالنار حيًا وكان حسن الوجه ونان أكيل
الشهادة وجسد في هذا الدير وانصنا أيضًا بيعة على اسم
القديس العظيم في الشهيد، مارى جرجس وبيعة للشهداء الشجاع
نادر المشرقي ودير للقديس الكبير أبو شنودة في جبل ادريباء
وفية جمعة من الرهبان القديسين وписываقة القديس المجاهد
الناركية يلبس الطوبائي ثوب الخادم بانصنا أيضًا والبيعة
التي على اسم منشأ وتممت على قبر يساب هذا لغزة العجائب
وشغاء الأذواق التي تظهر منه وبداها أيضًا كنيسة تعرف بكنيسة
النار وعبيتها للشهداء العظماء المجاهدين على اسم المسيح
وعدتهم أحد أنموذج شهيدًا وكنيسة أيضًا على اسم القديس
نادران بسراديلادس خارج انصنا دير متياس بالجبيل التمام
بمرمتها وتجديده القسم المبارك الصيد بانصنا وكان هذا القسم
المبارك يعمل الشباك ويتم قانون الرهينة وترهب فيه لاجلة جماعة
كبيرة وكان معروفًا من أهل أسفيت وكان يصل إلى الرزق وإلى
مرض اندفاه منه شغى من مرض بقوة الله الحالة فيه وكان
فليضرب بسيفه على عنقى وتبصره قوة الله في هذا السر الغميم.
فتقدم إليها ذلك الرجل اشتر لكبرهم فضرب بقوته وحيلته.
فوقعت عرضا على بريدها للوقت وكان قد لها بهذا حفظ بتوبيتها.
لهصل إلى المسيح بكرأ عذري كما خلطت بغير دنس الشهوة
المحبوبة فهما رأوا ذلك الشامرة الجهال ما كان منها عرفوا
حينئذ ما ارادته العذري ثم دمروا وحذروا حزنًا عظيم ولم يعارضوا
بغيرها لأحد أولائه العذري بل اطلقهم وكفاه عن ما كانوا
عزرمو عليه وإعادوا للرهبانا ما كانوا نهبوا من ديرهم.
فصل وفي مدينة اخميم سبعين بيعة إلى آخر ستة اثني عشر
وخدمانة عربية وأيضاً بناحية دمبو بيعة من البر الغربي على
اسم القديس الجليل أبو بعاغ وأيضًا ديوس القديس أبو بخوم
برجنسو من أعمال طحا ديوس أبو حلبانة شرقي اخميم عليه
فين ما يجري من الجبل إلى فسقية هناكم ديوس القديس اديبا
بول صالحب الدير بالصعيد ديوس أبو بشوبة صاحب الدير
اخميم. فصل وتضمن كتاب الديار للشامبيتي ان بنواحي
اخميم ديوس كبير عظيم مقصود من كل مكان وهو يقرب الجبل
المروع بجبل الكهنف وفي وضع من الجبل شفقا فانا كان يوم

(؟) باخميم 1
الغائدة وهذا السر العظيم ودفعت لک ما عندي من هذا الدهش
وأن كنت لا تصرقنی فادهين به من شئت وأبصر صف قولي
فقال لها اشهدني انبى فی هذا الدهش فان أحد ما يهون عليه
نفسه ولا جبریة أنا في أحد من أصحابي فقالت له تتعلق لي
قبل ما أظهر لک هذا السر اندک تطلق سبيله وتردی على داری
والموضع الذي رتب فيه فیصل لها انبى اطلق سبيله ولا ادع
احد من أصحابي يتمک منک فقالت له دعنى أرجع الى مکانی
ذا وات لا غير حتى آخذ الدهش واندهن أنا منه قدامك فمضى
معها الى الدیر فدخلت إلى صورة السيدة وصلت قامها وسالتها
ان تعينها على الخلاص وإنها اندهنت من زیت الغندیل على
عنقها فقال ما أجرب هذا القدام اصحابی فعاد بها اليه
وعرفهم جميع ما جرى وقال لهم أعلموا انبى حلفت لهذه الصبیة
إنها أنا صم من قالته أنا ايام سبيلها ولا ادع أحد من أصحابي
يتمک منک فانتم موافقتنی على هذا فقالوا كلهم محقن
ما تخالفك وان هذا السر أنا صم فأنص دیل به مقاصد كثير قال
لهم هذه الصبیة قالت جربة فمس أردت فقلت لها احق ما
جرينا هذا فيک اجابت وقد دهنت عنقها منه ولم ارى أن أجرده
الا بحضور كام انبى اصحابی كان معد سیف ماضی الحد
فقال له قم اضرب بهذا السيف معک على عنقها فاننا رأينا هذا
توافقونی على اطلاق سبيلها فاجابوا الى ما امرهم وقام ذلك
الرجل وجرینا سیفه فصبت هذه العذری زیبها وابتزت عنقها وهم
ما يعرفون ما في قلبتها تم غطت وجهها وقالت من كان فيکم قدرًا
فيه رهابات عذاري عاشت ثلاثين راهبة وكان مروان المجعد

Fol. 84 b وهو آخر خلفاء بنى أمية قب استدعى أهل البشرو وهم البشامرة

أن يساعدوه في حروبهم عند انهزامهم من العباسي وإطلاع لهم

النهب والسبى والقتل فاعتبروا ذلك ومن جملتهم صبية عذرى تسمى فيروذية وكانت

هذى من الشام دخلت إلى هذا الدير ومعها ثلاث سنين وشتى

فية وكانت صورة جميلة حسنًا فلما رؤوها شخضوا لها لحسنها

وجمالها وقالوا البعضهما بعض اده لم يرى في العالم مثل هذى

الصورة الجميلة فاحذروها واخرجوها عن الدير وأفردوها من...

فاتهرا عذرى وشاوروا عما يفعلوه بها فمنهم من قال دتكاري عليها

ومنهم من قال تهديها للملك فبينهم هم يشاورونها في هذا ومثله

قالت لهم ابن كبركم حتى أعلموا بستر عظيم يساوى اموال كثيرة

وتلقوني ارجع إلى خواتي في الدير الذي ربيت فيه فادنى

عذرى منقطعة في دير منفردة عن الناس عابره للسبيعات

فاجبها مقدم الجماعة وقال لها ها إنذا فما الذي تقولي وما

هو السر الذي قلتني اده يساوى اموال عظيمة قالت له ابن ابى

Fol. 85 a كانوا حكاما شجعان مقاتلين وكان لهم سر وردته عن ابائهم لم

يطلعوا عليه أحد غيرهم وكانوا يدخلوا في الحروب الكبير ويرجعوا

سالمين لا يجرح احداً منهم والسبب في هذا ادهم يعرفون اسمه

يقولوها على دهش ودهشونا منه ويخرجوا إلى الحرب فيما يفعل

فيهم السيف ولا النشب ولا الرميق فعل وتتتم فمبحاتيين الي

ذلك فان خليت سبيلى ورديتني إلى ديرى فاني افيدر هذى

احداثها.

1. لبعضهم

2. احداثها
هذه النفقه وتدعى لى ان يغفر الله لله ولا يقبلن بئا استحف من المقابله لكونه تجسير على بيت الله ودخلته راكبا ادا ومن معي فلاغفة الشيخ الراحل ولم يرد ان يقبل منه شى فصلف ولSURE وأتباع فتاولة اربعية دينار وقال له ان يغفر الله ادا الشيخ ان يستغفر الله البك ادا الشيخ ان يستغفر الله لى عن هذه الزالة التي بدرت منه وكان في البيعه تابوت خشب سام مطعن بالغاج فين ثلاث طبقات كان الغده ابوب بنودها عمله برس بالكربل وكان رمس ما يحصل من النذور فالمسه الشيخ كان معه اسمه الريان كان والى مصر قبل القاسم وكان صاحبه قطلان ان ياخذ التابوت فذكر له ان الحبس ولا سبيل إلى اخراجه فلم يقبل معا ذكر له من العجوزة العظيمة وتقدم إلى جمعة من الرجال ان يخرجوه من البيعه فلم يقدروا على ذلك فلم شاهد هذه العجوزة الاخرى استغفر الله تعالى ودفع من ماله ثلاثمائة دينار وتوجهوا وقد دالهم رعب ومشقة ولم يزل الروح النحس موكلا بالقاسم يعذبة في كل وقت إلى حين مات قصر وكان بهرام النصراني الريان وزير الخلافة العظيمة ما ان دفع من الوزارة ترهب فيه قطلب إلى مدينة القاهرة وكان ضعيفا ضعف كثير فحمل إلى القاهرة فوصل حيئا قصر وقرار تصور المستحفل الذي كان يطرد القسططينية في مدينة افخم مسجى اليها بعد سبع سنين في سنة احدى وثلاثين وخمسين أيا مطرت المطر تتحجب من قبره ولا تنزل عليه لذا كان السبب في مجمع خلقودية قصر الجمادات من اعمال الصعين بها كابن شرفى هذه الناحية كان

العجوزة 1
حصن دائر وداخله بستان فيه من كل الإشجار وشهدت سيرة البيعة في بطرسية أبناء خليل وهو السادس والأربعين في العدد.

فإن القاسم إبن عبيدة الله والى مصر كان جاهل كغير العلم وكان فق استعمل مرتكب كبار عمهم سراهم وكان يتوجه بهم إلى كل الأعمال فبلغ بهم إلى أساوين في جيوش ومساركه واده لما كان في بعض السفرات وصل إلى هذا الدير وسحبت سرية واحدة من سراهم كان محببًا لها جدًا وظل منهم راكب فرس وكان في هذا الدير راهب شيخ مقدم الرهبان فخرجوا الرهبان للفاتهم إلى الدير هو والسيرة التي معه فدخل من الباب الأول والثاني المحيط بالبيعة وعلي الباب الدخلي إلى البيعة راك وبدلاً يدخل إلى البيعة فصخر هذا الشيخ رئيس الدير وقال له إنزل إياها الإمبر وليدخل إلى دعس الله بهذا الكبري وبخاص معه هذه الإمراة لأنه ما دخل من ماب هذه البيعة امرأة منذ قط إبداً واخشى على هذه الإمراة ان تدخل إلى هذه البيعة فلم ينبت الإمبر إلى كلماه بل دخل راكبًا هو والجارية والجند الذين معه فلم بوسط البيعة دفر الفرس به فوقع على الاضفاء فإن وقعت دفر الفرس الذي تتحب التجارة فعند ذلك سقطت على الأرض وماتت لوقتها وماتات الفرس الذي تحتها وماب القاسم بالي المذكور فنزل عليه روح شيطان تشنج فضحته حتى ارتد وصرت إسنانه كالتخدير البري ولها أفاق واهتزى قليلًا عرف سو ما فعله ونجم على نجاسرة وكرد ما قبل من الشيخ الرئيس ما أمره به ثم استدفعه الرئيس وقال له أنا اليوم اختلفت لكوني ما قبلك منك ما قلتم لي من النصيحة وإنك فقد ظهر لي من سر هذا المكان ما لا أشك فيه وأريد منك إياها الشيخ إن تقبل.

[Fol. 83 a]

[II. 7]
وملكوا الغز الأكران وأولهم شيركوا الكرد فصل الْمَرْج المعروف بنى هِمُم العرب بين الشرف في الناحية المعروفة باقنوا كانت في أقضية مرا من العرب انشالا على ساحل البحر الأعظم كنيسة على اسم القديس الجليل الشهيد مارى جرجس من ماله وكان محبًا بهذا القديس وظهر له في المنام وقال له ابنه كنيسة على اسم وكانوا المسلمين ينكروا ذلك عليه ويعيّبون وكان بسبها قد اخذوه الماجد فارس صهر شاور عند كوكب واللى قصر وقيده وقصت قتله فعملت اليه سال كثير وساعدوه العصارى بجماله كبيرة من امواله وتخليص من يديه ثم قتلوه الغربان في البرية وحمل ودفن إلى جانب هذه الكنيسة وحكي قبل قتله ان القديس أبو جرجس في حال اعتقاله كان يحبس اليه ويمضاته واده فكه القيوس من رجلية في اعتقال واستنج في هذه البيعة سقف خشب جديد وصور فيها صور الشهداء والقديسين والملائكة وعمارة أخرى مستندة اهتم بذلك فتكر الدولة أبو المكارم ابن الغنمر الإسكندراني الكاتب عن كوده بها وزلق في سنة اثنيا وتسعين وثمانية للشهداء الإبرار فصل دير القديس العظيم أبو شنودة باحميم وبهذا الدير المذكور بيعة عظيمة كبيرة جدًا شرحة تسع الوف من الإيم وفيها سجدي التلميذين الطاهرين برتولوماوس وسمعان القاندي من الرسل الثاني عشر وسجى الإب العظيم القديس أبو شنودة ارشي مديريس وتفسيرة رئيس الروساء وهو في دير علو الجبل المعروف بدريتة وكان في صندوق إلى حين وصول شيركوا والغز صحبته إلى مصر وأعمالها أنسوا الصندوق فنقل منه واحفى جسده في الأرض في خزادة مجاور المذبح وليس الخزادة مكرزة وفي هذا الدير جوسف وعليهما
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صالح

بهجولاً بها بيعة للقديس الجليل مارى جرجس وهي حسنة
الوضع ذرة شرحها مدينة قوس وتفسيرها الكفيف كان فيها من
يكون الموقع وعليها صور دائرة وهرة المدينة بناها قوس ابن قطع
ليسفر عنها في الغرب إلى الواحات وفي الشرق إلى معان
التفر والترمس وإلى الحجاز. الدير المعروف بابو بسيرة أسقف
فقط ويعنده على اسم السيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتميم وهو غريب
قصص فيه قبر أبو بسيرة ظاهر وغيره الدبرعين ماء ورتب
عليها سنتنا السيدة والسنين المسيح معها وصحبتهم الشيخ البار
يوسف النجار وبيعة بيعة على اسم القديس أبو قلتة بيعة على
اسم القديس الجليل مرقويوس بيعة أبو يحيى بن يحيى بيعة
على اسم القديس أبو بسيرة بيعة للشهيد الجليل أبو ميناء بيعة
على اسم الشهيد الجليل مارى جرجس خارج العباسة بيعة
على اسم الشهيد الجليل اسطفانوس رئيس الشامسة بيعة
للإباء الكنزبان بطرس وبولس بيعة الشهداء العظام المجاهرين
قريمان بد민 وآخرتهم وزالتهم بيعة الملك الجليل ميخائيل
بيعة الشهداء العظماء الجليلين بطرس وبولس خارج المدينة
جحد عمارة الشيخ المبارك على الكفافة ابن الشعيب مصطفى الملك
ابو يوسف في مملكة الغز الأكراد بيعة تعرف بالعباسة خارج
هذا المدينة على [اسم] القديس الشهيد جرجوس وقد تقدم
فكرها وكان شاور السعدى الوزير قد حضر إليها في حال ولائه
قص وانذروا أنه متي صار ويزرا حمل النذر إليها وبلغة الله
قصره ومكية وزارة الع苹果 لدين الله الخليفية بمصر في الحرك
سنة ثمان وخمسين وخمسات وحتم ما كان اذنريه إلى حين
مماته في قامى عشر ربيع الآخر سنة أربع وستين وخمسات
النصاري البيضاقة وبعد ثلاثة سنين من مملكة المسلمين والبطريرك
بنيامين مُختفى سمع بقضيته عبر ابن العاص فكتب له الإمام
ولجمع شعبه وهو يقول في نسخة الإمام فيظهر الشيخ البطريرك
مطلبًا على نفسه وعلى طاقة القبائل جميعهم التي بالدير المصرية
وغيرها آمنين على نفسهم من كل مكروه وتتمة المكتوب فوصل
هذا الإمام إلى الباب بنيامين البطريرك فظهر بعد ذلك وهو آمنًا
على نفسه وشعبة وعاد إلى الإسكندرية فصل كأن ابتداء ظهور
المسلمين الأطروديكس البول تكون وهو السابع والثلاثون في
العدد في السنة الثانية عشر للرسول ملك الروم وهي سنة ثلاث
وتين وتسعمائة الكلدان فصل دير ببايل الصعيد أرب البه
عرف بعقول القس ليكتب فيه وكان هذا القس أولاً في دير أبو
مقار عند خرابه وغيره من الدرون بوادي إلهب من المفسدين
وهذا صار بطريركًا مدينة البلينا غربى بحير النيل بلاد الصعيد
الدير المعروف بيني موسى والصفي صباحة المهندس وغربى هذه
المدينة نكر أن الاسم أبو ميسيس وبيعته وفي هذا الدير أثار
عمارة لم يشاهد مثلها وعلى صور دائرة وبابه حديد صفائح مطائقة
بسماهير وده ساقية تسمى فرش خضر ودجس الظهر مرفونًا
فيه ضممت سيرة إبنا أخربسطادوس البطريرك وهو السادس
والستون في العدد إن أعدة هذا الدير عقدها جميعها حتى صار
عرفه كالماء التجاري وعقمت هذا حدث بطفال مصر جدري مات
منه أحد وعشرون ألف صبيًا في دون شهر وبلغ القسم بعصر
التلخيص ثمانين دينارًا وبالإسكندرية اثنين وسبعين دينارًا

1 An unintentional repetition by the scribe.

الادبيرة 2.
منتبه إلى الراهب البطريرك وهو في العهد الثالث والرابع، فصل الناحية المعروفة
بمجردة فصول ديرة أبو شنودة مثله دير أبو بيشودة مثله دير
باقعمس هرب البطريرك وهو الثامن والستين، في العهد
وابن عيسى عليه واقام في الدير ثلاثة سنين، فصل دير في البردية
بالصعيد كان يأوي فيه نبيان البابا مختفيًا وهو الثامن
والثالثي في العهد في مملكة هرقل ملك الروم الخلقوني
وجريج ابن مينا المقوقس بمصر إلى انقراض سنة عشرة سنين
خوفًا منها كما وعدت الملوك وهي مدة تسلطة على الإمبراطوريين
وطلب منهم الاعتراف لها بالإمامة المخلصة للحق الصحيح وطلاب
 nhiệm من لم تعيد شديدة ولم ينصحوا إما أتناهم وفي وقتهم
ظهرت الأمة الصليبية فاضلوا الروم وقتلوا منهم كثيرين واستولوا
على بلاد مصر جميعها وبوحدا السبب تخلص من جورهم
تاريخ الشيخ إبراهيم صالح

من ماء ذلك البئر وصار كل من ين علية بامامة ويشرب منه ويستحم فيشغلى من أوجاعة وشفى كثيرين من أمراضهم وصار هذا البئر في فم من يشرب منه جاهز مثل ماء جبعون عيني ذهر دبل مصر ويجري إلى هذه البئرة من قديم الزمان لما شهور من الآيات والإعجايب وشفاء الأمراض المختلفة عالم عظيم من جميع الأفاق وهو عند الفصح من كل سنة وأمر السيد المسيح ان لا يسع احد في هذه البئرة دفعه يا هي عليه بل تقبا بحالها وأثر كف السيد في الجبل الشرقي والغربي فصلة ويجاورهذه البئرة جويس كبير عظيم البئرة وكان قد توهين فاهتم بدرمتها وتجديد معالمها على ما كان عليه أولدا الشيخ أبو زكريا ابن بو نصر عامل الإشمويني رحمه الله تعالى وديع نفسه في الخلافة الحافظية وكان يسكن بهذه الناحية في القمح كرتبى ابن ماليف من الجبابرة الفساة فرعي بصاعة ذرت عليه من السما فاحترق بها ولم يحن له أثر فسيمت المحرقة وكان كرتبى ابن ماليف هذا الجبار له مال كثير وثروة وكان متبنا لفعل المعاصي ولم يراقب الله ولم يستغنى عذابه فرحما الله بصاعة فاحترقته حتى لم يبق له أثر فسمنت المحمرة كما تقدم القول أولدا خان وغريب هذا البئرة قبة نذر في البصبر بالجبل كانت السيدية تاوي إليها وصار شعب النصارى تأتي إلى هذه القبة ويتباركون منها وذكر ان في عين الفصح من سنة احد وتسعين وثمانينة للشهدا الإبرار تتحول ماء خمر في البئر بشهادة جماعة من الكهنة واسقفة الشعب وكتبوا بذلك فصل الدير الكبير بالجبل الذي انشاء.
التاهرة مرتبة بالمحرقة من أعمال الإشمونيين. قُبل ومنها عاد المسيح إلى مصر ومنها إلى الشام وهي أول بيعة اندسنت بالوجه القبلي وكرزت وهذة تعرف بوقس قام في البريد وتفسير قوس قام الكافن بالمحرقة للصالحية بناها قوس ابن فقط ابن مصراهم وهذه حل بها سيدنا يوسف المسيح والشيط البار يوسف التجار عند هذهم من هيرودس الملك الكافر قاتل الاطفال في بيت بعلها ووضع عليه بدرج وفي هذا البيت طاف اندشنت بنفحة السيد في الحانق ولم تفتح بدر ولا بائدة من الآيات وفي البيعة مزج واحد وكان تكريمه بجعل سيدنا المسيح فيه والتلامين الكبير في السعادة على ما شهد به مبشر فيلانتوس البطريرك وهو الثالث والعشرين في العقد ومنها عمل مثال التكرير والقدر الملوء ماء القرآنة على الماء إلى أن يتقدس والريحان والإروف والسرج على المناير وإن تشر بالماء حتى البخور وعقوم إلى بطرس بتكريز كل البيع على هذا المثال مثال التكرير الأول بالمحرقة من أعمال الإشمونيين كنيسة السيدة العذراء الطاهرة وهي أول كنيسة بنيت فيه ارض مصر ومنها ورد المسيح إلى مصر ومنها عاد إلى الشام وهذه البيعة تعرف بقوس قام وهذه البيعة لطيفة جدًا وكان معهم موسى ابن اخ يوشع التجار وامرأة سيدنا المسيح ان يجعل حجر تحت رأسه فعمال وللوقت مات ودفن بها وقابلة باب البيعة بئر ما معبئ وفي البيعة حوض ماء قصار بع ذلك خنار وكان هذا المثال في تكريز هذه البيعة رسمًا جاربًا إلى باقي الرميان وكان ذلك في سادس من شهر هتور ثم بارك سيدنا المسيح في ما ذلك البئر لما شربوا هو ووالته ومن معهم
جميعا ولم يبق لهم سوى كنيسة واحدة على اسم أبو سينا
الشهيد وقرروا على إبقاؤه هذـة البيعة الواحدة ثلاثة آلاف دينار
فجعل الفي دينار من أملاء المدينة وفي الف جعل الثلث منها
مسجداً على القيصرية، دورة الصراي بعد بيعة السيدة العذري
الطاهرة مرتيم وبيعة باسم غيربال الملك وعرف بغير التاج
وتساواها ناحية سنبوا بها بيعة السيدة في الاجران جبل
اشتر وهلالية بيعة على اسم بو دنيل الشهيد وقد تصغت وهي
وافية جهة مئات من داخل خصبين الذي انشأه هذه المدينة دصراني
كان انشها يعرف ابن خصيب وعرفت به وكان يسكنها هو
وصاعدة اهلها وس يولى به وينا بها أبو عبد الدوايسي وذكر ان مئات
بنى خصيب غلب عليها اسم القوم الذي عرفهم بهم لاذهم كانوا
جماعة كبيرة ولهم ذروة وعبيد تخدمهم ومنية بنى خصيب تعترف
بهم قديمًا ببنية بو قيس وهي في الير القريبي وبها عدة بيع بيعتين
للسيدة الطاهرة العذري مرتيم وبيعة للقديس الجليل ماري
جرجس خارج المدينة بيعة للملك الجليل ميخائيل ولهما أيضًا
بيعة أخرى منهن بيعة داخل المدينة وبيعة خارج كنيستين
واحدة للشهيد مرقوبرس والأخرى لابو قيس هدى وفي البريا
لسيدة العذري الطاهرة مرتيم وبيعة للشهيد مرقوبرس وبعدة
لملكة ميخائيل وبيعة خارج المدينة على طريق دلجة، دير
على اسم الشهيد تادرس خارج دهور في بج الشرق وذكر ان
منية بنى خصيب تعترف ببنية بو قيس العذري عند فقط ابن
مصرف فيها جسد بو هلبس الشهيد، بيعة السيدة العذري

1 (؟) س٣٨٣٠٨
فرأوا السيد المسيح والسيدة ويوسف النجار فسجدوا لهم وللوقت
صاغوا حجارة عبدتهم خمسة وفي هذه الحشيرة ثمانية ضيفة
كان دخل سيدنا المسيح إليها من الباب الشرقي وسجدوا
الهجين لها وفي أخبار إبي خاتم البطريق وهو في العهد السادس
والاربعين ان هذه المدينة التي بناها الإسكندر المقدوني وسماها
كلاوبطرا وتفسيرها البابية وهو المكان الذي وصل إليه على
الصخرة مروان الجعدي أخر خلفها بنى أمية وقتل فيه تنبيه
الراهب الشيخ عليه مما يشهد به * * * من ذواجية جسد امو
مقرار الشهيد وفيها دريا بين بابها القبلي وفيه عدة كنائس باعتبار
على اسم السيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتينم تحتوى على عدة
مذابح وعدد رخام أحد الأعمدة التي في البيعة هذه يعرف في كل
وقت وفيها إثر بين السيد وخارجها شجرة مخيط شايمي وتمر
ميخيطها أحمر وهي قريبة من البريا وهذه لما مر بها السيد
والمادة كست رأسها ساجدة له وان إلى المدينة ارد قطعها
وكان تحت هذه الشجرة أشاثاً بطريق قضرب القطاع فيها
بالغاس فعند الغاس في وجهة فتحاف الوالي وليرجع يامر
بقطعها وحمل إلى البطريرك زهاباً من ماله وسالة ان يقبل منه
وصرف فيها ارك من وجوه النجشير فكانت بها بيعة ولم اعلم
هي على اسم أحد من الشهداء طحا الكبيرة كان بها في القدم
خمسة عشر ألف نصارى ولم يكن بها حنيفة ولا يهودية وكان
بها ثلاثية وستين بيعة وما كان في رمي خلافة مروان الجعدي
وهو آخر خلفها بنى أمية ارسل إليها موهافا وجروها منها ومنزعه
أن يقيم بينهم فكان إلى مروان وإملاء بما كان منهم فانغفتهم
من جندهم من قتل منهم جماعة كبيرة وشرتهم وهدم الكنائس

[II. 7.]
تاریخ الشيخ أبي صلاح

لا يفتى ابنًا وعولهما بيعة مبنية بالحجار على اسم السيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتينم ويعين لها في العلاوى والعشر دروس طويلا يوم ذي بحرها وتجمع إليها جماعة كبيرة. ونهاة الجبل يقابل الناحية المعروفة بالبيها من شرقي البحر نكران بمدينة الإسماعلية وعرف بجبل الطير فان في هذا الجبل صلبيان حيبر لودهما أحمر حيبر وحمر صغير بيعة للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتينم بمدينة الإسماعلية كبيرة جدًا نقلها الحاكم جامعًا وعلى هذا الجبل أيضًا كنيسة نقر في الجبل محملة على ناحية عهد وقالت، نقر مثل وسع الذراع وفيه رمل أبيض يخرج منه كلما يقع فه وباخنا منه لا يغني ابنًا ولا تدخل فيه بد خاطئًا ولو كان في فترة الاصحاب وذكر أن الفردج لما وصلوا إلى الصعيد مع ملكهم طرق شيركوه من الغر الآكران ورجال عن البلاد المصرية نقبوا على مكان الكف من الجبل وأخذوا صعبتهم إلى الشام في سنة ثلاث وستين وخمس 살ات عربية دير بيسوس المجاور لأشنيان نكران بين بيسوس من الإسماعلية وصل الميسج إليها وصار بها بيعة في ذلك الدرب وفي وسطها بشر ماء معين يُضِلً عليها في وقت زيادة النيل في كل سنة فيريده، ماء البمر وفية أشارات اثر النيل مصورة فذا ماء البمر ووقف على بعض الإشارات ففيعلم منه ما تنتهي زيادة النيل البيها من الافرع جزيرة الإسماعلية الإسماعلية اسم أحد أولاد فقط ابن مصري بنيها فرعون وليا خريت بها بختنصر ملك بابل نكر ان كان في علو هذه البلاد ديد وتحت صفة جماله هيجين أنا وري الإيجا غيرب يصغر الديك خرج الهجيج يهلكوا تلك الغريب فلما وصل ميدان المسيح له المجن الإيجا صفر الديك خرجوا الهجيج على العادة
وجسمه في بيعة قريبة بها وبيعة نادريس وبيته الناحية عدة
السيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتمريم بيعة في
المدينة وهي بيعة كبيرة شرحها جدًا ورجال الجليل ميخائيل
وبريال الملك اصطفوا الشهيد وذكر أنه يعرف بوجه الكلب وهو
أحد الذين كانوا مع الإباء التلاميذ الإطبار وذبه بيعة على
الخليج خارج المدينة مرقس الشهيد مرقوموس له بها بيعتين
القدس الشهيد الجليل ماري جرجس أيضًا له بها بيعتين
القدس إبوبوحنس وبو حنا الشهيد. أشرفها للصليب بيعتين
والسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتمريم بيعة داخل المدينة ولها أيضًا
خليج مدينة بيعة ميخائيل الملك الجليل بيعة للشهيد
الجليل مرقوموس بيعة على حافة البحيرة ولقديس الجليل
ماري جرجس بها بيعة للشهيد الجليل نادريس بها بيعتين
وادبا دولا وئوماس بيعة بسفط رضين على اسم الشهيد الجليل
نادريس البحري همها الغز الأكران وتقولها مسجدةً، بها بيعة
الملاك غبريل كانت قد تشغلت فنجارتها بعض الإفخاخة، الإمكان
التي وصل إليها سيدينا يسوع المسيح له المجد والسيدة العذرا
مرتمريم والشيخ الباري يوسف النجار في بلاد الصيفين، بيعة جبل
الكف على اسم السيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتمريم وهذه البيعة تغر
في الجبل وفي الحجر أثر كف السين المسيح له المجد لما لا يس
الحجر عند سجون الجبل له عند ورده من الشام فكَّ يملك
الجبال عند أقبله له ساقًا قردًا بينه، قصره كفًا طابقًا في
ذلك الجبل إلى يومنا هذا وفي أثر ذلك الكف تُغلب لطيف مثل
وعند الميل ينزل فيه الميل وطاعع منه ويكحل به بكحل أسود
ابدين سفط أبو جرجا بها عزة بيعت بيعة على اسم السيدة العذري الطاهرة مرتزيم، وبيعت توماس بيعت الملكي ميخائيل، والملاء غبريل، كفور بيعة على اسم الشهيد غبريل طحا المدينة من اليشمليين بيعة للسيدة العذري الطاهرة مرتزيم، وأخرى للسيدة أيضاً بيعة للملاء غبريل، وبيعت للشهداء الجليلين المجاهدين ماري جرجس، ومرقردوس، وبيعت على اسم القدس مركس الإنجيل وبيعت على اسم الشهيد الجليل اسطفانوس، وبيعت رئيس الشامسة سفط المهلي بيعة على اسم الملكي الجليل ميخائيل، وبيعت على اسم الملكي الجليلين غبريل ورفائيل، ملوي [بيعة] على اسم الشهيد الشجاع ابنير، وبيعت للشهيد مرقردوس وبيعت للشهيد الجليل ماري جرجس، وبيعت للملاء غبريل ورفائيل، وبيعت للسيدة العذري الطاهرة مرتزيم، وبيعت للملاء الجليل ميخائيل، رفعت وادكية بيعة على اسم السيدة العذري الطاهرة مرتزيم بيعة للشهيد الجليل بقطره، وبيعت للشهيد الشجاع ابنير، وبيعت على اسم الصحابي توماس وسرايس، دبر على اسم القدس العظيم، بو شنودة نجاح من البهنسا بيعة على اسم الشهيد بورعنس أدقاف بها بيعة للشهداء الجليل مرقردوس، طفرة بها بيعة على [اسم] درتولوماوس الساقية المعروفة بساقية محفوظ بها خمس كنائس الشهيد مرقردوس، ومرقس، واصطفانوس ونادران، وبيعت على اسماء التلاميذ البهنسا تفسير اللغة موضع النرويج بنيت لجوار من بنا، الملوك عذاري تزوجوا لأنها الملكة من هذه المدينة وQtCoreها معبد لموسف الصديق، وبيعت على اسم بو برناو الشهيد، بوال البهنسا.
كلمبا يأتي البهجة ويسمع أقواله وهذا ضار بطريركاً على الإسكندرية
حجر اللهون دير أبواسحاق والبيعة على اسم السيدة العذرى
الطاهرة متلمزمون وهذه البيعة شرحها متسعة حسنة وضع مباشر
البناء والهندسة تشاكل بيعة دير اللهون وفية أيضاً بيعة لطيفة
على اسم الشهيد الحاجيل أبواسحاق وعلى هذا الدبر ثلاثات
إحوار حضر وهو كثير الطارف وهو في الحاجيل من بحري اللهون
في الموضع الذي يقال له بريودة على الحاجيل قبل الغيوم.
فصل البهنسا أنه بها عدة بيعة أبوون بيعة مرقص، بيعة
بو يحسن بيعة الشهيد الحاجيل ماري جرجس بيعة الشهيد
الحاجيل مرقوموس بهومليس بها عدة بيعة بيعة الملاك غيربال
بيعة أيضاً على اسم الملاك غيربال ثانية، بيعة على اسم
القديس أبو هرمون، ناحية قفارة بيعة على اسم السيدة
العذرى الطاهرة متلمزم ومعتادة الحاجيل مجلاني، وبيعة
للملاك فاينيل بيعة الشهيد الحاجيل مرقوموس، بيعة الملاك
الحاجيل غيربال، ابتدوها بيعة فاينيل الملاك بيعة الملاك
ميخائيل، بيعة السيدة العذرى القديسة الطاهرة متلمزم.

Fol. 73 b

بيعة ديوسقروس جلالة بها بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة متلمزم
بيعة على اسم القديس ديوسقروس، بيعة على اسم القديس
الشهيد الحاجيل بقطر ابن ارماديوس بيعة على اسم بو تليه.
يردؤها بها عدة بيعة أبا قسطول بيعة للملاك ميخائيل،
بيعة للملاك فاينيل، بيعة للملاك غيربال، بيعة مرقوموس
الشهيد الشجاع بيعة القديس الشهيد الحاجيل ماري جرجس
بيعة على اسم الشهيد الشجاع المجاهد نارس، بيعة القديس.
نقر حجر وعليها قلالي للرَّهبَان وذكر أن الاب إدبا صامويل كان يعتبِر في الجبل اعتى مربر هذا الدير المشهور وهذا الجبل المعروف بالربان قبايلة الدير المذكور وعدة الرَّهبَان الذين فيه إلى آخر امشرى من سنة أربع وتسعة وثمانمائة للشهير الإبرار ماتى راهب مجايرين نساء قُل دير الشهيد الجليل تاودروس على المني بفلاح الزينوت وتادرس هذا هو من الغيوم واستشهد بالصبر وحمل جسده على عجلة خفية ودمع عليها سائلة ولم تزل تسير به إلى هذه الناحية التي هو منها وفيها بيعة على اسم وجسده بهاء وبها عدة بيعة للسيدة العذري الطاهرة مرتبرم ودير على اسم الإبضائيين وبيعة على اسم الشهيد متربرم وبيعة للملائك غريباك وبيعة على اسم أبو يحمس وبيعة الصبر، ناحية فانوا وتقليعة هول الناحيتين بهما عدة بيعة بيعة القديس الجليل مارى جرجس، بيعة للسيدة العذري الطاهرة مرتبرم اهتم بتقديرها الشيخ المهذب أبو أسقف إبراهيم ابن أبو سهل المشذفي، كان وعرف بالرقبور، بيعة الملك الجليل ميخائيل، دير الصليب، ناحية قانيو يقتبس فهي دفعة واحدة في السنة في عين الصليب، بيعة للقديس الجليل جرجس، بيعة سيلة دير على اسم السيدة العذري الطاهرة العذري مرتبرم، جوسف مستعد للائحة على الطريق المملوكة ولم يكن الدير المعروف بدير الآخرة وبه بيعة على اسم الشهيد الجليل أبو ميناء وكان يباي فيه القسم يوحنا السنوسي وكان هذا القسم ناساً عالمياً متوارث معرّى بتعليمه

وكان يعرف 1.

Fol. 73 a
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلاح

بَيْعَة على اسم السيدة العذري الطاهرة مرتبرم هذه البيعة متسعة جزاء رسمت في ربع عشر هتور وأدنا صامويل رئيس هذا الدير ومدبره كان عالماً ومعلماً وله من التعليم كثيراً وكشف الله له ما سيكون في آخر الرمان وتكلم به وكتب عنه وصلى في وقته من الرمان كما تنبأ عنه قَضَلَ وهذا الدير أيضاً بعضهم دائر عليه وفيه بستان كبير فيه تخييل وزينت وقولات وقية اربعة جواسف ويشتمل على اثنا عشر بيعة وبدلاً صومعة راقبة وبدلا راهب مقيم

ينقر الراهبان بالقصد إلى الدير من البعد ان كان من الجند أو من الأشراف أو من الولاية في ضرب الناقوس على كل منهم ضرب مختلف فيعلموا الراهبان عند سماعهم ما القصد للدير فهتفوا بما يلهمهم قبل وصوله للدير وتشتت هذه البيعة على اثنا عشر بيعة علوية وسفلية وفيه عين ماء مالحة مجرى ليل ونهار ويجتر منها إلى بركة متسعة فيكون فيها على ممر الأيام بلاطٍ يركل منه وهو طبيب ولوده اسود ويحلوا الماء في هذه الكرة في الشتا قبلاً والراهبان يشربون منها على ممر الرمان وخارجاً عن الدير مغارة فيها راهب يسمى مُهَا نا لا يخرج منها ليل ولا نهاراً ويصوم اسبوع فيعبة مستمر في الراهبان يقومون به ويتبركون منه وحول مغارة دخيل كثير مثمرة وكان معاً من المال مائة دينار ولنا وصلوا الغز الأكراد إلى هناك ساعد بها الراهبان ولم يبق معه شيء وكانت الوجوه يجتمعون أبيض ولا يوزيهم منهم شيء وحوا اليد حتى صار يطعمهم من يده وكانوا الشباطين يشخرون له وقابلوا مواجهة ولا يغدوا اليد سبيل قَضَلُ وناب هذا الدير مغفر بالحديد متقن الصناعة وعمل هذا الراهب مهنا المذكور في بداية رهينته قبل أن يصير حبيسًا في المغارة في الجبل كنسبة

M 2
تاريخ الشيخ إبى صلح

كثيراً بأنه وفيها عم كبار طوال تمام لم يشاهد ام منهن إلا قليل وهذه البيعة قريبة من باب المدينة المعروف بسوره البيعة للسيدة العذراء الطاهرة مرتين خارج المدينة وبيعة للشهير مقرورسوس اتهم برمتها وتجديدها الشيخ أبو ركى بيعة للملكية في حارة الأربض الدرب المعروف بدیر النقلون شرقى الناحية المعروفة بنوسا وهذى الدبر بيعة على اسم الملك ميقاتيل وفيها عامون بيام يعرف عرق مثل الماء الجارى وفيه جوسيف كبير يشرف على جبل فيبة شقية ومنى أن أساس هذه البيعة وضع في ثالث عشر هتورة وكرزها السيد السليم وتلامينه في ثامن عشر ابوب وتتجاوز بيعة على اسم الملك غبريل عمل حصنها قبلها دائر في ثالوث عشر امشير كاب الصور في هذه المدينة البطيلة وابتدى في عمارتها في السادس والعشرين منه وكبئت في الثالث عشر من بوعنت وكرزت في العشرين منه وذكر أن الجبل المعروف بالنقلون هو المكان الذي كان فيه مظلة يعقوب ابن سمحف ابن أبرهم عليه السلام وكتاب عند عبادة فيه وفي رفع الفروابين لله أيام يوسيف ولد، عند تدير يوسيف لعبارة الفيوم وحضر الى، وكان تكريماً كبيسة جبل النقلون في اسقفيته انا استحم على يد أول ابن بنت الملكة الذي رزقته من ابراشي الساحر كتبته عنها وعلى وليدها الدبب المعروف بالنقلون وهو كثير الطائر وله فدين طين في عدة دواحى بالصعيب له في شيء سنة عشر فداءً وله ملاحم يحصل منها في كل سنة ما يناءه ثلاثة ألف ارب ويجمل من ثمرة النخيل ما يباع في كل سنة بجملة فصل.

الف

الاف
في مملكة الريان ابن الوليد ابن دومغ بعد تفسير يوسف له المنام الذي رأه وعندما فسره للملكة اخْلَعَ عليه ودفعه له خاتم الملك من يده وسلم إليه تدير مملكته وتُميز عنه بصعوبة على المبر، فضل ولا حفر يوسف الخليج واخرج الماء عنه جرى من النيل ودخل في نهر من النهرين وجرى فيه حتى انتهى إلى اللاهون فقطعه إلى الغيوب فدخل إلى خليجها وسقاها فصار فيه

لِحِيَةٍ عظيمة وذكره جميعاً في تسعين يوماً كما شاهده الملك ووزراءه.

ذلك قالوا هذا عمل الله يوم الغيوب وضع الماء على تنوعين مطاطين للمرتفع ومرتفعاً للمناطق باوقات وساعات في الليل والنَّهَار وحكم لها قبضات لا يقدر أحد من الناس بأخذه من الماء فوق حي شيء، فضل وأول مدينة أامرها يوسف في الغيوب شادة وهي التي كانت ابنة خورون بها ثم وزن الأرض والماء قياساً ومنه عرفت الهندسة يوسف أول من قاس النيل بمصر بالذراع وضع مقياس بنف ثم وضعت العجوز ثلاث فدوي مقياساً نانساً ومقياساً باخصيص ووضع عبد العزيز ابن مروان مقياساً بطولان ثم اقترنت الأعمال الغيومية للغز الأكراد في مملكة يوسف ابن إدوم الكرد على ما استقر إلى أخر سنة ثلاث وسبعين وخمسينثانية بما مبلغه مائة ألف ولثلاثين ألفاً ومائتي أربعة وسبعين دينار ثم اقطعت لبروى آخره ورجالته سنة ست وسبعين وخمسينثانية بما مبلغه مائة ألف وستة وأربعين دينار ثم اقطعت لتقى الدين عمر ابن شاهنشاه وابن اخته للسنة المذكورة بالملبغ المعين، والمدينة الآن ديعة الملك الأجل ميخائيل وهي

فول.70ب

ملطة.1

[II. ٧]

M
تاريخ الشيخ إبى صلح

مرفوع وريرة على اسم غبريل الملائك، وريرة على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة، مديونة الغيوم و أعمالها الغيوم اسم أخذ أولاد فقط ابن مصر، من هذه بناتها لبنتهن، فنجرتهم في الها، وكانت الغيوم قبل يوسف ابن يعقوب ابن أبى إسماعيل الخليل عليهم السلام، نخرج عدد عمارتها يوسف الصديق، وعمل المقامين قينا الغيوم وحجار الله، الذي بني بالحکمة، واسس بالتقوا والمعبود من الله والغن بالهوى، له من الله سبعان، وحفر خليج المهنه وعمر رض مصير وجرة النواحی به، ثلثان، وسبیل قریة عدد ايام السنة تمر كل قریة يوم، وخروجها الف دينار، وهذه الأعمال تروى أراضيها من اثنان عشر ذراعا، ولا تفرقة من قبادیة عشر ذراعا، وهذا من العجین العجین، وبدا من المباح، ما ليس لاحق فيه ملكًا بل مباح للناس ينصرفون فيه ويستعينوا به على احوالهم، والباح سبعين صناعا، قص الباحزخرج منها في ايام كافور الإستاذ، امير مصر المشهور، بكافور الاخلید، في الدولة العباسية على بي ابی طرخان، سنة خمس وخمسين وثلاثمائة للعرب ستمائة الف وعشرون الف دينار وذکه بأراء الله، وطبریة ودمشق، قص وكان بهذه الأعمال خمسة، وثلاثون دجرًا، وكان الاستف حسب افراح، في بطریة ابی تالودروس، وهو المتاح، والاربعون، في العد، والخراج، مما يزيد برسم هذه الدیارات مما يحمل في بیت المال، في كل سنة خمسیة دینار، وذکه مما شهی به كتاب فتحه، مصباح عمر ابن العاص، وكذا أيضًا ان الغيوم كان يعرف بنا بجودة، وكان مصنفًا ما؛ الصعب، وفصيلة، فاستبطه يوسف الصديق، وحفر الخليج، واخرج المال، عنه وكان ابتدأ جرى النيل إليه، قص وكان عمر يوسف ثلاثين سنة.
تاريخ الشيخ ابن صلح

ينبغي بمساريس والكبيرة استخرج بعد اربعة اعوام دروزة طويل ملكة
حتى مات في زمن صاحب الرسالة، ويجاوي هذه الأهرام الصنم
الصوان العظيم الهائل، وهو غائر في الرمل إلى وسطه، فصل
وينظير أيضًا بعد ذلك الوجه القبلي بالدرب المصري،bowsirبا
وهذى سميت باسم ساحر اسمه بوصير كان مقيمًا بها وسميت
باسمها وبيدها البلدة، البيعة الكبيرة العظيمة التي بنيت جميعها
بالصحراء المائع على اسم السيدة العذراء الظاهرة مرتيم، داخل
القصر لهذه المدينة، وهذه البيعة عمرت في القدم وما توالت
النوب وإمداد الملوك إلى حجرها دقل منها معروفة وهي الآن
معطولة ومعالمها ظاهرة وهي قريبة من سجى يوسف السديف ابن
يعقوب ابن استمف ابن ابرهيم الخليل عليهم السلام. بناية
بنا بيعة على اسم القديس العظيم مرسيه جرجس. منبة القائد
ثيجة وهي للسيدة العذراء الظاهرة مرتيم، اهتم بتجديد
عمرتها الشيخ مفضل ابن الصالح من أصحاب الوزير أبي الفرج
ابن كليمين جردًا في الخلافة الحاكمة. وجد أيضًا بيعة على
شاطئ بصر النيل المبارك. فاقامت مدة وعدي عليها البصر وأوقفها
فلم يبق لها أثر، ونا بوصير بها على اسم الشهيد العظيم أبو
مرور بيعة للسيدة العذراء الظاهرة مرتيم بيعة، ولهذه
القديس مارى جرجس بيعة، وللملاك العظيم ميخائيل بها،
البيعة للشهيد ابن بجعوس بها بطريقة وفسرة الظاهرة فيها.

Fol. 69a

Fol. 69b

1 ادرجات
فصل منف ذلها بیصر ابن حام ابن دوج وعمره سبعمایا وثمانین سنة في ثلاثين من وزله واهلها فسمبد منافية وتفسير هذه
اللغة ثلاثون وإولاده مصراًم وفارق ويبح وماح هولا إولاد مصرام
قغط أشمون تفسير هذا الاسم لا تصل إليهما اتربين هذه بها
صنم عظيم صوان يسمى بم الهول مطروح على جنبه ثم حفقت
اعني منافية وبها كان ملك الغراعة ولما مات بیصر دفء في وضع
يعرف بابی هرمس وهو أول من قبر في ارض مصر والنيل كان
يتقلب إليها قال أخرون بناها مصراًم لابنة فقط الذي اسمى
برم وقال أخرون بناها منغمس ابن عديم وجعل طولها ثلاثون
میلًا في عشرين میلًا وجعل حولها ثلاثون حصنًا في كل حصن
حمام في أيام ساروخ ابن أئمها بناها فروعه الملقب بمحببة امه
وهو ملك الغراعة فصل ويوسف الصديق عمل مقیاسًا عظيم
بمنيف وهو أول من قاس الینب بیصر بالنزاع وبها من العجائب
والابنية والإصناي ودفائن والكنوز ما لا يحصى وبها بيت صوان
خضر مانع ملمع قطعة واحدة مربع وسفغه منه وبيعته مغرش
حصير فصل وبها بيعة جدیدة في مكان منها وقبل ابنه المكان
الذي كتب فيه موسى للرجل المصرى فقتته كما ور في اخباره
وكان كله ذراع من اربها تباع بمائة دينار فصل وتجاور هذه
البلدة الاهرام وهي ثلاثين فصل طول الهرم الكبير اربعمائة ذراع
وهى الانتاد والمنازل التي بناها صغورها الملك الأعظم في ملوك
الانش وارغاش لأخو شداد وشداد ابن عاد ومالة ابن عاد
وفرميات أخرى عاد الذين جرهم الملك ارزقاً بني فيها ضمینة
دورة ثم مات وجعلوا كنوزهم وقبهم في هذه المناوات العاليات
وهما الوطمان العظیمان واستخرج مال إحدهما أحد ملوك الروح
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلح

فيه وينام فيه طموح وهى بارزة حلوان من الشرق الدير المعروف بها شهد به كتاب الديارات للشابشتي ويحيط بهذا الدير حصن دائر وبيعته على اسم القديس ماريويوس وهو مطل على البحر ركبت عليه ويجاوره يوسف يتصل إليه من هذه البيعة وئاد مناظر حسنة وبشرف على الستة الادراك والاشجار والميزانة والكروم المعرضهو عامار أهل وبي جمعة من الروبان فصل وجده عمارة الشيخ أبو اليمن وزير متولى ديوان اسفل الارض والشيخ أبو المنصور ولد ونجل في الخلافة الامراء ووزارة الأفضل شاهشه وكان الأفضل هذا ينزل فيه ويقيم به منتزها ومتفرج وانشا بنائبا يجاوره واجرى فيه من جميع التشجع والنصيحة ومحترق ابن مقرب عليها سواقي وإدار على الستة السياج ماكن والحكم عنه مما يحمل إلى بيت المال في كل سنة عشرة دخان فصل ثم اقطع أيضا الحجر المذكور وأعمر به معاصر للزيت من داخل حصن الدير مجملة السن والآلات وله أراضي مبلغها سبعة واربعين قرنا وقطعت هذه الأراضي الغز الاكراد وغيرهم في مملكة الناصر يوسف ابن أيوب الكردي فصل لهذه البيعة جسر القديس بنودة رئيس هذا الدير يعرى له في خمسة عشر مشير وفيه صورة السيدة العذرة الظاهره مرتين وكان الأفضل يهوى مقامة في علوه فصل وهتم الشيخ أبو اليمن المذكور بتحصيل آلية لهذه البيعة من الفضة الحجر فعمل صينية وكاس وملعقة ومجمرة وصليب وكسوة حمر فاخرة فصل وله هذه الناحية البيعة الكبيرة الحسنة يوضع للقديس الجليل المجاهد مارى جرجس، وبيعة على اسم الشهيرة مهراشيل وبيعة ابا ديمة، وبيعة الملائ ميخائيل وبيعة للسيدة العذرى الظاهره.
تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح

...'قد ذكر نسيخه حسبين ابن الحافظ بين العرب وكان الدير قد تشنع أيضًا فجر عمارتهما ابنا غربيال البطريرك [المعروف] بابيء العلا ساعد ابن تريك في الخلافة الحافظية وهو السبعين من العقد وهو من الديارالمذكورة وفيه جماعة من الرببان وقبيحته جوسيف كبير بتواصل أبنه من الكنيسة وفيه مناظر حسنة ولهه بستان وارضي وإملاك بنيه الشماس ابتعها بنى سورين من أجراد الشيخ مصطفى الملك أبو سف يعقوب ابن جرجس وهم من أهل دميرة القبلية من الغربية وهذا الدير كان من جرف وطوية أيضًا وصار بطريركي وبه يحمل البيرون ويكتز به الطرق مخفقة ودعت الحاجة إلى ذلك وكان ابنا مينا البطريرك وهو العادلى والستون قد عمل مذبح على اسم مارى مرقس بحلة دانيال التي كان يسكنها البطارية ورفع عليه البيرون لخوف الطرق من الغلا في ابتداء خلافة المعر ببصرة منية الشماس وله هذه الطبقية بيعة والناحية المعروفة بالصرايف غرب دير الشبع وكان يسكنه ابنا يوحنا ابن ابو غالب وهو الثالث والسبعون في العقد] ومدة بطركيته ثمانية وعشرين سنة فصل وغرب دير الشبع بيعة على اسم الشهيد الجليل، ناديء. لحم بيعة ابو قرمان ومبيان والخواتم ووالدهم جرد عمارةها الشيخ ابن سعيد الكاتب كان بديوان المكاتبات ويجاورها بستان وفية بعمر ساقية على الطريق المسيك وليهون بهذه الناحية متعبد وعلية صور دائرة وله منازل لهم وبستان فيه انشاب ونخيل ونتر ساقية دائرة ويبين طائفة الربانيين والقرانيين فيه منازعات بسبب واقون السراجين وذكر ان موسى النبي في أيام فرعون كان يحتضر إلى هذا المكان ويصلي
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صالح

غريب طموحه، الدير المعروف دير الشمع، فصل يعرف بدير الشياطين والسبب فيه أن في أيام المستنصر في سن المئتين بعدموا الرهبان عنه وبغي خراب وكانت البهائم ترعى فيه بعد ذلك وكان يخرج منه أشخاص ويركزوا الخيل من أول الليل إلى بكرة فيدخلوا ضيعة خرية فعند فُجر بذلك وصار إليها بنونه وسكنها وحده قبًّا به وكان قبةً لطيفةً فاهتم الراحلين بنجدن عمارته إلى أن سار على هذه الصفة التي هو عليها الان وبنونه هذا كان قد حضر إلى أبو نفر الكديس السائح وأقام عنه مرة وفأ سمع واحده القديسين يعذب الله فيهم ويدخل بنونه وكان في وقت وفاة أبو نفر حاجزه وكان بموضوعة نحلة واحدة مثمرة ففكر في قلبه أن يكون مغامرة عرضة فارسل الله رهيبًا عاصف فارس، وأما تلك النحلة التي كان أبو نفر يفتات بمثربتها في أيام حياة وارتب العين الإله التي كان يشرب منها فوجه إلى غيرة وكلم يبصر صورة يعتقد أنه كان تلميذه وليس الأمر كذلك ثم سار تلميذه أبو مقار الكبير دوائي هبيب وصار إلى دير الشمع ويعحيته به عنى دير الشمع البيعة التي بها ثلاثة مزابين المذبح الوسطى على الكديس ادودة والبحري على اسم أبو شنودة والقبلي على اسم بنونة وهذه البيعة على اسم القديس أبو شنودة وعلى هذا المذبح الذي على اسم القديس بنونة يقسم عليه في نصف من صوم الأربعون في كل سنة وفيه كانت دياحته وشهدت سيرته ان دياحته في اليوم الخامس عشر من امبره وأم этого الدير في سنة سبع وستين وستمائة للشهداء الإدارة، مما وجد في الحجر المكتوب تاريخه على باب البوسفوف وفي هذا الدير جسد القديس انبا بونونة تلميذ القديس أبو مقار الكبير دوائي هبيب في مرفقه

Fol. 66a

L 2
علم صناعة الكعبا وصنع الجهور وموله: بمنف وقيل أنه إدريس المذكور إذ رفع مكانًا على الأصابة يحصون إلى الهرمين الكبير ويزعمون أن هرم فقر في احدهم وقرب آركاديوس والصاده يحصرون اليه ما من حرام يانون حاجيات، فصل وليس على وجه الأرض بنياتًا بل يثور حجر على حجر اطول منها وهولا الهرمين هما قبر هرم واقراطيسن فصل ذكران مساحة الهرمين الكبار كل منها اثنا عشر فدانًا وفي كل منها بئر لا يعرف قرارة وكان بجاوره دير يعرف دير الكرم يسموه المخاليفين دير الكلا بوضة نيلك دونهما سفته مبئي حجر صوان جافة ملخأة الدير ملخص الأهرام في الجيال الغربي وبيعتة تعرف بببعة طهاتاوس الراهب من اهل منف وجدته مدفونًا بها وكان له هذه البيعة شغاعة عظيمة حتى أن من زار وصلته فيه وطلب من الله بقوة امانت قضيت حاجته ومن شاء يقدم على شيء وطلب من الله يرشد لما فيه خنثته فلما يظهر له في منامه ما سيكون له فيه من الخير أو يهذ إل عين القدوم على ذلك الشيء شهد له بذلك كتاب قصص المجامع، لحف الجبل في مدينة تسمى مسادة وفي لحف الجبل بالجبيرة خمسون دير عامرة أهلها كانت لكثرت واحرت من المخاليفين بيد المغرباء البربر الذين لا يعرفون الحف ولا يرجعون إلى الشرع ولا يفروقون ما بين الحلال والححرم وهنا الجبل الغربي يتصل لجبال الغرب ويشعب منه إلى أن يبلغ بعد اجتيازه برفق والسواحل الغريبة كلها إلى ارض برغواطة وسطي البحر المظلم وبين مدينة تسمى مستانتة كانوا يحملون إليها موشي الملك بجمع أمواليهم ونخائرهم وأكثر طلبة المطالب يدورون هذه المدينة وسموها دار مانويل مدينة الشمس وهو بئودة المترهبن.
بالهروديين بالدير المعروف بدير الكلاب والصواعق دير الكرام وإداها الملكية حروقو لبضضعه للبليغة تذك أن جسيدها وحمس العازر بالقسطنطيينة دقلت إليها من جزيرة قبرش وشهد خلال الاعيان أن ميلاد السيدة يعيد له خارج اورشليم في مملكة افغسطس قبص وبسما عدد العبلة في أول شهر بشنس من كل سنة وفي نسخة دخل آخر أن تكريز دير نهيا على اسم السيدة. فصل كان هذا الدير لاسقف الجيزة وجزيرة مصر أفرى هذا الدير ابنا مرسى الطبطرسي لنفسه وهو الثالث والسبعين وسماحته من الديوبابة بما مبلغه في كل سنة ثلاثة دنانير ناحية المعروفة بنهيا بالجيزة الدير المقدم ذكره بها يحتيط به صور دائر والبيعة التي فيه على اسم السيدة العذري الظاهرة مرترم جدها انسان تاجر وصل من الغرب وكان الامام الباكر بالحاجي الله يانتي إلى هذا الدير وينتهي فيه وانشا فيه منظرة وجد عمارة الحصن الدائر عليه وشهد قانون الاعيان ان بيعه هذا الدير باسم مرتا ومرى احتى العازر ويعيد لهما في ثلاث عشر طونة من كل سنة أو تاسع عشر، فصل ردد كتاب الديوارة للشامشي أن هذا الدير من أحسن ديوارات مصر وادرهما ومنظره عجيبا جدًا سيما في أيام النيل والزراعة ولا خليج تجتمع الناس إليها ينثرهم وهو أيضًا مصدر سما متعرف وفاء النبل المبارك يحتيط بهذا الدير من جهاته الاربع، سقف مبدو بها بيعة جامعة فيها ثلاث مزايب أحرهم للقبط وهو الوسطي باسم الشهيد الشجاع تادرس والثالث للارم إلى اسم الشهيد الجليل ماري جريس ووالثال للسيدة العذري مرترم وهو للملكيين اهترام بناءه هرس الحكم المثل بالحكم زهاء وهو الذي بعلده سر الطبيعة استترخج

[[II. 7.]] L
فكان نهبة عشر زراعًا بالمرفق ومن مكان القبر إلى صدر الحائط
القبلي الذي للبيعه الداخل فيه نزع البئر تسعة وعشرون زراعًا
بالمرقق أيضًا والله عالم إنه لم يكن بيري شيخيًا اجعلي على
قبرهما قبة ليعرف بها قصل وفي البيعة هذه مغطس كان يجري
له الماء في قناة من هذا البئر فعممت وفي الدرب طاحون قاسي
وكان فيه مقشرة فبطلت قصل ويجاور هذه البيعة جوسيف كبير
وقد ثلث طبقات شاهد البنا ومدخله من داخل البيعة إسقائه
وكان هذا الجوسيف تشع弗رة الشيخ المكي ابن الراكين الكابن
المعروف بابن كاتمة وجد عمارة الحائط الملاصق للمرحاض
اسفل وجد عمارة القناة قصل وقريبًا من بيعة على اسم الاب
القديس اندونا وهو ابتدائيوس وقد تشعفت وقابلته أعني الدير
من خارج عدة قلالي كانوا للرهبان في وقت خروجهم من دير
أبو مرار في بطريركية ابنا بنيامين الثامن ولذين في العهد وهو
الآن خراب قصل وفيه طاقوسين الذيدما لدفن اساقفة الجبيرة
قربًا من بيعة ابتدائيوس طاقوس الإساقفة والأخر لدفن الراهبان
تلت الجوسيف وفيه مدافن لاهل القرى قصل وكانت الراض
قد استولت على اخشاب هذا الدير والبيعة فاحتم هذا السيد أيضًا
بنقضها وجعل عوض السقوف أقربية وجعل العبد مرفوعة في
اركان ولم يبق من العبد فأهار الا العامودين الصوان القدمين
الذين قبالة صورة السيد الظاهر الظاهر والبستل الخشب باقي
لكله دهنه بالصبر فمنع الراضة أن تفسده وعده من المجتمع في
هذا الدير في وقتنا نفسه من نبع نغر إلى ما دونه قصل
شهد خلال الأعيان بخط ابنا يوس الاسقف العيباطي ابن في
ثلاثين يومًا من بوعنة من كل سنة يعيده لمرم ومرة اختها الذين
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صالح

الغز الإكراد في سنة اربع وستين وخمسونا انتشر السلاجقة في ملك
الدير ولم يبق لهم سوى المصير بأن ينتفعوا بما يقدر عليه فصل
وكان أحد الكتاب المصريين قد دخل إلى هذا الدير يطلب ما
يشرب منه ويدخل يدها فوجد الماء عندهم قليلًا جداً فاستم وحفر
بئر من داخل الحصن قبالة حائط البيعة القبلية وكان تحت
الحفر صغراء فتسبب في قطعها وقطعها من حساب كل زراع
بيرنار وكان عدد سريها أربعة عشر زراعًا خارجًا مما ادفعت في الحفر
والعمارة وهذا البئر هو الذي يشرب منه اليوم دينه الله نفسه
ويسأل ذئب المهمة طبع ماء هذا البئر حلو طيب خفيف هضارم.
ف حل وقال قالت هذا الخبر وكنت قد أعلنته أن بيعة هذا الدير
على اسم مرنا ومرم ابتنا العاشر الذي اقامها سيدنا يسوع المسيح
له المجيد من بين الاموات وعاش بعد ذلك تسعة سنين وصار
اسقف قبرس مرة طويلة وعارة الشاهدين لшимاء العازرين اليهود
سبعة آلاف رجل واربعمائة سري النساء والصبيان وقال لي ناقل
هذا الخبر الصحيح اذن كنت تحدث رأي أبي الراهب بالروح
ولقد كان يخبرني بكل ما سمعته منه وكان مقيمًا بهذا الدير
وأرى فيه مشاتخ اخباره بما أخبرتك به و كنت في بعض الأوقات
اريت أن ذكر البئر في مكان مقابل هذا البئر فمعبن هذا
الشيخ من ذلك قائلًا هذا المكان الذي ارتبت أن تزيل فيه ضرورة
الجسر بالإراقة فيه يا بني قبر مرنا ومرم تزعمت في طافوس
عمل لهم وهن في قبته فامتنعت وصرت أوقر هذا المكان وأصلى فيه
وادنين ذات يوم قست من هذا المكان المذكور إلى حد هذا البئر

1 إرتقى
داخل الباب وزحف إلى ان دخل اليد واستقدم الى ان دخل الى المذبح فقال لأحد الرهبان ابن مكان وقوف القسم فاكره وقال اين موقع وقوف الشمس فاعمله به نوقف مكان الشمس وقال للراهب اقف مقابلني مكان الشمس ففعل ذلك ثم طاف الكنيسة ودفع للرهبان ألف درهم بعد ضيافتهم لد وخرج من الدير يتصد ولم ييات في الدير في هذه الدفعة وكان المذبح ينزل اليد بدرج وبصعد منها إلى المذبح فنقلها الشيخ أبو الفضل ابن الاسقف وروم المكان وطلبه وعمل سترة بلاط على الاسكنة على ثلاثة امرين ثم صار الإمام الامر يترده الى الدير في موكبة وعساقه يتصيد فانشا فيه منظرة عالية وعمل قبة طالعة الى فوق من الجدار البحرى ووابها من خارج الدير ولها سلم معقود حجاجة يصعد اليها منه وإلاباب الين مسند كانت الراية قبل استولت على هذه المنظرة وغيرها فسقطت ولم يبق لها اثر وبات في الدير لبنتين متفرقة وصار في كل يوم يتردد للصين ويضيفه الرهبان فجعل لهم في كل ركبة يطرح الدير فيها الغ درهم فحصل لهم من ذلك خمسة وعشرون ألف درهم ورقا صاحبا وكان الصور القديم قد تهدم فوجد الحصن القائم الآن من هذا المال وكان عدة الجبال الذين يحملون له الفجر والطوب في كل يوم اربعين جمل ويجاور الدير من داخل الحصن في زاويته الشرقية القبلية بئر ماء معين مسقوفة. قص ثم ان الرهبان لما رأوا من الامام الامر مثل هذه الانعما وصار لهم ادلاع عليه سالوه ان يطلق للدير طيب يزرعوه في كل سنة فاجاب سوالمهم ودعم على الدير من اراضي داحية طهرمس من المجيرى تملكها ثابتا منه بمخط يده قطعة أرض قبالة بغير مساحة ما يقارب ثلاثون فدان استمرت بايديهم الى ان ملكوا
تادرس جزء عمارةها الشيخ أبو اليمن البراز واهتم بها وسيم بيعة السيدة جزء عمارةها القسم جرجة الصعبية كاتب الابناء صندل المظلوفة وذكر أنه كان بوسيم ثلاثينات وستين بيعة يقرس فيها كل يوم ولها كهنة قصوس وشامسة ويتجتمع إليها شعب المحرقة تتنزّل بنمرس بيعة عظيمة ودير كبير وبيعة جماعة كبيرة من الرهبان، قص قضية دير نهبا على ما أطلعت عليه من مسيب الشماس ابن نجاح المترهي وهو من أهل دهيا عند حضورى الهي في شوال سنة تسع وستين وخمسين في عين الخمسين المقدسة للقريان فيد ذكر أنه وقف في تاريخ على أن هذا الدير المقدس اهتم بعمارته انسان ناجر ورد من الغرب إلى ديار مصر ولحا حضر إلى مصر من فجر الإسكندرية قبل مملكة دقلادانوس الكافر الذي سفك دما الشهرة وأمر الناس أن يعبدوا الإوثان وياحبوا لها الزباح ويقرنوها ويبخروا لها حضر هذا الناجر من الغرب قبل ذلك بارعين سنة وحل المطر لدين الله من المغرب وملك مصر ديل تلت هذا الدير وأقام سبعة شهور وأنشأ قباليته بستان ونُر ساقية تحت الكوم غربي الجميرة وحوض سبيل وهو الابن مردوأ وحوض سبيل قد دثر ثم دخل إلى مصر والبستان خراب اليوم هذا ولم يبق فيه غير اصول جميل وسدر وأحرف المحاكم هذا الدير المذكور إلى أن وصل بالامض ثم جزء عمارةه انسان ارخى من أهل وسيم من الجنابة وأطلق المحاكم للرهبان رزقة هناك وقيت بقيت في اليوم وعملت عند هذا الدير بعد تجدبره صوان وكان الأمر باحكم قد حضر إلى هذا الدير في وزارة محصن ابن فانك ووجه بابه قصير وعليه باب حديد فلم يزى أن يدخل الباب منكسر اللسان بل جعل وجهه إلى خارج وجعل ظهره إلى
تاريخ الشيخ إد صلاح

طلوع نجم السماء، وقطع الياس، مس وفا دليل، فصل ثم قال
دارون إلى مصر كيف تقبل الله سؤال النصارى، والحيرة أيضاً
بيعة على اسم الملك مياخيل تتنورة الخيزرانية إلى سبعة عشر
زراعاً واكثر من ذلك وتمت سيرة اثنا خانيل ان دهايته كانت
سماحية عشر زراعاً فصل واليها صارتبا خانيل البطرك وهو في
العدد السادس والأربعين ومن معه من الأساقفة عند خلاصهم
من بين موان الجدعى آخر خلفها، بني اسمية ثم عدى عليها
البحر ولم يبق لها اثر، دير على اسم الشهيد الجليل مرقويوس
وبعته هديها الخراسانيين عند تعبيرهم إلى البر الغربي لقتال
مرون البلقب بحصار الحروب، بيعة للبشير مرقس الرسول بالقصر
الذي بناء خوش ملك الفرس، وقصر القبّع ببصر وكان ينزل إلى
كل منهما من المركب، بيعة الملك مياخيل، وتعرف بالدير الأحمر
على شاطئ بحير النيل المبارك، بيعة باسم قرصان ودميان، بقبة
حجر شاهقة بالدير المذكور الخيزرانية، بيعة القديس ببين فيها
تخيل مشرفة ودوعة إنشاب، منبة إكردنة بها بيعة القديس
ابو بديع، بيعة باسم ابو بسام ابو بعاص الشهيد وجسره فيها ودورة
بسبوط ودان الكروم، بيعة واحدة بنبرس، وقصر خاقيان، بيعة
على اسم القديس الشهيد ماري جرجس جدد عمارتهما علم الصرف
ابو المكارم الوزان بالشغاف، وبها مقطع خشب ضرب خيط، يقول
بها بيعة ماري جرجس، وبها سدرة عنترة، بيعة الشهيد الشجاع
نادرس مخالب، بيعة من الامير بيعة، تما بيعة الشهيد

مسي1
المومنين الذين شاهدوا وغيرهم من السكان، وهذه البيعة عمل البحر في اصولها وكادت تذهب فاتهم بها وتقوية اصولها وانشا لها زرقاءً في البحر مانحة الثبات الشيخ عز الكفاة ابن الغدير ابن سليمان الكاتب، واصف على ذلك جملة كبيرة من ماله، وللمؤرخين والمصادر والصروح ما هو مشهور عنه في جيله و كانوا الجزائر فهموا بعضها فاظهر الله سبحانه ذلك آية عظيمة فلم يعودوا يعرضوا وهو أن الذين أعترضوا لم يبق منهم أحد في دولة السنة ويجاور هذه الكنيسة بستان ويعود مهملاً على البحر وغلروا المهندسين من الحجارة، فاذاخ البحر منها جاذباً من الشرق واخذ فاخر الدين، والى مصر المعروف بجمال البادية، ثماني عشر عاماً علىها، وعليها رسم الصبان، اعطر بها فنقد له إملاك وعزل من ولاية مصر وصار من بعضه ذلك وافخ جميع ملكه في المصادر ومطالبة في الاعتقال، وامام فاخر الكفاة كان دار سكنه على البحر فخشى ان يهدمه البحر مثل غيرها فهدمها وحمل جميع دفعها وانشالها وأخذ جملة البيعة المذكورة واضحاً، وجدد بها بيعة كانت قد وخت على اسم مرضق الأنساب، ووسع فيها كثيراً وعمرها عماراً حسنة وإقامت سنين في ترتيب حسن ووعيد عليها الغز وعوام المسلمين وشعثوها، ولم يعود أحد يهتم بها وهي الآن قامة الجددان خراب معطتاً من الودا والصلوات وزلزلة في تقدمه انتبه فيها ابن ابن أبو غلاب وهو الرابع والسبعين في العهد، فصل بيعة مارى بطرس بالجزيرة على شاطئ البحر واساسها في البحر واليه اجتمعوا النصارى في وقت كان النيل قد نافى فعلوا من أجل ذلك صلاوات ليالي ونهارية وصوم مدة اسبوع كامل وذكر ذلك الأسبوع اوفاً ما النيل وزاد عن الوفا بعد
Fol. 59 b

Fol. 60 a

K 2
ذكر أن بحر القلم وهو البحر الحمر قبالة دير اسطابيوس الذي
كرب الله فيه فرعون وجندهو وأجاز موسى النبي وبنى إسرائيل في
البيس منه في اثنا عشر سنة ونما ما هو بات إلى الآن لما يغيره
هؤلاء على ما كان في المدينة بعكة وكانوا أهل المدينة من الملك
ال محلية في جهاد أسماع فكتب عمر ابن الخطاب إلى
عمر ابن العاص في عهد ميمور بن أبي العاص الذي وفد في السنة الثالثة
من خلافة عرب ابن الخطاب قبل اللي بن يازع بن أبي العاص قوانين من
الأعمال موقعاً تحت أولها المدينة وأخرى مصر وكتب عمر ابن
الخطاب إلى عمر ياءه أن يصح خليجها حتى نزل إلى البحر
فيسهل حمولة القمح فصهر عمر الخلنج الذي في القنطرة المعروف
بمهم الموتى فكانت المراكب تحمل القمح الخاص والشعير من الغطاء
في الخليج إلى البحر ويحمل في البحر المال إلى المدينة وهي
مدينة إفرام من كرم البحر بناءه بنو إسرائيل لفرعون في تلك
الركاب. ف نظر أن خليج القاهرة أولى السد قريبًا من الروضة
بمص وبدتها السدير من الشرقية وهكذا قطرة ينقل القمح من البر
إلى الجبال الذي يسرب إلى مكة وارض الساحز الجاذب الغربي
الجديرية بحم الخير بناءه عمر ابن العاص سنة اثنتين وعشرين
للهجرة وجمال له ددان وهي قريبة من العرب وهم سكنها عند فتح
الإسكندرين. ف صهر الجاذب الغربي من الجديرية مقابر الملكة الفراغنة
وفرها نخازهم مطوحات الإطراء وبهذة الناحية بيعة الشهيد
بقرة ابن إ stringstream error
فول. 58

ك"ا

[II. 7]
ذكر وذكر إنه كان من فرقة إلى جزيرة قبرس في البر وغلب عليهم البحر وغلب البحر أيضًا على مقطع الرخام الغزاري الإبلق ومقطع الرخام الإبلق فهو بلوبية وكان بها عدة كنانس وأدمة.

افترضها الفرس والعرب وذكر أن حصن المدينة دافى إلى الأمام فصل شهد كتاب فضل الله مصري كان بمدينة تنسس عامًا يعرف بابين ليبر وجد إلى الفرجا من يهدم حمارة أبوب شرقى الفرجا فلما وصل إليها المنتمين إلى مقطع الحجر خرج أهله لها لهم بالسلاح فهنودهم من مقطع الحجر وقالوا أن هذه الإبوب من حمارة قديمة لم يتعرض له أحد من الملك ولا من الناس جميعًا فكيف تمكن من قلعه ودقله إلى ارض أخرى وهذه الإبوب أيضًا دخل منها يعقوب أبو الإسباط ابن أسحق ابن إبراهيم الخليل عليهم السلام ولعل قائمًا يقوم الملوك المومنين بالله يجد لهم العمرة فيكون حمارة سالمًا فيوجد فمضوا ولم يقلعوا حمارة واحدة فصل وكان أوطيس ابن خرثا الذي أبوه لسارة إبراهيم الخليل الإمة جاريتها هاجر في السنة الخامسة والثلاثين من عمر إبراهيم وفي ديسمبر الخامسة وثمانين وهو الصحيح وولى من منها اسماعيل فسمى ولده من هاجر وسموه العرب نسبه لذلك تزوج منهم وسموا اسماعيلين لاجعل أن ابنهم اسماعيل ولان اسماعيل نشأ بين العرب ونكلم بلسان العربي وعاش اسماعيل مائة وتسعون وثلاثين سنة وولد له من النساء العربيات اثنان عشر عظيماً من الجبابرة العرب وهم اقتنان وقبش من أولاد اسماعيل وكان سكنه انتى أوطيس بالفرج وأقبول أن اسمه صادوق وهنا مدين عدة

1 Add من
اسم السيدة العذري مرتضية الطاهرة، وليست على اسم الشهيد
ايجنس، ناحية اطقم، أيضًا في المدينة وخارجها كان بها أكثر
من عشرين بيعة ولم يبق منها إلى وقتنا نحن غير عشرة بيع
منها البيعة بالوجه على اسم التلاميذ بخمس دائر
عليها وبينها وساحقة بئر معين حواء وفيها كنيسة أبو مرارة
وكنيسة للسيدة للرهبان، وكنيسة على اسم الشهيد الشجاع
تذويس وكنيسة على اسم أبو قرسان وليست على اسم السيدة
العذري الطاهرة، وليست على اسم القديس ابجاول، وليست
للشهيد أبو مينا المعروفة بكنيسة العامود وعليها قودة وتحمل
اليد ذؤور كثيرة وللملكية بها هيكل يقدسون عليه وليست أخرى
على اسم الشهيد أبو مينا مجاور الرياء، دير آخر في الريف
يعرف بدير البغل وفيه عدة رهبان وداخل الريف دير القديس
ابناء بولا، وهو على شاطئ البحر المالح بينه وبين دير الجميرة
إلى أن يصل إليه في الريف يومين ويعمر إليه من هذا الدير إلقاء
دير القديس العظيم ابجاول، قوسن رهبان وشماسية يقدسون
فيه بالوحدة وهو بوايتة العربية وبيعة مريم وهو قريبًا من طور
سيينا بينهم تعبد في المالم换句话说، جمهور العريق بهذا، الجميرة
كنستين كبار من قريم الرومان وهم خراب وجرادهما باقية
إلى وقتنا نحن وصور البلد الذي من جانب المالح باقي إلى
اليان، ففصل ذكر أن جميع الرخام والعمد التي ببصر معظمها
والأكبر منها من العريق، مدينة الفروص، هنا هذه المدينة فرعون
واسمها بحرمونوس على نهر النيل وهي الفروص في سنة ثمان
عشرين من مولد موسى النبي، وهي أكبر عجائب وأقدم أثار
تاريخ سعيد ابن بطنين وهو الذي صار بطريرك الملكية وفي مملكة ارشي في سنة خمسين وثمانين للإسكندر وفي سنة أخرى سنة خمسين وأربعة خمسين للإسكندر. فصل وشهد تاريخ محروم ابن قسطنطين المنحي بفشل ذلك ومعه أيضًا بفرقع الراهب وهما أول من لبس الصوف وسكن البراري وذلك في بطرسية ديوانيوس وهو الرابع عشر في العهد وكان في وقته إنتسياوس الكاتب بطريرك الإسكندرية وادبا بخوض الراهب المصري ويسايليوس استسف قيسارية وداخل هذه الناحية سبع بيب للقبط منهم ستة ولا واحدة على اسم الشهيد ماري جرجس وصل الدير المعروف بدير الحبيرة على شاطئ بحر النيل المبارك. ويجاوره جوسف وبستان وظاهر ومعصرة وهو قريبة من دهروط وقينا نحن ثلاثين راحبًا فصل وكان بالدير المعروف بادبا إدومة وهو إنتسياوس راهب يسيى بلوطس وكان عالمًا ومعلمًا خبير بأوضاع الدين المسحزي وسيرة الراهنة ماهر في حقوق ما يلزم من القوانين الشرعية وإصلاحه الشيطان في شرك من شركه واعتقد اعتقاد مخالف لما وضعه الإبا الثلاثمائة والثمانية عشر وأقسم عقول جماعة كبيرة ممن ليس له معرفة ولا دراية بالأديان الأرثوذكسية ويشاع من قوله النجس ومنطقه الخبيث أن المسيح رينا له الملك كأنه الديبيو وصار مسي ببالإشرار من أهل الملة وهو لايس شكل الرهبنة متنطة بالزوجه والإسكندر وإذا سئل عن مذهبه واعتقاده فيقول إنه موح وظهرت مغالته في سنين أخرى سنة تسع وثلاثين وثمانية للشجرة الإبراهيم ودوات وانتقل ذكره إلى الإبرهابحية البردية بيعة للسيدة الديكرين من مطران الظاهرة وعد أخرى على اسم القديس أبو الامام أداوية صول بيعة على
البحر Dillon ثلاثة أيام في البرية التي هي بركة الغирование وجميلة الطاهرية مرفوعًا في مغارة التي كان يصلها فيها وهو مسدد عليه وبيعته على اسمه على علو الجبل المقدس والبحر وبقواف الامراء عنة وعلى حصين دائري وفية جماعة كبيرة من الرهبان وداخل الحصن منه بستان كبير وفيه يخبئ مشمرة وإشجار تغلب كبيئين وقبان وغير ذلك ورضي مرفوع بقولات وثلاث عيون مياه تجري دائرة يسب من هناك البستان ومنها يشرب الرهبان ومن جملة البستان قدان وسدر كرم عنب مما يحتاج إليه وقيل ان عدة مخيلة الف راس دخل وله يوسف كبير محكم البنا وقلالي الرهبان مطلة على البستان ولها باطقين أيضًا املاك وبساتين ولم يكن مثلما في سائر الديارات التي يسكنها رهبان المصريين وهو بين اليعابدة من الرهبان فصل وكان ظهور أدناى انودة المصري وسمى أيضًا انطانيوس دجسم البريدة واب الرهبان وهو أول راهب سكن البريدة وأجتمعت عليه الرهبان بقرية مصر وأبدت عمارة الديارات واجتماع الرهبان إليها وبنى هذا الدير المقدس في مملكة يوليانوس الملك الكافر وهو ابن أخت قسطنطين الملك المومن ومملكة سابور ابن ارشير ابن دابه من تسل ساسان فصل وهذا المقدس العظيم انطانيوس أول راهب ليس الصوف وظهر شكل الرهبنة وخرج عن العالم وسكن البراز وظهر له ملاك الرب وارواه كيف يلبس شكل الرهبنة وعرفه الملوك كيف ينفي له ان يفعل في سكنه البرية ليكون مثالاً لغيره من الرهبان الذين يقتدون به ويسيرون مثل سيرته الظاهرة فصل وهذا الملك المذكور اولًا أعلن يوليانوس قتلة الشهيد مرقوبوس مما ذكره باسيلوس اسفاف فضارية وشاهد شهد الدم في سن رحمة مما شهد به
النساك يعذب في هذا الدرب في سبع عشر من طوبة في كل
سنة القديسين العظيمين في الروضة مكسيميوس ودوماديوس
اخبة ولي الملك اولنتيوس اصحاب دير ستنا السيدية المسمى
ببرموس ببرية أبو مقار ووادي هبة وكان عادة الزوار من
النصاري ان ينجحوا لهولا القديسين للزيارة ثلاثة دفع في
السنة من ذلك عيد الصليب في سبع عشر شهر توت وعيد
الغطاس فيحادي عشر من طوبة وثاني عين الفصين وكان
الشعب فيهما فرح ومسرة وأعمال روحاني ومن جملة ما لهذه
البيعة وهذا الدرب بالناحية المعروفة بدهشور من أعمال الجيزة
ما إجراه على هذه البيعة وهذا الدرب شى يجعل البهمن من
العين والغة مما يتحقق لهما من الإوقاف والندور وغيزي ذلك
فغير ذلك الحال وهب للذهاب الناس أهل الخير وزارت
هذه الكنيسة مسجدًا ونعت بمسجى موسى والدير على علمه
البكر جامعًا بيعة على اسم السيدة مرثريم العزى الطاهرة
جتمت في بطركية ابنا أسقف وهو الحضانى والأربعين في
العبر على يد أغريغريوس استخف القيس وهذا دقل طوبها
وجشخبها في تغلب الأمير حسين ابن المناظر وخلافة البيضاء
والجبشية العبيد وقتل من الغربيين عدد كثيرة ووجد به عمارة
المسجد المعروف بالدرب بابطفي في سنة ثمانية وعشرين وخمسائة
هلالية قضى ذلك بخراب هذه البيعة وبلغت لإرضاء أطيافه
سُميت باسم ولد من أولاد ماليق ابن تدريس من أولاد مصرهم
لإن أكثر البلاد الكبار سميت باسماً أولادهم وسار هذا نسمى المغرب
إلى أن بلغ الظلمات وعاين عجبات كبيرة دير المعروف بابدا
اندودة وهو شرقى أطفيح من قبلى مصر ومن هذا الدرب إلى

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العزل هدم الجامع العتيق ببصر المعرفة ونشأ عمر ابن العاص
وإلى مصر ومكّة وجزر في إنشاءه ونشأ بعض آباء بدر في المرج危险
اليها أثناء مخوض داخل الجبل المسمى الجبل المظلم على
قناطر بناها إلى البركة وعمل عليها عرش من زجاج ونها بها
مساجد كثيرة وانفق في حلوان مال كثير وتمضنت نسخة
التاريخ ان التي اتفقت الفلفل دينار ولفين تخيل وتشجع
وكان يستخرج الخراج دفعات في كل جمعة يخشى من فتنة
نقوم وتنزل به فيستياج فيها إلى المال ونها القناطر على خليج
أهمية الموظفين وراهنان ان ينقل الساحل والبحر والأسواق والتجار
اليها ويعطى الغضب ونها بيت المال بحولان أصل دبر على
اسم السيدة مارثريمة العذراء الطاهرة اهتم بعمرته الاسقفة في
بطرسية ادا أستف الراهب وهو المракти والاربعون في العدد
وادبا سباعون السرياني بعده وهو الثاني والاربعون في العدد
في ولاية عبد العزيز ابن مروان على يد اغريغوريوس أسقف
القيس وعرف بدبر ابو قرقر مشتاق من اسم اغريغوريوس
دير ذات جدود مثل ذلك ورسم عبد العزيز ابن مروان ان ينشا
ليوداوس البطريق والإسقافة بععة فانشوا هذه البيعة التصاري فرشي
عبد العزيز ابن مروان على اسم الشهيد الحكيم مارس جرجس
وكان هذا البيعة لطيفة وعرف بكنيسة الفراضين وكانوا هولا
التصاري الفراضين ملكة بيعة موسى كليم الله وهي من البيع
العظيمة المنسقة في العمرة على شاطئ نهر النيل المبارك قربة
من حلوان ومنية السوران وفرعون موسى هو الوليد ابن صعب
فصل الدبر المجاور لها وهو من الاعمار الكبار محكم في البنا
والهندسة في وضع العمرة وقية جماعة كبيرة من الرهبان والشيخوخ
نص تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلاح

وصار معد جماعة من التابعين له مقيمين معه وقام به مرة عشرين سنة ومات في يوم الاثنين أول جمعة البيضا من المجامع الثانية في الثالث والعشرين من أشهر سنة تسعمائة واربعة وعشرين للشهيد الإبرار وهو الآن بين تابيعه وهم جماعة كبيرة ولكن أحوالهم غير مستقيمة وذكر أن كان فيه متفرقة وفي الغائر المنقوحة التي بالجبل ما ينافر سنة الألف رابع فصل وكان كلاً كلاً ابن حربا ابن ماليق من أولاد بيصر ابن حام ابن دوج ذو حكمة بالغة وقال أن ميلمده هرمس وهو أول من عمل الكبيرة وجعل الريحان زهباً وعقد الزبيبة حياً زهبياً أبيض وسهك من الرمل زجاجاً وكان مطين الزجاج في موضع يقال له التنور في علو الجبل الشرقي ظاهر معمر بعده السيدة مرتضيمن العذرية الطاهرة بالقنطرة المعروفة بكنيسة الروم وعرفت بالفرعشين النصارى جرى عمارةها فراشين المامون ابن الله ابن الرشيد هارون قريبًا من قبة الهواء الذي انشهها على جبل المقطم وكأنها النصارى يلبسون السوان ويركبون النخيول إلى خلافة المثول جعفر فابطل ذلكه حلوان وفكان عبد العزيز ابن مروان ابن الحكم ويكني ابن الراصع سكنها وحلوان اسم ولده الأكبر وله هذه الناحية ذره الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله عن الحصار الذي كان رابع وتقدم إلى الركابي الذي كان يصحبه حيث يذهب ب спин يعرف الحصار وذهب هو ووجه إلى داخل البردية ولم يرجع يعود ولا عرف إلى ابن توجه إلى يومنا هذا وكان ذلك في شوال سنة احد عشر واربعمائة وأعمر به هذا عبد العزيز عماث حسنة ومقياس لما نيله وانه اعتبارك الداء المعروف بداء الأنس وهو الطحاس وانه استعمل ادوية كثيرة ولم ينفع فيه الدوا واختار الاطبا في مواقف وهذا عبد
تاريخ السيد إبراهيم صلاح

 كبيرة واسعة شاهقة وفيها صور الأربعين شهداء من سبسطية وتحتها قبر أبي الفضائل هذا بيعة الشهيدة بربراء طيجة مارى توما بيعة قرمان ودمة مان واخوهاها وابنهم الذين استشهدوا جميعهم على اسم السيد وفوق سفهاء بيعة مارى يوحنا المعمدان السابق في مغارة سقفا حجر محوم على عامون كدار خافي وفي وسطها وفي السقف صور كنائسية قد مكسي أكثرها وقريب منها قبر يوحنا الراهن الذي هندس صور القاهرة وأبوهاها في الخلافة المستنصرية ووزارة أمير الجيوش بدر وعلى هذا القبر لوح يخم في الحائط وبيعة القدس ماري كريستس المقدم نزرا في جملة هذه الكنيسات العلية خارجة على قرية الجبل اشتهى السيد إبراهيم أبو الحكم أخو أبو الخصين صهر السيد إبراهيم أبو الكرات

 ابن إبراهيم في الجبل المذكور عدة مغائر تغر في الجبل سقفا منها أحدهم مغارة السيد ساسايوس الذي بني على اسمه والحجر الذي كان يتوسطه بها وداخل هذا الدير صهريج يصل الماء إلى الجبل في وقت المطر وكان به بئر ماء معين تغر في الجبل منه يشربوا الراهن ومن يطرقة ويحيطون تغر في الجبل وكنيسة كذلك وتجاور كنيسة مارة سابا الذي اشتهى السيد إبراهيم في البركات منظرة عملت للإمران يحضر إليها في زمان صبي الوجوه وكان لاصحابها فيها منظرة خمزوية ابن أحمد ابن طولون في حلو الدين من المجانين الشرقي وقى تشعثت فيه الباران في وقتنا خمسة رهبان ضعفاء الإحوال إلى آخر برهمات سنة أخرى وتبسيم وثنيمائة للشهدا الإبرار بعد ذلك فيه فخور ابن الغنبر المظلل الجبهال باعتقاده المخالف للحلف

المصل

[II. 7]
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سنة إحدى وتسعة وثمانية للشهداء الإبرار عشرة بيع وهي في العلو، بيعت القدس اسديوس معلم أولاد الملوك وجسدته من فرداً تحت مذبحها وهو مذبح واحد وعلبة قبة وفي وسطها قبو طولاني، بيعت على اسم سنتا السيدة مرثريم الطاهرة العزى، القديسة وفيها مذبح واحد مثل ذلك، بيعت الإسطبليين التلاميذ، وكان فيها صورة السيدة حاملة للسنين والملائكة عن يمينها ويسارها وصور التلاميذ الاثنا عشر تلمين جميعهم فصول وميمناء محكمين الصنعة كما في بيت لحم وفيهم فصول زجاج مذهبة وملونة وكان خمارية ابن أحمد ابن طولون يقف عند هذه الصور وينبض في حسن صنعتهم ويتعمج كثيراً من ذلك وبالخاصة صورة السيدة العزى حتى أنه اشاع في هذا الدير منظرة لنفسه يتنزه فيها وكانت هذه البيعة كبيرة جداً فهدتها الحاكم في سنة أربعمائة للهجرة ثم جرى منها بعد ذلك بيعة على اسم بطرس وبولس وفيها مذبح واحد وعلبة قبة وفي وسطها قبو، بيعة أسطفانوس رئيس الشامسية وأول الشهداء على اسم المسيح من بني إسرائيل، بيعة على اسم القديس ماري جرجس، بيعة القديس ماري سانا الإسكندري اهتم بتجديدها الشيخ أبي البركات يوحنا الكاتب ابن أبو الليث في خلافة الإمبراطور ووزارة الأفضل شاهنشاه وتولى المصرف عليها أبي الفضل إخية وكان أبو البركات هذا متولى ديوان التحقيق في الخلافة الأفضلية، وبعد هذا إلى أن قتل في سنة ثمان وعشرين وخمسين وفيها مذبح واحد وعليها قبة لطيفة فوق المذبح ووسطها قبة واحدة.

1 Read الوزارة.
من حبيس وهو مطل على القرية المعروفة بـشهران وعلى الصحراء، وهي قرية كبيرة عامرة على شاطئ البحر على ما شهد به كتاب الديار للشامشتي ودير شهران والقصير هذا أحد الديار المقصودة للتعمد والتزكية، وإصوات البطريق انذا في هذا الدير بيعة الإبل وانشأ قليلاً للأساقفة وهو بدي النخيلين وفيه جماعة من رهبانهم وتعبد له كل سنة عبد القديس إسحائيوس في ثلاث عشر بشنس وإصوات هذا كان تاجراً في الكتان فوجز في الدير وترهين في هذا الدير ودا فيها ما تميز ذكره وصبر بعد ذلك بطريركاً للنخيلين وقام مرة بطركيته أربعة وستين سنة في هذا الدير فغدا كنائس وعليهم حصن دائر وفيه منظرة وفيه مواقف ودعته مغافر كثيرة تفر في الجبل وكان هذا الدير هدم منه كنيسة الإبل في الخلافة الحاكمة في شعبان سنة إربعين وحضر إليه جماعة من العوام، واخذوا توابيت الموتى، واخشان من نفحة تما من لهم بتجربة ما تشتئ منه وربى له الباحال أخدة الدورة بهرايم سنة عشر فئانًا رقية، وكان فيه بلغ لحمل للدير الماء من البحر والصعود به إلى الدير وكان ينزل معه أحد الرهبان يحمل عليه اللقمة وبغي الراقب مقيم عن البحر وبلغ متعد في الرواح إلى الدير والتحي بمجرد إلى حين يكيل حاجته منه وعلى هذا الدير حضر دائر وكان في بعض النوب الحادثة كان سعيد عوام المسلمين أيته وتنمو على الرهبان حيلة ففتتحوا لهم الباب فدخلوا الدير وهتفوا وقثلوا من الرهبان جماعة والدير المعروف بالقصير الحلقاني داخل البيرة غامرًا غير اهل وهو من الدير المقدم ذكره مسافة نصف دهاره، عدة البيع الذي في دير القصير على ما شهد في برهات

Fol. 50a
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صالح

بعمارة أهل ابن مشكور وفي تكريمه أبو المنصور متولي عمارة صور القاهرة ومصر وفي الدير المذكور جوهر وطاحون وبستان كان للأسيس ولا خلاف منهم صار للبيعوبة بعد سنة ستمائة هجرية ومات القس أبو ياسر وصار الديار المذكورين تلاميذهم وبيته القبط مستمرًا فيه إلى وقتنا نحن الآن، الجبل الشرقي المعروف بالقمط اسم ابن مصر ابن هام ابن دوح والقمط الأول من تعبت فيه المقطم المذكور وافقط في إعبادة الله وعرف الجبل بعده بالقمط وهو متضوي طرا عند مقطع الحجاجة وهو متصل بالطول إلى طرا وهو مقدس فصل والجبال الغربي متصل بجبال الغرب والساحل الغربية كلهها إلى أرض ابن غواطة وشاطئ البحر الظلم والنهر بين هذين الجبلين الديار المعروف بالقصير على قرية الجبل الشرقي وهذا الدير يشرف منه على بحر النيل المبارى وطرأ انشاء أغادردوس الكبير ابن تدوس الكبير ملك الروم على قبر معلمة القديس أغادردوس وسما باسمه وكان أغادردوس هذا قد هرب منه وتعبد في بورجة القديس أبو مقار وآلا هببه ثم انتقل إلى هذا الجبل وتعبد فيه وعرف هذا الدير بقصير ويعيد له عينه عظيم وينتجج إليه خلف كثير وتحت بيعته على الجبل بيعة أخرى تقري المجل باللازم فيها مذبح وهذا الدير في اعله الجبل على سطح في قرية الجبل وهو حسن الوضع في العمارة ودره المنظر ولم ير منقوص في الصحر يبقى لها منها وغيه صور جميلة صنعة محكمة مليحة في الغاية وفي أعلاه طاقة ابن الحبيش خمارية ابن أحمد ابن طولون ولها اربعة طاقات على اربع جهات وطريق اليه من مصر فيها صعود واما من قبلية فسهل الصعود اليه والنزول منه وإلى جانبه صومعة لا تخلو

Fol. 49 a

Fol. 49 b
الشهيد نادر ـ وإضافة ثقة على اسم القديس العليل ماري
جرجس التي هي بناحية طرا على ساحل البحر وكانت لطيفة
وهي للقبط اليعاقبة ولا وصل اغريفوريوس بطريرك اليعاقبة وكانوا
الآنس مع أمير الجيوش بدر في بطريرك انيبا كيرلس بطريرك
اليعاقبة وأقطع للإرس طرا فأخذوا هذه البيعة وهودها وجدوا
وعضها كنيسة كبيرة متصلة بعدة قباب وكرزت على اسم ماري
جرجس وعلوها جوست بابا من داخل البيعة وعليها حص دائر
وفيها بئر وساقية وعليها وجه دائرة وزرع عليها اسم داري
ودورتين فيها تحيل مضرة وشجع ولا جرى للإرس ما جرى
دفعة بعد أخرى رجعت الكنيسة للبعقوبة في بطريرك ادبا مرقس
المعروف قبل تقدمته بابه الفرج ابن زرعة الكاثب وهو في العهد
الثالث والسبعين وها القسم المذكور أخره في بيعة المرتوني المسمى
ابو ياسر المعروف بالدربودة وجدت عمارة ما احتيج اليه فيها
وعاد الشعب يمضون اليها في كل وقت وخاجها اساس حجر
ظاهر على وجه الأرض وذكر أنه كان عمل ليتبنا عليه منظرة فلم
يتهيأ ذلك وهو الآن ثلث قطة واحدة وحض هذا البطريرك إلى
هذ البيعة وكرزها بحضرة جمعة من الإساقفة والكهنة والشعب
المسيحي وفق نسخة أن دير القديس ماري جرجس صار بيد
القس أبو ياسر المذكور المعروف بابن القسطاني وكرز هذا الدير في
بوذة سنة تسع وخمسين وخمسين في بطريركية ادبا يوحنا
بزن من الارمع وجدت علوها ثقة للشهيد ابو مينا وبيعة على
اسم القديس العظيم يوحنا المعمدان واغريفوريوس وهذه البيعة
قبل الهيكل الكبير الوسطائي بدير الارمع بطرى وأكرز في الثلاثين
من بوردة سنة اثنين وتسعمائة للشهيدا الإبرار وهذه البيعة اهتم

Fol.48 a

Fol.48 b
تحت الجميرة العقبية بطرا قبلا صلى موسى النبي عليه السلام
وبحا أثر ابن العزيز ابن مروان وطرة مقطعة من ملكاً الغز الزركان
واتفيج اسم واحد من أولاد مصراءة. وشهران قرية كبيرة كانت
عارةً أيضاً على شاطئ البحر، وذكره أن موسى النبي عليه السلام
ولده فيها ومنها القمة امتد إلى البحر في التابوت الخشب
وشهران من المزارات الجليلة المقصودة لحسى وضعة وإشراقة على
مصر وبحر النيل هذا على ما شهد كتاب الديار للشامشتي
وقبالة هذا الدير أعنى دير شهراً في الجبل الشرقي مغارة
كبيرة على عبد كنار طفر في الجبل واسعة جداً ذكر أنها تعرف
بالمدينة لا يعرف أخرها. الدير المعروف به شهراً جردة بعين
الراهن الذي كان انتقل إلى دين المسلمين وعاد إلى مذهبة
في خلافة الإمام الحاكم وعاد صالح له، وهذا الراهن كان سيب
فتح الكنائس بعض غلقها وتغيير الغيار الذي كان الحاكم أمر به
واستمر تسعة سنين وفيها اعتقل اديا زخارف البطريرك وهو في
العدد الرابع والستين وطرح أيضا للسماح ولم تؤذى ومنع الله
السماح أن يردو منه لأجل قردسحة وقوة إمضاء بالله وكان السيب
في هذه العقودة راهباً من دير أبو مقار يسمى يونس، عند ما
النمس السفيرة من هذا البطريرك فنمعها عنها ميخائيل ابن أخى
هذا البطريرك بسبيل مال النمسة منه، وتنثت خبرة في سير البطاركة
وفي هذا الدير المذكور جوسف يتواصل إليه من هذا الدير وهذا
كان له لسان مساحة سنة أقدم وأقدم نخيل مثمرة وإراضي
زراعة وكان الإمام الحاكم ملازم البرية بهذا الدير والتنزه فيه
ومنه كان يخرج إلى الجبل ويسبع في البرية، الدير المعروف
بدير الغزاري على اسم القديس مارقوريوس وذكر أنه على اسم
بساتن وقد تقدم ذكره فملك هذا البستان الامير جبريل ابن الامام المحافظ وإنشا قبالته هذه البيعة مما يلي البحر في المكان المعروف بالخيمة القبلية لحفظ الكوس منزرة وحل بها الامام المحافظ والامام الظاهر ولد في حياة الامير جبريل هذا وحضر بعد وفاته الامام العاص罰 وكل منهم يراعى هذه البيعة ويرمي بما يحمل إليه من طعام الديار وهذه البيعة في وسط البساتين وينظر من علوها ببحر النيل المبارك والى بر طموية من الجديرة ومنبقة الشمس وغير ذلك في الدير الغربي وهي من اماكن العبادات الفرحية وهذه البيعة مقصودة جدا لأن لها شفاعات مقبوله وآيات ظاهرة لاصحاب الإيمان. فعلى ملك هذا البستان والعدوية وكنيسة السودان وساحل البحر بها الاجل سيف الإسلام طغيتكين اتخى الملك صلاح الدين يوسف ابن أبي بكر الكردى وعمرو هذه المنظرة وزار في علوها طارما وزرع انشاب كثير في البستان وانفق مالا كثيرا وطالع فتوحات الطيب الاصغر الذي يعمل منه الخضر وهو بعير في ملك الوزير ابن الفرج الغزيري الخط المعروف بطرى المسلك منه إلى طفيف على طريق دير هريان.
السماح بالذات للسماح باستغلال السماح

لها لاهبها لحنها لعينها لأخففها من السماح

لكنها لن تكون لحنها لنعيها لندركها

لها لئامها لعشقها لعينها لآخذها للاستغلال

لكنها لن تكون لحنة لنعيها لندركها

لها لئامها لعشقها لعينها للاستغلال
فول. 44b

وادى خطاب البهجة على اسم السيدة فاما أنها عرفت بالمرتبة وهي لفظة بالرومي متبرزة أعني أم الله الكلمة ولهما تقديم بها العهد وقد وقعت فاهم بتجريده عمارتها، الشيخ أبو الليس وزيد كان من أهل سن ficco متولى ديوان اسفل الارض وابو المنصور ولده في الخلافة الأموية ووزارة الأفضل شاهنشاه وعمرو عليهم منظرة حسنة وسميت هذه الوزارة السلوطية وكنية يجمع إليها الكهنة ويفرّق معهم وزكلك في أبيب سنة ثمان وسبعين واربعمئة الهلالية في بطريقه كيرلس وعسفية داود الله وهم بعمل آثمة مصافة لهذه البهجة كاملة برسم القران والبخور وما تحتاجه البهجة وعمرو علها عدة حقوق ومراقبة وكان يرسمها ستان لطيف يتولى البه من داخل البهجة والباب شاهدا بهم فوضعت عليه البه السلطانية وخرج عنها قصد وكان قد ينصر بهدئا يسمى أبو الفضل ابن ازهر الصادع ورغب في المذهب المسبح وتعبد في هذه البهجة وعمدها أبدا بيوتين اسقف طهرون من الجوربة والفسح

فول. 45a

ابو ياسر ابن أبو سعد ابن القسطل في الخلافة الفاطمية ووزارة طلائع ابن زرنجة وطبيعه يوسس الثانى وسبيعين في المعين وزكية في رجب سنة أربع وخمسين وخمسة هجرية ودوز الله على ذلك اليهودى حتى قرى القبطى وفسرة عربيًا وكرز شماسًا ببيعة السيدة الطاهرة بعارة زويلة بمدينة القاهرة من ين ابدا غبرال اسنف مصر معا انفرده في قسمة لنفسه في خمس عشر ابيين سنة أخرى وتسبعينات كنائسية وتجارها كنيسة كانت قد وقع اهتم بمجاددها أبو الفضيل ابن الشبايرى وعاصم فيها جمعة من النصارى وزكل في سنة اثنين وتسعمئة للمشهد الإبرار وكمل عمارة البيعة المذكورة الشيخ أبو الفرح ابن زدبور كاتب

[II. 7]
وَسِئْتَنِي فِي الْعَدِيد مِفْوُونًا بِهَا وَتَبِرَّك النَّاس بِهِ لَادَيْه أَوْصَا عَنْ دِينِي بَان يَدْفِي بَينِ المُصْرِيِّينَ لِمَا شَاهِدُ هَوَ مِنْ جَوَالِدِهِ اِبْنَاهُم وَمَا قَاتِلُ فِي الْخَلَافَة الْعَلَاكِمْة وَهَا أَيضاً مُدَادَقِ إسْقَافَة مَصرٍّ وَبِالجَرْب مِنْ هَذَهِ الْبَلْدَان بِكَرْمَ مَا مَعِينُ احْدِهَا إِبْنُ اَبِي الْحَسَنِ سَعِيدٌ ابْنُ مَنْصُورُ الْكَانِثِ وَالآخَرُ دَخِلَ حَفَازُ الْقُبُورُ وَفِيهَا عَلَمَةٌ ظَاهِرَةٌ حَجَاز صُوَانٌ مَنْقَوْشةٌ صَلِيبٌ نَقْطٌ وَتَجَاوِرَا بِهَا الدِّرْجُ وَالجِمَيِّرُ عَلْیَةٌ وَالجَمِّرُ وَفِي عَاوُنُ هَذَهِ الْأَرْضِ مَقَابِرُ الْيَهُودِ والسَّامِرَةُ وَأَنَّ قَرِبَ مِنْ الْمَقَابِر الَّذِيَ لِلَّنَاصِرِ الَّذِي لَهُم عَلَمَةٌ الْصِّلِيبُ يَعْقِبْ لَهُمْ لَا يَعْقِبُ لِلَّنَاصِرِ الَّذِي اِبْعَادُهَا لِهِم اِدْبَا خَائِلُ البَطْرِيكُ الْيَهُودِ وَهُوَ السَّادَسُ وَالْخَمَسُوْنِ فِي البِطَارِكِ فِي وَقْتِ مَصَاوَرَةٍ اَبْنِ اَبِي طَلْوَانْ لَهُ وَابْعَ كِنَيَّةٌ لِلَّنَاصِرِ بِقَصْرِ الْجَمِّرُ وَإِمْلَأَ الْبَيْعُ الْبَيْسَدِ الْرَّحِبِ بِدِيْرِ اَبِي مَقَارٍ وَلَيْسَ لِغَرْفَةِ الْمَلِكَةِ مُقَبِرةٌ بَارْضُ الْحَبْشِ بَلْ مَقَبِرَتِهِمْ فِي كَنَائِسِهِمْ فِي الْجَبِّ الَّذِيْ فِيهِ دِيْرُ الْقَصْرِ وَكَذَا الْأَرْضُ الْمُسْتَوِرَ فِي كَنَائِسِهِمْ الْبَسْتَانُ الْمَعْرُوفُ بِالْعَدُوْيَةَ وَمَنْيَةِ الْسُوْدَانِ عَرَفْ تَبَارَأَ أَسْمَهَا عَدُوْيَةَ وَصِلَتْ مِنْ الْمَغْرِبِ فِي الْيَامِ الْمُرْبِعِ وَكَانَ لَهَا مَالٌ جَزِيلٌ وَدُرَّتْ بِهِ ذَٰلِكَ الْمَكَانِ وَعَرَفْ بِهَا بَيْعَةَ السَّيَدَةُ الْطَاهِرَةُ مَرْتِيْمُ الْمَعْرُوفَةُ بِالْمَرْتِيْمُ دَاخِلَةً فَيْقَةً كَانَتْ فِي الْقَدْمِ مَعِينٌ لِبَنِي اِسْرَائِيْلِ لَمْ كَانُوا فِي الْعَبْوِيْدَةِ بَارِضٌ مَصرُ وَلَا وَرْدُ الْمُسِيِّحُ فِي الْمَسْبِحِ الْمُسْتَيْنِ السَّبْعَةُ السَّيَدَةُ الْطَاهِرَةُ الْسَيَدَةُ مُسْبِحُ الْمَسْبِحِ الْمُسْبِحُ فِي هَذَا الْمَكَانِ الَّذِي فِيهِ صَوْرَةُ السَّيَدَةُ الْمَيْلَةُ المَدْجُوْدُ
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلح

عليه القس يوسف النسطوري وحكم اسمه لقومًا من المسلمين واباع علوا كنيسة مصر حتى والفرن وحضر أكثر الإلحادن المحببة على كنائس النسطور بجمال حساب للمسلمين إلى مهد مربية والنسطور لم يكن معه أحدًا منهم بل مقيمون بالشريف وارض فارس والفران والموصل والفرات والجزيرة ومنهم بمصر عدة يسيرة حقيقة فصل وهذا الدير صار إلى القبط بمصر في بطريركية أدا مركس ابن زعمة وهو الثالث وسبعين في العهد صية بطريركى والكنيسة فيه على اسم القديس فيلاداوس الانطاكي وعلماء مأجور وجميع ذلك حضر منحوت باطنة وظاهرة وكرز وقس فيه في أول جمعة من الصوم المبارك وهو السادس عشر اميز في يوم الثالثة سنة تسع وتسعين وثنيما ثلاثة للشهداء الإدرار المواقف للرافع والعشرين من شهر رمضان سنة ست وسبعين وخمسة هجرية بدكره انه لم يبق بمصر من النساطرة إلا رجل أو رجلي لا غير وكرز هذا الدب أدا بطرس الأسكن باقيه وبه ثلاث مزابين أحدهم على اسم فيلاداوس الانطاكي والثاني على اسم يوحنا الادجيلي الثالث على اسم توما التلميذ والذي اهتم بالشيخ أبي المصور ابن بولس وهو المهتم أيضًا بقداساته وما يرفع عليه من القراءين وغير ذلك ولم يزل يقوم بجميع ما يحتاج إليه إلى حين تنبيه المذكور بعده ولد مهتم به كاهن وله نبي الله نفسه وقام له كهنة قسس وشامسة وهو الآن مستقيم الحال والصغيرين يلمزوا به ويفتتحوا نباه ومدافن النصارى البعيدة القبط والاسوفة بمصر بارض الحبش وجسم أدا زخريوس الطرك وهو الرابع

1 الجزيرة
مصر وهذه القراءة تعرف ببنى حيوان بنى يوسف ابن وإيل نزلوها في فتوح العرب لسند ودانت تعرف بقراءة وتفسير هذه اللغة النسخ أي نسخ الكلام وكرادا الرهبان بها في صواعق ودبرات ولبع كثيرا العديدة هدمها المسلمین العرب الذين وصلوا مع عمر ابن العاص ابن عدد وكان فتوح مصر في المحرم سنة عشرين هجريا ومن الصواعق ما هو باق إلى الآن جعلهم المسلمين مواطن ثم امتدت الأيدي إلى أن عثروا من بعض جدرانها اساس هذا البستان وهي في المشاهدة عامة وانشا الأجل ناح الملوك بورى الكرد ادخ صلاح الدين يوسف عدة مناظر في هذا البستان وخارجة وزخرفها بالرخام والذهب وانفق في ذلك جملة كبيرة من المال وفي هذا الخط أيضا دير وهو المعروف بدير النسطور كان على اسم القديس مارى جرجس وهو بوسع دائر حجر منحوت وهو من العمارة الحسنة المحبوبة ومن المستنهرات المشهورة المصورة وكان الشيخ ادي الفصائل النسطوري المعروف بطببه الطائفة المعروفة بالعظمية في الخلافة الإمرة اهتم بعمرة ما تشتهر منه وجوده احس عمارة بالحجر المنحوت وكان فيه عدة كبيرة من رهبان النسطور فانتهى ذلك إلى الامير فرسُم عليه وصاره واخذ جمع ماله واستمر به الترسام إلى أن انشأ فيه مسجد وأرسل ربي في ذلك جميع ابنه أو الفضل جعفر ابن عبد المنعم المعروف ابنه ابن قيراط وتولى الديون الخاص الأمير وتلحد هذا الدير أراضي للزراعة ملكا للدير من خارج الحصن وهذه الأراضي محتكرة من ابن الشربات ابن كنافة البيقوفي الكابب وليس في الدير أحد وهو خال محمل من الدراسات والصلوات يأوى فيه أحد عمليين كتمام في بستان ملكا له هناك واستولى Fol. 43a
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صالح

الجوامع والمساجد مخالد الانصارى وكتب عليه اسمه. بيعة
القديس ماري جرجس للقبط كانت قريبة من دير ماري يوحنا
المعدان وكانت كبيرة جدا فعمر البطريرك عليها فلم يبق لها اثر
ارض الحبش وبئر الدراج وعليها أصل جميع كبير متصب الظل
مدور مثل الخيمة وبئر الغنم وثلاثة فدادين طين سوان ذكر أن
هاتين البئرين والفن يتجه الدولة الشامي ابن سبيل المعروف
بافد الذهب وذكر أن جميع ذلك كان للفوزير إبراهيم المغربي
في الخلافة المستنصرية ومقاطع الطين الأصغر بالعذب الذي
يعمل منه الخرف بيعة للشهيد أبو قير بارض حبش وبئر الدراج
وجد مكتوب في شار هذه البيعة بالقبطية تاريخ تصوير الصور
سنة تسع وخمسين وسبعينة للشهدة وفي بطركة ابنا شنودة وهو
الخامس والستين في العهد جعل في احترام مذهبين احدهما
باسم الشيخ إبراهيم أبو قيرمان واحترامها ووالدهما والأخير باسم
ياحبس الشيخ بشوارع مما اهتم به أبو البارز المذكور في سنة
اثنين وسبعين وخمسة هجرية وعلوها كنسبة على اسم جرجيوس
الشهبى اهتم بأمرها الشيخ البكر أبو البارز ابن كتامة الكاتب
في الخلافة الغازية وجدت المذكور مجاورها كنسبة على اسم
الشهيد أبو مينا سنة ثلاث وسبعين وخمسة وفتها وقرر ماء
معين ويجاورها بستان ملكى لها وهو خراب من الانيشات ولم
يضيق فيه سوى نخل قائم نبع مقترى داخل حمى البستان
المعروف بانها الوزير أبو الحبر المغربي في الخلافة المستنصرية على
اسم أبو بقطر أيضا وله ان عامرة مكملة القباب والحيطان ولها
مدة طويلة بغير قواس ولا تبادى حالها تقدم الوزير طالع ابن
رزيك باخن بعض عمرها لعمارة المساجد الذي كان انشاء بقراة
ابن الفرج هنالك وانتقل من المملكة النصرانية وأسلم واختتنى وعمره
يئاهز أربعين سنة ووضع يده على البسنان المذكور وملكه على
حكم الموروث وتنسل على الرهبانات واخرجهم منه وهم المنظرة
وجعلها مسجداً و وضع الجبر وعمل فيه هيئة للإمام المحافظ
وحضر عنده فازدات الدعبر ضعفًا وأمتعه الملكيين من زيارته ثم
توأتت الفتى وهم معظم الدعبر والكنيسة وصار أمره التلف وكان
للملكة استقى ببصير يسري يوسف فجده ورم فيه ما وصلت
قدره البال وهو بو في الارن لم تكمل عمارة كما كان لضعف
التخاذل وقتهم واحمال رئيسهم وتفقهلا عن النظر فيه وفي
غيره وعاده استقل مصر على هذه الطاعة بالحضور إلى هذا الدبر
في يوم الاثنين دائمًا أول الجمعة الثانية من الصوم الكبير وجماعة
 كبيرة من طائفة ومن القبط لسماع وصية الصوم وما يجيب أن
يروج فيه وهذا الدبر وأيضاً يرفع فيه في ثانى يوم عيد الغطاس
وشهد كتاب الديوان للشامشي أن هذا الدبر على شاطئ بركة
الحبش وهو قريب من البحر والكون جاذبي بسانيين شتى احدهم
إدراك الأمير تبقي آخر العصر بالله وفية مجلس على عمان وهو
حسن وضع محكم البناء والصناعة مصوو وبقية بشر وهي المعروفة
بئر نجاة وعليها جمرة كبيرة جداً ولها ظل نضين يجتمع
الله الناس للظلم والفرجة وينتظرهم عنها في أيام النيل وزيادتها
في البحر وامتلاء البركة وكذلك في أيام الزرع والنوار وقرباً من
المجمرة المذكورة القنطرة التي تتوصل منها إلى عدة طرق وبها
ينصب في البريم لصيد السمك في أيام النيل وهو منظر حسن
جداً فصل وكان المحاكم قد اخن من الدبر والبيعة جزم له من
ذلك وبناء مسجدًا بجانده وهو أول من ابتدا يعمل الموازنة في
فاعيل للدير فرَّ ي Guerrero إلى نعيم قصده لِم ينفع فيه الدوا فأخرج منه وسلم غيّر ذكر أن الذي ساعد على اخراجه منه أبو شاقر الكاتب الإسكتلندي الذي كان يغزر بسکن الموجب والزدرة فيه فخسَه الله شيطان الخروج من الملة النصرانية قالم وجعل في بيت العقين قبلا وعلى باب المدخل إلى الدير قبلا فاضر بالدير مضايعة ربية وأحات الزرف الذي كان منه باب المدخل إلى هذا الدير وأفضل الجوسف منه والبستان وصرف فيها دون النصارى وتخيل النصارى في فتح باب يجاور الباب الأول منه المدخل اليه ونلقي في الخلافة الحافظية واستولى على الموجب أيضًا والبستان لما هلك هذا الجاحز بالوفا بعد ما دلّه من الندم والتغريت في جوهر دينه ملك الأثرياء البستان والموجب وتروكوا فيها وهم مسلمين، وهذى البركة قريبًا من هذا الدير الدير المعروف بماريحا المعمدان المشهور بالزهرة والفرح وهو الأصمع بيد الملكيين واهتم بتاجدر عمله قديماً أبو الفضل ابن البغدادي، وأبو دصر ابن عبدون يعرف بابين العداس متولى ديوان الشام في الخلافة الحاكمة ورفع في أمور الدولة ونظر فيها وكان علامته الحمد الله على ما يستحق، وعلو هذا المكان المنظرة العظيمة المرة لاجتماع المترهبين وكان بها عدة من الرهبان الملكيين وكان تهتم بهم أبو الفضل ابن أبي الليث الكاتب، ويجاور هذا المكان بستادًا ملكًا له مشترى من الديوان السيد فيه من النخيل الفاخرة والرمان والمرسيين وأنواع كثير من الإشعاع، المنحلة الشمس ما لا يجمع مثله في غيره وانفق وفاء ابن الفضل ابنه وكان له ابن اختيمس به المكارم محبوب ابن أبي الفرح العبادي، وكانت اخت ابن البركات ابن أبو الليث زوجة  

G 2
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلح

يقول البلاغاء جددها المعلم زوبين القاسم بمصر في الخلافة الحافظية ثم وسعت بناءها فجدها الشيخ المكي أبو البركات المعروف بابن كنامة ثم وسعت بجدها اميت الدولة ابن المصوف وفاضل قبليها هيكل على اسم الملك عبد الجليل ميخائيل وكرهها ابن غريبال أسقف مصر في دولة صلاح الدين يوسف الكردي، وبيعة بميس المعترف ويجاوها هيكل على اسم السيدته بينها وبية بيعة دولة قلعة المقدم نكرها بيعة الملك عبد الجليل غريبال، وبيعة على اسم القديس يوحنا المعمدان علوا المغطس اهتم بتحديب عمارتها القس أبو الفتح الصعبي بالعلاقة وكان سقفها صواري كبار قدعم السودان في بعض النوب الحادية إلى نهية هذا الدير وفعلوا هذا السقف اقتضى ذلك بهدمها وهي خراب النوب ثم جدروا عمارة المكرين بعد ذلك وكرت في يوم الاثنين الثامن والعشرين من برهات سنة تسعمائة للشهداء الإبرار بين غريبال أسقف مصر وادنبا بطرس أسقف الفيوم ويجاورها الجموس المتواصل اليه من الكنيسة والبستان تحته وهو يشرف على بركة الحبش وبكر النيل وتبين دير ماري يوحنا وهو من المناظر المستخرجة العجيبة من دير بركة الحبش سبيلاً في أيام النيل والربيع وحرث الأرض وزراعته الصيافى وكان يحبه ابن العبيد الكاتب يتولى امر هذا الدير واتضح لدابا غريبال البطريرك المعروف بابو العلاء صاعد ابن تريك الكاتب السبعين في العهد من نهم طريقته وخبرته بمساعدة المسلمين في القرادات فادكر ذلك عليه مرة بعد أخرى وهو لا يرجع ولا ينتهى اقتضى الأمر اخراجه منه وتسلم الدبر إلى من يرجع إلى مادته فإنها من ذلك صعوبة شديدة ثم عاد إلى التوبة يجيب أن يترك عادته الردية

Fol. 39a

Fol. 39b
ميقاتيل في السابع من هتور وقدس بها سنة تسع وثمانية
للشهداء الابرار، وكنيسة تجاورها على اسم الشهيد البحاح أبا
خبر أبى غريبال البحنري، وذكر أن أبى نصر أخو أبو
العلا ابن تريك ادشها ولم يكملها، ونجد عمارتها الشيخ الصغي
بطرس ابن مهنا الكاتب، ثم اختار القسم أبى الخير المعروف بابن
الإمدى يصف بكنيسة أبا نور وبعض الساحة التي قدم
ميقاتيل وكانوا البطراركة يجلسوا بها في أكثر الأوقات على
ذروة شيوخ ينفرزها في أيام الصيف ووجدوها كنيسة بعد_des
اسم القديس أبى انطونيو وكرتها أبى يوحنا التاسع والسبعين في
عدد البابا البطاركة في أول بطريركية في السنه الثالثة للسنه
الثالثة للشهداء الابرار وكان كل منهم يهتم بعبدها في كل سنة وتنبيه
في سنة تسعمائة وثلاثة وعشرين للشهداء في يوم الخميس أول
بشنطس وفي تلك السنة بعينها تنبيه الله أخوه الكبير بهاء كنيسة
عبيلة متسعة رحبة تروحت جدرانها وتساقط بعض أصولها تعرف
قديما باجيا صفا وكانت رسومها عجيبية الوضع والبنا والمهندس
اهتم بترميمها الشيخ صفي الدولة أبى أبى ياسر ابن علون
الكاتب، كنيسة على اسم القديس أبى مقار بهذه البيدة وجمدت
ما تشكل منها من جهة الشمال أبى أسحق ابن عبد المضيء،
كنيسة الابرة الملائكة العيونات الاحلامين المرتبة العليا جدت
عمارتها الشيخ أبى مهنا الملك ابن المهيرد أبى يوحنا
الاسكندراني الكاتب، وانقى لها جملون خشب مقتن الصنعة في
شهرا سنة ثلاث وتسعمائة وثمانية للشهداء وكررت في يوم الأربعا
سالم هتور وهو عيد الابرة وجهة وقوع مغرب ومضيبي على اسم
السنين عند دخوله الى الهيكل وميضبي للشهداء الشجاع نادر

[II. 7.]

G
التاريخ الشيعي ابن صلح

الإساقفة الذين قسموا على الكراسي الخالية على حكم التبع منهم بحكم أن هذا البطريرك معن من أخذ الشرطوية اقتنى بما أمر به الناموس أنه ملعمون من باخن وملعمون من يرفع وهو من حسنات هذا البطريرك وذلك في الخلافة العادمية وزوارنة الإجل يوزف الناصر ابن أيوب آخر أسد الدين شيركو الكردي وهي دولة الغز وتولا عمارةها ثلاثة سنين بناتين من أكبر صناعة مصر وهذه البيعة كانت أسقفية إلى حين وفاة ابدا فيلانتوس أسقف مصر بتلكه بطرسية لخرستادلوس وجعل ابدا غبرال الأسقف بعد ابدا فيلانتوس وسما اخذها منها وقادسات معلومة يقدسها فيها في كل وقت مما تشهده المنظمة وكان باذلا كنيسة ابوب جرج ذات الغبة العالية اعمها الشيخ أبو الفضل يوحنا ابن كميل الأسقف وسما ابوب يوحنا عند تقديمها أسقفًا على كرسي أرمين والقبة والهيلكة وهو المذبح وحيطانها سالمة لم تضر في حال الحريق عمل لها ابن اباد الفضائل ابن فروج حس وبيضها وبلطها وكرست في سنة سبعين وخمسمائة كنيسة ميكتشيال الملك وكاتدراء البطاركة عند تقديمها ابدا غبرال ابن العلا ابن تريك الكاتب وهو السبعين في العدود ويعده ابدا يونس الثاني والسبعين في العدود وكان تريك هذا قسيسًا وترمبل وطلب الأسقفية وطلب منه مالًا فلم يعمل ان يتوسد لدرجة الكهنة فرشا وكان له مال ونعمه فاعد هذه الكنيسة وكب عن طلب الأسقفية وذلك في بطرسية ابدا ميكتشيال السنجاري جرى عمارةها الشيخ السدير ابن الفضائل المعروف ابن ستمائة كاتب أمير على ابن احمد الكردي في خلافة المستفى من أولاد العباس وزوارنة الناصر يوزف ابن أيوب في شهور ثمان وستين وخمسينات للعرب وكرست يوم عيد الملك
المذبح الأوسط وكان يوم عظيم الفرح والسرور بما فعله الله في أول الآخر وشرع الإبل البطريرك بعد ذلك في تزريم ما تشتت في البيع وإصلاح ما فسِّسه مناه وخبر ذلك جمعية مكتوبة في سير البطاقة ويخنصر القول ليلًا يطول الشرح في ذلك واستمر حال البيع ونظامها في الحسن الحالات، فصل بعد حريق مصري بين عوام المسلمين من المصريين والاستعماريين وذلك في الخلافة العاضديّة ووزارة شاور ولذلك في شهر صفر سنة أربع وستين وخمسمائة وكان نسبًا يونس البطريرك وهو الثاني وسبعين في العدد قد تنبأ على حريق هذه البيعة وأن ذلك يكون في أيام أخرى وهكذا كان والسبب في حريق هذه البيعة أن النصارى كادوا يمحون إلى هذه البيعة أرزاق كثيرة وعملون لها من الأواني الفاخرة أشياء كثيرة فاردوا عوام المسلمين ان ينهبوها ما كان فيها حاصلًا فلم يقدروا فاجتمع منهم جمع كبير وتعصبوا واحترقا البيعة ووقِي جذاءها قائمة وكنيسة لطيفة داخلها لم تحرقه وهي كنيسة يوحنا المعمدان وصار القديس فيها مستمر إلى أن سمي النصارى تجردته عمار البيعة المذكورة فجعلوا عمارتها وكملوا الإسكان ووضعوا عوض الإنشاب قبلي وأقيمة طوب اجر وجد القدر الخشب على المذبح الوسطائي وعمل على أيضا مقطع خشب وقطع الخشب التي عملت على المذبح الوسطائي خمسة جدًا محكومة الصناعة محملة على أربعة عمود رخام جافين أيتم بذلك الشيخ أبو البركات ابن أبو سعيد هبلان الكاتب في سنة إثنين وتسعين وثمانية للشهداء من محله دون العمد فاتها من حاصل البيعة وذلك في بطرسية إدما مرسوم المعروف قبل تقدمه يابي الفرج إبن زععة الكاتب مما اجتمع لها من جمعة الإراخة وما احضره
نَارِجِيُّ ابِي صَلَح

فولأ ولما لم يمكَن الُّقَََّرََّثَيْن مِنِ اِعاَدَةِ البِيْعَة لَمَا كَانَ عَلَيْهِ
وَإِقَامَوا الْحَيَائَةَ وَتَعَصَّبَوا فِي ذَلِكْ فَبَلَغَ اِمْرَاءُ الْمُوْمِيْنَ العِزْرِ بِالله ان
الْبِطَرَكَ لم يمكَن مِنِ الْعَوْامِ أن يَفْعَلَ مَا رَسُمَ لَهُ بِهِ مِنِ اِعاَدَةِ
البِيْعَة لَمَا كَانَ عَلَيْهِ فِيَرْسُمُ لِجُمْهُرَةِ مِنِ جَنَّةٍ وَمُمَالِيْكَهُا أَن يَخْرُجُوا
يُقْعَوْا عَلَى عَمَارَةِ البِيْعَة وَإِيَّا مِنْ يَعْقِضُ لَهُمْ فِي ذَلِكْ يَرْسِعُوهُ
وِيَقَابِلُوهُ أَن يُسْتَحْقَقُ مِنْ خَلِيفُ مَا رَسَّنُوهُ لَهُمْ بِهِ فَلَمَّا رَأَوْا الْعَوْام
ذَلِكْ كَفَّرُوا عَنِ التَّعْقِضِ وَبَدَّوْا فِي الْعَمَالِ وَتَنَفَّقُ فِي ذَلِكْ الْمَرْتَ وَالْبَيْتِ
الشَّيْخَابِيِّ الْبَيْسِرُ الْقَرَّانِ اِبْنُ مِيْنَا الْكَانِ أَسْتَوَجَّهُ إِلَى فِلْسُطِينِ
وَأَمْعَالُهاَوْيَقَامُ بِهَا مَرْدَةً مِنْ الْرَّماَنِ فِي الْعَمَالِ مَتَصَرَفُوا فِي خَرَمَتَهَا
الَّتِي دَرَبَ إِلَيْهَا فَالْعُتْبَيْنُ مَالَا جَزِيلٌ وَأَمْرُ بِمُغْرَدَهُ فَأَنْبَوْ
لَمْ يَتَزَوَّجَ وَلَمْ يَكْنِ عَنْهُ سَوِى غَلَامَتِهِ وَمِنْ يَخْرُجُهُ لَا عِبْرَةَ مِنْ
زَهَرُهُ وَقَنَاعَتِهِ وَتَرْتِيبُ حَالَةِ فَحَمَّلَ مَا أَجْتَبَعَ لَهُ مِنْ الْمَالِ إلَى
الْبَطَرَكِ المَذْكَرِ وَعَادَ مَنْ تَوَجَّهَ إِلَى الشَّامِ مَسْتَمْرًا فِيَمَا نَدْرَبَ الْيَهَةُ
مِنْ إِشْغَالِ دُولَةِ الْخُلْفَةِ وَقَالَ لِلْبَطَرَكِ أَصْرَفَ هَذَا الْمَالُ جَمِيِّعَةُ
فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ مِنْ الْعَمَالِ فِي الْبِيْعَةِ وَعِيْدُ ذَلِكْ مِنْ الصَّرْقَةِ إلَى
الْضَعْفَا وَالْإِيْتَامِ وَالْمَسْكَنِيَّينَ كَمَا يَرْدُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَيْ وَيُجَبِّرُهُ عَلَى بَدْلُ
مِنْ الْخَيْرِ وَأَصْرَفَ مَنْ تَوَجَّهَ إِلَى الشَّامِ وَدَفَعَ مِنْ قَبْلَ تَوَجَّهَ إلَى
الْشَّامِ فِيْ دُنْيَا الْلَّدِينَةِ الَّتِي فِي دُرِّةِ الْقَرْدِسِ إِبْنُ مَيْنَاهُ وَسَلَالِهِمْ
أَن يَذَكَّرُوا فِي صَلَوَاتِهِمْ وَيَذْعَمُوا بِدِوَالِ السَّلَامَةِ وَجَمِيلِ الْعَاصِبَةِ فِيِ
الْبَطَرَكِ فِي الْعَمَارَةِ وَجُمْهُرَةِ الْإِلَّاَخَةِ وَالْشَّيْخِ الْإِرْتِكَزِيَّ بَعْضُهُوْنَ
وَيَقَغُّوا فِي خَرَمَتِهِ فَتَحْصِيلِ مَا يَجْتَبِعُ لَهُ مِنْ الْإِصْنَافِ الَّتِي
يَجْتَبِعُ لَهُ مِنْ الْعَمَارَةِ وَقَنَانِهِنَّ إِبْرَاهِيمُ الْمُوْمِيْنَ وَجَنْدُهُ وَمُمَالِيْكَهُ
وُقْفُهُمْ مَعَهُ يَنْتَعِضُ مِنْ يَتَعْقِضُ لَهُ فِيَمَا يَفْعَلُهُ إِلَيْهِ إِذِينَ كُلُّتُ عَمَارَةِ
الْبِيْعَةِ بِعَرُوْدُهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَكَرْزَتِ وَقِدَسَ إِلَيْهِ أَوْلَى قَدَاسٍ عَلَى
وهو في العهد [الثاني والستون] وزيل في خلافة الإمام العزيز
بالله ابن الإمام المعز لدين الله وكانت في القسم كنيسة على
اسم مروجوبوس على شاطئ النهر وهدمت وجعلت شولة قصب
وفي أيام هذا البطريق اعتبر اعتقاد النصارى وإن كانوا على
الحق أم الباطل فجمع النصارى وخرج إلى الجبل وخرج
لخروجهم المسلمين واليهود لامر اتفق في ذلك تسمت سيرة
البيعة فتقدموا جماعة السادة المسلمين وصلوا وكبوا واستعانوا فلم
تظهر لهم إثبات بعدهم اليهود وكان كذلك تم تقيد الاب البطريق
والدباع الذي اظهر الله له آية يتبعة وجميع الشعب الاردنسي
يتبعهم فدعوا إلى الله تعالى وصلوا ورفعوا البخور وصرخوا
كرياليصور ثلاث دفعات فظهر الله عجابة وتجرد الجبل المعروف
بالمقطم مما يلي الكبش بين القاهرة ومصر وزلج بامادة الدباع
الذي قلّع عينه بالشفا وزلج بحضور العزيز وآشاف دولته وقضاة
المسلمين فلم يشاهد هذه الآية العظيمة قال له العزيز حسبما يأ
بطرى قد عرفنا ما فعله الله لكم ثم قال له تبني على ما اخترت
فجعله لكد فشكره وداه الله ولم يزل به إلى أن تبنى عليه بيعة
له كانت قد دثرت فامر له بتجريدها وقبل أنها بيعة القريب
ابو مروجوبوس فلم اكر ان يبتدى فيها بالعمل تعرض إليه عوام
المسلمين وزيل أن الكنيسة ما تشعث ولت يبق من معالها سوى
حيطاتها وقد تهدموا فعلمت شولة للقس موسى لم بعمرتها وإن
يطلب له من بيت المال ما يستعين به في العبارة فاخذ السجل
واعد المال معترض له قال انا الله سبحة الذي أظهر قدرته
العظيمة قادر ان يعين على إقامة بيوت عبادته وهو غني عن مال
العالم وسالة ان يعين المال إلى مكانه ولا يلزمه بأخذه فلجاب

Fol. 35 a

Fol. 35 b
6 تاريmakt الشيخ إبراهيم صلح

بيعة أبو قلثة كانت كنيسة مفردة في الخلافة الإخريج وقد تقدم ذكرها وذكرت آباء من الصبح الوسطاء في حال الخرق المقدم ذكرت مقلت العتبة الصوان السود المقدم ذكرها وجعلت لباب المدخل وبيجاورها بثراء ممتع ومعرفتهم فصل والبستان قباطتها كان ملكًا لها ثم انتقل إلى الدولة السلطان في الخلافة الإخريج فصل وجميع الآداب التي كانت تتجاوزها ملك ابن ربيع دعيت إقناعها وصارت ساحة وحيرة فيها بئر ساقية بمحروم البنا حسب جميع ذلك الشيخ صبيحة الملك ابن الفرج ابن الشيخ محمد السعداء ابن البيس إبن الشيخ صبيحة الملك ابن الفرج ابن الوزير وجعل الوالد للشيخ إبن المكارم ابن حنا وبلجت ابن حنا بعد وصارت هذه البيعة من داخل الحصن الذي كان شاوار الوزير انشاء وجعل لها خوخة يتصل إليها من مدخل المسجد من العمر الدربا بنا هذا المسجد السحري ابن الحكم وكان في هذه البيعة الأغمسد بشير ابن النصير من إهل منية الإ熨اء وكان عالمًا كبير حسب الكهنوت شجاع الصوت ملحيوج الوجه نام القامة كهل في الرجال وكان الشيخ إبن الفضل ابن الإسفك كاتب الافضل شاهنشاه يلازم الصلاة في هذه البيعة ويتناول القران فيها وكان إذا عطا قراءته يطرح في الطبق لهذا القسم في كل يوم يحضر إليها دينارًا واحد فرحا بكونه وشجاعة صوته وفرغ هذا القسم في بحر المنيرة ذكر الله نفسه الحمر الرديا الخلق المعروف كان بالبواسير قريبا وكان البحر فيه يعرف بسائل السعير وشهد كتاب الخلق بصر قيسارية الجمال بيعة الشهيد مقروريوس الخطيئة وكانت هذه البيعة على شاطئ البحر وقد تعددت الآن عنها جدد عمارتها إرباب إبراهيم السرياني

Fol. 34b
تاريخ الشيخ أبيصلاح

الآدريسقين أمين الامة أبو الابسن سورين ابن مكراوة ابني زدبور كان
ناضراuf الربيع وولد الوزير الأول أحمد سيد رؤسا السيف والقلم أبو سعد
منصور واخراج للعثا ناصر الدولة ابن حمدان وقبس ولواته المناقضين
وجماعه معه من مقدمى الجيوش في الخلافة المستنصرية وقام
في الوزارة أيام قلائل وطالبنه التجند بارزئهم فعودهم وهرب ويثبط
امرأة وكان في مدخل الاسكنة عتبة صوان أسود عليها شخوص
ونقوش بالظلم البرباوي تمنع اللصكور الذروى من الدخول إليها
وذلك الحمام وذكر أن رجل صيدى حضر إلى هذه البيقة بات
فيها وتخيل إلى كشت من احترق فصار الحمام دون الصغر

الذروى يدخل إليها ومارقت في حريف مصر في عشر سنين
اربع وستين وخمسين في الخلافة العادمية ووزارة شاوار وحيد
عمرتها قباب وقبة الشيخ أبو المكاريم ابن حنا الكاتب وغيره من
النصارى وهم من الكنيسات في السفigators كنيسة أبو قلطة جردها
ابن الغفغر ابن فريدج ابن خويبر بكنيسة جزيرة مصر العلاو كنيسة أبو
ميثار هو الشيخ عبيد الدولة ابن منجأ ابن دوزر ابن السرين
كنيسة الابا الابراهيم واسمح ويعقوب جردها الشيخ أبو
سعيد جرفن أبي بقطر الفتور بابي البغفر ثم جرددها أبو الغفغر
كابن الروابض المعروف لسعودي كنيسة ابا هور جرددها الشيخ
ابو الغفغر كابن الروابض ديوان المجلة أيضًا الكنيسة الكبيرة جرد
عمرتها أبو الغفغر ابن زدبور في برهانات سنة تسع وتسعين
وتمزقته للشهيد وصارت هذه البيقة بطركة في طولان سنة تسعمئذ
بعزم المذكور فصل في دلال الإعجاز ابن في السابع من كيهك
احدث رأس ابن كابن الغرافي وكان هذا الغرافي تولا عمارنه

مقياس النيل في سنة سبع وأربعين ومائتين هجريي وجدت في

F 2
بابين عقيل. فصل وشهد كتاب الخطط للكندري أيضاً أن الحمراوات الثلاث الحمرا القصوى والحمرا الوسطا والحمرا الرديبا فاولها ما خطبه إلى ابن العمر ابن الحاق ابن قضاة من درب الرجاحين الذي يخرج منه إلى سوف وردان إلى شقاب ابن فروة وغيره وينتهي إلى خوخة الاسطيل في الحمرا وما خطبه إلى بعض ابن سوادة ابن أفني من الحمرا الرديبا مقابل مسجد القرعون إلى سفينة السرى وغيرها ما خطبه هزيل ابن مردة من الحمرا الوسطا من سعروس ابن الهاجر وغيره إلى بين الكوميين وما خطبه إلى الازرق من الحمرا القصوى إلى خط يشكر ابن جزيلة ابن لحم ولي القنطرة ودرتها تام إلى الخندرق وهو النهر الذي في إصل جبل الكبش إلى المجانز والدبر لمريم وغيره وسهل الجبل كله يشكر من المقبرة ومسجد الخلوقد ودقة قانون ودجل يشكر ابن عدنان بن لهم. فصل وفصي كتاب الخطط أيضاً أن ابن كنادة ابن عمر ابن القبرابين فهم أحده خط بالحمرا الوسطا من شقاب سهل ابن عقيل إلى القناة حيث القناةين ورقائق الترمس المقابل للكنيدية ابن منا ابن روبيز ولكن يهوديا خطوا بالحمرا إلى ان بلغوا إلى دير مريم بحري جنان حوي ومسجد الخلوقد في السهل مما خطبه إلى يشكر ابن جزيلة ابن لحم بالحمرا القصوى فاما فضي الندبة وفضي الزراعة وخصائص من درب القنطرة إلى سوف وردان مما كان من شارع الحمرا وما وراء من النبل يسمى فضا القبائل فنها الاسطيل إلى جام الصليبين والكنيدية، وبالحمرا أيضاً بيعة ابن نوغر القديس السائح المهاجر جرد عمارتها امراة اسمها نفزة مما شهر بها لوحاً كان ضرومياً على بابها المجاور للباب وقد سد الارض وكان دخل النسناس إليها منه وكان يجاورها
ما كانت عليه وكسرت وقتس فيها فصل وعمارة الشيخ خاصية الدولة
ابي الفصائل المعروف باين دخان كنيسة أبو يعنس في علو هذه
البيعة وكرس فيها وقد تقدم نكرها وانشاء قبالتها
جوسقاً كان قديماً وهم يجاورها وعمله ثلاث طبقات في بعض
مكان من الدير اهتم بهذكه وعمارة الشيخ السعد صلاح المقدم
نكرها ولم يكمل وبسبب تأخر كمالة أبو الباركات ابن الشيخ السعيد
ابي الفاخر ابن سيبويه وفي حال تجديد عمارة البيعة المقدم نكرها
هدم معظم الدير وحفر فيه بتركيبة بصراسية وعمت في الجوسقا
الدقيقة الأولى ومنص المنصة الثانية وكان محتجز في تكملتها
فعارضه أبو الباركات السكر قال ما يكمله إلا ما من مال ويهذيه
البيعة مدراف من ساحتها الخارجة عنها وبيقة الدير والجوسقا
لم يكملوا الى الان ويكمل في هذا المكان ابني الدير وما حوله
من الساحت التي من حقوقه خمسة ابرار فصل فاما الأملاك
والمساحات المتواجدة لهذا الدير لم تجديرت عمارةها فان أكثرها
تهدم وحفر والذي بقي منها خال من المسكن واشرف على
الخرباب فاجغهم ابني مرقس استغف مصر من هذههم وحمل طوبهم
واهشبهم وقى هذا الدير في الخرباب بين الكيبان فصل ومن
حقوق البيعة من داخل الحصن الدائر عليها من الكنواني
البرقية بيعة على اسم القديس نادر معلقة محمولة على
عمر رحمه فهمتهم وأخذت أعمالها وجعلت مسجداً في الخلافة
الحاكمية وضع على مانحة وممال ومعمل هذه البيعة وصورها باقي ظاهر
البنىاء وغيره كنيسة على اسم القديس ابو قلعة بالحمر الوسطا
في الخلافة الاموية ولولاية سوازي ابن رفاعة مما ابتاع النصارى من
الارض من بنى فهم وهي عن حمام ابن نجاح والرافق المعروف

[II. 7.]
العجین وفیة قبر مرسن فاختار هذا البيت الشیخ الیساع صلیب ابن میکاهی نبیه الاماموس وافرده وجعله كنیسة على القیس ماری جرجرس بباب مفرح یتجاوز البيعة الكبیرة ورها باب من الاسکنا وکمل عمارةها وکرمت بین الاسکناد ادیا مرسق سقفا فی مصر بحضور انا يوسف البطریک وکرس فيها وجری في عمارةها خطوب كثیرة من اشرار المسلمين وعملت النصاری مشارع اینها من حقوق هذه البيعة ولم تكن مستجدة ونصر الله الحق وشهد من المسلمين من يعرف اینها كانت بیت داخل الكنیسة ممن يقبل شهادته من جیران البيعة وهذه البيعة بين البساتین حسنة الوضع كثیرة المترقیدین من الرهبان وغيرهم. فصل ولیا كان في شهر جمادی الاول سنه تسع وخمسين وخمسینة عند وصول الغز الیکران مع صلاح الدين يوسف ابن ایوب والاستنصرار عليهم بملك الغزیر احرق هذا الدیر والبيعة الى ان صاروا ارض ما خلق الحاف وجذابی الاسکنا المحری القبلی فاتهم سلموا ووجدت العمارة منهما وبنیت قباب واقبیة وأکان عوضا من العمر الرخام في الخلافة العادیة وزیرة شاور واهتم بذلك الشیخ الیساع صلیب المذكور وکرم الدولة ابن عبيد ابن قرص وامین الدولة ابن سليم الجلابین بالکافرة وغيرهم ویما احترم مکرم ابن ایوب المها القس بکنیسه السیرة المعلاة بصراوی ادیا يوسف البطریک من الشرطونیة التي منعت الکدیمین من تناولها لیصبیره اسقفا على طنبدی فتناول ذلك لهذا الوجه وقام اسقفا وما يحصل من نحو مبینی من الاوایل الفضیة التي للبيعة وکملت هذه البيعة بالعمارة على

الشاعر
كبرى وكان في هذا الصقع جماعة من رؤسا النصارى فغمس لهم في تجديد كنائسهم فابتدوا بعمارة الحمر وتجميد ما هدم منها فجدوا البيعه وعملوا لها أولى حسنات من الفضة وغيرها وابتعوا عدة املاك وبستان وفية بترين ساقية وكان جميع ذلك الملك مسكون وبها مغطس كبير وجد في علواها كنائس عدة وهي كنيسة ماري جرجيوس وذكر أنها اولًا كانت على اسم الشهيد تادريس وكنيسة على اسم الشهيد أبو يحيى وكان بها أيضا بيعة أبو مينا الكبيرة جنس الشهيد أدب يحيى في دلة خشب نقى وكان البحر قرب من هذه البيعه ثم بعد البحر من هناف فنقل إلى بيعة تادريس بدمنهور على البحر فعمر البيعه على هذه البيعه وانتقل إلى كنيسة السيدة بشرا وجد عمانتها اعنى بيعة أبو يحيى بعد الحريق الشيخ الأكرم ابن ابي الغضأل ابن ابي سعيد في الخلافة العادوية وزارة شاور كنيسة الملاد المقدس مطلة على صحى البيعه الكبيرة وبيعه لطيفة جدا اهتم بتجديدها أبو غالب ابن ابي المكارم البليبيسي على اسم القديس مرقوبوع وبها اعنى البيعه الكبيرة أدب رخام ملون أكثرها أحمر شفاف محفول على عمد رخام محكم الصنعة وكاترة خشب ويجاورة من الجانبين

Fol. 30b

البيعي منبج وعلى مقطع خشب باسم الشهيد مرقوبوس اهتم به الشيخ أبو الفضل ابن الأسقف وعلى المنبه في الأسکنا قبة خشب محملة على عمد رخام ومقطع خشب ويجاور هذه البيعه الدرب بباب معفر وفية عدة من الرهبانات في مساكن متفرقة وفيه بئر ماء معين اهتم بهفره وغوصه وعمارة الشيخ أبو زكرى الصبرفي وذلك في الخلافة الحافظي، فصل وكان داخل الأسکنا بيت
فمحمَّد مؤكِّدًا الله الله في أهل الذمة أهل البرية السود المنجد
الأدم فان لهم نسبًا وصدورًا ولهم ميزة على جميع أهل الذمة
ولكان محمَّد قد سير حاطب ابن أبي بليغة من لحِم إلى المقايس
صاحباسبسكرية أن يكون على دينه فلم يفعل ولا عاد إلى
محمَّد سير البقاء على حكم الهيئة أربعة جواز منهم مارية القيبطية
والسيير إنها وبلغته دلائل ومحارب يغفر وكيس وخصوص بعده
معهم إما مارية فرق منها انحاولما وما سيير إنها فهاها
إلى حسان شاعر محمَّد فرق منها عبد الرحمن ولده فصل
ينزك في ثي العصرات ثلاثة الكبرى وهي القصى والوسطا والحضرا
الردية مما شهد به كتاب التخطيط للكلار في نسخة فتح مصر
إن الحضرا قوم من الروم منهم بنو دبه وبنو الأزرق وبنو روبيل
وهم من الفرس وسواهم عمر ابن العاص الحضرا لانهم من الجم
وتصرى الحضرا الوسطى وتعرف الحضرا بالقسطرية وهو المكان الذي
كان يقَف فيه الهارب الحضرا في فتح العرب مصر وكان يجتمع
عليها من يستأتهم اليهم ويسيئ في الساقا فعرف بالحضرّ قصل ال
الدير المعروف بالشيّة أبو مينا صاحب الثلاثة الآثار النازلة
عليه من السما وهو من أهل الطوسي وجمده الظاهر مديون في
كنيسة مربعة جنوب بها في خلافة هشام ابن عبد الملك ابن
مروان في ولاية الوليد ابن رقعة باهتام في جماعة من النصارى
الساكنين بهذا الخط في سنتها ومائة هجرية بعده ما جرى من
العرب لما ان شكرنا له النصارى أن حرمهم وأولادهم عند ما يمضوا
إلى الكنيسة النازلة بها وفي عودتهم لا يائموا من معترض
يعترضهم وخاصة في ليالي صوم الأربعين فقتل من العرب جماعة
من الخليج وعادت مستقیمة الأحوال وبحا رهبان مقیمون وهو مهتم بالکنيسة ویم وعاد يحضر الیها في كل احد جماعة من القصور والشامسة والشعب المصري وذلك جمیعة في بطرسیة انها يوجها وهو الرعیس وسبعین في العد ویم ویین هذا الخط ایضًا كینة للملکیین فی فیال عهد الی هذا الخط خمسة يخرج من احیاتهم الزیتونة ویصعد الیها الى القاهرة فاستولوا الغز الأکران على اربعة منهم ونهبوا اخشابهم وهموا الحیدان الی ان لحقوا بالاکثر لضعف الملكیة وقلة عددهم ویقات منهم بیعة واحدیة نجاح فی عدة الحیان والجدران ماری جرجس الذي ينقط بهذه الحیار وهذا الخط

وشهدت سیرة المعتمد من الخلفاء العباسيين وهو الخامس عشر منهم ان عهد من قاتل احمد ابن طولون ومات باحبسه الی دفره فصل وشهد كتاب فضائل مصر من عدة رواجات ان قیبط مصر اکثر

ابراهیم الخليف ویوسع الصديق والاسنان عیانی ذاتی ذكره من أصحاب محمد قال امیر ابن عبد العزيز اننا افتتحتم مصر فاستوصوا فیان لهم نزعة ویحص وقال اسیعیل ابن عباس مخبرًا عنیر استوصوا بجبل مصر فانک تجدوا منهم دعم الاعوان على [عدوكم]

وقال الی سلامة قال محمد عن فیاقة ازیکم ان تنخرجوا اليهود من جزیرة العرب ثم قال الله اللهو اوصیمك بجبل مصر فانک سنظرون عليهم ویكودون لكم عهد واعوان في سبيل الله وقال استوصوا بالاندلس الجهد قیبط مصر فانک اخواتكم ألایها واعوانكم على العدوکم واعوانكم على دینکم فقيل له ویکه بيکرون اوعوانا لنا على دیننا قال [یکفرکم اعمال الدیا فانک فترعون للعبدا ویساندكم عبد الله عبی عمر ابن العاص ان محمد قال القیبط اکرم اللهج واسمحم

ین وافضلهم عنصرًا وافیدهم رحما للعرب عامة ولقروش خاصًا وقال
كبيرة مستوطنة يحيط بها سور طوب لبني باب مغروف يدخل منه إلى هذه البيعة وهي بين البساتين والمنازة وترتفع على الخليج ونما احترقت مصر في شهر صفر سنة اربع وستين وخمسين دهبت هذه الكنيسة وهدم بعض حيطاتها ولم يعمر أحد من النصارى في الوقت يهتم بها وبقيت بقية إلى الآن بين الرحال والتلف وهدم سور الرابعة المذكورة وحترقت بالإرض وانهكت هذه البيعة بهدم سورها واختلطت بغيرها من الطرق واضغفت إلى دويرة في البستان تعرف بدويرة صندل ونعمل بعض الجملون الخشب من علو الإسكندر فاهتم به الشيخ الجلال أبراهيم وعاضد بعض الاراحنة وأصلحوا بعض هذه البيعة وقدس بها دفعة واحدة وقبعت مقطعة لبدرها في العمارة وبقيت تزال في السنة دفعتين أو ثلاثة وكان أصلح بعضها بعناية وقلعة عظيمة من ضمن البستان المجاور لها وهو في السادس والعشرين من بروة وهو ان ما بقي يتوصل إلى الكنيسة من الرجال والناس إلى من البستان بسبب ما اضافته للبستان من الأرض التي كانت داخل حصن الكنيسة وما كان في السنة الثالثة للتسعينات للشهداء في عشر التسعينات وعشرة اهتم بها الشيخ أبو سعيد ابن ادودة المستوفي بالديوان الخاص العادلي وجدنا ما هدم منها وكل الجملون وبيدها وكرزت بيننا عبدا غريمال أسقف مصر وحضور جماعة من الأساقي والقسوس والشماسة والإراخنة والشعيب الإندكسى بمصر والقاهرة واستمرت بها القداسات في كل حي وكل محل وليلة الواحد وبحضر الشيخ أبو سعيد المذكور ومعه جماعة قسوس وشماسة من أولاد الاراحنة إلى هذه الكنيسة في كل وقت وكل عبد وكل ليلة أحد ويوم الواحد وشترى الساحة التي قدم البيعة وفتح الطريق إليها
في الحائط والمنحوتات المنحوتة قسم شهد كتاب فضائل مصر أن
الوليد ابن زوانة تولى الخراج بمصر في خلافة هشام ابن عبد
الملك الأحول فخرج لاحصلاً الرؤوس فاقام ستة أشهر بالصعيد
وباسف الناين ثلاثة أشهر فاحصي فوق العشر الآف قرية. أصغر
قرية منها فيهما خمسمائة رجل من القبط والجبل ذات ذلك مرن
القبط خمسة آلاف الف دينار قسم واجمع أهل العلم أنه ليس
بالردياب نهر أطول من نهر النيل وهو أنه يسير مسيرة شهر
في بلاد المسلمين واكثر من ذلك وشوارع في دارة وارعة في
الخرباب حيث لا عمارة إلى أن يخرج من جبل القمر خلف خط
الوادي وليس في الردياب نهر يصب من الجنوب إلى الشمال
غير نهر النيل وليس في الردياب نهر يصب في بحر الروم والصين
غير دبل مصر وليس في الردياب نهر يزند ويعيد في إبناها ما
يكون من البحر في الوقت الذي تنقص فيه الإنهار، ويجب بعضها
من الإنهار والعيبان بسرتها وكلما قوى البحر قويت زيادة النيل
وليس في الردياب نهر يزند ونقض بترتيب غير نهر النيل ولا
يجب عن خراج نهر من انهار الردياب مثل ما يجب عن ما سقا
النيل وبالمنحوتات المنحوتة للملوك عرماً بعدها صمود الجمال
وعولوجاً كنيسة ميالود سبّبت يسوع المسيح بالنجسة وقبلت الإسكندنا
 عالية جدًا تنصر من البعد أنشأ عمارةها الإله عبد المسيح وكانوا
الغز ومعارم المعاصرين قد دهبوها وكسراً أعمدة البستلات وأحرق
بعض عقولها فاحش بتجرد عمارتها الشيخ النهضة جبريل الكاهن
في الخلافة العثمانية وجدت تكررها وفكر فيها وكان لهذه
البيعة سورة كثيرة هائلة معتدلة صاعدة إلى علو البيعة قطعت
وابيعت بنس جزيل واصفرت في عمارة البيعة، قسم ولها رابعة

Fol. 27 a E 2
الآن وبهذه البيعة مغطس وشَر ما معين، فـُسّل فاما الإسحاق أبو الأمير ابن القيام المعروف حضر شام الوزير وذكر عليه بغير سبب يوجب الإذكاء وبا تعاقد قمام شهيدا وحمل إليها ودِفِن فيها الرب دُنيح نفس الظاهر وقبر في الرواق البحري منها وتجاور هذه البيعة مراقين النصاري خارجا عنها وكان يجاور كنيسة يوحنا المعمدان المقدم ذكره مطبخ فاطمة الشيخ السعيدي أبي الفضل صاعد ابن بسيوة واعمره بيعة على اسم ستنا السيدة العزيزة الظاهره وکلت وکزَت من يد الأبد الإسق ادنا عُبرِال اسقف مصر وحضور ادنا بطرس اسقف الفيوم في يوم الاثنين وهو الاثنين الرابع من الصوم المقدس في خامس شهر نبهان سنة ثلاث وتسعمئة للشهداء الإياب الموافق للنسطور عشر من ذي الحجة سنة اثنين وثمانين وخمسمائة وعلم هذه البيعة يشرف منها على بركة قارون ومنظر هذه البيعة مُرحا ما يحيط بها من البساتين والمنازه والعِمائر الحسنة وهي شرحة دُرّة في حالتين الزراعة وبيعة الادس بما يجاورها من البساتين والمنازه ومن القاصدين لها في كل وقت وكان طاغية من الرجال السودان يعركون بالغيوشية قن طِغوا كثيرا وعند وامامه ابديهم إلى قطع الطرق وانحن اقوى الناس وسهك الدما فلمكن الغز الأثرياء أقليم مصر في ربيع الآخر سنة أربع وستين وخمسمائة تساطوا عليهم جماعة من طاغية الأردان النصاري وطردوهم وقتلوا منهم جماعة كثيرة وخلت الحارة سكنهم المجاورة بالقرب من الحبورة كما تقوم القول وانباع الحارة حطابا الغزي وعلي مصر من الديوان وحرثها وإنشا بها إبار معين وسواقي وأطرها بساتين وزرع عليها دبادئ كثيرة وزرع ارضها خضر أولا وكان المدخل إلى هذه البيعة من غير باب بهذه الحارة بل هو
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلاح

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Fol. 25a

سبع وتسعين وثمانية للشهداء الابرار واهتم باصلاح البيع التي بالقرب من البيعة الكبيرة الشيخ الوجبية أبي الحسن ابن الامام الكاتب في سنة اثنتين وتسعين وثمانية للشهداء الابرار فصل واستمرت العمارة إلى حين دخول شاور السعیدى وزير الخلافة العادلية والجزء والأركان التي مع يوسف صلاح الدين ابن ابوب الكردى الذي صار ملك مصر وسعى على الدراهم والدينار يقسم امبر المومنين دخول ملك الفرنجة للنصرة عليهم في شهر سنة تسع وخمسين وخمسين فعدى على هذه البيعة الغز الأكران وعوام اهل مصر واحترق بالنار واجتمعت للإرض مع غيرها من البيع في جمادي الأول سنة تسع وخمسين وخمسين فعندما تم جددت في سنة ستين وخمسين اهتم بتجريرها الشيخ السعید ابن الفخیر كاتب الرواية في الخلافة العادلية وعندما في ذلك الشيخ الوجبية ابن الحسن ابن الامام في سنة اثنتين وثمانية وثمانية للشهداء الابرار ثم جدد ما تشعث من البيع المشاهد الإرخنة

الشيخ السعید شهد الملك ابن الفخیر ابن بسيوية ابو البركات

ولهم الاسعى ابن الخضر جرجة ابن وهب المعروف بابن المبكات وكررت الكتائيس التي تحدىها بعوام الله واستمر فيهم الصلوات والقداسات إلى يومنا هذا فصل ولم تجد و الله عمرو هذه الكتائيس الكبرى حتى الحمراء غاروا لاقامتها العادلة والمأمونين واستعانوا بعوام القوم فنهبوها وهدمت أيضا ثم استمر ما تشعث منها وجدوا تكريرا واستمر بها القداس والصلوات على جارى العادلة فصل وترية المعلم سرور الجلال المقدم ذكره باقية بها الى

الأولی

[II. 7.]
المذكور نو مالا وجاه حتى انة كان انا صعد مولانا المستنصر الى
المنظرة المعروفة بالسُّكّرة لسفر سّن الخليج الذي حفره عمر ابن
العاص أمير مصر في خلافة أمير المومنين عمر ابن الخطاب. يقدّم
له المعلم سسر الجلال المذكور تقدّم حسان من أنواع الإطعمة
والإشربة والخلوكة وкал يعمل له الوان من الإسعافات الطبية والسكر
ذا إيات المتنوعة فيقبلها منه ويضحك عليه ويخيب حوائجه. وانغذى
على القلزم وهو حرصًا للملك من جهة دانية الحجّاج واسم هذا
الملك بحفل المسجد وهي التي تمسك الثوب واسم قلزم وكان
جوهر المعري قد نبا قنطرة في هذا الخليج تخرج إلى ساحل
المقسم وقية المجراة المعروفة بالمجنازة وقد كان قبل هذه القنطرة
قطرة هندت ونادراً بحالة كانت من الجناة الشرقي وبعضها
من الجناة الغربي تحت البستان مجاور الطريق المسلوك منه
الي الرهى لتحمل الميزة فيه إلى الخليج من مصر إلى القلزم
ومنه مكة والمدينة ومنها إلى أرض العباسة ومواد المستنصر متوّج
بمنديل الجوهر والملظة مشوّرة عالية وهو في *** جالس فوق
دّة الوراق فخرج ابن المذكور لخدمة ويسأل عليه وعليه نوب
فضاً وعمامة صقلى مشدود الوسط بحلبة دبوقية منزهة ويستدعا
باسم في حالتى صعوده وعودته إلى القاهرة اعني هذا المعلم سسر
الجلال، فكان المذكور فيه خير ومعرف وخدمة لسادر الناس
كل احدهما يلبسه واهلته يلفسه بعمارة تربة وفهي قبة وبقوه تخت
الارض ملاصق شار البيعة وعمر ولده نجاح علوها كنيسة على
اسم القديس يوحنا المعمدان وكانت جميعها خشب ذقيق منقوشة.
فصل جزء عمارة كنيسة يوحنا المعمدان الشيخ السعيد أبو الغفار
والنحبي أبو البركات المعروف بابن صاعد وكرزت في نو سنة

Fol. 24 b
سبعين الف دينار وكان الزائد في النفقات عن الارتفاع ماتى ألف دينار في سنة اثنين وستين ومائة في خلافة المهدي وامتناع الفزاويس العباسيين عن الخراج ببصر الف الغف وثمانية الف وثمانية وعشرين الف وخمس سكاكين دينار قست ويخطئز مرزبان الشرف دخل مصر على اشد مغنم بغيان. فضل ويطاشر ولد عمر مصر بعد خرابها اربعين سنة وأول ما علم بها ارض الامامين فسل وأول من قسم اساقفة على بلاد مصر وعمالها دمسيروس البطريق وهو في العهد الثاني عشر رحل وشهدت سيرة البيعة وانحراب أبا مرس الجند وهو في العهد التاسع واربعين ان البيع التي بفسطاط مصر بينت وامر بعوارتها في ظهره بعد هرمهما اولى في بطرسية ابا يوحننا الثامن في العهد مدينة مصر وخارجة مدينة الشمس ومصر بمها وهو ابن كنان ابن حام ابن نوح ابن لامك الامام سبيت باسم ملك القبطة مصر وخارجة ما بين السخنين خلف العريش وأول كنيسة بنيت بفسطاط مصر الكنيسة التي خلف القنطرة امام مسلمة ابن مخلد الانصارى واسم مصر باليوناني جبت وبالرومي الفرنسى بالون القلعة بالقاهرة بين القاهرة ومصر من كنيسة القبسا مارى جرجيس المسمى الحمرا وكانت في وسط حارة وتمه بحارة الروم وكانت سكن النصارى والأخوة الحبش الرهبان وغيرهم ولما تلاشت الحارة كما تلاشت غيرها من ظاهر مصر وهمت الآدر التي بها وحمل طوبها واخشابها إلى عمارية أخرى ببصر والقاهرة وقى فيها بعض رسوم واهية سكنها رجال ميرو صيدا بيعة الفرس جرجيس الحمرا كانت قد وهبت وتشعبت اهتم باصلاحها وتجزيرها المعلم سروب الجلال في الخلافة المستنصرية وكان
العاصم ابن عميرة رضي الله عنه، دُعي العباس بن عبد الملك. خرج في سنة ثلاث وربيع، وقبض على الجزيرة الفنرة في طريق البحار، فقتل ووجدت في تاريكي محبوب ابن قسطنطين المبكي في الجزيرة الأولى. وقعت عرق في مدينة عمورة المرة الثانية على شطر الغزوة على الملك يسحاب اقطوبس في عصر استفان ابن إبراهيم، أول من أحدث الكتب والعلوم والنجوم والحساب من كتاب الكلدانين. واهل الشرقة وحملها إلى مصر وعلم السحر والإقامة. وفي ذلك الزمان بنى سدوم غامورا ومدينة بابلودية أيضاً على بحر النيل. وقام هذا الملك الثاني وثلاثين سنة قضاء، وأدخل خروج مصر على يد يوسف ابن يعقوب مع عمارتها بعمره أربعة عشرة، وضمنها الفنر دينار واستخرج فرعون موسى واسمه الوليد ابن مصعب تسعين الفنر دينار وحفر خليج سرده، على يد قارون وهامان. وهو أكبر عدوه واستخرج الروم عشرين ألف دينار، وتقبلها جريج ابن ميناء المقوس من التهنقل. بما مبلغها شهيرة عشر الفنر دينار واستخرج عمر ابن العاص، في سنة أحد وعشرين للهجرة.الفنر دينار وفي سنة أثنتين وعشرين اثنا عشر الفنر دينار وفي أيام بنى العباس على يد أحمد ابن طولون خمسة آلاف الفنر وعلى يد يعقوب ابن يوسف أربعية الفنر، وانتهى إلى ثلاثة آلاف الفنر. وسمحت الأغلبية من مصر في أيام هشام ابن عبد الملك، مما يرحب النيل. فكان ثلاثون ألف الفنر فكان وانتهى ارتفاع مصر. فما معها، وجميع دفقاتها لسنه في مملكة كافور الأستان الأخشيدي بتكدير فكان ثلاثة آلاف الفنر. وانتهى الفنر وينيف
يوم الجماعة مستهل الله الحرم سنة عشرتين للهجرة في خلافة عمر

Fol. 22

ابن الخطاب بين الحصين المعروف بجبل الحمام وكان عند القبط برض مصر دون الشيخ الكبير العاجز والقيّم الذي لم يبلغ الحلم سنة آلاف ألف نفس وفرض على كل منهم في كل سنة ستة وعشرين وثلاثين وعلى الغني الموسر منهم دينارين مثل أهله وثلاث أراذب قمح بكل بلد سكنه وكان المحمول من جهتهم اثنا عشر ألف ألف دينار خارجًا عن جزية اليهود ببصر وعمالها وحمل إلى عمر ابن الخطاب وهو أول مال حمل إليه من مصر وقيل كان عمر ابن العاص دخل إلى مصر في التجايلة وعرف طريقها في تجارة له مع ذكر ضر قريش، فصل وجدت في تاريخ البيعة أن دخل المسلمين إلى مصر وملكتها في أيام من بدوية سنة احد وعشرين وثلاثين للهجرة الإبراهيمية فصل عده القنانين الذين حضروا الفتح ببصرة ومن قتل في الحصارائها عشرات ألف وثلاثمائة الأماكن التي عرفت بين خطتها من العرب في فتوح مصر في المحرم سنة عشرتين هجرية شهر أحمد ابن حيدان ابن عمر ابن الحاكم ابن قضاء بني تميم إمام لحم وجدام إنا عدي ابن أمية راشدة ابن جزيلة ابن لحم بني المغافر ابن يعف بن بن وائل عفر الخليج والقطرة والخض هبيب ابن مغفل صاحب وادي هبيب الفرقة بنو حمص ابن يوسف ابن وائل الملك ابوب الخنجر ابن شراحيل ودان الرومي صاحب عمر ابن العاص وشجاعة ابن مند غان ابن ملكه ابن كعب ابن الحارث ابن كعب سوف بربر عرف بربر ابن ابن حبيب درب الخديجية كان فيه عبد الرحمن ابن معاوية ابن خديج ابن حجر إمبر مصر في خلافة عبد الله ابن الزبير ببكة ومروان بالشام وصفة عمر ابن
كتاب سير البيعة وإخبار أبابا البطارية أن عمر ابن العاص والعرب الوارقين معه اخووا الطريق من الجبل حتى أنهم وصلوا إلى قصر مبنى بالحجارة بين الصعاب والريفي سمى بابلون فصردوا هناك بيتهما فSHOW وترقبوا جميعهم لملائمة الروم ومساهمتهم وسموا ذلك المكان الغسطاط بلغتهم وتفسير هذه اللغظة الخبيثة وكذلك قصر التجمع بعصر سومه العرب فتصرط بابلون قصل ووجدت في كتاب الجبال ذكر فتح مصر يقول أن عمر ابن العاص فتح مصر في سنة تسعة عشر هجريا وكان خارج موضوع يعرف ببنيان الرياحان فنزلوا فيه لمحاصرة مدينة مصر وكان السقصف من الروم بمصر والاسكندرية يسمي قرة وقد خندف أهل الغسطاط عليهم وكان اسم الغسطاط اللوذي فسماء العرب الغسطاط لادهم قالوا هذا فسطاط القوم ومجمعتهم وأنه وصل إليها في ثلاثة آلاف وخمسة رجل ثم لحقته الزبير ابن العوام في أثنا عشر ألف وملك الحصن وفتحها عنة واستباح ما فيه وآمن أهلها على ادهم زمن ووضع عليهم البعيدة والخراج في إرضهم وإن صاحب اللوذي عنى الغسطاط قصر على كل حالم ديناريين وهي سبعة وعشرين دهراً إلا ذلك إلا ان يكون الحالم فقيرة وتل ذم كل غني موسى في كل سنة ديناريين وثلاث إرداب حنطة وإن عمر اجتدى إلى مصر وجريتها ألف الف دينار وجباها عبد الله ابن سعيد ابن مفرج أربعة آلاف الف دينار ومئة وليدة عمر ابن العاص عشرة سنين واربعة شهور لعبد الله ولدته سنتين وذكر أن المسلمين لما وصلوا إلى مصر عملوا زيب قصب من الخط المعروف بجبل إلى مكان المعروف بدوره خلف واشتجوا إليه فسمى الغسطاط أي مجمع القوم ولم ينصبوا العرب خيمة ولا عرفوها قصل قشن عمر ابن العاص مصر
دائمًا وmême في ظاهره قتل القرآن الله دين مصر على السمن اذربيجان قال النبي الله يبارك أهل مصر ومن خلقته جهاد بالموصل قتل من الادعوي ايمانًا وترابا ملاك الله في الحلم قاله قل خذ الصبي وامه وانهض إلى أرض مصر وكي هناك الى ان اقول لك وقام بصر السين المسجد ووالته العظري الطاهرة والشيخ الباري يوسف النجار سنتين قتل ومن ذوبه هوشع مما شهد به الانجليز الطاهر قوله من مصر دعوت ابني قتل تفضل مصر على غيرها من سائر الأقاليم حلول سبيدا يسوع المسيح بها بالجسر والسيدة الطاهرة مرزيم والشيخ الصديق يوسف النجار بامر من الله ومرقس الادعوي العالمي بالاسكندرية وهو ابن اخستاطفان رئيس الشام النزار ولول الشهداء بارشليم ودخل اليها من الإباء الإطهار وهم ابراهيم الخليل ويعقوب ابن اسحاق قيل بها سبعة عشر سنة وتيتنج بها ونقل جسد её إلى الشام والإسباط أولاند وحصل بها من دريتهم سنتامة الفغر خمسية وخمسين نسمة يوسف الصديق وإولاند وهما مننوا وراف ونموت ونحى بها ونقل جسده إلى الشام وصله وصل موسى النبي عند سجنه خارج عن بني لاوى ودوبتهم اثنى وعشرون ألفاً ومائتين وثلاثين وسبعين طفلاً وموسي وهارون اخية واجتهما مريم ودخل اليها أيضًا لوط ابن اخي أبراهيم وبوشع ابن نون وداميانو النبي وأرنيا النبي وحرقيل وغيرهم من الملوك والعظام والحكام والفلاسفة والرؤساء والمسلمين في كل مصر ورمان قتل واما اشتكي بلاد مصر فمن المشرق العباسي ومن المغرب الاسكندرية وطولها من الربيع إلى عيداب وعرضها من البرقة إلى ابن وذكر ان برقة تعرف بالخمس مدن قتل اخبار مصر تضمن

Fol. 20 b

Fol. 21 a
من ذلك الصيد حتى نقطعة البيع، وهبها حائط العجوز من
العيش إلى أسوان ونسبيا الحجوز في بحر النيل، سمكة، وهي
التي تسمى الرعدة إذا وضع الرجل الحجوز عليها فلا يملكه
قوه دون أن يضطرب جسده، وترتد ذراعه مقدار ساعة وتنحل
 عنه وبها مجتمع البهرين، ونسبيا البرزخ الذي فيه يتقيان
البهرين وبنهما حاجزان وهما بشر الروم والصين والمحاجز بينهما
مسيرة ليلة بين القلمر والفرما وليس ينقيبا في بلد من البلدان
أقرب منهما في هذا الموضع وبينهما في الشرق، مسيرة شهور
وليس في الدنيا بلد يأكل اهلها صبر البهرين طريقا غيراٍل مصر
وبها القماش المطرز القصص التنسبي، والشراب وهو الخيام، والديشیئ
الملون وليس في طراب مبلغ الثواب من طائفة دينار وليس فيه
ذهب غير تنسس ومياط والمنحن والصلق، ولهم اللباب الصوف
والاكسبية الرعى السماويات وليس هي في الدنيا إلا لبهر ولهم
الناج العجيبة من الخيل، والبغل، والحمير، ولهم معدن الذهب
والزرقة، والمغرة الحمراء، والصفراء، والرقصشة الذهبية، والغصية، والتحاسية
وبركة النطرون واللامحات، وبها الطين الأسوانى الذي يسمي طين
الحكمة وتعمل منه كيزان الفقاع، وعمل الورق البياض وطابع السكر
ومعاصير القصب النعل ومزارع الإرز وزيت الفجل والسلجوم، ودهن
اللبسان واللقيون، والدريس، والشراب العسلي. فصل وأما دليل
مصر فانه من الأبات التي تعجب منها في الرحمن إذا سمعا به
فادي يطلع في الغد الشريد الذي فيه تناقص سائر البخار
والعيون، وتجف وطليه في وقت الاحتفال الإلهية، وذل ذلك من
وقت الاحتفال الإلهي عنابة من الله بسكان مصر، وترمز الإبار بعد
نقص، والزراعة عليه لا على الإمطار وهو ينجز إلى البحر المالمج
وخرج الملك عنة وكان ابنه جرى النيل البيه وكان عمر يوسف ثلاثين سنة في مملكة الريان ابن دومغ وعند باسم فرعون بعد تغيير المناخ له وتغييره عليه واخترع عليه وسلم البيه خاتمه وتدريب مملكة تحملت سيرة البيعة السابعة عشر واخبار ابنا خلائل السادس والأربعة في عهد البطالة ازتقاع مصر وأعمالها الى آخر خلافة مروان حمار الحرب وهو آخر خلفاء بنى امية وابتداء خلافة السفاح عبد الله العباسي في السنة حملًا إلى بيت المال سوى النفقات ماتى ألف دينار قتل المبتدين بعبادة الإصنام اهل مصر وبايد وأفرتيس وأهل السواحل قتل قحطان ابن فالق ابو العرب في إيماء كان الناس يصرون كلما يعرف بمعرف وله ذكر جميل وشجاعة وحسن صورة وبعبود صورته قتل بع نتير ابن نوح وهو الرابع يتلم بالهام الله له عالم الفلك وحسابه للسبنين والشهور والإيام والساعات وما اشبه ذلك ثم تعلم منه نمرونج العبّار ووضع كتابًا في علم الفلك وحسابه وتعجب الناس من حكمته التي وضعها في كتاب ودقولاً عنه فحكمه أشر وخدام الشيطان وصار له وذبح له ذبائح وقمى له بعضور وقضاء له فظهر له علامة السحر والخزائل التي لا حقيقة لها فألسر دين النجوم وتعلم نمرونج العبّار منه علم الطاغوت وهو أول من ليس الناجذن الذين مرض بوالسوجروف وليم القرير وظهر بهذا الشكل قتل في الحضوى التي بعسكر والمجازفين بها موسى وهاوين جدود ومريم اختهما ولدوا بساة من اقليم مصر ولبالطبيكل الله موسى واللى عصى ووصى فلف البصر وصنع العشرة أيات ومكة يوسف الصديق وبها النخلة وبها الوادي المقدس وصنع الإبوقير الذي يحمي البيه جنس هذا الطائر المذكور في كل سنة فيمسك منه طائر واحد فلم يزل معلقاً.

\[\text{II. 7.} \]
للشهيد يوسف ويعنى أبو يحيى وحسن وحضرة الطاهر بهذه البيعة، وبيعة للملك الجليل مصطفى رئيس الملائكة. ادريجة من قرى بوس بيعة للشهيد العظيم ماري جرجس طنبا بيعة على اسم نهاد بيعة على اسم الشهيد الشجاع مرقووس بيعة على اسم الملك الجليل غيربال وبيعة على اسم السيدة العزيزة الطاهرة مدينة الغيوم وأعمالها الغيوم اسم أحد أولاد فقظ ابن مصريم بنها لابنة له فلجهت فنفتها إليها كانت قبل يوسف ابن يعقوب ابن إبراهيم الخليل عليهم السلام وجد عمارتها يوسف هذا وعمل الفقيه ونهى الغيوم وحجر اللاهون بنى بالحاكة وانس بالتقديم والقف بالروح من الله وحفر خليج النهى وعبر أرض مصر وعدة النواحي به تكلممة وشتنة وستين قرية عدد أيام السنة تميز كل قرية يوم وخرج بها الفدانيار وهذه الأعمال تروى أراضيها من أثني عشر ذراع ولا تغفر من ثمانية عشر ذراعاً وبها من الملاح مما ليس لاحده فيه ملك بل للناس مباحاً يتصرفون فيه ويعتنون به على أحوالهم تسعين صنقًا استخرج خراجها في أيام كافور الاستاذ أمير مصر المشهور بالأخشيد. في الدولة العباسية على يد ابن طرخان سنة خمس وخمسين وثلاثمائة للعهد ما مبلغه ستمائة ألف وعشرون ألف دينار وذلك باعت تمكلة وطريق وكان بهذه الأعمال خمسة وثلاثين ديراً وكان الأسقف بها ابناً أفراح في بطريركية تاودورس وهو الخامس والأربعين في العهد والخرج وعما يردد برسم هذه الديارات مما يحمل في بيت المال في كل سنة خمسمائة دينار في كتاب فتح مصر بيد المسلمين ان الغيوم كان يعرف بالابجاوة وكان مصلاح ملأ الصعين فاستنبطه يوسف الصديق وحفر الخليج.
وعمّه فاس كان يزين قطعها ويلقى إنسان ومععه ومضنها
منذ انها تشم وأنها في تلك السنة الآتية تشم قدر ثمرة سنتين
فصل حجرة حجرة توجد بوضع يسبي بالبركة ما بين خريج
ويعتنانً وهي عقبة جبل انها مر بها قافلة أو جيش شدوا على
حوافر دوابهم صوفاً كثيراً ورفعوا في السير ان تلك الحجرة اذا
اصطقت بعضها بعض نار للوقت ضباب مظلم معهم السير ومطر
قوى جداً وقيل ان هذه الحجرة احكمتها الحركة في تلك الأرض
بذا تخلت عنهم المطر علوا تلك الحجرة بها حكمتهم فيانهم
المطر عند الحاجة إلى دزر المطر وذلك في اخبار المصم ووضنها
بعض التواتري وهو صحيح فصل الوجه القبلي بالدبار المصرية
بصيرون وانا سميت باسم وانه اسمه بوصير بها بيعة
كبرى متمسحة جدًا مبنية بالحجارة داخل المدينة تجاور الحصور
عمرت في القدم ولما تواضعت السب واحتياج المراك إلى حجرها نقل
منها حجر كبير جدًا وهي الان خراب ورسومها ظاهرة وهي قريبة
من سجن يوسف الصديق أغنى ابن يعقوب ابن اسحق ابن
إبراهيم الخليل عليهم السلام مدينة ومما بها بيعة جرجيوس
منبهة القائد بها بيعة فصل ابن صالح كان غلام الوزير ابن الفرج
ابن كليم بنانها في الخلافة العثمانية وهي على اسم السيدة
العذراء وهي على البحر ونا بصيرون بيعة على اسم الشهيد
العظيم الشجاع مرقويوس الكبير وباعتين اخاً واحدة للسيدة
العذراء الطاهرة والاخيرة للقدس الشهيد ماري جرجس وبيعة

1 In margin: فيدخلون في الماء وتحركون.
2 In margin: بحكم تقدمه.
مأسور في الجحيم في حفر موتة ودفاعة يقول اخذ من الشيطان كل مأسور في الجحيم فاوجب على السيدة انها ما مات إلا عن خطيئة وذل ذلك غيرها من زكاه الإنجيل غير من كتب العتبة واعتقد ان بعد موته العالم وحشرهم في الفردوس يجري لن لا يتادر في حال حباته مثل ما جرى لآدم واعتقد ان العقاب والثواب في الآخرة على النفس العاقلة النافقة دون الجسد وإن التأديب في هذه الدنيا للجنس حتى لا يعود يوافق النفس على ارتكاب الخطايا لنغورة من آلام القانون فيخلص في اليوم الآخر وجميع ما شرحه من سؤ الاعتقاد موجود في كتبة التي ألفها وهم كتاب الله واله تعالى بالعشرة رؤوس ومن كتبة التي ألفها أيضًا كتاب الله وذمته كتاب العلم والتلمين ينتمى نوافذة اوباب وكتب الله وذمته بالمجمع فيما أهله المرجوع وكتب غير ذلك فصل يذكر فيه خبر المصيدة بارض النبل مكان يجمع فيه يوم معيين سماك كثير يخرج أهل ذلك المكان فيصيردونه بابديهم ولا يهرب منه شئ حتى أن أهل ذلك المكان يأخذوا منه ما يأكلون ويملكون جميعهم فان غريت الشمس في ذلك اليوم لم يعود أحد باختن شئ منه بالجملة ولا ذلك العام لا يوجد في ذلك المكان سماك في يوم من الأيام إلى مثل ذلك اليوم المعني فصل خبر مدينة الحجرا هذه المدينة كلام فيها حجر أسود رائع وصورة معلم صبيان جالسين بين يديها صبيان كثير كبير وصغار ومزاليت سبع ووجوشن وغير ذلك فصل خبر الاستواء المنحنكة بارض مصر وهي استواء رخام ارتفاعها من الأرض سبع عشر ذراع بالعمل وعرضها نزاعين وهو تنتحرك يوم في السنة حركة واحدة فصل خبر الشجرة التي لا تنشر إلا إذا جرى انسان إلى نحوها
وقصد الله أن يُحرِّك في قلوب الذين يصدرون أنفسهم ويرسِّب لهم ما نزل عليهم من القرآن وعندما يبعث الله روح القدس في قلوب الذين يعتقدون ويعت发病 وغيرهم من الذين يعتقدون ويرغبون به، فإن الصدر يكون أداةً للالتباس، فإن روح القدس يتحلى بما يتحلى به الأب بإلهامه وينبغي أن يكون ما يجعله يتحلى بما يتحلى به الأب بإلهامه وينبغي أن يكون مخلوقاً موجوداً بالأب والابن خلقه، وكلما وجد روح القدس بأباه الإلهية فإن كل مخلوقات مخلوقاً موجوداً بالأب والابن خلقه، وكلما وجد روح القدس بأباه الإلهية.

تم اعتقاد أن في طبيعة اللافتات تأتي تأديب وخص بالانتفاض روح القدس.

واعتقد أن كليمة الله الزانية مولودة في إزليتها من الأب ومن روح القدس ويصرح ويفعل ويفعل للاب ابتداء كذكه روح القدس لم يزل متثبت منها غيباب ابتداء ثم اعتقاد أن الله لم يكلم شىء من مخلوقات الله بل كلاهما لإبادة وروح القدس وخلاف جميع ما جاء في كتاب الله العظيم والجديد.

من كلام الله لم يعتقاد أن الإله والإديب كانا مجددون في التجمع لذويهم الذي لم يقرروا يخلصوا أنفسهم مما عملوه من طاعة الله وادهم كانوا في التجمع معاقيبين بعقبة إلى أن خلصهم الرب المسيح الذي هو بلا خطيئة ثم اعتقاد أن الإله والإديب خاليين من موهبة روح القدس ثم أن روح القدس لم يتكلم على أفواههم ويسبب الإله والإديب عمة روح القدس وقال لوكان فيهم روح القدس لم يبطوا إلى التجمع وادعم سوبر هذا الإعتراف بأن كل الحسنات التي عملها الإله والإديب كان الله يحسب ذلك للشيطان.

فإن بهذا الحكم كان الشيطان يساعدهم على عمل الحسنات بغير روح القدس ثم عضد ذلك اعتقاده الحسنات التي عملها التلاميذ وكافة شعب المسيح يعتبد بها للمسيح بحكم أنهم يعملونا بروح القدس واعتقد أن لا يموت أحد من لديهم، وإلى هؤلاء جزاء الإله إذا عمل خطيئة يستحق بها الموت وإن حسن المسيح خاصه لم يعمل خطيئة يستوجب بها الموت فما مات أخذ من أبيه كل
الله وطلب خلاص نفوسهم الاغترار بتمتعه وأن يدخل معاً في
زمرته فاؤول ما استقفهم به إن يعترفوا له بخطاباهما ثم ابتدت في
نفوسهم إن بغير ذلك لا تكون توبة ولن غفران ثم أمرهم أن لا
يحلقوا أرواحهم جميعها بل وسط أرواحهم ويتفرحوا الختان لأن الله
خلف آدم كامل بغير دفعت وقال كما برا صورة آدم وكمهما حسنًا
جداً وهذه السنة لم تثبت عليها إلا اليهود والنصفي وانه لا يجوز
البعض في البيعة بغير اللبان الذي قدم للسبر مع الذهب والبراءة
فإن لا يغسل الإنسان عنه بما تعبير القران كل ذلك أوله فاؤولًا
وهم يسقرون له في واحدة واحدة في مرة تنفيذ عن خمسة عشر
سنة ثم في آخر الأمرهم إن يصلحو بالإصبعين والقراب بالقراب
المحبب الذي يقدس عليه يوم الأحد ويرفعه الكاهن عندئه ويضرب
منه للمعتريين الذين يرومون القراب بعد الاعتراف وعمل القانون
يخرج منه السر ويضاف إلى خمار جدير يصله عليه ببغرقة ويتقرب
به وإبطل ثلاثة أيام صوم ذيئن والجمعية الأولى من الصوم على
رسم طائفة الملكية وحل جمعة ذيئن الذي يكول فيها الزفر يومي
الاربعاء والجمعية فتبيق له من الأردنسيين من أخذ حرمه منه
واعتبر به من تابعة من التصار اسم امراعادية الذي ظهره ووضعه
الكتب التي أفتها ما يكون عنه طائفة من طوابض التصار
جميعهم ولا الملكية أيضاً الذي قرب منهم بما تقدم شرحه لانه
وضع في كتبة أن التلاوت المقدس ثلاثية الهيئة لكل منهم حد الكمال
بكلمة وروح تعمهم طبع واحد واثنان مثل آدم وحوى وهادب
الذي هم ثلاثة أشخاص يعمهم طبع واحد وكل واحد منهم كامل
مثل كمال الآخر ثم مثب الثلاثة واعتقان أن للباب الملك والرئاسة
على ابنه وروح قدسه واده يامرهما وإنهاهما وإنهما تابعان له
تاريخ الشيخ إبى صلح

فخير ابن القنبر الذي صار قسيس بغير استحقاق من وجوه عديدة وتميّز مرسوم وفساد راية فيما وضعه من مصنفات في الكتب المختلفة للحق الذي استعمل بها من الناس السادات العرب الذين الفهم واستعمالهم إلى طريق المخالفين، وقد كان قد نزوج امرأة وأقام تحت ضغط فازد اراد ان يتردد وينعزل منها فلم توقفها على ما اراد فتحيل وزوجها في الخفية لغيره وجاء إلى ابنا يونس استغف دمسيس وأوهمه انيا ترهبته وسكت الدبير مع الربائد فرحية وقامة قسيس فلم يخف امره بعد ذلك وبلغ الاب البشر ابنه يونس خبره وهو الثاني وسبعين في عدد الابة البطاركة حرومة وقطعة وربع مئة قليسا قد اكتشف عن صحيح امره كما استعمال صفة قبل ان يرهب وتسبع قسيس وصار شريرا له في اثره واستخفافه بالقوانين الإبسطالية إن بولس الرسول يقول إن امرأة إذا هي اختارت أن تعتزل عن بعدها بموافقة منه لها فيما ارادت فلا تتزوج غيره فإن آدرت التزوج فتتعود إلى بعدها الأول والرجل فلا يعتزل زوجته بالجملة وهذا اعتزل زوجته واحتجها تعتزل عنه وزوجهها لغيره ثم لما اظهر نفسه بالعلم وتفسير الكتاب المقدس ترجمها من القبطي للعربي ثم تفسير ذلك تفسير التفسير على قد انتصر في عقله ولا اقام في كنيسة دمسيس اختفاء الدليل الذي يدل على ما يجب قراءته في كل يوم من موسى الإنجيل وكتب البيعة المقدسية وجعل هو نفسه الدليل أي مثى امر بأخراجه من فصول الإنجيل والرسائل والكتاليقون والإبرهيمز يبخر ما يقوم في نفسه وما يفسره

Fol. 14b

Fol. 15a
به عادة فقال ابن المنبر لعن الله ساعة صارت منكم فقال له الباي تشريخ والسلامة ثم بعد ذلك قيل لى يعرف له كنيسة في سبسطة بعد ذلك جرى له فيها فقال مطردها للبطرك أعطني من المطرية ودعا يأخذ له كنيسة إذا رسمت له استفسك البطرك لم يتكلم وجري له مع هذا المطران أعطني مطرب سبسطة أمر قبرح اقتضي وثوب المطران عليه وضرب ضرب موجعاً وكسف رأسه في ملا من الناس وذلك في شهر أب سنة أخرى وتسمية كنائسية وفيه أيضا حضر هذا الشياق ابن المنبر ورجع طلعت إلى الباب البطرك ابن مرسق ومعه ابن عبدون وواحد من أجل إصحاب البطرك يدخل عليه إلى قلبيته بالعلامة وهو في جماعة فقال له البطرك إيش جذابك إلى عندي يا صاحب هذا الزى المغير عن صغننا ومد يده إلى رأسه وطرح البطلة ودقي مكشور الرأس ودان واحد تلامين البطرك أعاد البطلة على رأسه فصع ضع ذلك على البطرك وذكر على التلمين ما فعله بغير أن وقى紙 من عنده وخرج معنا لا يعرف كيف يمشى ثم أصل ذلك دبطرك الملكية فاحضره وذكر عليه وقال له تطلع إلى بطرك قد خالفت أمانه كيف يستفهم له ذلك ثم من بطرك الملكية شبعه دبطرق القرير وقام به هو إصباحة مالكاً لا أطرش لا يرجع إلى شيء غير المخلوق لكل طائفة ملأ بنفسه إنه تحيك وينب علية الحجل وإقام بعد ذلك مدة يسيرة ومات وقد خسر نفسه ودفوس الذين أظهراهم بخبداءه فأصل ثم بعد موتة وجدت رعية في اوراق بحذ إدا ميطاني مطران ميطاني وهو يقول لولف هذا الكتاب وربما كانت جواب عن مكتبة له في أمر ابن المنبر وما أثر في الوجود من الشر ضمنها التكبير المسكين ميطاني بدمياط يوضع لمحبة الأنغ ما اتصل به من أمر
سقط ودخل في جملة الهرطقة المخالفين الذين ظننا أن مشيمة الناسوت مخلوقة لمشيمة الراهوت وصار مخرومًا من ثلاث بطاركة إبنا يونس وهو في العدد الثاني والسبعين وتنينج هذا البطريرك وهذا الشقي معقود بسحوره ليس له منها خلصًا وبطريرك أنطاكية وهو إبنا ميخائيل وإبنا مرقس وهو الثالث وسبعين في العدد وستين أسقفًا بالوجهي البحرى والقبلي، فصل وكان هذا ابن القنبر قد جمع جماعة من الملكية المخالفين لنا في الإمامة الإرثنسية مع من انتهى إليه من جهال القبط السادحين قد ورد إلى قليوب وارد أن يستميح بها قومًا من أنهم فسع به كاتب البلد وضامن البلد وغيرهم من الجماعة الإرثنسية فراحوا إليه وقالوا عليه ومسكوا هو وجماعته والرموهم بوزن البحرية ورسموا عليهم وأعلموا وإلى البلد بأن هذه الجماعة مخالفين لشرعهم وهم تحت حروح البطريرك وكل اض حلا بها لا بد أن يحصل لأهلها تلك فاطابهم منهم المجاعة ولا تفارقهم حتى نأخذ منهم شيء ليلب بطلعوا البلد في خفية فعثر على لاهل البلد نكت فطلبعهم الوالي واعتقلهم ولم يفارقهم حتى أقاموا أسبوع عشر دينار على سبيل الجزية وبعد وزنهم الجزية كتبوا عليها حق هذا الساقمة إدما لا يطلبوا قليوب سوى عبر طرق طالبين المدينة أو غيرها ولا ينرلون بها بالحملة الكافية وخرجوا من قليوب باسو حال ثم بلغه وصول بطريرك الملكية من الإسكندرية واتم مقيم بهاوان فتوجه إليه ليسلم عليه ويهنه بالسلامة ومعه جمعية يركوبو مقاتلة. أنا أنشينا حالة وكان قد اجتمع عند هذا البطريرك جماعة من المطاردة بين أمناء مطاردة البلاد فدافعوا للبطريرك ما أحدثه عليهم مما يخرج عن قوادين من مذهبهم فنظروا في ذلك وقالوا ان هذا رجل قبطى وهو يفعل ما لم نجز

Fol. 13 a

[II. 7] c
من السرائِر المقدسة استحلقه الإب البطريركي بحضور جماعة من
الأساقفة والكهنة أنت لا تعود لما ذهبت عنه فجعل بالابيان المؤكد
والمؤذن المحررة قبل أن يتناول السرائِر المقدسة وتوجه إلى
موطنه فما لبث يومًا واحدًا حتى عاد لما كان عليه ولم يقف عند ما
عهد ثانية عليه قدم مذبح الله بحضور الأساقفة وحضور الكهنة
والاريختة والسماسة ومجمع الشعب الارتدكي فحصل أنه لم
يخفض من الله ولم يستحكي من الناس بعد أن فسخ له في تناوله
القرابين فوق هيكل الله وفسخ لى اتبع رابه أن يتقربوا باكرًا يوم
عبد الأربعين شهيد الكائن في ثلاث عشر برهمات الذي هو من
عدد صوم الأربعين المقدس ومنع فيه من تناول النبوي وزيبة
القارب لبعضهم بعض إلى غير ذلك مما شعر عنه وصار يركب
وحاولية جماعة من اتباعه ويسير في بلاد الريف بمنزلة الوالة
ويعمل له وجمعته ولائم ثم انتهى عنه أنه استقل إلى طائفة الملكة
واعترف بالطبقتين والمشتقين وقلوه اليه وتبى من أمادة
ساريست وديوسارس ابائنا البطراركة الذين قاموا الملوك والروسا
بالذين واروا تبع الملك في اعتقاده وملد رجعوا عن أمادة الثلثمائة
وثمانية عشر الإبا الأولين الذين قاموا ديولناديوس الكافر
وقساوا العذاب اثناء وقطعت أعضا بعضهم على الإمامة الصادقة
التي قرها الإبا البطراركة والإساقفة بحبيب روح القدس ومنعوا
وأحرموا من يخرج عنها ويعتقد غريها وكان هذا الشقي الآمٍ
ال بصيرة والقلاب كما قال بعض الإبا أفرز نفسه من طقس الإخوة
كمثل يهودا الإستمروري لهذا ابعد الله من طقس الأرثوسيبين
كمية ابعد الشيطان من طقوس الملائكة العلويين لكيريان وظن بهزائه أنه
الكبر فلهذا سقط وهذا الشقي مرقص ذل بنفسه أنه حكيم ولذلك
بادئة لا يجوز له فعل ما جسر عليه بعد ما يكتب ما ينطوي منه فذكر كل منهم خطأ بما جرى من خلاف لشرعية وارد لا يجوز له فعل ما جسر عليه ولا يفسح له في هوى نفسه الذي ارتكبه وخلاف الشرع ويكبر كل منهم عليه القطع والحفر ثم لم يقنعه ما فعله وكونه لم يقف عند إيمانه التي حلف بها على الإنجيل وحسي القديس العظيم المضودة في دعوة الله ولا خلافة لشرعية وقبولة ما وجب عليه في شريعة النصارى الذي هو منهم حتى كتب قصة ورفعها للسلطان ضمنها أنه يروم على مجلس مع البطرك ومؤجر فيها وقال ما اراد والطيب كان معه على泄露 القاضي الفاضل ابن على البيساني ما هذه نسختة ادّت رجل كبير الفضول وبطرس البابا تقول عن رجل بركأ عن الضرير عن حقيقة مرهبة أدى خرج واتى ببقالة غير معتادة قررت بها كلمة شعبه وقعت سنة الإمار التاجم إهل دينه وقد ذهبت دفعة وقعت على العودة من النفاغ بغير نسخة ومع هذا فاخرج إما ليس له رتبة ولا حكم ولا تنصرف في تقدمة على النصارى ولا حكم بينهم إلى أن يعقد له مجلس شرعيا ينقضي أخره اما أن تكون منهم فلا تخالفهم وإنما أن تكون خارجاً عنهم فانَّهُطل على الموسمين وأصحاب الكتاب فيلمت الإسلام فانَّهُ خارج ولا نصرانياً انتهى ذلك، فقل ولما استقر في جهة إقامة مستمرة على ما كان عليه في طريقته الأولى ثم حصر إلى القلاية بكنيسة المعلقة ببصرة وجلب بين يدي البطريق واعترف بنذره وسال العفو عنه فاجيب إلى ذلك وأقية الصلاة والقداس ولما حضر لينقرب

1 In the margin ضال.

2 فذكر القاضي الفاضل على قصته ما هذه نسخته.

3 نصراني.

4 يهودى.
совалهم وكتب لرئيس الدير باحضار مرقص هذا إلى المكان الذي فيه جسد المسيح ابنا عطودة ومستحلفه عليه وعلى انجيل
يوحننا بأنه لا يعود يفعل شيئا مما كان يفعله وبعد ذلك يفسح
له في عونته ففعل ذلك واطلقه في بلاده بفضل هذا الشرط فصل
وكان مرقص المذكور قرب وصل إلى الريف من دير عطودة بعد
استتحلافه على الإنجيل المقدس وجلس ابنا عطودة المذكور
والعفو عن منه أنه لا يعود لما كان عليه ولا يجري على قوانين البيعة
وما حلته الشريعة وان هذا مرقص المذكور لما وصل إلى بلاده عاد
لما كان عليه وأخذ واجترع بالله من جهالة الإرياف والكفور
والبلاد جمع كبير جدا ما ينادى خصمه الإف رجل ووصلت اخباره
إلى قلوب ومنهم من اطاعه ورجع الله وأوجبوا على نفسه ما
قرره على كل منهم وذهب حتى أن منهم من وجب على نفسه ما
يعمله الله من ماله وثمرة بستانه وكرمة وعشر ما يتحمل له من
المال ويعمله الله وراء ما كان عليه أولا فكتب الله الإب بطريرك
يشعره بما سيكون من أمره ان لم يرجع ويرهبه ويتوعدهما سوف
يحل به ان تم على طباهه وخروجه عن ما حلف به ولم يقف
على اسمه ووعظه وحذره عن عاقبة الإبامل والخلاف وقبول المتع
وان عاقبة هذا تنتهي الى الهلاك السوء فلم يلغة ما كتبه بطريرك
بل تواصى وراء في طباهه وخلقه ولم يرجع فكتب البطريرك للأسفاقه
بالوجه البضري كتب تتضمن قضية حاله من ابتداؤها إلى ادتهاها
وأما تضمنية القواعد التي بها يعجب قطعة بالتحريم المؤكد على هو
استمر على طباهه وتمسك بطلالة شيطانه وأن يكتب كل منهم خطبة

1 Effaced.
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلح

أن يتسبعوا بالبيتون والجُهلًا في شيء من سننهم المستدعيين بينهم في وقتنا هذا. وقام بهذا القول الّذي كثيرة ومنع أن لا يبخر في الكنيسة بالسندروس بل بالبيتون لأنهم قد ألصقهم بالذهب والمر في هذا الوَجَه لا يجرب أن يبخر في الكنيسة بغيره ويقول لن
يعترف له أنا أحمل عينك بعض خطيبك والبعض يعبغ له من الله بعمله القانون ومن يأخذ عن خطابه قانونًا في الدنيا لم يجرب
الله عليه قادرًا ثانيًا في الآخرة وصاروا أصعب المعترفين عليه بسكونه ابوتا المعلم وأنا وقفت في الكنيسة اجتمع بينه جماعة كبيرة
واختار سبب كثير لم تكن في البيعة ثم تحققت ذلك الإبا الإسقاطة
بالوجه البخري وطالعوا به الإبا البطريرك إبنا مرقس وهو الثالث والسبعين في العيد فذكر ذلك عليه وكتب له كتب يعذب وينهيه
وبعده بمواضع تغريزة له فلم يسمع منه ولا رجع له فاؤوبت الضرورة
البطريرك ان يسبر له يطلب فطاع الرب إلى القلادة بتكنية المعلقة

بمصر وقض له سنوين بحضره جماعة من الأساقفة والكهنة القدوس
والاردخنة وقال له أعلم أن من حل شيء من إوضع البيعة وأمر
الشعب بخلافها فاده تحت تعبئة الشرع فلم لا ترجع عن ما انت
عليه وجرت معه خطوب كثيرة تقرر اخريها أنه برضي مستغفًا به
مع وكلا من جهة البطريرك إلى دير إبنا انتهية قريبًا من أطبم
واللذي في شهر امثير سنة تسعيين وثمانية للشهداء الإبرار وأن يكن
هو وجيب بعض الإخوة يملكون شعور رؤوسهم ثم تصر من هذه
الحالة وقض الباب البطريرك ومطارع عليه بمالته وأخوته وخلاة
ولم يزالوا على يديه ورجلته وبسوا الاردخنة له حينئذ أجاب

يكون 3
ثانيًا 2
يجب 1
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صالح

وأربعين دينارًا البصيرة أربعة عشر دناحى ثلاثة عشر وكفور
كفبر واحد تسعة وثلاثين ألفًا وثلاثمائة وتسعين دينارًا الغيمية ستة
وستين دناحى خمسة وخمسين كفور واحد عشر مائة ألف وخمسة
وأربعين ألفًا ومائتي وثمانين دينارًا الهيمناوية مائة وخمسة
دناحى أربعة وثمانين كفور أحد وعشرين مائتي ألف اثنين وثمانين
ال ألفاً وثمانين دينار واحد الإسمودين مائة وواحد عشر دناحى أربعة
وخمسين كفور سبعة وخمسين مائة ألف وسعة وعشرين ألفاً وستمائة
وستين وسبعين دينارًا السبوطية أربعة وخمسين دناحى اثنين
وشرين وكفور اثنين وثلاثين وكان في الخلافة المستنصرة
واستخرج ذلك في أيام ابن الكحلاط القاني قِسَّم ثم ذكرت في
أيام الأفضل وله في الخلافة الإمارية دينار واحد وثلث قسم
في وزارة رضوان ابن ولخشي في خلافة الحافظ دينارين قسم
وكان بالوجه البديع مرقس الصرير ابن موهوب المعروف بابن القنبر
قد جعله أسقف دمياط قضًا وقدس وتناول الشعب من السرائر
المقدسة فانتهى أمره للإب البطريرك إدنا يوحنا وهو الثاني وسبعين
في العهد فانكر ومعنة وقطعه ثم نصه نفسه لتغ细菌 كتب البيعة
وابح نظر قلبته معما عنده من العلوم ثم اهتم الشعب أن
من لا يعترف لمعلم بختياءه ويعمل القانون من خطاباه لا يجوز
له ان يتناوي الغربان وإن مات بغير اعتراف للكاهن مات بخطبته
وراح للبحرين فعاد الشعب يغترمون له وتركوا الاعتراف على المجاورة
ومالوا جميعهم اليه وسمعوا قوله واجتمع اليه جماعة من السامرة وكان
يجدلهم ويدعو لهم أن الذي جاء للعالم هو المسيح المنتظر ود
منهم جماعة وفسق للشعب في تربية شعورهم مثل الملكية ومنع
من الختانة وقال ابنا الختانة لليهود والحنفية ولم يحل للنصارى
وفور واحد وأربعين سبعين ألفاً وثمانمئة وثمانية وخمسين ديناراً
الواحدة سبعين دواحى تسعة وثمانمئة وثمانية وثلاثين، ففور
ثالثة وخمسون ألفاً وسبعمئة أحده ستين ديناراً الإبرازية ستة
دواحى وستة كفور أربعة آلاف وسبعمئة دينار جزيرة قوسيمي أربعة
وسبعين دواحى ثمانية وستين وكفور ستة مائة ألف وتسعة وخمسين
الفًا وسبعمئة أربعة وستين ديناراً الغريبة قلشمئة أربعة عشر دواحى
مائة وتسعة وأربعين كفور مائة خمسة وستين اربعمئة ألف وثلاثين
الغًا وسبعمئة وخمسين ديناراً السمنودية مائة وتسعة
عشرين دواحى سبعين وسبعة وتسعة وثلاثين مائتي
الغ وسبعمئة وسبعة وخمسين ديناراً المنوفيتين مائة ودواحية دواحى
تسعة وستين وكفور أثنتي وثلاثين مائة ألف وأربعين ألفاً وسبعمئة
وثلاثي وأربعين دينارًا قوة والمراحميين ثلاثة عشر دواحى عشرة
كفور ثلاثة ستة آلاف وثمانين ديناراً النستراوية ستة دواحى ستة
اربعة عشر ألف وسبعمئة عشرة دنجادير شديد والجديدية وادكو
ثلاث دواحى ثلاثة آلاف ديناراً جزيرة بنى دصر أربعية وستين دواحى
احد وأربعين كفور ثلاثة وعشرين اثنتي وخمسة ألفاً وخمسين
ثمانية دنجادير البخيرة مائة وستة وسبعين دواحى ثمانية وسبعين
كفور وتسعة وثمانين مائة ألف وسبعمئة وثلاثون ألفاً وسبعمئة
وثلاثة

Fol. 8b

двa

Fol. 8a
تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلاح

يذكر عليه ارتفاعه في البيع والإدارة بالوجهين القبلى والبصري
لسنة خمس وسبعين وخمسمائة مما كان بين النصارى من ادام
الخليفة الفاطميين إلى آخر سنة تسعة وستين وخمسمائة الهلالية
الخراجية ونقل منهم إلى المسلمين ولم يبق شيئا منه في أيدى
النصارى ونكا في دولة الغز الأكراد في آخر خلافة المستضى
بامر الله وملكه صلاح الدين يوسف ابن أبوب الكردي من العين
القفر وتسعمائة ثلاثة وعشرون ديناراً و من الغز اربعة آلاف وثمان
مائة وستة وعشرين اربداً ومن الغز تسعمائة وخمسة عشر فرداء
الوجه القبلي ارعمائة وسبعاء وستين ديناراً والغز المعينة وتسع
مائة وستة فدادين الوجه البصري الغز وارعمائة وخمسة واربعون
ديناراً وتسع فدادين فصل تجرب اضاحاة في هذا الكتاب ووصف
الذي أشكل عليه عدعة النواحي والكفور بأعمال الدولة وغيره مال
اقطاعها خارجاً عن مدينة الاسكندرية وغير دمياط وطنين وقطر
وقدابة وبركة الحبش بظهر مصر والمقدرين ذلك وهو ستين الف
دينار عن الغز وثمانية سبعة وثمانون داحية ودحاوية الكفور الف
وثلاثة وستين ديناراً داحية وكفور ثمانية وتسعمائة كفر وثلاثة
الأخبر الوعيد وستين الف ديناراً فصل الوجه البصري من جميع
اع الغز وخمسائة وثمانية وتسعون دواحي تسعمائة وسبعة عشر
كفور سعمائة احده وثمانين الف والفارعين المبكر والفرعين
الشرقية ارعمائة اثنان وخمسين دواحي مائتين واربعون ربع الف
مائة ثمانية وخمسين سعمائة الف أربعة وخمسين الفاً ومائة احده
وعشرون ديناراً المرتانية تسعة وثمانين دواحي وثمانية واربعين

1 دينار 2 الفان 3 شهر

Fol. 7b
النمس منهم شيخًا على حكم المصانع، مما تصل القدير إليها. فاغفلت الكنيستين بعد ذهاب الكنيسة الكبيرة وسمر بابها بلغ إلى آخر يوم الجمعة الثالث عشر شعبان سنة 1027 وثمانين وخمسين وصل انسان ارمني وزكانته من أصحاب تاج الدولة بهرام الأرميني الذي كان وزيراً للإمام الحافظ وزكانته كان دفني مثلّاً تاج الدولة الوزير المذكور في الكنيسة الكبرى وإنه حضر ليظهره فلم يسمع له وقيل إنه جاء ينخلي حتى تفتح الكنيسة ويغمر في بعض المواقع ويقول المال عدم من هنا والذين تهبو الكنيسة خذوها ويتظلم وتنتم له الكنيسة مفتوحة فيقي فيها ما قبض المخال السادة الذين وضع عليها تخمي ناني من قبل الملك المظفر ولم يجد في ذلك شيء ولا توجه تغي الدين إلى الشام في شهر شعبان سنة 1027 وثمانين وخمسين وخمسين وصل الملك العادل أبو بكر إلى القاهرة أمر بالإفراغ عن هذه البيعة الأثنين في العاشر من شهر رمضان من السنة المذكورة وتسليم القبط البيغتينهم والأرمن وقروا وكان مدة غلقها سنة واحدة خمسة عشر يومًا وقتسوا القبط في الكبرى أحد عشر من شهر كييك البكر سنة ثلاث وتسعين لشهداء الأبرار ثم منع القبط الأرمن من البيعة الكبرى وتحذرت في ذلك جماعة من الأكابر وقدت البيغتين بين الأرمن قصر الخطر المعروف باستيل الفيل معجور برزى قارون وذلك بين مصر والقاهرة ولهذا الخطر المذكور بيعة وإستمتعت ثم صارت ساحة وباقي جدرانها ظاهر على وجه الأرض وجعل موقعها مسجدًا انشئته حسين الكرد صهرصلاح أبي رزى الوزير في خلافة الإمام العادل لدين الله الرحمن الوسيط والمقيم في الإسلام. 

1. إحدى 
2. Effaced.
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلاح

الاسبوع عدّة شهور ثم مرّ من ومات ولم يبلغ مقتودة وفِن في كنيسة الأرمن بالزهري، دخّل الله نفسه فسلّم، ولا كان في يوم الإحدى، أعني أحد الربتونة أول الجمعية الثامنة من الصوم المقدس: أول شهر برمودة سنة 1832، وتسعين وثمانية للشهداء الإبرار حضر إلى هذه البيعة جماعة من الكهنة والشيوخ من جملتهم أبو سعيد، ابن أبي الفضل ابن فهد النحال وابن أبي العين، ابن أبي الفرج ابن أبي اليمن، ابن رفتبور وضِع ابنها أو أخذ فيه زيت طين يأكله، الحاج، وجعله داخل الكنيسة ثم طباه فلم يجدوا فانهم الحرس المسلمين به وخلوا غلمانهم ضربوهما فمضوا الحرس إلى الفقيه بها الذين على الدمشقي مستغيثين لما حل بهم وقالوا له يضرب المسلمين اليوم النصارى في شهر رمضان في وجوههم ولهما طالع السلطان لهذه القضية فعظم ذلك عليه وأحضر صفي الدولة أبي المعالي ابن شراقي كابنه، وأنكر عليه ذلك وطلب منه التوقيع الذي كان أخذه، بان يتمكنوا النصارى القبط من التصرف في هذه الكنيسة وكان بالإتفاق الردّ التوقيع في كنيسة فما خرجوا ونوقف له ورسم باب هذه الكنيسة فامتثل ذلك لوقتا وغلق باب الكنيسة، وبعد قليل رسم للقبط بتوقيع ثاني بعدها الكنيسة لهم وان يفتح لهم بابها ويصلون فيها وإلاً لا يعارضهم أحد، ووجهه ولا سبيل واستمر بعد ذلك حالها على الوضع الصحيح وأفرق للصلاة فيها أيام الإفطار والإفطار لاحقًا، كنيسة السيدة الظاهرية بسحر الروم، وبعد هذا وصل إلى الباب، من طوس فقيه، وامام واقطع له البستان المتقدم ذكره مما كان يزيد الققيع على الدمشقي بعد وفاته، فضيف على النصارى

العِشْرِينَةِ ١، ٢، ٣، ٤

العِشْرِينَةِ ١، ٢، ٣، ٤

جُلْدُهم ضرّوا بهم

Fol. 6 a
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صالح

بالنسبة إلى الذي كان قضى القضاة ببغداد في يوم الاثنين السابع والعشرين من شوال، سنة ثمانين وسبعين وخمسين، فليس ولم يبق في طائفة الإسلام من له كلمة تسليما القبل بتوقيع مولانا السلطان بسفارة الشيخ الرئيس صاحب الدولة ابن أبي المعالي المعروف بابن شرفي. كان هذة البيعة الكبيرة العتيقة البناء، وحفر معالمها الأمير سعيد الدولة بهرام ومحمد الترس، ولفما كمل الشيخ صاحب الدولة ما يحتاج إليه في القيادة للبيعة على يد القائد أبو الوفا ابن أبي البشر حصر إليها الباب أدرك ابنه رفيق، وهو الثالث والسبعين في العهد، ودبا يوحنا أسقف طميين واسقف بسطة ابن ميخائيل وجمعية من الكهنة والإخوة، والشعب الأندلسي، وكرست في يوم الاربعاء السابع والعشرين من بودرة سنة ثمانين وتسعون وثمانية للشهداء الإ Леبر. وقامت فيها وقرب الشمع، من يد هلاصول هذه البيعة بطريركية وتوالا الفئد بن ذلك بها كهنة بيعة السيدة بحارة الروم بالقاهرة. واهتم أبو سعيد ابن الزياد بن تصوير حاف هذة البيعة من صنعة أبي الفتح ابن الاقصي المعروف بابن الكوكب المصور، وكن ذلك في أشهر سنة ثمانين وتسعين وثمانية للشهداء الإ لبر. فصل بهم من بلاد الإعرس مصطفى وعمر ثلاثة قوسين من قبل ملك الأردن والبطريرك وعلي يد تقليل منهما. وكتابين أحدهما من الملك صالح الدين والأخر من الملك سيف الدين. بو بكل إخوة إلى الملك تقي الدين يوكل في كتبهما بقرار الإسقف، وأن يسلم إليه كنيسة الإرس بالزهراء والبستان. وبدا هذا الإسقف بكنية يوحنا المعدان بحارة ويلة فلم يمكّن الفقهاء الطوسي من ذلك، وقوى عليه واقام.

1 For أثنين وتسعين, so generally throughout.
2 For أثثنين وتسعين, so generally throughout.
3 وتّل
4 لابي
5 ثلاثون
6 كتبان
7 أبو
8 For لابي.
وقال له أردن اليوم أكشف الوجه سراً لم يطلع عليه أحد غير استان.

أحدها كانت تكون الثانية فقال له أخته أكشفي عن سوئته وقال:

لا جدل طويلة والإثنين وفي هذه الجدلة حجة فاستعملت من حجة القضايا فذكر إنه كان قد لحقتها مثل هذه المحجة وهو صبي فاكثت من القضايا جميعاً حتى لم يبق منه غير هذه الجدلة التي تراها وما قادت الحجة في هذا الوقت وقال أختي داوينة إلى

أن برئ وزالت الحجة واستعملت منه حال الاستان فذكر أنه كان

رفع فيه إلى الحافظ بسبب ابنه البى إصال فادها كانت جميلة

الصورة وكانت تأتي الية وتخدعه وتستشريره وتعرروه عليه وتقلب

فادها ولم يكن أحد يقدر أن يخلو بها لاجي دبانتها وقعلها

واستشرير أمر خلوتها به وتربيها إلى فلانيته فاجتمع به ذلك الاستان

في أمرها وقال له أن بعض الناس يتهورك بها فقال له لو كشف للناس

أمرها في حال عضو التناسل لم يتتحدث في أحد ولقد الله متولي

السراير بعلم الظاهر والباطن وان حملته نفسها أن اخبر الحافظ بصورة

الحال وسألة في أن بسير من مناه من يتغب زوره لكشف ما أدعاها

البطريق من حال عضو التناسل فسير له استان من أكابر خدامه

مؤتمه عليه على خراز ماله وصاحب القول عندن بكشف له عن

ذلك فلم يكتبه أن يمسى من ذلك فاطعه على أمره وزالت

الشبهة عنه وظهرت براءته وباطل ما نقلله عنه وكان هذا القول بعد

توجهه إلى الشام ووفاته به وكان اجتماعي أنا التحير نائم هذا

الكتاب بابى القاسم هذا عند الإعر حسن ابن سلامة المعروف

1

طاعون.
تاريخ الشيخ إبى صلاح

6

يدّه من آدية المزابح ودناذير ذهب وذكر أن في هذا الدير من
الإيران 1800 راهباً وجعل له القاهرة قسيساً ذائباً عنه مع وله
القس لإقامة الصلاوات والقداسات في أوقاتها في كنيسة ديوانا
المعمدان على بيعة السيدة الطاهرة بعبارة زتيلة على ما قدم شرحة
أولاً وتجمع بها جمعة من طائفة الإيران من الرجال والنساء والدير
الذي لهذه الطائفة والكنائس فلزك خالً مسعود الباب قصل
وصلت البشائر بوصولاً إلى البيت المقدس سالمًا وتلقى جميع
النصاري بالابتهاج والفرح بالقراة والصلبان قدامة والشروع الموقود
المجاعر والباخرة قصل ثم أقام إباماً في عيشة صالحة وتنبج إلى رحمة
الله سبحانه وتعالى في الخامس من شهر طوبة من السنة المذكورة ودفنا
في دبّر يعقوب 3 ابن زيد بن مسعود وكان حسن الخلق جميل
الصورة فتام القامة مستدير اللحية وقد وخطبة الشيب من العرقيين
هذا وعمر ما ينافر 4 نضاء سنة قسل وذكر أن استحق الإرس المقيم
بالبيت المقدس لما رأى اجتماع الناس إلى هذا البطريرك القديس
لما فئة الخصائص الجميلة حسده واسفائه قطعت ولم يمهد الله هذا
السقف بعده ولا هناء بعشيّة صالحة ومات بعده بعشرين يومًا
والله اعلم بالسر فيما دُقِّل عن السقف وكان البطريرك المتقدم ذكره
كأهناً عالياً بصيراً بالكتاب الإلهي مفسراً لها وكان قوماً حسدوه لنزاه
الجميل بين الناس فقالوا عنه إنه يحاجر الناس وكان هذا قول
من العنسدة زبادة في درّه وقال جامع هذا الكتاب ادئ اجتمعت
بابي القاسم خليل الطبيب الفيلسوف العظيم وقال إنه حضر
إلي هذا البطريرك المذكور في بعض الأيام في قلبته بدير الزهرى

1822

1 قوم 5 من 5
2 ثمانيين 4 بن 3
3 الموقدة 2
4 عشرين 1
5 Add
تاريخ الشيخ أبي صلح

المعدان على بيعة السيدة الطاهرة بحارة زويلة وسكنها البطريرك في سنة اربعة وستين وخمسين سنة فحل هذا البطريرك كان استغafa. انتمي إلى حكمة الألفاظ إلى مطران بقطران، أب بأعمال صادع. فهذا وحسن المحافظ ان يكشف له عن السير واللحام وجعل له بالاذن بالحضور على قصر الخلافة في يومي الاثنين والخميس ليسلم عليه وعرف ما يتوجد في كل جمعة والإيام مع الإمراة ووجود الدولة وصار بهما ظلرت به من السير واللحام والترفين والاحمية المبايعين يحضره إليه إلى فتير الزمان ويجتمع به على مثل ذلك واستمر هذا حالا إلى حين وفاة المحافظ في جمادى الآخرة سنة اربع وأربعين وخمسين سنة فضل وتجاوز هذا الدير من خارجة عند الغافورة كابسة لهذا جدا بنها في الخلافة الأوربية للملكيين عوضاً من الكنيسة التي كانت بحارة زويلة وهدمت في الخلافة المذكورة ثم نقلت مسجداً في الخلافة الحافظة قصد في إديته أو إلى البركات 6 أبو النبي الملكي على هذه البيعة المستجردة. وعمارتها على أقيبة وتحتها طافوس للمؤهل ففضل وكان توجهه بطريرك الأرمن إلى البيت المقدس وتعبيته خمسة وسبعون كتاباً من الكتاب الألهية احتدها فيهUCKK القائمة الناشرة دير مصدرين مذهب بعجايب المسيح لجع النجح ومسيرة في يوم السبت الخامس عشر من هنوت سنة ثمان وثمانين وشمسة للشهدها المواقيق لليوم الثالث والعشرين من ربيع الأول سنة ثمان وستين وخمسين سنة مع تلف طاقة بين الغز الأكران وزكروا اسمه 7 دير وفيه كابسة خارج أوشليم على اسم شركيس وشركيس هو أبو سرح وحمل إليها جميع ما كان تحت

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1 اربع 2 استغفا 3 Add 4 بمال 5 بن 6 أبوٌ 7 ديرٌ
تاريخ الشيخ ابي صالح
الإرمني

تذكر فيني إخبار من دواحي مصر واقطاعها

الفصل الأول

بدنى بعون الله وارشاده ان في عصرنا هذا في
ابتداء سنة اربع وستين وخمسيات كان بناء الكنيسة التي على اسم
ماري يعقول باقية البساتين اذ هب بلاد مصر باقية الجبل
في رمان 5 6 امبرا مملاً عليها من جانبين الخضيقة وكان

مصحباً لجميع النصارى الكبير منهم والصغير وكان له في كل شهر
 عشرة دنامير على الاقطاع 2 فكمل تجديد هيئة عماره هذه
 البيعه التي لحرقت وعمل لها قبة عالية على الإسكنة تنظير من
 الابواب وجعلها أقبية وعقودات وكبلها بالابواب الكبيرة ثم اخذت
 الابواب فخّدت عوضها فاختالت ثانياً فجعلها وظل تجديد البيعه
 ولم يكرزها ولن يقدس فيها واذا تنبيه دفن بها وهذا الدير في وسط
 البساتين والرباط والمزروعات وهو من المستنهرات الجسئة فصل
 وللملك الغز الأكران أقليم مصر في شهر ربيع 3 الأخيرة سنة اربع
 وستين وخمسيات وجري للإرمن ما هو مشهور وابعد البطريرك
 الإرمني هو وطبان الإرمن من هذا الدير سبب بابه وبيت
 هذه الكنائس خالية ولا يجلس أحد يسلكه إليها يصل واقطع
 البساتين للفقيه الباها على الديشة وافرق للإرمن كنيسة يوحنا

1 Prefix من
2 Perhaps
3 الاخر

II. 7]
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تاريخ الشيخ ابن صالح

الأرمني

تنكر فيه أخبار من نواحي مصر واقطاعها

طبع

في المطبعة المدرسية في مدينة اوكسفورد

سنة 1899 الميلادية
EGYPT

to accompany
"THE CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT"
attributed to Abu Sâlih.

ENGLISH MILES

Railways
Principal Canals
Protrics

Isle of Elephantine
Monastery
FIRST CATARACT

Ruins of SYENE
Bakurin Quarry
Isle of Philae
Pillar of Bakhîk