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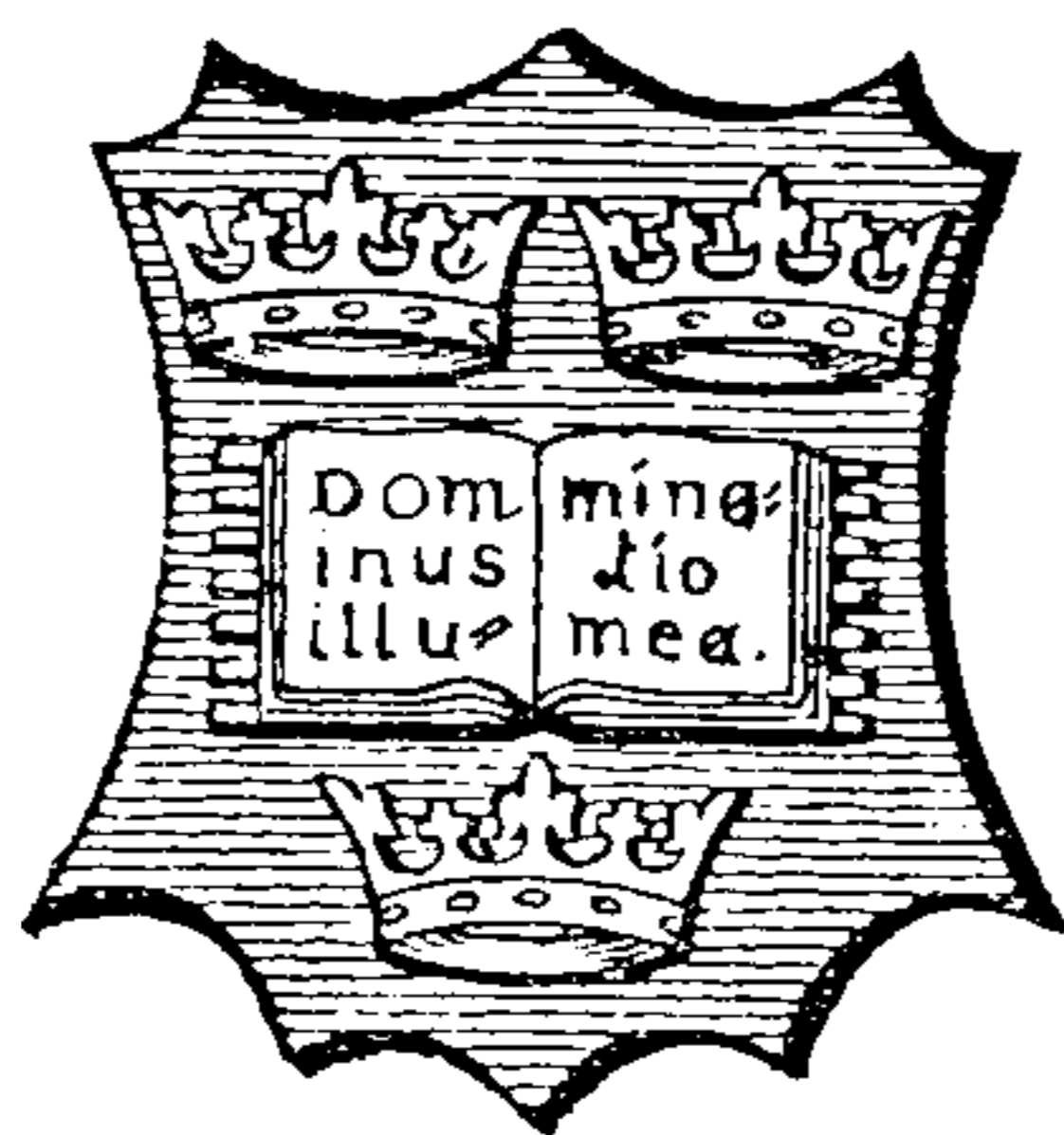
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THE  
Churches and Monasteries of Egypt  
AND  
Some Neighbouring Countries

*ATTRIBUTED TO*  
ABÛ ŞÂLIḤ, THE ARMENIAN

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## P R E F A C E.



THE History attributed to Abû Şâlih 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 Hyvernât, 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 *Ḷ* of the article before the ‘solar letters,’ or the shortening of the long final vowel in *ابو* 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 Şâliḥ, 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 Şâliḥ, 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 زبجة; on fol. 12a is translated as ‘Extreme Unction,’ a meaning which the word bears at least in Africa. In late Arabic, however, زبجة; is also a *nomen verbi* of زاج, and signifies ‘to marry’ or ‘marriage,’ so that our author may perhaps here refer to a practice of marrying within the prohibited degrees then existing among the Copts.

The statements of the Coptic *Synaxarium*, occasionally quoted in the notes to the present edition of Abû Şâlih, are not guaranteed as being always historically accurate. For instance, the Emperor Diocletian is usually represented, without reference to his colleagues in



the empire, as himself carrying on the persecution which goes by his name, although in reality he abdicated two years after the promulgation of the edict which sanctioned and originated it : and, to take another example, St. Theodore is called 'magister militum,' although this office was not instituted until the reign of Constantine. Nevertheless valuable traditions of early Church history, and in particular of the great persecution itself, are embodied both in the *Synaxarium* and in the Coptic *Acts of the Martyrs*, on which it is partly founded.

## INTRODUCTION.

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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 (صَالِح) is one of those which may by common custom be written defectively without the l; see Vernier, *Grammaire arabe*, i. p. 91. Hence there is no reason to adopt the form 'Abû Selah,' used by Renaudot, Quatremère, Amélineau, and others. It must, in the absence of further proof, remain doubtful whether 'Abû 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 (Սարգիս, *Sarkis*) is, as Mr. F. C. Conybeare recognizes, correctly transcribed in Arabic as شركيس, *Sharkîs*, and explained as being equivalent to سرجة, *Sirjah*. It may be maintained, therefore, as a proba-

## CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

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 Şâlih, 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-Jamâlî, the Armenian vizier to the caliph Al-Mustanşir; 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-Ḳâsim al-'Asḳalânî, 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-Ḳanbar 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 Şâlih 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

‘Abou Selah (sic), and was an Armenian by nationality’ (*Géogr.* 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’ûnah 2, A. M. 1054 = Dhu ’l-Ḳa’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 Abû Şâlih 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-Maḳrîzî 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-Maḳrîzî, composed works, which are now lost, on the subject of the Christian monasteries, and the most celebrated of them was Ash-Shâbushtî, who is quoted by our author and also by Al-Ḳazwîni, Yâḳût, Al-Maḳrîzî, and others.

Indeed, one of the most interesting features of the present work is the constant reference which it makes to the relations between the Christians of Egypt and their Mahometan fellow-countrymen. These relations, naturally, varied in their character from time to time. There were periods of disturbance, marked by outrages committed by the stronger race upon the weaker, by riots, incendiarism, murders, or even

by systematic persecution, as in the reign of the caliph Al-Hâkim. 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, Khamârawaih, the son of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, 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-Ḳuṣair, 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 Fayyûm on fol. 18 is repeated in slightly different terms on fol. 70; the description of Bûṣîr 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 Wâdî Habib, which could hardly be neglected in such a work. Probably also we have lost part of the history of the Armenians in Egypt.

The book, as we have it at present, opens with an account of the Armenian monastery and churches at Al-Basâtin, 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 Bûṣîr Banâ and other places. Then, after a note on the boundaries of Egypt, comes an account of the city of Al-Fuṣṭâṭ and its churches, which would seem to be fairly systematic and complete were it not for notes on king Aḡṭûṭîs, 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-Fuṣṭâṭ, our author proceeds up the Nile, noticing the churches and monasteries in the towns and villages, principally, of course, on the more populous western bank; but he does not go straight on in his journey; he frequently dashes from south to north, and then again from north to south in a manner which would horrify us in a modern guide to the Nile; and he still keeps up his trick of inserting notes from time to time on perfectly irrelevant matters. After reaching Nubia, our author returns again down the Nile for a short visit to certain places in Egypt which he had passed over; and then he suddenly takes us to Abyssinia,

to India, to North-Africa, and even to Spain, and the shores of the Atlantic, ending up with south-western Arabia, and with the mention of certain ancient cities, the foundation of which is referred to the remotest antiquity.

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

Some of our author's statements with regard to these churches and monasteries which he had not himself seen, probably rest upon the testimony of some of his friends and acquaintances whom he questioned on the subject. Part, however, of what he tells us is borrowed from the *Book of the Monasteries* of Ash-Shâbushtî, a work in prose and verse much read at the time. The author, Abu 'l-Husain 'Alî ibn Muḥammad ash-Shâbushtî, was a Mahometan, and his work is a proof of the constant practice on the part of Muslims of resorting to the Christian monasteries, for the purpose of sauntering in their gardens, sitting in their galleries and *loggias*, and drinking their

wines. Besides Ash-Shâbushtî, other writers, such as Abû Bakr Muḥammad al-Khâliḍi, Abû 'Uthmân Sa'd al-Khâliḍi, and Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahânî, composed works on the monasteries in the course of the tenth century of our era, and Ibn Khallikân tells us that many other books were written in the Arabic language on the same subject. The work of Ash-Shâbushtî contained an account of all the monasteries of Al-'Irâq, Al-Mauṣil, 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-Fuṣṭât or 'Old Cairo' in A.H. 388 or 390, was private librarian and reader to the Fatimide caliph Al-'Aziz, and his agreeable manners and conversation led the sovereign to make him his constant boon-companion. It is in accordance with this character that he wrote of the monasteries chiefly as places for enjoying pleasant social intercourse and drinking wine. The surname Ash-Shâbushtî is difficult to explain, and Ibn Khallikân says that he 'repeatedly made researches to discover the origin of the surname, but that all his pains were fruitless, until he found that the chamberlain to the Dailamite prince Washmaghir 'ibn Ziyâr was also called Ash-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-Ushmûnain, and from the continuation of the Biographies by a later writer. The name of this work is well known to scholars, because Renaudot based upon it the greater part of his *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum*; but the work itself has never been published, either in the original Arabic or in a translation, although copies of it are to be found in European libraries. The publication of this work is much to be desired, as it affords a great mass of information on the ecclesiastical history of Egypt, since the schism of Dioscorus, which is not supplied from any other source; and although Renaudot has revealed to the learned world part of its contents, there is a very large part only to be known



at present through a study of the original Arabic MSS. It is from these patriarchal biographies that our author borrows the greater part of what he tells us on the subject of the history of the Coptic patriarchs, and part of what he says on the churches and monasteries. It is thence that he takes, for instance, his account of the visit of Al-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'id ibn al-Baṭrîḳ, 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-Fauhar* 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 Ḳuṣṭanṭîn al-Manbajî, 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

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The author, 'Abd ar-Rahmân 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, seems to have written at the end of the second century of the Hegira, but the work was continued by his disciples, and in the Paris MSS. goes down to the end of the third century. There is little legend in the work, which consists chiefly of pure history, and in this respect compares favourably with later histories, such as those of Al-Makrîzî and As-Suyûtî. Al-Kindi, who is called by Hâji Khalfah the first Arab historian of Egypt, died in A. H. 247 = A. D. 860, or according to others in A. H. 350 = A. D. 961. The title of his great work was *Khîṭaṭ 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 *Khîṭaṭ*, such as that of Al-Makrîzî. Two other works of Al-Kindî 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 *Faḍâ'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-Kindî. Some of his works were continued by Abû Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrâhim ibn Zûlâḳ, 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 Zûlâḳ.

The great history of Aṭ-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 Şâlih'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 Ṭûlûn and his son Khamârawaih, and the invasion by the Fatimide caliph Al-Mu'izz. The conquest of Egypt began in A.H. 18, when 'Amr ibn al-Āṣî entered the country by the Syrian frontier, and subdued the imperial forces in a battle near Pelusium, where the Arab town of Al-Faramâ 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 'Muḳauḳis.' 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 Fustât Miṣr.

From the time of the conquest, Egypt was governed by wâlîs, appointed by the caliphs, who rarely visited the country themselves. The last of the Omeyyad caliphs, however, Marwân II, who reigned from A. H. 126 to 133, took refuge in Egypt from the armies of the new claimant to the caliphate, As-Saffâḥ, the Abbaside. The Khorassanian troops of the latter pursued Marwân, who set fire to the city of Fustât 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-Ushmûnain. The Khorassanians soon found boats with which to cross the river; and they pursued Marwân as far as Bûṣîr Kûrîdus, near the entrance to the Fayyûm, 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 wâlîs, 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 Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, who ruled the country from A. H. 254 to 270. By this time the importance of the city of Fustât Miṣr had greatly diminished. The Ḥamrâs or quarters to the north of Al-Fustât, 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 Marwân 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 Ṭûlûn, that Aḥmad built his great mosque. He no longer, however, chose to reside here, but founded the new quarter of Al-Ḳaṭâ'i', which extended from the lowest spurs of the Muḳaṭṭam hills to the mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn. Neither Al-'Askar nor Al-Ḳaṭâ'i' was destined to exist long. When the Fatimide caliph Al-Mu'izz sent his general Jauhar to invade Egypt, the latter demolished the houses between Al-Fustât 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 Abû Şâliḥ tells us, still remained in the Ḥamrâs, 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-Ḥâkim, 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 Abû Şâliḥ was composed immediately after a great revolution in the affairs of Egypt, following the invasion of the Kurds and Ghuzz under the leadership of Shirkûh and Saladin. This invasion was due to the unscrupulous intrigues of Shâwar as-Sa'di, the vizier of the last of the Fatimide caliphs, Al-'Âḍid li-dini 'llâh. Shâwar had been in the service of a former vizier, Aş-Şâliḥ ibn Ruzzîk, who

appointed him wâlî of Upper Egypt, a post only second in importance to the vizierate; and in this capacity Shâwar had shown much ability, and gained great influence over the principal officials of the country. On the death of Aş-Şâlih, however, in the year 556 (A. D. 1161), his son and successor in the vizierate, Al-'Âdil, 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 Ruzzîk upon his death-bed. Shâwar assembled a body of troops, marched to Cairo early in the year 558, and, on the flight of Al-'Âdil, 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 Ramađân of the same year, however, a fresh aspirant to the vizierate appeared in the person of Ađ-Đirghâm, who, collecting a body of troops, forced Shâwar to flee from Cairo, and put himself in his place. Thus, in the course of the year 558, the post of vizier was held by three statesmen in succession. Shâwar, however, took the bold step of making his way to Syria, and applying for aid to Nûr ad-Dîn, the most powerful Mahometan prince of his time. Accordingly, in the month of Jumâdâ the First of the year 559, Nûr ad-Dîn despatched a body of Turkish and Kurdish troops to Egypt under the command of a Kurdish general, then in his service, named Asad ad-Dîn Shirkûh. On the arrival of the army of Nûr ad-Dîn, Đirghâm was defeated and slain, and Shâwar was restored to his post of vizier. He, however, now refused to perform his part of the contract, and would neither grant money nor land to the troops, nor send to Nûr ad-Dîn 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-Sharkîyah. The unscrupulous vizier, however, instead of satisfying the just expectations of his auxiliaries, sent messengers to the natural enemy of his countrymen and his religion, the Frankish king of Jerusalem, offering him a sum of money if he would defend Egypt against Nûr ad-Dîn and his troops, who, he said, had formed the design of conquering the valley of the Nile. Complying with this request, Amaury led a body of troops to Egypt and besieged Shirkûh at Bilbais during three months, but without success in spite of the low

walls and the absence of a moat. Suddenly the news came that Nûr ad-Dîn had captured Hârim, and was marching upon Bâniyâs. 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-Dîn Shîrkûh was again sent to Egypt by Nûr ad-Dîn, who was now filled with the desire of subduing that country, and had obtained from the Abbaside caliph Al-Mustaḍî 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 Shâwar and his nominal master Al-Âḍid, and this time actually entered Cairo, while a sandstorm destroyed part of the army of Shîrkûh, who was forced to retreat. In the same campaign, part of Amaury's army was defeated by Shîrkûh, 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 Shîrkûh in Egypt began in the month of Rabî' 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-Faramâ, the ancient Pelusium, he had put the inhabitants to the sword. Shâwar now once more asked for help from Nûr ad-Dîn, whom he had treated so unfaithfully, and Shîrkûh with his nephew Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, 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 Shâwar, and who now had to beat a hasty and disastrous retreat. Shîrkûh now took possession of Egypt, under the sanction of the Fatimide caliph, whose nominal rule he for the present maintained. The assassination of Shâwar, however, was a natural and rapid consequence of the Kurdish occupation; and Shîrkûh became vizier in his place. After filling this post for two months and five days, Shîrkûh died, and was succeeded in the vizierate by his nephew Saladin.

The history of Saladin is well known to European readers. He was

the son of Ayyûb the son of Shâdî, a member of the noble Kurdish tribe of Rawâdiyah, natives of Duwîn, a town of Adharbajân, and was born A. H. 532 at Takrît, where his father and uncle were in the service of Bihrûz, who was acting as governor of the district under the Seljucide sultan Masûd ibn Muḥammad Ghiyâth ad-Dîn. When Saladin became vizier of Egypt he at once began to give free rein to his ambition, and to display his capabilities for administration and for military activity. By his amiable demeanour and by promises of money, he won the emirs and the 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-'Âḍid 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-Mustansîr. Saladin, however, sold all the treasures of the palace. The rejoicings at Bagdad were great when the news came that the Abbaside caliph had been prayed for in the mosques of Egypt, and that the rival dynasty had been overthrown; and the city was decorated while the revolution was publicly announced during several days. Al-Mustaḍî sent robes of honour to Nûr ad-Dîn, and to his general Saladin in Egypt.

The effect of these political changes upon Egypt in general, and upon the Copts in particular, had been striking. On the approach of the Franks, Shâwar 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-Mustanşir, are noticed on several occasions in the work attributed to Abû Şâlih. Churches and monasteries were destroyed, although they were afterwards in part restored. When the Kurdish general Shirkûh had taken possession of Egypt in the name of Nûr ad-Dîn, 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 Shirkûh 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 Mesopotamia in the first centuries of Islam, and in the twelfth century entered the service of Nûr ad-Dîn.

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

The philological features of the present work form a subject too large to be discussed in an introduction, and would be better treated in a grammar of the Middle Arabic language. It must be remembered, however, that the author is represented in the title as an Armenian, and that his acquaintance with Arabic was probably imperfect. It is also quite clear that the copyist was no more equal to the task of correctly transcribing, than to that of judiciously abbreviating the book. Apart from these considerations, the orthography and grammar of the MS.

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CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES  
OF EGYPT.



# HISTORY

Fol. 1 b

COMPOSED BY

## THE SHAIKH ABÛ ŞÂLIḤ,

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICTS AND FIEFS OF EGYPT.

### *Armenian Monastery and Churches at Al-Basâtîn.*

Section I. Let us begin<sup>1</sup> with the help and guidance of God. In this our own time, namely at the beginning of the year 564<sup>2</sup> (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<sup>3</sup>, one of the districts of Egypt, in the neighbourhood of the hills. This was in the days of \* \* \*, who was an emir<sup>4</sup>, and ruled Egypt on behalf of the

Fol. 2 a

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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 Muḳaṭṭam range, in a region of gardens, as the name implies. It is now included in the district of Badrashain, in the province of Jîzah, and in 1885 had a population of 1,698; see *Recensement de l'Égypte*, Cairo, 1885, tome ii. p. 65. (A. J. B.)

<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>1</sup> from the lands [of the monastery] which he held in fief<sup>2</sup>. 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<sup>3</sup>, 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<sup>4</sup> and the Kurds took possession of the land of

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

<sup>1</sup> The dinar was a gold coin, slightly over 66 grs. in weight.

<sup>2</sup> For remarks on the tenure of land in Egypt, see Introduction.

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

<sup>4</sup> For remarks on the Kurdish conquest of Egypt, see Introduction. Our author, or more probably his copyist, by putting الغز and الأكراد in apposition

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<sup>1</sup>, who were then settled in Egypt. Their patriarch<sup>2</sup>, 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-Basâtin] was next allotted as a fief to the Faḳîh Al-Bahâ<sup>3</sup> 'Alî, the Damascene, who set apart for the Armenians the church of John the Baptist, built over<sup>4</sup> the church of the Pure Lady<sup>5</sup>, in the Hârah Zawîlah<sup>6</sup>; and here the patriarch dwelt during the year 564 (A. D. 1168-9).

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

<sup>1</sup> There were a large number of Armenians in Egypt during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 460 ff. Yâḳût, 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. 551. Under the later Fatimides, high offices were frequently held by Armenians in Egypt, of whom the most distinguished were Badr al-Jamâli, the vizier of Al-Mustansîr; his son, Al-Afdal, vizier to Al-Âmir; and Tâj ad-Daulah Bahrâm, the vizier of Al-Hâfiz.

<sup>2</sup> 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. Aršak Ter-Mikelian, *Die armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zur byzantinischen*, Leipsic, 1892, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards chief professor in the college called Manâzil al-'Izz at Fustât, and preacher in the same city; died A. H. 584 = A. D. 1188. See Ibn Shaddâd, quoted by Ibn Khallikân, *Biogr. Dict.* trans. De Slane, iv. p. 421.

<sup>4</sup> In Egypt churches are frequently built one over another, forming two stories.

<sup>5</sup> A church of *Al-'Adhra* (the Virgin) is still standing in the Hârah Zuwailah, 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.)

<sup>6</sup> The quarter of Cairo called *Hârah Zawîlah*, and now Zuwailah, was founded



*The Armenian Patriarch.*

§ This patriarch had been bishop of Itfîh<sup>1</sup>; and afterwards, during the caliphate of Al-Hâfiz<sup>2</sup>, he conceived the idea<sup>3</sup> of becoming patriarch by means of money which he gave in bribes. He made an agreement with Al-Hâfiz, 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<sup>4</sup>, 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<sup>5</sup>, the patriarch imparted to Al-Hâfiz all the results of his researches among biographies

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by the Berber tribe of Zawîlah, 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 Bâb Zawîlah or Zuwailah is one of the principal gates of the city. See Al-Makrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, Bûlâḳ, A. H. 1270 = A. D. 1854, vol. ii. p. 4; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, *Kitâb al-Intiṣâr li-wâsîṭah 'ikd al-amṣâr*, Bûlâḳ, A. H. 1310 = A. D. 1893, v. p. 37.

<sup>1</sup> Now called Aṭfîḥ; generally written اطفيح; see fol. 8 b, 10 a, 47 a, &c. The town lies south of Cairo, on the eastern bank, and is the Coptic ΠΕΤΠΕΖ, the Greek Aphroditopolis; it now gives its name to a district of the province of Jîzah, and in 1885 had a population of 2,731. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 311; Amélineau, *Géogr. de l'Égypte à l'époque copte*, p. 326. Under the Fatimide dynasty, and for some centuries after, Itfîḥ was the capital of a province; see fol. 8 b; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Hâfiz Abû 'l-Maimûn 'Abd al-Majîd, the eleventh of the Fatimide caliphs, reigned A. H. 524-544 = A. D. 1130-1149. See Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> تَخَيَّل should be تَخَيَّل.

<sup>4</sup> These were the two days of public reception at the palace during the rule of the Fatimide caliphs. See Al-Makrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, i. p. 387.

<sup>5</sup> The Emerald Palace (قصر الزمرد or الزمرد) was part of the Great Palace (القصر الكبير) 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-Makrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, i. pp. 4.4, 4.5, 435; cf. p. 384 ff.

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Fol. 3 a the miracles of Christ, to whom be glory! The patriarch's journey was begun on Saturday the 15th of Hatûr<sup>1</sup>, in the year 888 of the Martyrs, which is equivalent to the 23rd of Rabî' 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 Sharkîs, 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 Hârah 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<sup>2</sup>.

Fol. 3 b

<sup>1</sup> The Coptic Athor (ⲁⲑⲱⲣ) = Oct. 28–Nov. 27.

<sup>2</sup> 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.'

ⲁϥⲡⲁⲣⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲁⲣⲏϥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲑⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲉⲡⲓϥϥⲟⲃⲟϥ ⲡⲉⲡⲉⲁϥ  
 ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲏⲩⲩⲉ ⲉⲡⲁϥⲱϥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲑⲉⲛⲗⲁⲉⲡⲁϥ ⲉⲛ ⲑⲉⲛⲕⲏⲣⲱⲛ  
 ⲉⲛ ⲑⲉⲛϥⲟⲩⲣⲏ ⲉⲛϥⲉⲡⲁϥϫⲓ ⲏⲡⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩⲁⲛ (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 Tûbah<sup>1</sup>, in the year last mentioned; and he was buried in the monastery of James the son of Zebedee at Jerusalem. He was noble in character and beautiful in form; he was of perfect stature; his face was encircled by his beard and whiskers, which were growing grey; and his age was nearly eighty years.

§ It is said that the Armenian bishop<sup>2</sup> 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 Abû 'l-Kâsim Khalil, the physician and philosopher of Ascalon, who said that he had visited this patriarch one

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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.'

ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲡⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲫⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲧ-  
ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲜ-  
ⲙⲓⲁⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲧⲉⲧⲡⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲑⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲧⲉⲧⲡⲏⲡⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲛ  
ⲉⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲑⲏⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲑⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ (Zoega, *op. cit.* cod. ccxix.  
p. 542).

<sup>1</sup> The Coptic Tobi (ⲧⲱⲃⲓ)=Dec. 27-Jan. 25.

<sup>2</sup> 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-Zuhrî<sup>1</sup> [and the result of the visit was that the patriarch was proved innocent].

\* \* \* \* \*

**Fol. 4 b** The report was not spread until after he had departed to Syria and had died there. It was at the house of Al-A'azz Ḥasan ibn Salâmah called Al-Bâkilânî, who was chief cadi<sup>2</sup> at Miṣr, that I the poor author of this book met Abû 'l-Ḳâsim, on Monday, the 27th of Shawwâl, in the year 568 (A.D. 1173).

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

**Fol. 5 a** § Since no Armenian of authority was now left in Egypt, the Copts acquired possession of this large and ancient church<sup>3</sup> by a decree of our Lord the Sultan, through the intercession of the Shaikh ar-Ra'is Şafî ad-Daulah ibn Abû 'l-Ma'âli, known as Ibn Sharâfî, his scribe. Then its fittings were renewed by the emir Sa'id ad-Daulah Bahrâm the steward of the Armenians. When the Shaikh Şafî ad-Daulah had fully provided all that was needed for the construction of the church, through the priest Abû 'l-Wafa ibn Abî 'l-Bashar, the patriarch Anba Mark<sup>4</sup>, who was the seventy-third in the succession, came with Anba John,

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<sup>1</sup> Janân az-Zuhrî or Bustân az-Zuhrî was the name given to gardens between Fustât and Cairo, from the former owner of the land 'Abd al-Wahâb ibn Mûsâ az-Zuhrî. The pool called Birkat an-Nâsirîyah was excavated on their site in A.H. 721 by the Sultan Al-Malik an-Nâsir Muḥammad ibn Ḳalâ'ûn. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. pp. 114 and 115.

<sup>2</sup> The cadi of cadis (قاضي القضاة) or chief judge was the principal legal officer under the Fatimide caliphs and their successors. This high dignitary was distinguished by riding on a grey mule, and he held his court in great state on Tuesday and Saturday at the Mosque of 'Amr. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. 133 f.; As-Suyûṭî, *Husn al-Muḥâḍarah fî Akhbâr Miṣr wa 'l-Kâhirah*, ii. p. 120. Al-A'azz became chief cadi in A.H. 549.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. the church of Al-Basâtîn or Al-Bustân spoken of above, fol. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Occupied the see from A.D. 1174 to 1189. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 530-554. The title Anba transcribes the Coptic ⲁⲃⲃⲁ and means 'father.'

bishop of Ṭamwaih<sup>1</sup>, and Anba Michael, bishop of Baṣṭah<sup>2</sup>, and a body of priests and chief men and orthodox laity; and the church was consecrated on Wednesday, the 17th of Ba'ûnah<sup>3</sup>, 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 Ḥârat ar-Rûm<sup>4</sup> in Cairo. Abû Sa'id ibn az-Zayyât provided for the painting of the apse<sup>5</sup> of this church,

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<sup>1</sup> On west bank of Nile, a little south of Cairo, and opposite Ḥulwân; see Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ١٧٤. It is the Coptic ⲧⲁⲙⲱⲓⲏⲟⲩ, and is now in the district of Badrashain, province of Jîzah; its population in 1885 was 794, besides 454 Bedouins; Amél., *Géogr.* p. 478. M. Amélineau does not explain why he writes the Arabic name as طموية and transcribes it as Tamouïeh.

<sup>2</sup> Baṣṭah is the classical Bubastis, Coptic ⲡⲟⲩⲃⲁⲥⲧ or ⲃⲟⲩⲁⲥⲧ, and under the name of Tall Baṣṭah is now a small hamlet close to Zagazig, in the province of Ḳalyûb; see Amél., *Géogr.* p. 89. (A. J. B.)

<sup>3</sup> The Coptic Paoni (ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲛⲓ) = May 26–June 24.

<sup>4</sup> The 'Quarter of the Romans,' who came with the army of the caliph Al-Mu'izz, and took their part in the foundation of Cairo. The quarter was sometimes called the Lower Ḥârat ar-Rûm in distinction from the Upper or Inner Ḥârat ar-Rûm. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khîṭat*, ii. p. ٨; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, *op. cit.* v. p. ٣٧. The word 'Rûm' was used very loosely by the Arabs, sometimes in the sense of Europeans generally, sometimes in that of subjects of the Byzantine empire.

<sup>5</sup> The word جاق here and on fol. 31 a evidently stands, by a clerical error, for شاق, 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 و, making it ق.

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 Abû Ṣâliḥ is alluding. See Butler, *Coptic Churches*, i. pp. 40, 112, &c. (A. J. B.)

which was executed by Abû 'l-Fath ibn al-Akmaş, known as Ibn al-Haufî the painter; and this work was finished in the month of Amshîr, 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<sup>1</sup> of Armenia and the patriarch. He brought a despatch from both of them and two letters, one of which was from Al-Malik Şalâh ad-Dîn<sup>2</sup>, and the other from Al-Malik Saif ad-Dîn Abû Bakr<sup>3</sup>, his brother, to Al-Malik Taqî ad-Dîn<sup>4</sup>, and they recommended in their letters that the bishop should be received with honour, and that the two churches of the Armenians in Az-Zuhrî<sup>5</sup> and Al-Bustân<sup>6</sup> should be given up to him. So this bishop alighted at the church of John the

<sup>1</sup> Leo or Levon II, the Rubenide, who reigned in Cilicia, not in Armenia proper; he ascended the throne in 1186. He was a great supporter of his own church and of other Oriental churches. See Alishan, *Léon le Magn.* p. 294, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Saladin had left Egypt in A.H. 578, and was now in Syria, engaged in wars and sieges; see Al-Makrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, ii. p. 134; Ibn al-Athîr, *Al-Kâmil* (ed. Tornberg), xi. p. 139; Ibn Shaddâd, *Sîrah Şalâh ad-Dîn* (ed. Schultens), p. 38 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Abû Bakr Muḥammad ibn Abî 'sh-Shukr Ayyûb ibn Shâdî ibn Marwân, surnamed Al-Malik al-'Âdil Saif ad-Dîn, brother of Saladin, was born A.H. 530 = A.D. 1145 and died A.H. 615 = A.D. 1218. He acted as Saladin's viceroy for Egypt from A.H. 578 to 579, but was now ruling Aleppo, handed over to him by his brother. In A.H. 596 = A.D. 1200 he became sultan of Egypt. See Ibn Khallikân, *Biogr. Dict.* iii. p. 235; Ibn al-Athîr, *Al-Kâmil*, xi. p. 131; Ibn Shaddâd, *Sîrah Şalâh ad-Dîn*, p. 56; As-Suyûtî, *Husn al-Muḥâḍarah*, ii. p. 135 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Taqî ad-Dîn 'Umar, surnamed Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, nephew of Saladin, had been appointed viceroy of Egypt by the latter, when he summoned Al-Malik al-'Âdil to Syria in A.H. 579 = A.D. 1183 (see fol. 6 b). Taqî ad-Dîn 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 Khallikân, *Biogr. Dict.* ii. p. 391; Ibn al-Athîr, *Al-Kâmil*, xi. p. 134; Ibn Shaddâd, *Sîrah Şalâh ad-Dîn*, p. 64; As-Suyûtî, *Husn al-Muḥâḍarah*, ii. p. 50; Abû 'l-Fida, *Ann. Musl.* iv. p. 60.

<sup>5</sup> See fol. 3 b.

<sup>6</sup> See fol. 1 b.

Baptist<sup>1</sup> in the Hârah Zawilah ; but the Faḳîh at-Ṭûsî<sup>2</sup> did not allow it, so the bishop compelled him, and stayed there several months, and then **Fol. 5 b** grew sick and died without carrying out his object. He was buried in the church of the Armenians in Az-Zuhrî ; may God rest his soul.

§ On the Sunday of Olives<sup>3</sup>, the first day of the eighth week of the Holy Fast, and the 1st of Barmûdah<sup>4</sup>, 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 Abû Sa'id ibn Abû 'l-Faḍl ibn Fahd and Abû 'l-Yaman ibn Abû 'l-Faraj ibn Abî 'l-Yaman ibn Zانبûr ; 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 Faḳîh Bahâ ad-Dîn<sup>5</sup> 'Alî 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 Ramaḍân ? ' Then the faḳîh at once informed the sultan of this occurrence, and it greatly angered him ; so he sent for Şafî ad-Daulah Abû 'l-Ma'âli ibn Sharâfî, his scribe, and blamed him for it, and demanded of him the decree which he had received, empowering **Fol. 6 a** 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

<sup>1</sup> See fol. 2 a.

<sup>2</sup> See fol. 6 a.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Palm-Sunday ; otherwise called Hosanna Sunday. (A. J. B.)

<sup>4</sup> The Coptic Pharmouthi (ϥⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲧⲏ) = March 27-April 25.

<sup>5</sup> See fol. 2 a.



of the Lady in the Hârat ar-Rûm was appointed to perform the prayers in it on Sundays and festivals. After this there came to the court from Tûs<sup>1</sup> an Imâmite Faḳîh, to whom Al-Bustân, of which we have spoken, was allotted as a fief, after the death of Al-Faḳîh 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<sup>2</sup>, after pillaging the Great Church, the door of which he barred with a plank until Friday the 13th of Sha'bân, A. H. 581 (A. D. 1185). There came an Armenian, who said that he was a friend of Tâj ad-Daulah Bahrâm<sup>3</sup> the Armenian, who had been vizier to Al-Imâm Hâfîz; and he said that he had buried money, belonging to Tâj ad-Daulah the said vizier, in the Great Church<sup>4</sup>, 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<sup>5</sup>; but nothing was restored there.

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<sup>1</sup> In Khorassan.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. the two adjacent churches of Al-Bustân.

<sup>3</sup> Became vizier to the caliph Al-Hâfîz 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 Bahrâm, who fled in the month of Jumâda the First, A. H. 531 = A. D. 1137. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khîṭat*, i. p. 105; As-Suyûtî, *op. cit.* ii. p. 100; Ibn Khaldûn, iv. p. 13; Abû 'l-Fida, *Ann. Musl.* iii. pp. 460, 468; Ibn al-Athîr, xi. p. 11. For the subsequent fate of Tâj ad-Daulah Bahrâm, see below, fol. 50 a.

<sup>4</sup> I. e. at Al-Bustân.

<sup>5</sup> I. e. Takî ad-Dîn (see fol. 5 a and note), then acting as viceroy of Egypt for Saladin.

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# Get Smart

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**Fol. 7 a** a church, which was long ago ruined, and became a yard, while its walls remained visible above the surface of the ground. Its site has been used for the erection of a mosque, which was built by Ḥusain the Kurd, the son-in-law of Ṣalâḥ ibn Ruzzîk<sup>2</sup>, the vizier in the caliphate of Al-Imâm Al-‘Âḍid li-dini ‘llâh<sup>3</sup>.

of the *Birkat al-Fîl* 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‘îd says :

انظر الى بركة الفيل التي اكتتفت      ❖      بها المناظر كالاهداب للبصر  
 كأنما هي والابصار ترمقها      ❖      كواكب قد اداروها على القمر

‘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.’

See Al-Maḥrîzî, *op. cit.* ii. p. ۱۶۱, cf. p. ۱۹۸; Ibn Duḡmâḡ, *op. cit.* iv. p. ۱۱ and v. p. ۴۵.

<sup>1</sup> The copyist has probably omitted the words والفيل ‘and of the elephant’ after برکتی قارون ‘the two pools of Ḳârûn.’ There was but a single *Birkah Ḳârûn*, which was, however, only separated by a dyke from the *Birkat al-Fîl*. The passage should therefore doubtless read ‘the two pools of Ḳârûn and of Al-Fîl.’ When the quarters of Al-‘Askar and Al-Ḳaṭâ’i were founded (see Introduction), the borders of the *Birkah Ḳârûn* were thickly inhabited, but were afterwards partly deserted. See Al-Maḥrîzî, *op. cit.* ii. p. ۱۶۱.

<sup>2</sup> Abû ‘l-Ghârât Ṭalâ’î ibn Ruzzîk, surnamed Al-Malik as-Ṣâliḥ. Ṣalâḥ must be an error. He was born in A.H. 495=A.D. ۱۱۰۱; was appointed vizier to the caliph Al-Fâ’iz in A.H. 549=A.D. ۱۱54; and on the accession of Al-‘Âḍid he remained vizier to the new caliph, who married his daughter. He died in Ramaḍân A.H. 556=A.D. ۱۱6۱.

<sup>3</sup> The fourteenth and last of the Fatimide caliphs; reigned A.H. 555-567=A.D. ۱۱6۰-۱۱7۱.

*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<sup>1</sup> of corn in produce; while the landed property amounted to 915 feddâns. 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-Mustaḍî' bi-amri 'llâh<sup>2</sup>, and under the administration of Ṣalâḥ ad-Din Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb the Kurd.

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

*Revenues of Egypt.*

§ It is fitting to state in this book the number of districts and villages included in the provinces under the dynasty<sup>3</sup>, and also the revenues derived from their fiefs; not reckoning the city of Alexandria

Fol. 7 b

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<sup>1</sup> The ardab is equivalent to nearly five bushels, and the feddân to about one acre, eight poles.

<sup>2</sup> Proclaimed caliph at Bagdad in the month of Rabî' the Second, A.H. 566 = A.D. 1170, upon the death of his father Al-Mustanjid bi-'llâh. 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-'Âḍid. Al-Mustaḍî' 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-Nâsir li-dîni 'llâh. See Abû 'l-Fida, *Ann. Musl.* iii. p. 630, iv. p. 38; Abû 'l-Faraj, *Târîkh Mukhtaṣar ad-Duwal* (ed. Pococke), p. 406 f.; Ibn al-Athîr, *op. cit.* xii. p. 111 ff.; Ibn Shaddâd, *op. cit.* p. 38; Ibn Khaldûn, iv. p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. of the Fatimides.

nor the frontier-district of Damietta nor Tinnîs<sup>1</sup> nor Kift<sup>2</sup> nor Nakâdah<sup>3</sup> nor the Lake of Al-Ḥabash<sup>4</sup>, outside Miṣr; the sum total of the revenue

<sup>1</sup> Tinnîs, the Coptic ΘΕΝΝΕCΙ, 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 Tinnîs 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. 101; Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 112; Ibn Duḡmâḡ, *op. cit.* v. p. 58 f.; Al-Idrîsî (trans. by Jaubert), i. 320; Al-Maḡrîzî, *op. cit.* i. pp. 176-182; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 507 f.

<sup>2</sup> The classical Coptos and the Coptic ΚΕΨΤ. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 102; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 48]; Al-Maḡrîzî, *op. cit.* p. 232 f.; Ibn Duḡmâḡ, *op. cit.* v. p. 32 f. Kift or Kubṭ is now in the district of Kûs, province of Kana, and contained, in 1885, 2,544 inhabitants. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 213 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Now in the district of Kûs, province of Kana; and in 1885 had a population of 4,534. See *Recensement de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 258; Ibn Duḡmâḡ, v. p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. Lake of the Abyssinians. This was a tract of low ground, more than 1,000 acres in extent, between Fustât and Cairo, approaching on one side the cemetery of Al-Ḳarâfah, 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 ΕΘΑΥCΥ. The Lake of Al-Ḥabash was given as a *wakf* to the sharîfs, or members of the Prophet's family, by the vizier Ṭalâ'i' ibn Ruzzîk; it also bore the names of Birkat al-Maghâfir, Birkah Himyar, Iṣṭabl Kurrah, and Iṣṭabl Ḳâmish. Ibn Sa'îd sings:

يا بركة للبخش التي يومى بها	❖	طول الزمان مبارك وسعيد
حتى كأنك فى البسيطة جنة	❖	وكان دهرى كله بك عيد
يا حسن ما يبدو بك الكنان فى	❖	نواره او زره معقود
ولما منك سيوفه مسلولة	❖	والقرط فيك رواقه ممدود
وكان ابراجا عليك عرائس	❖	جليت وطيرك حولها غريد
يا ليت شعرى هل زمانك عائد	❖	فالشوق فيه مبدى ومعيد

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.

	Total No. of Places.	Districts.	Villages.	Dinars.
Northern Egypt	1,598	917	681	2,040,040
Provinces :				
Ash-Sharḳîyah	452	294	158	694,121
Al-Murtâḥîyah	89	48	41	70,358
Ad-Daḳahlîyah	70	39	31	53,761
Al-Abwânîyah	6	6	0	4,700
Jazîrah Ḳûsanîya	74	68	6	159,664
Al-Gharbiyah	314	149	165	430,955
As-Samannûdîyah	129	70 or 97	32	200,657
Al-Manûfîyatâin	101	69	32	140,933
Fûwah and Al-Muzâḥamiyatâin	13	10	3	6,080
An-Nastarâwîyah	6	6	0	14,910
Rosetta, Al-Jadîdîyah and Adkû	[3]	3	0	3,000
Jazîrah Bani Naṣr	64	41	23	62,508
Al-Buḥairah	176	87	89	139,313
Ḥauf Ramsis	[101]	0	101	[59,080]
Total	1,598	917	681	2,040,040

Fol. 8 a

‘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-Maḳrîzî, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 102-100; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, iv. pp. 00-0v; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 162. M. Amélineau has overlooked the fact that Al-Maḳrîzî speaks of the Ard Ḥabash as well as Abû Ṣâliḥ.

		Total No. of Places.	Districts.	Villages.	Dinars.
Fol. 8 b	Southern Egypt	588	379	209	1,020,953
	Provinces :				
	Al-Jîzîyah	97	70	27	129,641
	Al-Itfîhîyah	17	13	4	39,449
	Al-Bûşîrîyah	14	13	1	39,390
	Al-Fayyûmîyah	66	55	11	145,162
	Al-Bahnasâ'iyah	105	84	21	234,801
	Al-Ushmûnain	111	54	57	127,676
Fol. 9 a	As-Suyûṭîyah <sup>1</sup>	54	22	32	—
	Total	464	311	153	716,119

<sup>1</sup> Most of these names will be well known to the reader, but a few of them may be commented on. Al-Murtâḥîyah is now part of Ad-Daḡahlîyah. Al-Abwânîyah 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-Buḡairah. See Ibn Duḡmâḡ, v. p. ۷۸; Yâḡût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ۱۰۱. Jazîrah Kûsanîya lay between Cairo and Alexandria, *ibid.* iv. p. ۱۰۰. An-Nastarâwîyah lay between Damietta and Alexandria, and was named from its capital Nastarû, *ibid.* iv. p. ۷۸. Al-Jadîdah is reckoned by Yâḡût in the province of Murtâḥîyah; but Al-Idrîsî names Al-Jadîdîyah as a separate district [p. 121] (ed. Rome). Ḥauf Ramsîs was between Cairo and Alexandria; see Yâḡût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ۷۳. Our copyist omits some names and figures.

The nomenclature and the boundaries of the Egyptian provinces have fluctuated much under Muslim rule. Al-Ḳudâ'i, who wrote at the end of the eleventh century, divides Lower Egypt into thirty-three provinces (كورة) and Upper Egypt into twenty; see his list quoted by Yâḡût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ۵۴۹.

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-Sharḡîyah, Ad-Daḡahlîyah, district of Damietta, Al-Gharbîyah, Al-Manûfîyah, Abyar and Jazîrah Banî Naşr, Al-Buḡairah, Fûwah and Al-Muzâḡamîyatain, An-Nastarâwîyah, district of

This revenue was drawn in the caliphate of Al-Mustansîr<sup>1</sup> and in the days of Al-Kaḥḥâl<sup>2</sup> the cadi.

§ Afterwards, in the time of Al-Afḍal<sup>3</sup> his son, in the caliphate of Al-Âmir, one dinar and a third was imposed as a poll-tax.

§ In the vizierate of Ruḍwân ibn Walakhshî<sup>4</sup>, in the caliphate of Al-Hâfiz, [this tax was raised to] two dinars.

Alexandria, Al-Jîziyah; and Upper Egypt: Al-Itfîhiyah, Al-Fayyûm, Al-Bahnasâ'iyah, Al-Ushmûnain, Al-Usyûṭiyah, Al-Ikhamîmiyah, Al-Kûṣiyah.

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-'Arîsh (6), Kuṣair (2), Al-Buḥairah (1,882), Ash-Sharkîyah (1,868), Ad-Daḳahlîyah (1,147), Al-Gharbîyah (1,817), Al-Kalyûbiyah (717), Al-Manûfiyah (603), Al-Asyûṭiyah (436), Banî Suwaif (423), Al-Fayyûm (567), Al-Jîziyah (369), Minyah (734), Isnâ (627), Jirjah (870), Kanâ (898). See *Recensement de l'Égypte*, ii. pp. x and xi.

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

<sup>2</sup> This refers to Ibn al-Kaḥḥâl, the Kâḍî 'l-Kuḍât or chief cadi in the last years of Al-Mustansîr's reign. It was, however, Badr al-Jamâli, the Armenian slave, who became vizier to Al-Mustansîr in A.H. 467=A.D. 1075, who was the father of Al-Afḍal Shâhanshâh mentioned in the next paragraph.

<sup>3</sup> After the death of Badr in A.H. 487=A.D. 1094, the soldiery chose his son Al-Afḍal Shâhanshâh as his successor in the vizierate. When Al-Mustansîr died in the same year, Al-Afḍal remained in his post, and continued to act as vizier during the reign of Al-Musta'li, and after the accession of Al-Âmir (in A.H. 495=A.D. 1101), who eventually caused him to be put to death in A.H. 519=A.D. 1125. Treasures of immense value were found in his house. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *op. cit.* i. p. 301; Ibn Khallikân, *op. cit.* i. p. 612; Ibn Khaldûn, iv. p. 19 f.

<sup>4</sup> Successor in the vizierate of Tâj ad-Daulah Bahrâm, the Armenian, whom he deposed from his office by force in A.H. 531. Ruḍwân was an oppressor of the Christians. In A.H. 533, on account of intrigues against him, Ruḍwân 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<sup>1</sup>, was made priest by the bishop of Damietta<sup>2</sup>, 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<sup>3</sup>, 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

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had been deprived, but he was resisted and slain. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *op. cit.* i. p. ۳۵۷; As-Suyûṭî, *op. cit.* ii. p. ۱۵۵; Ibn Khaldûn, iv. p. ۷۳; Ibn Khallikân, *op. cit.* ii. p. ۱79.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 550-554; Al-Maḳrîzî, *op. cit.* ii. p. ۳۹۶. 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 Şâlih, are the doctrine of the two natures and wills of Christ, the doctrine with regard to confession, the reservation of the sacrament, the abrogation of peculiar fasts, the denial of the necessity of circumcision and of the shaving of the head. Some other parts of Ibn al-Ḳanbar's teaching were probably misunderstood, and it must be remembered that we have only his enemies' account of the matter.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a mistake for Damsîs; see below, fol. ۱4 a. The Coptic bishop of Damietta had the rank of metropolitan.

<sup>3</sup> Occupied the see from A.D. ۱۱47 to ۱۱67. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 517-530.

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as the Melkites do; and he forbade circumcision<sup>1</sup>, saying that circumcision belongs to the Jews and Ḥanîfs<sup>2</sup>, and that it is not lawful for Christians to resemble the Jews or the Ḥanîfs 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<sup>3</sup> in the churches, and allowed only frankincense<sup>4</sup>; because this was offered to the Lord with the gold and the myrrh, and therefore

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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-Ḳanbar approved of a circular tonsure. Whether this latter notice refers to the clergy does not appear, but it seems that Ibn al-Ḳuṣṭâl, whose views on the shaving of the head seem to have resembled those of Ibn al-Ḳanbar, particularly objected to the shaving of the whole head in the case of the priests; see fol. 20 a.

<sup>1</sup> 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.)

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

ثُمَّ أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ أَنْ اتَّبِعْ مِلَّةَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ حَنِيفًا وَمَا كَانَ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ

(*Sûrat an-Nahl*, v. 124; cf. v. 121, *Sûrat al-Fajr*, v. 162, and *Sûrat Âl'Imrân*, v. 89). 'Then we taught thee by inspiration to follow the religion of Abraham, who was a Ḥanîf; he was not of the polytheists.'

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

<sup>4</sup> For other substances which were burnt in the churches by Copts and Abyssinians see below, fol. 105 b. See also Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* 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<sup>1</sup>, 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<sup>2</sup> at the church of Al-Mu'allakah<sup>3</sup> in Miṣr. There the patriarch assembled to meet him a synod consisting of bishops and priests and chief men<sup>4</sup>, 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

Fol. 10 a

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<sup>1</sup> Occupied the see from A. D. 1167 to 1189. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 530-554.

<sup>2</sup> The Cell (قِلَايَة), from the Greek κελλίον) 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> The Arabic أَرْحَن, plural أَرْحَنَة, is derived from the Greek ἀρχων, through the Coptic, which employs the word to denote the chief men or official class.

ways?' Many things took place with regard to him, the end of which was that he was ordered to go under guard with deputies of the patriarch to the monastery of Anba Antûnah<sup>1</sup> near Itfîh; this was in the month of Amshîr in the year 890 of the Blameless Martyrs; moreover [it was ordered] that he and his brethren should shave the hair of their heads. Ibn al-Ḳanbar soon began to suffer from the circumstances in which he was placed; and so he addressed the patriarch, and entered into communication with him by means of his mother and his brethren and his uncle, who did not cease to kiss the patriarch's hands and feet, and by means of the prayers of the chief men; and at last the patriarch granted their prayers and wrote to the superior of the monastery bidding him lead that Mark to the place in which the body of Saint Anthony lay, and require him to swear upon it and upon the Gospel of John that he would not again do any of the things that he had done, and then allow him to go free. So the superior did this and released Mark, who returned to his own country<sup>2</sup> on those conditions.

Fol. 10 b § The said Mark [ibn al-Ḳanbar] went from the monastery of Saint Anthony to the Rîf<sup>3</sup>, 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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<sup>1</sup> This is the well-known monastery of Saint Anthony near the Red Sea; see below, fol. 54 ff. It is called 'near Itfîh,' 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.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. Damsîs or its neighbourhood; see fol. 14.

<sup>3</sup> 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 Rîf is synonymous with Upper Egypt! see *Géogr.* p. 403 f.

ways or transgress the canons of the church and the rules of the law; yet this said Mark, when he arrived in his own country, returned to his former ways and did even worse than before. For there gathered together to him a very large body of the ignorant from the river-banks and the villages and the towns, nearly five thousand men; and reports of him arrived as far as Ḳalyûb<sup>1</sup>. 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-Ḳanbar 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

Fol. 11 a

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<sup>1</sup> About ten miles to the north of Cairo. It is the Coptic ΚΑΛΙΩΠΕ, and is now the capital of the district of Ḳalyûb, and of the province of Ḳalyûbîyah. 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 Duḳmâḳ, *op. cit.* v. p. ٤٧ f.; Amél., *Géogr.* p. 390.

the law of his own church, and added that it was not right for him to do what he had dared to do, and that he could not be allowed to follow the fancies of his own mind as he had done in transgression of the law; and each bishop confirmed the sentence of excommunication upon him.

After this, Mark ibn al-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 Ḳâḍî 'l-Fâḍil ibn 'Alî al-Baisânî<sup>1</sup> 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.

Fol. 11 b 'Thou hast been banished once, and hast ventured to return from banishment without permission. Go forth, therefore, as a private person without rank or jurisdiction, and do not assume any pre-eminence over the Christians or jurisdiction among them, until a lawful assembly be

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<sup>1</sup> Abû 'Alî 'Abd ar-Raḥîm al-Lakhmî al-'Askalânî, generally known as Al-Ḳâḍî 'l-Fâḍil, 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 cadî at Baisân on the Jordan near Tiberias, and for this reason the family all received the surname of Baisânî. Ibn Khallikân, *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-Ḥu'allāḳah 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 Fol. 12 a been allowed to receive the eucharist in the sanctuary of God. He now gave permission to those who followed his opinions to communicate early<sup>1</sup> on the festival of the Forty Martyrs<sup>2</sup>, which is on the 13th of Barmahât, and takes place during the fast of the Holy Forty Days; and on this day he forbade communion of the wine<sup>3</sup>. He forbade also

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> The 13th of Barmahât would be equivalent to the 9th of March, whereas the Roman calendar keeps the festival of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste on the 10th of March.

<sup>3</sup> Because the wine was not reserved, see fol. 15 b.



the giving of extreme unction by relations to one another<sup>1</sup>. 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 Rîf in state like a wâlî, and banquets were prepared for him and his companions. The end of this was that he went over to the sect of the Melkites, and confessed the Two Natures and the Two Wills<sup>2</sup>; and the Melkites received him. Thus he threw off the faith of Severus and Dioscorus<sup>3</sup>, our fathers the

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> Our author, though an Armenian, if the title of the MS. be correct, here speaks as if he fully accepted the creed of the Coptic monophysites. To explain this we must remember that many of the Armenians were monophysites and monothelites as well as the Copts, and that when the Armenian catholicus, Gregory II, in the course of his travels, arrived in Egypt about A. D. 1080, the representatives of these two religious communities made a confession of common faith in the One Nature of Christ. 'On that day,' says Michael, bishop of Tinnîs, 'it was made known to all that Copts, Armenians, Syrians, Ethiopians, and Nubians are at one in the orthodox faith which the holy fathers of old once unanimously confessed, and which Nestorius, Leo, and the Council of Chalcedon had changed.' See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 461; Ter-Mikelian, *Die 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-Kanbar and his followers also maintained; and, in the lifetime of our author himself, the Synod of Tarsus, summoned by king Leo and the patriarch Gregory in A. D. 1196, acknowledged the Council of Chalcedon. For the acceptance of the catholic doctrine by Armenian doctors, see Clemens Galanus, *Conciliat. Eccles. Arm. cum Romana ex ipsis Armenorum Patrum et doctorum testimoniis*, &c., Rome, 1690.

<sup>3</sup> 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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he was excommunicated by three patriarchs: namely, by Anba Jonas<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup>; 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-Ḳanbar 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 Ḳalyûb with the desire to pervert some of the inhabitants of that town; but the scribe of the town, and the dâmin<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Or John, see fol. 9 a. In Arabic the names يُوحَنَّا or يُحَنَس and يُونَاس are frequently confused. Al-Maḳrîzî calls both the seventy-second and the seventy-fourth patriarch Jonas, whereas the patriarchal biographies name them John.

<sup>2</sup> 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-Ḳanbar, 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.

<sup>3</sup> The dâmin 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-Maḳrîzî which contains the following words, in which he speaks of the unsuccessful rebellion of the Copts in A. H. 216 = A. D. 831:

ولم يقدر احد منهم بعد ذلك على الخروج على السلطان وغلبهم المسلمون على عامة القرى  
فرجعوا من المحاربة الى المكايذة واستعمال المكر والحيلة ومكايذة للمسلمين وعملوا كتاب الخراج  
فكانت لهم وللمسلمين اخبار كثيرة

of the town, and others of the orthodox party heard of him, and went to him and watched him, and took him and his party and bound them to pay the poll-tax<sup>1</sup>, and gave them orders, and informed the wâlî<sup>2</sup> 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 Fol. 13 a therefore' [added the scribe and the ḍâmin] '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 wâlî 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 Ḳalyûb, except as travellers on their way to the capital or some other city, and never to settle in the town. Thus they departed from Ḳalyûb in the worst of plights.

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

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'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.' (*Khîṭat*, ii. p. ۴۹۴.)

<sup>1</sup> Laid upon all who refused to adopt the Mahometan religion, by the conditions of conquest. The Ḳanbarites 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 Ḳalyûb.

<sup>2</sup> The *wâlî l'beled* or governor of the town was the chief local official, and head of the police.

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

<sup>4</sup> الأيوان, corrupted into Lîwân, is the name given by the modern Egyptians to the raised part of the reception-room (منظرة) in which the host and his guests

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 Sanbât<sup>1</sup>, 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 Sanbât, 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 Abîb 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 'Abdûn 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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sit. The lower part of the room, much narrower than the Lîwân, is called دُرْقَعَة, and here the guests leave their shoes before stepping on the Lîwân. Upon the Lîwân, mats or carpets are spread, and against the walls are mattresses and cushions composing the dîwân or divan. See Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. p. 15 f.

<sup>1</sup> Also called Sunbûtîyah (Yâḳût); situated in the Jazirah Ḳûsanîya, as the district was then called. It was the Coptic ⲮⲁⲘⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ, and is now included in the district of Ziftah, in the province of Al-Gharbîyah, having a population in 1885 of 3,223. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 101; Al-Idrîsî, *op. cit.* (ed. Rome) [p. 116]; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 415.

surrounded by a company, and said to him, 'Why has thy reverence<sup>1</sup> returned to me, thou excommunicate, in this guise so different from our fashion?' and he put forth his hand to Ibn al-Ḳanbar'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-Ḳanbar 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-Ḳanbar, 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-Ḳanbar to the monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair<sup>2</sup>, and there he dwelt with his companions, administering the affairs of the monastery; nor Fol. 14 a 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<sup>3</sup>, having destroyed his own soul and the souls of those whom he seduced by his deceit.

§ After the death of Ibn al-Ḳanbar, I found a report on sheets of paper in the handwriting of Anba Michael<sup>4</sup>, metropolitan<sup>5</sup> 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-Ḳanbar and the evil which he wrought in the world. Within it were the words:

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<sup>1</sup> 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. *جَنَابِكَ* is now frequently found, especially in letters.

<sup>2</sup> See below, fol. 49 ff.

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

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

<sup>5</sup> 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 metropolitanical dignity, and the exact nature of that dignity in this case, are uncertain.

Fol. 14 b 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]<sup>2</sup> 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-Ḳanbar 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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<sup>1</sup> The Coptic ⲧⲉⲣⲉⲓⲱⲧ. Yâḳût sets this town four parasangs from Samannûd 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-Gharbîyah. The Copto-Arabic lists of places give Damsîs between Sandalât and Sahrajt or Naṭû, but the order of the names in such lists cannot always be depended upon as strictly corresponding to the position of the localities. Damsîs is no longer existing, although it was still a town at the beginning of this century. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٥٨٨ ; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, *op. cit.* p. ٩. ; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 117] ; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 119 f.

<sup>2</sup> Some words seem to be omitted here.

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

‘After this he made a parade of his learning and his exposition of the holy books, and he translated them from Coptic<sup>1</sup> into Arabic; and he wrote that *Tafsîr at-Tafsîr* according to the imaginations of his own mind. While he was living at the church of Damsis, he concealed the Guide<sup>2</sup> which indicates what portions of the Gospels and of the ecclesias-

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<sup>1</sup> Coptic had become a dead language long before this time in Lower Egypt, although Al-Maḳrîzî informs us that near Usyût, at Mûshah 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-Maḳrîzî’s words with regard to Mûshah are:

والاغلب على نصارى هذه الاديرة معرفة القبطى الصعيدى وهو اصل اللغة القبطية وبعدها اللغة القبطية البحرية ونسا نصارى الصعيد واولادهم لا يكادون يتكلمون الا بالقبطية الصعيدية  
(*Khiṭat*, ii. p. 507.)

Of Udrunkah he says:

ودرنكة اهلها من النصارى يعرفون اللغة القبطية فيتحدث صغيرهم وكبيرهم بها ويفسرونها بالعربية (Ibid. p. 518.)

For a translation of these passages see Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Generally called *kutmârus*, a corruption of the Coptic word ΚΑΤΑΜΕΡΟC, borrowed from the Greek and meaning ‘divided into sections.’ See Vansleb, *Hist. de l’Église d’Alex.* p. 62, and Butler, *Coptic Churches*, ii. p. 260. Mr. Malan has published an almost complete translation of a Coptic *Kutmârus* (London, D. Nutt, 1874). (A. J. B.)

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

ΚΑΤΑΜΕΡΟC : ΕΤΕ ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΨΑΛΕΟC : ΠΕΛ ΠΙΛΕΞΙC  
ΕΒΟΛΘΕΝ ΠΙΓΡΑΦΗ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ : ΟΥΟΖ Ζ̄ ΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ :  
ΠΕΛ ΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ ΙΤΕ ΠΙΑΥΙΟC ΠΑΥΛΟC : ΠΕΛ ΕΒΟΛΘΕΝ  
ΠΡΑΞΙC ΙΤΕ ΠΙΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC : ΠΕΛ ΕΒΟΛΘΕΝ ΠΙᾹ ΙΤΕ  
ΠΙΕΥΑΥΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΘΒΕ ΠΙΚΥΚΛΟC ΙΤΕ ΤΡΟΠΙ ΘΕΝ ΠΙΡΟΥΖΙ



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

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περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἢ τε περὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατὰ  
τάξιν ἢ τε ἐκκλησίας ἢ ἀκοῆς ἢ τε παιγνίου ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ  
ἢ περὶ πικρίας

πικρίας ἄ εἶθε πικρία περὶ πικρίας ἐτεσπνοῦ  
ἐτε φαί πε

εἶθε πικρία ἢ τε πικρίας πικρίας ἐτε φαί πε  
θωοῦ παρὰ τῶν χοίρων τῶν μεχίρ

ἢ περὶ πικρίας ἰωάννης πικρίας περὶ  
πικρίας εἶθε περὶ γεωργίας πικρίας πικρίας ἢ τε ἰωάννης  
μεχίρ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος πικρίας ἐπικρίτης μερκοῦ  
ριος πικρίας πικρίας ἢ τε τῶν μερκοῦ παρθεῖνος  
περὶ ἢ περὶ παρθεῖνος ἢ τε πικρίας ἐπικρίτης πικρίας  
στεφάνος προπικρίας περὶ δισκορος περὶ δισ-  
κλειος περὶ ποταμίου ἢ περὶ τῶν μερκοῦ ἢ τε τῶν μερκοῦ  
παρθεῖνος ἢ τε πικρίας ἐπικρίτης ἢ τε πικρίας εἶθε πικρίας  
ἢ τε τῶν μερκοῦ παρθεῖνος ἐπικρίτης ἢ τε πικρίας ἐπικρί-  
της περὶ πικρίας ἢ τε μερκοῦ περὶ πικρίας  
πετρος περὶ πικρίας

πικρίας ἄ εἶθε πικρία περὶ πικρίας ἐτεσπνοῦ

πικρία ἢ τε τῶν μερκοῦ πικρίας πικρίας ἐπικρίτης ἐπικρί-  
της περὶ πικρία ἢ τε πικρίας ἢ τε πικρίας πικρίας  
ἐπικρία ἢ τε τῶν μερκοῦ περὶ πικρίας ἢ τε πικρίας  
ἐπικρίας ἢ τε πικρίας

εἶθε πικρία ἢ τε πικρίας πικρίας πικρίας ἐπικρί-  
της περὶ πικρίας ἢ τε πικρίας ἢ τε πικρίας πικρίας  
ἢ τε πικρίας τῶν μερκοῦ

οἰκονομίας ἢ τε μερκοῦ πικρίας πικρίας πικρίας πικρίας

οἰκονομίας μερκοῦ πικρίας πικρίας πικρίας πικρίας

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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<sup>1</sup>; 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 Hanîfs. 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<sup>2</sup>, and make their communion with the reserved<sup>3</sup> 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.

Fol. 15 b He also abrogated the three days of the Fast of Nineveh<sup>4</sup> and the first

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

<sup>2</sup> 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.

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

<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>1</sup> of the Fast, according to the rule of the Melkites, and he allowed meat and milk to be eaten during the Week of Nineveh on the two days of Wednesday and Friday.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> I. e. the so-called Fast of Heraclius, which, immediately preceding Lent, forms the first week of the Great Fast. The origin of this fast is said to be as follows: that the emperor Heraclius, on his way to Jerusalem, promised his protection to the Jews of Palestine, but that on his arrival in the holy city, the schismatical patriarch and the Christians generally prayed him to put all the Jews to the sword, because they had joined the Persians shortly before in their sack of the city and cruelties towards the Christians; that the emperor hesitated to break his solemn oath in the manner thus suggested to him, but was eventually persuaded to sanction a general massacre of the Jews by the solemn promise made to him by the authorities of the monophysite community that all members of their body would henceforth until the end of the world observe the week before Lent as a strict fast for the benefit of his soul. This promise was, of course, binding on the Egyptian and Ethiopian monophysites, as well as on the Syrians, with whom alone they were in communion; but it did not affect the Melkites. See Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 74 f. The same account of the origin of the Fast of Heraclius is given by the Mahometan historian Al-Makrîzî (*Khitat*, ii. p. 191). (A. J. B.)

forbids them to act; and that they obey him and follow his commands; and that each of the Three does a work in which the others do not participate: the Father, namely, commands; the Son creates what the Father commands him to create; and the Holy Spirit gives life to that to which the Father commands him to give life; and that every creature which exists was created by the Son, at the command of the Father; and everything that lives received life from the Holy Spirit at the command of the Father.

Fol. 16 a 'In the next place he held that there was a feminine quality in the Godhead, and he taught that this feminine quality is proper to the Holy Spirit<sup>1</sup>. He held that the eternal Word of God is born through

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<sup>1</sup> 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 קדשה . . . Sed et in evangelio quod, juxta Hebraeos scriptum, Nazaraei lectitant, Dominus loquitur: modo me tulit mater mea, Spiritus Sanctus. Nemo autem in hac parte scandalizari debet quod dicatur apud Hebraeos spiritus genere feminino, cum nostra lingua appelletur genere masculino, et Graeco sermone neutro. In divinitate enim nullus est sexus. Et ideo in tribus principalibus linguis, quibus titulus dominicae scriptus est passionis, tribus generibus appellatur, ut sciamus nullius esse generis quod diversum est.' (Jerome, *Comm. in Esaiam*, cap. xl. ver. 11.)

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

"'Εὰν δὲ προσίεται τις τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίου εὐαγγέλιον, ἔνθα αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ φησιν Ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριχῶν μου καὶ ἀπήνεγκέ 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-Kanbar, 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, ܪܘܚ, רוח, 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-Kanbar's views.

In Arabic رُوح 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<sup>1</sup>, 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. Fol. 16 b

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gender when it denotes the Holy Spirit, *الروح القدس* or *القدّوس*. The ancient form was *رُوحُ الْقُدْسِ*, from the Syriac *ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ*.

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

الاقنوم الثالث يتميز بخاصة الانبثاق لانه الروح القدس المنبثق اى المنبعث من الاب ازليا  
 '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<sup>1</sup> the same that happened to Adam; and he held that punishment and recompense in the next world belong to the

<sup>1</sup> Vansleb says that although the Copts do not employ a term corresponding to the Latin 'purgatory,' yet 'il est bien vrai qu'ils croient 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 ٥٨ of the Catechism of Filtâ'ûs, which has already been quoted:

س هل تنتفع الانفس المومنة بالصلوات وفعل البر  
ج نعم ان صلوات الكنيسة وتقدمة القربان الشريف وفعل الاحسان تنفع تلك الانفس  
المنتقلة ببعض نقائص وزلات بشرية (لا المستغرقة في الرذائل وعدم الرحمة بدون توبة ولا  
استغفار) وهذه القضية تعتبرها كنيسة المسيح الجامعة من الاجيال الاولى وكنيسة اسرائيل تشهد  
في سفر المكابيين الثاني ان يهودا المكابي كان يقدم ذبائح عن الجند المائتين ص ١٢ عدد ٤٣

'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.’ Fol. 17 a

### *Certain Wonders of Egypt.*

§ Section in which the fishing-place<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup>. 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<sup>3</sup> 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).’

<sup>1</sup> This fishing-place is not mentioned by Al-Maḡrîzî among the ‘wonders of the Nile.’

<sup>2</sup> *Madīnat al-Hajar*, or the City of Stone, is still existing in the south of the Fayyûm, close to the village of Al-Gharaḡ. There is an ancient sculptured gateway and some columns and other remains of an ancient city.

<sup>3</sup> Can this be a version of the story told of the minaret of Abwîṭ near Al-Bahnasa, reckoned by As-Suyûṭî among the twenty wonders of Egypt, which constitute two-thirds of the wonders of the world? He says it is

محكمة البناء اذا هزها الانسان مالت يميناً وشمالاً لا يرى ميلها ظاهراً وفي ظلها في الشمس



a marble pillar, rising to the height of about seventeen cubits above the ground, and its diameter is two cubits. It moves on one day of the year, making one motion.

§ Account of the tree<sup>1</sup>, 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.

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‘skilfully 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-Muhādārah*, i. p. ۴۰.)

Cf. Ibn Dukmāk, who says, in speaking of Abwīt:

وبهذه البلدة اعجوبة وهي منارتها يصعد عليها وتهز وتهتز وتميل ولا يعلم ما سبب ذلك

‘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. ۳.)

Al-Maḥrîzî tells a similar tale of the minaret of Barzakh, a suburb of Damietta; see *Khîṭat*, i. p. ۲۳.

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

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

ومن عجائبها ان بصعيدها ضيعة تعرف بدشني فيها سنطة اذا تهددت بالقطع تذبل وتجمع وتضمرفيقال لها قد عفونا عنك وتركناك فتراجع والمشهور وهو الموجود الان سنطة في الصعيد اذا نزلت اليد عليها ذبلت واذا رفعت عنها تراجعت

‘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.’ (*Khîṭat*, i. p. ۳۲.)

The fruit of the *sant* was used in medicine; see ‘Abd al-Laṭîf, *Mukhtaṣar Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. White, pp. 48, 50.

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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<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> contains the church of George<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Here our author is making a fresh mistake. The 'prison of Joseph' was neither at Bûşîr Banâ nor at Bûşîr Kûrîdus, but at Bûşîr as-Sidr in the province of Al-Jîzah. Al-Maḳrîzî says:

قال القضاى سجن يوسف عليه السلام ببوصير من عمل للجيزة اجمع اهل المعرفة من اهل مصر على صحة ذلك المكان

'Al-Ḳudâ'i says: The prison of Joseph, upon whom be peace! is at Bûşîr in the province of Al-Jîzah; all the learned men of Egypt are agreed upon the authenticity of this spot.' (*Khîṭat*, i. p. ۲.۷.) This passage of Al-Ḳudâ'i is also quoted by Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ۴۷. Al-Maḳrîzî goes on to state that the flat roof of the 'prison' was called *Ijâbat ad-Du'â*,—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-Suyûtî speaks of the prison as standing to the north of the pyramids, which are still known as the Pyramids of Abûşîr, and are a little to the north of Sakkarah, and about six miles to the south of Al-Jîzah.

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

The pyramids of Bûşîr and the mummies found there are described by 'Abd al-Laṭîf, *Mukhtaşar Akhbâr Mişr*, ed. White, pp. 156, 158.

<sup>2</sup> Wanâ or Banâ is near Bûşîr 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 Bûşîr. It was named in Greek *Κυνόπολις*, and in Coptic *ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲩ*; it is now included in the district of Samannûd in the province of Al-Gharbîyah; and it had in 1885 a population of 3,021. See Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 117]; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 84 f.; *Recensement de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> This church is mentioned by Al-Maḳrîzî, see Appendix. We shall find, as

§ At Munyat al-Kā'id<sup>1</sup> there is a church. It was restored by Fadl ibn Ṣāliḥ, who had been a page to the vizier Abū 'l-Faraj ibn Killis<sup>2</sup>, in the caliphate of Al-Ḥākim<sup>3</sup>; it is named after Our Lady the Virgin<sup>4</sup>, Fol. 18 a and stands near the river.

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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.)

<sup>1</sup> Two days' journey to the south of Fuṣṭāṭ (Old Cairo), according to Yâḳût, in the most northern part of Upper Egypt. The Kā'id from whom it received its name was this very Fadl who restored the church. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 100. There were thirty-nine *Munyahs* in Egypt at this period; see Yâḳût, *Mushtarik*, p. 105. The word *Munyah*, now popularly pronounced *Minyah*, or shortened into *Mit*, is an Arabicised form of the Coptic ⲙⲏⲧⲏⲛ, 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 Bibâ in the province of Banî Suwaif, and in 1885 had a population of 455. See *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> كَلْمِين is written by a clerical error here and on fol. 69 a as كَلْمِين. 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-Suyûtî, *Husn al-Muḥādḍarah*, ii. p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> The dedication of churches to the Virgin was more frequent in Egypt,

§ Wanâ Bûsîr<sup>1</sup> contains a church named after the great and valiant martyr Mercurius<sup>2</sup>, and two other churches—one dedicated to Our Lady the Pure Virgin, and the second to the holy martyr Saint George<sup>3</sup>, besides a church to the martyr John<sup>4</sup>, who is also named

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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.

<sup>1</sup> Our author here returns to Wanâ or Banâ, which he had left a few lines above.

<sup>2</sup> 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 Hatûr 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.)

<sup>3</sup> The prefix ماري, Mârî, so often used by the Copts in speaking of the saints, is, as it is well known, derived from the Syriac ܡܪܝܢܐ, 'my Lord.' Many of the Christian theological and ecclesiastical terms used in Arabic are Syriac in origin.

<sup>4</sup> There are more martyrs than one of this name in the Coptic calendar. See below, fol. 56.

Abû Yuḥannûs, and whose pure body is preserved in this church. There is also a church to the glorious angel, Michael the Archangel.

§ At Idrîjah<sup>1</sup>, one of the villages of Bûsh<sup>2</sup>, there is a church to the great martyr Saint George.

§ Ṭansa<sup>3</sup> contains a church, named after Nahâdah<sup>4</sup>, and churches named after the valiant<sup>5</sup> martyr Mercurius, the glorious angel Gabriel, and Our Lady the Pure Virgin.

### *The Fayyûm.*

§ Madinat al-Fayyûm<sup>6</sup> and its province. Al-Fayyûm was the name of one of the sons of Ẕift<sup>7</sup>, the son of Mizraim, who built it for one

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, fol. 69 b. Yâḳût speaks of Idrîjah as a village of Upper Egypt in the province of Al-Bahnasâ; see his *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 178. Cf. Ibn Duḳmâḳ, *op. cit.* v. p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Bûsh or Bûsh Ẕurâ was the Coptic ΠΟΥΨΙΝ, 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 Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 508; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 366 ff. (A. J. B.)

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> These churches at Ṭansa are mentioned again fol. 69 b. The name of Nahâdah occurs in the case of this one church only, among the Egyptian churches.

<sup>5</sup> الشجاع, 'the valiant,' is an epithet especially applied to St. Mercurius and St. Theodore.

<sup>6</sup> '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 ΦΙΟΛΛ = 'the sea' or 'lake:' a name given on account of Lake Moeris, identified by some with the modern *Birkat al-Ẕurûn*, but by Mr. Cope Whitehouse with the low ground, now dry land, in the Wâdî Rayân, to the south of the Fayyûm. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, i. p. 241; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 339 ff.

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

<sup>7</sup> As we shall see in several cases below, our author follows other Arab writers in deriving the names of places in Egypt from the names of real or

of his daughters who had brought dishonour upon herself, so that he banished her thither. The city existed before the time of Joseph<sup>1</sup>, the son of Jacob, the son of Abraham the Friend of God, upon whom be peace! and Joseph rebuilt it. He also made the Nilometer<sup>2</sup>. And he built [Madinat] al-Fayyûm and Ḥajar al-Lâḥûn<sup>3</sup>, which was built with wisdom, founded with divine assistance, and constructed by the inspiration of God. Joseph also dug the canal of Al-Manhî<sup>4</sup>. He

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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-Kudâ'î, Al-Makrîzî, and As-Suyûtî borrowed so much of their work. See As-Suyûtî, *Husn al-Muhâḍarah*, i. p. 1.. 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 *Kibt* (قبط, 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.

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

<sup>2</sup> Al-Makrîzî quotes Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's own words, to which without doubt our author is referring: ..

قال ابن عبد الحكم اول من قاس النيل بمصر يوسف عليه سلام وضع مقياساً بمنف

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

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the great dykes and sluices of brick and stone near the village of Al-Lâḥûn, which regulated the supply of water into the Fayyûm. This ancient structure, attributed by the Mahometan historians to Joseph (Al-Makrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, i. p. 147 f.; Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 144; As-Suyûtî, *Husn al-Muhâḍarah*, i. p. 22), was destroyed by French engineers early in this century, and a new lock erected. (A. J. B.)

<sup>4</sup> Also called from its reputed author *Bahr Yûsuf* or 'Joseph's River.' It is

cultivated the land of Egypt. The Fayyûm contained three hundred and sixty-six districts, according to the number of days in the year<sup>1</sup>, each district corresponding to a day; and the yearly revenue from each canton was a thousand dinars. The lands of this district are laid under water when the river rises twelve cubits; but are not entirely submerged with eighteen cubits. There are here tracts of common land<sup>2</sup>, in which no one has the right of property; for men are allowed to make use of

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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-Lâhûn, where it branches out into the many canals which irrigate the Fayyûm. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٩٣٣; *Marâšid al-Ittilâ'* ad voc.; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khîṭat*, i. p. ٧١.

<sup>1</sup> 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 *Nissî*.

<sup>2</sup> Here our author quotes Al-Kindî's *Fadâ'il Miṣr*. Al-Maḳrîzî says, quoting by name from the same book:

فيها من المباح مما ليس عليه ملك لاحد من مسلم ولا معاهد يستعين به القوى والضعيف  
فاذا 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-Maḳrîzî 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, lentils, chick-peas, flat peas, flax, leeks, onions, garlic, lupins, water-melons, haricots, sesame, cotton, sugar-cane, colocasia, egg-plant, indigo, radish, turnip, lettuce, cabbage, vine, fig, apple, mulberry, almond, peach, apricot, date-palm, narcissus, jasmine, myrtle, beetroot, gillyflower, banana, cassia, lotus-tree. See the section entitled:

ذكر اصناف اراضى مصر واقسام زراعتها

'Account of the different kinds of land in Egypt and of the various crops grown there,' in *Khîṭat*, ii. p. ١٠٠ 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 Kâfûr al-Ustâdh<sup>1</sup>, Emir of Egypt, generally known by the appellation of Al-Ikhshîdî, under the Abbaside dynasty<sup>2</sup>, in the year of the Arabs 355, when the revenue amounted to 620,000 dinars<sup>3</sup>; and this equals the amount calculated to come from Ar-Ramlah<sup>4</sup> and Tiberias and Damascus.

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<sup>1</sup> Abû 'l-Misk Kâfûr 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-Ikhshîd, governor of Egypt, who subsequently emancipated him and appointed him guardian over his two sons. When Al-Ikhshîd died in A. H. 334 = A. D. 946, his eldest son Abû 'l-Kâsim Anûjûr became ruler of Egypt, but the state was actually administered by Kâfûr, who is known as Al-Ikhshîdî on account of his having belonged to Al-Ikhshîd. When Anûjûr died in A. H. 349 = A. D. 960, his brother Abû 'l-Ḥasan 'Alî succeeded to the government of Egypt, and Kâfûr acted as his lieutenant, as he had acted for his brother. 'Alî died in A. H. 355 = A. D. 966, and then Kâfûr 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. Kâfûr is celebrated as the most successful and powerful of all the black eunuchs who rose to eminence under Mahometan rule. The poet Al-Mutanabbî wrote in his praise. See Abû 'l-Maḥâsin, ed. Juynboll and Matthes, ii. pp. 373-393; Ibn al-Athîr, viii. pp. 429-431; Al-Maḥrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, i. p. 329; Ibn Khallikân, trans. De Slane, ii. p. 524; As-Suyûtî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, ii. p. 14. (A. J. B.)

<sup>2</sup> The Abbaside caliph reigning at Bagdad in A. H. 355 = A. D. 966 was Al-Muṭî', who was proclaimed in A. H. 334 = A. D. 946, and abdicated in A. H. 363 = A. D. 974.

<sup>3</sup> This statement seems to be borrowed from Ibn Zûlâk :

وقال ابن زولاق في كتاب الدلائل على امراء مصر للكندي وعقدت لكافور الاخشيدي الفيوم في هذه السنة يعني سنة ست وخمسين وثلثمائة ستمائة الف دينار ونيفاً وعشرين الف دينار  
'Ibn Zûlâk says in Al-Kindî's book of information on the emirs of Egypt, that the Fayyûm was reckoned for Kâfûr al-Ikhshîdî in this year, namely the year 356, as yielding a revenue of more than 620,000 dinars.' (Al-Maḥrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, i. p. 349.)

<sup>4</sup> I. e. Ar-Ramlah on the coast of Syria, a little to the south of Yâfâ or Joppa.

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ment, from the crops grown on the lands of these monasteries, amounted to five hundred dinars yearly.

It is said in the *Book*<sup>1</sup> 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-Kâsim. Now Anba Abraham had much money derived from church property; for he had in his diocese thirty-five monasteries, in the Fayyûm; and he was the administrator of their goods; and he was bound to pay a land-tax of 500 dinars into the public treasury of the government on their account. He was the head of all of them, and the merchants of Egypt sold to him and bought from him.' MS. in Bib. Nat. Paris, numbered *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, p. 142, lines 5-13.

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

ذكر عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن عبد الحكم قال حدثنا هشام بن اسحاق ان يوسف لما ولي مصر عظمت منزلته من فرعون وجات سنه مائة سنة قالت وزراء الملك ان يوسف ذهب علمه وتغير عقله ونفدت حكمته فعنفهم فرعون ورد عليهم مقالتهم واسا اللفظ لهم فكفوا ثم عاودوه بذلك القول بعد سنين فقال لهم هلئوا ما شئتم من شئ نختبره به وكانت الفيوم يومئذ تدعى للجوبة وانما كانت لمصالة ماء الصعيد وفضوله فاجتمع رايهم على ان تكون المحنة التي يمتحن بها يوسف فقالوا لفرعون سل يوسف ان يصرف ماء الجوبة فيزداد بلد الى بلدك وخراج الى خراجك فدعا يوسف وقال قد تعلم مكان ابنتي فلانة منى فقد رأيت اذا بلغت ان اطلب لها بلداً واني لم أصب لها الا الجوبة وذلك انه بليد قريب لا يوتى من ناحية من نواحي مصر الا من مفازة او صحراء الى الان قال والفيوم وسط مصر كمثل مصر في وسط البلاد لان مصر لا توتى من ناحية من نواحي صحراء او مفازة وقد اقطعها اياها فلا تتركن وجهاً ولا نظراً الا وبلغته فقال يوسف نعم ايها الملك متى اردت ذلك عملته قال ان احبه الى اعجله فاوحى الى يوسف ان يحفر ثلاثة خلج خليجاً من اعلى الصعيد من موضع كذا الى موضع كذا وخليجاً شرقياً من موضع كذا الى موضع كذا وخليجاً غربياً من موضع كذا الى موضع كذا فوضع يوسف العمال فحفر خليج المنهى من اعلى اشمون الى اللاهون &c.

'Abd ar-Rahmân ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abd al-Hakam says: I learnt from Hishâm

that the Fayyûm was known as the Waste Ground; it was an outlet for the waters of Upper Egypt. Joseph the Truthful dug the canal here, and brought the water through it, and the Nile began to flow into it. Joseph was of the age of thirty years, in the reign of Ar-Rayyân<sup>1</sup>, the

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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. Wört.* iv. p. ۹۳۳ f. Cf. Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khîḍḍat*, i. p. ۱۴۵, where the same passage is quoted; As-Suyûtî, *Husn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ۲۱.

<sup>1</sup> Ar-Rayyân ibn Walid ibn Dauma' is the name given by most of the Arabian historians to the Pharaoh of Joseph; although Al-Maḳrîzî 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<sup>1</sup> of the history of the church, and the biography of Anba Khâ'il<sup>2</sup>, the forty-sixth patriarch, contains an estimate of the yearly revenues of Egypt, at the end of the caliphate of Marwân<sup>3</sup>, the 'Ass of War,' the last caliph of the dynasty of the Omeyyads, and at the beginning of the caliphate of As-Saffâh<sup>4</sup> 'Abd Allâh, the Abbaside, which sets the amount carried into the public treasury at 200,000 dinars, apart from the expenses<sup>5</sup>.

called him Nahrâ'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 Muḥammad in the Koran. The names seem to have been borrowed by later writers from Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, who was himself indebted to Ibn Ishâk.

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

<sup>2</sup> Occupied the see from A. D. 743 to 766 according to Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 203-236. The name خائيل, Khâ'il, is an abbreviated form of ميخائيل, Mîkhâ'il or Michael. Another form of the name is خايال, Khâyâl. The biography of Michael, included in the history of the patriarchs compiled by Severus of Ushmûnain, is one of the most important parts of that work, and is the contemporary composition of John the Deacon, who was an eyewitness of many of the events which he relates. See MS. *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, pp. 140-191.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> The first of the Abbaside caliphs, who overthrew the Omeyyad dynasty. Reigned A. H. 133-137 = A. D. 751-755.

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

وكان ارتفاع مصر بعد اقطاعات الاجناد ونفقات دار السلطان وما يحتاج اليه لتدبير المملكة

§ 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 Kūḥtān, the son of Fâliḳ, the father of the Arabs, men made likenesses of all that were renowned for virtue, and of good repute, and famous for valour and beauty of form, and worshipped their images.

§ Abû Naiṭur<sup>1</sup>, the fourth son of Noah, learnt, through the inspiration of God, the science of the sphere<sup>2</sup>, and the art of reckoning it by years, months, days, and hours, and the like. Afterwards Nimrod<sup>3</sup> 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<sup>4</sup>, and how to raise false phantoms; and

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ما يفضل بعد ذلك ويحمل الى بيت المال مالا حملاً في كل سنة مائتا الف الف 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.

<sup>1</sup> Abû Naiṭur is not elsewhere mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> 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 فلك = σφαῖρα is borrowed.

<sup>3</sup> 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. Ḥâjî 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-Kâmil*, i. p. 11 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The Mahometans consider Babylon to have been the original home of

Fol. 19 b a crown<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup>, in the region of Egypt. On Mount Sinai God spoke with Moses; and Moses struck with his rod.

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

<sup>1</sup> An idol of the ancient Arabs of Mecca; see Koran, *Sûrat al-Bakarah*, 257, 259, where the religion of Tâghût is placed in antithesis to the true religion of Islam. Cf. *Sûrat al-Mâ'idah*, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Eutychius reports this legend, in speaking of the time of Abraham:

في عصره كان نمرود الجبار ملك بابل ويقال انه اول ملك ملك ببابل وابصر شبه الاكليل في السما من سحب فدعى صائغا فصاغ له اكليل ووضعه على راسه ومن اجل هذا كانوا الناس يقولون نزل له تاج من السما

‘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 جبار, ‘giant,’ corresponds to גִּבּוֹר in Genesis x. 8, 9.

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

<sup>3</sup> This was a well-known town, two days to the south of Al-Fustât, in the province of Al-Iṭṭîḥîyah. Many of the Muslims, as well as the Christians, accepted the tradition that Moses was born there; see Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ۲۵۳; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khitat*, ii. p. ۵۱۷; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, iv. p. ۱۳۳. The MSS. of Al-Maḳrîzî write the name as اشكر.

Askar still exists in the district of Iṭṭîḥ in the province of Al-Jîzah; see *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 51.

In Egypt Moses divided the sea, and performed the ten miracles. Joseph the Truthful<sup>1</sup> ruled over Egypt.

In Egypt also is the palm-tree. Here is the Holy Valley<sup>2</sup>, and the fissure of the *Abû Kîr*<sup>3</sup>, 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 *Hâ'it al-'Ajûz*<sup>4</sup>, from Al-'Arish to Aswân; which is sometimes called *Hâ'it al-Hujûz*.

<sup>1</sup> This is a constant epithet of Joseph among the Mahometans, and originated in the Koran, *Sûrah Yûsuf*, ver. 51:

قَالَتْ امْرَأَةُ الْعَزِيزِ الْآنَ حَصْحَصَ الْحَقُّ أَنَا رَاودْتُهُ عَنْ نَفْسِهِ وَإِنَّهُ لَمِنَ الصَّادِقِينَ

‘The wife of Al-'Azîz 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:

يُوسُفُ أَيُّهَا الصِّدِّيقُ أَفْتِنَا فِي سَبْعِ بَقَرَاتٍ سِمَانٍ

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

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

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

بلق سود الاعناق مطوقات الحواصل سود اطراف الاجنحة

‘They are piebald, with black necks, striped on the breast, with black tips to their wings.’ *Husn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ۳۹.

Al-Maḥrîzî says that the prodigy had ceased in his time. *Khiṭat*, ii. p. ۵۰۳ f.; cf. i. p. ۳۱.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Wall of the old woman,’ also called *Jisr al-'Ajûz*, ‘dyke of the old woman.’ It still exists in portions near Jabal at-Ṭair, near Kûshîyah, 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'<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup>; here the two seas approach one another. Between them are two dykes<sup>3</sup>. The two seas are the sea of the Romans and the sea of the Chinese<sup>4</sup>; and the dyke is a journey of one night<sup>5</sup> from both of

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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. 19.; Al-Maḡrîzî, *Khiṭât*, i. p. 31; As-Suyûtî, *Husn al-Muḡâḍarah*, i. p. 39.

Our author, on fol. 57 b, makes Cleopatra the builder of the *Hâ'it al-'Ajûz*, which extended not only from Al-'Arîsh 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.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the electric eel, *gymnotus electricus*, the properties of which are well known. They were much celebrated by Arabic writers on Egypt. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 171; Abû 'l-Maḡâsin, *op. cit.* i. p. 39; Al-Maḡrîzî, *Khiṭât*, i. p. 11; Al-Mas'ûdî, *Murûj adh-Dhahab*, ii. pp. 392-3; 'Abd al-Laṭîf, *Mukhtaṣar* (ed. White), p. 82.

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

<sup>3</sup> The high ground to the north of Lake Timsâḡ is still called *Al-Jisr*, 'the dyke.'

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

<sup>5</sup> 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-Maḡrîzî makes it the same. Yâkût and the *Marâṣid al-Itṭilâ'* make it four days.

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In this country brocaded stuffs are made: gauze of Tinnîs<sup>1</sup>, and *sharb*<sup>2</sup>, a stuff used for tents, and coloured *Dabîkî*<sup>3</sup>; and there is no

<sup>1</sup> The fine tissues of Tinnîs are much celebrated by Arab historians and geographers. Ibn Ḥaukal, who wrote in A. H. 367 = A. D. 978, says of Tinnîs and Damietta:

وبهما يتخذ رفيع الدبقي والشرب والمصبغات من الخلال السنينة التي ليس في جميع الارض  
ما يدانيها في الحسن والقيمة

‘In these two cities are manufactured fine *Dabîkî* 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. 101).

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

The foundation of the stuffs of Tinnîs 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-Idrîsî (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 320.

<sup>2</sup> A precious tissue; see Glossary to De Goeje’s *Bibliotheca Geog. Arab.* p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Maḥrîzî says:

دبيق قرية من قرى دمياط ينسب اليها الثياب المثقلة والعمائم الشرب الملونة والدبقي  
العلم المذهب وكانت العمائم الشرب المذهبة تعمل بها ويكون طول كل عمامة منها مائة ذراع  
وفيهما رقعات منسوجة بالذهب فتبلغ العمامة من الذهب خمسمائة دينار سوى الحرير والغزل  
وحدثت هذه العمائم وغيرها في ايام العزيز بالله بن المعز سنة خمس وستين وثلثمائة الى ان  
مات في شعبان سنة ست وثمانين وثلثمائة

‘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 *Dabîkî* 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 ‘llâh, son of Al-Mu‘izz, who reigned from the year 365 (A. D. 975) until he died in the month of Sha‘bân, in the year 386 (A. D. 996).’ *Khîṭaṭ*, i. p. 226.

stuff, not interwoven with gold, of which garments are made, of the value of 100 dinars, except the stuffs of Tinnîs<sup>1</sup> and Damietta, and Al-Manhab (?) and *Şikillî*<sup>2</sup>. The Egyptians make woollen garments, and robes of goats' hair of Samâlûs, 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

Fol. 20 a

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Cf. Quatremère, *Mém.* i. p. 340, where this passage is translated in Quatremère's usual loose manner.

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

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

See also Yâḫût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٥٤٨; *Marâşid al-Ittilâ'* ad voc.; Al-Idrîsî (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 320.

The town of Dabîk no longer exists.

<sup>1</sup> Al-Maḫrîzî likewise says:

وليس في الدنيا طراز ثوب كتان يبلغ الثوب منه وهو ساج بغير ذهب مائة دينار عينا  
غير طراز تنيس ودمياط

'There is no brocade in the world with a foundation of linen, of which a single garment, not interwoven with gold, fetches a price of 100 dinars in cash, except the brocade of Tinnîs and Damietta.' *Khîṭat*, i. p. 177.

Cf. Quatremère, *Mém.* i. p. 308, who makes the mistake of translating كتان by 'cotton.' Al-Maḫrîzî says that the robes made at Tinnîs 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-'Irâḳ alone. Cf. Al-Idrîsî (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 320.

<sup>2</sup> 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. *Şikillî* was also made in Spain. See Al-Muḫaddasî (ed. De Goeje), pp. 140 and 139.

have the gold-mines<sup>1</sup> and the emerald-mines<sup>2</sup>, and red and yellow ochre ;

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<sup>1</sup> In the Wâdî 'l-'Alâkî, which lies to the south-east of Aswân, in the country of the Bajjah or Bishârîs. The mines have not been worked for many centuries, but were known in the time of Rameses II. See Al-Idrîsî (trans. Jaubert), i. pp. 36, 41; Al-Maḡrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, i. pp. 190, 197, 198; Abû 'l-Fidâ, *Tab. Aeg.* p. 35 f.

<sup>2</sup> Quatremère gives an interesting chapter on the emerald-mines of Egypt (*Mém.* ii. p. 73 ff.) He first quotes an extract from Al-Maḡrîzî (*Khîṭaṭ*, i. p. 133), who copies however from Al-Mas'ûdî, and Al-Mas'ûdî's informant was 'Abd ar-Raḡîm, 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 Kûs or Kîṭ, 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-Maḡrîzî adds that the mines were regularly worked till about 1358 A.D., when the vizier 'Abd Allâh ibn Zanbûr put a stop to the mining. But it is related that Ibrâhîm Pâshâ, 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 (*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, Muḡammad 'Alî, 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 Ibrâhîm Pâshâ'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<sup>1</sup> of gold, silver, and copper; and the Lake of Nitre, and

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command of an expedition sent by the Khedive Taufîk, 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-Etbai* (Le Caire, Imprimerie Nationale, 1893).

See also Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ۴۱۷; Al-Makrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ۱۹۴, and Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 22]. (A. J. B.)

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Fisher, of Oxford, has kindly supplied me with the following note on this mineral:

'The term marcasite is now used by mineralogists for one species of pyrites, but was at one time of wider signification, and synonymous with pyrites in general. It is a compound essentially of iron with sulphur (FeS<sub>2</sub>), 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. σπίρος, πυρίτης (λίθος), marchasita (Arab.), kis (Germ.) or kies, mundic (English miners), schwefelkies (Germ.), besides xanthopyrites, chalcopyrites. The name marcasite or marchasite is of Spanish or Arabic origin. When weathered by exposure to air and water it produces sulphate of iron (and copper), termed at one time kupferwasser, which is perhaps corrupted into copperas in the vulgar tongue.

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

The word مَرْقَشِيثًا seems to have come into the Arabic from the Syriac ܡܪܩܫܝܬܐ, which translates the Greek πυρίτης (Bar Bahlûl). The medicinal use of marcasite was borrowed by the Arabs from the Greeks (Dioscorides, ed. Spengel, i. p. 810=v. 142; Galen, opp. t. 13, p. 740; t. 12, p. 199; Pliny, 36, 19, 30, &c.) The Arab Gebr (Jâbir al-Kûfî) gives a chemical analysis of marcasite; see Mangeti, *Bib. Chem.* i; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der arab. Aerzte*, p. 12 f. Ibn al-Baiṭar says: 'Marcasite is sometimes gold, sometimes silver, sometimes copper, sometimes iron: each kind resembles in colour that metal after which it is named; and each kind is mixed with sulphur and gives out sparks when struck

the salt lakes<sup>1</sup>. In Egypt is found the clay of Aṣwân, which is called the 'clay of art,' and of this the jars intended to contain the drink called *fukḳâ*<sup>2</sup> are made. The manufacture<sup>3</sup> of white paper exists here; factories for boiling sugar<sup>4</sup> are found here; and presses for sugar-canes; and fields of rice<sup>5</sup>; and oil of turnip<sup>6</sup> and radish; and oil of balsam<sup>7</sup>; and opium<sup>8</sup> and the *abramîs*<sup>9</sup> and honey-wine.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> 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.)

<sup>2</sup> A kind of beer made of fruit.

<sup>3</sup> 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-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭat*, ii. pp. 1., 13. Bûrî near Damietta was famous for paper, which was also made in the Fayyûm. The chief constituent was linen.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Maḳrîzî gives an account of the method of cultivating the sugar-cane in Egypt in his time; see *Khiṭat*, i. p. 1.1. The use of sugar in Egyptian cookery is described by 'Abd al-Laṭîf, *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. 11.

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

<sup>6 7 8 9</sup> For these notes see next page.

*The Nile.*

§ Moreover, the Nile of Egypt is one of the miracles<sup>10</sup>, at which the people of the earth marvel when they hear of them; for it rises at the

<sup>6</sup> 'Abd al-Laṭîf, who was a contemporary of our author, says of the Egyptians :

ويختصون ايضاً باستخراج دهن بزر الفجل والسلجم والخس ويستصحبون به ويعملون منه  
الصابون وصابونهم رطب احمر واصفر واخضر

'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-Laṭîf, *op. cit.*, ed. White, p. 176.)

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

<sup>8</sup> 'Abd al-Laṭîf says that opium was made from the black poppy (الخشخاش الاسود) in Upper Egypt, and was often adulterated; *op. cit.* p. 48.

<sup>9</sup> The *abramîs* was a fish found in the Nile. It is curious that our author should place it here among the vegetable products. Al-Idrîsî says that the *abramîs* 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 ἀβραμίς, which occurs in Oppian's *Halieutica*, i. 244-7 :

χαλκίδες αὖ θρίσσαι τε καὶ ἀβραμίδες φορέονται  
ἀθρόαι, ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλον ἀλὸς πόρον, ἢ περὶ πέτρας  
ἢ πελάγη, δολιχοῖσί τ' ἐπέδραμον αἰγιαλοῖσιν,  
αἰὲν ἀμειβόμεναι ξείνην ὁδόν, ἧῦτ' ἀλήται.

<sup>10</sup> The Nile was naturally reckoned to be one of the twenty wonders of Egypt; see As-Suyûtî, *Husn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ۴. ; Al-Maḵrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ۳۱. 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, *Aethiopia*, cap. 28; 'Abd al-Laṭîf, p. 4 ff.; Al-Maḵrîzî, i. p. ۵. ff. See below, fol. 26 b.



time of the great decrease of water, when other rivers and springs fall or dry up; and its rise comes at the very time when it is needed, and so likewise its fall comes when it is needed, by the special care of God for the inhabitants of Egypt. After the decrease of the Nile the wells rise, and the time of sowing depends upon it, and not upon the rains. The Nile flows continually down to the salt sea, and cleaves its way through it visibly.

God has spoken of the Nile of Egypt by the tongues of his prophets; for Isaiah the prophet says: 'God shall bless the people of Egypt, and those whom his hands created in Al-Mauṣil<sup>1</sup>.'

Fol. 20 b § 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<sup>2</sup>."' 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<sup>3</sup>.'

#### *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<sup>4</sup>, and the truthful old man, Joseph the carpenter, by the command of God; and also the sojourn at Alexandria of Mark the Evangelist<sup>5</sup>,

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<sup>1</sup> Isaiah xix. 25. Al-Mauṣil, 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-Mauṣil (ارض 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, *Murûj adh-Dhahab* (ed. Barbier de Meynard), ii. 77:—

ملوك الموصل ومدينة نينوى

'The kings of Al-Mauṣil and of the city of Nineveh.'

<sup>2</sup> Matt. ii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Hosea xi. 1, and Matt. ii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *مَرْثَمَ رِيمَ* or *مَارْتَمَرِيمَ* is the Syriac *ܡܪܝܡ ܡܪܝܡ*, 'my Lady Mary;' it occurs constantly in this work as the appellation of the Blessed Virgin.

<sup>5</sup> The Copts have, as it is well known, unanimously preserved the tradition,

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prophet Daniel<sup>1</sup> and the prophet Jeremiah, and Ezekiel; besides others, kings, great men, wise men and philosophers, captains and rulers, in all ages and all times<sup>2</sup>.

*Boundaries of Egypt.*

§ The furthest point of the land of Egypt on the east is 'Abbâsah<sup>3</sup>, and on the west Alexandria. Its greatest length is from Al-'Arish<sup>4</sup> to 'Aidhâb<sup>5</sup>,

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<sup>1</sup> 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:

وَأَمَّا دَانِيَالُ فَلَمْ أَقِفْ فِيهِ عَلَى إِثْرٍ إِلَى الْآنِ وَعَدَّهُ ابْنُ زَوْلَاقٍ فَيَمُنُ وَوَلَدٌ بِمِصْرَ

'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-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ۳۲.)

<sup>2</sup> 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-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ۳۶ f.

<sup>3</sup> 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 Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn. It is now included in the district of Sawalah, in the province of Ash-Sharḳîyah. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ۵۹۹; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ۲۳۲; Quatremère, *Mém.* i. pp. 62, 189; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 3. (A. J. B.)

<sup>4</sup> 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 Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ۶۶.; Al-Ḳazwînî, ii. p. ۱۴۷; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ۲۱. f.; Quatremère, *Mém.* i. p. 53; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. pp. x, xi, 20. (A. J. B.)

<sup>5</sup> On the Red Sea, opposite Jiddah, and near the frontier of the Bishârîn tribes. There was a road to it from Ḳift (see fol. 103 a) and Ḳûs; 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 Barḳah<sup>1</sup> to Ailah<sup>2</sup>. It is said that Barḳah is also called 'the Five Cities.'

*The City of Fustât Miṣr.*

§ Account of the city of Miṣr<sup>3</sup>. It is related, in the history of the church and the lives of the patriarchs<sup>4</sup>, that 'Amr ibn al-Āṣî, and the Arabs who invaded Egypt with him, took the road from the mountains

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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-Maḳrîzî's, which proves that 'Aidhâb 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 Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ad voc.; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ۲۰۲; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 49]; Quatremère, *Mém.* ii. pp. ۱62-172, where Ibn Ḥaukal and Abû 'l-Fidâ are also cited. M. Amélineau (*Géogr.* p. 160) would identify 'Aidhâb with Berenice or Myoshormos, the former of which is probably correct, the latter being absolutely out of the question.

<sup>1</sup> 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 Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ۵۷۳; Al-Makîn, *Ta'riḳh al-Muslimîn*, ad ann. 27.

<sup>2</sup> A small town on the shore of the Gulf of Suez, and on the borders of Syria and the Hedjaz. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ۴۲۲; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 123 f.]; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ۱۸۴.

<sup>3</sup> 'Miṣr' here denotes the city of Al-Fustât or Fustât Miṣr, the remains of which are now called Maṣr al-'Atîḳah, and incorrectly named by foreigners 'Old Cairo.' The city was founded by 'Amr ibn al-Āṣî, 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-'Askar, which was founded to the north of it.

<sup>4</sup> Our author is quoting loosely from the biography of the patriarch Benjamin, in Severus' history of the patriarchs:

فاخذوا للجبل حتى وصلوا الى قصر مبنى بالحجارة بين الصعيد والريف يسمى بابلون فضرّبوا

until they reached a fortress, built of stone<sup>1</sup>, between Upper Egypt and the Delta<sup>2</sup>, which was called Bâblûn<sup>3</sup>. 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-Fuṣṭâṭ' in their language; and the meaning of this word is 'The Tent.' In this way the Arabs called the Fort of Ash-Shama<sup>4</sup> at Miṣr 'Fuṣṭâṭ Bâblûn.'

خيامهم هناك حتى يرتبوا المقاتلة الروم ومحاربتهم ثم انهم سمو ذلك الموضع اعنى القصر بلغتهم  
بابلون الفسطاط وهو اسمه الان

'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 Fuṣṭâṭ in their language; and that is its name at the present time.' (Brit. Mus. MS. *Or.* 26,100, p. 105, lines 12-14.)

<sup>1</sup> 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.)

<sup>2</sup> I translate *الريف* by 'the Delta' because that is its obvious meaning here. See note on fol. 12 a.

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

<sup>4</sup> In my *Coptic Churches* (vol. i. chap. 4) I was unable to give any satisfactory account of the name *Ḳaṣr ash-Shama'* or 'Castle of the Candle,' which is the familiar designation of the place to-day. Now, however, I am inclined to think that *Shama'* is a corruption of the old Coptic name *ΧΗΛΙ*, 'Egypt.' The town and fortress of Babylon were called by the Copts *Βαβυλων ἴτε ΧΗΛΙ* or 'Babylon of Egypt.' Thus, in the Acts of the Coptic martyr John of Phanijoit or Zaitûn, we read that the saint resolved to go to *Βαβυλων ἴτε ΧΗΛΙ*, to appear before the Sultan Al-Kâmil (ed. Amélineau, p. 37). *ΧΗΛΙ* is also used by itself to denote Cairo (*op. cit.* pp. 44, 45, 47, 48). See Quatremère,

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people of Al-Fuṣṭāṭ dug a moat against the Arabs. Al-Fuṣṭāṭ was then called Al-Lûnîyah<sup>1</sup>; but the Arabs called it Al-Fuṣṭāṭ, because they said: 'This is the tent (fuṣṭāṭ) 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<sup>2</sup>, and captured it by force<sup>3</sup>; 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-Lûnîyah, or Al-Fuṣṭāṭ, 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'îd ibn Mufarraġ<sup>4</sup> raised four millions of dinars. The government of 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî lasted ten years and four months, and that of 'Abd Allâh<sup>5</sup> his son for two years.

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

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<sup>1</sup> This is simply part of the word *Bâblûnîyah* (بابلونية) or Babylon, which the Arabs supposed to be two words, meaning Gate of Lûnîyah.

<sup>2</sup> 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, 'Louiah' instead of 'Lûnîyah,' not being aware that the latter is simply part of the form بابلونية (*Bâblûnîyah*), used by Al-Maġrîzî for 'Babylon.'

<sup>3</sup> For remarks on the conquest of Egypt, see Introduction.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Maġrîzî (i. p. 98) says that 'Amr raised a revenue of twelve millions, and 'Abd Allâh ibn Sa'd ibn Abî Sarġ fourteen millions. The latter succeeded 'Amr as emir of Egypt (*op. cit.* p. 199). Our scribe has evidently altered the figures.

<sup>5</sup> 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-‘Āṣī 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<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup> 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-‘Āṣī 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 Ḳuraish<sup>3</sup>. Fol. 22 a

<sup>1</sup> See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khitaṭ*, i. p. ۲۹.

<sup>2</sup> See Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ۹۱.

<sup>3</sup> These words are borrowed from Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, who relates that ‘Amr went from Atabia to Jerusalem on a trading expedition with some members of the tribe of Ḳuraish. 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 Ḳuraish, to visit Alexandria, where the two Arabs were much struck by the wealth and magnificence of the capital of Roman Egypt. See As-Suyûṭî, *Husn al-Muḥādārah*, i. p. ۵۶; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khitaṭ*, i. p. ۱۵۸; Ibn al-Athîr, iii. p. ۷۷; Abû ‘l-Maḥâsin, i. p. ۶.

The words of Al-Maḳrîzî, quoting from Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, are:

وكان عمرو قد دخل في الجاهلية مصر وعرف طرقها ورأى كثرة ما فيها وكان سبب دخوله  
اياها انه قدم الى بيت المقدس لتجارة في نفر من قريش

‘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 Ḳuraish,’ &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'ûnah, in the year 321 of the Righteous Martyrs<sup>1</sup>.

§ 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<sup>2</sup>.

§ 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<sup>3</sup>] Muharrah ibn Ḥaidân ibn 'Amr ibn al-Ḥâf ibn Ḳudâ'ah; Tajîb Umm 'Adî; Lakhm

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<sup>1</sup> 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 :

انفذ ملك المسلمين سرية مع امين من اصحابه يسمى عمر بن العاص في سنة ثلثمائة  
وسبعة وخمسين لديقلاديانوس قاتل الشهداء فنزل عسكر الاسلام الى مصر بقوة عظيمة في  
اليوم الثاني عشر من بوونة دنكطس من شهر الروم

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

Cf. Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 162.

Ba'ûnah 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.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Kindî makes the number of slain only 3,500; see Al-Makrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, i. p. ۲۹۴.

<sup>3</sup> This passage seems to be somewhat corrupt. Perhaps the copyist did not understand it. It is doubtless borrowed from Al-Kindî's *Khîṭaṭ Miṣr*. Al-Makrîzî says :

ولما رجع عمرو من الاسكندرية ونزل موضع فسطاطه انضمت القبائل بعضها الى بعض  
وتنافسوا في المواضع فولى عمرو على الخبط معاوية بن خديج التجيبى وشريك بن سمى الغطيفى

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Wardân the Roman<sup>1</sup>, the friend of 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî; Shajā'ah ibn Mandaghân ibn Malik ibn Ka'b ibn al-Hârith ibn Ka'b. The market-place of Barbar<sup>2</sup> was named after Barbar ibn Abî Ḥabîb. The street of Al-Khadîjî was the settlement of 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Mu'âwiyah ibn Khadîj ibn Ḥajar, emir of Egypt<sup>3</sup> in the caliphate of 'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubair<sup>4</sup> at Mecca and of Marwân<sup>5</sup> in Syria.

§ 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî 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<sup>6</sup>. He died in the year 43; and he was buried in the Muḳaṭṭam<sup>7</sup> hills, in the neighbourhood of the Ravine, on the road towards the Hedjaz.

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<sup>1</sup> Wardân is said to have been an Armenian. Under the caliph Mu'âwiyah, he was the director of the tribute of Egypt; and he was killed at Alexandria in A. H. 53. The market-place of Wardân at Al-Fuṣṭâṭ was named after him. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> In Al-Fuṣṭâṭ; see Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> From Sha'bân A. H. 64 = A. D. 684 to Rajab A. H. 65; he succeeded Sa'îd ibn Yazîd. Al-Maḳrîzî calls him 'Abd ar-Raḥman ibn 'Utbaḥ ibn Jaḥdam. See *Khîṭaṭ*, i. p. 301 f.

<sup>4</sup> '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-Ûlâ, 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-Makîn, *Ta'riḫ al-Muslimîn*, ad ann. 64 and 65; Abû 'l-Faraj (ed. Pococke), pp. 194-8; Abû 'l-Fidâ, *Annales*, i. p. 402 ff.; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. 301 f.; As-Suyûtî, *Husn al-Muḥâḍarah*, ii. p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Son of Al-Ḥakam, and fourth of the Omeyyad caliphs; reigned from A. H. 64 = A. D. 684 to A. H. 66 = A. D. 686. See Abû 'l-Faraj, p. 197 f.; Abû 'l-Fidâ, *Annales*, i. p. 404 ff.; Al-Makîn, ad ann. 64-66; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. 301 f.; As-Suyûtî, ii. p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> This description is taken from Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam. See An-Nawawî, *Kitâb Tahdhîb al-Asmâ* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 158 ff.

<sup>7</sup> The well-known hills to the east of Al-Fuṣṭâṭ and Cairo, about which many legends were told by the Arabs; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, i. p. 123.

*King Aftûtîs.*

§ I found it written in the history of Maḥbûb<sup>1</sup> ibn K̄uṣṭantîn Al-Manbajî (now the city of Manbaj<sup>2</sup> 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 Aftûtîs<sup>3</sup>, in the time of Isaac son of Abraham, was the

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise called Agapius (أغابوس); see Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> The Syriac Mâbûg (مباحي), see Assemani, *Bib. Or.* ii. p. 22; cf. 'Mabog,' Pliny, *H. N.* v. 19), and the Greek Hierapolis, in northern Syria, to the east of Antioch and not far from the right or western bank of the Euphrates. It is now called Menbij or Benbij, and by the Turks Kara Bambûj or Bugûk 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. Wört.* ad voc.) Euty chius incorrectly identifies it with Megiddo (*Annales*, i. p. 242). 'The City of the Priests' (مدينة الكهّان) is a translation of the Syriac name of the place, مباحي قوتلا or مباحي قوتلا, 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 سميرين الملكة بيتاً عظيماً لقيوس الصنم في مدينة على شاطئ الفرات  
واقامت لقيوس من الكهان سبعين رجلاً وسميت تلك المدينة ابرولويس [sic] الذي تفسيره  
مدينة الكهان وهي مدينة منبج 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 Kubbûs (قُبوس) 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.

<sup>3</sup> This name appears as Ûtîs on fol. 57 a and b, but is more often found in

Fol. 23 a 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<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup>. The Pharaoh of the time of Moses drew a revenue of ninety millions of dinars; his name was Al-Walid ibn Muṣ'ab<sup>3</sup>; and he dug, by the

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the shortened form Ṭūṭīs (طوطيس), the name of a king whom Al-Maḳrîzî calls the son of Mâliyâ, son of Kharâbâ; see *Khîṭat*, i. p. ۱۴۰; As-Suyûtî (*Husn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ۲۱) calls Ṭūṭīs the son of Mâliyâ, son of Kalkan, son of Khartaba.

<sup>1</sup> 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. ۱, § 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.)

<sup>2</sup> Al-Maḳrîzî 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-Sharîf al-Ḥarrânî 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 'Alî al-Asadî. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khîṭat*, i. p. ۷۵.

<sup>3</sup> This is the name commonly given by Arab writers to the Pharaoh of the time of Moses; see Al-Mas'ûdî, ii. p. 397 f.; An-Nawawî, *Tahdhîb al-Asmâ*, p. ۵۰۰; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khîṭat*, i. p. ۱۴۲; As-Suyûtî, *Husn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ۲۵. Other names, however, are mentioned by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam.

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a sum of eighteen millions of dinars yearly. 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣī drew, in the year 20 of the Hegira, one million of dinars; but in the year 22, twelve millions. Under the Abbasides, when Egypt was administered by Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, it produced five millions; and, when administered by Ya'kûb ibn Yûsuf, four millions; and it finally went down to three millions<sup>1</sup>.

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

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in his article *Der Mokaukis von Aegypten* in the *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, vol. i. pp. 1-11. The latter authority concludes that the full designation of the Muḳaukis was probably Georgios son of Menas (Mennas) Parkabios, according to the Coptic custom of double names, thus explaining the name Farḳab (فرقب for قرقب) given to his father by Yâḳût, Al-Maḳrîzî, and As-Suyûtî; 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 عامل المعونة or صاحب المعونة, and *Pagarchos* by عامل الخراج or simply عامل; and Eutychius calls the Muḳaukis عامل على الخراج, while As-Suyûtî says that he was chief military officer as well as superintendent of the taxes. The term *Muḳaukis* itself is believed by Prof. Karabacek to be the Greek μεγαυχης (v. Aeschylus, *Persae*, 641), an honorary epithet which would be analogous to μεγαλοπρεπέστατος, ἐνδοξότατος and εὐκλεέστατος, found in papyri of the time of the Mahometan conquest and later as applied to the Pagarchs. (A. J. B.)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, i. p. 199.

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

<sup>3</sup> Taking the feddân 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-Ustâdh al-Ikhshîdî, 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-Mansûr<sup>1</sup>, the Abbaside, the revenue of Egypt was estimated at one million eight hundred and twenty-eight thousand five hundred dinars.

*Nebuchadnezzar.*

§ Nebuchadnezzar<sup>2</sup>, the satrap of the east, invaded Egypt, and ruthlessly pillaged the country for booty. Belteshazzar<sup>3</sup> however, his son, restored Egypt after its devastation, which lasted forty years<sup>4</sup>; and the first district which he restored in the country was that of Al-Ushmûnain<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The third of the Abbaside caliphs; reigned at Bagdad from A. H. 158 = A. D. 775 to A. H. 169 = A. D. 786.

<sup>2</sup> 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-Suyûtî, i. p. 29 f.; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. 289, &c.; Euty chius, 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, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii. pt. 2, p. 140 f.

<sup>3</sup> Belshazzar. Euty chius writes the name بلتاشزر; At-Ṭabarî بلتاشزر, and Ibn Khaldûn بلتنصر.

<sup>4</sup> 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*.

<sup>5</sup> The classical Hermopolis or Mercurii Oppidum, and the Coptic Ⲯⲓⲛⲟⲩⲛⲓ, on the west bank of the Nile between Munyah and Manfalût. 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 Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 283; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 47]; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. 238; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 167 ff.



*The Patriarch Demetrius.*

§ The first who appointed bishops for the land of Egypt and its provinces was Demetrius<sup>1</sup>, the twelfth patriarch.

*Restoration of Churches of Al-Fustât.*

§ The history of the church, in the biography of Anbâ<sup>2</sup> Mark the Younger, the forty-ninth patriarch, testifies that the churches of

<sup>1</sup> This statement is borrowed by our author from Eutychius :

فان منذ حنانيا الذى اصلحه مرقص البشير بطريرك الاسكندرية الى وقت ديميتريوس بطريرك الاسكندرية وهو الحادى عشر بطريرك كان على الاسكندرية لم يكن فى عمل مصر اسقف ولا تكن البطاركة الذين قبله اصلحوا اسقفاً فلما صار ديميتريوس بطريركاً اصلح ثلاثة اساقفة وهو اول بطريرك بالاسكندرية عمل الاساقفة فلما مات صير بعده هرقل بطريرك على الاسكندرية فاصلح عشرين اسقفاً

‘From the time of Ananias (Annianus), 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 Annianus (انبا يونس) bishop of Alexandria, and left him there in that capacity during his sojourn in Pentapolis, but also mentions bishops in Egypt, other than the patriarch, in the lives of Avilius (مليانوس) the third patriarch, of Celadion (كلاديانوس) the ninth, and of Julian (يوليانوس) 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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.)

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destroyed in the patriarchate of Anbâ John<sup>1</sup>, the forty-eighth in the succession.

§ The city of Miṣr, outside which is Madinat ash-Shams<sup>2</sup>, 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-'Arîsh.

### *Churches of Al-Fuṣṭât.*

The first church built in Fuṣṭât Miṣr was that which is beyond Al-Ḳanṭarah<sup>3</sup>; it was built in the time of Maslamah ibn Mukhallad al-Anṣâri<sup>4</sup>. The name of Miṣr in Greek is *γῖβτ*<sup>5</sup>; and in Frankish Roman<sup>6</sup> it is *Babylon the Fortress*. The church above mentioned was in the

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

<sup>2</sup> Or 'Ain Shams: the Coptic ωπ or πετφρη, the Hebrew On (וֹן) or Beth Shemesh (בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ 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-Maḳrîzî, i. p. 31; Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 111; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, 'The Bridge' or 'Arch:' a suburb of Al-Fuṣṭât, also called Al-Ḥamrâ al-Wuṣṭâ (fol. 29 b); see Al-Maḳrîzî.

<sup>4</sup> The well-known 'Companion' of the Prophet; he governed Egypt, under the caliphs Mu'âwiyah and Yazîd, from A. H. 47 = A. D. 668 to A. H. 62 = A. D. 682; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khîṭat*, i. p. 3.1; As-Suyûṭî (ii. p. v) names this first church.

<sup>5</sup> Evidently an apocopated form of Αἴγυπτος, and therefore a formation analogous to *Ḳibṭ* (Copts). As the Egyptians give the hard pronunciation to the ج, they would sound the word *Ghibt*. The Greek γ becomes ج in Arabic in the words *Jirjis* for Γεώργιος, *Sirjah* for Σέργιος, *jaghrâfîyâ* for γεωγραφία, and many others.

<sup>6</sup> I. e. the *lingua Franca*. Babylon, as the name of Fuṣṭât, or Fuṣṭât 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<sup>1</sup>, running from the church of Saint George, called Al-Ḥamrâ. The church was in the middle of this quarter, which is also called Ḥârat ar-Rûm<sup>2</sup>, 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 Maimûn<sup>3</sup>. Fol. 24 a

The church of Saint George, called Al-Ḥamrâ, had fallen into ruin and disorder; but Al-Mu'allim Sarûr Al-Jullâl undertook to improve and renew it in the caliphate of Al-Mustanşir. The said Al-Jullâl was full of wealth and honours. Thus when our lord Al-Mustanşir went up to the *manzarah* called As-Sukkarah<sup>4</sup> for the breaking of the dam of the

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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 kynge Herode. And there lyeth the body of Saynte Barbare vyrgyn, and there dwelled Joseph whan he was solde of his brethrene . . . There dwelleth the Soudan, for there is a faire citie and stronge castell.' Mandeville is said to have travelled early in the fourteenth century.

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

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

<sup>2</sup> 'Quarter of the Romans;' see above, fol. 6 a.

<sup>3</sup> Maimûn al-Ḳaṣrî was an officer in Saladin's army; see Ibn al-Athâr, xii. pp. 93, 107, 108.

<sup>4</sup> This was a pavilion erected by the caliph Al-'Azîz (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-Makrîzî's long description of it in *Khitaṭ*, i. p. 105 ff. The pavilion seems to have been destroyed in the twelfth century (*ibid.*). See also Ibn Duḳmâḳ, iv. p. 12.

canal<sup>1</sup> dug by 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî, 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-Ḳulzum<sup>2</sup>, 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 *ḳulzum*<sup>3</sup>. Jauhar al-Mu'izzî<sup>4</sup> built a bridge<sup>5</sup> over that canal, leading to the bank of Al-Maḳsam. Here is the watercourse called Al-Majnûnah<sup>6</sup>. Before this bridge, there was a bridge which was destroyed; but traces of it are left on the east side, and part of it on the west side, below the garden, near the road constructed from thence to Az-Zuhri, for carrying provisions to the canal which runs from Cairo to Al-Ḳulzum, that they may be taken thence to Mecca and Medina, and also to the region

Fol. 24 b

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<sup>1</sup> The famous *Khalîj* or canal of Cairo, sometimes called *Khalîj Amîr al-Mu'minîn*, or 'Canal of the Prince of the Faithful,' after 'Umar, the first who assumed that title. It runs from the Nile at Al-Fuṣṭâṭ northwards to Baṣṭah (Zagâzig), whence it turned eastwards and terminated in the Red Sea, near Al-Ḳulzum. Its original purpose was to furnish Mecca and Medina with provisions from Egypt. The *Khalîj* now only serves to convey water to the city of Cairo, and terminates at Matarîyah, near the site of 'Ain Shams or Heliopolis. In constructing this canal, 'Amr had only to avail himself of and render navigable the very ancient *Amnis Trajanus*. For an account of the *Khalîj* in Mahometan times, see Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. v1; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, iv. p. 12..

<sup>2</sup> See above, fol. 19 b.

<sup>3</sup> Intended, as Prof. Margoliouth suggests, for a transcription of the Greek κλωσμα.

<sup>4</sup> The general of the Fatimide caliph Al-Mu'izz, who conquered Egypt and founded Cairo in A. D. 969; see Introduction.

<sup>5</sup> A complete list of the bridges over the canal, with a plan, is given in C. Niebuhr's *Voyage en Arabie*, 4to, Amsterdam, 1776, tom. i. p. 89. See also Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭat*, ii. p. 137 ff. (A. J. B.)

<sup>6</sup> Al-Maḳrîzî gives this name to a canal in the Fayyûm; see *Khiṭat*, i. p. 139.

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of the Prince of the Faithful<sup>1</sup>, upon the invasion of the king of the Franks, on account of the victory gained over them during the year 559<sup>2</sup> (A.D. 1164). The Ghuzz and the Kurds attacked this church, with the mob of Cairo, and it was burnt with fire<sup>3</sup>, and rased to the ground like the other churches, in the month of Jumâdâ the First in the year 559

<sup>1</sup> Gold dinars of A. H. 571 have the following inscription :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينار بالقاهرة سنة احد وسبعين وخمسمائة لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له ابو محمد المستضى بامر الله امير المومنين محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون صلى الله عليه وعلى اله وعلى الملك غاية الناصر يوسف بن ايوب

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

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

الامام المستضى بامر الله امير المومنين لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله الملك الناصر صلاح الدنيا والدين يوسف بن ايوب &c.

‘Al-Imâm Al-Mustaḍî bi-amri ’llâh, Prince of the Faithful. There is no deity but God alone. Mahomet is the Apostle of God. Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Dunyâ wad-Dîn Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb, &c.’ (*Ibid.*)

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

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

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> The burning of Al-Fustât 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 892 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1176). After this, all the churches that had been wrecked were restored by the following shaikhs and chief men: the Shaikh As-Şa'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-Mikât. The restored churches were consecrated, by the help of God; and prayers and liturgies have been offered in them up to this day. Fol. 25 b

§ When the restoration took place, and when this great church—I mean Al-Ĥamrâ—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<sup>1</sup>. In this church there is also a tank, and a well of running water.

§ The aforesaid Al-As'ad Abû 'l-Khair ibn al-Mîkât 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

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<sup>1</sup> 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.)



Fol. 26 a a kitchen<sup>1</sup>, which was pulled down by the Shaikh As-Sa'id Abû 'l-Fakhr Şâ'id ibn Busaiwah, who rebuilt it as a church dedicated to Our Lady the Pure Virgin. When it was completed, it was consecrated by the father and bishop, Anbâ Gabriel, bishop of Mişr, in the presence of Anbâ Peter, bishop of the Fayyûm, on the fourth Sunday of the Holy Fast, being the fifth of Barmahât<sup>2</sup> in the year 903 of the Righteous Martyrs, which is equivalent to the 19th of Dhû 'l-hijjah, in the year 582 (A.D. 1187). From the roof of this church a view is obtained of the Pool of Kârûn<sup>3</sup>. 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 Juyûshîyah<sup>4</sup>, 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 Rabî' 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-Hamrâ, as it has already been said. The quarter was bought by Hatalbâ the Ghuzzî, wâlî 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.

Fol. 26 b

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<sup>1</sup> Probably one of the sugar manufactories, of which there were many in Al-Fustât and Cairo at this time.

<sup>2</sup> The Coptic Pharmouthi (Ϥⲁⲣⲓⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩ) = March 27–April 25.

<sup>3</sup> This was one of the pools between Al-Fustât and Cairo, and its banks were thickly peopled when Al-'Askar and Al-Kaṭâ'i were flourishing, but were desolated when Cairo superseded these suburbs. See Al-Maḳrîzî, ii. p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> This was one of the troops of which the army was composed; see fol. 54 a.

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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<sup>1</sup>, 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<sup>2</sup> there is a church dedicated to the Angel Gabriel, which was restored by Şu'lûk al-Jullâl. Above it there is a church named after the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Flesh. The cupola over the sanctuary of the church is very lofty, and is conspicuous from a distance; it was erected by the brother 'Abd al-Masih. The Ghuzz and the people of Cairo pillaged it, and broke the pillars of the apostles<sup>3</sup>, and part of the roof was burnt. In conse-

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of the Moon, and flows first through two lakes beyond the equator (ed. De Goeje, p. 10).

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

<sup>1</sup> The Red Sea was looked upon as a branch of the Indian Ocean or China Sea; cf. fol. 19 b. The *Marâşid al-Ittilâ'* says:

بحر القلزم شعبة من بحر الهند

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

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

<sup>2</sup> I.e. Al-Ḥamrâ.

<sup>3</sup> The expression *Al-Bustulât* (البستلات) undoubtedly denotes the main columns of the nave, frescoed or painted with the figures of apostles. I may quote a surviving example from the church of Abû Sirjah in the Roman fortress of

quence of this, the restoration of the church was undertaken by the Shaikh Ath-Thiḡah Gabriel, the scribe, in the caliphate of Al-‘Āḡid; and it was consecrated afresh, and the liturgy was celebrated in it. Now at this church there was a lotus-tree<sup>1</sup> of large size and well proportioned, which grew as high as the roof of the church; this tree was cut down and sold for a considerable price, and the money was spent upon the rebuilding of the fabric.

Besides this, there is a fourth church, large, and contiguous to the others; surrounded by a wall of sun-dried bricks; with a separate door leading into it. It is among gardens and pleasure-grounds, and commands a view of the canal. When Miṣr was burnt, in the month of Ṣafar, in the year 564, this church was pillaged and part of the walls was thrown down, and not a single Christian was found at the time to undertake its restoration; so that it has remained to this day in Fol. 27 b 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 Sandal*<sup>2</sup>. Part of the roof also disappeared, namely the timber above the sanctuary; therefore the Shaikh Al-Jullâl Ibrâhîm undertook to restore it, with the help of some

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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.)

<sup>1</sup> ‘Abd al-Laṡîf says:

والسدر بها كثير وثمره النبق حلو جداً

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

Al-Maḡrîzî mentions the lotus-tree among the principal objects of cultivation in Egypt; see *Khîṡat*, i. p. 103. (A. J. B.)

<sup>2</sup> This may be a proper name, or the correct translation may be ‘Pavilion of Sandal-wood.’

of the chief men. They put part of the church into order; and the liturgy was celebrated in it on one occasion. Part of it, however, remained neglected, but it continued to be visited twice or three times in the year. The partial restoration was carried out with much care and labour on the part of the tenants of the neighbouring garden; and it was completed on the 26th of Ba'ûnah<sup>1</sup>. 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 Andûnah, the financial secretary of the Divan and chief notary, who rebuilt that which had been thrown down, and completed the dome, and whitewashed it. The consecration was performed by Anbâ Gabriel, bishop of Miṣr, in the presence of a body of bishops, priests, and deacons, of the chief a 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<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup>, 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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<sup>1</sup> The Coptic Paôni (Π&ΩΠΙ)=May 26-June 24.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the vigil services of Saturday night: the παννυχίδες or διανυκτερεύσεις of the early church (see e.g. Eusebius, *H. E.* ii. 17; vi. 9).

<sup>3</sup> Occupied the see from A.D. 1189-1216; see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 554-67.

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the companions of Mahomet. Ashhab ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz<sup>1</sup> said: 'When you conquer Egypt take charge [of the inhabitants], for truly they may claim your protection, and kinship with you!' Ismâ'il<sup>2</sup> ibn 'Abbâs said, quoting from Ashhab: 'Take charge of the Copts of Egypt, for you will find among them useful auxiliaries against your enemy.' Abû Salimah<sup>3</sup> said: 'Mahomet at his death said, "I charge you to drive away the Jews from the Arabian peninsula<sup>4</sup>." Then he added:

<sup>1</sup> Ashhab ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz 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 Mâlik ibn Anas, who quoted Ibn Shahâb, who quoted 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Ka'b, who quoted his father, who heard the words of the 'Apostle of God.' See As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. 5. Cf. Ibn Hishâm, *Sīrah Muḥammad*, i. p. 5, and Abû 'l-Maḥâsin, i. p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> As-Suyûṭî's words are:

واخرج ابن عبد الحكم عن مسلم بن يسار ان رسول الله . . . قال استوصوا بالقبط خيراً  
فانكم ستجدونهم نعم الاعوان على قتال عدوكم

'Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam quotes from Muslim ibn Yusâr to the effect that the Apostle of God said: Take charge of the Copts, for you will find them excellent auxiliaries in fighting your enemy.' (*Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. 6.)

<sup>3</sup> This is a mistake of the author or his copyist for Umm Salimah, the name of one of Mahomet's wives. As-Suyûṭî says:

واخرج الطبراني في الكبير وابو نعيم في دلائل النبوة بسند صحيح عن ام سلمة ان رسول  
الله . . . اوصى عند وفاته فقال الله الله في قبط مصر فانكم ستظهرون عليهم ويكونون لكم عدة  
واعواناً في سبيل الله

'Aṭ-Ṭabarânî in *Al-Kabîr* and Abû Na'îm in *Dalâ'il an-Nabû'ah* quote, according to a genuine chain of tradition, from Umm Salimah to the effect that the Apostle of God . . ., at the time of his death, charged them, saying: God! God is with the Copts of Egypt; for you shall conquer them, and they shall be for you an increase of numbers and a body of auxiliaries in the path of God.' (*Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. 6.)

<sup>4</sup> This command of the Arabian prophet is handed down among the 'genuine' traditions collected by Al-Bukhârî; see his *Kitâb al-Jâmi' as-Ṣaḥîḥ*, ed. Krehl, pt. i. p. 294, under the title:

باب اخراج 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<sup>1</sup>: “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<sup>2</sup>, so that you may be at leisure for religious worship.” According to the tradition handed down from ‘Abd Allâh ibn ‘Amr ibn al-‘Âṣî, Mahomet said<sup>3</sup>: ‘The Copts

<sup>1</sup> As-Suyûṭî says:

اخرج ابن عبد الحكم عن موسى بن ابي ايوب اليافعي عن رجل من المربد ان رسول الله  
... مرض فاعمى عليه ثم افاق فقال استوصوا بالادم للجد ثم اغمى عليه الثانية ثم افاق فقال  
مثل ذلك ثم اغمى عليه الثالثة فقال مثل ذلك فقال القوم اوصاء لنا رسول الله... من الادم  
للجد فافاق فسألوه فقال قبط مصر فانهم اخوال واصهار وهم اعوانكم على عدوكم واعوانكم  
على دينكم فقالوا كيف يكونون اعواناً على ديننا يا رسول الله فقال يكفونكم اعمال الدنيا  
وتتفرغون للعبادة

‘Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam quotes from Mûsa ibn Abî Ayyûb al-Yâfa‘î, 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-Muhâdarah*, i. p. v.)

<sup>2</sup> See note on fol. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Abû ‘l-Mahâsin quotes the following among the ‘sayings of the Prophet with regard to Egypt:’



Fol. 29 a 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<sup>1</sup> : 'God ! God is among the protected people, the people of the desert, the blacks, the men with curling hair<sup>2</sup>. They are related [to the Arabs] and akin to them, in distinction from all the other protected peoples.'

*Mission from Mahomet to the Muḳauḳis.*

Mahomet sent Ḥâṭib<sup>3</sup> ibn Abî Balṭa'ah, of the tribe of Lakhm, to the Muḳauḳis, governor of Alexandria, to urge him to adopt the religion

قال عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص . . . اهل مصر اكرم الاعاجم كلها واسمهم يداً وافضلهم  
عصراً واقربهم رحماً بالعرب عامة وبقریش خاصة

'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr ibn al-Âṣi 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. ۳۳ .

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ibn Hishâm in his Life of Mahomet :

حدثنا عبد الله بن وهب عن عبد الله بن لهيعة عن عمر مولى غفرة ان رسول الله قال  
الله في اهل الذمة اهل المدرة السوداء السحم للجماد فان لهم نسباً وصهراً

'Abd Allâh ibn Wahb informed us, quoting from 'Abd Allâh ibn Lahî'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. ۴.

<sup>2</sup> It is said to have been the curling hair of Mary the Coptic maiden which attracted the admiration of Mahomet.

<sup>3</sup> The mission of Ḥâṭib 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 Hishâm compares this proceeding of the Arabian prophet with the sending out of the twelve apostles by Jesus Christ. See Aṭ-Ṭabarî (ed. De Goeje), ser. i. p. ۱۵۵۹ f. ; Ibn Hishâm, *Sīrah Muḥammad*, p. ۹۷۱ ; An-Nawawî, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā*, pp. ۱۹۶ and ۷۵۳ ; As-Suyûṭî, i. p. ۵۸ ff. ; Ibn al-Athîr, ii. p. ۲۳۷ ff.

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Fol. 29 b

The Ḥamrâ al-Wuṣṭâ, which is known as Al-Ḳanṭarah<sup>1</sup>, is the place where the Red Standard stood at the time of the conquest of Miṣr 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-Ḥamrâ<sup>2</sup>.

*Monastery and Church of Saint Mennas.*

§ The monastery<sup>3</sup> named after the martyr Mennas<sup>4</sup>, the owner of the three crowns<sup>5</sup>, which came down to him from heaven, who was a native

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<sup>1</sup> See above, fol. 23 b.

<sup>2</sup> In this passage we have a different account of the origin of the name Al-Ḥamrâ, deriving it not from the appellation of a tribe, but from the Red Standard (*Ar-Râyat al-Ḥamrâ*).

<sup>3</sup> Between Al-Fuṣṭâṭ and Cairo, in the Ḥamrâ, which was afterwards called Ḳanâṭir as-Sabâ'. A church and monastery of Abû Minâ are still existing, but better known to-day as Mârî Mînâ. 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 Maryût. Under the Sultan An-Nâṣîr Muḥammad ibn Ḳalâ'ûn, the monastery and church of Abû Minâ were wrecked; but they have since been restored; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khitaṭ*, ii. p. 512. (A. J. B.)

<sup>4</sup> The festival of St. Mennas is kept by the Copts on Hatûr 15 = Nov. 11, and by the Roman Church on the same day. It is said that his father was a native of Naḳyûs, 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.; Euty chius, *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*.

<sup>5</sup> 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 Naḳyûs<sup>1</sup>, and whose pure body is buried in the church<sup>2</sup> at Maryût<sup>3</sup>, was restored in the caliphate of Hishâm ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, when Al-Walid ibn Rufâ'ah was wâlî, 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 wâlî 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]<sup>4</sup>, and made for it beautiful

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<sup>1</sup> The Arabic Naḳyûs was called Νικίους or Νικίου by Greek authors, and Niciu in the Itinerary of Antoninus. It is a town frequently mentioned by Coptic writers. It is also called Ibshâdî (إبشادى) in the Copto-Arabic lists of names, and is the Coptic ⲛⲩⲩⲁⲧ. The modern village of Ibshâdî, which in 1885 had 1,059 inhabitants, is probably on the site of the ancient Naḳyûs; it is in the district of Manûf, in the province of Al-Manûfiyah, and a little to the east of the Rosetta branch of the Nile. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 11.; Quatremère, *Mém.* i. pp. 420-446; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 277-283.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> This town, the Coptic ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲱⲧⲥ, and the classical Marea (Μαρεία), on the shores of Lake Mareotis, was flourishing after the Arab conquest, but seems to have fallen into decay before A.D. 1376, as its name does not appear in the revenue-lists of that date. Some ruins on the borders of the lake, however, still bear the name. Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 241-3.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Maḳrîzî mentions as the chief act of Al-Walîd ibn Rufâ'ah, wâlî of Egypt, that in A.H. 117 he allowed the Copts to rebuild the church of St. Mennas in the Ḥamrâ. According to Al-Maḳrîzî, Al-Walîd died in A.H. 117 = A.D. 735, after governing Egypt for nine years and five months. See *Khitât*, i. p. 133.

Fol 30 a 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<sup>1</sup>, which is said to have been originally dedicated to Saint Theodore<sup>2</sup>; and a church named after the martyr Saint John<sup>3</sup>. 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<sup>4</sup>. 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<sup>5</sup> upon the river, and did damage to that church, and afterwards removed to the church of the Lady at Shubrâ. The church of Saint John was restored, after the fire<sup>6</sup>, by the most honourable Shaikh Ibn Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il ibn

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

<sup>2</sup> 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).

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> Similar reliquaries may still be seen in some of the churches: as a rule, however, relics are enclosed in small bolsters of silk and placed in an aumbry. One moveable reliquary such as that of the text, the only one at Cairo, is to be found at the church of Al-Mu'allakah in the Roman fortress. In the Naṭrûn desert, Dair as-Sûriyânî contains another, and a third belongs to the chapel of Al-'Adhrâ adjoining the church of Anbâ Bishâ'î; while several bodies are preserved at Dair Abû Maḳar. See *Coptic Churches*, i. pp. 219, 304, 320-1, 338, &c. (A. J. B.)

<sup>5</sup> Damanhûr Shubrâ, 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 *Mém. de la Mission Archéol. Franç.*, showing the topography of Cairo. But the plan is incomplete. (A. J. B.)

<sup>6</sup> The burning of Al-Fuṣṭâṭ by order of Shâwar.

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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<sup>1</sup>, 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.

Fol. 31 a This church stands among gardens, and is beautifully situated; and is much frequented by the monks and others.

§ In the month of Jumâdâ the First, in the year 559, when the Kurds and the Ghuzz came with Şalâh ad-Dîn Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb, and the king of the Franks<sup>2</sup> was appealed to for help against them, then this monastery and this church were burnt to the ground, except the apse<sup>3</sup>, and the northern and southern sides of the sanctuary, which were preserved intact. These were restored, and domes and arches were built, and piers [were set up] instead of the marble columns, in the caliphate of Al-'Âḍid, and in the vizierate of Shâwar. The expenses were paid by the most excellent Shaikh Şalib, already mentioned, and by Karim ad-Daulah ibn 'Ubaid ibn Kurrûş al-Jullâl, and by Manşûr ibn Salim al-Jullâl, of Cairo, and by others; and out of the money brought by Makârim ibn Abû 'l-Minnâ, the priest of the Church of the Lady, called Al-Mu'allakah, at Mişr, to Anbâ Jonas, the patriarch, as a consecration fee<sup>4</sup>, that he might make him bishop of

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise called John, the seventy-second patriarch, A. D. 1147-1167; Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 517-530.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> See note on fol. 5 a.

<sup>4</sup> *Shartûniyah* (شَرْطُونِيَّة) is the Greek *χειροτονία*, 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.

Ṭunbudhâ<sup>1</sup>, 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 Fol. 31 b above the Great Church<sup>2</sup>, was restored by the Shaikh Khâṣṣat ad-Daulah Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il, known by the name of Ibn Dukhân, and was consecrated, and the liturgy was said in it. He also rebuilt, in front of it, a tower, close to it, which was old and had fallen to ruin; he built it in three stories in a place which belonged to the monastery. This and the furnishing were [partly] paid for by the most excellent Shaikh Ṣalîb, 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-Fakhr ibn Sîbuwaih.

While the aforesaid church was being restored, the greater part of the monastery was destroyed. [The Shaikh Ṣalib] 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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<sup>1</sup> Or *Ṭanbadhah* (طَنْبَدَاة), see Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wort.* iii. p. ۵۵., whereas in i. p. ۲۸۵ he gives طَنْبُدَى. It was the Coptic ΤΑΝΦΩΤ, 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. Ṭunbudhâ and Ishnîn were called the 'Two Brides' (العروسان) on account of their beauty; see Yâḳût, *op. cit.* i. p. ۲۸۵.

<sup>2</sup> Of St. Mennas.



Fol. 32 a were left deserted, and were surrounded by ruins. Then they were sold by Anbâ 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<sup>1</sup> 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-Ḥâkim; 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 Ḥamrâ al-Wuṣṭâ, a church named after Saint Coluthus<sup>2</sup>, built in the caliphate of Al-Âmir, and under the government of Suwârr ibn Rufâ'ah, on ground bought by the Christians from the tribe of Banû Fahm; it stood near the baths of Ibn Najâh, and the alley named Zuḳaḳ ibn 'Aḳil<sup>3</sup>.

### *The Three Ḥamrâs.*

According to the Book of *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, by Al-Kindi, the three *Ḥamrâs*<sup>4</sup> were the Ḥamrâ al-Ḳuṣwâ, the Ḥamrâ al-Wuṣṭâ, and the

<sup>1</sup> Any building resting upon columns is called 'suspended' (مُعَلَّق). (A. J. B.)

<sup>2</sup> This saint, whose festival is kept by the Copts on Bashans 25 = May 20, was a priest, and his sister was married to Arrianus, governor of the Thebaid under Diocletian. Coluthus suffered martyrdom by decapitation after terrible tortures. See Georgii, *De miraculis S. Coluthi*, &c., Rome, 1794; Zoega, *Catal. Codd. Copt.* p. 237, cod. xli; Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 21.

The form of the name Ḳultah (قُلْتَة) is analogous to Jirjah (جرجة), Sirjah (سرجة), Tâdrah (تادرة), Ḳurrah (قررة), Andûnah (اندونة), &c., and to Syriac forms such as ܩܘܠܬܐ, derived from the Greek vocative; see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, p. 79. Cf. Coptic ΚΟΛΘΕ, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Duḳmâḳ calls it زقاق سهل بن عقيل بالحمرء 'The Alley of Sahl ibn 'Aḳil in the Ḥamrâ;' see *Kitâb al-Intiṣâr li-wâsiṭah 'ikd al-amṣâr*, iv. p. ۲۴.

<sup>4</sup> Here follows an account of the laying out, at the time of the Arab conquest and of the first foundation of Al-Fuṣṭâṭ, of the three quarters called respectively the Further, Middle, and Nearer Ḥamrâs. A similar account of the first laying out

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part which was laid out by the tribe of Banû 'l-Azraḳ extended from the Ḥamrâ al-Ḳuṣwâ to the street of Yashkur ibn Jazîlah ibn Lakhm, and to Al-Ḳanṭarah and its road, down to the moat or canal, at the foot of the Jabal al-Kabsh, and to Al-Majâ'iz and the monastery of Mary or its vicinity; and the flat below the hill is all named after Yashkur, from the cemetery and the mosque of Al-Khalûḳ and the pool of Ḳârûn and the hill of Yashkur ibn 'Udwân ibn Lakhm.

The Book of *Al-Khiṭaṭ* also relates that the tribe of Banû Kinânah ibn 'Amr ibn al-Ḳibr ibn Fahm laid out that part of the Ḥamrâ al-Wuṣṭâ which extends from the alley of Sahl ibn 'Aḳil to the conduit where the wheat-sellers are, and the alley called Zuḳâḳ at-Turmus, opposite the church of Saint Mennas; and that the tribe of Banû Rûbil, whose ancestor Rûbil 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-Khalûḳ on the flat. The sons of Yashkur ibn Jazîlah ibn Lakhm laid out part of the Ḥamrâ al-Ḳuṣwâ, namely the open place of Ad-Dunyâ and that of Ar-Râyah, and the road of Khûlân from the Darb al-Ḳanṭarah to the market-place of Wardân, and from the road of Al-Ḥamrâ and the part beyond it on the Nile, which is called the place of Al-Ḳabâ'il, to the stable and to the baths of 'Aṣ-Ṣalib' or 'the Church'<sup>1</sup>.

Fol. 33 a

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of the district too narrow: and it is not even marked on the plan which professes to show Fustâṭ Miṣr in the year 969 A.D. The old bed of the river is well shown in contrast with the present line: but there again the plan seems to me erroneous, inasmuch as for the whole river frontage of Old Cairo the present line of the bank is given, and the divergence of the old channel from the present channel is made to begin at a point by the Fum al-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 Ḳaṣr ash-Shama' was still eastward of the present line. (A. J. B.)

<sup>1</sup> The baths of Al-Fustâṭ and Cairo often changed their names. The bath of 'the Church' (الكنيسة) was named after the church of St. Sinuthius, which stood near it. This bath was also called the 'Bath of the Vault' (حمام القبو). See Ibn Duḳmâḳ, iv. p. 106.

*Church of Saint Onuphrius.*

In the Ḥamrâ also is the church<sup>1</sup> of Saint Onuphrius<sup>2</sup>, the holy man, the pilgrim, the contemplative, which was restored by a woman named Turfah, according to the testimony of an [inscribed] board which was put up at the door of it, near the well which is now filled up; and through this door the women entered. Near this church were the houses where lived Amin al-Umanâ Abû 'l-Yaman Sûrus ibn Makrâwah, son of Zanbûr, who was nâzir of the Delta, and his son the incomparable vizier, the lord of those that wield the sword and the pen, Abû Sa'd Mansûr<sup>3</sup>. The latter was sent out to meet Nâsir ad-Daulah ibn Ḥamdân and the tribes of Ḳais<sup>4</sup> and Lawâtah<sup>5</sup>, the traitors, and a body of the chief officers of the army were with him; this was in the caliphate of Al-Mustansîr. Abû Sa'd remained vizier for a short time only, for the soldiers demanded their pay of him, and he promised it and then fled, and his career came to an end.

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

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Duqmâk (i. p. ۱۰۸) mentions this church as

كنيسة تعرف بابي نفر هذه الكنيسة بالحمرا الوسطى بخط الكبارة بجوار المسجد الذي هناك  
'The church called after Abû Nafar: this church is in the Middle Ḥamrâ in the street of Kibârah, near the mosque which is there.'

<sup>2</sup> This saint, called in Arabic Abû Nafar, whose festival is kept on Ba'ûnah ۱6 = June ۱۰, and by the Roman church on June ۱۲, was a hermit in Upper Egypt. His life was written by St. Paphnutius (see below, fol. 65 b), of whom Onuphrius was an elder contemporary. See *Synaxarium*, Paris MS. *Arabe* 256, fol. 228; *Acta SS.* at June ۱۲, where versions of the life by Paphnutius are given. Onuphrius would seem to have died about A. D. 400.

<sup>3</sup> Vizier for a few days only to Al-Mustansîr. See As-Suyûtî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâdarah*, ii. p. ۱۵۴; Quatremère, *Mém.* ii. p. 353.

<sup>4</sup> The Ḳais were an Arab tribe who settled in Egypt soon after the Mahometan conquest. See Al-Makrîzî, translated by Quatremère, *Mém.* ii. p. 207 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The Lawâtah were a tribe of North Africa, of Berber origin, who settled in Egypt. According to Al-Makrîzî they pretended to be of Arab descent and connected with the great tribe of Ḳais. See Yâkût, ii. p. ۳۱۷; Al-Makrîzî, translated by Quatremère, *Mém.* ii. p. 207.

and painted in the style of those in the ancient temples, and it was placed there to prevent the little birds from going into the sanctuary, or into the tank; and it is said that a man from Upper Egypt, who visited this church, passed the night here, and imagined that he could decipher certain letters upon the stone<sup>1</sup>. In this way the tank was freed from the little birds which went into it.

Fol. 33 b

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 Shâwar. It was afterwards restored, with its domes and arches, by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Makârim ibn Ḥannâ the scribe, and by other Christians. Among the churches attached to this church of Saint Onuphrius, there is, on the ground floor, a church dedicated to Saint Coluthus, restored by Abû 'l-Fakhr ibn Furajj ibn Khuwair, [who was priest] in the church of the Island of Miṣr<sup>2</sup>; and, in the upper story, is the church of Saint Mennas, built by the Shaikh Sa'id 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 Sa'id Gabriel ibn Buḡtur, known as Ibn al-A'raj, and afterwards by Abû 'l-Fakhr, the scribe of salaries<sup>3</sup>, known as Sa'idân. There is also the church of Saint Or<sup>4</sup>, restored by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Fakhr, the scribe of salaries of

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<sup>1</sup> 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 Pistentius, 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.

<sup>2</sup> The Island of Miṣr is north of Rauḍah 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 *Ḳaṣr ash-Shama'*. (A. J. B.)

<sup>3</sup> I. e. one of the secretaries who superintended the payment of the officials of the government.

<sup>4</sup> Hûr, whose festival is kept on Kîhak 2=Nov. 28, is a saint famous in the annals of Egyptian monasticism. His name appears as Ὠρ in Greek, and as Ⲫⲱⲡ in Coptic, and Or in Latin. He was an abbot in Upper Egypt. Sayings

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Fol. 34 a the construction of the Nilometer<sup>1</sup>, in A.H. 247<sup>2</sup> (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 Hamrâ.

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 Şanî'at al-Mulk Abû 'l-Faraj,

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<sup>1</sup> This was in the caliphate of Al-Mutawakkil, the Abbaside, and under Yazîd ibn 'Abd Allâh the Turk, governor of Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> The date here given corresponds with that generally recorded by Arab historians for the completion of the Nilometer. Some repairs were carried out by Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn twelve years later, but Al-Maḥrîzî, As-Suyûtî, and Al-Ishâḳî 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 Ṭûlûn, 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 Ṭûlûn 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'adâ Abû 'l-Yaman, son of the Shaikh Şanî'at al-Mulk Abû 'l-Faraj ibn al-Wazir, who handed over the management to the Shaikh Abû 'l-Makârim ibn Ḥannâ, and to those whom he should choose after him. This church was included within the fortress built by Shâwar the vizier, who constructed a passage leading to the church, at which you arrive from the entrance of the mosque of Al-Kurûn<sup>1</sup>, in the nearer Ḥamrâ. This mosque was built by As-Saḥri ibn Al-Ḥakam. To this church belonged the hegumen Fol. 34 b Bashir ibn an-Naṣhr, a native of Munyat al-Umarâ<sup>2</sup>, who was wise and learned, a good priest, sweet-voiced, beautiful in countenance, perfect in stature, respected by men. The Shaikh Abû 'l-Ḥadîd ibn al-Uṣṣuf, scribe of Al-Afdal Shâhanshâh, was assiduous in his prayers in this church, and communicated in it; and when he had received the eucharist, each day that he came, he threw into the plate<sup>3</sup> 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-Jizah; may God give rest to his soul!

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<sup>1</sup> According to Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, whom our author is probably following, this mosque was rebuilt by As-Saḥrî (or As-Sirrî) ibn al-Ḥakam, after it had been burnt down, and was called Mosque of the Horns (قرون), because its pillars resembled horns! See Ibn Duḡmâḡ, iv. p. ٨٦.

<sup>2</sup> A small town in the neighbourhood of Cairo, on the road to Alexandria. Yâḡût places it one parasang from the capital. It was famous for its Sunday cattle-market, and for the wine which was made there in large quantities. Of the latter commodity no less than 80,000 jars are said to have been destroyed in the inundation of A. H. 718 = A. D. 1318. As it may be inferred from this statement, most of the inhabitants were Christians. The place was also called Munyat al-Amîr and Munyat al-Shiraj. There seem to have been two other places called Munyat al-Amîr. Minâ 'l-Amîr is now included within the district of Badrashain in the province of Al-Jîzîyah, and had in 1885 a population of 2,935. See Yâḡût, *Mushtarik*, p. ٤٠٩; Revenue-list of A. D. 1375 in De Sacy's *Abd-Allatif*, pp. 599 and 676; Al-Maḡrîzî, *Khîṭat*, ii. p. ١٣٠; Ibn Duḡmâḡ, v. p. ٤٧; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 218. Cf. below, fol. 61 a.

<sup>3</sup> For the *ṭabaḡ* or 'plate' see *Coptic Churches*, ii. p. 33. (A. J. B.)



*Church of Saint Mercurius or Abû 's-Saifain.*

The Hamrâ ad-Dunyâ was formerly called Al-Bawâşîr, and the river ran by it, and it was also called the Bank of As-Sa'îr. The book of *Al-Khitat bi-Miṣr* testifies [that near] the *Ḳaisârîyat al-Jamâl*<sup>1</sup> stands the important church dedicated to the martyr Mercurius<sup>2</sup>; 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<sup>3</sup>, in the caliphate of Al-Imâm Al-'Azîz bi-'llâh, son of Al-Imâm Al-Mu'izz li-dini 'llâh. In ancient times there had been a church dedicated to Saint Mercurius, on the bank of the river, but it was ruined and turned into a storehouse for sugar-canes. Then, in the time of this patriarch, enquiries were made about the creed of the Christians, whether they believed in the truth

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<sup>1</sup> The passage is slightly corrupt. The reference is, of course, to the *Khitat Miṣr* of Al-Kindî, from which our author so frequently borrows. There were many *Ḳaisârîyahs* in Cairo and Fustât Miṣr; and accounts of them are given by Al-Makrîzî, *Khitat*, ii. pp. ٨٧-٩١, and Ibn Duḳmâḳ, iv. pp. ٣٧-٤٠. 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 (καيسάριον) of Alexandria, mentioned by Strabo, xvi. c. i. and by Pliny, *H. N.* xxxvi. 14, 4.

<sup>2</sup> We are now coming to the history of the present church of Abû 's-Saifain. The tradition that the Nile came near it consists with the similar tradition concerning *Ḳaṣr ash-Shama'* (see R. Hay's *Illustrations of Cairo*, where is an excellent sketch of the great Roman gateway and the two bastions adjoining; see also note upon the plate). The main, and I think decisive, reason for this identification lies in the absolute certainty of the association of the existing church of St. Mercurius or Abû 's-Saifain with the legend attached to the church of St. Mercurius of the text. The story as related to me by the priest of the church, and the legend recorded by Al-Makîn 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 Şâlih's earlier version. (A. J. B.)

<sup>3</sup> Occupied the see from A. D. 977 (?) to 981 (?); see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 366-373.

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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-'Aziz bi-'llâh, that the common people would not allow the patriarch to carry out the decree for the restoration of the church. Then Al-'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<sup>1</sup>.' When the people saw this, they refrained from their attacks. Thus the work was begun.

Fol. 36 a Now it happened at that time that the Shaikh Abû 'l-Yaman Kuzmân ibn Minâ, the scribe, travelled to Palestine and the surrounding districts, and remained there a considerable time, employing himself in the work to which he had been called; and in this way he gained much money. He lived a solitary life, for he was not married; and none lived with him except his servants; and he was abstemious and 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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<sup>1</sup> The first person is used in this last clause only, apparently a quotation from the decree.

of Saint Macarius<sup>1</sup>, and he begged the monks to remember him in their prayers, and to pray for the continuance of peace and a good end.

So the patriarch began the restoration<sup>2</sup>, 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. Fol. 36 b

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

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

§ After the fire of Miṣr, caused by the mob of Mahometans of that city and of Alexandria, in the caliphate of Al-ʿĀḍid, and in the vizierate of Shâwar, in the month of Ṣafar, in the year 564 (A.D. 1168), [the church of Saint Mercurius also was burnt]. Now the patriarch Anbâ Jonas<sup>4</sup>, 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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<sup>1</sup> That is the Nitrian desert, or Wâdî Naṭrûn, where the principal monastery is dedicated to St. Macarius. (A. J. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Of St. Mercurius or Abû 's-Saifain.

<sup>3</sup> See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 368-371.

<sup>4</sup> Or John; he occupied the see from A. D. 1147 to 1167.

**Fol. 37 a** 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<sup>1</sup>, 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<sup>2</sup>. All this was provided by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Barakât ibn Abû Sa'îd Hablân, the scribe, in the year 892 of the Righteous Martyrs (A. D. 1175-6)<sup>3</sup>, 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<sup>4</sup>, who was known, before his promotion, as Abû 'l-Faraj ibn Zar'ah, the scribe; and this patriarch forbade the acceptance of bribes for consecration, in obedience to the command of the law, 'Cursed is he who receives, and cursed is he

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<sup>1</sup> 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 Şâlih 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.)

<sup>2</sup> 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.)

<sup>3</sup> 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.)

<sup>4</sup> The seventy-third patriarch; he occupied the see from A. D. 1174 to 1189.

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Saint George<sup>1</sup>, with the lofty cupola, erected by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Faḍl Yuḥannâ, son of Kîil, the bishop; whose father received the name of John at the time of his promotion as bishop to the see of Atrib<sup>2</sup>. The cupola and the sanctuary, that is to say the altar, and the walls of this chapel remained whole and untouched at the time of the fire. Ibn Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il ibn Farrûj 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 Miḥael<sup>3</sup> was the patriarchal Cell from

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westward was burnt. I may be pardoned for quoting a description of the existing chapel written twelve years before I had seen Abû Şâlih. '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.)

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic forms of the name George are various, but correspond to different Coptic forms of the same word. We have in Arabic Jirjiyûs (جرجيوس), Jirjis (جرجس), Jirj (جرج), Jirjah (جرجة), and the diminutive form Juraij (جرجيج); and in Coptic we find ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ, ΓΕΩΡΓΙ, ΓΕΟΡΓΕ, ΓΕΩΡΓΕ, ΓΕΩΡΓ, ΓΕΟΡΓ, and ΓΕΟΡ. See Mr. W. E. Crum's *Coptic MSS. from the Fayyûm*, Index 1. (A. J. B.)

<sup>2</sup> The classical Athribis and the Coptic ΔΘΡΗΒΙ, the site of which lies a little to the north-east of the modern Banhâ al-'Asal on the eastern bank of the Damietta branch. Atrîb was still a town or village in the fourteenth century and later. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 111; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khitât*, i. p. 150 f.; Quatremère, *Mém.* i. pp. 1-25; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 69 f.

<sup>3</sup> Abû Şâlih now mentions three churches, the church of St. Michael, the neighbouring church of Abâ Nûb which was destroyed by the fire, and the

the time of the promotion of Anbâ Gabriel<sup>1</sup> Abû 'l-'Ulâ, son of Tarik the scribe, the seventieth in the order of succession, and after him under Anbâ Jonas<sup>2</sup>, 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 Michael<sup>3</sup> the Sinjârite<sup>4</sup>. The church was restored by the Shaikh As-Sadid Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il, known as Ibn Sittumi'ah(?), the scribe of the Emir 'Alî ibn Aḥmad, the Kurd, in the caliphate of Al-Mustaḍî, the Abbaside, and in the vizierate of An-Nâṣir 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 809<sup>5</sup> of the Blameless Martyrs, when the liturgy was said in it. Fol. 38 a

*Church of Saint Anûb.*

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

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church of St. Anthony, built on the same site as Abâ Nûb. These, I think, were separate buildings, i. e. not part of Abû 's-Saifain; indeed this is proved by the fact of St. Michael being the patriarchal Cell, and having its own courtyard, and by the fact of Abâ 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-Saifain: see *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 119, plan. There can be little question that these three chapels are meant to preserve the names of the three churches which have perished. (A. J. B.)

<sup>1</sup> Occupied the see from A. D. 1131 to 1146. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 500-513.

<sup>2</sup> Or John.

<sup>3</sup> The sixty-eighth patriarch; he occupied the see from A. D. 1093 to 1102. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 471-483.

<sup>4</sup> I. e. of Sinjâr, the Coptic ΠΑΥΙΝΓΕΡΙ, in the northern Delta, between Burlus and the marshes. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 375.

<sup>5</sup> It would seem that this date should be 889 = A. D. 1172.



the glorious martyr Saint Anûb<sup>1</sup>, to the expenses of which the patriarch Anbâ Gabriel contributed. It is said that it was founded by Abû Naşr, brother of Abû 'l-'Ulâ ibn Tarik, but was not finished; and then was newly built by the Shaikh As-Şafi Buţrus ibn Muhnâ, the scribe. Afterwards the priest Abû 'l-Khair, known as Ibn al-Amadi, 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 daïs, 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<sup>2</sup> patriarch, at the beginning of his patriarchate, in the year 903<sup>3</sup> 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<sup>4</sup> of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1207), on Thursday, the 1st of Bashans<sup>5</sup>; 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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<sup>1</sup> The Arabic Abâ Nûb represents the Coptic ⲁⲛⲁ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲃ, The saint, whose festival is kept on Abîb 24=July 18, was beheaded in his youth, under Diocletian, after enduring horrible tortûres. See *Synaxarium* (MS. *Arabe* 256), at Abîb 24; Zoega, *Cat. Codd. Copt.* Cod. xxiv; Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 145 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This should be 'seventy-fourth.'

<sup>3</sup> 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-Makrîzî makes it only one year earlier; see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 554-5. Our author, however, is a contemporary witness.

<sup>4</sup> 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!

<sup>5</sup> The Coptic ⲛⲁⲪⲱⲛ=April 26-May 25.

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Theodore Basrâdîlâdus<sup>1</sup>. The church was restored by Al-Mu'allim Zawin, who was dâmin<sup>2</sup> of Cairo in the caliphate of Al-Hâfiz. Afterwards it fell into decay and ruin, and was restored by the Shaikh Al-Makîn Abû 'l-Barakât, known as Ibn Kitâmah; and when it again fell into decay, it was restored by Amin ad-Daulah ibn al-Muṣawwif, who added on the south side of it a sanctuary named after the glorious angel Michael. The church was consecrated by Anbâ Gabriel, bishop of Miṣr, under the government of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn Yûsuf<sup>3</sup>, the Kurd.

*Other Churches in the Hamrâs.*

§ There is the church of Poemen<sup>4</sup> the Confessor, adjacent to which is a sanctuary named after the Lady, between it and the church of Saint Coluthus<sup>5</sup>, which has already been described.

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

<sup>2</sup> See note on fol. 12 b.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. Saladin.

<sup>4</sup> The Arabic Bamîn is intended as a transcription of the Graeco-Coptic ΠΟΙΜΗΝ. This saint, whose festival is kept by the Copts on Kîhak 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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<sup>1</sup>, restored by Abû 'l-Fath, of Upper Egypt, who was priest at the church of Al-Mu'allakah<sup>2</sup>. 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<sup>3</sup>, and was solemnly opened on Sunday, the 22nd of Barmahât<sup>4</sup>, in the year 900 of the Blameless Martyrs (A.D. 1184), by Gabriel, bishop of Mişr, and Anbâ Peter, bishop of the Fayyûm. Near it is the tower, which is entered from the church, and beneath which lies the garden; it overlooks the lake of Al-Ḥabash, and the river Nile, and Al-Bustân. Fol. 39 b

*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<sup>5</sup>, and in spring, and in the ploughing season and seed-time of summer. Yaḥyâ ibn al-'Ubaidî the scribe was superintendent of this monastery; but Gabriel, the seventieth patriarch, called Abû 'l-'Ulâ Şâ'id, son of Tarik the scribe, was informed that the conduct of this man was worthy of blame, and that he treacherously allowed many Muslims to attend the liturgies. Accordingly the patriarch rebuked him for this time after time, but yet he did not amend; and at last he was expelled from the monastery, and was obliged to give it up until he should

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<sup>1</sup> 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.)

<sup>2</sup> See note on fol. 9 b.

<sup>3</sup> Only one has been named.

<sup>4</sup> The Coptic ⲪⲁⲚⲈⲚⲨⲐⲪ = Feb. 25–March 26.

<sup>5</sup> 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 'Alî, 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*<sup>1</sup> 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-Hâfiz. Thus Yahya 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<sup>2</sup>, 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-Faḍl ibn al-Baghdâdi and Abû Naṣr ibn 'Abdûn, known as Ibn al-'Addâs, the metwalli of the Divan of Syria, in the caliphate of Al-Hâkim. Ibn al-'Addâs rose high in the affairs of the government and became Nâzir; his sobriquet was *Al-ḥamdu*<sup>3</sup> *lillâhi 'alâ mâ yastahikku*.

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<sup>1</sup> 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.)

<sup>2</sup> I. e. the lake of Al-Habash.

<sup>3</sup> 'Praise to God as He is worthy.'

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The *Book of the Monasteries*, by Ash-Shâbushtî<sup>1</sup>, bears witness that this monastery is on the bank of the lake of Al-Habash, 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 Bîr Najâ'î, beside which grows a tall sycamore affording much shade; and here the people assemble to enjoy the shade, and saunter around the spot, when the Nile is high and the lake is full, and also when the crops are green and the flowers are blooming. Near the aforesaid sycamore is the bridge which leads to many roads, and at which men set lines for fishing during the days of high Nile; and this is a pretty sight.

Al-Hâkim 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<sup>2</sup> the first who constructed minarets<sup>3</sup> in mosques was Mukhallad al-Anşâri<sup>4</sup>.

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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-Mas'ûdî, 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-Masîhî describes the observance of the festival by the Fatimide caliph Az-Zâhir in A. H. 415 = A. D. 1024. See Al-Mas'ûdî, *Murûj adh-Dhahab* (ed. Barbier), ii. p. 364 f.; Al-Maḡrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, i. p. 191.

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> I have changed the order of the sentences to avoid the awkward parenthesis in the text.

<sup>3</sup> In a paper which I wrote some years ago in the *Athenaeum*, 1881, I tried to show that the minaret (منارة = lighthouse) took its origin from the Pharos at Alexandria (منارة الاسكندرية), and that theory has been rather strengthened than shaken by subsequent research. Al-Maḡrîzî 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.)

<sup>4</sup> It was not Mukhallad, but his son Maslamah ibn Mukhallad, governor of Egypt under the caliph Mu'âwiyah 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 Fol. 41 b the river flooded it, and not a trace of it remained.

§ The district of Al-Ḥabash<sup>1</sup>, and the Well of the Steps<sup>2</sup>, beside which grows a great sycamore, which throws a broad shade and is round like a tent, and the Well of Al-Ghanam<sup>3</sup>, and three feddans of black soil. It is said that these two wells and the land were the property of Tâj ad-Daulah, the Syrian, son of Sabil, known as the 'Golden Nose.' It is also said that all this land belonged to the vizier, Abû 'l-Faraj, the West-African, in the caliphate of Al-Mustanşir, besides quarries of yellow clay at Al-'Adawiyah, of which the [pots called] *Khazaf* are made.

*Church of Saint Victor.*

§ The church<sup>4</sup> dedicated to the martyr Saint Victor<sup>5</sup> stands in the

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see above, fol. 23 b. Maslamah was the first who made additions to the mosque of 'Amr, by building in A. H. 53 = A. D. 673 new structures on the north and east sides of it, and by adding a minaret. He also decorated the walls and roof of the mosque. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٨٩٨; Al-Makrîzî, *Khîṭat*, ii. p. ٢٤٧ f.; As-Suyûtî, *Husn al-Muḥâdarah*, ii. p. ٧.

<sup>1</sup> The district of Al-Ḥabash was adjacent to the lake of Al-Ḥabash, and was called in Coptic  $\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha\gamma\omega$  (Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 162). It is mentioned, not only by 'Abû Selah,' as M. Amélineau remarks, but by Yâkût, who speaks (*Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٥٩١) of

بساتين تعرف بالحبش والبركة منسوبة اليها

'Gardens named Al-Ḥabash, after which the pool of Al-Ḥabash is so called;' and by Al-Makrîzî, *Khîṭat*, ii. p. ١٥٢.

<sup>2</sup> So called because a flight of steps led down into it. This well was constructed by Al-Ḥâkim. See Al-Makrîzî, *Khîṭat*, ii. p. ٢٦.

<sup>3</sup> Also called 'Well of Abû Salâmah.' It is said to have been situated in the most beautiful spot near the lake of Al-Ḥabash. See Al-Makrîzî, *Khîṭat*, ii. p. ٢٦.

<sup>4</sup> This church is named in two Copto-Arabic lists of churches and monasteries as  $\alpha\pi\alpha \beta\gamma\kappa\tau\omega\rho \mu\epsilon\theta\alpha\gamma\omega$ —ابا بقطر بالحبش, 'The church of Saint Victor at Al-Ḥabash.' See Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 579 and 581.

<sup>5</sup> St. Victor, whose festival is kept on Barmûdah 27 = April 22, was a soldier



district of Al-Ḥabash, near the Well of the Steps. On the wall of the apse of this church, a Coptic inscription was found, giving the date of the paintings upon it, namely the year 759 of the Martyrs<sup>1</sup> (A. D. 1043), in the patriarchate of Anbâ Sinuthius<sup>2</sup>, the sixty-fifth in the order of succession. At the end of the church were built two altars: one of them named after the martyr Saint Cosmas<sup>3</sup>, with his brothers and his mother, and the other named after Saint John, the martyr of Aswân; and these were built at the expense of Abû 'l-Barakât, 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-Maḳin Abû 'l-Barakât ibn Kitâmah, the scribe, in the caliphate of Al-Fâ'iz<sup>4</sup>; 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 Abû<sup>5</sup> 'l-Faraj, the West-African,

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

<sup>1</sup> 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.)

<sup>2</sup> 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.

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

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

<sup>5</sup> Abû 'l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Maghrabî became vizier in A. H. 450, and remained in office about a year. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khîṭat*, i. p. 301; As-Suyûtî, *Husn al-Muḥâḍarah*, ii. p. 100.

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*Monastery of the Nestorians.*

§ 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-Faḍâ'il, the Nestorian, known as the physician of the tribe of Al-'Aẓamîyah, in the caliphate of Al-Âmir, 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-Âmir was informed of this restoration, he issued a decree against Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il, and acted extortionately towards him, and seized all his money; and the decree remained in force until the caliph had built a mosque within the monastery. The originator of this act of tyranny was Abû 'l-Faḍl Ja'far ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im, known as Ibn Abû Kīrât, the metwalli of the Diwân al-Khâṣṣ<sup>1</sup> of Al-Âmir. There was some land attached to this monastery and belonging to it, outside the enclosure, and this land was farmed by Abû 'l-Barakât ibn Kitâmah, 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 Kitâmah lived there, in a garden which was the property of his master; but the priest Yûsuf, the Nestorian, gained possession of it, and let the land to Muslims, and sold the upper story of the church at Miṣr, including the bakehouse, and let most of the property with which the Nestorian churches were endowed at low rents to the Muslims, for long periods. There are no Nestorians with him; but they live in the east, and in Persia, and in Al-'Irâḳ and Al-Mauṣil, and by the Euphrates, and in Mesopotamia; and in Egypt they are few in number and of a low class.

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

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<sup>1</sup> The board which regulated matters connected with the privy purse.

patriarchal, and dedicated the church in it to Saint Philotheus<sup>1</sup> 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 Amshîr, of the year 899 of the Righteous Martyrs, which is equivalent to the 24th of Ramadân of the year 576 (A. D. 1181). [This change of ownership took place] because no Nestorians were left in Mişr except one or two men. The monastery was solemnly opened by Anbâ Peter, bishop of the Fayyûm. It contains three altars: one named after Philotheus of Antioch; the second after John the Evangelist; the third after Thomas the Disciple. Its expenses were paid by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Manşûr ibn Bûlus, who also paid for the liturgies and the eucharistic elements and the rest, and did not cease to supply all that was needed until the day of his death. His son continued to provide for [the expenses of this monastery], as his father had done—may God rest his soul!—and appointed ministers, both priests and deacons. The monastery is now prosperous, and the people of Upper Egypt come to it, and open its door. Fol. 43 b

There is also a burying-place for the Coptic Jacobite Christians and the bishops of Mişr, in the district of Al-Ḥabash; and the body of Anbâ Zacharias<sup>2</sup>, 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 Mişr, on account of his knowledge of the pre-eminence of their faith, and what they had suffered in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâkim<sup>3</sup>. In [the same burying-ground] also are the tombs of the bishops of Mişr; and near

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

<sup>2</sup> Occupied the see from A. D. 1002 (?) to 1032; see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 386–408. On p. 401 Renaudot refers to this passage of Abû Şâlih.

<sup>3</sup> See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, ii. p. ۴۹۵, and Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 390 ff., for an account of Al-Ḥâkim's terrible persecution of the Christians, and the plunder and destruction of their churches. (A. J. B.)

it there are two wells of running water : one constructed by Abû 'l-Ḥasan Sa'îd ibn Maṣṣûr, the scribe, and the second made by Nâṣir, the grave-digger. In this burying-ground there is a conspicuous monument of syenite, sculptured with a cross of points<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup>, sold to the Jews, at the time when Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn extorted money from him. This patriarch also sold a church to the Jews<sup>3</sup> in the Ḳaṣr 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-Ḳuṣair stands. The Armenians and the Nestorians likewise [bury] in their churches.

*Church of Al-Martûtî.*

§ The garden called Al-'Adawîyah<sup>4</sup>, or Munyat as-Sûdân<sup>5</sup>, was

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

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

<sup>3</sup> 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.)

<sup>4</sup> Al-'Adawîyah 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 Ṣâlih was permanent. Yâḳût calls Al-'Adawîyah a village on the eastern bank, possessing many gardens; and he suggests other derivations of the name; see his *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ۶۱۴. (A. J. B.)

<sup>5</sup> Two villages of this name are now in existence, but neither of them is near

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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.

Fol. 45 a A certain Jew, named Abû 'l-Fakhr ibn Azhar aş-Şâni', became a Christian, and was converted to the religion of the Messiah, and was baptized in this church by Anbâ John, bishop of Ṭamwaih, in the province of Al-Jîziyah, assisted by the priest Abû Yâsir ibn Abû Sa'd ibn al-Kustâl, in the caliphate of Al-Fâ'iz, in the vizierate of Ṭalâ'i' ibn Ruzziq, 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 Lady<sup>1</sup>, in the Hârah Zawîlah, in the city of Cairo, by Anbâ Gabriel, bishop of Mişr, on the 15th of Abib, in the year of the church 901 (A. D. 1185).

Adjacent to this church of *Al-Martûtî*, is a church which had fallen into decay, but was restored by Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il ibn Ash-Shubrâmurayyikî<sup>2</sup>, 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 Abû 'l-Faraj ibn Zanbûr, the scribe of As-Sûbâsî the Turk, wâli 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  
Fol. 45 b five, ancient and modern. Abû 'l-Faraj completed the restoration of the church by whitewashing and painting it, and it was solemnly opened

<sup>1</sup> See fol. 3 a and note.

<sup>2</sup> The town of Shubrâ Murayyik (شبرا مرق), in the province of Al-Gharbîyah, is mentioned by Yâqût, *Mushtarik*, p. ۲۲۷.

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<sup>1</sup>, 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<sup>2</sup>, and it was consecrated by Anbâ John, the seventy-fourth<sup>3</sup> 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.

Fol. 46 a

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-Hâkim.

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<sup>1</sup> The classical Oxyrhinchus, and the Coptic ΠΕΡΟΥΧΕ; 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-Maḳrîzî, *Khitat*, i. p. rrv; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> 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.)

<sup>3</sup> Occupied the see from A. D. 1189 to 1216; see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 554-567.



At the church of *Al-Martûtî*, the history of which has been related, there was a priest named Abû Yâsir, son of the priest Abû Sa'd, known as Ibn al-Kustâl, 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<sup>1</sup>, and christening infants without circumcision<sup>2</sup>, and giving permission to the bridegroom to see the bride before marriage<sup>3</sup>. 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!

Fol. 46 b To the church of this priest there was a garden attached, as it has already been related. This garden was seized by the emir Jabril, son of the Imâm Al-Hâfiz, who built opposite to the church, near the river, in the place called *Al-Kharmat al-kiblîyah*, for the survey of the taxes, a *manzarah*, which was visited by the Imâm Al-Hâfiz and the Imâm Az-Zâfir<sup>4</sup>, his son, during the lifetime of this emir Jabrîl; and after his death the Imâm Al-Âdid 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 Tamwaih, in the province of Al-Jîziyah, is situated, and as far as Munyat ash-Shammâs<sup>5</sup> and other places on

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<sup>1</sup> 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.)

<sup>2</sup> 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.)

<sup>3</sup> In prohibiting this the Copts seem to have followed the Muslims.

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

<sup>5</sup> There were two places of this name in the province of Al-Jîziyah, but this

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built on the side of the river; and they say that Moses the prophet—upon him be peace—was born<sup>1</sup> there, and his mother cast him thence into the river, in the wooden ark. Shahrân is celebrated as a spot frequented by visitors, on account of the beauty of its situation, and the views obtained from it of Miṣr and the river Nile; so the *Book of the Monasteries*, by Ash-Shâbushti, testifies. Opposite this monastery of Shahrân, in the mountain on the east, there is a large cavern<sup>2</sup>, supported by pillars like a house, which has been hollowed out in the side of the mountain, and is exceedingly extensive; and it is said to be called ‘the city,’ and the end of it is unknown.

*Monastery of Shahrân, near Turâ.*

Fol. 47 b 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-Hâkim, and became once more abbot of the monastery. This monk was the cause of the opening of the churches which had been closed, and of the changing of the costume<sup>3</sup> which Al-Hâkim had enjoined, and which he had maintained for nine years, during which Zacharias, the sixty-fourth patriarch, was imprisoned<sup>4</sup>, and thrown to the lions, which did him no harm; for God forbid the lions to touch the patriarch, on account of his holiness, and the strength of his faith in God. The instigator of this persecution was a monk from the monastery of Saint Macarius<sup>5</sup>, named Jonas<sup>6</sup>, because

<sup>1</sup> On fol. 19 b, Askar is said to be the birthplace of Moses.

<sup>2</sup> Doubtless one of the subterranean quarries in the Muḳattam range near Turâ. These caverns were cut out by ancient Egyptian workmen quarrying for stone for the pyramids and other buildings. The Arabs have a great horror of mining in the dark, and tell marvellous legends of these openings into the heart of the mountain. (A. J. B.)

<sup>3</sup> Al-Hâkim 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.)

<sup>4</sup> See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 391 ff.

<sup>5</sup> In the Nitrian desert.

<sup>6</sup> 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-Hâkim 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 Ṭurâ.*

§ 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 Ṭurâ, on the bank of the river. This church was small when it belonged to the Jacobite Copts; but at the time when Gregory<sup>1</sup>, the patriarch of the Armenians, came to Egypt, and Amîr al-Juyûsh Badr was surrounded by Armenians, in the patriarchate of Anbâ Cyril, patriarch of the Jacobites, and the district of Ṭurâ 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-

Fol. 48 a

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<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 3. This passage is referred to by Renaudot (*Hist. Patr.* pp. 459 and 508), who writes Dora for Ṭurâ.

sion. In this church the priest named Abû Yâsir, whose history has been related with reference to the church of *Al-Martûtî*, which is called *Al-'Adawiyah*, restored all that was required for the furnishing of it; and the people began again to frequent it at all times. Outside it, there are stone foundations visible on the surface of the ground, which are said to have been made for the purpose of building upon them a *manzarah*; but it was never fully prepared, and now there is only one fragment of building in a cracked condition. When the patriarch came to this church to consecrate it, an assembly of bishops and priests and of the Christian laity were present.

Fol. 48 b In another copy it is said that the monastery of Saint George came into the possession of the aforesaid priest Abû Yâsir, known as Ibn al-Kuṣṭâl, and was solemnly opened in the month of Ba'ûnah, in the year 559 (A. D. 1164), in the patriarchate of Anbâ John, with the consent of the Armenians. Abû Yâsir 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 Ṭurâ, and it was consecrated on the 30th of Ba'ûnah, in the year 902 of the Righteous Martyrs (A. D. 1186); and the expenses of the building were paid at first by Ibn Mashkûr, and at the time of its consecration by Abû Manṣûr, 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 Abû Yâsir 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-Muḩaṭṭam*, which was the name of the son of Mizraim, the son of Miṣr, the son of Ham, the son of Noah. *Muḩaṭṭam* 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

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is kept there in honour of Arsenius, at which many people assemble. Below his church on the mountain-top, there is another church, hewn out in the rock with the pickaxe<sup>1</sup>, 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] Abû 'l-Jaish Khamârawaih<sup>2</sup>, son of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, which has

Fol. 49 b 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 Shahrân and the desert and the monastery of Shahrân, 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-Shâbushtî. This Al-Ḳuṣair is one of the monasteries that are visited for worship, and also for the pleasure of sauntering around them.

The patriarch Eustathius<sup>3</sup> founded in this monastery the church of

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<sup>1</sup> This would be the church of St. John the Baptist named below on fol. 51 a.

<sup>2</sup> Khamârawaih, son of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, and second of the Ṭûlûnide dynasty, ruled Egypt and Syria, nominally under the suzerainty of the Abbaside 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-Ḳuṣair is told also by Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Eustathius succeeded Balatianus, as Melkite or orthodox patriarch of Alexandria, in the sixteenth year of the caliph Hârûn Ar-Rashîd, i. e. A. D. 802, and occupied the see for two years. See Euty chius (*Annales*, ii. p. 410), who is the authority from whom the statements in the text are taken. Euty chius explains مدق as:

البيت الذى يدق 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<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup>. In this monastery there are eight churches, and they are enclosed within a wall. In it also there is a *manṣarah*, 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-Ḥâkim, in the month of Sha'bân, 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-Yâsâl, the brother of Tâj ad-Daulah Bahrâm, assigned to the monastery sixteen feddâns of land as an endowment. Fol. 50 a

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-Ḳuṣair al-Ḥaḳḳânî 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-Ḳuṣair, accord-

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<sup>1</sup> I. e. May 8. Cf. *Synaxarium* (Paris MS. *Arabe* 256) for that day.

<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>1</sup>, and is surmounted by a baldakyn; over the middle of this church is a long vaulted<sup>2</sup> roof.

Fol. 50 b (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<sup>3</sup>, and skilfully executed, as at Bethlehem;

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<sup>1</sup> This is exceedingly interesting for two reasons: (i) It is unusual for a church to have less than three altars now, though Abû Şâlih 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 Şâlih's testimony, I had no hēsitation in inferring that the practice existed. See *Coptic Churches*, ii. pp. 12-16. (A. J. B.)

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

<sup>3</sup> 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 Şâlih'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.

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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-Hâkim destroyed it in the year 400 (A.D. 1010). Afterwards there was built on the same site a new church, named after Peter and Paul, in which there was one altar surmounted by a baldakyn, and over the middle of which there was a vaulted roof.

(4) The church of Stephen, the chief of the deacons and first of the martyrs for the name of Christ among the Israelites.

(5) A church named after Saint George.

(6) The church of Saint Sabas<sup>1</sup> of Alexandria, which was restored by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Barakât Yûhannâ, the scribe, son of Abû 'l-Laith, in the caliphate of Al-Âmir, and in the vizierate of Al-Afdal Shâhanshâh; and his brother, Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il, was charged with the control of the outlay. This Abû 'l-Barakât was the metwalli of the *Dîwân at-tahkîk*<sup>2</sup>, in

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*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.)

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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 Abû 'l-Barakât ibn Abû '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 Abû 'l-Barakât: 'By my father's tomb, if I hear of any well out of order, or of any land lying

the vizierate of Al-Afdal, and afterwards, until he was put to death in the year 528 (A. D. 1134). In this church there is one altar, surmounted by a small baldakyn ; and over the midst of the church there is one large cupola of conspicuous size. The church contains pictures of the forty martyrs of Sebaste ; and beneath it is the tomb of the said Abû 'l-Faḍâ'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 gates<sup>1</sup>, in the caliphate of Al-Mustansir, and in the

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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-Maḵrîzî confirms the statement of our author that Abû 'l-Barakât was put to death in A. H. 528. See *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. 101.

<sup>1</sup> This piece of information is very interesting, and is one more proof that the Copts were the architects of Cairo, as I have always contended, and not the Moslems.

What Abû Şâliḥ says is that John the monk planned the new walls of Cairo in the vizierate of Badr, under the caliphate of Al-Mustansir. The original walls, of brick, were built by Jauhar, under the caliph Al-Mu'izz in A. D. 969 or 970 (see Al-Maḵrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. 100 ff.) ; but a century later these walls, being outgrown, were demolished by Badr al-Jamâlî, in A. D. 1087, who extended the boundaries of the city, especially on the northern and southern sides, erecting new walls of brick, with gateways of stone (see Al-Maḵrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. 101). In his learned essay on the topography of Cairo, M. Ravaisse gives a very clear plan, showing the walls of Jauhar and those of Badr. Saladin subsequently extended the citadel and made other enlargements, but in the main the existing walls are more probably those of Badr than those of Saladin. See M. Ravaisse in *Mém. Archéol. de la Miss. Franç. au Caire*, 1881-4 ; esp. plate 2 facing p. 454. (A. J. B.)

vizierate of Amir al-Juyûsh Badr; over his tomb there is a marble slab in the wall<sup>1</sup>.

Fol. 51 b The church of Saint George<sup>2</sup>, 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-Hakam, brother of Abû 'l-Khaşib, 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-Âmir, who came here in the hunting season; and there is a place for his attendants. There is here the *manzarah* of Khamârawaih, son of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, 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, Fakhr ibn al-Ḳanbar<sup>3</sup>, 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<sup>4</sup>, in the second week [of the Fast], on the 23rd of Amshîr<sup>5</sup>, in the year 924 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1208). The monastery is now

Fol. 52 a

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<sup>1</sup> 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.)

<sup>2</sup> No. 5 in the list of churches.

<sup>3</sup> See above, fol. 9 a ff.

<sup>4</sup> I. e. the first week of Lent, during which the use of fish and other white meat is allowed. (A. J. B.)

<sup>5</sup> The Coptic Mechir (ⲙⲉⲮⲓⲣ) = Jan. 26 to Feb. 24.

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the chamberlains of Al-Ma'mûn<sup>1</sup> 'Abd Allâh, son of Hârûn ar-Rashid, since it was near the 'Dome of the Air<sup>2</sup>,' which he founded on the Mukattam hills. The Christians wore black garments<sup>3</sup>, and rode on horses, until the caliphate of Al-Mutawakkil Ja'far, who forbade them to do so.

*Hulwân.*

Fol. 52 b Hulwân<sup>4</sup>. 'Abd al-'Aziz<sup>5</sup> ibn Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam, surnamed Abû 'l-Uṣbu', lived in this place, and Hulwân was the name of his eldest son. It was in this neighbourhood that Al-Imâm al-Ḥâkim bi-amri'llâh alighted from the ass which he was riding, and ordered his groom, who accompanied him wherever he went, to hough the ass; and he himself went alone into the inner parts of the desert and never returned; nor is it known to this day where he retired. This happened in the month of Shawwâl, in the year 411 (A. D. 1021)<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The seventh of the Abbaside caliphs; reigned from A. D. 813 to 833.

<sup>2</sup> The *Kubbat al-Hawâ* was on the mountain near the citadel of Cairo; see C. Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, &c., i. p. 93. (A. J. B.)

<sup>3</sup> Al-Mutawakkil reigned from A. D. 847 to 861. It would appear from Abû Şâlih's remark that the Christians voluntarily affected a black dress at this time, and that the ordinance of Al-Ḥâkim two centuries later was an enforced reversion to an old custom. (A. J. B.)

<sup>4</sup> Hulwân or Halwân (Helouan), the Coptic *χαλοϋαν* or *χαλβαν*, is on the right or eastern bank of the river, five or six miles to the south of Al-'Adawîyah, and is still a favourite health-resort of the Cairenes on account of its sulphureous springs. The place seems to have been in existence, and to have had a bishop, before the Mahometan conquest. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. 321; Al-Maḥrîzî, *Khitaṭ*, i. p. 29 f.; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 584. (A. J. B.)

<sup>5</sup> See fol. 47 a.

<sup>6</sup> Bar-Hebraeus states that Al-Ḥâkim was assassinated at the instigation of his sister, and that this was the explanation of his disappearance. Al-Maḥrîzî also mentions this report but denies its truth (ii. p. 289). Ibn Khaldûn, iv. p. 11; Ibn al-Athîr, ix. p. 221; Abû 'l-Fidâ, iii. p. 48; As-Suyûtî, ii. p. 18; and Ibn Khallikân relate the same story.

At Ḥulwân 'Abd al-'Aziz erected some handsome buildings, and set up a Nilometer. He was attacked by the disease called lion-sickness, or elephantiasis, and he took many medicines, but the medicines did him no good, and so the physicians, in treating him, selected [Ḥulwân<sup>1</sup> as a residence for him]. This 'Abd al-'Azîz pulled down the Old Mosque at Miṣr, known as the foundation of 'Amr ibn al-'Âsî, governor of Egypt, and rebuilt it, adding to its extent<sup>2</sup>. At Ḥulwân he made a large lake, into which water flowed from springs in the hills, named the Muḳaṭṭam hills, by an aqueduct which he constructed [from the hills] to the lake. Beside the latter he erected a pavilion of glass<sup>3</sup>.

'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 Faithful<sup>4</sup>. It was his wish to remove the seat of commerce by land and water to [Ḥulwân], and to depopulate Al-Fuṣṭâṭ. [In his time] Fol. 53 a 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

<sup>1</sup> I translate the words thus because the statement and even some of the words are apparently borrowed from Eutychius, who says :

كان قد ابتدأت به علة الجذام فاختر له الاطباء مدينة حلوان

'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.)

<sup>2</sup> This was in A. H. 79 = A. D. 699; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, ii. p. ۲۴۸. An abstract of Al-Maḳrîzî's full history of the Old Mosque is given by Lane in *Modern Egyptians*, vol. ii. App. F. iii. p. 348. (A. J. B.)

<sup>3</sup> Our author's account here seems to be taken from Eutychius; see *Annales* (ed. Pococke), ii. p. 369.

<sup>4</sup> The *Khalîj* or canal of Cairo; cf. above, fol. 24 a & b.



patriarchate of Anbâ Isaac<sup>1</sup> the monk, who was the forty-first in the order of succession, and in the patriarchate of his successor, Anbâ Simon<sup>2</sup> the Syrian, the forty-second patriarch, during the governorship of 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn Marwân, through the agency of Gregory<sup>3</sup>, bishop of Al-Ḳais<sup>4</sup>. The monastery is called the monastery of Abû Ḳarḳar; the last word being derived from the name of Gregorios.

<sup>1</sup> 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 Îsâk (ايساك) in Coptic, transcribing the word IC&&K; see *Ta'rîkh 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:

وبنا بيعة بحلوان لان في ذلك الموضع كان يمضى الى الامير عبد العزيز وكان قد امر اراخنة الصعيد وكل الكور ان يبني كل واحد لنفسه مسكناً بحلوان المدينة

'And [Isaac] built a church at Ḥulwân 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.)

<sup>2</sup> Occupied the see from A. D. 688-700 (?); see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 179-189.

<sup>3</sup> This bishop is mentioned as the chief bishop present at the election of John, who was set aside by 'Abd al-'Azîz in favour of the patriarch Isaac; see Brit. Mus. MS. *Or.* 26,100, p. 125, l. 27—p. 126, l. 1. The building of the church in question and of other churches was entrusted to the superintendence of the bishop Gregory by 'Abd al-'Azîz.

وبعد ثلاثة سنين اطلق الاساقفة الى كراسيهم ان يبنيوا بيعتين في حلوان وكانوا الاساقفة ينفقون من عندهم على عمارتها ووكل الوالى بعمارتها اغريغوريوس اسقف القيس

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

<sup>4</sup> The Coptic K&IC. Now in the district of Banî Mazar in the province of Minyah, with a population in 1885 of 3,160. In Yâḳût's time it was in ruins.

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of the monastery of Our Lady, named after Baramûs<sup>1</sup>, in the desert of Saint Maçarius 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<sup>2</sup>, on the 11th of Tûbah; 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<sup>3</sup>, in the province of Al-Jîzîyah, 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-Kais. The bricks and timber of this church were taken away, at the time of the victory of the emir

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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.

<sup>1</sup> This famous monastery is still standing.

<sup>2</sup> The Epiphany; see fol. 41 a.

<sup>3</sup> On the western bank; now in the district of Jarzah, in the province of Al-Jîzah, and in 1885 had a population of 1,987. It is celebrated on account of its pyramids. It stands opposite to Hulwân, but further to the south. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wort.* ii. p. 133; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 93.

Ḥusain ibn al-Ḥâfiz and of the quarrel between the Raihânîyah and the Juyûshîyah<sup>1</sup>, when many on both sides were killed. With the materials thus seized, the mosque called 'Mosque of the Hyena,' at Itfîḥ, 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.*

§ Itfîḥ received its name from one of the sons of Mâliḳ, son of Tadrâs, one of the sons of Mizraim; for most of the large towns are called after the names of their sons. [Itfîḥ] travelled towards the west, until he reached the [Sea of] Darkness<sup>2</sup>, and beheld many wonders.

§ The monastery named after Saint Anthony<sup>3</sup>. This stands to the east of Itfîḥ, and to the south of Miṣr, and from it to the river Nile there

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<sup>1</sup> These two sections of the Egyptian army quarrelled and fought in the reign of Al-Ḥâfiz, and his son Ḥusain had much trouble in quelling the riots. See the account in Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khitat*, ii. p. 1 v ff.

<sup>2</sup> The Atlantic Ocean, called by the Arabs *Az-Zulmah* or *Bahr az-Zulumât*, 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-Khiḍr drank and so lives on to the Day of Judgment. (A. J. B.)

<sup>3</sup> Abû Şâliḥ 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 Antâniyûs* 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 Antâniyûs* and *Dair Bâlus*, 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<sup>1</sup>, 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<sup>2</sup>, 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 feddân 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 Iṭfîh. 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 Anbâ Andûnah, the Egyptian, appeared. He was also named Antonios, the Star of the Desert and Father of Monks<sup>3</sup>. He was the first monk who lived in the desert; and

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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 *Dair Antâniyûs*, 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.)

<sup>1</sup> 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.)

<sup>2</sup> 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.)

<sup>3</sup> 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

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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 Maḥbûb al-Manbajî, son of Constantine, relates the same incident.

Fol. 55 b With [Anthony] also was Paul<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup>, the fourteenth in the succession. In the time [of Anthony] also lived Athanasius<sup>3</sup>, the scribe, patriarch of Alexandria, and Saint Pachomius<sup>4</sup>, the Egyptian monk, and Basil, bishop of Caesarea.

In this district [of Iṭṭîḥ]<sup>5</sup> there are seven churches, of which six

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<sup>1</sup> The name is corruptly written; it probably passed through the stages بدقش, بدقس, بدقص, بدكص, بولص, which are intelligible enough if we suppose that they were the result partly of careless dictation, partly of careless writing from dictation, and partly of careless copying.

Sozomen (vi. 29 and i. 13) mentions two Pauls, viz. (1) a saint who lived at Pherme, a mountain in Scete or the Nitrian desert. There were 500 monks with him. He prayed 300 times a day, and had a bag of pebbles by which to count his orisons—a sort of rosary. (2) Paul, called the Simple, who was a disciple of Anthony and who gave his name to the monastery of St. Paul or *Dair Bûlus*, as it is now called, a day's journey to the south of *Dair Antûniyûs*. Abû Şâlih's account of *Dair Bûlus*—a very scanty one—is given a few pages below. (A. J. B.)

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> Athanasius was a friend of St. Anthony. His life and writings are too well known to need special reference. (A. J. B.)

<sup>4</sup> A celebrated monk of Tabennesi, called the Father of the Coenobites, because he first gathered the monks together into monasteries. His 'Fifty Rules for the Monastic Life' are given in Migne's *Patres Aegyptii*, p. 948; and Palladius gives his history. See *Acta SS.* for May 14, Rosweyde, Tillemont, and the Coptic life by his disciple Theodore, published in 1889 by M. Amélineau. Pachomius seems to have been born about A. D. 280, and to have died in A. D. 348 or 349. His festival is kept by the Copts on Bashans 14 = May 9. (A. J. B.)

<sup>5</sup> As the road to the monastery of St. Anthony started from Iṭṭîḥ 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<sup>1</sup> stands upon the bank of the blessed Nile. Adjacent to it there is a keep, and a garden, and a mill, and a wine-press. It stands near Dahrût<sup>2</sup>, and contained, up to our own time, thirty monks.

*The Heretic Balûtus.*

§ In the [aforesaid] monastery of Anbâ Andûnah, or Antonios, there was a monk named Balûtus, learned in the doctrines of the Christian religion and the duties of the monastic life, and skilled in the rules of the canon-law. But Satan caught him in one of his nets ; for he began to hold opinions at variance with those taught by the Three Hundred and Eighteen [of Nicaea] ; and he corrupted the minds of many of those who had no knowledge or instruction in the orthodox faith. He announced with his impure mouth, in his wicked discourses, that Christ our Lord—to Whom be glory—was like one of the prophets. He associated with the lowest among the followers of his religion, Fol. 56 a

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our author speaks as if the monastery was in close connexion with the town ; see above, fol. 10 a.

<sup>1</sup> There are two places of this name : Al-Jummaizah the Great (Al-Kubrâ) and Al-Jummaizah the Little (Aş-Şughrâ), both near Itfîh. This monastery is mentioned by Al-Makrîzî (*Khîṭat*, ii. p. 502), 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 Itfîh and therefore not far from Al-Jummaizah ; from this monastery provisions were sent to the great monastery of St. Anthony near the Red Sea.

<sup>2</sup> A town about twenty miles below Al-Kais, on the west bank, and not far from Al-Bahnasâ ; see Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. 133 ; Al-Idrîsî (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 *zûnîyah* and the *askîm*<sup>1</sup>. When he was questioned as to his religion and his creed, he professed himself a believer in the Unity of God<sup>2</sup>. His doctrines prevailed during a period which ended in the year 839 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1123); then he died, and his memory was cut off for ever.

### *Churches at Al-Barnîl and Şaul.*

§ In the district of Al-Barnîl<sup>3</sup> there is a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary. Beside it there is another named after the saint Abû 'l-Ârah<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I have already explained that by the *askîm* is meant properly the *σχῆμα ἀγγελικόν* or angelic habit, but it sometimes denotes merely the leathern girdle, as Al-Makrîzî says:

الاشكيم وهو سير من جلد فيه صليب يتوشح به الرهبان

‘The *askîm*, which is a leathern belt with a cross upon it, and with which the monks gird themselves.’ (*Khitat*, ii. p. 508.)

The wearer of this girdle has, nowadays, for the time being to double his offices and make 600 daily prostrations. The order made by St. Pachomius for the monkish habit enjoined the use of a sleeveless cassock—*χιτών ἀχειρίδωτος*, a hood—*σκέπασμα* or *κουκούλιον*, a girdle—*ζώνη*—the *zûnîyah* of the text, and the *ἀναβολεύς*, which is defined as *τοὺς ὤμους καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας 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 *ἀναβολεύς*. He says that the habit is a sort of ‘pallium ou scapulaire’ of leather, called the *askîm*; 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. (*Nouv. Mém. des Missions dans le Levant*, v. p. 150.) (A. J. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Or ‘a Unitarian.’ (A. J. B.)

<sup>3</sup> Yâkût 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 Iḥfîḥ and Şaul. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* ad voc.

<sup>4</sup> I can only conjecture that this saint is the martyred priest of Shatnûf, Abâ Ârî (أبا ارى), commemorated in the *Synaxarium* on Misrî 9=Aug. 2. See Hyvernât, *Actes des MM. de l'Égypte*, p. 202 ff. Cf. Amélineau, *Actes des MM. coptes*, p. 151.

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Fol. 56 b 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<sup>1</sup>.

§ There is another monastery in the desert, called the monastery of the Mule<sup>2</sup>, containing many monks.

*Monastery of Saint Paul near the Red Sea.*

§ Within the desert is the monastery of Saint Paul<sup>3</sup>. It stands on the bank of the Salt Sea<sup>4</sup>, 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

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πρωλ or πσωλ, the name of a celebrated hermit, the first teacher or religious superior of St. Sinuthius. See Zoega, *Cat.* p. 375; Amélineau, *Mém. pour servir à l'hist. de l'Église chrét. au 4 et 5 siècles*, p. 5.

<sup>1</sup> The notice of an ancient temple, such as is denoted by the term *birbā*, existing in the twelfth century near Itfîh, as Abû Şâlih 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.)

<sup>2</sup> According to Al-Maḡrîzî (*Khîṭaṭ*, ii. p. 5.9) this was another name for the monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair, in connexion with which our author has already told the story of the mule; see fol. 50 a.

<sup>3</sup> This is the famous monastery of St. Paul (*Dair Bâlus*), 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 Abû Şâlih, the 'father of monks.' (A. J. B.)

<sup>4</sup> The sea is called البحر المالح in distinction from البحر without an epithet, which might mean simply a river or canal, and in Egypt generally means 'the Nile.'

the liturgy in it by turns. It stands in the Wâdi 'l-'Arabah<sup>1</sup>, near the pool of Miriam; and it is near Mount Sinai, but divided from it by the passage over the Salt Sea.

*Al-'Arîsh.*

§ The region of Al-'Arish. In this region there are two large churches, which have stood here from ancient times, and are now in ruins, but their walls remain up to our own time; and the wall of the city<sup>2</sup>, 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 Mişr, the greater part and the largest specimens came from Al-'Arish.

*Al-Faramâ.*

§ The city of Al-Faramâ. This city was built by Pharaoh<sup>3</sup>, on the river Nile, in the twenty-eighth year after the birth of Moses

<sup>1</sup> The Wâdî '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 (Maḳrîzî, *Khîṭat*, ii. p. 502; cf. Murray's *Guide*, p. 324).

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to know that remains of the ancient Rhinocolura existed in the time of Abû Şâlih. The columns at Mişr would be mostly those used in the construction of the Christian churches and of the mosques. These columns were taken from classical buildings, and were not cut or designed during the middle ages. The use of columns for building is illustrated by the well-known story of Ibn Ṭûlûn and the Christian architect who built his mosque; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khîṭat*, ii. p. 110 ff., and S. Lane-Poole's *Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, p. 54. (A. J. B.)

<sup>3</sup> 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,

Fol. 57 a

the prophet; and its name was taken from Faramûnus<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup>. There were at Al-Faramâ many churches and monasteries, which were wrecked by the Persians<sup>3</sup> and the Arabs; but it is said that the wall of the city remains to the present day.

§ The book of *Fadâ'il Miṣr*<sup>4</sup> 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

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and is put by Champollion at 3,000 yards. Abû Şâlih states above that the Arab town was on the sea (fol. 19 b); Al-Maḳrîzî 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 Şâlih 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 Memphidis*, pp. 16, 17; Champollion, *L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, ii. pp. 82-87; Quatremère, *Mém.* i. p. 259. (A. J. B.)

<sup>1</sup> This is evidently a transcription of the Coptic Pheremoun or Baramoun. Both the Coptic name and the Greek Πηλούσιον, as well as the modern Arabic designation At-Tîh, have the connotation of 'mud.' (A. J. B.)

<sup>2</sup> This account of Al-Faramâ is borrowed from Al-Kindî; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, i. p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> During the invasion of Chosroes; see Patriarchal History, Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 12,000, p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> By Al-Kindî. Cf. Al-Maḳrîzî (*Khîṭaṭ*, i. p. 112), who quotes Ibn Kudaid.

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were great giants among the Arabs; and they were the [heads of] tribes. And Nabish<sup>1</sup> was one of the sons of Ishmael. Now he, I mean Ūtis, 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<sup>2</sup> and Daqahlah<sup>3</sup>; 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*<sup>4</sup>.

Cleopatra, queen of Alexandria, built the wall of *Al-Hujûz*<sup>5</sup>, 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.*

Sîrbâduwîl<sup>6</sup>, king of the Franks in Syria, came to Al-Faramâ in

<sup>1</sup> This is the form given by Ibn Ishâk; the Hebrew is Nâphîsh (נַפְיִשׁ); see Gen. xxv. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Nûbah or 'the Nubians' is the name of a tribe, not of a town.

<sup>3</sup> The Coptic ΤΚΕΖΛΙ. It is the town which gives its name to the province of Ad-Daqahlîyah 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. Wort.* ii. p. 511; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 509 f.

<sup>4</sup> 'It cast a thousand;' the etymology reminds us of Virgil's derivation of Latium, 'his quoniam latuisset in oris.' (A. J. B.)

<sup>5</sup> The *Hâ'it al-Hujûz* or 'barrier-wall,' generally called *Hâ'it al-'Ajûz* or *Jisr al-'Ajûz*, '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.

<sup>6</sup> 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-Afdal, in the fifteenth year of the patriarchate of Anbâ Macarius<sup>1</sup>, 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 Miṣr, 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. Fol. 58 a

*Al-Ḳulzum.*

§ Al-Ḳulzum<sup>2</sup> 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 *ḳulzum*<sup>3</sup>. Here is the church of Athanasius<sup>4</sup>. There is a monastery in the district of Rânah, founded by the emperor Justinian. At Al-Ḳulzum 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-Ḳulzum, a distance of one day and one night's journey. A certain prince<sup>5</sup> undertook to dig a canal between

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> See above, fol. 19 b.

<sup>3</sup> I. e., as Professor Margoliouth suggests, the Greek κλωσμα.

<sup>4</sup> Anbâ Siyûs is incorrectly written for Atanâsiyûs or Athanasius. His death is commemorated on Miṣrî 29 (Aug. 22). See *Synaxarium* at that day. Eutychius names the church of St. Athanasius at Al-Ḳulzum, and states that it was built by order of the emperor Justinian; see *Annales*, ii. p. 163.

<sup>5</sup> 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.

Fol. 58 b § 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<sup>1</sup>; and this sea is the *Bahr Sûf*<sup>2</sup>.

§ The history of Sa'îd ibn Baṭrîḳ, the Melkite, relates<sup>3</sup> that the dearth was raging at Mediṇa, near Mecca, and the people of Medina, of the Hanîfite religion, were in great distress; so 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb, in the eighth year of his caliphate, wrote from the Hedjaz to 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî ibn 'Adî, emir of Egypt, to inform him of this. Then 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî sent to 'Umar a caravan of camels loaded with corn, for which the point of arrival was Medina, and the point of departure Miṣr. 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-Fuṣṭâṭ along the canal to Al-Ḳulzum, whence they

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barbarians, i. e. Phoenicians. But all ambiguity is removed by a passage in Al-Mas'ûdî (quoted by Quatremère, *Mém.* i. p. 175), who states that the caliph Hârûn ar-Rashîd 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.)

<sup>1</sup> It would seem that these two clauses refer to the army of Pharaoh, some relics of which are said to have remained.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. the Hebrew *ים-סוף*.

<sup>3</sup> See Euty chius, *Annales*, ii. p. 321. This canal of Cairo, or *Khalîj Amîr al-Mu'minîn*, has already been spoken of on fol. 24.

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In the western part of Al-Jîzîyah are the tombs of the kings<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup>, on the bank of the river; it was built at the expense of Abû 'l-Khair aş-Şairafî, a native of Al-Jizah. A light was seen to proceed from the picture of the Lady in the apse of this church on several occasions; and this thing became celebrated, and was talked of by many of the faithful who had witnessed it, and by other persons of authority. The foundations of this church were inundated by the river, so that it almost fell into ruin; but it was restored, and its foundations were strengthened, and an enclosure in the river was built for it, to give it strength, by the Shaikh 'Izz al-Kufât Abû 'l-Fakhr ibn Sulaimân, the scribe, who spent much money upon it. This [shaikh] was celebrated in his time for his benevolence and his almsgiving. The Ghuzz and Kurds destroyed part of the aforesaid church; but God on this account performed a great wonder, so that they never attacked it again; and this was that by the end of the year not one of those who had attacked the church was living.

Fol. 59 b      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-Dîn, the wâli of Mişr, known as Ghulâm al-Bâniyâsî, carried off eighteen pillars, marked with the sign of the cross<sup>3</sup>; and he built with them an inn and other houses for himself; but he was deprived of the governorship of Mişr, 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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<sup>1</sup> The pyramids are, of course, intended. (A. J. B.)

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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-Kufât<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> 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 Anbâ John, son of Abû 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 Fol. 60 a 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 Anbâ Michael* states that they reached<sup>3</sup> eighteen cubits ; and men ceased to despair of the

<sup>1</sup> 'Izz al-Kufât.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned by Al-Makrîzî, and by the Copto-Arabic lists (Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 578 and 580).

<sup>3</sup> 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-Fustât, 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 :

ولما كان السابع عشر من توت يوم عيد الصليب المجيد جمع كهنة الجيرة والنزهات واكثر  
اهل القسطاط والكبير والصغير من شعبه وحملوا الاذاجيل ومباخر البخور ودخلنا الى البيعة الكبيرة

rising of the Nile. Then Nârûn, the wâlî 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-Khaizarânîyah. It was to this

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القتالويكى التى على اسم القديس بطرس وكان اساسها فى البحر ولم تكن البيعة تسع الناس من كثرتهم حتى انهم كانوا فى الغيطان والمواقع ورفع البطرک الصليب وكان معه انبا مينا اسقف منف والانجيل المقدس معه ويخرجنا جميعنا ونحن حاملين الصليب والانجيل المقدس ووقفنا على شاطئ البحر قبل طلوع الشمس وصلى الاب البطريرک وانبا مينا الاسقف ولم يزال الشعب صارخين كرياليسون الى ثلاثة ساعات من النهار حتى نهت جميع للجوع من اليهود والمسلمين وغيرهم من صراخنا الى الله سبحانه وتعالى فسمع جل اسمه الكريم وطلع البحر وزاد ذراع واحد ومجد كل احد الله وشكره ولما اتصل للخبر بنارون تعجب وخاف هو وجميع عسكره

'When the 17th of Tût came, which is the festival of the Glorious Cross, the clergy of Al-Jîzah and of distant places assembled, with most of the lay people of Al-Fustât, old and young, and walked in procession carrying the Gospels and censers with incense. Then we entered the great cathedral church of St. Peter, the foundations of which lie in the river; but the church could not contain the people on account of their multitude, so that they stood in the outlying places. Then the patriarch raised the cross, while Anbâ Mennas, bishop of Memphis, stood by him with the holy Gospel, and led us all forth, bearing crosses and books of the Gospel, until we stood on the banks of the river; and this was before sunrise. And the patriarch prayed, and Anbâ Mennas, the bishop, prayed, and the laity did not cease crying *Kyrie eleison* until the third hour of the day; so that all the Jews and Muslims and others heard our cries to the most high God. And he heard us, praise be to his glorious name; for the river rose and increased in height by one cubit; and every man glorified God and gave thanks to him. And when Nârûn heard of this matter he was filled with wonder and fear, both he and all his troops.' (Paris MS. *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, p. 183, ll. 5-14.)

Cf. Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 230, where he wrongly says that the church of St. Peter was at Miṣr. Al-Maḳrîzî 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.

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Al-Khaizarânîyah<sup>1</sup>. Here is the church of Saint Poemen, [the garden of] which contains fruitful palm-trees and an arbour of trees<sup>2</sup>.

Munyat Andûnah<sup>3</sup>. Here there is the church of the saint Abû Bîmah<sup>4</sup>; and a church named after Abû Baghâm<sup>5</sup>, the

<sup>1</sup> 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

ⲁⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲙⲓⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲛⲧ : انبا بيمين بالخرزانية

‘[Church of] Saint Poemen at Pouhît or Al-Khazrânîyah.’ M. Amélineau, in spite of his study of Abû Şâlih, 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-Khazranîyah, or Al-Khaizarânîyah (*op. cit.* p. 363). The name of St. Poemen, M. Amélineau assures us, is translated into Greek [sic] by ‘Pastor’!

<sup>2</sup> انشاب, put by a clerical error for انصاب, seems to denote trees, and is probably the Syriac ܐܢܫܒܐ.

<sup>3</sup> This village, on the west bank, a little to the south of Al-Jîzah, is said to have been named after a Christian scribe of Aḥmad al-Madâ’inî, whose riches excited the cupidity of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, so that he fined him 50,000 dinars. See Al-Makrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, i. p. ۲۰۸.

<sup>4</sup> In Coptic ⲁⲛⲁ ⲉⲛⲓⲙⲉ, which is more correctly transcribed in Arabic as ‘Abâ Abîmah.’ He was a celebrated martyr, born at Pankoleus in the nome of Pemje or Al-Bahnasâ. Pankoleus appears to be the same as Jalfah, which is mentioned by our author on fol. 73 b and 74 a; see Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 96. Epime or Abîmah was a landed proprietor and the chief of his townsmen. In the persecution of Diocletian, he was ordered to bring forth the presbyters of the town and to hand over the sacred vessels, but answered that there were no permanent priests there, and that the vessels were of glass. The saint was sent to Alexandria, where Armenius, the governor, condemned him, it is said, to be thrown into a furnace at the baths, from which he emerged unhurt; but finally he was beheaded, after manifold tortures, at Ahnâs. His life was written by Julius of Aḳfahs; 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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 Kîhak 2 = Nov. 28.

martyr, whose body lies within it, although his monastery is at Suyût<sup>1</sup>.

§ Wadâb al-Kûm. Here is one church.

§ Bunumrus<sup>2</sup> or Kaşr Khâkân. There is here a church named after the holy martyr Saint George, which was restored by 'Ilm aş-Şarf Abû 'l-Makârim al-Wizân bi 'sh-Shafâ'if; and within it there is a tablet of wood fastened with thread.

§ Bûlâk<sup>3</sup>. Here is the church of Saint George, beside which grows an ancient lotus-tree; and the church of the valiant martyr Theodore.

At Mukhnân<sup>4</sup> there is a single church.

<sup>1</sup> Suyût or Uşyût, now more commonly called Asyût, is the largest town in Upper Egypt, since it contained, in 1885, 31,398 inhabitants. It is the Coptic **ⲪⲓⲨⲟⲩⲧ** 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.

<sup>2</sup> Called Abû 'n-Numrus by Al-Maḳrîzî and others. It is now in the district of Badrashain, in the province of Al-Jizah, and had in 1885 a population of 2,593 inhabitants, besides 299 Bedouins. It was called in Coptic **ⲡⲟⲛⲛⲟⲩⲣⲟⲤ**, and the Arabic form with **ابو** is, of course, the result of a popular assimilation to other names compounded with that word. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 361 f.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. Bûlâk ad-Dakrûr. The suburb of Cairo named Bulâk was not founded until A. D. 1313; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭat*, ii. p. 130.

<sup>4</sup> This place, the Coptic **ⲙⲟⲭⲟⲛⲟⲛ**, 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, **ⲙⲟⲭⲟⲛⲟⲛ**, **مخنان**. 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 xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle' (*Géogr.* p. 585). It is remarkable that M. Amélineau here disregards the testimony of our author himself, of Yâḳût, 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 Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 881; De Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif*, p. 676.



Munâ 'l-Amîr<sup>1</sup>. Here there is a single church.

Tamhâ. Here is the church of the martyr Theodore, which was restored by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Yaman al-Bazzâz, who paid the expenses of it.

§ Wasîm<sup>2</sup>. Here is the church of the Lady, restored by the priest George, of Upper Egypt, scribe of Al-Ustâdh Şandal al-Muẓaffari. It is said that there were at Wasîm 366 churches, in which the liturgy was celebrated every day, and to which priests and deacons were attached; at which also the laity congregated.

Fol. 61 a § Al-Muḥarraḳah<sup>3</sup>, contiguous to Bunumrus. Here there is an extensive church, and a large monastery containing many monks.

#### *Monastery of Nahyâ.*

§ The following is the history of the monastery of Nahyâ<sup>4</sup>, as I learnt it from Sa'id the deacon, son of Najâḥ, who was a novice

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<sup>1</sup> See above, fol. 34 b. Near Mukhnân, and now included in the district of Badrashain, in the province of Al-Jîzah, with a population in 1885 of 2,935. *Munâ* (مُنَى) is the plural of *Munyah*, and the place in question was sometimes called in the singular *Munyat al-Amîr*. Nevertheless M. Amélineau writes it 'Mînâ al-Emîr' (مينا الامير), as if it were compounded with the Arabic مينا, 'harbour.' The modern pronunciation *Mina* (مِنَى, less correctly مينا) arises from the present vocalization of the singular as *Minyah* (مِنِيَّة). De Sacy transcribes the name as *Mona al-Amîr*. The place is called in Coptic ΠΙΣΣΟΝΗ ΜΙΝΑΙΕΡΕ. See Yâḳût, *Mushtarik*, p. 49; De Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif*, p. 676; *Recensement de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 218; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 256 f.

<sup>2</sup> On the west bank of the Nile, near Cairo, a little to the north-west. It is now called *Ausîm*, and gives its name to a district of the province of Al-Jîzah. In 1885 it had 7,170 inhabitants. In Coptic it is ΒΟΥΣΗΛ. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 929; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 51 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This village, if correctly placed here, must not be confounded with Al-Muḥarraḳah at Ḳûsaḳâm, named on fol. 78 a.

<sup>4</sup> 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 Wasîm (*Ausîm*). See Yâḳût,

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Fol. 61 b Al-Hâkim 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-Jîzîyah; and Al-Hâkim 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-Âmir bi-aḥkâmi [ʿllâh] visited this monastery in the vizierate of Muḥammad ibn Fâtik; but he found the doorway, which was closed by an iron door, too low for him<sup>1</sup>, 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-Âmir 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 ascent<sup>2</sup>, but the steps were removed by the Shaikh Abû '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 marble<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> This is the usual form of doorway to a *dair* in remote places even now, as at the Naṭrûn 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.)

<sup>2</sup> 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.)

<sup>3</sup> Quatremère translates thus (*Mém.* i. p. 118): 'Il plaça devant le sanctuaire un voile soutenu par trois colonnes de marbre,' ignoring the word ⲛⲗ. 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<sup>1</sup> did so much damage to this *manzarah*, besides other Fol. 62 a 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 Ṭuhurmus<sup>2</sup> in the province of Al-Jîzîyah, and in their neighbourhood, of about thirty *feddâns* in extent, [to judge] without measurement; and this remained in their possession until the Ghuzz and Kurds conquered [the country] in the year 564 (A.D. 1169), and took this land away from the monastery, so that nothing was left to the

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words are difficult to understand. They seem to refer to an altar screen, although it is not easy to imagine any symmetrical arrangement with three pillars, the central one of which would necessarily come where the door should be, nor to picture a wall 'supported' in the manner described. (A. J. B.)

<sup>1</sup> *Termes Arda*.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned by Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. 660.

monks except the fishing-pool, on the produce of which they make a profit.

Fol. 62 b One of the government scribes of Miṣr came to this monastery to ask for water to drink, and to wash his hands; but he found the water there scanty in quantity, and so he caused a well to be dug within the enclosure, opposite to the southern wall of the church. Those who dug the well met with a rock [in the course of their work] and so he caused it to be cut through, at the cost of one dinar for every cubit, and the number of cubits amounted to fourteen; and this was in addition to the money that he spent on the digging and fitting up of the well. It is this well from which water is drunk at the present day. May God rest the soul, and reward the intention of the founder! The water which comes up from this well is sweet, good, light, and digestive.

§ The reporter of this narrative, whom I have already designated, said that the church of this monastery was named after Martha and Mary, the sisters of Lazarus, whom our Lord Jesus Christ raised from the dead, and who lived nine years after that, and became bishop of Cyprus<sup>1</sup> for a considerable time. The number of the Jews who witnessed the resurrection of Lazarus was 7,400 men, besides women and children. The reporter of this true narrative said to me: 'I used to receive counsel from the monk who was my spiritual father, and he informed me of all that you have heard from me, for he lived in this monastery, and met here with old men who told him all that I have told you. On a certain occasion I was about to behave irreverently in a place opposite the well; but this old man forbade me, saying: "This place, my son, contains the tomb of Martha and Mary<sup>2</sup>, which

Fol. 63 a

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing is known in the west of the reputed relics of St. Martha and St. Mary in Egypt.

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of Saint Anthony, for burying the bishops of Al-Jîzîyah ; 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*<sup>1</sup>, 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*<sup>2</sup> remained, because it had been anointed with myrrh, which prevented the worms from injuring it.

The number [of the monks] who are assembled together in this monastery in our own time amounts to seven or less.

§ According to the *Guide to the Festivals*, composed by Anbâ Jonas, bishop of Damietta, every year, on the 30th of Ba'ûnah, 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<sup>3</sup>; 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<sup>4</sup>.

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destruction of the church of St. Macarius and of the cells by the Arabs of Upper Egypt (عُرْبَان الصعيد) is commemorated on Barmûdah 1 = March 27; see *Synaxarium* at that day.

<sup>1</sup> I. e. Ibn Katâmah.

<sup>2</sup> 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.)

<sup>3</sup> The Muslims contemptuously changed the name *Dair al-Karrâm* into *Dair al-Kilâb*, as they transformed the name of the Church of the Resurrection (*Kiyâmah*) at Jerusalem into Church of the Rubbish-heap (*Kumâmah*). (A. J. B.)

<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>1</sup>, which is called the 'Îd 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-Jîziyah and the island of Mişr, 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<sup>2</sup>, in the province of Al-Jîzah, 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-Âmir bi-Aḥkâmi 'llâh used to come to this monastery and enjoy the country here; and he erected in it a *manẓarah*, 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 Tûbah every year, or on the 19th.

The *Book of the Monasteries*, by Ash-Shâbushtî<sup>3</sup>, 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

Fol. 64 b

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<sup>1</sup> I. e. April 26. So also the Coptic *Synaxarium*, Paris MS. *Arabe* 256. 'Îd as-Sunbulah means 'festival of the constellation Virgo.' Cf. the *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary* in Thilo, *Proleg.* xc-cv and 340 f.

<sup>2</sup> Here begins another account of the same monastery of Nahyâ.

<sup>3</sup> This passage from Ash-Shâbushtî is quoted in much the same words, but without mention of the source, by Yâkût (*Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. v. f) and by Al-Ḳazwîni (*Kitâb Âthâr al-Bilâd*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 132), and, with due acknowledgment of the author, by Al-Makrîzî.



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<sup>1</sup>.

*Church of Saft Maidûm.*

Saft Maidûm<sup>2</sup>. 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-Fîzah.*

The Pyramids. These were built by Hermes<sup>3</sup>, the wise, the three-fold in wisdom, who by his knowledge of the secrets of nature, invented

<sup>1</sup> I. e. during the annual inundation.

<sup>2</sup> Or Saft Maidûn. Formerly in the province of Al-Bahnasâ, but now in that of Banî Suwaif and in the district of Zawîyah, with a population in 1885 of 1748. See Yâkût, *Mushtarik*, p. 119; *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-Jizah, is an illustration of the want of plan of the book in its present form.

<sup>3</sup> The earliest mention of 'Mercurius' or 'Hermes Trismegistus' occurs in Tertullian, *Adv. Valent.* c. 15, and in Lactantius, if the passage of Manetho quoted by Georgius Syncellus is an interpolation. A papyrus of the reign of Gallienus speaks of τρισμέγιστος 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

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make pilgrimages to the two great pyramids, and say that Hermes is buried in one of them, and Agathodaemon<sup>1</sup> [in the other]. The Sabaeans come to the pyramids from Harran, on pilgrimage<sup>2</sup>. 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<sup>3</sup>, 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<sup>4</sup>; and in each of them there is a well, the site of which is not known.

*Monastery of the Vinedresser.*

Fol. 65 a Near this place there is a monastery, known as the Monastery of the Vinedresser, but called by the heretics the Monastery of the Dogs.

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and the Threelfold in Grace (المثلث 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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 Khalfah, 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.)

<sup>2</sup> As-Suyûtî adds that they offer sacrifices and incense there.

<sup>3</sup> 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-Jîzah. (A. J. B.)

<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>1</sup>.

The monastery is near the pyramids, on the western side; and its church is called the church of Timothy<sup>2</sup> 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 Mastâyah<sup>3</sup>. At the foot of the mountains in [the province of] Al-

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<sup>1</sup> 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-Laîf says:

واما الثالث فينقص عنهما بنحو الربع لكنه مبنى بحجارة الصوان الاحمر المنقط الشديد  
الصلابة ولا يوتر فيه الحديد الا في الزمن الطويل

'The third pyramid is less than the other two by about a quarter; but it is built of stones of red granite, which is spotted, and of extreme hardness, so that iron makes no impression upon it except after a long time.' (*Mukhtasar*, p. 92.)

(A. J. B.)

<sup>2</sup> This must be the martyr Timothy of ancient Miṣr (مصر القديمة), a name given to Memphis by Arab writers, who is commemorated on Ba'ûnah 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.

<sup>3</sup> I transcribe this name conjecturally as Mastâyah because De Sacy names a town called Mestâyah in the province of Al-Gharbîyah. A few lines further down our copyist writes مستاتة, Mastâtah (?).

Dâr Mânuwîl.

*Monastery of Ash-Shama'.*

Fol. 65 b      § Munyat ash-Shammâs<sup>2</sup> [or Munyah of the Deacon], namely, of Paphnutius, the novice, is to the west of Tamwaih.  
The monastery called 'Monastery of *Ash-Shama'*<sup>3</sup>.'

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<sup>1</sup> See note on fol. 49 a, where the name is incorrectly written Ibn Ghawâṭah. See Ibn Khaldûn (vi. p. 11), where there is a mention of the tribe of Baraghwâtah and their native country in north-west Africa.

<sup>2</sup> This place is said by Yâḳût to be in the province of Al-Jîzah, and to be also called *Dair ash-Shama'* or 'Monastery of the Candle.' Compare the name Ḳasr ash-Shama' and its supposed derivation from  $\chi\eta\omega\iota$ , 'Egypt.' The revenue-lists of A. D. 1375 also name the place as existing in the province of Al-Jîzah. There were two places of the name in the same province; but there is now only one Mît Shammâs, which is in the district of Badrashain, in the province of Al-Jîzah, with a population in 1885 of 883. See Yâḳût, *Mushtarik*, p. 105; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 221. The monastery of Ash-Shama' must have stood close to Munyat ash-Shammâs.

<sup>3</sup> Yâḳût says that this was 'an ancient monastery, held in reverence among the Christians, in the province of Al-Jîzah in Egypt. Between this monastery and Al-Fuṣṭâṭ there is a distance of three parasangs, as you go up the Nile; and the throne of the patriarch is in this monastery, and here he resides as long as he is in the neighbourhood of Miṣr.' (*Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. 113.)

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ceptacle of Saint Macarius<sup>1</sup> the Great, in the Wâdi Habib; 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<sup>2</sup>; 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 Amshîr (Feb. 9).

This monastery was restored in the year 667 of the Righteous

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<sup>1</sup> 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.)

<sup>2</sup> Abû Shanûdah, in Coptic  $\Psi\epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  or  $\Psi\epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau$ , and, in the Graecizing form found in Coptic MSS.,  $\Sigma\iota\upsilon\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , 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 Ikhmîm. He served in boyhood as a shepherd, and then came under the tuition of his uncle Apâ Pjôl ( $\alpha\pi\alpha\ \pi\chi\omega\lambda =$  أبى بجرول), 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 Abîb 7 = July 2, and is said to have taken place in the very year of the Council of Chalcedon, viz. A. D. 451. The discourses delivered by this saint were carefully preserved, and many attributed to him are extant at the present day. It is said that a copy of one of them was laid upon the tomb of St. Peter at Rome, and that the voice of the Prince of the Apostles declared that 'Sinuthius was the fourteenth Apostle, as Paul was the thirteenth.' See *Synaxarium* at Abîb 7; Zoega, *Cat.* pp. 375-502; Amélineau, *Vie de Schnoudi* and *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Église Chrét.* (A. J. B.)

Martyrs (A. D. 951), according to the stone on which its date is inscribed over the door of the keep. In this monastery was the body of Saint Paphnutius, who was the disciple of Saint Macarius the Great in the Wâdi Habib, [lying] on a bed of leather within a coffin<sup>1</sup> above the surface of the ground. It is said that the body was stolen by Ḥusain, son of the caliph Al-Ḥâfiz, 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-'Ulâ Sâ'id ibn Tarik, in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâfiz. 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 *manzarahs* in it. It possesses a garden, and land, and houses at Munyat ash-Shammâs, bought by the tribe of Banî Sûrus from the Fol. 66 b ancestors of the Shaikh Muṣṭafâ 'l-Mulk Abû Saff Ya'qûb ibn Jirjis, who were natives of Damîrah<sup>2</sup>, in the north of [the province of] Al-Gharbiyah.

This monastery was under the see of Memphis and Ṭamwaih; but it became patriarchal. To it is brought the chrism<sup>3</sup>, and it

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<sup>1</sup> Quatremère (*Mém.* i. pp. 160-161) refers to the *Acta 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. Sisoï. In *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 304, I have noted the existence at this day of wooden coffins full of relics at Dair Abû Maḳar; 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.)

<sup>2</sup> The Coptic Ⲫⲁⲗⲗⲏⲣⲓ; now included in the district of Sharbîn in the province of Al-Gharbîyah, with a population in 1885 of 3,185. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> The Arabic *mîrûn* (ميرون) transcribes the Greek *μύρον*, 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 Ṣâlih is well illustrated by Renaudot (*Hist. Patr.* pp. 354-355), who relates that, during the great famine in



is consecrated there. The roads are dangerous, and this course was found necessary. Anbâ Mennas, the sixty-first patriarch, built an altar named after Saint Mark, at Maḥallah Dâniyâl, where the patriarchs lived; and the chrism was placed upon it for fear of the dangers of the roads, from the time of the death at the beginning of the caliphate of Al-Mu'izz in Egypt.

*Other Churches of the Province of Al-Jîzah.*

§ Munyat ash-Shammâs<sup>1</sup>. In this district there is one church.

§ The district called Aṣ-Ṣarâf lies to the west of the monastery of Ash-Shama', and here resided Anbâ John ibn Abû Ghâlib, the seventy-third patriarch, who occupied the see for twenty-eight years. To the west also of the monastery of Ash-Shama' there is a church named after the glorious martyr Theodore.

Damûh<sup>2</sup>. Here is the church of Cosmas and Damian, their brethren and their mother, which was restored by the Shaikh Abû Sa'id, the scribe, who was a member of the Diwân al-Mukâtabât. Near it there

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the time of the caliph Al-Mu'izz, great numbers perished and many episcopal sees were vacant; and that the patriarch himself was forced to remain in Lower Egypt, and was supported with his followers by a wealthy lady at a village called Maḥallah Daniel. (A. J. B.)

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> Our author seems to imply that this place is in the province of Al-Jîzah, and Al-Maḥrîzî, who calls the place Damûh as-Sabâ', 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-Laṭîf also states that Damûh was in the province, and near the town of Al-Jîzah. At the present day there is a Damûh as-Sabâ' in the district of Dakarnas in the province of Ad-Dakahlîyah. Could our author, 'Abd al-Laṭîf and Al-Maḥrîzî, who are not always good geographers, have made a mistake? Could the mistake have arisen from the similarity of the names Damûh and Ṭamwaih which is next named? The latter place is sometimes called Ṭamûh. See also Quatremère, *Mém.* i. pp. 137-138.

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Fol. 67 b and spend some time there, lounging and sauntering; and he laid out a garden near it, and planted in it trees of all sorts, and palms; and dug wells over which he placed water-wheels; and he surrounded the garden with a strong hedge. The annual rent which was received from this monastery into the public treasury amounted to ten dinars. Afterwards this rent was stopped, and with the money oil-presses were built within the enclosure of the monastery, complete in all their parts. The monastery possessed forty-seven feddâns of land, which were appropriated by the Ghuzz and Kurds and the rest, in the reign of An-Nâsir Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb, the Kurd.

In the church lies the body of Paphnutius<sup>1</sup>, the superior of this monastery; and his festival is kept on the 15th of Amshîr. 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<sup>2</sup>, and a chalice, and a spoon<sup>3</sup>, 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<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 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 Hûsain, son of Al-Hâfiz. Can they subsequently have found their way to Tamwaih?

<sup>2</sup> The curious enlargement of the denotation of the word *ṣînîyah* (صينية) is remarked upon by De Goeje, in his note on Ibn Hânkal, p. ۲۴۹, 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 صيني or صينية الصين. 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.)

<sup>3</sup> 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.)

<sup>4</sup> 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.*

Memphis<sup>1</sup>. Baişur, son of Ham, son of Noah, settled here, when he was 780 years old, with thirty of his sons and family, and therefore the place was called Manâfah<sup>2</sup>, which means 'thirty.' His sons were Mizraim and Fâriḳ and Bâh and Mâh. The following were the sons of Mizraim: Ḳift; Ushmûn, the meaning of whose name is 'Come not hither<sup>3</sup>!' and Atrîb. At this place<sup>4</sup> there is a great image of granite, called *Bû 'l-Hûl*, thrown down upon its side. Fol. 68 a

Afterwards Manâfah was established as the capital of the Pharaohs. When Baişur died he was buried here, in a place called Abû Harmîs; and he was the first to be buried in the land of Egypt. The Nile gradually changed its bed in that direction.

Other writers say that Memphis was built by Mizraim for his son Ḳift, who was called Barim; and others say that this city was built by Manfâ'ûs, the son of 'Adîm, who made it thirty miles long and twenty miles broad, and erected around it thirty towers, each tower

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for Maharatî, a girl whose martyrdom is commemorated on Tûbah 14 = Jan. 9; see Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 67.

<sup>1</sup> Memphis did not cease to exist in name or to be the see of a bishop till long after the Arab conquest; see 'Abd al-Laṭîf, p. 116 ff.; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khîṭat*, i. p. 134 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Yâḳût, who gives the same derivation, states the Coptic form as Mâfah (مافة), which corresponds to the Thebaic ⲙⲁⲩⲏⲛⲉ better than to the Memphitic ⲙⲁⲩⲏ. (*Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 667.)

<sup>3</sup> The Coptic ⲙⲁⲩⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲛ.

<sup>4</sup> 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 (ابو الهول), or 'Father of Terror,' i. e. 'Terrific' or 'Gigantic,' is more commonly given to the Sphinx; see fol. 68 b. (A. J. B.)

containing a bath, in the days of Sârû', son of Ar'û; or that it was built by Pharaoh, surnamed the 'Lover of his Mother<sup>1</sup>,' who was king of the Pharaohs.

Joseph the Truthful constructed a large Nilometer at Munaif<sup>2</sup>; 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.

Fol. 68 b

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 Aşghûsa, the greatest of all the kings of the earth, and by Arghâsh, the brother of Shaddâd, and by Shaddâd, son of 'Âd, and Mâlik, son of 'Âd, and Farmashât, brother of 'Âd, whose ancestor was the king Arzakûshâ. He built here eight hundred courses, and then died. In these high towers, which are the two great landmarks, [these kings] placed their treasures and their tombs. The riches contained in one of them were extracted by one of the emperors of the Romans, named Severus, or the Great; and he extracted [it], after four hundred courses, during his whole reign, until he died, in the time of the author of the treatise<sup>3</sup>.

Near these pyramids is the great image of granite [called] the Terrific<sup>4</sup>, sunk in the sand up to its middle.

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<sup>1</sup> This is, of course, a confused reference to Ptolemy Philometor, whom Eutychius also calls *Muhibb Ummihi*. (A. J. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Memphis.

<sup>3</sup> This passage appears to be incomplete or corrupt.

<sup>4</sup> 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

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Fol. 69 b Idrijah, one of the villages of Bûsh. Here there is a church named after Saint George.

Ṭansâ. 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 Fayyûm.*

Madînat al-Fayyûm<sup>1</sup> and its province. Al-Fayyûm 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-Fayyûm 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-Fayyûm, and Hajar al-Lâhûn, which was built with wisdom, and founded with strength, and help that came from God, and was executed by the inspiration of God—to whom be praise ! Joseph also dug the canal of Al-Manhî, and cultivated the land of Egypt. The number of village-districts in [the Fayyûm] 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-Ikhshîdî, under the dynasty of the Abbassides, 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,

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<sup>1</sup> This passage is repeated from fol. 18 a f.

under the patriarchate of Anbâ Theodore, the forty-fifth in the succession, was named Abraham; and the land-tax paid into the public treasury upon the cultivated lands belonging to these monasteries amounted to 500 dinars.

According to the *Book of the Conquest of Egypt* by 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣī, it is said that the Fayyûm 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 Râs al-Manhî until it reached Al-Lâhûn, through a break in which it flowed into the Fayyûm, 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<sup>1</sup>;' and so it was called Al-Fayyûm. 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. Fol. 70 b

The first city built by Joseph in the Fayyûm was Shânah<sup>2</sup>, 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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<sup>1</sup> *Alf Yûm*, according to the present Egyptian pronunciation.

<sup>2</sup> So also Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ۹۳۳, where he also gives a second form Shanânah.



Dalûk<sup>1</sup> founded a Nilometer at Anşinâ<sup>2</sup>, and a Nilometer at Ikhmîm<sup>3</sup>; and 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn Marwân set up a Nilometer at Hulwân<sup>4</sup>. In later times the province of the Fayyûm was settled as a fief upon the Ghuzz and Kurds, in the reign of Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb, the Kurd; and so it remained until the end of the year 573 (A. D. 1178), when its revenues were 133,274 dinars. Then it was settled upon Bûrî, the brother [of Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb], and his followers, in the year 576 (A. D. 1180), when its revenues were 100,046 dinars. Then it was settled upon Takî ad-Dîn 'Umar ibn Shâhanshâh, and the son of his sister, in the year already mentioned, when its revenues were of the amount given above.

Fol. 71 a In Madinat al-Fayyûm<sup>5</sup> at present there is the church of the glorious angel Michael, which is exceedingly large, and contains certain pillars, large and high, so perfect that few more perfect have ever been seen. This church stands near that gate of the city which is called the gate of Sûrus.

There is also a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, outside the city; and there is a church of the martyr Mercurius, restored by the Shaikh Abû Zakari.

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<sup>1</sup> Generally called دلوكة. She was said to have been queen of Egypt in her own right in remote antiquity.

<sup>2</sup> The ancient Antinoe or Antinoupolis, founded by the emperor Hadrian in memory of Antinous. In Coptic it is called ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ. Under the later Roman Empire, it was the capital of the Thebaid, or Upper Egypt. Upon the site of this city now stands the village of Shaikh 'Abâdah, included in the district of Mallawî, in the province of Asyût, and having in 1885 a population of 1,179. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 381; Al-Makrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, i. p. 23; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 48-51.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek Chemmis or Panopolis, and the Coptic Ⲫⲉⲙⲙⲓⲥ. It is now in the district of Suhaj, and had in 1885 a population of 18,792. It was formerly famous for its ancient temple, which was reckoned among the wonders of Egypt, but of which few remains now exist. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 170; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 48]; Al-Makrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, i. pp. 31 and 239; As-Suyûṭî, *Husn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. 38; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 18-22.

<sup>4</sup> See above, fol. 52 a ff.

<sup>5</sup> This passage is quoted by Quatremère, *Mém.* i. p. 411.

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of Jacob, when Joseph superintended the building of the Fayyûm and the Ḥajar al-Lâḥûn. The church in the mountains of An-Naḳlûn was consecrated, in the episcopate of Anbâ Isaac, by Aurâ, son of the queen's daughter and of Abrâshît<sup>1</sup>, the magician, whom she hid away from him (?) and from her parents.

*Monastery of Al-Ḳalamûn*<sup>2</sup>.

§ The monastery called that of Al-Ḳalamûn. This monastery is much visited. It possesses land in several districts of Upper Egypt; and at Shubrâ it owns sixteen feddâns. It possesses<sup>3</sup> 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 Hatûr. Anbâ Samuel<sup>4</sup>, the superior and administrator of this monastery, was

<sup>1</sup> See Amélineau, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> The hill of Al-Ḳalamûn, upon which this monastery stood, rises to the south-west of the Fayyûm near An-Naḳlûn and near Al-Gharaḳ and the Wâdî Rayân; but it does not appear that the name is still given to the place, which is now a mere desert. The monastery is described by Al-Maḳrîzî; but is barely mentioned by Yâḳût, who merely says that it was in the Fayyûm and was widely celebrated. The Coptic name is  $\kappa\lambda\lambda\alpha\mu\omega\eta$ . See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. 115; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 388 f. (A. J. B.)

<sup>3</sup> This passage and part of the following account of the monastery are quoted by Quatremère, i. pp. 474-475.

<sup>4</sup> The death of this saint is commemorated on Kîhak 8=Dec. 4. See *Synaxarium* at that day. He was the founder of the monastery of Al-Ḳalamûn, and Hatrî and Hor are said to have been monks there under him, which would fix his date in the first half of the fourth century. Fourteen monks from An-Naḳlûn are said to have come over to Samuel. He employed his monks in preparing salt from the saline pool ( $\omega\omega\alpha\pi\epsilon\zeta\omega\omega\sigma$ ), mentioned by our author below. See Zoega, *Cat.* pp. 545-546, where quotations from a Coptic encomium on this saint are given.

a learned man; and God revealed to him what would happen in the future, and spoke with him; and Samuel wrote down what God said to him, and his prophecies were verified in his own time.

This monastery is enclosed within a surrounding wall, in which there is a large garden containing palms and olives and vegetables. In the monastery there are four towers; and it contains twelve churches. In the upper part there is a sentinel's cell in which a monk is stationed, to warn the other monks of the approach of visitors to the monastery, Fol. 72 a while the latter are yet at a distance, whether they be soldiers or emirs or wâlis; 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] *bultî*<sup>1</sup>, 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 Muhnâ; 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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<sup>1</sup> Al-Idrîsî says that this was a round fish of the same kind as the 'Afar (عفر), and was also found in the Sea of Tiberias; that it had few bones and was good to eat, being sometimes of the weight of five pounds. Translated by Jaubert, i. p. 30.

Fol. 72 b

The door of this monastery is plated with iron, and is of skilful workmanship.

This monk, Muhnâ, 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, Anbâ Samuel, the celebrated administrator of this monastery, used to worship on the mountain, at a place called Rayân<sup>1</sup>, opposite to the monastery. Up to the end of Amshîr, 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 Aflâḥ az-Zaitûn.*

The monastery of the glorious martyr Theodore, on the [canal of] Al-Manhî, at Aflâḥ az-Zaitûn<sup>2</sup>. 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 Saviour<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I. e. the Wâdî Rayân, still so called, to the south of the Fayyûm, and, according to some, on the site of the ancient Lake Moeris.

<sup>2</sup> More commonly called simply Az-Zaitûn, or 'The Olives;' in Coptic Φ&ΝΙΧΩΙΤ. The Acts of the martyr John of Phanijoit have been published by M. Amélineau; see *Un Document copte du xii Siècle*, 1887. The place is on the west bank, close to Dalâs and Bûsh Kûrâ, and a little to the north of Banî Suwaif, to the province of which it belongs; and in 1885 it had 1,300 inhabitants, besides sixty-two Bedouins. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. 970; Ibn Dukmâk, v. p. 14; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 327-330. This passage of our author is quoted in substance by Quatremère, *Mém.* pp. 412-413.

<sup>3</sup> As-Suḥîr is of course the Greek σωτήρ.

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*Hajar al-Lâhûn.*

Fol. 73 b Hajar al-Lâhûn<sup>1</sup>. Here is the monastery of Saint Isaac<sup>2</sup>; 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-Kalamûn. In the [monastery of Saint Isaac] there is also a small church, named after the glorious martyr Saint Isaac. Round this monastery there is a triple wall of stone. It is much visited, and stands on the mountain to the north of Al-Lâhûn, at the place called Barniyûdah, in the mountain-range in the south of the Fayyûm.

*Churches of Al-Bahnasâ and the neighbourhood.*

§ At Al-Bahnasâ there are several churches, namely, the church of Saint Ammon<sup>3</sup>; the church of Mark; the church of Saint John<sup>4</sup>; the

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

<sup>2</sup> Saint Isaac of Difrî (†ϥρε), in the province of Al-Gharbîyah, 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.

<sup>3</sup> Abamûn, Abâmûn, or more correctly Abâ Amûn or Apâ Ammon, is the name of two martyrs, of the time of Diocletian, whose deaths are commemorated respectively on Abîb 13 and 27 = July 7 and 21. See *Synaxarium* at those days; Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 103. Quatremère borrows from this passage, *Mém.* i. p. 255. Al-Makrîzî says that there were once 360 churches at Al-Bahnasâ, of which the church of Mary alone remained in his time. We shall return to Al-Bahnasâ on fol. 74 b.

<sup>4</sup> Since Abû Yuḥannus 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 Bahûmalîs<sup>1</sup> there are several churches, namely, the church of the angel Gabriel, and a second church of the angel Gabriel; a church of the angel Raphael; a church of the glorious Saint Sinuthius<sup>2</sup>; and a church named after Saint Armenius<sup>3</sup>.

§ The district of Kufâdah<sup>4</sup>. [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 Abtûjah<sup>5</sup> is the church of Raphael the angel; the church of the angel Michael; the church of the Lady, the Holy and Pure Virgin Mary; and the church of Dioscorus.

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intended here and elsewhere. The most popular martyr of this name, however, would seem to be the John who was martyred together with his cousin Simeon, with whom he is commemorated on Abîb 11=July 5. See their Acts, edited and translated by M. Hyvernât, *Actes des MM. de l'Égypte*, p. 174 ff. See also *Synaxarium* at that day; and Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 141 ff.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot guarantee the form of this name, nor identify the locality.

<sup>2</sup> This may be the famous monk Sinuthius, founder of the White Monastery; or it may be St. Shanûdah or Sinuthius the martyr, of Al-Bahnasâ, commemorated on Barmahât 14=April 9; see *Synaxarium* at that day.

<sup>3</sup> Abû Harmînâh is said by Al-Makrîzî to have been one of the earliest monks, and very famous among the Christians. Cf. Paris *Synaxarium* at Ba'ûnah 8=June 2. There was a St. Harmanûs, a champion of the monophysite doctrine, who is mentioned in the Patriarchal Biographies, *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, p. 167, l. 1 ff. The *Synaxarium* translated by Mr. Malan commemorates a Harman, bishop of Kâ'û, in Upper Egypt, on Kîhak 2=Nov. 28.

<sup>4</sup> A little to the east of Al-Bahnasâ, and nearer the bank of the river.

<sup>5</sup> The Coptic ΤΩΧΙ, a little to the south-west of Al-Bahnasâ, but on the same side of the river. The village is now included within the district of Banî Mazar, in the province of Munityah or Minyah, and had in 1885 a population of 1,000. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 517 f. Quatremère refers to this passage, *Mém.* i. p. 258.



Fol. 74 a

§ Jalfah<sup>1</sup>. 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 Bû Talîhah<sup>2</sup>.

§ At Bardanûhah<sup>3</sup> there are several churches, namely, the church of Abâ Kustûl; a church of the angel Michael; a church of the angel Raphael; a church of the angel Gabriel; the church of Mercurius, the valiant martyr; the church of the saint and glorious martyr Saint George; a church named after the valiant and militant martyr Theodore; and the church of the saint Aimîn.

§ Saft Abû Jirjâ<sup>4</sup>. Here are several churches, namely, a church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; the church of Thomas; the two churches of the angel Michael and of the angel Gabriel.

§ Al-Kufûr<sup>5</sup>. Here there is a church named after the martyr Theodore.

<sup>1</sup> The Coptic  $\pi\chi\epsilon\lambda\beta\&\rho$ . It is now included in the district of Banî Mazar, in the province of Minyah, with a population in 1885 of 647. It is probably the Jalaf, which Yâkût says was near Al-Ḳais, in the district of Al-Bahnasâ. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. 1.4; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 150 f. Quatremère refers to this passage of our author, *Mém.* i. p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> I must admit with Quatremère that I cannot identify this saint, nor even read his name with certainty.

<sup>3</sup> Now included in the district of Ḳalûsanâ, in the province of Minyah, with a population in 1885 of 2,670. It lies on the west bank, a few miles to the south of Al-Bahnasâ, and near Al-Ḳais and Al-Kafûr. See Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. 1; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> A little to the south-west of Al-Bahnasâ, south of Abṭûjah and north of Abû Jirjâ. The village is now included in the district of Banî Mazar, in the province of Minyah, with a population in 1885 of 2,316. There were twelve places named Saft in Egypt. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. 9v, and *Mushtarik*, p. 148; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. 1; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 279.

<sup>5</sup> On the west bank, to the south-east of Al-Bahnasâ and a little to the north of Ḳalûsanâ. It is called in Coptic  $\pi\iota\kappa\&\phi\&\rho$ , and is now comprised in the district of Ḳalûsanâ, with a population in 1885 of 798. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 276 f.

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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.

*Rîfah and Udrunkah.*

§ Rifah<sup>1</sup> and Udrunkah<sup>2</sup>. Here there is a church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; a church of the glorious martyr Victor; two churches of the valiant martyr Theodore; a church named after the Saviour; a church named after Saint John; two churches named after the two martyrs Thomas and Severus; and a monastery named after the great saint Sinuthius.

*Churches at Al-Bahnasâ and the neighbourhood.*

§ At Najâj<sup>3</sup>, in the province of Al-Bahnasâ, there is a church named after the martyr Saint John.

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fort of Babylon, whose martyrdom is commemorated on Abîb 16 = July 10; see Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 97. There is a martyr Abadîr commemorated on Tût 28 = Sept. 25; see *Synaxarium* at that day.

<sup>1</sup> Our author, or his abbreviator, with his usual want of plan, here takes us up to the neighbourhood of Usyût, from which he immediately afterwards returns. Rîfah is a little to the south of Usyût, on the west bank, and was called in Coptic  $\epsilon\rho\eta\delta\epsilon$ . In 1885 it had a population of 4,119, and is now included within the district and province of Asyût or Usyût. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 165. Al-Maḡrîzî names churches and monasteries at Rîfah and Udrunkah, but apparently not those mentioned by our author.

<sup>2</sup> Also called Durunkah or Derenkah. It lies a little to the south-west of Usyût, in the district and province of which it is included. It is a little to the north of Rîfah, 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-Maḡrîzî. See Yâḡût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 178; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot identify this place. It would be some distance to the north of Rifah and Udrunkah.

§ Idfâk<sup>1</sup>. Here there is a church of the glorious martyr Mercurius.

§ Ṭurfah<sup>2</sup>. Here there is a church named after Bartholomew.

As-Sâḳiyah, called Sâḳiyah Maḥfûz<sup>3</sup>. Here there are five churches, [respectively named after] the martyr Mercurius, Mark, Stephen, Theodore, and the Disciples.

§ Al-Bahnasâ. The meaning of this word is 'place of marriage<sup>4</sup>,' 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. Fol. 75 a

There is here a church named after Saint Bartholomew<sup>5</sup>, who was martyred in the oasis of Al-Bahnasâ, and whose body is in the church of Karbil there. There is also the church of Theodore.

In this district there are several churches: those of the martyr

<sup>1</sup> This place again I cannot identify.

<sup>2</sup> This village, formerly in the province of Al-Bahnasâ, is now included in the district of Kālûsanâ, in the province of Mūnyah or Minyah, and had 435 inhabitants in 1885. Its Coptic name was  $\tau\epsilon\rho\delta\epsilon$ . See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 492 f.

<sup>3</sup> See Ibn Dukmâk, v. p. ٨. The name Sâḳiyah means, of course, 'water-wheel.'

<sup>4</sup> I. e. apparently  $\omega\omega\iota\pi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau$ , which only approximates to the sound of Bahnasâ.

<sup>5</sup> The MS. has Bartâ'û. The Copts and Abyssinians, differing from the Latins and Greeks, agree in holding that St. Bartholomew preached in the Oases. They generally add, however, that he was martyred on the sea-coast, that is, apparently, on the Egyptian or Nubian shores! See, e. g. *The Conflicts of the Apostles*, translated from the Ethiopic by Mr. Malan, pp. 76-99.

The *Synaxarium* says at Tût 1 = Aug. 29 :

فيه نياحة القديس التلميذ برتلوماوس احد الاثنى عشر هذا الرسول خرج سهمة ان يمضى الى الواحات فمضى هو وبطرس اليهم وبشرهم ودعاهم الى معرفة الله بعد ان ظهر لهم من الايات الباهرة للعقول والعجائب ما ادهل عقولهم

'On this day is commemorated the death of the holy disciple Bartholomew, one of the Twelve. To this apostle it was allotted that he should go to the Oases. So he and Peter travelled thither, and he preached the gospel to the inhabitants of

Stephen; Abatîr<sup>1</sup>; 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 Istaḡfûrâ<sup>2</sup> the martyr, who was also called Dog's Face,

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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,

فانه مضى الى البلاد التي على شاطئ البحر للذين لا يعرفون الله فنادا فيهم وردهم الى معرفة الله والايمان بالسيد المسيح فسمع به اعزيس الملك فحنق عليه وامر ان يجعلوه في تليس شعر ويملوها رمل و يطرحوه في البحر

'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.'

<sup>1</sup> See note above on fol. 74 b.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. St. Christopher. The form of the name in the *Synaxarium* is Akhris-ṭâfârus (اخريسطافارس); and it is added

الذى كان وجهه وجه كلب

'Whose face was the face of a dog.'

In Zoega, *Cat.* p. 235, and in *Conflicts of Holy Apostles*, translated by Mr. Malan from the Ethiopic, p. 76 ff., the name is said to be Christianos. The story is that he was a 'Cynocephalus,' in Coptic ⲠⲚⲟⲛⲓⲛⲟⲡ, who was converted by Saints Andrew and Bartholomew, and accompanied them in their missions in Nubia. He had lived near the city of Barthos, which has been supposed to mean Parthia. Barthos, however, was not far from Elwah, which Mr. Malan says is unknown, but which might be 'Alwah in Nubia. St. Christopher is commemorated by the Copts on Barmûdah 2=May 28. Cf. *Acta SS.* at July 25, where a different history of St. Christopher is given. The epithet 'dog-faced' is, however, preserved in a troparion sung by the Greek church, on the festival of St. Christopher (May 9); although the Menologion of Basil (A. D. 984) repudiates the literal acceptance of this epithet, and

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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.

Fol. 76 a 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 Tûbah<sup>1</sup>, which is the day of her death, when a large congregation assembles. This mountain [of Jabal al-Kaff] is opposite to the district called Al-Bîhû<sup>2</sup>, [but is] on the eastern side of the river. It is also said to be near the city of Al-Ushmûnain<sup>3</sup>; and it is also called the Jabal at-Ṭair<sup>4</sup>. On this mountain there are two stone crosses, of a red colour; one of them is a large stone and the other a small stone.

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fol. 76 a, identifies this mountain with the Jabal at-Ṭair, which rises opposite to Samallût and Bîhû, and to the north of Munyah Banî Khasîb.

<sup>1</sup> The Death of the Blessed Virgin is commemorated by the Copts on Tûbah 21 = Jan. 16, and her Assumption on Misrî 16 = Aug. 9.

<sup>2</sup> This village still exists on the west bank, opposite to the Jabal at-Ṭair, and is included in the district of Ḳalûsanâ, in the province of Minyah. In 1885 it had a population of 1,252. See Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. ୯; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Ushmûnain is in reality about thirty miles to the south of the Jabal at-Ṭair.

<sup>4</sup> See Norden's Plate LXXI, where the 'Tshibel ell Deir,' 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-Ṭair, which is called *Dair al-'Adhrâ*, i.e. 'Monastery of the Virgin,' or, more popularly, *Dair al-Baḳarah*, or 'Monastery of the Pulley.' The latter name is common to several monasteries, which use a pulley to hoist up both provisions and visitors; and one so named is shown on Jabal Abû Faidâ in Norden's Plate LXXX, a few miles to the north of Manfalût. The *Dair al-'Adhrâ* on Jabal

§ In the city of Al-Ushmûnain there is a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, which is very large, and which Al-Ḥâkim changed into a mosque.

On this mountain [of Jabal al-Kaff] there is another church hewn in the rock, and supported by eight columns<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup>, to drive Shirkûh 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 Bîsûs<sup>3</sup>, which is near Ishnin<sup>4</sup>. It is said by some

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at-Ṭair seems to be the one described by Curzon in his *Monasteries of the Levant*, ch. ix (p. 111). (A. J. B.)

<sup>1</sup> Curzon gives a plan of this church, p. 114, in which he specially remarks on the eight columns. (A. J. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Amaury or Almeric, king of Jerusalem from A. D. 1162 to 1173, was induced by bribes to lead his troops to Egypt in the first year of his reign, to assist Shâwar against Shirkûh; and again in 1163, when the Latin sovereign entered Cairo, and Shirkûh retreated. Amaury continued to assist the Fatimide caliph and his vizier, until in 1168 he took a powerful army to Al-Faramâ, which he took and sacked. This unscrupulous piece of treachery against his Egyptian allies forced Shâwar to implore Nûr ad-Dîn, his former enemy, to assist him against the Franks, and Amaury was driven to retreat.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Maḥrîzî calls this the monastery of Isûs (دير ايسوس), explaining this word as equivalent to the Arabic *Yasû'* (يسوع) or 'Jesus;' and it is, of course, simply a transcription of the Graeco-Coptic ΙΗCOΥC. Al-Maḥrîzî 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 *Bîsûs* as the name of a place; but this error must have arisen from his seeing the monastery mentioned as دريسمی بابسوس or دير اسمه بايسوس, i. e. 'A monastery which is named after Jesus.' (A. J. B.)

<sup>4</sup> On the west bank, a little to the north of Al-Bahnasâ, but a long way from



that this monastery belongs to the province of Al-Ushmûnain. Christ visited this place and stayed here.

Fol. 76 b

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<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup>, king of Babylon. It is said that there was on the highest point of this town a cock, and beneath it a row of dromedaries. When a stranger approached the town the cock crowed, and the dromedaries came out to destroy that stranger. But when our Lord Christ, to whom be glory! came to this town, the cock crowed and the dromedaries went out, according to their custom; and when they saw the Lord Christ and the Lady, and Joseph the carpenter, they worshipped

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Al-Ushmûnain. There must have been a confusion on the part of some writers between Ishnîn and Al-Ushmûnain. Ishnîn was formerly in the province of Al-Bahnasâ, but is now, under the name of Ashnîn an-Naşârâ, or 'Ashnîn of the Christians,' included in the district of Banî Mazar, in the province of Minyah. In 1885 it had a population of 1,260. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 110; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 22.

<sup>1</sup> Also called Ashmûnain, Eshmûnain, or Oshmûnain. Al-Ushmûnain is the Coptic ⲠⲚⲟⲩⲛ. It still exists in the district of Raudah, in the province of Ustyûṭ, and had 2,312 inhabitants in 1885. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 167 ff.; Al-Idrîsî [p. 47] (ed. Rome); Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 113. 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 Baḥr Yûsuf or Al-Manhî on the west and south, and a connecting canal on the north.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

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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<sup>1</sup>. There was here a church named after one of the martyrs, I know not whom.

Fol. 77 b § Tahâ<sup>2</sup>. In this town there were in former times 15,000 Christians, but not a single Ḥanîf or Jew; and there were 360 churches. In the caliphate of Marwân al-Ja'dî, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs, he sent Miwadd to this town, but they drove him out and forbad 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<sup>3</sup>. Here there is a church of the Lady,

<sup>1</sup> The consonants and vowels of this name are alike uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> Yâkût calls it Darwat (دَرَوَات) Sarabâm, and Al-Maḵrîzî Darûṭ 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 Baḥr Yûsuf or Al-Manhî issues from the Nile. In Coptic it is ⲧⲉⲣⲱⲧ Ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲛⲁⲛ; the latter word being an abbreviation of Ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲛⲁⲛⲱⲛ, and being sometimes pronounced Sarabân in Arabic. The town now gives its name to a district of the province of Asyûṭ, and in 1885 had 5,588 inhabitants. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. 5v.; Al-Maḵrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, i. pp. v1 and 1.5; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 496.

the Pure Virgin Mary; and a church named after the angel Gabriel, which is called *Maghîr ath-Thilj*<sup>1</sup>.

Near the last-named place is the district of Şanabû<sup>2</sup>, where there is a church of the Lady, built of baked bricks.

§ Jabal Ashtar or Halâlîyah<sup>3</sup>. Here there is a church named after Bû Nadil<sup>4</sup>, the martyr, which has fallen into decay.

§ Munyah Banî Khaşib<sup>5</sup>. This city was founded by a Christian named Ibn Khaşib, 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 Banî Khaşib 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 Kais. Fol. 78 a 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

<sup>1</sup> I. e. 'Place where snow has fallen.'

<sup>2</sup> Al-Maḳrîzî gives Şanabû (صنبو) and Yâḳût Sanabû (سَنْبُو). 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. 105; Al-Maḳrîzî names a monastery, but not a church of the Virgin at Şanabû.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot identify this place.

<sup>4</sup> This name does not occur in the *Synaxarium*.

<sup>5</sup> 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 ⲘⲎⲞⲬ, or, with the article, ⲐⲘⲎⲞⲬ. It was also called Munyat Abî 'l-Khuşaib. 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. 110, and *Mushtarik*, p. 45; Al-Idrîsî, trans. Jaubert, i. p. 124; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khitat*, i. p. 10; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 257 f. Al-Maḳrîzî mentions only six churches as existing in his time at Munyah Banî Khaşib, viz. the Virgin, Saints Peter and Paul, St. Michael, St. George, St. Paul of Tamwaih, and the Three Holy Children.

Mercurius, and the other of Abû K̄ais<sup>1</sup>—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<sup>2</sup>.

There is a monastery named after the martyr Theodore, outside Nahûr, on the eastern bank.

It is said that Munyah Banî Khaṣib is also called Munyah Bû K̄ais, after the saint, son of K̄iṭṭ, son of Mizraim; and it possesses the body of Bû Halbas<sup>3</sup>, the martyr.

The church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, at Al-Muḥarraḳah<sup>4</sup>, 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 K̄ûṣ K̄âm<sup>5</sup> in the desert; and the meaning

<sup>1</sup> See a few lines lower down.

<sup>2</sup> This town is at some distance to the south-west of Munyah Banî Khaṣib; 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 ⲉⲧⲗⲕⲉ, mentioned in one of the papyri of the Archduke Rainer; and its Arabic name is said now to be written 'Daljâ, دالجا. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٥٨٣; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 175 f.

<sup>3</sup> A martyr of Ahnâs, named هلياس, is commemorated in the Paris *Synaxarium*, on Barmahât 15 = March 11.

<sup>4</sup> The monastery of this place was and is the largest and one of the most celebrated in Egypt. It stands close to K̄ûṣakâm, and is in the district of Manfalût, in the province of Asyûṭ. The convent contained in 1885 a population of 1,110 inhabitants, consisting of monks, peasants, and Bedouins. Yâḳût has an article on *Dair al-Muḥarraḳ*, which he praises for the beauty of its situation, mentioning the tradition of Christ's visit to it. Al-Maḳrîzî also mentions the monastery in a few words. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٦٩٤; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 264. Our author makes a mistake in placing Al-Muḥarraḳah in the province of Al-Ushmûnain.

<sup>5</sup> The Coptic ⲕⲟⲩⲕⲁⲙ. Yâḳût writes it as one word, قُوصَقَام, 'K̄ûṣakâm; see his *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٢٠١. It is also found in the forms قسقام and قزقام.

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twenty-third patriarch<sup>1</sup>. Hence came the form of consecration [of churches which has since been employed]: the vessels filled with water<sup>2</sup>; and the prayers recited over the water, to consecrate it; and the odoriferous plants<sup>3</sup> 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-Muḥarraḳah, in the province of Al-Ushmûnain.

The church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin<sup>4</sup>, 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 Ḳûs Ḳâm, 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<sup>5</sup>.

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

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plus qu'en arabe, et se trouve dans un MS. de la Vaticane, dans un autre de la Bibliothèque Nationale, et dans la bibliothèque de Moharraḳ.' (*Mém. pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte Chrét.* p. 80, note.)

<sup>1</sup> Also called Theophilus; he sat from A. D. 385 to 412 (?). See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 103-108.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of these ceremonies see *Coptic Churches*, ii. p. 338 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The plant used for sprinkling the water was a kind of beetroot, in Arabic *silk* (سلق); see Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 215. (A. J. B.)

<sup>4</sup> I. e. at Al-Muḥarraḳah, near Ḳûsākâm; see a few lines above.

<sup>5</sup> So in *Synaxarium*; see note above.

diseases; and the water became, in the mouth of those that drank of it, sweet like the water of the Jihon; I mean the Nile of Egypt. Pilgrimages have been made by many multitudes from all districts to this church from ancient times, because it has been celebrated on account of signs and wonders and the healing of various diseases; and the time of pilgrimage is at Easter, every year. The Lord Christ commanded that the original size of this church should not be added to; but that it should remain as it was. The mark of the hand of the Lord is on the eastern and on the western mountain.

Adjacent to this church there is a large and ancient keep, which had fallen into decay, but was renewed and restored to its original condition by the Shaikh Abû Zakarî ibn Bû Naşr, the administrator of Al-Ushmûnain; may God have mercy on him and grant rest to his soul! this was in the caliphate of Al-Hâfiz.

In this district there lived in ancient times Kharbatâ, son of Mâliq, 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-Muḥarraḳah<sup>1</sup>.

Fol. 79 b

This Khartabâ, son of Mâliq, 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-Muḥarraḳah, 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.

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<sup>1</sup> I. e. 'The burnt village,' قرية being understood. When the form is masculine (Al-Muḥarraḳ), دير is understood.



*Monastery at Anşinâ.*

§ The great monastery on the mountain, founded by Matthias the monk, near Anşinâ<sup>1</sup>. Many monks entered upon the monastic life here. This monk [Matthias<sup>2</sup>] performed many wonders; one of which was

<sup>1</sup> Whether this should be Anşinâ, as our MS. has it, or Isnâ (Esneh) I cannot say. See following note.

<sup>2</sup> 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 Isnâ. A Coptic life of this saint, who is there called  $\text{ⲙⲁⲧⲏⲁⲧⲏⲟⲨ}$   $\text{ⲡⲉⲗⲏⲕⲉ}$ , '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 Isnâ (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 Isnâ 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 Kîhak 7 = Dec. 3; and the *Synaxarium* has the following notice on that day:

في هذا اليوم تنيح القديس متى المسكين هذا القديس كان رئيس دير جبل من اسوان  
وكان يعمل فضائل عظيمة ويخرج الشياطين واستحق نعمة الشفا وحتى ان كل مريض ياتوا به  
الى عنده يصلى عليه ويشفيه الرب بصلواته

'On this day died St. Matthew the Poor. This saint was the superior of a monastery on a mountain in the neighbourhood of Aswân. 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:

وبلغ من فضائل هذا الاب انه كان يطعم الوحوش بيده فلما اكمل سعيه تنيح بسلام  
واخذه الرب اليه صلواته المقبولة تكون مع جميع بني المعمودية امين

'Among the wonderful acts recorded of this Father was his habit of feeding

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

It was to a monastery at Aḳfahs that Anbâ Sanhût, bishop of Mişr, fled<sup>1</sup>, in fear of Anbâ Michael of Sanjâr, the sixty-eighth patriarch, against whom he was in schism; and he lived in the monastery three years.

§ A monastery in the desert, in Upper Egypt. It was here that Benjamin<sup>2</sup>, 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 Muḳauḳis, 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

<sup>1</sup> See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 476.

<sup>2</sup> 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:

خرج من طريق مربوط وهو ماشى على رجليه ليلا ومعه اثنين من تلاميذه حتى وصل الى المنى ومن هناك مضى الى وادى هبيب وكان الرهبان هناك قليل لانه عقيب الخراب الذى كان فى ايام دميانس البطرک وكان البربر لا يدعوهم يكثرون هناك ثم انه خرج من الديارات بوادى هبيب ومضى الى الصعيد واقام مختفى هناك فى دير صغير فى البرية الى كمال العشرة سنين التى كان فيها هرقل والمقوقز مسلطين على ديار مصر

‘He set out by the road to Maryût, walking on foot, by night, accompanied by two of his disciples, until he arrived at Al-Munâ, whence he travelled to Wâdî Habîb. 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 Wâdî Habîb. Then Benjamin quitted the monasteries of Wâdî Habîb, 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 Muḳauḳiz (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-'Âṣî 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. Fol. 80 b

The first appearance of the Muslims was [in the time of] Andronicus the Chaste, the scribe who became the thirty-seventh patriarch<sup>1</sup>; it was in the twelfth year of Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, which was the year 933 of Alexander<sup>2</sup>.

§ There is a monastery in Upper Egypt to which the priest Ya'kûb<sup>3</sup> 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 patriarch. Fol. 81 a

*Bulyanâ and Bahjûrah.*

§ City of Bulyanâ<sup>4</sup>. This lies to the west of the Nile, in Upper Egypt. Here is the monastery known as the monastery of Banî Mûsâ,

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. of the Seleucian era.

<sup>3</sup> The fiftieth patriarch; sat A. D. 826–836?

<sup>4</sup> To the south-east of Jirjâ (Girgeh), on the west bank. It is here that

which was restored at the expense of Aş-Şafî, 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<sup>1</sup>. 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 Anbâ 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<sup>2</sup>.

At Bahjûrah<sup>3</sup> there is a church of the glorious Saint George, which is beautifully constructed, well-lighted and spacious.

travellers land for Abydos. The Coptic name is ΠΟΥΡΑΝΗ. It is now in the district of Bardis, in the province of Jirjâ, and in 1885 had 3,854 inhabitants. There was formerly here a talisman, which served as a protection against crocodiles. See Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 48]; Yâķût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ۷۳۵; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 62; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 93 f.

<sup>1</sup> The festival of Abû Mûsâ, or Mîsis the Black, is kept on Ba'ûnah 24 = June 18. He is said to have been a converted robber, who became a monk, and was the author of several works. See Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* p. 55; Paris *Synaxarium* ad diem. St. Moses is represented in Venetian paintings.

<sup>2</sup> This dearth was in the year 359 of the Hegira (A. D. 960-961), and in the caliphate of Al-Mustanşir.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Maķrîzî mentions a church of the apostles at this place, but not the church of St. George. Bahjûrah was formerly in the province of Kûş, but is now in the district of Farshût, in the province of Kanâ; and in 1885 it had a population of 4,654. It is at some distance from the bank, and was the centre of a sugar district. See Yâķût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ۷۱۷; Revenue-list in De Sacy, *Abd-Allatif*, p. 702; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 60.

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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-'Abbâsah; 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-Kufât, son of the Shaikh Muṣṭafâ 'l-Mulk Abû Yûsuf, under the rule of the Ghuzz and Kurds.

Fol. 82 a There is a church called Al-'Abbâsah outside this city, named after the saint and martyr George, which has already been mentioned. It was visited by Shâwar as-Ṣa'dî, the vizier, while he was governor of Kûṣ, 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-'Âḍid li-dîni 'llâh, at Miṣr, in the month of Muḥarram of the year 558 (A.D. 1162); and he sent that which he had vowed continually up to the time of his death on the 18th of Rabî' the Second, in the year 564 (A.D. 1169); when the Ghuzz and the Kurds, led by Shirkûh the Kurd, conquered Egypt.

§ The meadow known as that of 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 Shâwar, when the latter was wâlî of Kûṣ, 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<sup>1</sup> 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). Fol. 82 b

*The White Monastery.*

§ The monastery of the great saint Sinuthius<sup>2</sup>, near Ikhmîm. In this monastery there is a very large church, spacious enough to contain

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<sup>1</sup> The form *عربان*, applied especially to the desert Arabs, is, of course, well known in later Arabic.

<sup>2</sup> 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 *Χέμμυς* (*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. Wört.* ii. p. 141), mentioning also another 'White Monastery,' which overlooked Edessa.



thousands of people, and within it are the bodies of the two pure

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The following is M. Amélineau's account of the monastery of St. Sinuthius as it is at present :

‘L'œuvre 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.)

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So the monks went forth to meet Al-Ḳâsim 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

Fol. 83 b 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-Ḳâsim, the aforesaid governor, there descended upon him the spirit of an unclean devil, which buffeted him, so that he foamed at the mouth, and his teeth gnashed like the tusks of a wild boar. But when he had recovered a little, he understood the evil that he had done, and repented of his rashness, and that he had not listened to the bidding of the aged superior. Then he called the superior and said to him: 'To-day I have sinned, because I did not listen to the counsel which thou didst address to me. But now the mysteries of this place have been manifested to me so that I do not doubt them. I desire therefore, O shaikh, that thou shouldest accept this gift of money, and pray for me that God may forgive me, and may not deal with me as I deserve, because I ventured into the house of God, and entered it riding on horseback together with my companions.' Then the aged monk consoled him, and would not accept anything from him; but the emir adjured him and forced him, and showed humility towards him, and at last induced him to take four hundred dinars, saying: 'I ask God to pardon thee, O shaikh, that thou mayest ask him to pardon me this sin which broke from me.'

Now there was in the church a wooden chest of *sâsam*-wood inlaid with ivory<sup>1</sup>, and containing three shelves, which Saint Sinuthius had made to contain books, and he used to inscribe there the amount of votive offerings accruing to the monasteries. And a certain shaikh accompanying the emir, named Ar-Rayân, who had been wâli of Egypt before Al-Kâsim, and was his friend, begged that he might take this chest away with him. But he was informed that the chest was the property of the church, and that it was impossible that it should be removed; but he would not listen to that, although the great miracle that had happened was told him. And he commanded a body of men to carry it out of the church; but they were not able to do so. So when he saw this other wonder, he asked pardon of God most high, and made a gift of three hundred dinars of his money. Then they departed. And they were filled with doubts and dismay; and the unclean spirit did not cease to possess Al-Kâsim, chastising him at all times until the hour of his death. Fol. 84 a

§ Bahrâm<sup>2</sup>, the Armenian Christian, who had been vizier in the caliphate of Al-Hâfiz, became a monk in this monastery after he was banished from his office. Then he desired to go to Cairo, although he was exceedingly ill and weak; so he was carried to Cairo and arrived there still living.

§ Nestorius the heretic, who had been patriarch of Constantinople, was buried in the city of Ikhmîm, after he had been in banishment there for seven years, in the year 543<sup>3</sup>. Now when rain falls, it does

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<sup>1</sup> The Copts were famous for their skill in ivory inlaying, for examples of which see *Coptic Churches*, ii. p. 66, &c. (A. J. B.)

<sup>2</sup> See above, fol. 6 a.

<sup>3</sup> 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. Euty chius states that the banishment lasted for seven years (*Annales*, ii. p. 12); and relates, as Abû Şâlih does, that rain never falls on the tomb of Nestorius. (A. J. B.)

not descend upon his tomb, because he was the cause of the Council of Chalcedon.

*Story of Febronia.*

Fol. 84 b § At Al-Jîmûdât<sup>1</sup>, 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'di, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs, summoned the Bashrûd or Bashmurites<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup>, named Febronia, who had come from Syria to this convent, when she was three years old, and had grown up within its walls; and she was of great beauty. So when the Bashmurites saw her, they were astonished at her, on account of her beauty; and they said one to the other: 'Never was such beauty seen in the world!' So they took her and brought her out from the convent, and separated her from her sisters the virgins, and consulted with one another as to what they should do with her; and some of them said: 'Let us cast lots for her;' but others said: 'Let us take her to the prince.' But while they were consulting upon these and similar proposals, she said to them: 'Where is your chief, that I may tell him of a great secret,

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<sup>1</sup> I cannot identify this place.

<sup>2</sup> On the Bashmurites see Zoega, *Cat.* p. 139 ff.; Quatremère, *Recherches*, p. 147 ff. ('*Sur le Dialecte baschmourique*'), &c. (A. J. B.)

<sup>3</sup> 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 ff.; cf. Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 226 f., and Quatremère, *Recherches*, p. 155. The events are also stated in a few words by Al-Makîn, *Hist. Sarac.* (ed. Erpenius), p. 99, and by Al-Makrîzî. 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.)

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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  
Fol. 86 a this means to preserve her maidenhood, that she might appear before Christ a pure virgin, as she had been created, without earthly stain. So when the ignorant Bashmurites saw what had befallen the maiden, they knew at last what had been her intention; and they repented and were exceedingly sad, and did no injury henceforth to any of those virgins, but let them go, and refrained from the undertakings which they had planned, and restored to the nuns all that they had pillaged from their convent.

*Ikhmîm and the neighbourhood.*

§ In the city of Ikhmîm there were seventy churches until the end of the year 552 of the Arabs (A. D. 1157).

In the district of Dimnû<sup>1</sup> there is a church, on the western bank of the river, named after the glorious saint Abû Baghâm.

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<sup>1</sup> Yâkût mentions a large and much frequented church at Dimnû, which is on the west of the Nile; opposite to Ikhmîm, and is now included in the district

There is also the monastery of Saint Pachomius<sup>1</sup> at Barjanûs, in the district of Ṭaḥâ.

There is the monastery of Abû Ḥalbânah<sup>2</sup>, to the east of Ikhmîm, 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 Ikhmîm.

§ The *Book of the Monasteries* by Ash-Shâbushtî relates that there is in the district of Ikhmîm a large monastery to which visitors come from all parts; and it is near the mountain called *Jabal al-Kahf*<sup>3</sup>. 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 *Abû Kîr*<sup>4</sup> 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

Fol. 86 b

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of Sûhâj, in the province of Jirjâ, with a population in 1885 of 369 inhabitants. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. 111; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 138 f.

<sup>1</sup> 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.*

<sup>2</sup> 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 Madûd?) there is no correspondence with that given by Abû Şâlih, which is, of course, a name of dedication, not of locality. (A. J. B.)

<sup>3</sup> Al-Maḳrîzî says that this is part of the Jabal aṭ-Ṭair.

<sup>4</sup> See above, fol. 19 b.



## CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

ere, beating with his wings until he dies; and after that  
ly away until not one of them is left there.  
astery is celebrated for its wonderful miracles.

### *Anṣinâ and the neighbourhood.*

inâ<sup>1</sup> was the house of Mary the Copt<sup>2</sup>, who was born and  
his place. She it was whom the Muḳauḳis sent as a gift  
, who married her; and the purpose of the Muḳauḳis in  
y the Copt, was that through her he might be connected  
with Mahomet. The house of Mary was afterwards turned  
ue.

dict known as Anṣinâ. This was the name of one of the  
son of Mizraim, who built it for certain sorcerers. [There  
monastery of a saint called Abû Tabîh<sup>4</sup>, whose body is  
thin it.

a monastery named after the saint Coluthus, who was  
suffered martyrdom by burning while he was still alive;  
a beautiful countenance; and he obtained the crown of  
and his body is contained within the monastery.

inâ there is also a church named after the saint and great  
rge; and a church of the valiant martyr Theodore the  
d a monastery of the great saint Sinuthius, on Mount  
n which many holy monks have lived, especially the holy  
d ascetic, the blessed Anbâ Yasîb.

---

return northwards to Anṣinâ or Shaikh 'Abâdah, the famous 'Red  
pposite to Ikhmîm being disregarded. The want of plan and  
n the work of Abû Şâliḥ is here again conspicuous. (A. J. B.)

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built by Manfâ'ûs, the king; and its name means the 'Belóved.' The *Ratl*<sup>1</sup> 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 fields<sup>2</sup>, 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 *tailasân*<sup>3</sup>, 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-Jâbal on the north; Bâb Wardîs; on the east Bâb al-Arman;

<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian pound weight.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to the mountains just mentioned, the writer in Murray's *Egypt* says, in curious agreement with Abû Şâlih, 'The view from these hills over the town of Asyoot (sic), and the green plain in the early part of the year, is the prettiest perhaps to be seen in Egypt. The brightness of the green is perfectly dazzling, and of a tint such as probably can be seen nowhere else in the world: it stretches away too for miles on either side "unbroken," as Dean Stanley so graphically says, "save by the mud villages which here and there lie in the midst of the verdure like the marks of a soiled foot on a rich carpet."' (Vol. ii. p. 424.) (A. J. B.)

<sup>3</sup> 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 ; Bâb Umm Harîz ; Bâb as-Sûdân ; Bâb al-Miḳyâs. Fol. 88 a

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

The monastery called the monastery of Abû Sâdir<sup>1</sup>, whose body arrived at Shuṭb on the 5th of Hatûr. Near the monastery is the mountain of Aṭ-Ṭalîmûn<sup>2</sup>, the length of which is twelve posts on the eastern side.

At Al-Kharibah at Suyûṭ there is a ruined bath<sup>3</sup>.

There is a church of the martyr Abû Baghâm, whose body lies within it ; and he has another church at Al-Kharibah.

There is a monastery at Samallûṭ<sup>4</sup>, in the district of Al-Ushmûnain,

<sup>1</sup> Al-Maḳrîzî also speaks of the church of Abû Sadrah (ابو سدره). Sâdir and Sadrah both seem to be forms of the name 'Theodore.' The Paris *Synaxarium* does not commemorate the bringing of his body to Shuṭb ; but that translated by Mr. Malan has at Hatûr 5, 'Bringing of the body of St. Theodore to Shuṭab.'

<sup>2</sup> Al-Idrîsî names this mountain under the form *Ṭailamûn* (طيلمون) ; see the Roman edition [p. 48]. Cf. Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khitaṭ*, i. p. ۳۱.

<sup>3</sup> The mention of the ruined Roman bath at Usyûṭ 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 Usyûṭ. The reputation of John of Lycopolis was so great that Theodosius consulted him, as if he were an oracle, before his war with Eugenius. See Gibbon, ch. xxvii, who quotes D'Anville, *Description de l'Égypte*, p. 181, and Abû 'l-Fidâ (ed. Michaelis), pp. 14, 25, 92, for an account of the town of Usyûṭ, and, for the life of John the monk, Rufinus and Palladius, in Rosweyde's *Vitae Patrum* ; also Sozomen, lib. vii. 22, and Claudian, in *Eutropium*, lib. i. line 312 f., for the embassy of Theodosius. (A. J. B.)

<sup>4</sup> On the west of the Nile, opposite to the Jabal aṭ-Ṭair. It is now in the district of Ḳalûsanâ (Ḳulusna), in the province of Minyah, and had 3,855 inhabitants in 1885. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ۱۴. ; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 288.

same year he died, without carrying out his purposes.

*Monastery of Al-'Asal.*

Fol. 88 b Monastery of Al-'Asal<sup>3</sup>. This is near Munyah Bani Khaşib. 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 Bû Hadr<sup>4</sup> of Al-Ushmûnain; and a church named after the

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<sup>1</sup> Mentioned by Al-Makrîzî.

<sup>2</sup> The mill and oven are used for preparing the eucharistic bread, the oil-press for the secondary oils—*galilaeon* 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.)

<sup>3</sup> I.e. 'Monastery of Honey.' Yâkût speaks of it as charmingly situated, and containing a large number of monks; see his *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ۶۸. .

<sup>4</sup> This is apparently the same as Hadrî (Ϡ&τρη), the monk and friend of Saint Or (Ϡωρ), in the fourth century. Abû Hadrî (ابو هدرى) is commemorated according to the Paris *Synaxarium* on Kîhak ۱2 = Dec. 8, but he is there said to be from Aswân. Cf. Zoega, *Cat.* p. 299.

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At Suyût, on the western bank, there are sixty churches; and on the mountain there are churches hewn in the rock<sup>1</sup> 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 *Ḳarfûnah*<sup>2</sup>.

There is a monastery named after Saint Severus<sup>3</sup>, 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  
Fol. 89 b 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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<sup>1</sup> See Norden's Plate LXXXIV. (A. J. B.)

<sup>2</sup> See Al-Maḳrîzî's mention of this monastery near Uşyût, which he calls *Ḳarfûnah* (كرفونة), *Arfûnah* (ارفونة), or *Aghrafûná* (اغرفونا), adding that the name means 'writer,' i.e. γράφων.

<sup>3</sup> The *Dair Abî Sawîris* at Uşyût is mentioned by Yâḳût (*Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ١٤١) and by Al-Maḳrîzî.

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 Ruzzîk<sup>1</sup>, through the wâli 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 Fol. 90 a [between Easter and Pentecost], every day until the ninth hour; and then he broke his fast with a few lupins only.

There is a monastery of Saint John, which is also called Ibshâ'î.

There is a monastery named after the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary, which is called the monastery of Azîlûn. 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 Abû 'l-Hârith.

There is a monastery called Dair at-Tinâdah<sup>2</sup>, named after the martyr Abû Baghâm.

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 Suyûṭ, with the body of the martyr Baghâm.

The monastery of Saint Victor is at Al-Khuṣûṣ, to the east of Suyûṭ, on the mountain; and it contains his pure body.

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<sup>1</sup> See above, fol. 7 a.

<sup>2</sup> Yâkût gives us the pronunciation of this name, and adds that the monastery was a celebrated one near Usyûṭ, attractive as a resort for pleasure, and inhabited by many monks (*Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. 719).



### *Tunbudhâ.*

Tunbudhâ. Within and without this town there are [respectively] a monastery and a church named after the saint and martyr Tarnîmah ; and his pure body lies in the monastery.

There is a church named after the martyr Basmantah, which contains his pure body.

There is a church named after the Saviour, who is our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory!

### *Various Churches and Monasteries.*

**Fol. 90 b** The monastery of Abâ Nûb the martyr, which contains the bodies of sixty-three monks who were martyred. It stands to the north of the town of Al-Ushmûnain. The monks were put to death by a black, named Ḥaffâz, in the caliphate of Al-Mustansîr bi'llâh, at the time of the disturbances in Upper Egypt, during the patriarchate of Christodulus, the sixty-sixth in the succession, in the year 781 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1065-6). This monastery contains a keep, which is a lofty structure.

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> The churches and monasteries of Rîfah, a little to the south of Usyût, are mentioned by Al-Maḥrîzî. The Coptic name of the place is  $\epsilon\rho\eta\beta\epsilon$ . It still exists, and had in 1885 a population of 4,119. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> The name is omitted in the MS.

<sup>4</sup> This martyr, so celebrated in the Eastern churches, suffered in the persecution of Diocletian about the same time as his friend St. Bacchus. The Copts keep the festival of St. Sergius on Babah 10=Oct. 7. See *Synaxarium* at that day; Eutychius, *Annales*, i. p. 412.

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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<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup>, the scribe and martyr of Akfahs. [There is also] the monastery of Saint Philemon<sup>3</sup>, 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.

Fol. 91 b Dalâş<sup>4</sup> was founded by Dalâş, for a man who separated himself from intercourse with the world; and it contained three hundred smiths, who forged the bits of Dalâş<sup>5</sup>. [Here is] the church of Saint Coluthus,

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<sup>1</sup> This town, the Coptic κβ&εζc or χβεζc, is on the west bank, a little to the north of Tunbudhâ 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 Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٣٣٨; Ibn Dukmâk, v. p. ٣; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 56-58. Al-Makrîzî, who gives Akfâs (اقفاس) as an alternative form, speaks of a ruined monastery there.

<sup>2</sup> 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 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> On the west bank, in the district of Az-Zawîyah in the province of Banî Suwaif, and in 1885 containing 1,665 inhabitants. The Coptic name is †λoχ. In the time of our author the place was in the province of Al-Bahnasâ. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٥٨١; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 136-138.

<sup>5</sup> Al-Idrisî says (trans. by Jaubert): 'Delass est une petite ville où l'on

the physician, who was also a priest, and was burnt alive in the fire.

§ The district called Shinarâ<sup>1</sup>. 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 Bastîdar; and a church named after the glorious martyr Saint George.

§ Tûwah<sup>2</sup>. This was the name of a horse of Pharaoh, which grew up and became of great size, and was named 'Possessor of columns.'

§ City of Al-Ḳais. This town was built by Manfâ'ûs for a man who fabricated brocades and embroideries. The *Book of the Conquest of Egypt* relates that at Al-Ḳais lived Ḳais ibn al-Hârith, when 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî 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

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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.'

<sup>1</sup> 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  $\Psi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\omega$ . The Arabic name is sometimes written شنرا; and Al-Makrîzî mentions a شنرة, which is probably the same place. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 429 f.

<sup>2</sup> 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 Suwaif. In the time of our author it must have been a place of very little importance, since Yâḳût does not name it, although he speaks of a Tûwah in the province of Manûf. The Coptic form of the name is  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\beta\alpha\zeta$ ,  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\alpha\zeta$ , or  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\zeta$ . See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 521 f.

Fol. 92 a 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<sup>1</sup> at Mişr. 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-Ḳalandimûn, near Anşinâ, in the province of Al-Ushmûnain. Here there are nine churches: [the church] of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; the church of Saint Claudius; the church of Saint Victor; the church of Theodore; the church \* \* \* of the angel Michael; the church of the glorious martyr Saint George; the church of Saint John; the church of Saint Mercurius; the church of Abû Baghâm.

District of Athlîdim<sup>2</sup>. Here is a church of the Lady and Virgin; a church of Saint George, the great martyr; a church of the angel Michael. At Sâḳiyah Mûsâ there is a church of Saint Victor.

§ District of Shinarâ<sup>3</sup>. It is said that in this district there are twenty-four churches, one of which resembles that of Saint Sergius at Mişr.

§ At Ahnâs<sup>4</sup> there is a church which contains the body of Abû Halbâ, the martyr.

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<sup>1</sup> 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.)

<sup>2</sup> Athlîdim was just to the south of Al-Ushmûnain. It is to be found in the revenue-list published by De Sacy, who transcribes it in the form Itlîdim. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ad voc.; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. 11; De Sacy, *Abd-Allatif*, p. 693.

<sup>3</sup> See above, fol. 91 b.

<sup>4</sup> The Coptic ⲬⲚⲬⲤ. It still exists, under the name of Ahnâsîyat al-Madinah, in the district and province of Bani Suwaif, with a population in

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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-Saffâh, the Abbaside; and they caught him, and crucified him, with his head downwards; and they also killed his vizier.

§ The town of Al-'Uqâb<sup>1</sup>. This was built by 'Aun 'Abd al-Walid ibn Dauma', one of the descendants of Kift, the son of Mizraim, the son of Baïsur, the son of Ham, the son of Noah.

Account of the spring which is in the Wâdi 'l-'Ain, to the east of Ikhmîm. 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.

Fol. 93 a 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-Bahnasâ.*

§ The Oases. In the Oasis of Al-Bahnasâ<sup>2</sup> there is a church named after Saint George; and his pure body is said to be contained in it,

<sup>1</sup> For Al-'Uqâb see Al-Maḡrîzî, *Khitaṭ*, i. p. ۲۴..

<sup>2</sup> Otherwise called the Little Oasis (Oasis Parva). The Coptic name  $\text{O}\nu\alpha\epsilon\text{C}$   $\text{Π}\epsilon\alpha\alpha\chi\epsilon$  is translated by *واح البهنسا*. Another Arabic name is *واح البحرية*, given because it lies to the north of the Oases of Al-Khârijah and Ad-Dâkhilah. The Oasis of Al-Bahnasâ, to which there is a road from the town after which it is named, is reckoned a part of the province of the Fayyûm, and consists of four districts: that of Al-Buwîṭi with ۱,675 inhabitants; that of Al-Ḳasr, the chief town, with ۱,387 inhabitants; that of Mudishah with ۱,506 inhabitants; and that

but without the head<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup> 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 wâli of the Oases, came here in the caliphate of Al-Hâfiz; and he sent Fol. 93 b some men who carried off the body of Saint George and brought it to the wâli'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 wâli: 'Perhaps this misfortune has happened solely because thou hast detained this body.' Then the wâli sent for the bishop, and gave the body up to him; and immediately the calamity ceased altogether. It is said that this bishop held his see for thirty-eight years, and yet he only placed the shroud upon this body twice during the whole of that time, on account of that which he had witnessed with regard to it; and he said to the priests: 'Take charge of this; for I cannot explain or speak of what I have seen.'

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of Az-Zabû with 808 inhabitants; the total being 5,436 inhabitants. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 290 f.

<sup>1</sup> The principal relics of St. George were, as it is well known, in the famous church named after him at Lydda; see below.

<sup>2</sup> The form *سجنتموا* is worth noticing on account of the final vowel sound, expressed by the وا.



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<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup>, which is a well-populated city, there is the dwelling-place of Jausâr, who wore the turban and the two horns and the golden bracelet. A certain traveller came to [the caliph] Al-'Aziz bi'llâh and informed him that he had

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> This passage with the following account of Nubia is to be found translated in substance in Quatremère, *Mém.* ii. p. 31 ff. Marîs (ⲙⲁⲣⲏⲥ, 'the South') was the most northern province of Nubia, bordering upon Egypt. The south wind was likewise called Marîsî. Yâkût names Marîsah 'an island in Nubia from which slaves are exported.' See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 515; Al-Makrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, i. p. 198; 'Abd al-Laṭîf, p. 12. Al-Mas'ûdî gives, as the chief divisions of Nubia; Dunḳulah (Dongola), Muḳurrah, 'Alwah, and Marîs; see *Murûj 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.

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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 Dairâ, near which there is an ancient temple, between two great mountains.

A city called the city of Bausaḳâ. 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 Abû Rakwah al-Walid ibn Hishâm<sup>1</sup> was taken prisoner in the month of Rabî' the First, in the year 397 of the Arabs (A. D. 1006). Near the town there is a gold-mine.

Mountain of Zidân. Here is the monastery of Abû Jarâs, 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 'Ukbarâ<sup>2</sup>, many lamps are seen on a certain night of the year, but they are not real.

Fol. 95 a In the land of Nubia, near the cataract, there is a town called the Upper Maks. No one is allowed to pass by the inhabitants of this place, without being searched, even if he be a king; and if any one

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<sup>1</sup> The surname of Abû Rakwah was given to this man because in earlier life he used to carry a pitcher on his shoulder in the prosecution of his trade. He managed to collect a body of armed men, with whose help he took possession of Barkah. The first troops sent against him by the caliph Al-Hâkim were routed, and having made himself rich by plunder, Abû Rakwah next occupied Upper Egypt. Al-Hâkim then sent against him a body of Syrian and Egyptian troops under Al-Faḍl ibn 'Abd Allâh; who engaged Abû Rakwah in a hard-fought battle, which ended in the flight of the rebels. Abû Rakwah escaped, but was afterwards taken prisoner in Nubia, as our author tells us, and conveyed to Cairo, where Al-Hâkim condemned him to be impaled. See Abû 'l-Fidâ, *Annales*, ii. p. 616.

<sup>2</sup> Yâḳût mentions a place of this name, which, he says, was eleven parasangs from Baghdâd; *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. v. 5.

pushes on and refuses to be searched, he is put to death. The people carry on their trade in kind; and selling and buying among them is done by exchange; thus they exchange woven stuffs and slaves; and all that is bought and sold is exchanged.

At this place is found emery<sup>1</sup>, 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<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup>. 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<sup>4</sup> between the two rivers, the White

<sup>1</sup> Emery is a species of corundum found in gneiss, limestone, and other crystalline rocks. Abû Şâlih 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.)

<sup>2</sup> The name of Ceylon (Sarandîb) was familiar to the Arabic-speaking world at the time of our author, through the reports of Arab travellers and the commerce of Arab traders. Precious stones and spices were exported from Ceylon to Al-'Irâk, Syria, and Egypt. See Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 42]; Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ۸۳; Reinaud, *Rel. des Voy. faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde, &c.* The name Sarandîb is said to be of Sanskrit derivation.

<sup>3</sup> Yâkût writes the name علوا, and says it is to the south of Muḡurrâ. Al-Idrîsî writes علوة as our author does. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ۸۲.; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [pp. 19, 20].

<sup>4</sup> I. e. the 'island' enclosed on two sides by the two branches of the Nile, the White Nile and Blue Nile (Baḡr al-Azraḡ), for so it is now called. The town of Khartûm stands at the junction of these two branches. The existence of four

Fol. 95 b Nile and the Green Nile. All its inhabitants are Jacobite Christians<sup>1</sup>. 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 Manbalî. 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

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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 *Abûna*, i. e. Metropolitan] from the country of the Moors, that is to say from the patriarch of Alexandria, who is under the rule of the Moors: how then could he give priests and friars, since another gave them? They say that in ancient times these people had everything from Rome, and that it is a very long time ago that a bishop died whom they got from Rome, and on account of the wars of the Moors [Saracens in Egypt] they could not get another, and so they lost all their Christianity. These Nubiis border upon Egypt, and they say they have much fine gold in their country. This country lies in front of Suaquem [Suâkin], which is close to the Red Sea.' (A. J. B.)

<sup>1</sup> 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. Wört.* iv. p. ۸۲۰; Al-Mas'ûdî, *Murûj adh-Dhahab*, ii. p. 329; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 19]; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khîṭaṭ*, i. p. ۱۹۸; Euty chius, *Annales*, ii. p. 387.

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and the religion of the law of Christ was Bahriyâ, 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<sup>1</sup>, 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<sup>2</sup>. When Shams ad-Daulah<sup>3</sup>, brother of Al-Malik an-Nâsir Şalâh ad-Dîn Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb the Kurd, brother of Shirkûh, marched into Upper Egypt, in the caliphate of Al-Mustađî, the Abbaside, after the

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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.)

<sup>1</sup> 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 Marîs. In the sixth century it seems to have formed the southern limit of the country of the Blemmyes, according to Olympiodorus and the Greek inscription of Silco at Kalabshah (see Letronne's Memoir quoted above). There are still some Roman remains there, although it was never part of a Roman province, and can only have been an advanced post. (A. J. B.)

<sup>2</sup> 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-Mağrîzî. (A. J. B.)

<sup>3</sup> Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Shams ad-Daulah Tûrân Shâh, surnamed Fakhr ad-Dîn, 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 Şafar 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-ʿĀḍid li-Dini ʿllâh, in the month of Jumâdâ the First, of the year 568 (A. D. 1173), under the government of the Ghuzz and Kurds, he invaded this district<sup>1</sup> 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 Kûş and sold for a large sum. Before this time, Muḥammad al-Khâzin had captured Ibrim, in the days of Kâfûr al-Ikhshîdî, under the dynasty of the Abbasides.

Fol. 96 b

§ In the history of the holy church and in the biographies of the fathers and patriarchs it is said concerning Anbâ Khâʿîl, the forty-sixth patriarch, that when money was extorted from him, in the caliphate of Marwân al-Jaʿdi, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs, by the emir of Egypt, Şalâḥ ad-Din Yûsuf the Kurd<sup>2</sup>, and the patriarch went up to Upper Egypt, to beg for assistance from the people there, and when Cyriacus, king

Fol. 97 a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Al-Maḥrîzî, *Khiṭat*, ii. p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> This is an anachronism due to the carelessness of a copyist. The emir in question was ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Mûsâ ibn Nâşir.



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<sup>1</sup>, accompanied by 100,000 horsemen and 100,000 camels; now Nubian horses are small<sup>2</sup>, 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.

§ According to the history of the church and the biography of

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<sup>1</sup> This account is borrowed from the biography of the patriarch Khâ'il in the compilation of Severus of Al-Ushmûnain; see *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, p. 162 f. Cf. Al-Makrîzî, *Khîṭat*, i. p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> The patriarchal biographer says (*loc. cit.*):

ولقد شاهد من اخبرنا بعينه ان الخيل الذى تحتهم كانت تقاتل بايديها وارجلها فى الحرب  
كما تقاتل فرسانها فوقها وكانوا خيل قصار مثل الحمير

'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-Mas'ûdî also testifies to the smallness of the horses; see *Murûj adh-Dhahab*, ii. p. 382. Yâḳût says that the Nubian king had thoroughbred horses (خيل عتاق), but that the commons (العامّة) had slow, heavy horses, of no particular breed (براذين); see *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 820.

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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.

Fol. 98 a § 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 Naṭû<sup>1</sup>, 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 Lawâtîs, in the year 737<sup>2</sup> 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-Wâdî. This is called after Saint Onuphrius. [The place where it stands] is called the desert of \* \* \*<sup>3</sup>, 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<sup>4</sup>, 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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<sup>1</sup> Close to the modern Sahrajt, which is in the district of Mît Ghamr, in the province of Ad-Dakahlîyah in the Delta. It is the Coptic Ν&ΘΩ, and the Greek Leontopolis. M. Amélineau has not noticed that, in the Copto-Arabic lists which he himself publishes, Leontôn corresponds to Naṭû, as well as to نتي, as he proposes to read the word. See his *Géogr.* pp. 269-70, 409, and 571-5.

<sup>2</sup> Incorrect date; see p. 121, note. <sup>3</sup> There is a word omitted in the MS.

<sup>4</sup> 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 Fol. 98 b to the governor of the southern part of Upper Egypt, Sa'd ad-Daulah al-Ḳawâsî, in the caliphate of Al-Mustanşir bi'llâh, and the vizierate of Amir al-Juyûsh Badr; and so the last-named sent men to take the king away from that place, and to bring him to Cairo. And when he came to the gate, he was received with great honour and state, with a band of music, and a fine horse which he should mount; and [the vizier] ordered the chief men of the state to attend upon him; and afterwards he lodged him in a fine house, abundantly decorated with marble and wood-work and brocades of many colours interwoven with gold. In this house the king lived for one year, and [the vizier] visited him constantly, and conversed with him on many subjects, and listened to his words; and found that he sought God, to whom be power and glory, with all his heart and mind, renouncing all that men desire. So when the king had lived here for the space of one year, he died and was buried in the monastery of Saint George at Al-Khandak<sup>1</sup>, 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<sup>2</sup>, 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, Fol. 99 a and the land of 'Alwah and Al-Muḳurrah 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

<sup>1</sup> The monastery of Al-Khandak, the suburb of Cairo, is mentioned by Al-Maḳrîzî, who says that it was built by Jauhar.

<sup>2</sup> 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 Christians. Eutychius, however, speaks of six kinds of writing among the 'Hamites,' and one of these is the 'Nubian' (نوبى), 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<sup>1</sup>. The number of kings in Nubia is thirteen<sup>2</sup> ; 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.

Fol. 99 b     § The town of Darmus<sup>3</sup>, 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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<sup>1</sup> 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.)

<sup>2</sup> 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 Ethiopia a alta, &c.*, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> '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.

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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.

Fol.100b . 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<sup>1</sup>. Between the land of Nubia and the land of the

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<sup>1</sup> The Arabic بلقي preserves the Coptic πιλ&κ&ε. The island is mentioned by Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. v1.; by Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 37]; by Al-Makrîzî, i. p. 199; 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 Uswân<sup>1</sup>, the large frontier-town and the great caravan-station, and the last post of the Muslims [before you enter Nubia]. In its neighbourhood are the gold mines<sup>2</sup>. In the town there is an ancient temple, containing the figure of a scorpion, which the children are brought to touch every year on the 12th of Barmûdah<sup>3</sup>; 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-'Ulâ<sup>4</sup> it is a distance of eighteen days; and to 'Aidhâb a distance of four days. Fol.101a

The monastery called Ibḳâḥ 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 Ḳûṣ. 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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<sup>1</sup> Uswân, Aswân, or Suwân is, as it is well known, the Greek *Συήνη*, the Latin Syene, and the Coptic *COΥ&N*, and is mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel (xxix. 10; xxx. 6) as *סִינֵי*. It is now the chief town of a district in the province of Isnâ (Esneh), and in 1885 had 6,421 inhabitants. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 369; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 21]; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. 195; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 467.

<sup>2</sup> See above, fol. 20 a.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. April 7.

<sup>4</sup> On the confines of Arabia and Syria. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. 599.



Mary, which was founded by the king. It was consecrated by Anbâ George, bishop of Naṭû, when he was sent by the patriarch Christodulus to Nubia, to ask the king for assistance on account of the extortion from which he suffered at the hands of [Marwân] al-Ja'dî, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs.

Fol.101b It is said that the Mountains of the Moon<sup>1</sup>, where the Nile rises, are of a red colour, and are in the land of Al-Karûbîs; 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 Uswân 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 Aswân in the year 400 (A. D. 1010). In this neighbourhood is found also the clay called 'clay of art<sup>2</sup>;' and there is the gold-mine; and there is red and yellow ochre.

§ [There is in this district] a church named after the saint Abû Hadri<sup>3</sup>, whose body is preserved within it, but it is in ruins. It stands on the island of Uswân<sup>4</sup>. 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.

<sup>1</sup> See above, fol. 26 b.

<sup>2</sup> See above, fol. 20 a.

<sup>3</sup> He was a native of Uswân; see Paris *Synaxarium* at Kîhak 12 = Dec. 8.

<sup>4</sup> I. e. Elephantine.

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*Isnâ.*

District of Isnâ<sup>1</sup>. The meaning of this word is 'Tree<sup>2</sup>,' 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<sup>3</sup> Fol.102b in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, and walk before the bridegroom through

الأذهان تقصر عن مقدار ما يحتاج اليه في ذلك من علم الهندسة واجتماع الهمة وتوفر  
العزيمة ومصابرة العمل والتمكن من الآلات والتفرغ للأعمال

'When a man of sense beholds these ruins he finds himself able to excuse in the vulgar their belief with regard to the ancients that their lives were longer than ours and their bodies stronger, or that they possessed a magic rod with which when they struck the stones they leapt towards them. For the modern mind feels itself unable to estimate how much was required in these works of knowledge of geometry, and concentration of thought, and ardour of study, and patience in labour, and power over tools, and application to work,' &c. (ed. White, p. 130).

<sup>1</sup> 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 Ⲙⲏⲏ and the Greek Latopolis. Yâkût says that the only places of importance in Egypt to the south of Isnâ were Udfû and Uswân, and that in his time Isnâ was a flourishing place with much trade. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 265; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 49]; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 172-175.

<sup>2</sup> Our author seems to derive the name from the Coptic Ⲙⲏⲏ.

<sup>3</sup> The Coptic church tones correspond to some extent to the Greek and Latin tones, and are called respectively the tones of Adam, of Wâṭus, Sanjârî, Kîhak, Atrîbî, the tone of the Great Fast, the tone for the Dead, the tone Istâsîmûn. The tones most commonly used are that of Adam (ⲏⲭⲐⲐ ⲁⲁⲁⲁ, لحن آدم) on the three first days of the week, and that of Wâṭus (ⲏⲭⲐⲐ ⲒⲁⲐⲐ, i.e. ⲒⲁⲐⲐ, لحن واطس) 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<sup>1</sup>. This place was called in ancient times Armanûsah<sup>2</sup>; and the name means 'Blessed spot.' The town was founded by Bûsîm the king, son of Caphtorim, son of Mizraim, son of Baişur, son of Ham, son of Noah. There is here a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; and when an altar was consecrated here in the year 801 of the Righteous Martyrs (A. D. 1084-5), some fragments of the vessels which had contained the water of consecration were taken and thrown into the well within the church; and the water rose until it filled half of the well; and the priests marked the limit of the rise of the water, and the mark of it remains until now.

Near this district there is a church, at Al-Khazârah, named after Peter, the chief of the Fathers and Apostles; and it is written of this church that, when it was consecrated, the water overflowed from the vessels, until it overspread the courtyard of the church.

Near Damâmîl<sup>3</sup> there is a church named after the saint Anbâ Michael.

§ Dandarah<sup>4</sup> in Upper Egypt is a large town; it was built by one

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<sup>1</sup> Now in the district of As-Salmîyah, in the province of Isnâ. It is the Coptic  $\epsilon\rho\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau$  and the Greek Hermonthis, and was, in the early days of Christianity, a place of importance and the capital of a nome. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 118; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 49]; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 165-167.

<sup>2</sup> This is perhaps a corruption of the Greek Hermonthis.

<sup>3</sup> Yâkût and the revenue-list write this name 'Damâmîn,' but Al-Idrîsî employs the same form as our author, and this is the form used at the present day. Damâmîl is now in the district of Kûş, in the province of Kanâ, and had 568 inhabitants in 1885. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. 510; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 49]; De Sacy, *Abd-Allatif*, p. 703; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> Yâkût gives 'Andarâ' as an alternative form. The place is now in the

Fol.103a of the daughters of the Copts in the days of Manfâ'ûs. 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.

*Ḳift and Ḳanâh.*

§ The town of Ḳift<sup>1</sup> is the first town that was built in the land of Egypt; it was founded by Ḳift, the son of Mizraim, who lived 400 years, and was buried with his treasures in the Oases. From Ḳift there is a road to 'Aidhâb<sup>2</sup>, and a road to the mine of emeralds, and a road to the Sea of Na'âm<sup>3</sup>. There is here a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary, in which is preserved the body of the saint Abû Shâj. 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

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district and province of Ḳanâ, and in 1885 contained 4,492 inhabitants besides 1,383 Bedouins. It is the Coptic  $\text{ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲧⲱⲣⲓ}$  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 Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. 11.; Al-Idrîsî (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 125; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. 133, cf. p. 131; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 140-142.

<sup>1</sup> Quatremère quotes part of this passage in *Mém.* i. p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> See above, fol. 21 a and note.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently part of the Red Sea.

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Fol.104 a 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<sup>1</sup>; but it has now fallen into ruin. All the pictures in this church were composed of tessellae of glass, gilded and coloured<sup>2</sup>; and its pillars were of marble; but it was wrecked by Al-Hâkim.

*Ḳamûlah.*

§ Ḳamûlah<sup>3</sup>. 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 Abû Ḳarkâs. There are also here two monasteries of the glorious martyrs Abâ Nûb and Theodore.

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possessed. Another Arabic name of the town is Bâfû (بافوا), which is nearer to the Coptic Ⲫⲃⲱⲟⲩ. The Coptic life of St. Pachomius describes the foundation of the great convent here which bore his name. Fâ'û is now in the district of Dashnâ, in the province of Ḳanâ, and in 1885 had, if its northern and southern divisions are added together, 4,743 inhabitants, besides 990 Bedouins. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. 149; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 331-333; cf. his *Hist. de S. Pakhôme*, p. 70 f.

<sup>1</sup> 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 Abû Şâlih'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.)

<sup>2</sup> Another instance of glass mosaic. See above, on the mosaics of Al-Ḳuşair, fol. 50 b. (A. J. B.)

<sup>3</sup> The Coptic ⲕⲁⲙⲱⲗⲓ. It was celebrated for its palms and vegetables. It is now in the district of Ḳûs, in the province of Ḳanâ, and in 1885 had 1,020 inhabitants. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 144; Al-Idrîsî (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 127; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 391 f.

*Al-Ushmûnain.*

City of Al-Ushmûnain<sup>1</sup>. 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 neighbourhood.*

§ 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.

Fol.104b

§ The island of Baḳîḳ, 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 Sanîs stands on the bank of the river, to the west of [Philae]; and near it there are several churches overlooking the river, but now in ruins.

§ It is said that at Bashâwah there is a garden, the property of Ibn Kâmil, which contains a wonderful palm-tree, such as has never been heard of elsewhere; and its peculiarity is that it casts off unripe dates, of which the kernel is eaten, and makes the most delicious food, while the outside is thrown away; and this is well known, and is related in the book of An-Nasr ibn Zûlâḳ.

*Ḳamûlah.*

§ At Ḳamûlah<sup>2</sup> there is a monastery named after the glorious angel

<sup>1</sup> We have already heard of this place on fol. 76 a and b, &c.

<sup>2</sup> We return once more to Ḳamûlah 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 Pistentius, superior of the monastery in Upper Egypt.

§ Bû Harûkah. Here there is a monastery named after the glorious angel Michael, which contains a keep.

### *Luxor.*

Fol.105 a § Luxor<sup>1</sup>. Before the gate of this town there are idols standing like castles<sup>2</sup>. 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<sup>3</sup>. Abyssinia is the same as the kingdom of

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<sup>1</sup> The Arabic form *Al-Akšurain*, the dual of *Al-Akšur* (الأقصر), was often used as the name of the place, e. g. in the *Synaxarium*, and the Copto-Arabic lists of places. The form *Al-Akšur*, however, is used by Yâkût and Al-Makrîzî, and is now vulgarly pronounced 'l-*Akšur* (Luxor). The Coptic name of the place is Π&ΠΕ; and the modern village, as it is well known, occupies part of the site of the ancient Thebes. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٣٣٨; Al-Makrîzî, i. p. ٢.٣; Ibn Duqmâk, v. p. ٣. ; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 234 f.

<sup>2</sup> The text has 'like that,' apparently referring to the signification of *Al-Akšur*, which may be taken, as Yâkût remarks (*loc. cit.*), as a 'plural of paucity' of the word *kašr* (قصر) 'a castle.' The following passage is obviously intended for a description of the avenue of sphinxes which leads to the temple of Karnak.

<sup>3</sup> As Tellez remarks:

'Depois que os Abexins tiveram noticia da Fé de Christo nunca tiveram mais 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

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metropolitan of the Abyssinians ordains priests and deacons for them. The king of Al-Muḡurrah<sup>1</sup>, 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<sup>2</sup>.

Fol.105b 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<sup>3</sup>.

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 mastic, of aloes, and of cassia; then he confesses his sin over [this mixture], and throws it into the censer<sup>4</sup>, together with dried rose-leaves.

All the kings of Abyssinia are crowned with the royal crown<sup>5</sup> in

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announce the death of the metropolitan, and to request that his successor might be appointed. This is related by 'Abd al-Laṭîf, who says:

وورد في شوال رسول ملك الحبشة ومعه كتاب يتضمن موت مطرانهم ويلتمس عوضة

'In the month of Shawwâl an envoy arrived from the king of the Abyssinians, bearing a letter which contained the announcement of the death of their metropolitan, and requested the appointment of his successor' (ed. White, p. 196).

<sup>1</sup> See above, fol. 94 b.

<sup>2</sup> The common legend in the East is that the Ark of Noah still exists on Mount Jûdâ in Mesopotamia; see below, fol. 111 b.

<sup>3</sup> This proves the confusion in the mind of our author of Nubia with Abyssinia; see above, fol. 99 a.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, fol. 8 a and 9 b, with notes.

<sup>5</sup> 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<sup>1</sup>, 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

Fol.106a

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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.)

<sup>1</sup> 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'Égypte 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.)

without stamp <sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> 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.)

<sup>2</sup> It is, of course, well known that the word Negus is the Ethiopic ንጉሥ; The form ነጋሥ has been borrowed in Arabic as نَجَاشِي.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is out of its place in the text.

<sup>4</sup> 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* (ΙΣΒΟΔΙΚΟΝ or ΣΠΟΥΔΙΚΟΝ a corruption of δεσποτικόν), and the former appears in the Arabic *Isbūdīkūn*, 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 (ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ) or the like. See Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 99 f.; Bulter, *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

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In Abyssinia there are many Muslims, each of whom pays a tax of three *afikkhalîs*<sup>1</sup> of iron, and these are like a broad spit, and have at the end the impression of the king's seal.

Fol.106b 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-Hâkim forbade the practice, which ceased from that time until now. Nevertheless when a letter comes from any of these kings to the caliph at Miṣr 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<sup>2</sup>. This continued until the patriarchate of Anbâ Sinuthius, the sixty-seventh patriarch<sup>3</sup>; who commanded the metropolitan to bring them back from this mode of life to the mode of life existing among the Christians of Egypt and Syria, and not to authorize

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<sup>1</sup> Apparently a word of Greek origin.

<sup>2</sup> Danhauer's testimony on this point agrees with Abû Şâlih's: 'reges olim sex aut septem habuerunt uxores, aulici communiter duas aut tres, ceteri pro lubitu prout res domestica fert, alteram priori addunt aut superaddunt tertiam.' The priests, however, were never allowed more than one wife (*Eccl. Aethiop.* cap. v. § 3). Alvarez (Lord Stanley's trans. p. 45) seems to say that in places polygamy was common, and was not forbidden by the 'king or magistrates,' but only by the church. Yet 'every man who has more than one wife does not enter the church nor receive the sacrament; and they hold him to be excommunicated.' But the ban is easily removed. (A. J. B.)

<sup>3</sup> 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<sup>1</sup>, namely four oxen, four sheep, and four goats, three at each side of the church ; and that they should distribute [the flesh] of all [of them] on the day when they ceased from the building of the church, as a gift to God who had helped them to complete a house in which offerings should be made to him and in which his name should be commemorated, and supplications and prayers and praises should be offered. Fol.107a

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sixty-fifth patriarch, occupied the see in the first half of the eleventh century. (A. J. B.)

<sup>1</sup> This custom of sacrificing animals at the consecration or completion of a church is quite unexampled in Coptic church history and quite against the Coptic canons. It can only mean, I think, that the patriarch sanctioned the maintenance of a purely Abyssinian practice. From the earliest times there were large Jewish settlements in Abyssinia, and it is probable that the custom of religious sacrifice derived from the Jews remained after the conversion of the people to Christianity, just as it remained and remains among the Arabs after their conversion to Islam. It must be admitted, however, that the Copts also retained the custom of slaying if not of sacrificing animals on certain solemn occasions. Lane instances the killing of a sheep or lamb at the bridegroom's house on the evening of a wedding, when the animal is slaughtered at the door and the bride steps over its blood ; and he mentions that at Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter, when the Copts pay regular visits to the tombs of their relatives, a buffalo or sheep is commonly slain and given to the poor as an act rather of charity than sacrifice. (*Mod. Egyptians*, ii. pp. 292, 296.) But the Muslim sacrifices are far more numerous and more distinctly ritual in character (*op. cit.* i. pp. 67, 116, 302 ; ii. 221, 259, 268). The present writer has seen Muslim sacrifices with a propitiatory purpose both in Egypt and in Asia Minor. (A. J. B.)



*Saint Thomas.*

§ The church of Thomas the Disciple and his holy hand, with which he touched the Lord's side, and which is still living, as a witness to the resurrection of the living Christ from the dead, and of his ascension into heaven. This hand is part of the body of Saint Thomas, which lies in a church upon one of the Indian<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup>, whose name means Lover of Horses. [There is in

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<sup>1</sup> I. e. at Mailapur or São Thomé, the suburb of Madras. It is not strictly an island, but there is water to the north and south of it and a great lake behind the town, and at the time of the monsoons the place becomes almost an island; see Germann, *Kirche der Thomaschristen*, 1877, p. 272 ff. It has of course been much disputed whether St. Thomas was buried in India or at Edessa. Assemani says that all old Syriac and Arabic writers agree that St. Thomas was buried at Calamina and translated to Edessa; see *Bib. Or.* ii. pp. 387-391. The question is fully discussed in Germann, *op. cit.* This author suggests as an explanation of the name Calamina, that it arose from the answer to the question, 'Where was St. Thomas martyred?' to which the reply in the Malayalim language was: 'Mailapur Calurmina,' i. e. 'On a rock near Mailapur' (*op. cit.* p. 43).

<sup>2</sup> 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 Hatûr 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.

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*The Miraculous Olive-tree.*

The place called *Anzar wa-A'jab*<sup>1</sup> is near Marea<sup>2</sup>, 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<sup>3</sup>; but that on the day of the festival of that church, at sunrise, this tree becomes green while all the people are looking at it, and its branches spread, and its leaves unfold, and fruit appears upon it; and the fruit deepens in colour and grows and multiplies until the middle of the day when the tree is covered with olives. Then the priest in charge of the church comes out, and takes some of the olives, which he presses, and with the oil of which he lights the lamps. And the people who are assembled pray, and receive the communion, and disperse to their own homes. Afterwards the priest in charge of the church collects that which is left of the olives, and has them pressed; and they supply the church with sufficient oil for lighting the lamps during the whole year. This [story which has been related] was written by the sheikh Abû 'l-Barakât Mauhûb ibn Mansûr ibn Mufarraj, the Alexandrian deacon, in the biography of Anbâ Christodulus, the sixty-sixth patriarch.

*North-western Africa.*

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

<sup>1</sup> I. e. 'Most remarkable and most wonderful.' The ب has been omitted before أنظر.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> This story may be compared with the English legend of the 'holy thorn,' which blossoms at Christmastide. (A. J. B.)

<sup>4</sup> 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-Lûzarîkû<sup>1</sup> is in North-western Africa, near Carthage; and Paul<sup>2</sup> 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-Lûzarîkû], 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 Îyâr, 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<sup>3</sup> and *farîk as-sabîl* from among their stores. Fol.108b

There was in the town of Al-Lûzarîkûn a talisman<sup>4</sup> upon the walls, which warned the people of the approach of a stranger, and then they forbid him to enter. That river [Jarjar], at the prayer of Paul, was

<sup>1</sup> This name is apparently so written in the MS., but the copy of the *Book of Clement* at the Bodleian Library writes the name الكرديفو, 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.

<sup>2</sup> The Bodleian MS. just cited relates the mission of St. Paul to this city in similar terms, only at greater length.

<sup>3</sup> I suppose العسل to be written for العسل, as صور is frequently written by our scribe for سور. 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:

وكانت موافاتي اليها لاثنا عشر ليلة مضت من شهر ايار وكان في ذلك اليوم لاهل هذه المدينة عيد كبير ينضمون فيه الورد ويصروه على روس الاصنام ويقربون للاوثان القرط الحديث من غلاتهم

‘I arrived there on the 12th of the month of Îyâr, 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.)

<sup>4</sup> This is described in the *Book of Clement*, which states that it roared with a voice like thunder, saying:

هنا غريب قد اتاكم

‘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<sup>1</sup>, which is also called Al-Hindah. All its inhabitants worship the Buddhas<sup>2</sup> and the sun and the fire. It is the land of India, and its shores are far from Egypt; it is very extensive, and contains a multitude of inhabitants; it is surrounded by the seas and the expanse of waters, over which ships pass from the coasts of Egypt; and, on land, India lies next to the frontiers of Persia.

Fol.109 a India lay in ancient times in the darkness of idolatry; and Thomas<sup>3</sup>,

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<sup>1</sup> 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, *Matériaux pour l'hist. du Christianisme en Égypte en Nubie et en Abyssinie*, where these passages are referred to. Mr. Thos. Wright in his *Early Christianity in Arabia* has a learned note in which he shows plainly the extension of the term India to cover Ethiopia and Arabia Felix as well as the great peninsula to which the word is properly applied. (A. J. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Al-Bîrûnî (ed. Sachau), pp. 57, 59, 75, 284, for mention of Buddha (بُدَّ).

<sup>3</sup> The question of the mission of St. Thomas to India is discussed at length in Germann, *Kirche der Thomaschristen*. The Syriac Acts of St. Thomas containing an account of this mission were published by the late Dr. Wright in his *Apocr. Acts of the App.*, London, 1871, and they are probably as early as the second or third century in their present form. The name of the king Gondopherres or Gundaphorus is confirmed through modern research as that of Undopherres, who was reigning about half a century after Christ in the valley of the Indus. Cf.

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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

Fol.110 a celebrate the liturgy and take the holy mysteries, and dip the holy body in the pure blood, and place it in that pure hand<sup>1</sup>. Then all the people

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<sup>1</sup> 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 Vetera 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:

'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<sup>1</sup>. Praise to God, who is great and glorious in his saints, and works miracles for their sakes. To him be glory!

Town of Kûlam<sup>2</sup>. All the Christians who live here are Nestorians. Fol.110 b

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accipiunt sacramentum de manu apostoli. Patriarcha vero ministrat seu porrigit apostolo sacramentum ad digitos qui dignis tribuit et retrahit indignis. Apostoli autem manus stat aliquantulum elevata et semiclausa, et ob reverentiam duo archiepiscopi 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 ministrationem corporis domini serviunt duo alii archiepiscopi tenentes patenas sub manu apostoli.' See Gustav Oppert, *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte* (2nd ed. 1870), p. 189.

<sup>1</sup> One of the first visitors to the church and relics of St. Thomas at Mailapur in modern times, the Portuguese, Diogo Fernandes, who was there in A. D. 1517, found an old man who attended to the lamps of the church, and stated that this office was hereditary in his family. The church was then in ruins. See Barros, *Da Asia Decada* i. (ed. 1777), t. iii. pt. ii. p. 223 ff. In A. D. 1547, the Portuguese laid the foundations of a new church; *ibid.* p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. Quilon, on the coast of Travancore. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 57,



There is here a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary ; and a church of the glorious saint and great martyr Saint George.

Fahşûr<sup>1</sup>. 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.*

Şan'â<sup>2</sup> in Al-Yaman. Here is the church called Al-Ḳalîs, which was founded by Ibrâhîm<sup>3</sup>, who ruled Al-Yaman on behalf of the Negus, king of Abyssinia, and is the same as Abrahâ al-Ashram<sup>4</sup>, whose nose was mutilated in battle, so that he was named Al-Ashram. He built this church, and decorated<sup>5</sup> it with gilding and beautiful paintings,

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and in his article on China (الصين), i. pp. ٤٤٤-٤٥٨. The Portuguese discovered a church at 'Coulam' built by 'disciples of St. Thomas ;' see Barros, *op. cit.* p. 235.

<sup>1</sup> So the word is written in the MS. I can only conjecture that it may be a clerical error for Mansûr (منصور) or Mansûrah, 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'ûdî (ed. Barbier), i. pp. 207, 377-379, and iii. p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> The capital of Yemen (Al-Yaman). See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٤٢٠. Yemen was conquered before the birth of Mahomet by the Christians of Abyssinia ; see the account given by Gibbon in chap. xlii and Johannsen's *Historia Yemanae*, Praef. The story is clearly told in Thos. Wright's *Early Christianity in Arabia*, p. 89. (A. J. B.)

<sup>3</sup> Generally called Abrahah by the Arab historians ; see Aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Ta'rîkh ar-Rusul wa'l-Mulûk* (ed. De Goeje and others), prima series, pp. ٩٣١-٩٤٢. 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-Ḳalîs is much fuller than that given by Aṭ-Ṭabarî, *op. cit.* p. ٩٣٤ ff. (A. J. B.)

<sup>4</sup> 'The scarred' or 'mutilated.'

<sup>5</sup> Aṭ-Ṭabarî says :

فبناها بنا معجبا لم يرمثه بالذهب والاصباغ المعجبة وكتب الى قيصر يعلمه انه يريد بناء كنيسة  
بصنعا يبقى اثرها وذكرها وسأله المعونة له على ذلك فاعانه بالصناع والفسيفساء والرخام

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Marûr ad-Dair. This is a church inclosed within a strong wall; and it is now called Makbarat al-Hukamâ<sup>1</sup>. In this district lived Abû Sharwân, the emir of Al-Yaman under Chosroes.

*Thamânîn.*

The village called Thamânîn<sup>2</sup>. The mountain of Kardâ<sup>3</sup> 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 Kardâ at a village called Thamânin, 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<sup>4</sup>, now a heap of ruins, such as are unknown elsewhere. 'Uthmân overthrew it in the days of Islâm, but its ruins remain until now. Aryât<sup>5</sup>, the Abyssinian, who conquered Al-Yaman for the Negus, king of Abyssinia, laid Ghumdân waste with other cities, before the appearance of the Muslims.

<sup>1</sup> I. e. 'Burial-place of the Wise men.'

<sup>2</sup> In Mesopotamia near Mount Ararat. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> A part of Mount Ararat. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 51; Euty chius, *Annales*, i. p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> A fortress in Yemen between Şan'â and Taiwah. Some said it was built by demons at the command of Solomon. It was destroyed by the caliph 'Uthmân. See Yâkût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. 112.

<sup>5</sup> See Ibn Hishâm, *Sîrah Sayyidinâ Muḥammad*, i. p. 28; Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, prima series, p. 931.

Şan'â in Al-Yaman and Iştakhr<sup>1</sup> in Fars and Al-Ailah in Al-'Irâk are in the desert.

The history of Al-Manbajî 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<sup>2</sup>, and made wonderful things there, and named it City of the Sun; and that he built Durrah<sup>3</sup>, which is in the midst of the sea; and built a great altar near the city of Kîrûn.

The city of Auķîr was built by Kîrûn 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 Khauliyâ. This was built by a king called Jiyûl, 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!

Fol. 112b

*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

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<sup>1</sup> 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-Istakhrî, *passim*; Al-Mas'ûdî, iv. p. 76; Yâķût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 199. 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 Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, *De rebus Persarum Epistola* (1620), pp. 6-12, translated in Purchas, *Pilgrims* (1625), ii. p. 1533 f.

<sup>2</sup> Tadmor was said, like Iştakhr and Ghumdân, to have been built by demons for Solomon; see Yâķût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 128. The passage of Al-Manbajî may be found in the Bodleian MS. Hunt 4178, fol. 102 b.

<sup>3</sup> 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<sup>1</sup> Ar-Ra'is al-Akram Abû 'l-Faraj, son of the Shaikh Raphael, son of the priest Abû 'l-Farâbî, surnamed Şandûk 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 Mişr. This book describes how the priest Abû 'l-Ma'âbî, son of the priest As-Sabî Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il, son of the priest Al-Muhdab, celebrated the liturgy on the Feast of the Cross, in the church of Al-Mu'allakah, on the 17th of Tût, and placed his finger in the chalice, and it was immediately dyed with natural blood<sup>2</sup>. When the priest saw this great miracle, he was serving

Fol. 113 a 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'ûnah in the year 1054 of the Blameless Martyrs, which corresponds to the 8th of Dhû 'l-Ka'dah of the year 738 (A. D. 1338). May God give us a good end to this year!

§ That poor slave the copyist has attempted to abbreviate the book, as it has been said, without diminishing from the sense, but the task has been too great for him. He prays all those who read the book to accept the excuse from him who offers it. May God, who assists the right, help us all towards the salvation of our souls, and support us in temptation and in the trials of this life, and preserve us in the orthodox faith, and bring us in safety to the harbour of salvation. Amen. Praise to God for ever and ever!

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<sup>1</sup> I here omit the complimentary epithets as untranslatable.

<sup>2</sup> Renaudot tells a story of a similar event in *Hist. Patr.* p. 70.

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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 Marḳûrah or Abû Marḳûrah; 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-Wadî<sup>1</sup>, and is an old and small monastery.

5. *Monastery of Peter and Paul.* This monastery stands near Iṭfîḥ 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-Ḳaṣrîyah. 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'ir ad-Dair (Islands of the Monastery), and it is opposite to Al-Maimûn<sup>2</sup> and west of the Monastery of Al-'Arabah; it is built in the name of Saint Anthony, who is also called Anṭûnah; he was a native of Ḳaman, 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-'Arabah*<sup>3</sup>. This is reached by a three days' journey on camels, and is among the eastern mountains; between it and the Sea of Al-Ḳulzum

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<sup>1</sup> Two places in the province of Iṭfîḥ (Wüstenfeld).

<sup>2</sup> Al-Maimûn and Ḳaman were two places in the district of Bûṣîr in the province of Al-Jîzah.

<sup>3</sup> 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 *Barmûlât*<sup>1</sup>, when their fast lasts till the stars come out. *Al-Barmûlât* means in their language a fast of this kind.

8. *The Monastery of Saint Paul*<sup>2</sup>, also called Monastery of the Sons of Paul, or Monastery of *An-Namûrah*. This monastery lies in the country west of Aṭ-Ṭûr (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. *Monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair*. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alî ibn Muḥammad ash-Shâbushtî says in his *Book of the Monasteries*: 'This monastery stands upon the mountain on a level spot on the summit, and is a monastery of fine solid architecture, in a pleasant solitude; it is inhabited by monks, and has a well hewn in the rock from which the water is fetched for it. In the sanctuary is the picture of Mary on a panel, and the people visit the place to see this picture. In the upper story there is a hall, built by Abu 'l-Jaish Khamârawaih ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, 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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<sup>1</sup> Wüstenfeld, on the authority of Prof. Fleischer and Prof. Seyffarth, compares with this word the Coptic  $\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\rho$  ( $\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\lambda$ )  $\epsilon\theta\omicron\upsilon\pi\alpha$ . Is it not more probably the Greek  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\mu\omicron\nu\eta$ , which was much used in Coptic in the sense of 'vigil'?

<sup>2</sup> This is the famous Monastery of St. Paul, near that of St. Anthony.



hermit who lives there. The monastery rises above the village of Shahrân, 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 Shahrân. 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 Lahî'ah it is not the fortress of Mûsâ (Moses) the prophet, but of Mûsâ the magician; but on the other hand Al-Mufaḍḍal Faḍâlah gives a tradition from his father, who says: "We came to Ka'b al-Aḥbâr, 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 'Azîz<sup>1</sup> 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 Muḳaṭṭam 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 Muḳaṭṭam hills, east of Ṭurâ, 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 Ramaḍân of the year 400, Al-Ḥâkim bi-amri 'llâh ordered that the Monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair should be destroyed; and the destruction and plundering of it lasted several days.

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<sup>1</sup> Al-'Aziz is in the Koran a designation of Potiphar (Wüstenfeld).

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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 Bukṭurshû*<sup>1</sup>, north of Abnûb, is a small monastery, but deserted, and has long been visited by the Christians only once in the year. Bukṭurshû was one of those who were tortured by order of Diocletian, that he might fall away from Christianity; he refused, however, and was put to death on the 20th of Hatûr. He was a soldier.

15. *Monastery of Abû 's-Sarî*, built in the name of Saint George, near Al-Ma'sarah, in the district east of Banî Murr. At times it is deserted by the monks, and at times inhabited by them; and at a certain season a feast is celebrated.

16. *Monastery of Saint George of Khamâs*. Khamâs is the name of a town, north of which the monastery stands; two festivals are kept there yearly, in which an innumerable multitude of people take part.

17. *Monastery of Aṭ-Tair* (the Birds). This monastery is ancient, stands far above the Nile, and has a flight of steps to it cut out in the rock. It stands opposite to Samallût. Ash-Shâbushtî says: 'In the district of Ikhmîm there is a large, populous monastery, which is visited from all parts, in the neighbourhood of a mountain called Mountain of Al-Kahf (the Cave). At a place in the mountain there is a cleft, and on the festival of the monastery no Abûkir 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 Abû Ja'far al-Kudâ'î says: 'Among the noteworthy features of Egypt is the ravine of the Abûkîrs near Ushmûm in Upper Egypt. This is a ravine on a mountain, in which there is a cleft at which the Abûkîrs on a certain day of the year assemble, and betake themselves

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<sup>1</sup> I. e. St. Victor of Shû. Vansleb (*Rel. d'Égypte*, p. 366) speaks of 'une église dédiée a Mari Pactor Sciu, qui a pris ce nom de la ville de Sciu, laquelle est auprès d'Abnub, et aujourd'hui ruinée' (Wüstenfeld).

to the cleft; and as soon as one of the Abûkîrs has stuck his bill into the cleft he goes away; and this does not cease until the cleft has held one of them fast, whereupon they all depart; but the bird that is caught in the cleft remains hanging until he falls to pieces.' The author, upon whom may God have mercy, adds: 'This is one of the things that have long ceased to happen.'

18. *The Monastery of Bû Harmînah* is north of Kâ'û al-Kharâb; and to the north of it lies the ancient temple of Kâ'û, full of wise inscriptions. Between the Monastery of Aṭ-Ṭair 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-Karḳas*, 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-Karḳas there is a journey of three hours, and below the Monastery of Al-Karḳas is a well of fresh water surrounded by Bân-trees.

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

22. *The Monastery of Abû Abshâdah* (Psôti), 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 Banî Khaşib, 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 Damûh*, in the province of Al-Jîzah, also called Damûh as-Sabâ', 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 Damûh, and that the church of Damûh, 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 Damûh 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 Nahyâ*. Ash-Shâbushtî says: 'Nahyâ is in the province of Al-Jîzah. 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. Nahyâ 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 Tamwaih*. Yâkût gives this pronunciation, and adds: 'There are two places of this name in Egypt; one is in the province of Al-Murtâhîyah, and the other in that of Al-Jîzah.' Ash-Shâbushtî says: 'Tamwaih is on the west bank, and stands opposite to Hulwân, 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 Abî 'Âsim al-Miṣrî has the following verses in the metre of Al-Basiṭ:

'O that I could drink at Tamwaih of the bright juice,  
     which brings into contempt the wines of Hît and 'Ânât<sup>1</sup>,  
 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;

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<sup>1</sup> Two towns on the Euphrates. Hît is the Is of Herodotus; and 'Ânât is the Anatho, Anathan, or Bethauna of classical writers.

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Monastery of Sadmant. At the festival celebrated in this monastery, the Christians of the Fayyûm and other places assemble; and it lies on the road leading to the Fayyûm, which, however, is only followed by few travellers.

34. *Monastery of Al-Kalamûn.* This stands in a plain under the mountain-pass of Al-Kalamûn, through which the traveller reaches the Fayyûm, and which is called the Pass of Al-Gharaḳ. 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 Kîhak. In this monastery there are many palms, from the fruit of which the 'Ujwah<sup>1</sup> 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 *Râniĵ* (*nux Indica*), and its kernel is used for many purposes. Abû Ḥanîfah says in the *Book of Plants*: 'The Labakh only grows at Anṣinâ. 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 Umailiḥ, 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 Tunbudhâ* contains only one monk, and does not stand on a frequented road. In the district of Al-Bahnasâ there were many monasteries now destroyed.

36. *Monastery of Bû Fânâ*, north of Banî Khâlid, built of stone, and of fine architecture. It belongs to the district of Al-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 Bâlûjah*, at a short distance from Al-Manhî, belongs to the inhabitants of Daljah, and was one of the largest monasteries, but is now ruined, so that it only contains one or two monks. It stands opposite to Daljah, at about two hours' distance.

38. *Monastery of Saint Mercurius or Abû Markûrah.* This monastery stands

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<sup>1</sup> A juice with which children are fed (Wüstenfeld).

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-Rairamûn*, 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-Muḥarraḳ*. 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 Banî 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-Jâwalîyah*. This monastery stands at the extremity of the district of Al-Jâwalîyah, towards the south, and bears the name of the martyr Mercurius, also called Marḳûrah. 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 Uşyûṭ 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 Suyûṭ. 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 Ard al-Hájiz* (the district of the Dam), [also called] that of Michael or that of *Ḳarfûnah*, which bears the name of the Virgin, and is also named *Arfûnah* or *Aghrafûnâ*, which means Scribe (*γράφων*); for the copyists of learned books of the Christians had their seat here in ancient times; it stands on the side of the mountain, in which there are many caves, in one of which a man may wander for two days.

49. *Monastery of Bû Baghâm*, below that of *Ḳarfûnah* 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 *Ḳânûn the First*, which is equivalent to the 2nd of *Kîhak*.

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 Minshák* or *Minsák* or *Banî Sák* or *Îsák*, which bore the name of the Virgin *Mârîhâm*, i. e. *Mâr Maryam* (Saint Mary); and afterwards was known by the name of *Minsák*, 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 *Minsák* is also called the Monastery of *Tamarisks*. It belongs to the district of *Bûtîj*; while the Monastery of *Severus* belongs to the inhabitants of *Rîfah*, that of *Ḳarfûnah* to the inhabitants of *Suyût*, and that of Saint George to the inhabitants of *Udrunkah*. The *Tamarisk* monastery stood in a desert place, but a small village was built beside it, called

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of Sinuthius, who was his pupil, and under him were 3,000 monks; he had another monastery also in the desert of Shîhât.

59. *The Monastery of Bû Mîsâs* or Bû Musîs (Μωσῆς), 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 Aşfûn there was a large monastery; and Aşfûn 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 Aşfûn, 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-Maqs, outside Cairo, towards the north, there were several churches which Al-Ḥâkim bi-amri 'llâh Abû 'Alî 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 Mişr, 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 Raudâh there was a church near the Nilometer, which was destroyed by Aş-Şâlih Nijm 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-Ziyâlî'ah, 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 Barkûk, who was administrator of the government, until he destroyed the church with the help of the Cadi Jamâl ad-Dîn Muḥammad al-'Ajamî, superintendent of the market at Cairo, on the 8th of Ramadân in the year 780. It was turned into a mosque.

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-Aḳmar, 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 Kâlâ'ûn, this monastery was destroyed, but afterwards it was renewed; and he also built two other churches which shall, if God will, be described below among the churches.

61. *The Monastery of Cyriacus*. This monastery was also known by the name of Saint Or, and a festival is kept there at which the people assemble. A wonder took place there, related as follows by Ash-Shâbushtî. If a man had the scrofula (*khanâzîr*) the superior of the monastery took him, made him lie on his side, and brought a pig (*khinzîr*) 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 Atrîb*, also called by the name of the Lady Mary, keeps a festival on the 21st of Ba'ûnah; and Ash-Shâbushtî relates that on this festival a white dove comes and flies into the sanctuary; they do not know whence it comes, and only see it on that day of the year. I remark that this monastery has been destroyed so that only three monks are left, but the people still assemble on that festival; the monastery lies on the bank of the Nile, near Banhâ al-'Asal.

63. *Monastery of Al-Maghtas* (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 Ramadân, A. H. 841, during a rising of some fakîrs 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-Maghtas, 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-Maghtas; 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 Wâdî Habîb, also called Wâdî 'n-Naṭrûn, or the desert of Shîhât, or the desert of Aṣkît, or Mizân al-Kulûb, 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 Fayyûm, 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-'Âṣî, 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-'Âṣî to the monks of Wâdî Habîb, 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 Askîm, 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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also called *Baramûs*; this monastery is dedicated to the Virgin of Baramûs, so that Baramûs 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 Shîhât, 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 Baramûs 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-Zajâj* (Glass). This stands outside Alexandria, and is also called *Al-Hâbatûn* (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 Mişr to this monastery of Az-Zajâj, 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 Hârah Zawilah at Cairo, which is inhabited by virgins leading the religious life, and other Christian women.

80. *The Dair al-Banât* in the quarter of the Romans (Hârat ar-Rûm), at Cairo, inhabited by nuns.

81. *The Convent of Al-Mu'allakah* in the city of Mişr is the most famous convent of women, and is inhabited by them.

82. *The Convent of Saint Barbara* in Mişr 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 Mişr; it is the assembling-place for monks coming from the land of the Romans.

84. *Monastery of Saint John the Dwarf*, generally called Al-Kuşair. The correct pronunciation according to them is *Al-Kaşîr*, after the form *shahîd*, but it has been changed and is pronounced *Al-Kuşayyir*. The Muslims call it

*Dair al-Kuṣair* ('Monastery of the Small Fort'), as if it were a diminutive of *kaṣr*, 'castle;' but originally, as we have said, it was *Dair al-Ḳaṣīr*, 'Monastery of the Dwarf,' the opposite of *ṭawīl*, 'tall,' and it is also called the Monastery of Heraclius, and that of the Mule. It has already been described above. It was one of the largest monasteries of the Christians, but now there is only one man in it to guard it, and it is in the hands of the Melkites.

85. *Monastery of Aṭ-Ṭūr*. Ibn Sîdah says: *Aṭ-Ṭūr* means 'the Mountain,' and is especially used of *Ṭūr Sînâ* (Sinai), the mountain in Syria. In Syriac it is ܛܘܪ *ṭūrâ*, and in derivation we say *Ṭūrî* or *Ṭūrâ'î*, 'a Turian.' Yâḳût says: There are seven places named *Ṭūr*: (1) *Ṭūr Zaitâ*, in pronunciation like *Zait*, 'oil,' with final *â*: the name of a mountain near Râs 'Ain; (2) *Ṭūr Zaitâ*, likewise a mountain of Jerusalem, east of Siloah; (3) *Ṭūr*, name of a mountain rising above the city of Tiberias by the Jordan; (4) *Aṭ-Ṭūr*, name of a mountain in a district containing many towns or villages, in Egypt, to the south, between Miṣr and mount Fârân; (5) *Ṭūr Sînâ*, which according to various statements is a mountain near Ailah, or a mountain in Syria; and *Sînâ* is said to mean stones or trees there; (6) *Ṭūr 'Abdîn*, name of a mountain in the province of Nisibis, among the mountains which rise above this city, and are connected with mount Jûdâ; (7) *Ṭūr Hârûn* (i. e. of Aaron), the brother of Moses—Al-Wâḥidî says in his commentary: Al-Kalbî and others say that 'the mountain,' in the word of God 'but behold the mountain,' is the largest mountain in Midian, called Zabîr. Al-Kalbî mentions that *Ṭūr* has its name from Yaṭur the son of Ishmael; on which As-Suhailî remarks that the *Ya* perhaps has been dropped, if his statement is correct. 'Umar ibn Shaibah says: 'Abd al-'Azîz told me, [quoting] from Abû Ma'shar, from Sa'îd ibn Abî Sa'îd, from his father, from Abû Hurairah, that the Apostle of God said: There are four rivers in Paradise and four mountains and four battles; the rivers are Saihân, Jaihân, the Nile, and the Euphrates; and the mountains are Sinai (*Aṭ-Ṭūr*), Lebanon, Uḥud, and Warikân; as to the battles, he was silent. According to Ka'b al-Aḥbâr, the Muslims have three places of defence; their defence against the Romans is Damascus; that against Ad-Dajjâl is the Jordan; that against Yâjûj and Mâjûj is Sinai. Shu'bah says, quoting from Arṭa'ah ibn al-Mundhir: When Yâjûj and Mâjûj marched forth, God declared to Jesus, son of Mary: See, I have caused one of my creatures to march forth, over whom none except me has any power; therefore go now with thy companions to the mountain of *Aṭ-Ṭūr*. Then he went thither accompanied by 12,000 followers. Ṭalk ibn Ḥabîb heard Zur'ah say: I wished to march out to Sinai, so I came to 'Abdallâh 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-Ḳuḏâ’î 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 ‘Âmir says of it—

‘O monk of the monastery! whence the brightness and the light?  
 it shines from that which is in thy monastery Aṭ-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 Şâlih, was placed there to defend the monks; in the time of this emperor the fifth council of the Christians assembled. Between this

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## ACCOUNT OF THE CHURCHES OF THE CHRISTIANS.

Al-Azharî says: The word *Kanîsah* (church), or 'synagogue' of the Jews, in the plural *Kaná'is*, is an Arabicised form, and the original form is *Kunisht*<sup>1</sup>. Even the more ancient Arabs mention churches in their poems; thus Al-'Abbâs ibn Mirdâs al-Sulamî says:

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

And Ibn Kâis ar-Ruḳayyât says:

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

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

2. *The Church in the Ḥārah Zawīlah* 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 Zâbilûn, 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 Ḥārat ar-Rûm* in Cairo bears the name of the Virgin. These two are the only churches that the Jacobites possess in Cairo. In the Ḥārat 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-Malik an-Nâsir Muḥammad ibn Kâlâ'ûn, 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

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<sup>1</sup> As Wüstenfeld pointed out, *Kunisht* is the Persian word; but the true original of the Arabic *Kanîsah*, كنيسة, is the Aramaic כְּנִישְׁתָּא = 'synagogue' or 'meeting-house,' from כְּנַשׁ 'to assemble.' (Syr. ܟܢܝܫܬܐ; late Hebrew כְּנִישָׁת).

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-Dîn Sanjar, Wâlî 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 Mihrâb, 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 Mihrâb, 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 Mişr; 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 Mişr, in the quarter of Kaş 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 Mişr, 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 Sulaimân ibn 'Alî ibn 'Abdallâh ibn 'Abbâs, Emir of Egypt, when he received the government from the Prince of the Faithful, Al-Hâdî Mûsâ, 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 Mûsâ ibn 'Îsâ ibn Mûsâ ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alî ibn 'Abdallâh ibn 'Abbâs took his place in the caliphate of Hârûn ar-Rashîd, the new governor allowed the Christians to rebuild the churches which 'Alî ibn Sulaiman had destroyed; then they were all rebuilt in consequence of a decree of Al-Laith ibn Sa'd and 'Abdallâh ibn Lahî'ah, who both declared that it was for the advantage of the town, and bore witness that the churches

at Mişr 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-Thiḳat.* This church stands in an alley of the quarter of Ḳaşr ash-Shama' at Mişr, which is called Alley of Ath-Thiḳat; not far from it is the Church of the Virgin of Saint George.

9. *The Church of Barbara* in Mişr is large, and is celebrated among them; it is named after Saint Barbara, a nun. In her time two other nuns were living, Îsâ and Thaklâ; 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'mân. There is a cave within it, in which Christ and his mother Mary are said to have sat.

11. *Church of Babylon*, south of Ḳaşr 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 Ḥamrâ; the Ḥamrâ is now called the quarter of Ḳanâṭir as-Sabâ', between Cairo and Mişr. This church was restored in A. H. 177 by permission of the Emir of Egypt, Al-Walîd ibn Rufâ'ah; thereupon Wuhaib al-Yaḥsubî was angry, rebelled against the Sultan, and came to Ibn Rufâ'ah to assassinate him, but was seized and put to death; Wuhaib was a traveller from Yemen, and had come to Egypt. Then the Ḳarâ, in order to avenge Wuhaib, rose against Al-Walîd ibn Rufâ'ah, and fought against him. Ma'ûnah, the wife of Wuhaib, went round at night to the settlements of the Ḳarâ to rouse them to avenge his blood; she had shorn her head, and was an eloquent woman. Then Ibn Rufâ'ah seized Abû 'Îsâ Marwân ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân al-Yaḥsubî from among the Ḳarâ; he asked for mercy, and Ibn Rufâ'ah set him free; and subsequently the rebellion was put down after a great number had been slain. The church in the Ḥamrâ remained standing until the destruction of the churches took place in the days of Al-Malik an-Nâsir Muḥammad ibn Ḳalâ'ûn, as it will be related, if it be God's will.

15. History of the *Church of Az-Zuhrî*, 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-Zuhrî stood at the place where now the Pool of An-Nâsir

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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 Amîr-Akhûr 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 Zawîlah; and at the same time it was announced from Mişr that the people of Mişr had risen in great numbers and had marched to the Church of Al-Mu'allakah in the Kaşr 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 Mişr; the two Chamberlains, the Emir Baibars and the Emir Alamâs, rode to the place which had been excavated; and the Emir Tînâl 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 Mişr 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 Mişr. The Wâlî 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 Mişr with his soldiers, to whom he added fifty of the pages, to pass the night on the spot. As for the Emir 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 Emirs 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 Emirs 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 Zawîlah.

On Sunday, the 3rd day after the Friday on which the destruction of the churches had taken place at Cairo and Mişr, the news came from the Emir Badr ad-Dîn Bîlbag al-Muḥsanî, Wâlî of Alexandria, that on Friday the 9th Rabî' 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 Wâlî of Al-Buḥairah, announcing that at the town of Damanhûr, 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 Kûş that while the people on the 9th Rabî' II had finished their Friday prayers, one of the faḳîrs had risen, and had said: 'O faḳîrs! 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 Kûş 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 Kûş, 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 Mişr 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-Dîn tried to dissuade the Sultan from his intended attack on the people, and to reconcile him with them again, while Karîm ad-Dîn al-Kabîr, Keeper of the Privy Purse, incited the Sultan against the people,

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account of the crowd of men and camels which brought water. The Emir and Cupbearer Baktimur and the Emir and Deputy Arghûn were employed in carrying the Sultan's treasure from the house of Karîm ad-Dîn 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 Aẓ-Zâhir before the Zawîlah Gate, which destroyed 120 houses; among which was a hall known as the Hall of the Faḳîrs. During the fire a strong wind blew; then the Chamberlain and the Wâlî 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 Salâr 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-Dîn Sanjar, Wâlî 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 Jumâdâ, two monks were captured coming out of the Academy of Al-Hakkarîyah, 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-Dîn, Wâlî 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 Aẓ-Zâhir 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-Dîn Baibars, and he confessed that a multitude of Christians had bound themselves to prepare naphtha and to spread it about by means of several of their followers, of whom he was one, and that he had been told to place it beside the pulpit of the Mosque of Az-Zâhir. Thereupon it was ordered that the two monks should be tortured, and they confessed that they were among the inhabitants of the Monastery of the Mule, and had set fire to the places already described, out of hatred to the Muslims and to take revenge upon them for the destruction of the churches; and that many Christians had joined together, and had collected a considerable sum to prepare this naphtha.

Meanwhile Karîm ad-Dîn, Keeper of the Privy Purse, had returned from Alexandria; and the Sultan informed him of the capture of the Christians, whereupon he answered: 'The Christians have a patriarch with whom they consult, and who knows their dispositions.' Then the Sultan commanded to bring the patriarch to the dwelling of Karîm ad-Dîn that he might speak with him of the fire, and the share of the Christians in kindling it. The patriarch came therefore under the guard of the 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 Wâlî increase the tortures. So the Wâlî 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 Mişr among themselves, so that eight came to Cairo and six to Mişr. Then the Wâlî 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 Ṭûlûn on Friday, where a great crowd had assembled to see them. From this time the common people were enraged against the Christians, and began to insult them and tore their garments off them, so that every form of outrage was allowed, and such as exceeded all measure. Thereupon the Sultan grew angry, and formed the plan of making an attack upon the people. It happened that when he was riding on a Saturday from the citadel to go to the great hippodrome, he saw a great crowd of people who were filling the streets and shouting: 'God protect Islam! Protect the religion of Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallâh!' He rode aside to avoid them, and when he reached the hippodrome, the Treasurer brought two Christians to him who had just been caught in the attempt to set fire to the houses; he commanded that they should be burnt, whereupon they were led away, a ditch was dug, and they were burnt in the sight of the people. While they were yet employed in burning the two Christians, the Chamberlain of the Divan of the Emir and Cupbearer Baktimur, who was a Christian, came by, to reach the house of the Emir Baktimur. When the people saw him, they threw him from his beast, dragged off all his clothes, and carried him off to throw him into the fire; then he repeated in a loud voice the two formulas of belief, confessed Islam, and was set at liberty. Meanwhile Karîm ad-Dîn, clothed with a robe of honour, passed by the hippodrome; but they drove him away with stones, and cried out: 'How long wilt thou protect and defend the Christians?' They mocked at him, so that he saw no way of escape except to return to the Sultan, who was still in the hippodrome; the cries of the people were so loud in their anger that the Sultan could hear them. When Karîm ad-Dîn came to him and informed him of what had passed, he was full of wrath, and asked the advice of the Emirs who were with him, such as the Emir Jamâl ad-Dîn, deputy-governor of Al-Kark, the Emir Saif ad-Dîn al-Bûbakrî, the Chamberlain Baktimur, and several others; Al-Bûbakrî thought that the people

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sympathy with them, and wept over them. None of the shop-owners of Cairo and Miṣr opened his shop that day. Karîm ad-Dîn 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 Zawîlah. The Sultan was already sitting behind a lattice, and caused a number of those whom the Wâlî 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 Karîm ad-Dîn 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-Jîzah. 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 Tûlûn, and in the Castle on the Mountain, in the dwelling of the Emir Rukn ad-Dîn al-Aḥmadî in the street of Bahâ ad-Dîn, in the inn before the Water-Gate of Al-Maḳs and in the adjacent buildings. On the morning of this day three Christians had been caught, with whom cords steeped in naphtha were found, and when brought before the Sultan they confessed that they had caused the fire. The fire lasted at those places until Saturday, and when the Sultan, according to his custom, wished to ride to the hippodrome, he met 20,000 people who had coloured pieces of stuff blue, and had made a white cross upon them, and when they saw the Sultan they cried with loud and united voices: 'There is no religion except that of Islam! God protect the religion of Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallâh! O Malik an-Nâṣir, Sultan of Islam! help us against the unbelievers, and do not protect the Christians!' The earth trembled with their terrible voices, and God filled the heart of the Sultan and the hearts of the Emirs with fear; they continued their way, while he was deeply sunk in thought, until he came to the hippodrome. As meanwhile the shouts of the people did not cease, he held it best to act cautiously, and he bid the Chamberlain go out and proclaim that he who should find a Christian should demand money and blood from him. The Chamberlain went out and made this proclamation, and the people cried: 'God protect thee!' and gave him their congratulations. The Christians then used to wear white turbans, so it was proclaimed at Cairo and Miṣr that any one who should find a Christian in a white turban should be allowed to kill him and to seize his goods; and a similar permission was granted to any one who should meet a Christian on horseback. A decree was issued that the Christians should wear

blue turbans, and that none of them should ride a horse or a mule, but that they might ride asses with their heads to the tail; that no Christian might enter a bath without a bell round his neck; and that none of them might wear the dress of the Muslims. The Emirs were forbidden to take Christians into their service; the latter were removed from the Sultan's Divan, and it was commanded in all the provinces that all Christians holding office should be dismissed. The attacks of the Muslims upon the Christians increased so that the latter no longer walked in the streets, and a large number of them accepted Islam.

Nothing had been said at this time of the Jews, and so the Christians began, when they wished to leave their dwellings, to borrow a yellow turban from one of the Jews, and to wear it so as to be safe from the people. Then it happened that one of the Christians in the Divans was owed 4,000 dirhams by a Jew, so he came by night in disguise to the Jew's house to demand the money; then the Jew seized him and cried: 'Help from God and the Muslims!' and shouted so that people ran together to seize the Christian; but he fled into the inner part of the Jew's house and hid himself with the wife of the latter; he was, however, obliged to write a receipt stating that the Jew had paid him his debt, and then he was set free.

Several Christians of the Monastery of Al-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 Alamâs in the Castle; the wind was strong, so that the fire took hold and reached the house of the Emir Îtmish, 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-'Arîshah in the street of Ad-Dailam, sixteen houses near the dwelling of Karîm ad-Dîn, a number of houses in the quarter of the Romans, the house of Bahâdur near the Chapel of Hûsain, some dwellings at the stable of Aṭ-Ṭârimah 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 Bîsharî, the Khân al-Ḥajar, Al-Jamalûn, the hall of Al-Afram, the house of Baibars in the street of Aş-Şâliḥîyah, the house of Ibn Al-Maghrabî in the street of Zawîlah, many dwellings in the street of the Swallows' Well and at Al-Hakar, in the Castle on the Mountain, by several mosques and oratories and other buildings, which it would take too much space to mention.

Among the churches, destruction was wrought on the church at the Ruins of the Tartars in the Castle of the Mountain, the Church of Az-Zuhrî on the spot where the Pool of An-Nâsir now is, the Church of the Ḥamrâ, a church near the Seven Wells, which is called that of the Daughters, the Church of Saint Mennas, the Church of Al-Fahhâdîn (the Trainers) at Cairo, a church in the quarter of the Romans, a church near the Archers, two churches in the quarter of Zawilah, a church near the Flag-Store, a church at Al-Khandak; four churches in the frontier-city of Alexandria, two churches in the town of Damanhûr Al-Wahsh, a church in the province of Al-Gharbîyah, three churches in the province of Ash-Sharkîyah, six churches in the province of Al-Bahnasâ; at Suyût, Manfalût, and Muniyat Ibn al-Khaşîb eight churches, at Kûş and Aswân eleven churches, in the province of Iţfîḥ one church; in the market-place of Wardân in the city of Mişr, in the quarters of Al-Muşâşah and Kaşr ash-Shama' at Mişr eight churches. A great number of monasteries also were destroyed, and the Monastery of the Mule and the Monastery of Shahrân remained long deserted. These important events, such as could with difficulty be found a second time during a long series of years, took place in a short space of time; so many persons perished, so much property was destroyed, and so many buildings ruined that for their multitude they cannot be described. The end of all things rests with God!

16. *Church of Michael.* This church was by the canal of the Banî Wâ'il before the city of Mişr to the south of 'Aḳabah Yaḥşub, 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-'Adawîyah towards the south, is old, but already ruined.

19. *The Church of Anthony,* in the district of Bayâḍ, north of Iţfîḥ, has been renewed. In the district of Sharnûb there were many churches now destroyed; one of them is in the district of Ihrît on the mountain, two days to the south of Bayâḍ, and still exists.

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them; they bring thither votive offerings, and swear by it, and relate many remarkable stories of it.

31. *Church of Saint Mârûtâ*, in the district of Shumustâ. This Mârûtâ 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 Shîhât, 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 *Mârûtâ*, that of *Barbara*, and that of *Gafrîl*, i.e. *Jabrîl* (Gabriel).

40. In Munity ibn Khasîb there are six churches, that of *Al-Mu'allakah*, i.e. the Church of the Virgin, that of *Peter and Paul*, that of *Michael*, that of *Saint George*, that of *Saint Paul of Tamwaih*, and that of the three youths, namely, Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, who were warriors in the time of Bukht Naşr (Nabuchadnezzar) and worshipped God in secret; when they were discovered Bukht Naşr 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 Tahâ in the name of the *Disciples of Christ*, who are called by them Apostles.

42. *Church of Mary*, also in the district of Tahâ.

43. *The Church of the Two Wise Men*, in the district of Manharî, keeps a great festival in the month of Bashans at which the bishop is present, and a great

fair is held at the festival. These two wise men are Cosmas and Damian, the two monks.

44. *The Church of the Virgin*, in the district of Bû Karkâs, is old and large.

45. In the district of Mallawi there is the *Church of the Apostles*, and two ruined churches, one named after *Saint George* and the other after the angel *Michael*.

46. In the district of Daljah there were many churches of which only three are left; the *Church of the Virgin* which is large, that of *Sinuthius*, and that of *Saint Mercurius*; they (the others) are entirely destroyed.

47. In the district of Şanabû is the *Church of Saint Paul* and that of *Saint George*; Şanabû numbers many Christians.

48. In the district of Biblâ'û, to the north of Şanabû, there is an old church on the western side of the city named after *George*; there are many Christians who practise agriculture.

49. In the district of 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 Banî Zaid there is a large church named after the *Apostles*, in which a festival is kept.

51. In the province of Kûş 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-Kûsûr 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-Nasârâ is a church of *Michael*.

58. In the town of Suyût 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*, *Azarias*, and *Misael*; 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 Rîfah 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] Rîfah al-Gharbî.

61. In the district of Mûshah 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 Mûshah.

62. In the district of Buḵûr, at the border of Bûtîj, 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 Mînâ'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-Ḳaṭî'ah 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-Nâṣir Faraj ibn Barkûḳ.

64. In the district of Bûtîj 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.

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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 Luḡânah 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 *Ḳumâmah* (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 Ḳaṣr ash-Shama', where the cell of their patriarch is, the *Church of the Virgin* also in the Ḳaṣr 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 Aṭ-Ṭîn.

# INDEX OF CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES IN EGYPT,

ACCORDING TO ABÛ ŞÂLIḤ,

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 Wâdî Habîb 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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<i>Place.</i>	<i>No. of Churches.</i>	<i>No. of Monasteries.</i>	<i>Folio of MS.</i>
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<i>Place.</i>	<i>No. of Churches.</i>	<i>No. of Monasteries.</i>	<i>Folio of MS.</i>
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Karfûnah, Mon. of . . . . .	1	1	89 a
Kaṣr Khâkân, <i>see</i> Bunumrus			
Al-Khaizarânîyah . . . . .	1	...	60 a & b
Al-Khandaq, <i>see</i> Fustât Miṣr			
Khazârah . . . . .	1	...	102 b
Al-Khuṣûṣ . . . . .	25	1	88 b
Kift . . . . .	11	8	103 a
Kufâdah . . . . .	5	...	73 b
Al-Kufûr . . . . .	1	...	74 a
Al-Kulzum . . . . .	1	1	58 a
Kûṣ . . . . .	12	1	80 a
Al-Kuṣair, Mon. of . . . . .	8	1	13 b, 44 a, 49 a ff.
Al-Kuṣair al-Hakḳânî . . . . .	1	1	50 a
Kûṣakâm, <i>see</i> Kûṣ Kâm			
Kûṣ Kâm . . . . .	1	1	78 a & b
Lâhûn . . . . .	2	1	73 a & b
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Light, Mon. of, <i>see</i> Ahnâs			
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Mallawî . . . . .	7	...	74 b
Manf, <i>see</i> Memphis			
Mansarah . . . . .	3	...	80 a
Marâghât . . . . .	...	1	92 b
Mareotis, <i>see</i> Al-Marîyah			
Al-Marîyah (Marea) . . . . .	1	...	107 b
Maryût, <i>see</i> Al-Marîyah			
Memphis . . . . .	1	...	68 a & b
Mîr . . . . .	3	...	80 a
Miṣr, <i>see</i> Fustât Miṣr			
Al-Muḥarraḳah, Mon. of, <i>see</i> Kûṣ Kâm			
Al-Muḥarraḳah [near Bunumrus] . . . . .	1	...	61 a
Mukhnân . . . . .	1	...	60 b
Mule, Mon. of the, <i>see</i> Al-Kuṣair			
Munâ 'l-Amîr . . . . .	1	...	60 b

<i>Place.</i>	<i>No. of Churches.</i>	<i>No. of Monasteries.</i>	<i>Folio of MS.</i>
Munyat Andûnah . . . . .	2	...	60 b
Munyah Banî Khaşîb . . . . .	14	1	77 b, 78 a, 88 a & b
Munyat al-Kâ'id . . . . .	2	...	17 b, 69 a
Munyat ash-Shammâs . . . . .	1	1	65 b
Munyat as-Sûdân, <i>see</i> Hulwân			
Nahyâ . . . . .	2	1	61 a ff.
Najâj . . . . .	1	...	74 b
Nakalîfah, <i>see</i> Fânû			
Naklûn . . . . .	2	1	71 a & b
Oasis, <i>see</i> Al-Bahnasâ			
Paul, Monastery of St. . . . .	1	1	56 b
Philae, Island of . . . . .	2	...	104 b
Pillar, Church of the, <i>see</i> Itfîh			
Potter, Mon. of the, <i>see</i> Turâ			
Rânah . . . . .	1	1	58 a
Red Monastery, <i>see</i> Al-Jîzah			
Rîfah and Udrunkah . . . . .	9	2	74 b, 89 a
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Saft Maidûm . . . . .	1	...	64 b
Saft al-Muhallabî . . . . .	3	...	74 b
Saft Rashîn . . . . .	2	...	75 b
Sailah . . . . .	2	2	73 a
Sâkiyah Maḥfûz . . . . .	5	...	74 b
Samallût . . . . .	1	1	88 a
Şanabû . . . . .	27	...	77 b, 80 a
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Şaul . . . . .	3	...	56 a
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Shinarâ . . . . .	24	...	91 b, 92 a
Shubrâ . . . . .	1	...	71 b
Shuṭb . . . . .	1	...	88 a
Sumustâ . . . . .	1	...	90 b
Suyût, <i>see</i> Usyût			
Tahâ al-Madînah . . . . .	7 (once 360?)	...	74 a, 77 a
At-Tair, Mount of . . . . .	3	1	76 a

<i>Place.</i>	<i>No. of Churches.</i>	<i>No. of Monasteries.</i>	<i>Folio of MS.</i>
Tamhâ . . . . .	1	...	60 b
Tamwaih . . . . .	6	1	67 a
Tansâ . . . . .	4	...	18 a, 69 b
Torch, Mon. of the, <i>see</i> Munyat ash-Shammâs			
Tunbudhâ . . . . .	2	1	31 a, 90 a
Turâ . . . . .	3	1	47 b
Turfah . . . . .	1	...	74 b
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Wasîm . . . . .	1 (once 366 ?)	...	60 b
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Well, Mon. of the, <i>see</i> Kamulah			
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Zuwailah, <i>see</i> Zawîlah			
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## « تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح »

ذياحته الرب فيح نفسه ويرحمنا بصلاته فصل وكان الفراغ من  
 نسخة يوم الاربعاء وهو الثاني من شهر بووننة المبارك سنة اربعة  
 وخمسين و الف للشهداء الابرار الموافق للثامن من شهر ذا لقعدة  
 سنة ثمان وثلاثين وسبعمائة احسن الله عاقبتها ء فصل وقصد  
 العبد الحقير الناسخ ان يختصر الكتاب كما تقدم الاول ولا  
 يخرج عما فيه من النص فلم يمكنه ذلك وهو يسال كل من وقف  
 على ما فيه ان يبسط العذر لمن اعتذر في مثل ذلك والله الموفق  
 للصواب يوفقنا جميعنا لما فيه خلاص نفوسنا ويكفيننا التجارب  
 والمحن الزمنية ويحفظ علينا الامانة الارثوذكسية ويوصلنا الى ميناء  
 السلامة سالمين امين والسبح لله دائما الى ابد الابد

قيرون بحجارة مطلية بالذهب وحجارة جبال تلك الارض منها ما يرصف كالذهب كالمرقشيتا الذهبية والنحاسية وكانت هذه المدينة لما تكامل بناها اذا اشرف شعاع الشمس عليها يصير منظرها عجيبيًا جدًا لم يوجد في الارض شيئًا يمثل به ذلك المنظر العجيب مدينة خوليا بناها ملك يقال له خيول وشيد بناها وصارت مدينة عظيمة وسكنها النساء الى عصر سليمان ابن داوود النبي عليه السلام ومن هاهنا انتهى ما جمعه صاحب Fol. 112 b التاريخ ولم يبلغ فيه الغاية القصوى لاتساع الارض وما عليها في مشارقها ومغاربها ولكنه جمع ما لم يجمعه غيره واهتم غاية الاهتمام وكان مع ذلك قصير العبارة لاطنابه في القول بما لم تدعوه الحاجة اليه \* فصل والعبد الحقير المسكين العاجز الناسخ نقل ما وجدته في نسخة المنقول منها بغير زيادة ولا نقص حسب الاشارة العالية المولوية السيدية الفاضلية العالمية العاملة الارخنية الارثوذكسية الاكرمية الشيخ الرئيس الاكرم ابو الفرج الفرع المثمر الراهن من الاصل الزكي الطاهر نخل الشيخ الرئيس الكامل السديد رفائيل ابن القس الرئيس الامجد ابو الفرابي المكنى بصندوق العلم وكان هذا القس كبير القسوس بكنيسة المعلقة بمدينة مصر يقصر الجمع وتضمن هذا الكتاب ان القس ابو المعابى ابن القس السبى ابو الفضائل ابن القس المهدي انه قدس في عيد الصليب بكنيسة المعلقة في السابع عشر من توت ووضع اصبعه في الكاس فانصبغ دم طبيعي ولما راي هذا القس هذه الاية العظيمة كان يخدم كاتبًا في استيفا ديوان ثغر الاسكندرية وانه بطل نفسه من الشغل واقام في قلايته بالكنيسة Fol. 113 a المذكورة وعلى اصبعه ستر دائم وهو في ذلك الحجاب الى حين

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من بها من النصارى نساطرة وبها بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة  
مرتمريم وبيعة للقديس الجليل والشهيد العظيم ماري جرجس  
فهصور فيها عدة بيع وجميع من بها من النصارى نساطرة والحال  
فيها كذلك وهى التى يصل منها الكافور وهذا الصنف ينبع من  
الخشب وهذه المدينة بها بيعة واحدة على اسم ستنا السيدة  
العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم صنعا اليمن بها الكنيسة المعروفة بالقليس  
انشاها ابراهيم ملك اليمن من قبل النجاشى ملك الحبش وهذا  
ابرها الاشم وهذا فى الحرب شُرمت انفه فسمى الاشم بنا هذه  
الكنيسة المذكورة وزخرفها بالذهب والاصباغ الحسننة الملونة وبسط  
ارضها بالرخام الملون وعمد الرخام فيها قائما ونائم وجلاها  
باحسن الجلا من الذهب والفضة والزجاج المذهب والملون وصفح  
ابوابها بالصفائح الذهب والفضة وسمر الصفائح الذهب بمسامير  
الفضة والفضة بمسامير الذهب الملوحة وجعل على ابواب المذابح  
Fol. 111 a بها صفحات ذهب عراض ورصع فيها الجواهر من الاحجار  
الكريمة وجعل فى وسط كل صفحة من ذلك صليب ذهب وفى  
وسطه ياقوتة بهرمان احمر شفاف ينبسط جرم تلك الجواهر  
حولهم بانوار تشف مختلفة الالوان تذهل الناظرين اليها وامر  
الناس بالحج اليها فتواروا الناس اليها من كل الجهات وجعل  
لها حجابا محكوم الصنعة من خشب الابنوس والساسم مطعم  
بالعاج الابيض النقى المنقوش بحسن الصنعة وشاع خبرها فى  
تلك البلاد وسمع بها من لم يراها وحج اليها كثيرين من الناس  
وحملوا لها النذور وكثير من الناس جاوروا هناك ولازموا المقام  
فيها والمبيت وكان الملك يهتم بالمجاورين بها وبنا لهم بيوت  
يسكنوها وبنا لها املاك كثير وحبسهم عليها وكان هذا الملك

جل اسمه ربح تحمل البحر وتكشف طريق البيعة لاجتماع  
 الناس الى عيده وياتوا اليه من كل الجهات ويمشوا في طريق  
 البيعة كما مشوا بنى اسرائيل لما انشق لهم البحر الاحمر برعاية  
 موسى النبي وصلواته عنهم قدام الرب هكذا ان الله سبحانه  
 اظهر مثل ذلك في وقتنا هذا بصلوات هذا الرسول العظيم  
 ومنزلته الجليلة عند الرب الذي ايدته بمثل هذه القوة العظيمة  
 التي لم تبطل فان الشعب المجتمع الى هذا العيد العظيم وعيدوا  
 وتباركوا فان الكهنة يقدسوا ويحملوا السرائر المقدسة ويغمسوا  
 الجسد المقدس في الدم الزكى ثم يضعوه في تلك اليد الطاهرة Fol. 110 a  
 فيقبل كل احد من الشعب ويتناول السرائر المقدسة من راحة  
 تلك اليد الطاهرة ولم يزلوا هكذا يتقربوا واحداً بعد واحد الى  
 ان تمسك اليد من الشعب واحد فعند ذلك مجدوا الله جميعهم  
 ويقربوا الكهنة باقى الشعب ويحملوا ذلك التابوت بيدهم بالترقييل  
 والفرح العظيم الى حيث يضعوه مكانه بعد ان تقبله الناس  
 ويتباركون منه وبعد فروع خدمة البيعة عند ما يريدوا الشعب  
 الانصراف يتباركوا من ذلك الانسان الذى اختاره الله من دون  
 الشعب ان يقيم مدة سنة يخدم هذا الجسد الطاهر ويقدم عليه  
 المصابيح فى الليل والنهار ويضعون عنده جميع ما يحتاج اليه  
 ويدضوا كل منهم الى موضعه فانهم بلغوا جميعهم الى البر ولم  
 يبق منهم احد عاى البحر لما كان عليه وغطا طريق البيعة وانا  
 عادوا العام الثانى للعيد يجدوا ذلك الانسان الذى يخدم  
 جسد القديس توما تنبيح فى تلك الساعة وهو سخن وصار هذا  
 رسماً جارياً لم ينقطع على ممر الايام فالمجد لله العظيم الجال  
 فى قديسيه صانع الايات لاجلهم له المجد مدينة كולם جميع Fol. 110 b



مصر وهو عظيمًا جدًا كثير الناس تحيط به البحار واللجج المسيرة  
سفن مما يلي مصر وهو من البر يقرب الى تخوم العجم وكان  
قديمًا فيه عبادة الاصنام وظلمتها وكان المرسل اليهم توما الاعظم  
من الاثنى عشر منذرًا اياهم بكراسة الخلاص وان هذا الرسول  
الجليل نقلهم من عبادة الاصنام الى معرفة الحق وطريق  
الخلاص وعمدهم باسم الاب والابن والروح القدس وقبلوا منه  
الامانة الارثوذكسية وبنوا بيعة عدة وكرز منهم عليهم من عرف منه  
وثوقه بالايان الذي قبله منه اساقفة وقسوس وشمامسة وعلهم  
اوضاع الخدمة وتقديس السرائر المقدسة وفائدة رفع البخور في  
صلواتهم وقداساتهم وهداهم الى معرفة الله وصنع امامهم ايات  
معجزة واعاجيب خارقة ما لم يروا مثله ولم يسمعوا وقوا ايمانهم  
حتى تركوا عبادة الاصنام وتقدمة القرابين لها وتحققوا من  
موجب العقل ما كانوا عليه من الضلالة والكفر ثم لما استنارت  
عقولهم وقلوبهم هموا ببنائة بيعة لتوما العظيم الذي ارشدهم  
وهذه البيعة الذي اهتموا بعمارتها لهذا الرسول العظيم توما  
الذي قبلوا منه الامانة الارثوذكسية اظهر الله لهم اية عظيمة لما  
انتهت عمارة البيعة ارسل الله سبحانه البحر غطا طريقها ولما

استشهد هذا الرسول العظيم واكمل جهاده ونال اكليل الشهادة  
حمل جسده المقدس الى هذه البيعة فوضعه في تابوت محكم  
الصنعة وصفحه بالذهب ولما شاهدوا هذه الاعجوبة الاخرى بعد  
شهادته وان يده اليميني لم تتغير عن طبع الحياة كما كانت  
اولًا وهو حي عجبوا من ذلك وقويت ايمانهم فجعلوا في التابوت  
موضع لخروج يده المقدسة اية ظاهرة لكل من رآها وعاد البحر  
الذي سد الطريق الموصلة لهذه البيعة في كل سنة برسل الله

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توماس التلميذ ویده المقدسة التي لمس بها جنب السيد وهي  
 الى الان حية شهادة لقيامته المسيح الحى من بين الاموات  
 وصعوده الى السما وهذه فى جسد القديس توما فى كنيسة  
 بجزيرة من جزائر الهند فى البحر المالح يتخبر عنها المسافرين  
 مما هو مشهور بين الناس الى يومنا هذا افريقية من الغرب  
 بشر بها فيليغوس الرسول وتفسيرة محب الخيل بيعة مار  
 يوحنا وبيعة على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم انشأها  
 بعض التجار المسافرين سنة احد وثلاثين وتسعمائة للاسكندر  
 غرب الغرب بها الروم يسكنون سقط فيها ثلج كثير وبرد عظيم  
 وبرد شديد فمات فيها من الناس والبهائم كثير قرطاجنة فيها  
 جسد فيليغوس المذكور مدفوناً الاندلس كرسى ملكة المغاربة  
 البربر المسلمين وفى اقصاه كرسى ملكة الفرنج الروم فصل  
 تضمن كتاب الخطط بمصر ان عمر ابن العاص امير مصر لما فتح  
 قلعة طليطلة من الاندلس فى رجب سنة ثلاث وتسعين لملكة  
 العرب على يد موسى وجد فيها تاج ذكر انه تاج سليمان ابن  
 داود الملك ومائدته وهى ذهب مكللة بالجواهر وكان قيمتها  
 خاصة مائتى الف دينار معاً وجده من الاموال والذخائر  
النفيسة والجواهر الكريمة والآنية والسلاح ما لا قيمة له المكان  
المعروف انظر واعجب وهو قريباً من المرية بينه وبينها ثلاثة ايام  
 فيها بيعة السيدة الطاهرة العذرى مرتمريم تضمنت السيرة ان عند  
 باب هذه البيعة شجرة زيتون ليس فيها ورقة خضراء وان يوم  
 عيدها عند طلوع الشمس تخضر هذه الشجرة والناس جميعهم  
 ينظروها وتنفتح اغصانها وتنيع اوراقها ويظهر فوقها ثمر الزيتون  
 ويتلون ريتونها ويتزائد ويتكاثر الى نصف النهار فيصير فيها من

الحبشة قرص خمير بغير ختم وتزوج موسى ابنة الملك ويتقربو  
 بالخل والماء وبالماء خاصة وليس ذلك من عدم الخمر بل عوائد  
 توارثوها عن السلف فصل وفي بلاد الحبشة عدة كبيرة مسلمين  
 ويقوموا بالجزية عن كل نفس ثلاثة الافىخليس حديد وهو  
 سفوف مبسوط وفي طرفه ختم الملك وعند الملك فى الذخيرة كرسى  
 داود الملك الذى كان يجلس عليه للحكم وعليه بما دار صلبان  
 ذهب وفي جميع جوانبه وكانت الابا البطارقة يكتبون ملوك  
 الحبشة والنوبة دفعتين فى السنة واخرهم زخاريوس الرابع  
 والستين فمنع من ذلك الحاكم وانقطع الى الان بل انه اذا حضر  
 كتاب كل منهم الى الخليفة بمصر ووزيرة تقدم الى البطريك  
 بمكاتبتة بما النصرى عليه من الجلالة والاکرام وغير ذلك من  
 التصرف فى عاداتهم الجارية ويوصى الملك بالحبشة ان يتوصى  
 بالمسلمين التى تحت رعايته وكان عادة كل من ملوك الحبشة  
 واهل مملكته ان تكون لكل واحد منهم عدة من النساء الى  
 بطريكية انبا شنودة وهو السابع والستين فى العدى امر المطران  
 ان يردهم عن هذه الطريق الى طريق النصرى بمصر والشام ولا  
 يمكن الملك مما هو عليه هو واهل مملكته فامتنعوا من ذلك وصار  
 لكل منهم زوجة واحدة فصل ويعتمد فى تكريز الكنائس هناك ما  
 جرت به العادة فى جميع الكنائس بمصر وامر المطران ان يامرهم  
 انه اذا تكامل بنا بيعة يذبح لها اثنا عشر رأس من البقر اربعة  
 ومن الضان اربعة ومن المعز اربعة لكل جهة من جهات البيعة  
 ثلاثة ويصدق بالجميع فى يوم الفراغ من عمارة البيعة قرباناً  
 لله الذى اعانه ان كمال عمارة بيت تقرب فيه قرابين لله ويذكر  
 فيه اسمه ويرفع فيه الدعاء والصلوات والتسابيح له فيها بيعة

Fol. 106 b

Fol. 107 a

جميعهم كهنة يقدسوا على الهياكل ما دام الملك منهم لا يقتل بيده فانما قتل لم يبق له قداس وتتمة الشروط التي تلزمه بعد ما يقتل وقد تقدم ذكرها في هذا الكتاب وجميع الكهنة انا اخطا احدهم ياخذ بيده بخور من هذه الاصناف مما يبخر به على الهياكل عندهم ومجموعة لبان وسندروس ومبيعة ولادن ومصطكا وعون وسليخة ويعترف بخطيئته عليه ويطرحه في المجرة وايضا الورن اليابس وكل من ملوك الكهنة يتوج بتاج الملك في بيعة الملاك ميخائيل وبيعة القديس الجليل ماري جرجس تحت صورهما وليس ثم تاج بل يباركه المطران ويضع يده على راسه ويحنكه بمنديل من على راسه الى احناكه ويلبسه ثياب ديباج وعندهم تابوت العهد الذي فيه اللوحى الحجارة المكتوبة باصبع الله بالوصايا التي امر الله بها بنى اسرائيل وتابوت العهد وهو في علو المذبح في ارتفاعه وعرضه دون عرضه وينتهي في علوه الى رقبة الرجل وهو مصفح بالذهب وعلى غطاءه الفوقانى صلبان ذهب وعليه خمس جواهر اربعة في اربع زوايا وفي وسطه

Fol. 106 a جوهرة واحدة ويقدم عليه في كل سنة اربع قداسات في قصر الملك وينشر عليه سرانق عند اخراجه من الكنيسة الى الكنيسة التي بقصر الملك وذلك في عيد الميلاان العظيم وعيد الغطاس المجيد وعيد القيامة المقدسة وعيد الصليب الانور وترسم خدمته وحمله بجماعة كبيرة من بنى اسرائيل منسوبين الى نسل داوود النبي وهم بيض حمر شقر وفي كل بلد من بلاد حبشة كنيسة واحدة في اكبر ما يكون من الاتساع فصل وندر ان النجاشي كان ابيض احمر اشقر وجميع نسله الى اليوم وندر انه من نسل هارون موسى عند وصوله الى بلاد الحبشة وقرابين

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الخضر والكتان والقمح وغير ذلك وفيها نخيل متفرقة شواهد  
 لملك الارض واقف للسواقي اربعين زوج بقر واصرف مالا كثير  
 في الصدقات قبل وفاته نبيح الله نفسه الناحية المعروفة بفار من  
 الصعيد الاعلى بها دير وبيعة على اسم القديس ابو بخوم وهذه  
 البيعة كبيرة متسعة طولها مائة وخمسون ذراعاً وعرضها خمسة  
 وسبعين ذراعاً وهي الان قد تشعنت وجميع الصور التي فيها كانت  
 فص زجاج من ذهب وملون وعمدها رخام هدمها الحاكم قمولة  
 فيها بيعة على اسم الشهيد الجليل تادرس بيعتين الشهيد  
 الجليل بو مرقورة له بها بيعة وايضاً بيعتين للملاكين الجليلين  
 ميخائيل وغبريال وبها ايضاً بيعتين للشهيدين الجليلين القديس  
 ماري جرجس والقديس بقطر ابن ارمافوس • وبيعتين للقديسين  
 الجليلين ابو شنودة ويوحنا بو قرقاس فيها ديرين للشهيدين  
 الجليلين ابا نوب وتادرس مدينة الاشمونين للابا القديسين  
 بطرس ومرقس بها بيعتين وللشهيدين الجليلين ماري جرجس  
 ومرقوريوس بها ايضاً بيعتين وللملائكة الاطهار العلويين ميخائيل  
 وغبريال ورفائيل لهم بها ثلاثة كنائس الناحية المعروفة بثغر  
 اسوان ايضاً مضافاً لما تقدم مجاور الحصن من شرقيه بيعة  
 للاربعة حيوانات وتحتها بركة ماء يقال ان فيوقلايانوس الملك  
 الكافر سفك دماً شهيداً كثير على هذه البركة وكان على هذه  
 البركة صور وقد دثر معظمه فصل جزيرة بقيق من غربها بيعة

Fol.104 b للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مريم وبها عدة كنائس معظمه خراب  
 وبيعة للقديس الشهيد الجليل تادرس جزيرة بلاف وبها اصنام  
 كثير وبرابي وبها بيعتين احدهما على اسم الملاك الجليل  
 ميخائيل واخرة لاتناسيوس البطريك وهولاً عند الجنان بيت

مثله وذكر ان الجبابرة الذين بنوا البربا احكموا بناية هذه البئر  
 مدينة قفط اول مدينة بنيت بارض مصر بناها قفط ابن مصرائم  
 وعاش اربعمائة ودفن مع نخائره بالواحات وفيها طريق الى  
 عيذاب وطريق الى معدن الزمرد بهذه وطريق الى بحر النعام  
 بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتيم وفيها جسد القديس ابو  
 شاج وبيعة اخرى للسيدة ايضا العذرى الطاهرة مرتيم  
 وبيعة للقديس ساورس دير للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتيم  
 ودير للقديس ابو شنودة ودير على اسم القديس انطونيوس  
 ودير على اسم القديس ابو جرج للنسا الرهبانات ودير للشهيد  
 بقطر للرهبان وديرين على اسم الشهيد الجليل تادرس وبيعة  
 على اسم الملاك غبريال فى علو الجبل بهذه الناحية وفى  
 وسطها عامون قائم وحده وهو مكشوف للشمس وفيه انزع نهاية  
 النيل قد وضعت بحكمة وهداية من الله تعالى فاذا كان فى  
 اليوم السادس والعشرين من بوونة وهو يوم وقوف الشمس ليوسع  
 ابن نون باذن الله تعالى حتى غلب الامم الكفرة الجبابرة فى  
 الحرب بتبديل الشمس فى عدة الوان وبتضاعف هالاتها فاذا هى  
 وقفت على هذا العامون وانتهى حدها على احد الانزع علم من ذلك  
 ذهاية النيل المبارك فى تلك السنة علو الجبل قناة هذه الناحية  
 بها ديرين جدهما المعلم اسحق المعروف بالازرق التاجر الذى  
 من مدينة قفط احدهما على اسم قلوطس والاخر على اسم  
 الملاك الجليل ميخائيل وكانوا قد بلغوا الى الخراب وانه اهتم  
 وغرم جملة كبيرة واقامهم احسن قيام وتوارت اليهم الرهبان  
 وسكن فيهما خمسون راهبا وغرس فيهما غروس كثير من الاشجار  
 والكرمات واوقف عليهما اراضى ملك وعليها سواقى يزرع عليها



تجعل على البحر اولها على اوله واخرها على اخره في عرضه  
ولم يكمل استخلاصها من زمن الجبابرة وهي الان باقية على  
هذه الصفة ناحية اسنا وتفسيرها الشجر وكان بها شجرة من  
الهند وبها بيعة على اسم متيوس الراهب العابد ذكر انه انا قدم  
اسقفا عليها اعنى مدينة اسنا ووصل الى هذه الناحية يحمله  
رجل مسلم من خارج البلد الى ان يصل به الى قلاية سكنه  
وفى اعراس المسلمين وافراحهم يحضروا النصارى ويقروا قبطياً  
صعيدى ويمشوا قدام العريس فى اسواقها وشوارعها وصار هذا  
عندهم عرف وعادة مستقرة الى عصرنا نحن \* وفى ليلة عيد  
الميلاد المقدس من كل سنة يوقدوا المسلمين والنصارى شموع  
ومصابيح واحطاب بجملته كبيرة ارميت وكانت تسمى قديماً ارموسة  
تفسيرها بقة مباركة بناها الملك ابن قفطريم بوسيم ابن قفطريم  
ابن مصرائم ابن بيصر ابن حام ابن فوح بها بيعة للسيدة  
العذرى الطاهرة مرتدريم وكرز بها مديح فى سنة احدى وثمانائة  
للشهداء الابرار اخذ من شقاف اوعية ماء التكريز وصيت فى  
البئر التى فى البيعة فصعد الماء حتى انتهى الى نصف البئر  
فعلموا الكهنة حد صعود الماء وعلامته باقية الى الان بيعة  
بالخزارة قريباً من هذه الناحية على اسم بطرس رئيس الالباء  
الحواريون مكتوباً عنها انها لما كرزت فاض الماء من الوعية حتى  
ساح فى صحن البيعة \* بيعة على اسم القديس انبا ميخائيل  
قريباً من دمايل دندرة بالصعيد مدينة كبيرة بنتها بعض بنات  
القبط فى ايام منفاوس بها بئر مربع البنا فتحه مائة ذراع ينزل  
اليه بدرج تنزلها الجمل والثور والغرس والغنم وسائر البهائم  
يشربون عين هذا البئر وبهذه الناحية برها عجيبه جداً لم يرى

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ميخائيل مطلة على البحر بين بلان النوبة وبلان المسلمين وهي  
برسم النوبة ويجاورها مسجد بنى مستجد وقصر عمل محرس  
بين المسلمين والنوبة وهو اول عمل النوبة وجزيرة بلاق وبين  
ارض النوبة والمسلمين حجران على جبل فى وسط بحر النيل  
المبارك وللمسلمين مقابلها حصن منيع على يقال له بلاق بناه  
بروبا وسرايىب وفيه مساكنًا حصينة وفيه تأثيرات محكمة من  
اعمال الاوائل وبين اسوان منها خمسة اميال وبعدها اسوان  
الثغر الاعظم والرباط الاكبر واخر مناهل المسلمين وحواليها معادن  
الذهب وفيها بريا فيه صورة عقرب يختم عليه كل سنة بالطفل  
فى اثنا عشر يوماً من برمودة فلا يقرب العقرب من معه شى  
من الطفل المختوم به على صورة العقرب وتفسير اسم اسوان  
اسرطو وهذه المدينة بناها الملك لقوم من الحبشة جعلهم حرصاً  
وكان فيهم شدة فى الاكل فقال لهم اسرطوا منها الى العلا  
ثمانية عشر يوماً والى عيداب اربعة ايام دير بابقاج على جبل  
على مطل على البحر وبيعته على اسم الملاك الجليل ميخائيل  
وهى قبة واحدة كبيرة جداً بين اسوان وقوص وانا اخذ احد  
من النذر الذى يحمل اليها شى قليل او كبير وركب فى مركب  
لا يقدر ذلك المركب يخرج من البر حتى يعيد ما اخذه وعرف  
هذا بين اهل تلك الارض فلم يعون احد يعترض الى شى من  
نذر الكنيسة بيعة على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتدريم  
انشاها الملك وكرزها اثنا جرجة الاسقف اسقف نطا عند مسيرة  
من عند اخر سلطان لوس البطريك الى هناك يلتمس من الملك شيئاً  
يساعده به بحكم انه كان فى مصادرة الجعدى اخر خلفاء بنى  
امية فصل ذكر ان جبل القمر الذى يجرى منه ماء النيل لون

يزعم الناظر اليه انه قطعة واحدة وهو مسقف بلاطات حجر اسود  
 مانع ملس طول كل واحدة خمسة عشر ذراع بالعدل وعرضها  
 خمسة وسمكها خمسة وعدتهم خمسة وعشرون قطعة متلاصقة  
 يظن بهم انهم قطعة واحدة وفي ذلك البريا بئر منقورة بدرجة  
 وهو متسع فانا نزل احد فيها الى اخر الدرج يوجد اقبية بعطفات  
 مختلفة ما يدرك لها اخر فمتى لتجج في الدخول يضيع وربما  
 يهلك ان لم يرجع من قريب فصل وعند الجنادل الرابعة دير  
عظيم في الشرق على جبل عال مطل على بحر النيل المبارك  
 مدينة تافة فيل ان موسى النبي قبل ان يتغيب من وجه فرعون  
 ارسله فرعون ليغزوا بلاد السودان ويقصد اخر بلادهم وتلك  
 البلاد التي امره فرعون ان يغزوها بها افاعي كثيرة وحشرات  
 مهلكة وكان موسى النبي حكيمًا موفقًا من الله في جميع حركاته  
 فسار قاصد اليها بجيشه واستصحب معه من الطيور الديوك  
 والقوق ثم فدخل في البراري المقفرة التي تاوى اليها الحشرات  
 والافاعي العتق المهلكة فكانوا اذا سمعوا اصوات الديوك والقوق  
 في الليل والنهار يهربون ولا يستقرون في اماكنهم وتغيب عن  
 طريقه فتسير في طريقه ولا ينظر شي منها فبلغ الى مدينة تافة  
 فنزل على هذه المدينة فراته ابنة الملك والطيور معه فاحبته  
 وراسلته في فتح المدينة ودلته على طرق يسلكها فتسهل فتح  
 المدينة عليه ومكتوب انها ابنة ملك الحبشة ففتحها بالامان  
 وامن من بها من الناس وحملوا اليه مالًا وبهذه المدينة المذكورة  
 اعنى مدينة تافة دير يعرف بدير انسون وهو دير عتيق متقن  
 البنا حسن الوضع ولذلك لم تتغير معالمها على طول مدته وبقرية  
 محازي الجبل خمسة عشر ضيعة \* بيعة للملاك الجليل

Fol. 100 a

Fol. 100 b

كتاب بخط يده بالقلم النوبي ما يدل على علمه ودينه وزهاده \*  
 فصل ونعت هذا الملك اعنى ملك النوبة بالملك القديس فصل  
 Fol. 99 a اعنى ملك النوبة له النوبة واعمالها واراض علوة والمُقرة والاجناس  
 المضافة اليها وذكر ان عادتهم جارئة بانه انا مات ملك وخلف  
 ولد وكان له ابن اخت فيملك بعد خاله دون ولد الملك وان لم  
 يكن له ابن اخت يملك ولده بعده بلان النوبة وهى كرسى مارى  
 مرقس الانجيلى ومنه يقسم لهم وقداسهم وصلواتهم روميا وعدة  
 ملوك النوبة ثلاثة عشر ملكا هول ضابطين البلاى وجميعهم تحت  
 طاعة كريباكوس الملك الكبير وجميعهم كهنة يقديسون على الهياكل  
 ما دام الملك منهم لم يقتل بيده فاذا قتل لم يبق له قداس  
 ولم يزال كذلك اعنى الملك بغير قداس وانا دخل الى حجاب  
 الهيكل ينزع عنه تاج الملك ويقف مكشوف الراس الى ان يتقرب  
 الشعب جميعه ولم يبق منهم احد بغير قربان فيتقرب اخر  
 الشعب اذا اراد ان يتقرب مدينة درمس من بلاى النوبة بها  
 بيعة جليلة القدر حسنة الوضع مُطلّة على البحر فيها صفة صورة  
 Fol. 99 b الملك الكبير وصورة صاحب درمس فصل جرجى ابن زكرياء ملك  
 النوبة وهو شيخ كبير كان يجلس على سرير ابنوس مطعم بعاج  
 مُصقح بالذهب الخالص وعمره ثمانين سنة وعلى راسه تاج الملك  
 مرصع بالاحجار الكريمة وفى اعلاه صليب ذهب وفى اربع جهاته  
 اربع جواهر فصل وفى هذه المدينة بربا عظيم بنى على اسم  
 كوكب الشمس وفى صدره صنم يشبه \* \* \* وفى صدر الصنم  
 صفة القمر وهو قطعة واحدة وفى هذه البربا صور عجيبة مُذهلة  
 جدا واعمدة عظام يدهش الناظر اليها متعجبا لاقتدار البشر على  
 مثل ذلك الاعمال الشاقة وفى ذلك البربا مجلس هائل متسع

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لما اتصل بملك مصر سبب مجيهم فقبل له انه لما طلع البطرک  
 اعنى بطرك مصر يسترفد من النصارى بالصعيد اتصل خبره الى  
 ملك النوبة وملك الحبشة وملك تحت طاعة بطرك مصر فغار  
 لذلك فعند ذلك اطلق البطرک ولم يعون يعترضه وطلب منه ان  
 يكتب ملك النوبة ويامر به بالرجوع فكتب الى الملك بمثل ذلك  
 فرجع ولم يعون يفعل كما كان يفعل ثم انصرف وعاد الى بلاده  
 فصل وشهدت سيرة البيعة واخبار انبا يوسف البطرک وهو فى  
 Fol. 97 b العدى الثانى والخمسون ان ابراهيم اخو المامون العباسى انفذ  
 كتاب الى زخرياء ملك النوبة يطلب منه البقط من الرقيق الى  
 اربعة عشر سنة وانه لما لم يقدر على ذلك وجه اليه جرجة ولده  
 الى بغداد فلما شاهد ابراهيم هذا فرح به لكونه عجز عن القيام  
 بما طلب منه فسير ولده الذى لم يكن عنده اعز منه ثم عجب  
 لطاعة ولده له الذى ابدل نفسه لطاعة ابيه وسامحه بجميع  
 ما طلبه منه واعاد ولده الى مصر ونزل فى دار الامير متولى مصر  
 وقصد ولده زيارة الاب البطرک فتوجه اليه وهو فى غاية الاكرام  
 فتبارك منه وساله ان يكرز له مذبحاً ويحمله الى قصر الامير  
 المذكور حيث هو نازلاً فاجاب سؤاله وحمل له مذبحاً مكرز وعاد  
 يوجه له الاساقفة والقسوس والشمامسة وكانوا يقصدون على  
 المذبح ويقربوا ابن الملك ومن معه وامر له والى مصر ان يضرب له  
 الناقوس فى علو منزله ليجتمع اصحابه للصلاة معه والقديس كما  
 يفعل فى بلاده الى توجه جرجة ابن الملك الى ابيه وهو سالماً  
 مكروماً فصل ولما وصل ابن الملك لابيه انشا بيعة كبيرة واتقن  
 Fol. 98 a وضعها شكر لله لوصول ولده اليه سالماً وكرزها له انبا جرجة  
 اسقف نظو الذى كان سيرة انبا اخرسطادلوس وهو السادس

العاقد لدين الله في جماد الاول سنة ثمان وستين وخمسمائة  
 في دولة الغز والاكراان قصد هذه الناحية بالعسكر المتوجه صكبتة  
 ومن اجتمع اليه وقعر المراكب من الجنادل وفيها الزان والعدن Fol. 96 b  
 والسلاح وساروا اليها ولما تعدت عليهم تركوها خراب بعد ان  
 فتحوها وسبو من بها من النوبة وذكرا ان عدتهم سبعمائة الف  
 نفس من الرجال والنساء والفتيان والصغار ووجد بها سبعمائة  
 خنزير وامر بحرق الصليب الذي على قبة هذه البيعة وان يوزن  
 على علوها ونهبوا جميع ما بهذه الناحية ونهبوا حاصل البيعة  
 وقتلوا الخنازير ووجد بها اسقف فعاقبه فلم يجد عنده شى  
 يقربه حينئذ سباه مع السبي ورکز بها في القلعة وهي على  
 جبل عال حصينة جداً وترك بها عدة من الخيل وجعل عندهم  
 الزان والسلاح والعدن والالات ووجد بها قطن كثير فحملة الى  
 قوص واباعة بجملة كبيرة وقد كان فتحها محمد الخازن قبله  
 في ايام كافور الاخشيدى في الدولة العباسية فصل من سيرة  
 البيعة المقدسة واخبار الابا البطاركة عن انبا خائيل وهو السادس  
 والاربعين في العدن انه لما صور في خلافة مروان الجعدى وهو Fol. 97 a  
 اخر خلفاء بنى امية بيد امير مصر صلاح الدين يوسف الكردى  
 وصعد اعنى هذا البطرك الى الصعيد الاعلا ليسترفد من الشعب  
 هناك انه لما اتصل به ذلك اعنى كرياكوس ملك النوبة غار لذلك  
 ولحقته حمية وغيره لاهانة البطريك ومصادرته فجمع جيوشه  
 وعساكره وسار قاصد الى ديار مصر وصكبتة مائة الف فارس ومائة  
 الف جمل وخيل النوبة قصار مثل كبار حمير مصر ولهم صبر  
 على التعب ولما وصلوا الى اعمال مصر ذهبوا وقتلوا وسبوا كثير  
 واخربوا مساكن كثيرة من الصعيد وهم متوجهين الى مصر وانه



بالزرع خطأ له الحرت واحضروا له البذار ويتركوه الى جانب  
الحرت ويضعوا عنده المزور ويمضوا فيجدوا البذار قد زرع في  
الارض والمزر قد شرب وكذلك وقت الحصاد يحصدون البعض  
ويتركون عند البعض المزر فيصبحون يجدون الحصاد قد كمل  
ويزعمون ان خليقة اخرى تفعل ذلك مدينة دنقلة بها سرير  
الملك وهي مدينة عظيمة على شاطئ بحر النيل المبارك وبها  
كنائس كثيرة وآدر كبار وشوارع متسعة ودار الملك شاهقة البنا  
بقباب عدة مبنية بالطوب الاحمر تحاكي ابنية العراق مما كان  
اقترحه رفائيل ملك النوبة الى اخر سنة اثنين وتسعين وثلاثمائة  
للعرب وفي هذه السنة حمل ملك النوبة على الامام الحاكم  
بامر الله ابو ركة وهو الوليد ابن هشام الخارجي لما قصد بغزوه  
فغلبه وشتت عساكره في تخوم بلاد النوبة وذكر ان النوبة كانوا  
في القدم يعبدون الكواكب وان اول من انتقل منهم الى معرفة  
الحق ومذهب شريعة المسيح بحريا ابن اخت الملك وكان رجل  
عالماً يعلم الفلك حكيمًا ماهرًا ولما انه انتقل الى مذهب المسيح  
تبعه جميع النوبة السودان واقام لهم بيع كثيرة بجميع بلاد  
النوبة وديارات كثير وهي الان عاصمة أهلة فمنها ما هو متباعداً  
عن البحر ومنها ما هو قريباً من البحر ومن بلاد النوبة مدينة  
ابريم وهي سكن صاحب الجبل وجميع من بها مريس وعليها  
حصن دائر وبها بيعة جليلة كبيرة حسنة الوضع على اسم ستنا  
السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتدريم وباعلاها قبة عظيمة وعليها  
صليب عظيم ولما صعد الى الصعيد الاعلا شمس الدولة اخو  
الملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف ابن ايوب الكردي اخو شيركوه  
في خلافة المستنصر العباسي بعد زوال الخلافة الفاطمية واخرهم

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هناك وان الجسد حمل الى هذه البلاد بحكم ان ملك مصر  
 وملك الشام اخوين فان الغارات والجيوش كانت تتوارى على  
 الشام فخاف ان يتم على هذا الجسد عارض فحملت الجثة  
 دون الراس الى واحات لانها ارض لم تقصدها الجيوش والغارات  
 وتحقق ذلك ان الحجاج الذين مضوا الى القدس حضروا الى  
 لُدّ ليتباركوا من جسد الشهيد ماري جرجس ذكروا انهم شاهدوا  
 الراس دون الجسد وكان ذلك في الصوم سنة تسعين وثمانمائة  
 للشهدا الابرار دير الابرص في الواح بجراش مدينة المريسى  
 وهى مدينة عاصمة أهلة وبها مقام جوسار اللابس العصاينة والقرنين  
 والسوار الذهب وكان وافد وفد على العزيز بالله واخبره ان مدينة  
 وصل اليها فرأى عجباً عجباً يفوق عقل البشر وهو ان فى اليوم  
 السابع من برمودة تظهر مدينة بحصن وساقية تدور على باب  
 الحصن وشجرات حمير وبقر يشربون من حوض الساقية ويقوم  
 ذلك ساعتين من النهار وتركص الخيل وتأتى الى ذلك الحوض  
 وتشرب ثم بعد ذلك تختفى ولا يرى مكانها شى ولا يقدر احد  
 يصل اليها وترى قريباً وهى بعيد وتسمى هذه المدينة عند اهل  
 تلك الارض مدينة الفى ولم ترجع تظهر الى سنة فى مثل ذلك  
 اليوم فصل اول بلاد مقرة دير يعرف بدير سفنوف ملك النوبة  
 تحت الجنادل الثانية دير ميكائيل وقزما كبير متسع وبه  
 شجرة حمير تعرف منها زيادة النيل ونقصانه فى كل سنة دير  
 يعرف بدير ديرا يجاوره بربا بين جبلين عظيمين مدينة  
 تعرف بمدينة بوسقا مدينة حسنة كثيرة العالم والخيرات وبها  
 كنائس كثيرة وكان بها مقام صاحب الجبل الذى كحله جرجا  
 ابن زكرياء اسرائيل وبها دير ابو شنودة وفيه قبض على ابو ركة

ما فيه من الماء ويغسلوه بما غير ماء فيخرج الماء من العين على  
 جارى عادته الواحات واحات البهنسى \* بيعة على اسم القديس  
 ماري جرجس ذكر ان جسده الطاهر بها جثة بغير رأس وفي  
 يوم عيد شهادته يخرج من التابوت وتجده عليه كسوة اخرى  
 ويطاف به البلد جميعه بالشمع والصلبان والقراءة ثم يعاد الى  
 البيعة وكان قد خيف عليه من بيعة الروم لئلا يسرقوه فنقل الى  
 الجبل واحترز عليه وجعل في مغارة وسدوا بالحجر واخفوا  
 المغارة فراه انسان يوثق به في قوله في الرؤيا قائلاً لم سجنتموا  
 جسدي اخرجوني من هذا المكان ولم يزل الاسقف والشعب  
 يتخيلوا الى ان وجدوه واخرجوه واعادوه الى بيعته فاتصل  
 شجاع ابن الخفير والى الواحات في الخلافة الحافظية فانفذ  
 من حملة من البيعة الى دار الولاية واخذه عنده وقال ما اطلقه  
 للنصارى الا بمال جزيل وعاد الاسقف ووجه النصارى متروكين  
 اليه وحملوا اليه شئ فلم يقنعه ولم يرجع اليهم فارسل الله  
 سحابة وريح عاصف ومطر وبرق ورعد شديد ايام متوالية لم  
 يشاهد احد مثل ذلك في تلك البلاد فقيل للوالى لعل هذا  
 الحوادث انما هو بسبب تعويق هذا الجسد فطلب الاسقف وسلم  
 له الجسد وللوقت بطل ما كان حدث جميعه وذكر ان الاسقف  
 اقام اسقفا على الكرسي ثمانية وثلاثين سنة وانه لم يكف هذا  
 الجسد في طول هذه المدة غير دفعتين لما شاهده من امره  
 وقال للقسوس الكهنة تولوا انتم هذا فان الذى رايتته ما اقدر  
 اشرحه ولا انطق به وذكر ان هذا الجسد لم ينفصل اعضاءه بل  
 يجدوه قطعة واحدة لم يتغير منه شئ والمشهور بين الناس ان  
 جسد هذا الشهيد بمدينة لد في ارض الشام وذكر ان الرأس

ناحية اثليد السيدة العذرى بيعة ابو جرج الشهيد العظيم  
بيعة الملاك ميخائيل بيعة ساقية موسى بها بيعة للقديس ابو  
 بقطر ناحية شنرا ذكر ان بها اربعة وعشرين كنيسة من جملتها  
 ما يشاكل بيعة بو سرجة بمصر اهناس بها بيعة فيها جسد ابو  
 هلبا الشهيد دير النور من الاعمال الالهناستية على ساحل بحر  
 النيل وبيعتة على اسم غبريال الملاك وفيه جوسف خمس طبقات  
 عالية متقن العمارة عليه حصن دائر وفيه اربعمائة راس فدخل  
 مثمرة ناحية المراغات بها دير على اسم الملاك ميخائيل ظاهر Fol. 92 b  
قلوسنا بيعة للقبط وبيعة للارمن بوصير قوريدس هذه البلدة  
 كان بها كاهنًا لفرعون اسمه بوصير وكان ساحر وبها قتل مروان  
 ابن محمد الجعدى وهو اخر خلفاء بنى امية وبها قتل عليون  
 المارق وبهذه الناحية بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم \*  
 ودير يعرف بدير ابيرون اليه وصل مروان حمار الحرب المقدم  
 نكرة وهو اخر خلفاء بنى امية وتبعوه الخراسانيين اصحاب  
السقاح العباسى فقبضوه وصلبوه منكسًا وقتلوا وزيرة مدينة العقاب  
 بناها عون عبد الوليد ابن دومع من اولاد قفط ابن مصرائم ابن  
 بيصر ابن حام ابن نوح ذكر العين التى فى وادى العين بشرقى  
 اخميم وانها اعنى العين المذكورة انا لمستها طامت لم يعود الماء  
 ينزل حوض العين حتى ينصف ويغير \* قصة الحوض وهو الذى  
 يسمى الطاهر ذكر ان انسان شاهد حوض منقور من حجر عظيم  
 يسيل فيه ماء من عين فى اصل جبل بهذا الارض ملاصق  
 كنيسة يسيل سيلانًا دائميًا ماء حلو طيب الرائحة وانا مسه Fol. 93 a  
 رجل متنجس او امرأة حائض انقطع من ساعته وبينما قد  
 حصل فى الحوض ذلك فيعرف ذلك اهل تلك الارض فينضحوا

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السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم بيعتين على اسم الملاك غبريال  
 هدموا عوام المسلمين واحدة منهن فى سنة ثمانين وخمسمائة  
 فى مملكة الغز الاكران بيعتين على اسم الملاك ميخائيل وبيعتين  
 على الشهيد ابا لوكوم بيعة على اسم الابا التلاميذ وبيعة للشهيد  
 ابو مينا وبيعتين للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم دير على اسم  
 الشهيد الجليل تارس وبيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم  
 وبيعة على اسم غبريال الملاك وبيعة على اسم ابا فلوح الشهيد  
 وبيعة رفائيل الملاك وبيعة على اسم الشهيد العظيم مارى جرجس  
سمسطا من الصعيد الانذا بيعة ابو هرودة الشهيد وجسده بها  
بوتيج جسد بو بشونة وجسد سُنسة فى تابوتين فى بيعة قبلى  
بوتيج مدينة القيس ودفوا فيها بيعة وبها جسد ابو اسحق  
 الشهيد \* اشنين داخلها وخارجها بيعة للملاك الجليل ميخائيل  
 كبيرة جدا وهى على بحر النيل المبارك وبها اربع بيع بيعة  
 لسنا السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم وبيعة للشهيد الشجاع  
تارس وبيعة لتلماوس الشهيد \* بيعة للشهيد الجليل بو يحنس  
 وايضا ستة بيع بيعة للملاك رفائيل بيعة للشهيد ابو مرقورة  
بيعة للشهيد اكلونة بيعة وهى للشهيد الشجاع تارس بيعة للنبي  
الجليل دانيال بيعة وابا فو بيعة ومكائيل الملاك ايضا اقفيس  
 بها ستة كنائس تفصيلها بيعة على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة  
مرتمريم وبيعة للملاك الجليل ميخائيل وبيعة للملاك الجليل  
غبريال وبيعة للشهيد تارس وبيعة للشهيد ابا سيون وبيعة  
يولس الكاتب الشهيد من اقفيس<sup>1</sup> \* دير ابا فيليمون الشهيد

<sup>1</sup> من اهل اسكندرية In margin

بقلبه وصلاته وسمع خبره طلائع ابن رزيك من والى الصعيدين  
 قبل وفاته فحضر اليه وشاهده واختبره فوجد الحال صحيح  
 وبشيرة هذا الشيخ بانه يرتفع درجته ويصير وزير وان الله تعالى  
 فتح عليه بالوزارة فاطلق للدير مضافاً الى المقرر له فدن طين  
 سوان ويصوم ايضاً هذا الشيخ القديس في ايام الخمسين كل يوم Fol. 80 a  
 الى التاسعة ويفطر على قليل ترمس فقط دير ابو يحنس ويعرف  
 بابشاي دير على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتريم يعرف  
 بدير ازيلون تحته بستان عامر بالاشجار والنخيل \* دير على  
 اسم السيدة ايضاً العذرى الطاهرة مرتريم ويعرف بدير ابو  
 الحارث دير يعرف بدير التناوة على اسم الشهيد ابو بغام دير  
 الشهيد ماري بقطر وبيعة فيها جسده وجسد داود الشهيد  
 وقولوتس الشهيد هذا جسده في ديرة بسيوط وجسد بغام  
 الشهيد وله دير ابو بقطر بالخصوص من شرقيها في الجبل  
 وفيه جسده الطاهر \* ودير يعرف بابسديا وهو بين ريفعة وبين  
 \* \* \* بيعة على اسم القديس سرجيوس وتعرف بدير ابو  
 مقروفة شرقي سيوط طمبدي داخلها وخارجها دير وبيعة على  
 اسم القديس الشهيد ترنيمة جسده الطاهر في الدير بيعة اسم  
 الشهيد بسمنتة وفيها جسده الطاهر بيعة على الصطير وهو  
 سيدنا يسوع المسيح له المجد دير ابا توب الشهيد وفيه اجساد Fol. 80 b  
 ثلاثة وستين راهب شهداء وهو بحرى مدينة الاشموتين قتلهم  
 واحد من السودان اسمه حفاظ في خلافة المستنصر بالله في  
 وقت الهيج بالصعيد في بطركية اخرسطانولس وهو السادس  
 والستون في العدن في سنة احد وثمانين وسبعمائة للشهدا  
 الابرار وبهذا الدير جوسف شاهق عالي البنا بيعة على اسم



عمارتها الرشيد ابو الفضل بيعة ابو هقندا اسمية قريب صفى  
الدولة جدها هقندا ابو زكري مينا ابن كبرى المعروف بابن  
بولس والنجيب اخيه بيعة السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتيريم بيعة  
القديس الجليل ماري جرجس \* بيعة القديس الجليل الشهيد  
ابو مرقورة \* بيعة بندلوس دير هنادة للرهبانات فى ريفعة من  
اعمال سيوط وفى سيوط فى الجانب الغربى ستين بيعة وفى  
الجبل مما هو نقر فى الجبل بالازميل ولكل منهم جوسف دير  
على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتيريم يعرف بقرفوتة دير على  
اسم ابو سوريس خارج المدينة نقر فى علو الجبل استخلص  
من الجبل فيه جوسف وفيه صهريج محمل الف راوية يملأ من  
ماء النيل المبارك وفى هذا الجبل مكان فيه ثلاث طاقات نقر  
باعلاة وفيه سلا لم قرقسات باقلالات وفيه مكان اذا كان خوفاً  
عظيم يصعدوا الرهبان على القرقسات فاذا حصلوا فوق رفعوا  
القرقسات وفيه طاحون وعدة افران ومعصرة زيت حار وفيه ثلاثين  
Fol. 89 b راهباً وتحتة بستان فيه انشات ونخيل عوان مثمرة وزيتون  
ورمان ومخضرات ومبقلة يتحصل من ذلك للدير فضة جيدة  
تقوم بما يحتاج اليه الدير فى كل سنة خارج عن ما يفتح الله  
لهم به من الصدقات وعلى ذلك من النذور وهو دير مستقل  
وسكانه رهبان رؤساء قديسين نساك مجاهدين علماء وكان بغير  
خراج ولما ملكوا الغز الاكران قرروا عليه وعلى غيره من البساتين  
التي هى برسم الاديرة مع اخذ رزق الاديرة دير ابو سوريس  
فيه راهب مريسي شيخ يصوم دائماً اسبوع اسبوع ثم يتقرب  
يوم السبت ويصوم على قربانه ويتقرب يوم الاحد ويفطر هذه  
طريق هذا الشيخ فى عبادته وجهاده الى ان تنيح الرب يرحمنا

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يخرج الشياطين باسم المسيح المعتريين بالارواح النجسة ناحية  
 شطب من اعمال سيوط بناها منفاوس الملك وتفسير اسمها Fol. 87 b  
 المحبوبة ورطلها الف درهم ومنها طريق الى واحات وكان بها  
 طباخين للملك وليس على وجه الارض طين ابليز احسن من  
 ابليزها واطيب رائحة يطيف به جبل وبيرويه ماء النيل ومساحته  
 ثلاثين الف فدان في دست واحد لو قطرت قطرة انبسطت على  
 اعتداله وفاضت على جوانبه يزرع فيه الكتان والقمح والبرسيم  
 وسائر اصناف المزرعات ويقال انه لم يكن على وجه ارض مصر  
 صفة اعتدال بساط الزرع ولا انزلة وافرح منه عند كمال معونه  
 على الارض وظهور ازهاره ولا اعجب منه ويحيط بسائره في  
 الغرب جبل ابيض على صورة الطيلسان كانه جدول فضة لا يسمع  
 فيه الكلام من عظم اصوات الطير وليس باسيوط ايضا سكن ليهودي  
 ولا يمر بها يهودى الا عابر طريق وعليها حصن دائر طوب لبن  
 وابوابها سبعة وهى باب الجبل قبلى باب وديس وشرقى باب  
 الارمن ويعرف بالقنطرة وباب ام حريز باب السوان باب المقياس Fol. 88 a  
 دير ابو السرى فيه جسد القديس تاودورس الامير الشهيد وجسد  
 هروفس الاسقف<sup>1</sup> وهروفس والجسدان على دكة خشب في بيت  
 المذبح دير يعرف بدير ابو سادر كان وصوله الى شطب اعنى  
 جسده في خامس هاتور ويجاوره جبل الطليمون طوله ثلاثة  
 ابرن في الجانب الشرقى الخربى بسيوط وبها حمام خراب بيعة  
 الشهيد ابو بغام وجسده بها وله بيعة اخرى بالخربة دير سملوط  
 بالاشموذين وبيعة على اسم الشهيد ابو بغام ايضا وعليه سور

<sup>1</sup> An unintentional repetition.

\* تاريخ الشيخ ابي صالح \*

تمسك راس واحد منهم ويتعلق في الموضع فيضطرب باجنحة حتى يموت فعند ذلك ينفر جميع الطير حتى لم يبق منهم واحد في ذلك الموضع وهو من الديارات المشهور بالآيات العجيبة وكان بانصنا بيت مارية القبطية الذي ولدت فيه وتربت هذه التي كان المقوقس اهداها لمحمد فتزوج بها وقصد المقوقس بهديته مارية القبطية ليصير بها نسيباً لمحمد وصهره فجعل بيت مارية مسجداً \* الناحية المعروفة بانصنا وهو اسم من اسماء اولاد قبط ابن مصرائم واسكنها لقوم سكرة دير قديس يسمى ابو تبية وجسده فيه دير على اسم القديس ابو قلمنة وكان قسيساً واستشهد واحرق بالنار حياً وكان حسن الوجه ونال اكليل الشهادة وجسده في هذا الدير وانصنا ايضاً بيعة على اسم القديس العظيم في الشهداء ماري جرجس وبيعة للشهيد الشجاع تادرس المشرقي ودير للقديس الكبير ابو شنودة في جبل اندريبا وفيه جماعة من الرهبان القديسين وبخاصة القديس المجاهد الناسك انا يسيب الطوباني دير الخادم بانصنا ايضاً والبيعة التي على اسم منسا وعمرت على قبر يسيب هذا لكثرة العجائب وشفاء الامراض التي تظهر منه وبانصنا ايضاً كنيسة تعرف بكنيسة الماء ويعيد بها للشهداء العظماء المجاهدين على اسم المسيح وعدتهم احد واربعين شهيداً \* وكنيسة ايضاً على اسم القديس تادرس بسرانيلاس خارج انصنا دير متياس بالجبل اهتم بمرمته وتجديده القس المبارك الصياد بانصنا وكان هذا القس المبارك يعمل الشباك ويتم قانون الرهبنة وترهب فيه لاجله جماعة كبيرة وكان متيوس من اهل اسقيت وكان يصلى على الزيت واى مريض اندهن منه شفى من مرضه بقوة الله الحالة فيه وكان

فليضرب بسيفه على عنقى وتبصروا قوة الله في هذا السر العظيم  
فتقدم اليها ذلك الرجل اشار له كبيرهم فضرب بقوة وحيله  
فوقعت راسها عن بدنها للوقت وكان قصدها بهذا حفظ بتوليبتها  
لتصل الى المسيح بكرة عذرى كما خلقت بغير دنس الشهوة  
الحيوانية فلما رأوا ذلك البشامة الجهال ما كان منها عرفوا  
حينئذ ما ارادته العذرى ثم ندموا وحزنوا حزناً عظيماً ولم يعارضوا  
بعدها لاحد اولئك العذارى بل اطلقوهم وكفوا عن ما كانوا  
عزموا عليه واعادوا للرهبانات ما كانوا نهبوه من ديرهم. فصل  
وفي مدينة اخميم سبعين بيعة الى اخر سنة اثنين وخمسين  
وخمسمائة عربية وايضاً بناحية دمنو بيعة من البر الغربي على  
اسم القديس الجليل ابو بغام وايضاً دير القديس ابو بخوم  
ببرجنوس من اعمال طحا دير ابو حلبانة شرقي اخميم عليه  
عين ما يجرى من الجبل الى فسقية هناك. دير القديس انبا  
بول صاحب الدير بالصعيد. دير ابو بشونة صاحب الدير  
اخميم. فصل وتضمن كتاب الديارات للشابشتي ان بنواحي  
اخميم دير كبير عظيم مقصود من كل مكان وهو بقرب الجبل  
المعروف بجبل الكهف وفي موضع من الجبل شق فانا كان يوم  
عيد هذا الدير لم يبق من الطير المعروف بابو قير طائر من هذا  
الجنس حتى يجى الى ذلك الموضع فيكون امراً عظيماً لكثير هذا  
الطير وصياحهم واجتماعهم عند ذلك الشق ثم لا يزال الواحد  
منهم بعد الواحد يدخل براسه في الشق ويضع منقاره في طاق  
في الجبل ويصيح ويخرج ويجى غيره ويفعل كما فعل الى حين

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فيه رهبانات عذارى عدتهن ثلاثين راهبة وكان مروان الجعدي  
 وهو اخر خلفاء بني امية قد استدعى اهل البشرون وهم البشامرة Fol. 84 b  
 ان يساعده في حروبه عند انهزامه من العباسي واطلق لهم  
 النهب والسبي والقتل فاعتمدوا ذلك ومن جملة ما قصده هذه  
 الدير فنهبوه وكان من جملة ما صبية عذرى تسمى فبرونية وكانت  
 هذه من الشام دخلت الى هذا الدير وعمرها ثلاث سنين ونشت  
 فيه وكانت صورة جميلة حسنا فلما راوها شخصوا لها لحسنها  
 وجمالها وقالوا<sup>1</sup> لبعضها بعض انه لم يرى في العالم مثل هذه  
 الصورة الجميلة فاخذوها واخرجوها عن الدير وافردها من<sup>2</sup> خواتها  
 العذارى وتشاوروا عما يفعلوه بها فمنهم من قال تتقارع عليها  
 ومنهم من قال نهديها للملك فبينما هم يتشاوروا في هذا ومثله  
 قالت لهم اين كبيركم حتى اعلمه بسر عظيم يساوي اموال كثيرة  
 وتطلقوني ارجع الى خواتي في الدير الذي ربيت فيه فانتى  
 عذرى منقطعة في دير منفردة عن الناس عابدة لله سبحانه  
 فاجابها مقدم الجماعة وقال لها هاءنذا فما الذي تقولى وما  
 هو السر الذي قلتي انه يساوي اموال عظيمة قالت له ان اباى  
 كانوا حكما شجعان مقاتلين وكان لهم سر ورثوه عن ابائهم لم  
 يطلعوا عليه احد غيرهم وكانوا يدخلوا في الحروب الكبار ويرجعوا  
 سالمين لا يجرح احدا منهم والسبب في هذا انهم يعرفون اسماء  
 يقولوها على دهن ويندهنوا منه ويخرجوا الى الحرب فما يفعل  
 فيهم السيف ولا النشاب ولا الرمح فعل وانتم فمحتاجين الى  
 ذلك فان خلعت سبيلي ورديتنى الى ديري فاني افيدك هذه

<sup>1</sup> .لبعضهم

<sup>2</sup> .اخواتها

هذه النفقة وتدعى لى ان يغفر الله لى ولا يقابلنى بما استحق  
من المقابلة لكونى تجاسرت على بيت الله ودخلت راكبًا انا  
ومن معى فلاطفه الشيخ الراهب ولم يريد ان يقبل منه شى  
فحلفه ولزمه وتواضع فناوله اربعمائة دينار<sup>١</sup> وقال له انا استغفر  
الله اليك ايها الشيخ ان يستغفر الله لى عن هذه الزالة التى  
بدرت منى وكان فى البيعة تابوت خشب ساسم مطعم بالعاج  
فيه ثلاث طبقات كان القديس ابو شنودة عمله برسم الكتب وكان  
يرسم ما يحصل من النذور فالتمس شيخ كان معه اسمه الريان  
كان والى مصر قبل القاسم وكان صاحبه فطلب ان ياخذ التابوت  
فذكر له انه حبس ولا سبيل الى اخراجه فلم يقبل معما ذكر له  
من الاعجوبة العظيمة وتقدم الى جماعة من الرجال ان يخرجوه  
من البيعة فلم يقدروا على ذلك فلما شاهد هذه<sup>١</sup> العجوبة الاخرى  
استغفر الله تعالى ودفع من ماله ثلثمائة دينار وتوجهوا وقد  
نالهم رعب ومشقة ولم يزل الروح النجس موكلًا بالقاسم يعذبه  
فى كل وقت الى حين مات \* فصل وكان بهرام النصرانى الارمنى  
وزير الخلافة الحافظية لما ان نفى من الوزارة ترهب فيه فطلب  
الى مدينة القاهرة وكان ضعيفاً ضعف كثير فحمل الى القاهرة  
فوصل حياً \* فصل وقبر نسطور المخالف الذى كان بطربرك  
القسطنطينية فى مدينة اخميم منفيًا اليها بعد سبع سنين فى  
سنة احدى وثلاثين وخمسمائة وانا مطرت المطر فتحجب عن قبره  
ولا تنزل عليه لانه كان السبب فى مجمع خلقدونية \* فصل  
الجميدات من اعمال الصعيد بها دير شرقى هذه الناحية كان

Fol. 84 a

١. العجوبة



حصن دائر وداخله بستان فيه من كل الاشجار وشهدت سيرة  
البيعة في بطركية انبا خائيل وهو السادس والاربعين في العدد  
ان القاسم ابن عبيد الله والى مصر كان جاهلاً كثير الظلم وكان  
Fol. 83 a قد استعمل مراكب كبار عمد فيهم سرارية وكان يتوجه بهم الى  
كل الاعمال فبلغ بهم الى اسوان في جيوشه وعساكره وانه لما  
كان في بعض اسفاره وصل الى هذا الدير وصحبته سرية واحدة  
من سرارية كان محباً لها جداً وكل منهما راكب فرس وكان في  
هذا الدير راهب شيخ مقدم الرهبان فخرجوا الرهبان للقائه  
فوصلوه الى الدير هو والسرية التي معه فدخل من الباب الاول  
والثاني المحيط بالبيعة والى باب المدخل الى البيعة ركب وديا  
ان يدخل الى البيعة فصرخ هذا الشيخ رئيس الدير وقال له  
انزل ايها الامير ولا تدخل الى بيت الله بهذا الكبرى وبخاص  
معك هذه الامراة لانه ما دخل من باب هذه البيعة امراة منذ  
قط ابداً واخشى على هذه الامراة ان تدخل الى هذه البيعة  
فلم يلتفت الامير الى كلامه بل دخل راكباً هو والجارية والجنود  
الذين معه فلما توسط البيعة نغر الفرس به فوقع على الارض  
فمن وقعته نغر الفرس الذي تحت الجارية فعند ذلك سقطت  
على الارض وماتت لوقتها ومات الفرس الذي تحتها واما القاسم  
Fol. 83 b الوالى المذكور فنزل عليه روح شيطان نجس فخبطة حتى ازبد  
وصرت اسنانه كالخنزير البرى ولما افاف واهتدى قليلاً عرف  
سوء ما فعله وندم على تجاسره ولكونه ما قبل من الشيخ الرئيس  
ما امره به ثم استدعا الرئيس وقال له انا اليوم اخطئت لكونى  
ما قبلت منك ما قلت لى من النصيحة والان فقد ظهر لى من  
سر هذا المكان ما لا اشك فيه واريد منك ايها الشيخ ان تقبل

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بهجرة بها بيعة للقديس الجليل ماري جرجس وهي حسنة  
 الوضع ذيرة شرحة \* مدينة قوص وتفسيرها الكفن كان فيها من  
 يكفن الملوك وعليها صور دائر وهذه المدينة بناها قوس ابن ققط  
 ليسافر عنها في الغرب الى الواحات وفي الشرق الى معادن  
 التبر والزمرن والى الحجاز \* الدير المعروف بابو بسندة اسقف  
 ققط وبيعته على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتيميم وهو غربى  
 قوص فيه قبر ابو بسندة ظاهراً وغربى الدير عين ماء وردت  
 عليها ستنا السيدة والسيد المسيح معها وصحبتهم الشيخ البار  
 يوسف النجار وبه بيعة على اسم القديس ابو قلثة بيعة على  
 اسم القديس الجليل مرقوريوس \* بيعة بو يحنس \* بيعة على  
 اسم القديس ابو تدرية بيعة للشهيد الجليل ابو مينا \* بيعة  
 على اسم الشهيد الجليل ماري جرجس خارج العباسية \* بيعة  
 على اسم الشهيد الجليل اصطفانوس رئيس الشمامسة بيعة  
 للاباء التلاميذ بطرس وبولس بيعة الشهداء العظماء المجاهدين  
 قرمان ودميان واخوتهم ووالدتهم \* بيعة الملاك الجليل ميخائيل \*  
 بيعة الشهداء العظميين الجليليين بطرس وبولس خارج المدينة  
 جدهن عمارتها الشيخ المبارك عز الكفاة ابن الشيخ مصطفى الملك  
 ابو يوسف فى مملكة الغز الاكران \* بيعة تعرف بالعباسية خارج  
 هذه المدينة على [اسم] القديس الشهيد جرجيوس وقد تقدم  
 ذكرها وكان شاور السعدى الوزير قد حضر اليها فى حال ولايته  
 قوص وانذرها انه متى صار وزيراً حمل النذر اليها وبلغه الله  
 قصده وملك وزارة العاضد لدين الله الخليفة بمصر فى المحرم  
 سنة ثمان وخمسين وخمسمائة وحمل ما كان انذره الى حين  
 مائة فى ثامن عشر ربيع الاخر سنة اربع وستين وخمسمائة

النصارى اليعاقبة وبعد ثلاثة سنين من مملكة المسلمين والبطريرك  
 بنيامين سُخْتَفَى سمع بقضيته عمر ابن العاص فكتب له امان  
 ولجميع شعبه وهو يقول فى نسخة الامان فليظهر الشيخ البطريرك  
 مطمئناً على نفسه وعلى طائفة القبط جميعهم التى بالديار المصرية  
 وغيرها آمنين على نفوسهم من كل مكروه وتتممة المكتوب فوصل  
 هذا الامان الى الاب بنيامين البطريرك فظهر بعد ذلك وهو آمناً  
 على نفسه وشعبه وعان الى الاسكندرية فصل كان ابتداء ظهور  
 المسلمين انطرونيكس البتول الكاتب وهو السابع والثلاثون فى  
 العدن فى السنة الثانية عشر لهرقل ملك الروم وهى سنة ثلاث  
 وثلاثين وتسعمائة للاسكندرية فصل دير باعمال الصعيد هرب اليه  
<sup>1</sup> هرب يعقوب القس ليتعبد فيه وكان هذا القس اولاً فى دير ابو  
 مقار عند خرابه وغيره من <sup>2</sup> الديره بواى هبيب من المفسدين Fol. 81 a  
 وهذا صار بطريركاً مدينة البلينا غربى بحر النيل ببلان الصعيد  
 الدير المعروف ببنى موسى والصفى صاحبه المهتم به وغربى هذه  
 المدينة ذكر ان الاسم ابو ميسيس وبيعته وفى هذا الدير اثار  
 عمارة لم يشاهد مثلها وعليه صور دائرة وبابه حديد صفائح مطبقة  
 بمسامير وبه ساقية تسقى فرش خضر وجسده الطاهر مدفوناً  
 فيه \* تضمنت سيرة انبا اخرسطادولس البطريرك وهو السادس  
 والستون فى العدن ان اعمدة هذا الدير عرقت جميعها حتى صار  
 عرقها كالماء الجارى وعقيب هذا حدث باطفال مصر جدرى مات  
 منه احد وعشرون الف صبياً فى دون شهر وبلغ القمح بمصر  
 التلّيس ثمانين ديناراً وبالاسكندرية اثنين وسبعين ديناراً

<sup>1</sup> An unintentional repetition by the scribe.

<sup>2</sup> الديره.

متياس الراهب باذننا وترهب فيه جماعة من الرهبان ولهذا  
الراهب عجائب كثيرة منها ان صببة كان لها اخين اشقا فحش  
الشيطان لهما ان يزنوا بها فضاجاعاها فحبلت وظهر امر حبلها  
ولم يعلم احد من اى رجل حل بها هذا فاحضروها اهلها اليه  
واستعلم منها قضية حالها فاعترفت له بامرها فرفع يده الى  
السما وصلى فابتلعتها الارض لوقتها وابواها ينظرون ذلك وشهدت  
به سيرة البيعة واخبار الاب الاكسندرس القس من دير هونانادون  
البطريك وهو فى العدن الثالث والاربعين \* فصل الناحية المعروفة Fol. 80 a  
بدير فيها ثلاث بيع \* الناحية المعروفة بسنبوا فيها سبعة وعشرين  
بيعة \* الناحية المعروفة بمنسرة فيها ثلاثة بيع فصل وبلطاشصر  
ابن بختنصر عمر ارض مصر بعد خرابها اربعين سنة واول ما  
عمر بها ارض الاشموذين دير على اسم الملاك الجليل ميخائيل  
بمدينة قوص دير ابو شنودة مثله \* دير ابو بشونة مثله دير  
باقفيس هرب اليه انبا سنهوت اسقف مصر خوفا من انبا  
ميخائيل السنجاري البطريك وهو الثامن والستين فى العدن  
وانشق عليه واقام فى الدير ثلاثة سنين \* فصل دير فى البرية  
بالصعيد كان ياوى فيه بنيامين البطرك مختفيا وهو الثامن  
والثلاثين فى العدن فى مملكة هرقل ملك الروم الخلقدونى  
وجريج ابن مينا المقوقس بمصر الى انقضى مدة عشرة سنين  
خوفا منها كما وعدة الملاك وهى مدة تسلطه على الارثوذكسيين  
وطلبه منهم الاعتراف له بالامانة المخالفة للحق الصحيح ونال  
النصارى منهم صعوبة شديدة ولم يجحدوا امانتهم وفى وقتهم  
Fol. 80 b ظهرت الامة الكنيغية فانلوا الروم وقتلوا منهم كثيرين واستولوا  
على بلاد مصر جميعها وبهذا السبب تخلص من جورهم

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الظاهرة مرتدريم بالمحرقة من اعمال الاشموذين \* فصل ومنها  
عان المسيح الى مصر ومنها الى الشام وهي اول بيعة انشئت  
بالوجه القبلى وكرزت وهذه تعرف بقوص قام فى البرية وتفسير  
قوس قام التمكن بالحلفاء للصعاليك بناها قوس ابن ققط ابن  
مصرائم وهذه حل بها سيدنا يسوع المسيح والسيدة العذرى

Fol. 78 b الظاهرة مرتدريم والدته بالجسد والشيخ البار يوسف النجار عند  
هربهم من هيروودس الملك الكافر قاتل الاطفال فى بيت بعلوها  
ويصعد اليه بدرج وفى هذا البيت طاف انفتحت بنفحة السيد  
فى الحائط ولم تفتح بيد ولا بآلة من الآلات وفى البيعة مذبح  
واحد وكان تكريزه بحلول سيدنا المسيح فيه والتلاميذ الكبار فى  
السحابة على ما شهد به ميهر فيلاتاوس البطريك وهو الثالث  
والعشرين فى العدن ومنها عمل مثال التكريز والقذور المملوءة ماء  
والقراءة على الماء الى ان يتقدس والريحان والاوراق والسرج على  
المنائر وان ترش بالماء حيطان البيع وتقدم الى بطرس بتكريز كل  
البيع على هذا المثال مثال التكريز الاول بالمحرقة من اعمال  
الاشموذين كنيسة السيدة العذرى الظاهرة وهي اول كنيسة بنيت  
فى ارض مصر ومنها ورد المسيح الى مصر ومنها عان الى الشام  
وهذه البيعة تعرف بقوس قام وهذه البيعة لطيفة جدا وكان  
معهم موسى ابن اخي يوسف النجار وامره سيدنا المسيح ان  
يجعل حجر تحت راسه فعمله وللوقت مات ودفن بها وقبالة  
باب البيعة بئر ما معين وفى البيعة حوض يملأ ماء فصار بعد  
Fol. 79 a ذلك خمرا وكان هذا المثال فى تكريز هذه البيعة رسما جاريا  
الى باقى الزمان وكان ذلك فى سادس من شهر هاتور ثم بارك  
سيدنا المسيح فى ماء ذلك البئر لما شربوا هو والدته ومن معهم

❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صالح ❖

جميعها ولم يبق لهم سوى كنيسة واحدة على اسم ابو مينا  
الشهيد وقرر على ابقاء هذه البيعة الواحدة ثلاثة آلاف دينار  
فجمع الف دينار من املئاء المدينة وبقى الف جعل الثلث منها  
مسجداً على القيسارية ❖ دروة الصريام بها بيعة للسيدة العذرى  
الطاهرة مرتمريم وبيعة باسم غبريال الملاك وتعرف بمغير الثلج  
وتجاورها ناحية سنبيو<sup>1</sup> بها بيعة السيدة فى الاجران جبل  
اشتر وهلالية بيعة على اسم بو نديل الشهيد وقد تشعتت وهى  
واهية جداً منية بنى خصيب الذى انشا هذه المدينة نصرانى  
كان انشاها يعرف بابن خصيب وعرفت به وكان يسكنها هو  
وجماعة اهله ومن يلون به وبنا بها اذر وواليد وندر ان منية  
بنى خصيب غلب عليها اسم القوم الذى عرفت بهم لانهم كانوا  
جماعة كبيرة ولهم ثروة وعبيد تتخدمهم ومنية بنى خصيب تعرف  
قديماً بمنية بو قيس وهى فى البر الغربى وبها عدة بيع بيعتين  
للسيدة الطاهرة العذرى مرتمريم وبيعة للقديس الجليل مارى  
جرجس خارج المدينة بيعة للملاك الجليل ميخائيل وله ايضاً  
بيعة اخرى منهن بيعة داخل المدينة وبيعة خارج كنيستين  
واحدة للشهيد مرقوريوس والاخرى لابو قيس هذى وفى البربا  
للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم وبيعة للشهيد مرقوريوس وبيعة  
للملاك ميخائيل وبيعة خارج المدينة على طريق دلجة ❖ دير  
على اسم الشهيد تادرس خارج نهور فى بر الشرق وندر ان  
منية بنى خصيب تعرف بمنية بو قيس القديس ابن قبط ابن  
مصرائم وفيها جسد بو هلبس الشهيد ❖ بيعة السيدة العذرى

(?) مَنبُو<sup>1</sup>



❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صالح ❖

فراوا السيد المسيح والسيدة ويوسف النجار فسجدوا لهم وللوقت صارو حجارة عدتهم خمسة وفي هذه الجزيرة ثلثمائة ضيعة كان دخول سيدنا المسيح اليها من الباب الشرقي وبها سجدوا

الهجن له وفي اخبار انبا خائيل البطريك وهو في العدن السادس والاربعين ان هذه المدينة التي بناها الاسكندر المقدوني وسمها كلاوبطرا وتفسيرها الباكية وهو المكان الذي وصل اليه على الصخرة مروان الجعدى اخر خلفاء بنى أمية وقتل فيه تنباؤ الراهب الشيخ عليه ما يشهد به \* \* \* من نواحيه جسد ابو مقار الشهيد وفيها بربا عند بابها القبلى وفيه عدة كنائس \* بيعة على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتيم تحتوى على عدة مذابح وعمد رخام احد الاعمدة التي بالبيعة هذه يعرف فى كل وقت وفيه اثر يد السيد وخارجها شجرة مخيط شامى وثمر مخيطها احمر وهى قريبة من البربا وهذه لما مر بها السيد والسيدة نكست راسها ساجدة له وان والى المدينة اران قطعها وكان تحت هذه الشجرة اغاثوا البطريك فضرب القطاع فيها بالفاس فعان الفاس فى وجهه فخاف الوالى ولم يرجع يامر بقطعها وحمل الى البطرك زهبا من ماله وساله ان يقبله منه ويصرفه فيما اران من وجوه الخير فنكس كان بها بيعة ولم اعلم هى على اسم احد من الشهداء طحا \* المدينة كان بها فى القدم خمسة عشر الف نصرانى ولم يكن بها حنيفا ولا يهوديا وكان

بها ثلثمائة وستين بيعة ولما كان فى زمن خلافة مروان الجعدى وهو اخر خلفاء بنى أمية ارسل اليها موت فاخرجوه منها ومنعوه ان يقيم بينهم فعان الى مروان واعلمه بما كان منهم فاذن لهم من جنده من قتل منهم جماعة كبيرة وشرفهم وهدم الكنائس

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وجسده في بيعة قرييل بها وبيعة تادرس وبهذه الناحية عدة  
 كنائس \* الشهيد اصطفانوس ابنير برتولوساوس \* التلاميذ الابا  
 الحواريون \* ستنا السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مريم \* بيعتها في  
 المدينة وهي بيعة كبيرة شرحة جدًا وللملاك الجليل ميخائيل  
 وغبريال الملاك اصطفورا الشهيد وذكر انه يعرف بوجه الكلب وهو  
 احد الذين كانوا مع الاباء التلاميذ الاطهار وهذه البيعة على  
 الخليج خارج المدينة مرقس الشهيد مرقوريوس له بها بيعتين  
 القديس الشهيد الجليل ماري جرجس ايضًا له بها بيعتين  
 القديس ابو يحنس وبو حنا الشهيد \* اشروبة للصليب بيعتين  
 وللسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مريم بيعة داخل المدينة ولها ايضًا  
 خارج المدينة بيعة ميخائيل الملاك الجليل بيعة للشهيد  
 الجليل مرقوريوس بيعة على حافة البركة وللقديس الجليل  
 ماري جرجس بها بيعة وللشاهد الجليل تادرس بها بيعتين  
 وانبا بولا وتوماس بيعة بسفط رشين على اسم الشهيد الجليل  
 تادرس المشرقي هدمها الغز الاكران ونقلوها مسجدًا وبها بيعة  
 الملاك غبريال كانت قد تشعنت فجددها بعض الاراخنة \* الأماكن  
 التي وصل اليها سيدنا يسوع المسيح له المجد والسيدة العذرى  
 مريم والشيخ البار يوسف النجار في بلان الصعيد \* بيعة جبل  
 الكف على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مريم وهذه البيعة نقر  
 في الجبل وفي الحجر اثر كف السيد المسيح له المجد لما لمس  
 الحجر عند سجون الجبل له عند ورونة من الشام فمسك  
 الجبل عند اقباله له ساجدًا فرده بيده فصار اثر كف طابعًا في  
 ذلك الجبل الى يومنا هذا وفي اثر ذلك الكف ثقب لطيف مثل  
 وسع الميل ينزل فيه الميل ويطلع منه ويكحل به بكحل اسود

ايمين سفت ابو جرجا بها عدة بيع بيعة على اسم السيدة  
 العذرى الطاهرة مرقريم ❖ بيعة توماس بيعتى الملاك ميخائيل  
 والملاك غبريال ❖ الكفور بيعة على اسم الشهيد تادرس طحا المدينة  
 من الاشمونين بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرقريم ❖ واخرى  
 للسيدة ايضا وبيعة للملاك غبريال وبيعتين للشهيدين الجليلين  
 المجاهدين ماري جرجس ومرقوريوس وبيعة على اسم القديس  
 مرقس الانجيلي وبيعة على اسم الشهيد الجليل اصطفانوس  
 رئيس الشمامسة سفت المهلى بيعة على اسم الملاك الجليل Fol. 74 b  
 ميخائيل وبيعتى على اسم الملاكين الجليلين غبريال ورفائيل  
 ملوى [بيعة] على اسم الشهيد الشجاع ابنير ❖ وبيعة للشهيد  
 مرقوريوس وبيعة للشهيد الجليل ماري جرجس ❖ وبيعتين  
 للملاكين غبريال ورفائيل ❖ وبيعتى للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة  
 مرقريم وللملاك الجليل ميخائيل ❖ ريفة وادرنكة بيعة على  
 اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرقريم بيعة للشهيد الجليل بقطر  
 وبيعتى للشهيد الشجاع تادرس وبيعة على اسم الصطير وبيعة  
 على [اسم] بو يحنس وبيعتى على اسمى الشهيدين توماس  
 وساورس ❖ دير على اسم القديس العظيم بو شنودة نجاج من  
 البهنسا بيعة على اسم الشهيد بو يحنس اذفاق بها بيعة  
 للشهيد الجليل مرقوريوس ❖ طرفة بها بيعة على [اسم] برتولوماوس  
 الساقية المعروفة بساقية محفوظ بها خمس كنائس الشهيد  
 مرقوريوس ومرقس واصطفانوس وتادرس وبيعة على اسم التلاميذ  
 البهنسا تفسير اللفظة موضع التزويج بنيت لجوار من بنات  
 Fol. 75 a الملوك عذارى تزوجوا لابنا الملوك من هذه المدينة وبقرها معبد  
 ليوسف الصديق ❖ وبيعة على اسم بو برتاو الشهيد بواح البهنسا

كلمن ياتى اليه ويسمع اقواله وهذا صار بطريركا على الاسكندرية  
 حجر اللاهون به دير ابو اسحق والبيعة على اسم السيدة العذرى  
 الطاهرة مرتدريم وهذه البيعة شرحة متسعة حسنة الوضع محكمة  
 البناء والهندسة تشاكل بيعة دير القلمون وفيه ايضا بيعة لطيفة  
 على اسم الشهيد الجليل ابو اسحق وعلى هذا الدير ثلاثة  
 اصوار حجر وهو كثير الطارق وهو فى الجبل من بحرى اللاهون  
 فى الموضع الذى يقال له برنيودة على الجبل قبلى الفيوم \*  
 فصل \* البهنسا انه بها عدة بيع بيعة ايمون بيعة مرقس \* بيعة  
 بو يحنس بيعة الشهيد الجليل ماري جرجس بيعة الشهيد  
 الجليل مرقوريوس \* بهومليس بها عدة بيع بيعة الملاك غبريال  
بيعة ايضا على اسم الملاك غبريال ثانية \* بيعة على اسم الملاك  
 رفائيل \* بيعة القديس الجليل بو شنودة وبيعة على اسم  
 القديس ابو هرمنية \* ناحية قفارة بيعة على اسم السيدة  
 العذرى الطاهرة مرتدريم وبيعة الملاك الجليل ميخائيل \* وبيعة  
 للملاك رفائيل بيعة الشهيد الجليل مرقوريوس \* بيعة الملاك  
 الجليل غبريال \* ابطوجة بيعة رفائيل الملاك بيعة الملاك  
 ميخائيل \* بيعة السيدة العذرى القديسة الطاهرة مرتدريم \*  
بيعة ديوسقورس جلفة بها بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتدريم \*  
بيعة على اسم القديس ديوسقورس \* بيعة على اسم القديس  
 الشهيد الجليل بقطر ابن ارمانيوس بيعة على اسم بو تليهة \*  
 برنوهة بها عدة بيع بيعة ابا قسطول بيعة للملاك ميخائيل \*  
بيعة للملاك رفائيل \* بيعة للملاك غبريال بيعة مرقوريوس  
 الشهيد الشجاع بيعة القديس الشهيد الجليل ماري جرجس \*  
بيعة على اسم الشهيد الشجاع المجاهد تارسس \* بيعة القديس

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✦ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح ✦

بيعة على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتدريم هذه البيعة  
متسعة جدًا رسمت فى رابع عشر هاتور وانبا صامويل رئيس هذا  
الدير ومدبره كان عالمًا ومعلمًا وله من التعاليم كثيرًا وكشف الله  
له ما سيكون فى آخر الزمان وتكلم به وكتب عنه وصح فى وقته  
من الزمان كما تنبأ عنه فصل وهذا الدير ايضا بحصن دائر عليه  
وفيه بستان كبير فيه نخيل وزيتون وبقولات وفيه اربعة جواسق  
ويشتمل على اثنا عشر بيعة وباعلاء صومعة راقوبة وبها راهب مقيم  
ينذر الرهبان بالقاصد الى الدير من البعد ان كان من الجند او  
من الامراء او من الولاة فيضرب الناقوس على كل منهم ضرب  
مختلف فيعلموا الرهبان عند سماعهم ما القاصد للدير فيهتموا  
بما يلائمه قبل وصوله للدير وتشتمل هذه البيعة على اثنا عشر  
بيعة علوية وسفلية وفيه عين ماء مالحة تجرى ليلاً ونهاراً  
ويخرج منها الى بركة متسعة فيكون فيها على مسر الايام بلطى  
يوكل منه وهو طيب ولونه اسود ويحلوا الماء فى هذه البركة فى  
الشتا قليلاً والرهبان يشربون منها على مسر الزمان وخارجاً عن  
الدير مغارة فيها راهب يسمى مهننا لا يخرج منها ليلاً ولا نهاراً  
ويصوم اسبوع الجمعة مستمراً والرهبان يقومون به ويتباركون منه  
وحول مغارته نخيل كثير مثمرة وكان معه من المال مائة دينار  
ولما وصلوا الغز الاكران الى هناك ساعد بها الرهبان ولم يبق  
معه شى وكانت الوحوش يجتمعون اليه ولا يوزيه منهم شى  
والفوا اليه حتى صار يطعمهم من يده وكانوا الشياطين يتشخصون  
له ويقابلوه مواجهة ولا يجدوا اليه سبيل فصل وباب هذا الدير  
مصنوع بالحديد متقن الصنعة وعمل هذا الراهب مهنا المذكور فى  
بداية رهبنته قبل ان يصير حبيساً فى المغارة فى الجبل كنيسة

« تاريخ الشيخ ابي صالح »

Fol. 71 a كبيرة جدًا وفيها عند كبار طوال تامة لم يشاهد أتم منهم إلا قليل وهذه البيعة قريبة من باب المدينة المعروف بسورس «  
بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتدريم خارج المدينة وبيعة للشهيد مرقوريوس اهتم بمرمتها وتجديدها الشيخ ابو زكري « بيعة للملكية فى حارة الارمن الدير المعروف بدير النقلون شرقى الناحية المعروفة بنوسا وبهذا الدير بيعة على اسم الملاك ميخائيل وفيها عامون رخام يعرف عرق مثل الماء الجارى وفيه جوسف كبير يشرف على جبل فيه شقيق وذكر ان اساس هذه البيعة وضع فى ثالث عشر هاتور وكرزها السيد المسيح وتلاميذه فى ثامن عشر ابيس وتجاوره بيعة على اسم الملاك غبريال عمل حصنها قبلها دائر فى ثالث عشر امشير كمل الصور فى هذه المدة اللطيفة وابتدى فى عمارتها فى السادس والعشرين منه وكملت فى الثالث عشر من بوونة وكرزت فى العشرين منه وذكر ان الجبل المعروف بالنقلون هو المكان الذى كان فيه مظلة يعقوب ابن اسحق ابن ابراهيم عليهم السلام وكانت عبادته فيه <sup>1</sup> وفى رفع القرايين لله Fol. 71 b  
ايام يوسف ولده عند تدبير يوسف لعمارة الفيوم وحجر اللاهون وكان تكريز كنيسة جبل النقلون فى اسقنية انبا اسحق على يد اورا ابن بنت الملكة الذى رزقته من ابراشيت الساحر وكنمته عنها وعن والديها « الدير المعروف بالقلمون وهو كثير الطارق وله فدن طين فى عدة نواحي بالصعيد له فى شبرا ستة عشر فدانا وله ملاحات يحصل منها فى كل سنة ما يناهز ثلاثة <sup>2</sup> الف ارب ويحصل من ثمرة النخل ما يُباع فى كل سنة بجملته فصل «

الاف <sup>2</sup> . فيه <sup>1</sup>



فى مملكة الريان ابن الوليد ابن دومغ بعد تفسير يوسف له  
 المنام الذى رآه وعند ما فسر له المنام اخلع عليه ودفع له خاتم  
 الملك من يده وسلم اليه تدبير مملكته وتميز عنه بصعونه على  
 المنبره فصل ولما حفر يوسف الخليج واخرج الماء عنه جرى ماء  
 النيل وداخل فى راس المنهى وجرى فيه حتى انتهى الى  
 اللاهون فقطعه الى الفيوم فدخل الى خليجها وسقاها فصار فيه  
 لجة عظيمة وذلك جميعه فى تسعين يوماً فلما شاهد الملك ووزراءه Fol.70 b  
 ذلك قالوا هذا عمل الف يوم فسمى الفيوم وجعل الماء على  
 نوعين مطاطياً للمرتفع ومرتفعاً للمنطى باوقات وساعات فى  
 الليل والنهار واحكم لها قبضات لا يقدر احد من الناس ياخذ  
 من الماء فوق حقه شيئاً فصل واول مدينة اعرها يوسف فى  
 الفيوم شانة وهى التى كانت ابنة فرعون بها ثم وزن الارض والماء  
 قياساً ومنه عرفت الهندسة ويوسف اول من قاس النيل بمصر  
 بالذراع وجعل مقياس بمنف ثم وضعت العجوز<sup>2</sup> دلوك مقياساً  
 بانصنا ومقياساً باخميم ووضع عبد العزيز ابن مروان مقياساً  
 بحلوان ثم اقطعت الاعمال الفيومية للغز الاكران فى مملكة يوسف  
 ابن ايوب الكردى على ما استقر الى اخر سنة ثلاث وسبعين  
 وخمسائة بما مبلغه مائة الف وثلاثة وثلاثين الفا ومائتى اربعة  
 وسبعين دينار ثم اقطعت لبورى اخوه ولرجالته لسنة ست  
 وسبعين وخمسائة بما مبلغه مائة الف وستة واربعين ديناراً ثم  
 اقطعت لتقى الدين عمر ابن شاهنشاه وابن اخته للسنة المذكورة  
 بالمبلغ المعين \* وبالمدينة الان بيعة الملاك الجليل ميخائيل وهى

١. للمطاطى ٢. دلوكه.

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❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح ❖

يسمى بساورس والكبير استخرج بعد اربعمائة دورة طول ملكه  
حتى مات في زمان صاحب الرسالة ويجاور هذه الاهرام الصنم  
الصوان العظيم الهائل وهو غائص في الرمل الى وسطه ❖ فصل  
وسنذكر ايضاً بعد ذلك الوجه القبلي بالديار المصرية ❖ بوصير بنا  
وهذه سميت باسم ساحر اسمه بوصير كان مقيماً بها وسميت  
باسمه وبهذه البلدة ❖ البيعة الكبيرة العظيمة التي بنيت جميعها  
بالحجر المانع على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتيم داخل  
القصر بهذه المدينة وهذه البيعة عمرت في القدم ولما تواترت  
النوب واحتاج الملوك الى حجرها نقل منها معظمه وهي الان  
معطلة ومعالمها ظاهرة وهي قريبة من سجن يوسف السديف ابن  
يعقوب ابن اسحق ابن ابراهيم الخليل عليهم السلام ❖ بناحية  
بنا ببيعة على اسم القديس العظيم ماري جرجس ❖ منية القائد  
بها ببيعة وهي للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتيم اهتم بتجديد  
عمارتها الشيخ مفضل ابن الصالح من اصحاب الوزير ابي الفرج  
ابن كلمين جدها في الخلافة الحاكمة وجدوا ايضاً ببيعة على  
شاطى بحر النيل المبارك فاقامت مدة وعدى عليها البحر واقتلعها  
فلم يبق لها اثر ❖ ونا بوصير بها على اسم الشهيد العظيم ابو  
مرقورة ببيعة وللسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتيم ببيعة ❖ وللشهيدي  
القديس ماري جرجس ببيعة وللملاك العظيم ميخائيل بها ❖  
بيعة وللشهيدي ابو بجوشن بها ببيعة وجسده الطاهر فيها ❖  
1 اديجة من قرى بوشن ❖ بها ببيعة على اسم القديس ماري  
جرجس طنسا بها ببيعة على اسم نهارة وبيعة على اسم الشهيد

❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح ❖

فصل منف نزلها بيصر ابن حام ابن نوح وعمره سبعمائة وثمانين  
سنة في ثلاثين من ولده واهله فسميت منافاة وتفسير هذه Fol. 68 a  
اللفظة ثلاثون واولاده مصرائم وفارق وباح وماح هول اولاد مصرائم  
قبط اشمون تفسير هذا الاسم لا تصل اليها اتريب هذه بها  
صنم عظيم صوان يسمى بو الهول مطروح على جنبه ثم حقت  
اعنى منافاة وبها كان ملك الفراغة ولما مات بيضر دفن في موضع  
يعرف بابي هرميس وهو اول من قبر في ارض مصر والنيل كان  
يتقلب اليها قال اخرون بناها مصرائم لابنة قبط الذي يسمى  
بريم وقال اخرون بناها منفاوس ابن عديم وجعل طولها ثلاثون  
ميلاً في عشرين ميلاً وجعل حولها ثلاثون حصناً في كل حصن  
حمام في ايام ساروع ابن ارعوا بناها فرعون الملقب بمحب امه  
وهو ملك الفراغة ❖ فصل ويوسف الصديق عمل مقياساً عظيم  
بمنيّف وهو اول من قاس النيل بمصر بالذراع وبها من العجائب  
والابنية والاصنام والدقائق والكنوز ما لا يحصى وبها بيت صوان  
اخضر مانع ملع قطعة واحدة مربع وسقفه منه وبيعتة مفرش  
حصير فصل وبها بيعة جدت في مكان منها وقيل انه المكان Fol. 68 b  
الذي كمن فيه موسى للرجل المصري فقتله كما ورد في اخباره  
وكان كل ذراع من ارضها تباع بمائة دينار ❖ فصل وتجاوز هذه  
البلدة الاهرام وهي ثلاثة فصل طول الهرم الكبير اربعمائة ذراع  
وهي الاوتان والمنازل التي بناها اصغوسا الملك الاعظم في ملوك  
الارض وارغاش اخو شدان وشدان ابن عان ومالك ابن عان  
وفرمشات اخو عان الذين جدتهم الملك ارزقوشا بنى فيها ثمنائة  
دورة ثم مات وجعلوا كنوزهم وقبورهم في هذه المنارات العاليات  
وهما الوندان العظيمان واستخرج مال احدهما احد ملوك الروح

• تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح •

فيه وينام فيه • طموية وهي بازاء حلوان من الشرق الدير المعروف بها شهد به كتاب الديارات للشابشتى ويحيط بهذا الدير حصن دائر وبيعته على اسم القديس مرقوريوس وهو مُطل على البحر ركبًا عليه ويجاوره جوسف يتوصل اليه من هذه البيعة وعلوه مناظر حسنة ويشرف على البساتين والاشجار والاراضى المزروعة والكروم المعرشة وهو عامر أهل وبه جماعة من الرهبان فصل وجدد عمارته الشيخ ابو اليمين وزير متولى ديوان اسفل الارض والشيخ ابو المنصور ولده وذلك فى الخلافة الامرية ووزارة الافضل شاهنشاه وكان الافضل هذا ينزل فيه ويقيم به منتزهًا ومتفرج وانشا بستانًا يجاوره واغرس فيه من جميع الاشجار والنخيل وحفر ابار وركب عليها سواقى وادار على البستان سياج ماكن والحكر عنده مما يحمل الى بيت المال فى كل سنة عشرة Fol. 67b دنانير فصل ثم اقطع ايضا الحكر المذكور واعمر به معاصر للزيت من داخل حصن الدير مكلمة العدن والآلات وله اراضى مبلغها سبعة واربعين فدانًا واقطعت هذه الاراضى الغز الاكران وغيرهم فى مملكة الناصر يوسف ابن ايوب الكردى • فصل وبهذه البيعة جسد القديس بنودة رئيس هذا الدير يعيد له فى خامس عشر امشير وفيه صورة الست السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مريم وكان الافضل يهوى مقامه فى علوه فصل واهتم الشيخ ابو اليمين المذكور بتحصيل آنية لهذه البيعة من الفضة الحجر فعمل صينية وكاس وملعقة ومجمرة وصليب وكسوة حرير فاخرة • فصل وهذه الناحية البيعة الكبيرة الحسنة الوضع للقديس الجليل المجاهد ماري جرجس • وبيعة على اسم الشهيدة مهربيل وبيعة ابا بيمة • وبيعة الملاك ميخائيل وبيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة •

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غربي طموية \* الدير المعروف بدير الشمع \* فصل يعرف بدير  
الشياطين والسبب فيه ان في ايام المستنصر في سنى الغلا بعدوا  
الرهبان عنه وبقي خراب وكانت البهائم ترتع فيه بعد ذلك وكان  
يخرج منه اشخاص ويركبوا الخيل من اول الليل الى بكرة  
فيدخلوا ضيعة خربة فعرف بذلك وصار اليه بينونة وسكنه وحده  
قيماً به وكان قبة لطيفة فاهتم الاراخنة بتجديد عمارته الى ان  
صار على هذه الصفة التي هو عليها الان وبينونة هذا كان قد  
حضر الى ابو نضر القديس السائح واقام عنده مدة وانا سمع  
باحد القديسين يمضى اليه وياخذ بركته وكان في وقت وفاة ابو  
نضر حاضرة وكان بموضعه نخلة واحدة مثمرة ففكر في قلبه ان  
يكون مقامه عوضه فارسل الله ريحاً عاصف فاردم وارما تلك  
النخلة التي كان ابو نضر يقنتات من ثمرتها في ايام حياته واردم  
العين الماء التي كان يشرب منها فوجه الى غيره وكلمن يبصر  
صورته يعتقد انه كان تلميذه وليس الامر كذلك ثم صار تلميذ ابو  
مقار الكبير بوادي هبيب وصار الى دير الشمع ويحيط به اعنى  
دير الشمع البيعة التي به بها ثلاثة مذابح المذبح الوسطانى على  
القديس اندونة والبحرى على اسم ابو شنودة والقبلى على اسم بينونة  
وهذه البيعة على اسم القديس ابو شنودة وعلى هذا المذبح الذى  
على اسم القديس بينودة يقدر عليه في نصف من صوم الاربعون  
في كل سنة وفيه كانت نياحته وشهدت سيرته ان نياحته في  
اليوم الخامس عشر من امشير وعمر هذا الدير في سنة سبع  
وستين وستمائة للشهدا الابرار مما وجد في الحجر المكتوب  
تاريخه على باب الجوسق وفي هذا الدير جسد القديس انبا  
بينونة تلميذ القديس ابو مقار الكبير بوادي هبيب في مرقد

❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صالح ❖

علم صنعة الكيما وصنع الجواهر ومولده بمنف وقيل انه ادريس  
المذكور انه رُفِعَ مكانًا عليًا والصابئة يحججون الى الهرمين الكبرى  
ويزعمون ان هرمس قُبر في احدهم وقبر اغاثيمون والصابئة  
يحضرون اليهما من حران ياتون حجاجًا فصل وليس على  
وجه الارض بنيانًا باليد حجر على حجر اطول منها وهولا  
الهرمين هما قبر هرمس واغاثيمون فصل ذكر ان مساحة الهرمين  
الكبار كل منهما اثنا عشر فدانًا وفي كل منهما بئر لا يعرف قراره  
وكان يجاوره دير يعرف بدير الكرام يسموه المخالفين دير الكلاب  
وهرم ثالث دونهما سفلة مبنى حجر صوان جافية ملىعة الدير Fol. 65 a  
ملاصق الاهرام في الجانب الغربي وبيعته تعرف ببيعة طيماتاوس  
الراهب من اهل منف وجسده مدفونًا بها وكان لهذه البيعة  
شفاعة عظيمة حتى ان من زاره وصلى فيه وطلب من الله بقوة  
امانة قضيت حاجته ومن رام يقدم على شئ وطلب من الله  
يرشده لما فيه خيرته فانه يظهر له في منامه ما سيكون له فيه  
من الخير او يحذره عن القدوم على ذلك الشئ وشهد له بذلك  
كتاب قصص المجامع لحف الجبل فيه مدينة تسمى مسيائة  
وفي لحف الجبل بالجيزة خمسون دير عامرة اهلة كانت اُخربت  
واُحرقت من المخالفين بيد المغاربة البربر الذين لا يعرفون الحف  
ولا يرجعون الى الشرع ولا يفرقون ما بين الحلال والحرام وهذا  
الجبل الغربى يتصل لجبال الغرب ويتشعب منه الى ان يبلغ  
بعد اجتيازه برقة والسواحل الغربية كلها الى ارض برغواطة وشاطى  
البحر المظلم وفيه مدينة تسمى مستاتة كانوا يحملون اليها موتى  
الملوك بجميع اموالهم ونخائرهم واكثر طلبية المطالب يدورون هذه  
المدينة وسموها دار مانويل منية الشمس وهو بنودة المترهب Fol. 65 b



• تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح •

بالهرمين بالدير المعروف بدير الكلاب والصواب دير الكرام وانما  
الملكية حرقوه لبغضهم لليعقوبية ذكر ان جسديهما وجسد العازر  
بالقسطنطينية نقل اليها من جزيرة قبرس وشهد دلال الاعيان ان  
Fol. 64 a ميلان السيدة يعيد له خارج اورشليم في مملكة اوغسطس قيصر  
ويسمى عيد السنبله في اول شهر بشنس من كل سنة وفي  
نسخة دلال اخر ان تكريز دير نهيا على اسم السيدة • وصل  
كان هذا الدير لاسقف الجيزية وجزيرة مصر افرن هذا الدير ادبا  
مرقس البطريك لنفسه وهو الثالث والسبعين وسامحه من الديارية  
بما مبلغه في كل سنة ثلاثة دنائير • الناحية المعروفة بنهيا بالجيزية  
الدير المقدم ذكره بها يحيط به صور دائر والبيعة التي فيه على  
اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مريم جدها انسان تاجر وصل  
من الغرب وكان الامام الامر باحكام الله ياتى الى هذا الدير  
ويتنزه فيه وانشا فيه منظره وجدى عمارة الحصن الدائر عليه  
وشهد قانون الاعيان ان بيعة هذا الدير باسم مرثا ومريم اختى  
العازر ويعيد لهما في ثامن عشر طوبة من كل سنة او تاسع  
عشر • فصل شهد كتاب الديارات للشابشتى ان هذا الدير من  
Fol. 64 b احسن ديارات مصر وانزهها ومنظره عجباً جداً سيما في ايام  
النيل والزراعة وله خليج تجتمع الناس اليه يتنزهون وهو ايضاً  
مصيد سمك متسع وماء النيل المبارك يحيط بهذا الدير من  
جهات الاربع • سبط ميدوم بها بيعة جامعة فيها ثلاث مذابح  
احدهم للقبط وهو الوسطانى باسم الشهيد الشجاع تادرس والثانى  
للارمن على اسم الشهيد الجليل ماري جرجس • والثالث  
للسيدة العذرى مريم وهو للملكيين • الاهرام بناهم هرمس  
الحكيم المثلث بالحكمة وهو الذى بعلمه سر الطبيعة استخرج

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الغز الاكران فى سنة اربع وستين وخمسمائة انتزعوها من ملك  
 Fol. 62 b الدير ولم يبق لهم سوى المصيدة ينتفعوا بما يصيدوه منها \* فصل  
 وكان احد الكتاب المصريين قد دخل الى هذا الدير يطلب ما  
 يشرب منه ويغسل يديه فوجد الماء عندهم قليلاً جداً فاهتم وحفر  
 بئر من داخل الحصن قبالة حائط البيعة القبليّة وكان تحت  
 الحفير صخرة فتسبب فى قطعها وقطعها من حساب كل نراع  
 بدينار وكان عدة نرعها اربعة عشر نراعاً خارجاً عما انفق فى الحفر  
 والعمارة وهذا البئر هو الذى يشرب منه اليوم ذبح الله نفسه  
 ويصالح نية المهتم طلع ماء هذا البئر حلو طيب خفيف هضم \*  
فصل وقال ناقل هذا الخبر وكنت قد اعلمته ان بيعة هذا الدير  
 على اسم مرثا ومريم اختا العازر الذى اقامه سيدنا يسوع المسيح  
 له المجد من بين الاموات وعاش بعد ذلك تسعة سنين وصار  
 اسقف قبرس مدة طويلة وعدة الشاهدين لقيامته العازر من اليهود  
 سبعة الاف رجل واربعمائة سوى النساء والصبيان وقال لى ناقل  
 هذا الخبر الصحيح اننى كنت تحت راي ابي الراهب بالروح  
 ولقد كان يخبرنى بكل ما سمعته منى وكان مقيماً بهذا الدير  
 وراى فيه مشائخ اخبروه بما اخبرتك به وكنت فى بعض الاوقات  
 اردت ان ارق الماء فى مكان مقابل هذا البئر فمنعنى هذا  
 Fol. 63 a الشيخ من ذلك قائلاً هذا المكان الذى اردت ان تزيل فيه ضرورة  
 الجسد بالاراقة فيه يا ابنى قبر مرثا ومريم تحته فى طافوس  
 عمل لهم وهن فيه فامتنعت وصرت اوقر هذا المكان واصلى فيه  
 وانذى ذات يوم قست من هذا المكان المذكور الى حد هذا البئر

❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صالح ❖

داخل الباب وزحف الى ان دخل اليه واستقام الى ان دخل الى  
المذبح فقال لاحد الرهبان اين مكان وقوف القس فاوراه وقال  
اين موضع وقوف الشمس فاعلمه به فوقف مكان القس وقال  
للراهب اقف مقابلتي مكان الشمس ففعل ذلك ثم طاف الكنيسة  
ودفع للرهبان الف درهم بعد ضيافتهم له وخرج من الدير يتصيد  
ولم يبات في الدير في هذه الدفعة وكان المذبح ينزل اليه بدرجة  
ويصعد منها الى المذبح فنقلها الشيخ ابو الفضل ابن الاسقف وروم  
المكان وبطله وعمل سترة بلاط على الاسكنا على ثلاثة عمد رخام  
ثم صار الامام الامر يتروى الى الدير في مواكبه وعساكره يتصيد  
فانشأ فيه منظره عالية وعمل قبة طالعة الى فوق من الجانب  
البحري وبابها من خارج الدير ولها سلم معقود حجارة يصعد  
اليها منه والباب الان مسدود كانت الارضة قد استولت على هذه Fol. 62 a  
المنظره وغيرها فسقطت ولم يبق لها اثر وبات في الدير ليلتين  
متفرقة وصار في كل يوم يتروى للصيد ويضيفوه الرهبان فجعل  
لهم في كل ركبة يطرق الدير فيها الف درهم فحصل لهم من ذلك  
خمسة وعشرون الف درهم ورقًا صحاحًا وكان الصور القديم قد  
تهدم فجدد الحصن القائم الان من هذا المال وكان عدة الجمال  
الذين يحملون له الحاجر والطوب في كل يوم اربعين جملاً ويجاور  
الدير من داخل الحصن في زاويته الشرقية القبليّة بئر ماء معين  
مسقوفة ❖ فصل ثم ان الرهبان لما راوا من الامام الامر مثل هذه  
الانعام وصار لهم ادلال عليه سالوه ان يطلق للدير طين يزرعوه  
في كل سنة فاجاب سوالهم وانعم على الدير من اراضي ناحية  
طهرمس من الجيزية تمليكًا ثابتًا منه بخط يده قطعة ارض قبالة  
بغير مساحة ما يقارب ثلاثون فدانًا واستمرت بايديهم الى ان ملكوا

❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صالح ❖

فأدريس جدّ عمارتها الشيخ ابو اليمين البراز واهتم بها وسيم بيعة السيدة جدّ عمارتها القس جرجة الصعيدى كاتب الاستان صندل المظفرى وذكرا انه كان بوسيم ثلثمائة وستة وستين بيعة يقدرس فيها كل يوم ولها كهنة قسوس وشمامسة ويجتمع اليها شعب

Fol. 61 a المحرّقة تتلوا بنمرس ❖ بيعة عظيمة ودير كبير وبه جماعة كبيرة من الرهبان ❖ فصل قصة دير نهيا على ما اطلعت عليه من سعيد الشمس ابن نجاح المترهب وهو من اهل نهيا عند حضوري اليه فى شوال سنة تسع وستين وخمسمائة فى عيد الخمسين المقدسة للقربان فيه ذكر انه وقف فى تاريخ على ان هذا الدير المقدس اهتم بعمارته انسان تاجر ورد من الغرب الى ديار مصر ولما حضر الى مصر من ثغر الاسكندرية قبل مملكة دقلان يانوس الكافر الذى سفك دما الشهداء وامر الناس ان يعبدوا الاوثان ويذبحوا لها الذباج ويقربوها ويبخروا لها حضر هذا التاجر من الغرب قبل ذلك باربعين سنة ولما وصل المعز لدين الله من المغرب وملك مصر نزل تحت هذا الدير واقام سبعة شهور وانشا قبالته بستان وبئر ساقية تحت الكوم غربى الجميزة وحوض سبيل وهو الان مردوم وحوض السبيل قد دثر ثم دخل الى مصر والبستان خراب اليوم هذا ولم يبق فيه غير اصول جميز وسدر واحرق الحاكم هذا الدير المذكور الى ان وصل بالارض ثم جدّ عمارته انسان ارخن Fol. 61 b من اهل وسيم من الجيزية واطلق الحاكم للرهبان رزقة هناك وبقيت باقية الى اليوم وعملت عند هذا الدير بعد تجديده صوان وكان الامر باحكام قد حضر الى هذا الدير فى وزارة محمد ابن فانتك ووجد بابه قصير وعليه باب حديد فلم يرى ان يدخل اليه منكس الراس بل جعل وجهه الى خارج وجعل ظهره الى

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❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح ❖

المومنين الذين شاهدوه وغيرهم من الثقات وهذه البيعة عمل  
البحر في اصولها وكانت تذهب فاهتم بها وبتقوية اصولها وانشا  
لها زريبة في البحر ماكنة الثبات الشيخ عز الكفاة ابي الفخر ابن  
سليمان الكاتب واصرف على ذلك جملة كبيرة من ماله وللمذكور  
من المعروف والصدقات ما هو مشهور عنه في جيله وكانوا الغز  
الاکران قد هدموا بعضها فآظهر الله بسبب ذلك آية عظيمة فلم  
يعودوا يعرضوها وهو ان الذين اعرضوها لم يبق منهم احد في  
دون السنة ويجاور هذه الكنيسة بستان وبعد مدة استولى عليها  
البحر وغلبوا المهندسين عن الحيلة فيها فاخذ البحر منها جانباً  
من الشرق واخذ فخر الدين والى مصر المعروف بسلام البانياسي  
ثمانية عشر عامون وعليها رسم الصليان اعمر بها فندق له واملاك  
وعزل من ولاية مصر وصور عقيب ذلك واخذ جميع ملكه في  
المصادرة ومات في الاعتقال واما فخر الكفاة كان دار سكنه على  
البحر فخاف ان يهدمها البحر مثل غيرها فهدمها وحمل جميع  
نقضها واخشابها واخشاب جملون البيعة المذكورة وانقضها وجدد  
بها بيعة كانت قد هت على اسم مرقس الانجيلي واوسع فيها  
كثيراً وعمرها عمارة حسنة واقامت سنين في ترتيب حسن وعدى  
عليها الغز وعوام المسلمين وشعثوها ولم يعود احد يهتم بها وهي  
الان قائمة الجدران خراب معطلة من القداس والصلوات وذلك  
في مقدمة انبا يوحنا ابن ابو غالب وهو الرابع والسبعين في  
العدن ❖ فصل بيعة ماري بطرس بالجيزة على شاطئ البحر  
واساسها في البحر واليها اجتمعوا النصارى في وقت كان النيل  
قد تأخر فعلوا من اجل ذلك صلوات ليلية ونهارية وصوم مدة  
اسبوع كامل واخر ذلك الاسبوع اوفوا ما النيل وزان عن الوفا بعد

وذكر ان ببحر القلزم وهو البحر الاحمر قبالة دير انطانيوس الذي  
 غرق الله فيه فرعون وجنوده واجاز موسى النبي وبنى اسرائيل في Fol. 58 b  
 اليبس منه في اثنا عشر زقاقاً ومنها ما هو باقى الى الان لم يغيى  
 شاهدهم وهو ببحر سوف ❖ فصل شهد تاريخ سعيد ابن بطريق  
 الملكى ان الغلا كان فى المدينة بمكة وكانوا اهل المدينة من الملة  
 الحنيفية فى جهد عظيم فكتب عمر ابن الخطاب من الحجاز الى  
 عمر ابن العاص ابن عدى امير مصر بذلك وهذا فى السنة الثامنة  
 من خلافة عمر ابن الخطاب فبعث اليه عمر ابن العاص قوافل من  
 الجمال موقرة حنطة اولها المدينة واخرها مصر وكتب عمر ابن  
 الخطاب الى عمر يامره ان يحفر خليجا حتى يصل الى القلزم  
 فيسهل حمولة القمح فحفر عمر الخليج الذى فى القنطرة المعروف  
 بامير المومنين فكانت المراكب تحمل القمح والشعير من الفسطاط  
 فى الخليج الى القلزم ويحمل فى البحر المالح الى المدينة وهى  
 مدينة افرم من كرسى القلزم بناها بنو اسرائيل لفرعون فى ذلك  
 الزمان ❖ فصل وذكر ان خليج القاهرة اوله السد قريبا من الروضة  
 بمصر ومنتهاه السدير من الشرقية وهناك قنطرة ينقل القمح من البر  
 الى الجلاب الذى يسير الى مكة وارض الحجاز الجانب الغربى Fol. 59 a  
 الجيزية حصن الجيزية بناه عمر ابن العاص سنة اثنين وعشرين  
 للهجرة وامل لهدان وهى قبيلة من العرب وهم سكنوها عند فتح  
 الاسكندرية ❖ فصل الجانب الغربى من الجيزية مقابر الملوك الفراعنة  
 وفيها ذخائرهم مطبوسة الاثار وبهذه الناحية بيعة الشهيد  
 بقطر ابن ارمانيوس بساحل البحر كان يهتم بها ابو الخير الصيرفى  
 من اهل الجيزة وشوهد النور على صورة السيدة التى فى شاو  
 هذه البيعة عدة دفوع وشهر هذا الامر وتحدث به جماعة من



باسما اولادهم منهم تنيس ودمياط ونوبة ودقهلة وجدى بنا سمنون  
وقيل ان فرعون بنا الفرما وكانت بحيرة ماء فغرق فيها الف  
مركب وهى البحر منهم الف رجل فسميت الف رماء فصل وبنت  
اكلادوبطرة ملكة الاسكندرية حائط الحجاز فى الجانب الشرقى  
من بلاد النوبة الى الفرما وفى الجانب الغربى من بلاد النوبة  
الى الاسكندرية تكصنا من اوغسطس قيصر ملك الروم وهذا فتح  
اورشليم ونقل اليهود منها الى رومية فصل وكان سير بادويل ملك  
الفرنج بالشام قد وصل فى خلافة الامر ووزارة شاهنشاه الافضل  
الى الفرما فى السنة الخامسة عشر من بطركية ادبا مقارة وهو  
التاسع والستين فى عهد الابا البطاركة ووصل ملك الفرنج المذكور  
Fol.58 a بعساكره وجنوده فنهبها واحرقها وعول على الوصول الى مصر  
ليملكها فمرض بها فى اليوم الثالث من وصوله اليها واشتد مرضه  
فامر اصحابه ان يحملوه ويعودوا به الى الشام ففعلوا كما امرهم  
ولما وصل الى قرب العريش مات فصبروه وعادوا به الى البيت  
المقدس ودفن هناك <sup>1</sup> القلزم <sup>1</sup> حرصا للملك من ناحية الحجاز  
وسماها بحبل المنسج الذى يمسك الثوب واسمه قلزم به كنيسة ادبا  
سيوس دير بناحية رانة انشا يسطيانوس الملك <sup>1</sup> فصل والى القلزم  
كان ينتهى الخليج بالقاهرة هاهنا الحاجز وهو البرزخ وهو اضيق  
بر على وجه الارض بين البحرين وهما الشامى والحجازى وهو  
ما بين الفرما والقلزم مسيرة يوم وليلة وهم بعض الملوك بحفر  
بينهما ليلتقى البحران فخاف ان يفسدوا الروم بسفنها فى الحجاز  
فصل والفرما عليها حصن دائر حجر بغير ابواب وهى خراب فصل

<sup>1</sup> .حرسا

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❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صالح ❖

اسم السيدة العذرى مرثمريم الطاهرة ❖ وبيعة على اسم الشهيد  
الجليل الشجاع تادرس المشرقى وبيعة القديس الجليل ابو  
يحنس ❖ ناحية اطفيح ايضا فى المدينة وخارجها كان بها اكثر  
من عشرين بيعة ولم يبق منها الى وقتنا نحن غير عشرة بيع  
منها البيعة بناحية بالوجة على اسما التلاميذ بحصن دائر  
عليها وبستان وساقية بئر معين حلوة وفيها ❖ كنيسة ابو مرقورة  
وكنيسة للسيدة للرهبان ❖ وكنيسة على اسم الشهيد الشجاع  
تادرس وكنيسة على اسم ابو قرمان وبيعة على اسم السيدة  
العذرى الطاهرة ❖ وبيعة على اسم القديس ابا جول ❖ وبيعة  
للشهيدي ابو مينا المعروفة بكنيسة العامون وعليها قوتة وتحمل  
اليه ذنور كثيرة وللملكية بها هيكل يقدسون عليه وبيعة اخرى  
على اسم الشهيد ابو مينا مجاور البربا ❖ دير اخر فى البرية  
يعرف بدير البغل وفيه عدة رهبان وداخل البرية دير القديس  
انبا بولا ❖ وهو على شاطى البحر المالح بينه وبين دير الجميزة  
الى ان يصل اليه فى البرية يومين ويحضر اليه من هذا الدير اعنى  
دير القديس العظيم انطانيوس قسوس رهبان وشمامسة يقدسون  
فيه بالنوبة وهو بوادى العربية وبحيرة مريم وهو قريباً من طور  
سينا بينهم تعدية فى المالح ❖ جهة العريش بهذه الجهة  
كنيستين كبار من قديم الزمان وهما خراب وجدرانها باقية  
الى وقتنا نحن وصور البلد الذى من جانب المالح باقى الى  
الان ❖ فصل ذكر ان جميع الرخام والعمد التى بمصر معظمها  
والاكبر منها من العريش ❖ مدينة الفرما بنا هذه المدينة فرعون  
واسمها بفرمونوس على نهر النيل وهى الفرما فى سنة ثمان  
وعشرين من مولد موسى النبى وهى اكبر عجائب واقدم اثار

❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح ❖

تاريخ سعيد ابن بطريق وهو الذي صار بطريك الملكية وفي  
مملكة اردشير في سنة خمسمائة وثمانين للاسكندر وفي نسخة  
اخرى سنة خمسمائة واربع وخمسين للاسكندر ❖ فصل وشهد  
تاريخ محبوب ابن قسطنطين المنبجي بمثل ذلك ومعه ايضا بدقوش  
الراهب وهما اول من لبس الصوف وسكن البراري وذلك في  
بطركية ديونوسيوس وهو الرابع عشر في العدد وكان في وقته Fol. 55 b  
اتناسيوس الكاتب بطريك الاسكندرية واذبا بخوم الراهب المصري  
وباسيليوس اسقف قيسارية وداخل هذه الناحية سبع بيع للقبط  
منهم سنة وللا من واحدة على اسم الشهيد ماري جرجس ❖  
فصل الدير المعروف بدير الجميزة على شاطئ بحر النيل المبارك  
ويجاورة جوسف وبستان وطاحون ومعصرة وهو قريباً من دهروط  
وفيه الى وقتنا نحن ثلاثون راهباً فصل وكان بالدير المعروف باذبا  
اندونة وهو انطانيوس راهب يسمى بلوطس وكان عالماً ومعلماً  
خبير باوضاع الدين المسيحي وسيرة الرهبنة ماهر في حقوق ما  
يلزم من القوانين الشرعية واصادة الشيطان في شرك من شراكة  
واعتقد اعتقاد مخالف لما وضعه الابا الثلثمائة وثمانية عشر وافسد  
عقول جماعة كبيرة ممن ليس له معرفة ولا دراية بالامانة  
الارثوذكسية واشاع من فيه النجس ومنطقه الخبيث ان المسيح  
ربنا له المجد كاحد الانبياء وصار مجتمع بالاشرار من اهل الملة Fol. 56 a  
وهو لابس شكل الرهبنة منتطقاً بالزونية والاسكيم وانا سئل عن  
مذهبه واعتقاده فيقول انه موحد وظهرت مقالته في سنين اخرها  
سنة تسع وثلاثين وثمانمائة للشهدا الابرار ومات وانقطع ذكره الى  
الابد بناحية البرفيل ❖ بيعة للسيدة العذرى مرتيم الطاهرة  
ومعه اخرى على اسم القديس ابو الارة ❖ ناحية صول بيعة على

البحر نيل ثلاثة ايام في البرية التي هي بركة القلزم وجسدة  
الظاهر فيه مدفوناً في مغارته التي كان يصلى فيها وهو مسدود  
عليه وبيعته على اسمه على علو الجبل المقدس وله بمصر وقوفات  
واملاك عدة وعليه حصن دائر وفيه جماعة كبيرة من الرهبان  
Fol. 54 b وداخل الحصن منه بستان كبير وفيه نخيل مثمرة واشجار تفاح  
وكمثرى ورقان وغير ذلك وارض مغارث بقولات وثلاث عيون  
مياه تجري دائماً يسقا منها البستان ومنها يشرب الرهبان ومن  
جملة البستان فدان وسدس كرم عنب لما يحتاج اليه وقيل ان  
عدة نخيله الف راس نخل وده جوسف كبير محكم البنا وقلالي  
الرهبان مطة على البستان وله باطفيح ايضاً املاك وبساتين ولم  
يكن مثله في سائر الديارات التي يسكنها رهبان المصريين وهو  
بيد اليعاقبة من الرهبان فصل وكان ظهور انبا اندونة المصري  
وسمى ايضاً انطانيوس نجم البرية واب الرهبان وهو اول راهب  
سكن البرية واجتمعت اليه الرهبان ببرية مصر وابتدا عمارة  
الديارات واجتماع الرهبان اليها وبنى هذا الدير المقدس في  
مملكة يولييانوس الملك الكافر وهو ابن اخت قسطنطين الملك  
المومن ومملكة سابور ابن ارشبير ابن بابل من نسل ساسان  
Fol. 55 a فصل وهذا القديس العظيم انطانيوس اول راهب لبس الصوف  
واظهر شكل الرهبنة وخرج عن العالم وسكن البراري وظهر له ملاك  
الرب واوراه كيف يلبس شكل الرهبنة وعرفه الملاك كيف ينبغي له  
ان يفعل في سكنه البرية ليكون مثلاً لغيره من الرهبان الذين  
يقتدون به ويسيروا مثل سيرته الطاهرة فصل وهذا الملك المذكور  
اولاً اعنى اوليانوس قتله الشهيد مرقوريوس مما ذكره باسيلوس  
اسقف قيسارية وشاهد شبه الدم في سن رمحه مما شهد به

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❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صالح ❖

العزیز هدم الجامع العتيق بمصر المعروف بانشا عمر ابن العاص  
والى مصر وبناه وزان فى اتساعة وانشا بحلوان بركة عظيمة وساق  
اليها الماء من عيون داخل الجبل المسمى الجبل المقطم على  
قناطر بناها الى البركة وعمل عليها عرش من زجاج وبنوا بها  
مساجد كثيرة وانفق فى حلوان مالا كثيرا وتضمنت نسخة  
التاريخ ان الذى انفق الف الف دينار وغرس بها نخيل واشجار  
وكان يستخرج الخراج دفعات فى كل جمعة يخشى من فتنة  
تقوم وتنزل به فيحتاج فيها الى المال وبنوا القناطر على خليج  
Fol. 53 a امير المؤمنين واران ان ينقل الساحل والجسر والاسواق والتجار  
اليها ويُعطل القسطاط وكان بيت المال بحلوان ❖ فصل دير على  
اسم السيدة مارتيريم العذرى الطاهرة اهتم بعمارتها الاساقفة فى  
بطركية انبا اسحق الراهب وهو الحادى والاربعون فى العدى  
وانبا سيمون السريانى بعده وهو الثانى والاربعون فى العدى  
فى ولاية عبد العزيز ابن مروان على يد اغريغوريوس اسقف  
القيس ويعرف بدير ابو قرقر مشتق من اسم اغريغوريوس  
دير ثانى جده مثل ذلك ورسم عبد العزيز ابن مروان ان ينشأ  
ليوناس البطريرك والاساقفة بيعة فانشوا هذه البيعة النصارى فراشى  
عبد العزيز ابن مروان على اسم الشهيد الجليل مارى جرجس  
وكانت هذه البيعة لطيفة وتعرف بكنيسة الفراشين وكانوا هولاء  
النصارى الفراشين ملكية ❖ بيعة موسى كليم الله وهى من البيع  
العظيمة المتسعة فى العمارة على شاطى نهر النيل المبارك قريبة  
من حلوان ومنية السودان وفرعون موسى هو الوليد ابن مصعب  
Fol. 53 b فصل الدير المجاور لها وهو من الاعمار الكبار محكم فى البناء  
والهندسة فى وضع العمارة وفيه جماعة كبيرة من الرهبان والشيوخ

وصار معه جماعة من التابعين له مقيمين معه واقام به مدة  
 عشرين سنة ومات في يوم الاثنين اول جمعة البيضا من الجمعة  
 الثانية في الثالث والعشرين من امشير سنة تسعمائة واربعة  
 وعشرين للشهداء الابرار وهو الان بيد تابعة وهم جماعة كبيرة  
 ولكن احوالهم غير مستقيمة ونكر ان كان فيه متقدماً وفي المغائر  
 المنقورة التي بالجبل ما يناهز ستة الاف راهب فصل وكان  
 كلكلى ابن حرابا ابن مالىف من اولاد بيصر ابن حام ابن  
 نوح ذو حكمة بالغة ويقال ان معلمه هرمس وهو اول من عمل  
 الكيميا وجعل الرصاص ذهباً وعقد الزيتف حجراً ذهبياً ابيض  
 وسبك من الرمل زجاجاً وكان مطبخ الزجاج في موضع يقال له  
 التنور في علو الجبل الشرقي ظاهر مصر بيعة السيدة مرتريم  
 العذرى الطاهرة بالقنطرة المعروفة بكنيسة الروم وعرفت بالفراشين  
 النصارى جدد عمارتها فراشين المامون عبد الله ابن الرشيد هارون  
 قريباً من قبة الهوآء الذي انشاها على جبل المقطم وكانوا النصارى  
 يلبسون السوان ويركبون الخيول الى خلافة المتوكل جعفر فابطل  
 ذلك حلوان وكان عبد العزيز ابن مروان ابن الحكم ويكنى ابو  
 الاصبع سكنها وحلوان اسم ولده الاكبر وبهذه الناحية نزل الامام  
 الحاكم بامر الله عن الحمار الذي كان راكبه وتقدم الى الركابي  
 الذي كان يصحبه حيث يذهب بان يعرقب الحمار ونهب هو  
 وحده الى داخل البرية ولم يرجع يعون ولا عرف الى اين توجه  
 الى يومنا هذا وكان ذلك في شوال سنة احد عشر واربعمائة  
 واعد بها هذا عبد العزيز عمائر حسنة ومقياساً لماء النيل وانه  
 اعتراه الداء المعروف بداء الاسد وهو الجذام وانه استعمل ادوية  
 كثيرة ولم ينجع فيه الدوا واحترار الاطبا في مداواته وهذا عبد

Fol. 52 a

Fol. 52 b



كبيرة واسعة شاهقة وفيها صور الاربعين شهيد من سبسطية  
وتحتها قبر ابي الفضائل هذا \* بيعة الشهيدة بربارة لطيفة \*  
مارى توما بيعة قزمان ودميان واخوتها وامهم الذين استشهدوا  
جميعهم على اسم المسيح وفي سفليها \* بيعة ماري يوحنا المعدان  
السابق في مغارة سقفها حكر محمول على عامود كدار خافي  
وفي وسطها وفي السقف صور كنائسية قد مكي اكثرها وقريب  
منها قبر يوحنا الراهب الذي هندس صور القاهرة وابوابها في  
الخلافة المستنصرية ووزارة امير الجيوش بدر وعلى هذا القبر  
لوح رخام في الكائط \* وبيعة القديس ماري جرجس المقدم  
ذكرها في جملة هذه الكنائس العدة خارجة على قرنة الجبل  
انشاها الشيخ ابو الحكم اخو ابو الخصيب صهر ابي البركات Fol. 51 b  
ابن ابي الليث وفي الجبل المذكور عدة مغائر نقر في الجبل  
سقفها منها اقدم مغارة القديس ارسانيوس الذي بُنى على  
اسمه والحجر الذي كان يتوسده بها وداخل هذا الدير صهريج  
يصل الماء اليه من الجبل في وقت المطر وكان به بئر ماء معين  
نقر في الجبل منه يشربوا الرهبان ومن يطرقة وفيه طاحون نقر  
في الجبل وكنائسه كذلك وتجاور كنيسة ماري سابا الذي  
انشاها ابي البركات منظره عملت للامر كان يحضر اليها في زمان  
صيد الوحوش ومكان لاصحابه وفيه منظره خمارويه ابن احمد  
ابن طولون في علو الدير من الجانب الشرقي وقد تشعنت وفيه  
الآن في وقتنا نحن خمسة رهبان ضعفاء الاحوال الى اخر  
برمهاث سنة احدى وتسعين وثمانمائة للشهدا الابرار بعد ذلك  
فيه فخر ابن القنبر<sup>1</sup> المظل الجهمال باعتقاده المخالف للحق

<sup>1</sup> المظل.

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من حبيس وهو مطل على القرية المعروفة بشهران وعلى الصحرا  
وهي قرية كبيرة عامرة على شاطئ البحر على ما شهد به كتاب  
الديارات للشابشتي ودير شهران والقصير هذا احد الديارات  
المقصودة للتعبد والتنزه واصطاط البطريك انشا في هذا الدير  
بيعة الابسطلى وانشا قلية للاساقفة وهو بيد الملكيين وفيه جماعة  
من رهبانهم ويُعيد له كل سنة عيد القديس ارسانيوس في ثالث  
عشر بشنس واصطاط هذا كان تاجراً في الكتان فوجد كنز في  
المدق وترهب في هذا الدير وبنا فيه ما تقدم ذكره وصير بعد  
ذلك بطريراً للملكيين واقام مدة بطركيته اربعة وستين سنة وفي  
هذا الدير ثمانية كنائس وعليهم حصن دائر وفيه منظره وفيه  
مدافن وتحتة مغائر كثيرة نقر في الجبل وكان هذا الدير هدم  
منه كنيسة الابسطليين في الخلافة الحاكية في شعبان سنة  
اربعمائة وحضر اليه جماعة من العوام واخذوا ثوابيت الموتى  
واخشاب من نقضه ثم رسم لهم بتجديد ما تشعث منه ورقي له  
اليصال اخو تاج الدولة بهرام ستة عشر فدانا رزقة وكان فيه  
بغل لحمل للدير الماء من البحر والصعود به الى الدير وكان  
ينزل معه احد الرهبان يملأ عليه النقلة ويبقا الراهب مقيم عند  
البحر والبغل مترقن في الرواح الى الدير والمجى بمفرده الى  
حين يكمل حاجته منه وعلى هذا الدير حصن حجر دائر وكان  
في بعض النوب الحادثة قد صعد عوام المسلمين اليه وتمموا على  
الرهبان حيلة ففتحوا لهم الباب فدخلوا الدير ونهبوه وقتلوا  
من الرهبان جماعة والدير المعروف بالقصير الحقاني داخل البرية  
غامراً غير اهل وهو من الدير المقدم ذكره مسافة نصف نهاره  
عدّة البيع الذي في دير القصير على ما شوهد في برمهات

بعمارتها اولاً ابن مشكور وفي تكريزها ابو المنصور متولى عمارة  
 صوري القاهرة ومصر وفي الدير المذكور جوسف وطاحون وبستان  
 كان للارمن ولما خلا منهم صار لليعقوبية بعد سنة ستمائة هجرية  
 ومات القس ابو ياسر وصار الدير المذكور بيد تلاميذه وبيد القبط  
 مستمراً فيه الى وقتنا نحن الان \* الجبل الشرقي المعروف بالمقطم  
 اسم ابن مصرائم ابن مصر ابن حام ابن نوح والمقطم اول من  
 تعبد فيه مقطم المذكور وانقطع فيه لعبادة الله وعرف الجبل بعده  
 بالمقطم وهو مجاور طرا عند مقطع الحجارة وهو متصل بالطول  
 الى طرا وهو مقدس فصل والجبل الغربي متصل بجبال الغرب Fol. 40 a  
 والسواحل الغربية كلها الى ارض ابن غواطة وشاطى البحر المظلم  
 والنهر بين هذين الجبلين الدير المعروف بالقصير على قرنة  
 الجبل الشرقي وهذا الدير يشرف منه على بحر النيل المبارك وطرا  
 انشاء ارغان يوس الكبير ابن تدوس الكبير ملك الروم على قبر  
 معلمه القديس ارسانيوس وسماه باسمه وكان ارسانيوس هذا قد  
 هرب منه وتعبد في بركة القديس ابو مقار بواى هبيب ثم  
 انتقل الى هذا الجبل وتعبد فيه وعرف هذا الدير بقصير ويعتد  
 له عيد عظيم ويجتمع اليه خلق كثير وتحت بيعته على الجبل  
 بيعة اخرى نقر في الجبل بالازميل فيها مذبح وهذا الدير في  
 اعلا الجبل على سطح في قرنة الجبل وهو حسن الوضع في  
 العمارة ونزه المنظر وله بئر منقور في الحجر يستقى الما منها  
 وفيه صور جميلة صنعة محكمة مليحة في الغاية وفي اعلاه طبقة  
 ابو الجيش خمارويه ابن احمد ابن طولون ولها اربعة طاقات  
 على اربع جهات والطريق اليه من مصر فيها صعوبة واما من  
 قبلية فسهل الصعود اليه والنزول منه والى جانبه صومعة لا تخلوا Fol. 40 b

الشهيد تادرس<sup>٥</sup> وايضاً بيعة على اسم القديس العجليل ماري جرجس التي هي بناحية طرا على ساحل البحر وكانت لطيفة وهي للقبط اليعاقبة ولما وصل اغريغوريوس بطريرك ارمينية وكانوا الارمن مع امير الجيوش بدر في بطركية انبا كيرلس بطريرك اليعاقبة واقطع للارمن طرا فاخذوا هذه البيعة وهدموها وجدوا **Fol. 48 a** عوضها كنيسة كبيرة متسعة بعدة قباب وكرزت على اسم ماري جرجس وعلوها جوسف بابه من داخل البيعة وعليها حصن دائر وفيها بئر وساقية وعليها وجه دائر وزرع عليها اصول نارنج ودويرتين فهما نخيل مثمرة وشجر ولما جرى للارمن ما جرى دفعة بعد اخرى رجعت الكنيسة لليعقوبية في بطركية انبا مرقس المعروف قبل تقدمته بابي الفرج ابن زرعة الكاتب وهو في العدن الثالث والسبعين وبها القس المذكور امرة في بيعة المرتوتى المسى ابو ياسر المعروف بالعدوية وجدوا عمارة ما احتيج اليه فيها وعاد الشعب يمشون اليها في كل وقت وخارجها اساس حجر ظاهر على وجه الارض وذكر انه كان عمل لبنا عليه منظره فلم يتهياً ذلك وهو الان ثلثة قطعة واحدة وحضر هذا البطريرك الى هذه البيعة وكرزها بحضور جماعة من الاساقفة والكهنة والشعب المسيحى وفي نسخة ان دير القديس ماري جرجس صار بيد القس ابو ياسر المذكور المعروف بابن القسطال وكرز هذا الدير في **Fol. 48 b** بيوثة سنة تسع وخمسين وخمسمائة في بطركية انبا يوحنا برضا من الارمن وجدوا علوه بيعة للشهيد ابو مينا وبيعة على اسم القديس العظيم يوحنا المعدادان واغريغوريوس وهذه البيعة قبلى الهيكل الكبير الوسطانى بدير الارمن بطرا وكرزت في الثلاثين من بيوثة سنة اثنين وتسعمائة للشهدا الابرار وهذه البيعة اهتم

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ابو ياسر ابن القس ابو سعد المعروف بابن القسطال اعتمد اسباباً  
تخالف ما حده الابا الاطهار وهو تربية الشعر وكشف راسه في  
وقت القداسات وتنصير الاطفال بغير ختانة والفسحة لمن يملك  
بنات الناس ان يشاهدهم العريس قبل الملاك وانا قدس قساً  
محلوق الشعر مغطى الرأس لا يتقرب من يده بل يجتنب قداس  
ثاني لنفسه واقسم البيعة قسمين وانكر ذلك عليه عدة دفعات ولم  
يرجع ولم ينتهي عن رايه اقتضى الحال لحفظ القوانين ابعاده  
عنها والله يصلحه لنفسه. فصل وكان لبيعة هذا القس المذكور

Fol. 46 b بستان وقد تقدم ذكره فملك هذا البستان الامير جبريل ابن  
الامام الحافظ وانشأ قبالة هذه البيعة ما يلي البحر في المكان  
المعروف بالخيمة القبلية لحفظ المكوس منظره وحل بها الامام  
الحافظ والامام الظاهر ولده في حياة الامير جبريل هذا وحضر  
بعد وفاته الامام العاضد وكل منهم يراعى هذه البيعة ويقبل ما  
يحمل اليه من طعام الدير وهذه البيعة في وسط البساتين وينظر  
من علوها بحر النيل المبارك. والى بر طموية من الجزيرة ومنية  
الشماس وغير ذلك في البر الغربي وهي من اماكن العبادات  
الفرحة وهذه البيعة مقصودة جداً لان لها شفاعات مقبولة وايات  
ظاهرة لاصحاب الايمان. فصل ملك هذا البستان والعدوية  
وكنيسته السودان وساحل البحر بها الاجل سيف الاسلام  
طفيتكين اخو الملك صلاح الدين يوسف ابن ايوب الكروي وعمر  
هذه المنظره وزان في علوها طارمة وزرع انشاب كثير في البستان  
وانفق مالاً كثيراً وبالعدوية مقاطع الطين الاصفر الذي يعمل منه  
الخزف وهو بجري في ملك الوزير ابي الفرج المغربي الخط  
Fol. 47 a المعروف بطرا السلوك منه الى اطفيج على طريق دير شهران.

♦ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح ♦

السوباسى التركى والى القاهرة وكملاها من ماله واهتم لها بقبة  
وجملون وعمل على القبة قبة خشب حسنة وبنا بها مذبحين  
احدهما على اسم القديس مارى جرجس والاخر على اسم الملاك  
ميخائيل ووسطها قبر طويل وفتح فيه باب الى المذابح التى  
بالبيعة القديمة وافصل بعضها ببعض وصار عدة مذابحها خمسة  
قديماً ومستجداً وكملاها بالبياض والتصوير وكرزت فى يوم الاثنين Fol. 45 b  
الحادى والعشرين من برمهات وهو اليوم الثانى من الجمعة  
الخامسة من الصوم المقدس بحضور اذبا مرقس ابن زرة البطريك  
وهو الثالث وسبعين فى العدى وميخائيل اسقف بسطة والخندق  
واذبا غبريال اسقف مصر واذبا سيمون اسقف البهنسى واذبا  
بطرس اسقف الفيوم وجماعة من الكهنة والاراخنة واعمر الخولى  
سيد الاهل ابن توماس الارشيدياقن بها فوق علوها بيعة على  
اسم القديس مرقوريوس بمذبح خشب وكرزها اذبا يوحنا البطريك  
وهو الرابع وسبعين فى العدى فى عشر بشنس تسعمائة وعشرة  
للسهدا الابرار وكان الشيخ ابو اليمى وزير قد نقل جسد القديس  
ابو يحنس من البيعة بدمنهور من ضواحي القاهرة الى هذه  
البيعة لما ذكر انه بقرب منه ولما كان فى بعض الليالى سمع من  
تابوت الشهيد يقول قية ما يمكن ان يبقا فى كنيسة السيدة  
وليس لى الا البيعة التى كنت فيها اولاً وعند ذلك اعيد اليها  
وكان للنسطور بهذا الخط دير كبير كانه قلعة عظيمة بحصن دائر Fol. 46 a  
حجر منحوت وفيه بيعة كبيرة مشخصة ظاهرة وجميع معالمها  
باقية الى الان بل انه جعل مكان الشار قبلة وعلوه ماندة شاهقة  
ودائرة بيوت كانت للرهبان سكنها المسلمين وذلك فى الخلافة  
الحاكمية فصل وكان فى بيعة المرتوتى المشروح حالها قس يسمى



❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح ❖

Fol. 44 b وانشاها القبط على اسم السيدة فاما انها عرفت بالمرثوتى وهى  
لفظة بالرومى متيرتا اعنى ام الله الكلمة ولما تقادم بها العهد  
وهت وتشعثت فاهتم بتجديد عمارتها الشيخ ابو اليمى وزير  
كان من اهل سنهور متولى ديوان اسفل الارض وابو المنصور ولده  
فى الخلافة الامرية ووزارة الافضل شاهنشاه وعمر علوها منظره  
حسنة وسميت هذه المنظره السلوقية وكان يجمع اليها الكهنة  
ويفرح معهم وذلك فى ابيب سنة ثمان وسبعين واربعمئة الهلالية  
فى بطريركية كيرلس واسقفية دانيال واهتم بعمل آنية مصاغة  
لهذه البيعة كاملة برسم القربان والبخور وما تحتاجه البيعة وعمر  
علوها عدة حقوق ومراقف وكان برسمها بستان لطيف يتوصل  
اليه من داخل البيعة والباب شاهدا به فوضعت عليه اليد  
السلطانية وخرج عنها فصل وكان قد تنصر يهوديًا يسمى ابو  
الفخر ابن ازهر الصانع ورغب فى المذهب المسيحى وتعمد فى  
هذه البيعة وعمده اثبا يوحنا اسقف طمويه من الجيزية والقس  
Fol. 45 a ابو ياسر ابن ابو سعد ابن القسطل فى الخلافة الفائزية ووزارة  
طلائع ابن رزيك وبطركية يونس الثانى وسبعين فى العدى وذلك  
فى رجب سنة اربع وخمسين وخمسمئة هجرية ونور الله على  
ذلك اليهودى حتى قرى القبطى وقسره عربيًا وكرز شماساً ببيعة  
السيدة الطاهرة بحارة زويلة بمدينة القاهرة من يد اثبا غبريال  
اسقف مصر مما انقرو فى قسنته لنفسه فى خامس عشر ابيب  
سنة احدى وتسعمائة كنائسية وتجاورها كنيسة كانت قد وهت  
اهتم بتجديدها ابو الفضائل ابن الشبرامريقى وعاضده فيها  
جماعة من النصارى وذلك فى سنة اثنين وتسعمائة للشهدا  
الابرار وكمل عمارة البيعة المذكورة الشيخ ابوالفرج ابن زنبور كاتب

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عليه القس يوسف النسطوري وحكر ارضه لقومًا من المسلمين  
واباع علو كنيسة مصر حتى والفرن وحكر اكثر الاملاك المحبسة  
على كنائس النسطور بمبالغ خسيصة للمسلمين الى مدن مديدة  
والنسطور لم يكن معه احدًا منهم بل مقيمون بالمشرق وارض فارس  
والعراق والموصل والفرات والحيرة ومنهم بمصر عدة يسيرة حقيرة \*  
فصل وهذا الدير صار الى القبط بمصر في بطركية ادبا مرقس ابن  
زرعة وهو الثالث وسبعين في العدن وصيتره بطريركي والكنيسة  
فيه على اسم القديس فيلاتاوس الانطاكي وعلوه مناظر وجميع  
ذلك حاجر منحوت باطنه وظاهره وكرز وقدس فيه في اول جمعة  
من الصوم المبارك وهو سادس عشر امشير في يوم الثلثا سنة تسع  
وتسعين وثمانمائة للشهدا الاجرار الموافق للرابع والعشرين من  
شهر رمضان سنة ست وسبعين وخمسائة هجرية بحكم انه لم  
يبق بمصر من النساطرة الا رجل او رجلين لا غير وكرز هذا  
الدير ادبا بطرس الاسقف بالفيوم وبه ثلاث مذابح احدهم على  
اسم فيلاتاوس الانطاكي والثاني على اسم يوحنا الانجيلي والثالث  
على اسم توما التلميذ والذي اهتم به الشيخ ابي المنصور ابن  
بولس وهو المهتم ايضًا بقداسته وما يرفع عليه من القرايين وغير  
ذلك ولم يزل يقوم بجميع ما يحتاج اليه الى حين تنيح المذكور  
بقي ولده بعده مهتم به كاهتمام و<sup>الذرة</sup> نبيح الله نفسه واقام له  
كهنة قسوس وشمامسة وهو الان مستقيم الحال والصعيديين  
يلموا به ويفتكوا بابه ومدفن النصارى اليعاقبة القبط والاساقفة  
بمصر بارض الكباش وجسد ادبا زخريوس البطرک وهو الرابع

مصر وهذه القرافة تعرف ببني حجاج وبني يوسف ابن وائل  
 نزلوها في فتوح العرب لمصر وكانت تعرف بقرافة وتفسير هذه  
 اللفظة النساخ اي نساخ الكتب وكانوا الرهبان بها في صوامع  
 وديارات وبيع كثيرة العدة هدموها المسلمون العرب الذين وصلوا  
 مع عمر ابن العاص ابن عدي وكان فتوح مصر في المحرم سنة  
 عشرين هجرية ومن الصوامع ما هو باق الى الان جعلهم المسلمين  
 موانن ثم امتدت الايدي الى ان عمروا من بعض جدرانها اساس  
 هذا البستان وهي في المشاهدة عاصمة وانشا الاجل تاج الملوك  
 بوري الكردى اخو صلاح الدين يوسف عدّة مناظر في هذا Fol. 42 b  
 البستان وخارجة وزخرفها بالرخام والذهب وانفق في ذلك  
 جملة كبيرة من المال وفي هذا الخط ايضاً دير وهو المعروف بدير  
 النسطور كان على اسم القديس ماري جرجس وهو بحصن دائر  
 حجر منحوت وهو من العمارة الحسنة المحكومة ومن المستنزهات  
 المشهورة الموصوفة وكان الشيخ ابي الفصائل النسطوري المعروف  
 بطبيب الطائفة المعروفة بالعظيمة في الخلافة الامرية اهتم بعمارة  
 ما تشعت منه وجدده احسن عمارة بالحجر المنحوت وكان فيه  
 عدة كبيرة من رهبان النسطور فانتهى ذلك الى الامر فرسم عليه  
 وصادره واخذ جميع ماله واستمر به الترسيم الى ان انشا فيه  
 مسجداً والسبب في ذلك جميعه ابو الفضل جعفر ابن عبد  
 المنعم المعروف بابن ابي قيراط متولى الديوان الخاص الامرى  
 ولهذا الدير اراضى للزراعة ملكاً للدير من خارج الحصن وهذه  
 الاراضى منحتة من ابي البركات ابن كتامية اليعقوبى الكاتب  
 وليس في الدير احد وهو خال معطل من القداست والصلوات  
 ياوى فيه احد عمالين كتامة في بستان ملكاً له هناك واستولى Fol. 43 a

الجوامع والمساجد متخذ الانصارى وكتب عليه اسمه \* بيعة  
القديس ماري جرجس للقبط كانت قريبة من دير ماري يوحنا  
المعدان وكانت كبيرة جدا فعدى البحر عليها فلم يبق لها اثره  
ارض الحبش وبئر الدرج وعليها اصل جميز كبير متسع الظل  
مدور مثل الخيمة وبئر الغنم وثلاثة فدادين طين سوان ذكر ان  
هاتين البئرين والعدن ملك تاج الدولة الشامى ابن سبيل المعروف  
بانف الذهب و ذكر ان جميع ذلك كان للوزير ابي الفرج المغربى  
فى الخلافة المستنصرية ومقاطع الطين الاصغر بالعدوية الذى  
يعمل منه الخزف بيعة للشهيد ابو بقطر بارض حبش وبئر الدرج  
وجد مكتوب فى شاو هذه البيعة بالقبطى تاريخ تصوير الصور  
سنة تسع وخمسين وسبعمائة للشهدا فى بطركية ادبا شنودة وهو  
الخامس والستين فى العدن جعل فى اخرها مذبحين احدهما  
باسم الشهيد ابو قزمان واخوته ووالدتهم والاخر باسم بو  
يحنس الشهيد باسوان مما اهتم به ابو البركات المذكور فى سنة  
اثنين وسبعين وخمسائة هجرية وعلوها كنيسة على اسم جرجيوس  
الشهيد اهتم بامرها الشيخ المكين ابو البركات ابن كتامة الكاتب  
فى الخلافة الفاترية وجدن المذكور مجاورها كنيسة على اسم  
الشهيد ابو مينا سنة ثلاث وسبعين وخمسائة وفيها بئر ماء  
معين ويجاورها بستان ملكا لها وهو خراب من الانشآت ولم  
يبقى فيه سوى نخل قائم \* بيعة قبالتها داخل حصن البستان  
المعروف بانشا الوزير ابو الفرج المغربى فى الخلافة المستنصرية على  
اسم ابو بقطر ايضا وهى الان عامرة مكلمة القباب والحيطان ولها  
مدة طويلة بغير قداس ولما تمانى حالها تقدم الوزير طلائع ابن  
رزيك باخذ بعض عمدتها لعبارة المسجد الذى كان انشاه بقرافة

Fol. 41 b

Fol. 42 a

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فاعيد له الدير فرجع الى زميم قصده ولم ينفع فيه الدوا فاخرج منه وسلم غيره ذكر ان الذي ساعد على اخراجه منه ابو شاكر الكاتب الاسكندراني قصدا منه بان يفوز بسكن الجوسق والنزهة فيه فحسن له الشيطان الخروج من الملة النصرانية فاسلم وجعل في بيت العجيين قبلة وعلى باب المدخل الى الدير قبلة فاضر

Fol. 40 a بالدير مضرة روية واحتاز الزقاق الذي كان منه باب المدخل الى هذا الدير وافصل الجوسق منه والبستان وتصرف فيهما دون النصراني وتخيل النصراني في فتح باب يجاور الباب الاول ومنه المدخل اليه وذلك في الخلافة الحافظية واستولى على الجوسق ايضا والبستان ولما هلك هذا الجاحد بالوفا بعد ما ناله من الندم والتفريط في جوهر دينه ملكوا اولاده البستان والجوسق وتصرفوا فيهما وهم مسلمين وبهذه البركة قريبا من هذا الدير الدير المعروف بمار يوحنا المعدادان المشهور بالنزهة والفرج وهو الان بيد الملكيين واهتم بتجديد عمارته قديما ابو الفضل ابن البغدادى وابو نصر ابن عبدون يعرف بابن العداس متولى ديوان الشام في الخلافة الحاكمية ورفع في امور الدولة ونظر فيها وكانت علامته الحمد لله على ما يستحقه وعلو هذا المكان المنظر العجيبة المعدة لاجتماع المترهبين وكان بها عدة من الرهبانات الملكيين وكان تهتم بهم ابو الفضائل ابن ابي الليث الكاتب ويجاور هذا المكان بستانا ملكا له محتكر من الديوان السعيد

Fol. 40 b فيه من النخيل الفاخرة والرمان والمرسين وانواع كثير من الاشجار المنتخبة الثمرة ما لا يجمع مثله في غيره وانفق وفاة ابي الفضائل هذا وكان له ابن اخت يسمى ابي المكارم محبوب ابن ابي الفرغ العابدون وكانت اخت ابو البركات ابن ابو الليث زوجة

❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلاح ❖

Fol. 39 a بسراويلادس جدها المعلم زوين الضامن بمصر فى الخلافة  
الحافظية ثم هت وتشعث بنيانها فجددها الشيخ المكين ابو  
البركات المعروف بابن كتامية ثم تشعثت فجددها امين الدولة  
ابن المصوف واطاف قبليها هيكل على اسم الملاك الجليل  
ميخائيل وكرزها ادبا غبريال اسقف مصر فى دولة صلاح الدين  
يوسف الكردى ❖ وبيعة بمين المعترف ويجاورها هيكل على اسم  
السيدة بينها وبين بيعة بو قلثة المقدم ذكرها بيعة الملائى الجليل  
غبريال ❖ وبيعة على اسم القديس يوحنا المعدادان علو المغطس  
اهتم بتجديد عمارتها القس ابو الفتح الصعيدى بالمعلقة وكان  
سقفها صوارى كبار فعمد السودان فى بعض النوب الحادثة الى  
تهب هذا الدير وفعلاوا هذا السقف اقتضى ذلك بهدمها وهى  
خراب الان ثم جدوا عمارتها المذكورين بعد ذلك وكرزت فى يوم  
الاحد الثانى والعشرين من برمهات سنة تسعمائة للشهدا الابرار  
بيد غبريال اسقف مصر وادبا بطرس اسقف الفيوم ويجاورها  
الجوسق المتوصل اليه من الكنيسة والبستان تحته وهو يشرف  
Fol. 39 b على بركة الحبش وبحر النيل وبستان ❖ دير مارى يوحنا وهو من  
المناظر المستنزهات العجيبة من نزهة بركة الحبش سيما فى ايام  
النيل والربيع وحرث الارض وزراعة الصياقى وكان يحيى ابن  
العبيدى الكاتب يتولا امر هذا الدير واتضح لادبا غبريال البطريرك  
المعروف بابو العلا صاعد ابن تريك الكاتب السبعين فى العدى  
من زميم طريقته وخسارته بمساعدة المسلمين فى القرابين فانكر  
ذلك عليه مرّة بعد اخرى وهو لا يرجع ولا ينتهى اقتضى الامر  
اخراجة منه وتسليم الدير الى من يرجع الى امانته فناله من ذلك  
صعوبة شديدة ثم عاد الى التوبة يجيب ان يترك عادته الرديئة



ميكائيل في السابع من هاتور وقدس بها سنة تسع وثمانمائة  
للشهداء الابرار وكنيسة تجاورها على اسم الشهيد الجليل ابا  
نوب اهتم بها ادبا غبريال البطريك وذكر ان ابو نصر اخو ابو  
العلابن تريك انشاها ولم يكملها وجد في عمارتها الشيخ الصفي  
بطرس ابن مهنا الكاتب ثم اختار القس ابو الخير المعروف بابن  
الامدى يصيف بكنيسة ابا نوب وبعض الساحة التي قدام  
ميكائيل وكانوا البطارقة يجلسوا بها في اكثر الاوقات على دكة  
خشب يتبرنوا في ايام الصيف وجدوها كنيسة بعد الحريق على  
اسم القديس ادبا انطوتة وكرزها ادبا يوحنا التاسع والسبعين في  
عدن الابرار البطارقة في اول بطركيته في السنة الثالثة للتسع مائة  
للشهداء الابرار وكان كل منهم يهتم بعيدها في كل سنة وتنيح  
في سنة تسعمائة وثلاثة وعشرين للشهداء في يوم الخميس اول  
بشنس وفي تلك السنة بعينها تنيح القس اخوة الكبير بها كنيسة  
عتيقة متسعة رحبة توهنت جدرانها وتساقط بعض اصوارها تعرف  
قديماً باجيا صغيا وكانت رسومها عجيبة الوضع والبنا والهندسة  
اهتم بترميمها الشيخ صفي الدولة ابن ابو ياسر ابن علون  
الكاتب كنيسة على اسم القديس ابو مقارب هذه البيعة وتجد  
ما تشعت منها من جهة الشماس ابو اسحق ابن عبد المسيح  
كنيسة الاربعة الملائكة الحيوانات الحاملين المرتبة العليا جد  
عمارتها الشيخ ابن امين الملك ابن المهديت ابو سعيد ابن يوحنا  
الاسكندراني الكاتب واتقن لها جملون خشب متقن الصنعة في  
شهور سنة ثلاث وتسعين وثمانمائة للشهداء وكرزت في يوم الاربعا  
ثامن هاتور وهو عيد الاربعة وجوه بمذبح مفرد ومذبح على اسم  
السيد عند دخوله الى الهيكل ومذبح للشهيد الشجاع تادرس

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Fol. 36 b

المذبح الاوسط وكان يوم عظيم الفرح والسرور بما فعله الله في  
 الاول والاخر وشرع الاب البطرک بعد ذلك في ترميم ما تشعث  
 في البيع واصلاح ما فسد منها وخبر ذلك جميعه مكتوباً في سير  
 البطاركة ويختصر القول ليلا يطول الشرح في ذلك واستمر حال  
 البيع ونظامها في احسن الحالات \* فصل بعد حريق مصر بيد  
 عوام المسلمين من المصريين والاسكندرانيين وذلك في الخلافة  
 العاضدية ووزارة شاور وذلك في شهر صفر سنة اربع وستين  
 وخمسائة وكان انبا يونس البطرک وهو الثاني وسبعين في العدى  
 قد تنبأ على حريق هذه البيعة وان ذلك يكون في ايام غيره  
 وهكذا كان والسبب في حريق هذه البيعة ان النصارى كانوا  
 يحملون الى هذه البيعة ارزاق كثيرة ويعملون لها من الاواني  
 الفاخرة اشيا كثيرة فارادوا عوام المسلمين ان ينهبوا ما كان فيها  
 حاصلًا فلم يقدروا فاجتمع منهم جمع كبير وتعصبوا واحرقوا  
 البيعة وبقي جدرانها قائمة وكنيسة لطيفة داخلها لم تحرق وهي

Fol. 37 a

كنيسة يوحنا المهدان وصار القداس فيها مستمراً الى ان رسم  
 النصارى تجديد عمارة البيعة المذكورة فجددوا عمارتها وكملوا  
 الاسكنا وعضوا عوض الاخشاب قيباً واقبية طوب اجر وجدد القبة  
 الخشب على المذبح الوسطانى وعمل عليه ايضاً مقطع خشب والقبة  
 الخشب التى عملت على المذبح الوسطانى حسنة جداً محكومة  
 الصنعة محمولة على اربعة عمد رخام جافية اهتم بذلك الشيخ  
 ابو البركات ابن ابو سعيد هبلان الكاتب في سنة اثنين وتسعين  
 وثمانائة للشهدا من ماله دون العمد فانها من حاصل البيعة  
 وذلك في بطرکية انبا مرقس المعروف قبل تقدمته بابى الفرج ابن  
 زرة الكاتب مما اجتمع لها من جماعة الاراخنة وما احضروه

سواله ولما لم يمكنه المعترضين من اعادة البيعة لما كانت عليه واقاموا الغاية وتعصبوا في ذلك فبلغ امير المؤمنين العزيز بالله ان البطرك لم يمكن من العوام ان يفعل ما رسم له به من اعادة البيعة لما كانت عليه فرسم لجماعة من جنده ومماليكه ان يخرجوا يقفوا على عمارة البيعة واى من يعرض لهم في ذلك يردعوه ويقابلوه بما يستحقه من خلاف ما رسمنا لهم به فلما راوا العوام ذلك كفوا عن التعرض وبدوا في العمل واتفق في ذلك الوقت ان الشيخ ابو اليمين قزمان ابن مينا الكاتب استوجه الى فلسطين واعمالها واقام بها مدة من الزمان في الشغل متصرفا في خدمته التي ندب اليها فاكسب مالا جزيلا وكان بمفرده فانه كان يتول لم يتزوج ولم يكن عنده سوى غلمانه ومن يخدمه لا غير مع زهده وقناعتة وترتيب حاله فحمل ما اجتمع له من المال الى البطريرك المذكور وعاد متوجه الى الشام مستمرا فيما ندب اليه من اشغال دولة الخلافة وقال للبطريرك اصرف هذا المال جميعه في سبيل الله من العمارة في البيع وغير ذلك من الصدقة الى الضعفا والايتام والمساكين كما يريد الله تعالى ويجريه على بدل من الخير وانصرف متوجه الى الشام ودفع من قبل توجهه الى الشام الفى دينار للاديرة التي في بركة القديس ابو مقار وسالهم ان يذكره في صلواتهم ويدعوا بدوام السلامة وجميل العاقبة فبدأ البطرك في العمارة وجماعة الاراضة والشعب الارثوذكسى يعاضدوه ويقفوا في خدمته في تحصيل ما يحتاج اليه من الاصناف التي يحتاج اليها في العمارة وغلمان امير المؤمنين وجنده ومماليكه واقفين معه يمنعون من يتعرض له فيما يفعله الى حين كملت عمارة البيعة بمعونة الله تعالى وكرزت وقدس فيها اول قداس على

وهو في العدن [الثاني والستون] وذلك في خلافة الامام العزيز بالله ابن الامام المعز لدين الله وكانت في القدم كنيسة على اسم مرقوريوس على شاطئ النهر وهدمت وجعلت شونة قصبة وفي ايام هذا البطريك اختبر اعتقاد النصارى وان كانوا على الحق ام الباطل فجمع النصارى وخرج الى الجبل وخرج Fol. 35 a لخروجهم المسلمين واليهود لامر اتفق في ذلك تضمنته سيرة البيعة فتقدموا جماعة السادة المسلمين وصلوا وكبروا واستعانوا فلم تظهر لهم اية ثم بعدهم اليهود وكان كذلك ثم تقدم الاب البطريك والدباع الذي اظهر الله له الاية يتبعه وجميع الشعب الارثوذكسى يتبعهم فدعوا الى الله تعالى وصلوا ورقعوا البخور وصرخوا كرياليصون ثلاث دفعات فظهر الله عجائبه وتحرك الجبل المعروف بالمقطم مما يلي الكبش بين القاهرة ومصر وذلك بامانة الدباع الذي قلع عينه بالشفاء وذلك بحضور العزيز واشراف دولته وقضاة المسلمين فلما شاهد هذه الاية العظيمة قال له العزيز حسبك يا بطرك قد عرفنا ما فعله الله لكم ثم قال له تمنى على ما اخترت فافعله لك فشكره ودعا له ولم يزل به الى ان تمنى عليه بيعة له كانت قد دثرت فامر له بتجديدها وقيل اذها بيعة القديس ابو مرقورة فلما اراد ان يبتدى فيها بالعمل تعرض اليه عوام المسلمين وذلك ان الكنيسة لما نشعثت ولم يبق من معالمها سوى Fol. 35 b حيطانها وقد تهدموا فعملت شونة للقصبة فوسم له بعمارتها وان يطلق له من بيت المال ما يستعين به في العمارة فاخذ السجل واعاد المال معتذرا له قائلا ان الله سبحانه الذي اظهر قدرته العظيمة قادر ان يعين على اقامة بيوت عبادته وهو غنى عن مال العالم وساله ان يعيد المال الى مكانه ولا يلزمه ياخذة فاجاب

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الآدرسكن امين الامنا ابو اليمى سورس ابن مكرامة ابن زنبور وكان  
 ناظر الريف وولده الوزير الاوحد سيد رؤسا السيف والقلم ابو سعد  
 منصور واخرج للقا ناصر الدولة ابن حمدان وقيس ولواتة المنافيين  
 وجماعة معه من مقدمى الجيوش فى الخلافة المستنصرية واقام  
 فى الوزارة ايام قلائل وطالبة الجند بارزاقهم فوعدهم وهرب وبطل  
 امره وكان فى مدخل الاسكنا عتبة صوان اسود عليها شخوص  
 ونقوش بالقلم البرباوى تمنع العصفور الذرورى من الدخول اليها  
 وكذلك الحمام وذكرا ان رجل صعيدى حضر الى هذه البيعة بات  
 فيها وتخييل الى كشط منه اجرف فصار الحمام دون العصفور  
 الذرورى يدخل اليها واحرقت فى حريق مصر فى صفر سنة Fol. 33 b  
 اربع وستين وخمسمائة فى الخلافة العاضدية ووزارة شاور وجد  
 عمارتها قباب واقبية الشيخ ابو المكاريم ابن حنا الكاتب وغيره من  
 النصارى وبها من الكنائس فى السفلى كنيسة ابو قلثة جدوها ابو  
 الفخر ابن فريج ابن خوير بكنيسة جزيرة مصر العلو كنيسة ابو  
 مينا عمرها الشيخ سعيد الدولة ابن منجا ابن بو زكري ابن السريد  
 كنيسة الابا الاطهار ابراهيم واسحق ويعقوب جدوها الشيخ ابو  
 سعيد جبريل ابن بقطر المعروف بابن الاعرج ثم جدوها ابو الفخر  
 كاتب الرواتب المعروف بسعيدان كنيسة ابا هور جدوها الشيخ  
 ابو الفخر كاتب الرواتب ديوان المجلس ايضا الكنيسة الكبيرة جد  
 عمارتها ابو الفرج ابن زنبور فى برمها سنة تسع وتسعين  
 وثمانمائة للشهدا وصارت هذه البيعة بطركية فى طوبة سنة تسعمائة  
 بعزم المذكور فصل فى دلال الاعيان ان فى السابع من كيهك  
 اخدت راس ابن كاتب الفرغانى وكان هذا الفرغانى تولا عمارة  
 مقياس النيل فى سنة سبع واربعين ومائتى هجرية وجسده فى Fol. 34 a

بابن عقيل \* فصل وشهد كتاب الخطط للكندی ايضاً ان الكمرات  
 الثلاث الكمر القصى والكمر الوسطا والكمر الدنيا فاولها ما  
 خطه بلى ابن العمر ابن الحاف ابن قضاة من درب الزجاجين  
 الذى يخرج منه الى سوق وردان الى زقاق ابو فروة وغيره  
 وينتهى الى خوخة الاسطبل فى الكمر وما خطه بنى بحر ابن  
 سودة ابن اصى من الكمر الدنيا مقابل مسجد القرون الى Fol. 32 b  
 سقيفة السرى وغيرها ما خطه هذيل ابن مدركة من الكمر الوسطا  
 من مكرس ابو المهاجر وغيره الى بين الكومين ما خطه بنى  
 الازرق من الكمر القصى الى خط يشكر ابن جزيلة ابن لخم  
 والى القنطرة ودربها تام الى الخندق وهو النهر الذى فى اصل  
 جبل الكبش والى المجائز والدير لمريم وغيره وسهل الجبل كله  
 ويشكر من المقبرة ومسجد الخلق وبركة قارون وجبل يشكر ابن  
 عدوان بن لخم \* فصل وتضمن كتاب الخطط ايضاً ان بنى كنادة  
 ابن عمر ابن القبر ابن فهم انه خط بالكمر الوسطا من زقاق سهل  
 ابن عقيل الى القناة حيث القماحين وزقاق الترمس المقابل  
 لكنيسة ابو منا وان بنى روبيل وكان يهوديا خطوا بالكمر الى  
 ان بلغوا الى دير مريم بحرى جنان حوى ومسجد الخلق  
 فى السهل ما خطه بنى يشكر ابن جزيلة ابن لخم بالكمر  
 القصى فاما فضى الدنيا وفضى الراية وخولان من درب القنطرة  
 الى سوق وردان مما كان من شارع الكمر وما وراه من النيل Fol. 33 a  
 يسمى فضا القبائل فمناه الاسطبل الى حمام الصليب والكنيسة \*  
 وبالكمر ايضاً بيعة ابو نضر القديس السائح المتوحد جد عمارتها  
 امرأة اسمها ثرقة مما شهد بها لوحاً كان مضروباً على بابها المجاور  
 للبر وقد سد الان وكان دخول النساء اليها منه وكان يجاورها



Fol. 31 b ما كانت عليه وكرزت وقدس فيها \* فصل وعمر الشيخ خاصة الدولة  
 ابي الفضائل المعروف بابن دخان كنيسة ابو يحنس في علو هذه  
 البيعة وكرزت وقدس فيها وقد تقدم ذكرها وكذلك وانشا قبالتها  
 جوسقا كان قديما وهدم بجاورها وعملة ثلاث طبقات في بعض  
 مكان من الدير اهتم بذلك وعمارتها الشيخ الاسعد صليب المقدم  
 ذكره ولم يكمل وسبب تأخير كماله ابو البركات ابن الشيخ السعيد  
 ابي الفخر ابن سيبويه وفي حال تجديد عمارة البيعة المقدم ذكرها  
 هدم معظم الدير وحفر فيه بئر كبيرة بئر ساقية وعمر في الجوسق  
 الطبقة الاولى ونصف الطبقة الثانية وكان سجتهد في تكميله  
 فعارضه ابو البركات المذكور وقال ما يكمله الا انا من مالي وبهذه  
 البيعة مدافن في ساحاتها الخارجة عنها وبقية الدير والجوسق  
 لم يكملوا الى الان ويكمل في هذا المكان اعنى الدير وما حوله  
 من الساحات التي من حقوق خمسة ابار \* فصل فاما الاملاك  
 والحوانيت المنتاعة لهذا الدير لما تجددت عمارتها فان اكثرها  
 تهدم وخرب والذي بقى منها خلى من المسكن واشرف على  
 الخراب فاباعهم انبا مرقس اسقف مصر لمن هدمهم وحمل طوبهم  
 واخشابهم وبقى هذا الدير في الخراب بين الكيمان فصل ومن  
 حقوق البيعة من داخل الحصن الدائر عليها من الجانب  
 البكرى \* بيعة على اسم القديس تارس معلقة محمولة على  
 عمد رخام فهدمت واخذت اعمدتها وجعلت مسجدا في الخلافة  
 الحاكمة وجعل عليه ماندة ومعالم هذه البيعة وصورها باقى ظاهر  
 البنيان \* وايضا كنيسة على اسم القديس ابو قلتة بالحمر الوسطا  
 في الخلافة الامرية وولاية سوار ابن رفاعه مما ابتاع النصارى من  
 الارض من بنى فهم وهي عند حمام ابن نجاح والزقاق المعروف

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كبيرة وكان في هذا الصقع جماعة من رؤسا النصارى ففسح لهم  
 في تجديد كنائسهم فابتدوا بعمارة الكمرات وتجديد ما هدم منها  
 فجددوا البيعة وعللوا لها اوانى حسنة من الفضة وغيرها وابتاعوا  
 Fol. 30 a عدة املاك وبستان وفيه بئرين ساقية وكان جميع ذلك الملك مسكون  
 وبها مغطس كبير وجد في علوها كنائس عدة وهي كنيسة ماري  
 جرجيوس وذكر انها اولاً كانت على اسم الشهيد تادرس وكنيسة  
 على اسم الشهيد ابو يحنس وكان بها ايضا بيعة ابو مينا الكبيرة  
 جسد الشهيد انبا يحنس في دكة خشب نقي وكان البحر قريب  
 من هذه البيعة ثم بعد البحر من هناك فنقل الى بيعة تادرس  
 بدمنهور على البحر فعدى البحر على هذه البيعة وانتقل الى كنيسة  
 السيدة بشبرا وجد عمارتها اعنى بيعة ابو يحنس بعد الحريق  
 الشيخ الاكرم ابن ابي الفضائل ابن ابي سعيد في الخلافة  
 العاضدية ووزارة شاور كنيسة الميلان المقدس مطلة على صحن  
 البيعة الكبيرة وبيعة لطيفة جدا اهتم بتجديدها ابو غالب ابن  
 ابي المكارم البليسي على اسم القديس مرقوريوس وبها اعنى  
 البيعة الكبيرة اذبل رخام ملون اكثره احمر شفاف محمول على  
 عمد رخام محكم الصنعة وكاتترة خشب ويجاوره من الجانب  
 Fol. 30 b البحري مذبح وعليه مقطع خشب باسم الشهيد مرقوريوس اهتم  
 به الشيخ ابو الفضل ابن الاسقف وعلى المذبح في الاسكنا قبة  
 خشب محمولة على عمد رخام ومقطع خشب ويجاور هذه البيعة  
 الدير بباب مفرق وفيه عدة من الرهبانات في مساكن متفرقة وفيه  
 بئر ماء معين اهتم بحفره وغوصه وعمارته الشيخ ابو زكري الصيرفي  
 وذلك في الخلافة الحافظية \* فصل وكان داخل الاسكنا بيت

محمد مؤكداً الله الله في اهل الذمّة اهل البرية السود الجعد  
 الادم فان لهم نسباً وصهراً ولهم ميزة على جميع اهل الذمّة  
 وكان محمد قد سير حاطب ابن ابي بلتعة من لخم الى المقوقس  
 صاحب الاسكندرية ان يكون على دينه فلم يفعل ولما عاد الى  
 محمد سير اليه على حكم الهدية اربعة جوار منهم مارية القبطية  
 وسيرين اختها وبغلته دلدل وحمارة يعفور وكيس وخصى بعثة  
 معهم اما مارية فرزق منها ابراهيم واما سيرين اختها فاهداها  
 الى حسان شاعر محمد فرزق منها عبد الرحمن ولده فصل  
 يذكر فيه الحمراوات ثلاثة الكبرى وهي القصوى والوسطا والحمرا  
 الدنيا مما شهد به كتاب الخطط للمكندى في نسخة فتوح مصر  
 ان الحمرا قوم من الروم منهم بنو ذبية وبنو الازرق وبنو روبيل  
 وقوم من الفرس وسماهم عمر ابن العاص الحمرا لانهم من العجم  
 وتنصروا \* الحمرا الوسطى وتعرف الحمرا بالقنطرة وهو المكان الذي  
 كان يقف فيه الراية الحمرا في فتوح العرب مصر وكان يجتمع  
 اليها من يستأمن اليهم ويسير في الساقة فعرف بالحمرا فصل \*  
 الدير المعروف بالشهيد ابو مينا صاحب الثلاثة اكاليل النازلة  
 عليه من السما وهو من اهل نقيوس وجسده الطاهر مدفون في  
 كنيسة مريوط جدي بناها في خلافة هشام ابن عبد الملك ابن  
 مروان في ولاية الوليد ابن رفاعة باهتمام من جماعة من النصارى  
 الساكنين بهذا الخط في سنة ومائة هجرية بعد ما جرى من  
 العرب لما ان شكوا له النصارى ان حرمهم واولادهم عند ما يمشوا  
 الى الكنائس الداخلة بمصر وفي عورتهم لا يامنوا من معترض  
 يعترضهم وخاصة في ليالى صوم الاربعين فقتل من العرب جماعة

من الخليج وعادت مستقيمة الاحوال وبها رهبان مقيمون وهو مهتم بالكنيسة وبهم وعان يحضر اليها في كل احد جماعة من القسوس والشمامسة والشعب المسيحي وذلك جمية في بطركية انبا يوحنا وهو الرابع وسبعين في العدن وبهذا الخط ايضاً كنيسة للملكيين فكان عدة البيع بهذا الخط خمسة يخرج من احدىهم الزيتونة ويصعد بها الى القاهرة فاستولوا الغز الاكران على اربعة منهم ونهبوا اخشابهم وهدموا الحيطان الى ان لحقوا بالارض لضعف الملكية وقلة عددهم وبقيت منهم بيعة واحدة تجاور بيعة القديس ماري جرجس التي بيد القبط بهذه الحارة وهذا الخط وشهدت سيرة المعتمد من الخلفاء العباسيين وهو الخامس عشر

Fol. 28 b منهم ان عدة من قتله احمد ابن طولون ومات بحبس الفى نفره فصل وشهد كتاب فضائل مصر في عدة روايات ان قبط مصر اصهار ابراهيم الخليل ويوسف الصديق والاسنان عدن ياتى ذكره من اصحاب محمد قال اشهب ابن عبد العزيز انا افتتحتم مصر فاستوصوا فان لهم نمة ورحم وقال اسمعيل ابن عباس مخبراً عنه استوصوا بقبط مصر فانكم تجدوا منهم نعم الاعوان على [عدوكم] وقال ابي سلمة قال محمد عند وفاته اوصيكم ان تخرجوا اليهون من جزيرة العرب ثم قال الله الله اوصيكم بقبط مصر فانكم ستظهرون عليهم ويكونون لكم عدة واعواناً في سبيل الله وقال استوصوا بالانم الجعد قبط مصر فانهم اخوال واصهار واعوانكم على عدوكم واعوانكم على دينكم فقيل له وكيف يكونون اعواناً لنا على ديننا [قال] يكفوكم اعمال الدنيا فتتفرغون للعبادة وباسنان عبد الله ابن عمر ابن العاص ان محمد قال القبط اكرم الاعاجم واسمكهم يد وافضلهم عنصراً واقربهم رحماً للعرب عامة ولقريش خاصة وقال

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فى الحائط والخط المذكور فصل شهد كتاب فضائل مصر ان  
 الوليد ابن زواعة تولى الخراج بمصر فى خلافة هشام ابن عبد  
 الملك الاحول فخرج لاحصاء الرؤس فاقام ستة اشهر بالصعيد  
 وباسفل الارض ثلاثة اشهر فاحصى فوق العشر الاف قرية اصغر  
 قرية منها فيها خمسمائة رجل من القبط تكون جملة ذلك من  
 القبط خمسة الاف الف نفس \* فصل واجمع اهل العلم انه ليس  
 بالدنيا نهر اطول مدًا من نهر النيل وهو انه يسير مسيرة شهر  
 فى بلاد المسلمين واكثر من ذلك وشهرين فى نوبة واربعة فى  
 الخراب حيث لا عمارة الى ان يخرج من جبل القمر خلف خط  
 الاستوى وليس فى الدنيا نهر يصب من الجنوب الى الشمال  
 غير نهر النيل وليس فى الدنيا نهر يصب فى بحر الروم والصين  
 غير نيل مصر وليس فى الدنيا نهر يزيد ويمد فى ابتداء ما  
 يكون من الحر فى الوقت الذى تنقص فيه الانهار ويجف بعضها  
 من الانهار والعيون باسرها وكلما قوى الحر قويت زيادة النيل  
 وليس فى الدنيا نهر يزيد وينقص بترتيب غير نهر النيل ولا  
 يجبى من خراج نهر من انهار الدنيا مثل ما يجبى من ما سقا  
 النيل وبالخط المذكور بيعة للملاك غبريال جدها صعلوك الجلال  
 وعلوها كنيسة ميلان سيّدنا يسوع المسيح بالجسد وقبة الاسكينا  
 عالية جدًا تنظر من البعد انشا عمارتها الاخ عبد المسيح وكانوا  
 الغز وعوام المصريين قد نهبوا وكسروا اعمدة البستلات واحرق  
 بعض علوها فاهتم بتجديد عمارتها الشيخ الثقة جبريل الكاتب  
 فى الخلافة العاضدية وجد تكريزها وقدس فيها وكان بهذه  
 البيعة سدرة كثيرة هائلة معتدلة صاعدة الى علو البيعة قطعت  
 وابيعت بثمن جزيل واصرفت فى عمارة البيعة \* فصل ولها رابعة

الان وبهذه البيعة مغطس وبئر ما معين ❖ فصل فاما الاسعد ابو  
 الخير ابن الميقاط المذكور احضره شاوور الوزير وانكر عليه بغير سببا  
 يوجب الانكار وبدا يعاقبه فمات شهيداً وحمل اليها ودفن فيها  
 الرب نبيح نفسه الطاهرة وقبر في الرواق البكري منها وتجاور  
 هذه البيعة مدافن النصارى خارجا عنها وكان يجاور كنيسة يوحنا  
 المعدان المقدم ذكره مطبخ فابطله الشيخ السعيد ابي الفخر صاعد  
 ابن بسبوة واعمره بيعة على اسم ستنا السيدة العذرى الطاهرة  
 وكرزت من يد الاب الاسقف انبا غبريال اسقف مصر وحضور  
 انبا بطرس اسقف الفيوم في يوم الاحد وهو الاحد الرابع من Fol. 26 a  
 الصوم المقدس في خامس شهر برمهاث سنة ثلاث وتسعمائة للشهدا  
 الابرار الموافق للتاسع عشر من نى الحجة سنة اثنين وثمانين  
 وخمسمائة وعلو هذه البيعة يشرف منه على بركة قارون ومنظر هذه  
 البيعة نزه لما يحيط بها من البساتين والمنازة والعمائر الحسننة  
 وهى شرحة نزهة فى حالتى النيل والزراعة وكبيرة الانس بما  
 يجاورها من البساتين والمناظر ومن القاصدين لها فى كل وقت  
 وكان طائفة من الرجال السودان يعرفون بالجيشوية قد طغوا كثيراً  
 وبلغوا وامتدت ايديهم الى قطع الطرقات واخذ اموال الناس وسفك  
 الدما فلما ملكوا الغز الاكران اقليم مصر فى ربيع الاخر سنة اربع  
 وستين وخمسمائة تسلطوا عليهم جمعة من طائفة الارمن النصارى  
 وطردوهم وقتلوا منهم جماعة كثيرة وخليت الحارة سكنهم المجاورة  
 بالقرب من الحمرا كما تقدم القول وابتاع الحارة حطبا الغزى  
 والى مصر من الديوان وحرثها وانشا بها ابار معين وسواقى  
 واعمرها بساتين وزرع عليها نباتات كثيرة وزرع ارضها خضر اولاً  
 ونقل المدخل الى هذه البيعة من غير باب بهذه الحارة بل هو Fol. 26 b



Fol. 25 a سبع وتسعين وثمانمائة للشهدا الابرار واهتم باصلاح البيع التي بالقرب من البيعة الكبيرة الشيخ الوجيه ابي الحسن ابن الامح الكاتب في سنة اثنين وتسعين وثمانمائة للشهداء الابرار فصل واستمرت العمارة الى حين دخول شاور السعيدى وزير الخلافة العاضدية والغز والاكراان التي مع يوسف صلاح الدين ابن ايوب الكردى الذى صار ملك مصر وسمى على الدراهم والدنانير بقسيم امير المومنين بدخول ملك الفرنج للنصرة عليهم فى شهر سنة تسع وخمسين وخمسمائة فعدى على هذه البيعة الغز الاكراان وعوام اهل مصر واحرقت بالنار واهدمت للارض مع غيرها من البيع فى جمادى<sup>1</sup> الاول سنة تسع وخمسين وخمسمائة ثم جدت فى سنة ستين وخمسمائة اهتم بتجديدها الشيخ السعيد ابو الفخر كاتب الرواتب فى الخلافة الحافظية وعاضده فى ذلك الشيخ الوجيه ابو حسن ابن الامح فى سنة اثنى وتسعين وثمانمائة للشهدا الابرار ثم جدى ما تشعت من البيع المشائخ الاراخنة الشيخ السعيد شديد الملك ابن الفخر ابن بسيوة وابو البركات ولده والاسعد ابي الخير جرجة ابن وهب المعروف بابن الميقاط Fol. 25 b وكرزت الكنائس التي تجددوا بمعونة الله واستمر فيهم الصلوات والقدااسات الى يومنا هذا فصل ولما تجدد ولما عمرت هذه الكنيسة الكبرى اعنى الكمرار غاروا لاقامتها الحسدة والمعاندين واستعانوا بعوام القوم فنهبوها وهدمت ايضا ثم استمر ما تشعت منها وجدى تكريزها واستمر بها القدااس والصلوات على جارى العادة فصل وتربة المعلم سرور الجلال المقدم ذكره باقية بها الى

<sup>1</sup> .الاولى.

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Fol. 23 b سبعين الف دينار وكان الزائد في النفقات عن الارتفاع مائتي  
الف دينار وفي سنة اثنين وستين ومائة في خلافة المهدي ابن  
المنصور من العباسيين عقد الخراج بمصر الف الف وثمانمائة الف  
وثمانية وعشرين الف وخمسمائة دينار فصل وبختنصر مرزبان  
الشرق دخل مصر على اشد مغنم بنغيان \* فصل وبلطاشصر ولده  
اعمر مصر بعد خرابها اربعين سنة واول ما عمر بها ارض  
الاشموثيين \* فصل واول من قسم اساقفة على بلاد مصر واعمالها  
دمتريوس البطريرك وهو في العدة الثاني عشر فصل وشهدت  
سيرة البيعة واخبار ادبا مرقس الجديد وهو في العدة التاسع  
واربعين ان البيع التي بفسطاط مصر بنيت وامر بعمارتها في  
نظرة بعد هدمها اولاً في بطركية ادبا يوحنا الثامن في العدة \*  
مدينة مصر وخارجها مدينة الشمس ومصر يم بناها وهو ابن كنعان  
ابن حام ابن نوح ابن لامك الاعمى سميت باسم ملك القبط  
مصر يم وخارجها ما بين السخرتين خلف العريش واول كنيسة  
بنيت بفسطاط مصر الكنيسة التي خلف القنطرة ايام مسلمة ابن  
مخلد الانصاري واسم مصر باليوناني جبت وبالرومي الفرنجي  
بابلون القلعة بالحارة بين القاهرة ومصر من كنيسة القديس  
ماري جرجس المسماة الحمراء وكانت في وسط حارة وتسمى بحارة  
الروم وكانت سكن النصارى والاخوة الحبش الرهبان وغيرهم  
ولما تلاشت الحارة كما تلاشا غيرها من ظاهر مصر وهدمت الادر  
التي بها وحمل طوبها واخشابها الى عمارة اخرى بمصر والقاهرة  
وبقى فيها بعض رسوم واهية سكنها رجال ميمون \* بيعة القديس  
Fol. 24 a جرجيوس الحمراء كانت قد هت وتشعثت اهتّم باصلاحها  
وتجديدها المعلم سرور الجلال في الخلافة المستنصرية وكان

« تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح »

العاص ابن عدى اسود قصيرا عظيم الهامة نانى الجبهة واسع  
القم عظيم اللحية عريض ما بين الكتفين والثديين وكانت وفاته  
فى سنة ثلاث واربعين ودفن فى المقطم من ناحية الفج على  
طريق الناس الى الحجاز. فصل ووجدت فى تاريخ محبوب  
ابن قسطنطين المنبجى فى الجزء الاول منه ومدينة منبج تعرف  
بمدينة الكهان العتيقة على شطر الفرة ان ملك يسمى افطوطيس  
فى عصر اسحق ابن ابراهيم اول من احدث الكتب والعلوم  
والنجوم والحساب من كتب الكلدانيين واهل المشرق وحملها  
الى مصر وعلم السحر والاقسام وفى ذلك الزمان بنيت سدوم  
وغامورا وبنيت بابلونية ايضا على بحر النيل واقام هذا الملك Fol. 23 a  
اثنين وثلاثين سنة فصل وبلغ خراج مصر على يد يوسف ابن  
يعقوب بعد عمارتها بعزمة اربعة وعشرين الف وستمائة الف  
دينار واستخرج فرعون موسى واسمه الوليد ابن مصعب تسعين  
الف دينار وحفر خليج سردوس على يد قارون وهامان وهو  
اكبر عطوفا واستخرج الروم عشرين الف دينار وتقبلها جريج  
ابن مينا المقوقس من الهرقل بما مبلغه ثمانية عشر الف  
دينار واستخرج عمر ابن العاص فى سنة احد وعشرين للهجرة  
الف دينار وفى سنة اثنين وعشرين اثنا عشر الف دينار  
وفى ايام بنى العباس على يد احمد ابن طولون خمسة الاف  
الف وعلى يد يعقوب ابن يوسف اربعة الاف الف وانتهت الى  
ثلاثة الاف الف ومسحت اراضى مصر فى ايام هشام ابن عبد  
الملك مما يركبه النيل فكان ثلاثون الف فدان واشتمل ارتفاع  
مصر وما معها وجميع نفقاتها لسنة فى مملكة كافور الاستبان  
الاخشيدى بتقدير فكان ثلاثة الاف الف ومائتى الف وبنيف

يوم الجمعة مستهلّ المحرم سنة عشرين للهجرة في خلافة عمر  
 ابن الخطاب بين الحصن المعروف بحصن الكمام وكان عدده **Fol. 22 a**  
 القبط بارض مصر دون الشيخ الكبير العاجز والفتى الذى لم  
 يبلغ الحلم ستة الاف الف نفس وفرض على كل منهم فى كل  
 سنة ستة وعشرين وثلثى وعلى الغنى الموسر منهم دينارين مثل  
 اقدمهم وثلاث ارباق قمح بكل بلد سكنه وكان المحمول من جهتهم  
 اثنا عشر الف دينار خارجاً عن جزيرة اليهود بمصر واعمالها  
 وحمل الى عمر ابن الخطاب وهو اول مال حمل اليه من مصر  
 وقد كان عمر ابن العاص دخل الى مصر فى الجاهلية وعرف  
 طريقها فى تجارة له مع نفر من قريش **فصل** وجدت فى تاريخ  
 البيعة ان دخول المسلمين الى مصر وملكها فى ايام من بوودة  
 سنة احد وعشرين وثلثمائة للشهدا الابرار **فصل** عدة القتائل  
 الذين حضروا الفتح بمصر سوى من قتل فى الحصار اثنا عشر الفا  
 وثلثمائة الاماكن التى عرفت بمن خطها من العرب فى فتوح مصر  
 فى المحرم سنة عشرين هجرية مهرة ابن حيدان ابن عمر ابن  
 الحاف ابن قضاة **تجيب** ام عدى لخم وجزام ابنا عدى ابن  
 مرة راشد ابن جزيلة ابن لخم بنى المغافر ابن يعفر بنى وائل  
**Fol. 22 b** عرف الخليج والقنطرة والخط هبيب ابن مغفل صاحب وادى  
 هبيب القرافة بنو حجاج ابن يوسف ابن وائل الملك ابو  
 الخير ابن شراحيل **وردان** الرومى صاحب عمر ابن العاص  
**شجاعة** ابن مند غان ابن ملك ابن كعب ابن الحارث ابن كعب  
 سوف بربر عرف ببربر ابن ابي حبيب رب الخديجى كان فيه  
 عبد الرحمن ابن معاوية ابن خديج ابن حجر امير مصر فى  
 خلافة عبد الله ابن الزبير بمكة ومروان بالشام **وصفة** عمر ابن

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❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح ❖

دائماً ويشق فيه ظاهراً ❖ فصل وذكر الله نيل مصر على السن  
اذبياته قال اشعيا النبي الله يبارك اهل مصر ومن خلقته يداه  
بالموصل ❖ فصل ومن الانجيل ايضاً وترايا ملاك الرب في الحكم  
قائلاً قم خذ الصبي وامه وانهب الى ارض مصر وكن هناك الى  
Fol. 20 b ان اقول لك واقام بمصر السيد المسيح ووالدته العذرى الطاهرة  
والشيخ البار يوسف النجار سنتين ❖ فصل ومن ذبوة هوشع مما  
شهد به الانجيل الطاهر قوله من مصر دعوت ابني فصل تفضيل  
مصر على غيرها من سائر الاقاليم حلول سيدنا يسوع المسيح  
بها بالجسد والسيدة الطاهرة مريم والشيخ الصديق يوسف  
النجار بامر من الله ومرقس الانجيلي التلميذ بالاسكندرية وهو  
ابن اخت اسطفانوس رئيس الشماسة واول الشهداء باورشليم  
ودخل اليها من الابا الاطهار وهم ابراهيم الخليل ويعقوب ابن  
اسحق اقام بها سبعة عشر سنة وتبيح بها ونقل جسده الى  
الشام والاسباط اولاده وحصل بها من ذريتهم ستمائة الف  
 وخمسمائة وخمسين نفساً يوسف الصديق واولاده وهما منسا  
واقرام وتبيح بها ونقل جسده الى الشام وصلى وسجد موسى  
النبي عند سجنه خارجاً عن بنى لاوى وعدتهم اثني وعشرون الفاً  
 ومائتي وثلاثة وسبعين نفساً وموسى وهارون اخيه واختهما مريم  
Fol. 21 a ودخل اليها ايضاً لوط ابن اخي ابراهيم ويوشع ابن تون ودانيال  
النبي وارميا النبي وحزقيال وغيرهم من الملوك والعظماء والحكماء  
 والفلاسفة والرؤوساء والمسلطين في كل عصر وزمان ❖ فصل واما  
انتهى بلاد مصر فمن المشرق العباسية ومن المغرب الاسكندرية  
 وطولها من العريش الى عيذاب وعرضها من البرقة الى ايلة وذكر  
 ان برقة تعرف بالخمس مدن ❖ فصل اخبار مدينة مصر تضمن

❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح ❖

من ذلك الصدع حتى تقطعه الرياح وبها حائط العجوز من العريش الى اسوان وتسمى العجوز وفي بحر النيل سمكة وهى التى تسمى الرعاة اذا وضع الرجل الجبار يده عليها فلا يملك قواه دون ان يضطرب جسده وترتعد ذراعه مقدار ساعة وتنحل عنه وبها مجمع البحريين ويسمى البرزخ الذى فيه يلتقيان البحريين وبينهما حاجزان وهما بحر الروم والصين والحاجز بينهما مسيرة ليلة بين القلزم والغرما وليس يتقاربا فى بلد من البلدان اقرب منهما فى هذا الموضع وبينهما فى الشرق مسيرة شهر وليس فى الدنيا بلد ياكل اهلها صيد البحريين طريقاً غير اهل مصر وبها القماش المطرز القصب التنيسى والشرب وهو الخيامى والدبيقى الملون وليس فى طراز مبلغ الثوب منه مائة دينار وليس فيه ذهب غير تنيس ودمياط والمنكح والصلقى ولهم الثياب الصوف والاكسية المرعز السمالوسيات وليس هى فى الدنيا الا بمصر ولهم النتاج العجيب من الخيل والبغال والحمير ولهم معدن الذهب والزمرد والمغرة الحمراء والصفراء والمرقشيتا الذهبية والفضية والنحاسية وبركة النطرون والملاحات وبها الطين الاسوانى الذى يسمى طين الحكمة وتعمل منه كيزان الفقاع وعمل الورق البياض ومطابخ السكر ومعاصر القصب الحلو ومزارع الارز وزيت الفجل والسلجم ودهن البلسان والاقيون والابرميس والشراب العسلى ❖ فصل واما نيل مصر فانه من الايات التى تعجب منها اهل الارض انا سمعوا به فانه يطلع فى الغيظ الشديد الذى فيه تنقص سائر البحار والعيون وتجف وطلوعه فى وقت الاحتياج اليه وكذلك نزوله فى وقت الاحتياج اليه عناية من الله بسكان مصر وتزيد الابار بعد نقصه والزراعة عليه لا على الامطار وهو ينجر الى البحر المالح



واخرج الماء عنه وكان ابتدئ جرى النيل اليه وكان عمر يوسف  
 ثلاثين سنة في مملكة الريان ابن دومغ ونعت باسم فرعون بعد  
 تفسير المنام له وتعبيرة عليه واخلع عليه وسلم اليه خاتمه وتدبير  
 ملكته تضمنت سيرة البيعة السابعة عشر واخبار اذبا خائيل  
 Fol. 19 a السادس والاربعين في عهد البطارقة ارتفاع مصر واعمالها الى اخر  
 خلافة مروان حمار الحرب وهو اخر خلفاء بنى امية وابتداء خلافة  
 السفاح عبد الله العباسي في السنة حملاً الى بيت المال سوى  
 النفقات مائتي الف دينار فصل المبتدئون بعبادة الاصنام اهل مصر  
 وبابل واقرتجس واهل السواحل فصل قحطان ابن فالق ابو العرب  
 في ايامه كانوا الناس يصورون كل من يعرف بمعروف وله ذكر جميل  
 وشجاعة وحسن صورة ويعبدون صورته فصل بو نيطر ابن نوح  
 وهو الرابع تعلم بالهام الله له علم الفلك وحسابه للسنين والشهور  
 والايام والساعات وما اشبه ذلك ثم تعلم منه نمرود الجبار ووضع  
 كتباً في علم الفلك وحسابه وتعجب الناس من حكمته التي  
 وضعها في كتبه ونقلوها عنه فحسده ارشير وخدم الشيطان  
 وصام له ونبج له نبائح وقدم له بخور وتصرع له فظهر له وعلمه  
 السحر والخيالات التي لا حقيقة لها فظهر دين النجوم وتعلم  
 نمرود الجبار منه علم الطاغوت وهو اول من لبس التاج المذهب  
 Fol. 19 b مرصع بالجوهر ولبس البرفير وظهر بهذا الشكل فصل في الخواص  
 التي بمصر والعجائب بها موسى وهارون اخيه ومريم اختهما ولدوا  
 باسك من اقليم مصر وبالطور كلم الله موسى والقي عصاه وبها  
 فلق البحر وصنع العشرة ايات وملكها يوسف الصديق وبها النخلة  
 وبها الوادي المقدس وصدع الابطوقير الذي يحج اليه جنس هذا  
 الطائر المذكور في كل سنة فيمسك منه طائر واحد فلم يزل معلقاً

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ومعه فاس كانه يريد قطعها ويلقاه انسان و منعه قطعها وضمنها  
 منه انها تثمر واذها في تلك السنة الاتية تثمر قدر ثمرة سنتين  
 فصل خبر حجارة توجد بموضع يسمى بالبرمك ما بين خريج  
 ويكتاك وهي عقبة جبل انا مر بها قافلة او جيش شدوا على  
 حوافر دوابهم صوفاً كثيراً ورفعوا في السير لان تلك <sup>1</sup> الحجارة انا  
 اصطكت بعضها ببعض ثار للوقت ضباب مظلم منعهم السير ومطر  
 قوى جداً وقيل ان هذه الحجارة احكمتها الحكماء في تلك الارض  
 انا تخلفت عنهم المطر حركوا تلك الحجارة بحكمتهم فيأتيهم  
 المطر عند الحاجة الى نزول المطر وذلك في اخبار المعتصم وتضمنه  
 بعض التواريخ وهو صحيح فصل الوجه القبلي بالديار المصرية  
 بوصير ونا سميت باسم <sup>2</sup> ساحر كان هناك اسمه بوصير بها بيعة  
 كبيرة متسعة جداً مبنية بالحجر داخل المدينة تجاور القصر  
 عمدت في القدم ولما تواترت النوب واحتاج الملوك الى حجرها نقل  
 منها حجر كثير جداً وهي الان خراب ورسومها ظاهرة وهي قريبة  
 من سجن يوسف الصديق اعنى ابن يعقوب ابن اسحق ابن  
 ابراهيم الخليل عليهم السلام \* مدينة ونا بها بيعة جرجيوس  
 منية القائد بها بيعة فضل ابن صالح كان غلام الوزير ابي الفرج  
 ابن كلمين جد بنائها في الخلافة الحاكمية وهي على اسم السيدة  
 العذرى وهي على البكر \* ونا بوصير بيعة على اسم الشهيد  
 العظيم الشجاع مرقوريوس الكبير وبيعتين اخر واحدة للسيدة  
 العذرى الطاهرة والاخرى للقديس الشهيد ماري جرجس وبيعة

<sup>1</sup> In margin : فيدخلون في الماء ويحركون .

<sup>2</sup> In margin : بحكم تقدمه .

عن ذكر مصر في الاول

مأسور في الجحيم في حق موته ودفعة يقول اخذ من الشيطان كل مأسور في الجحيم فوجب على السيدة انها ما ماتت الا عن خطية وكذلك غيرها من زكاه الإنجيل وغيرها من كتب العتيقة واعتقد ان بعد موت العالم وحشرهم في الفردوس يجري لمن لا يتأدب في حال حياته مثل ما جرى لآدم واعتقد ان العقاب والثواب في الاخرة على النفس العاقلة الناطقة دون الجسد وان التاديب في هذه الدنيا للجسد حتى لا يعون يوافق النفس على ارتكاب الخطايا لغفوة من آلام القانون فيخلص في اليوم الاخر وجميع ما شرحة من سوء اعتقاده موجوع في كتبه التي الفها ومنهم كتاب الفه ونعته بالعشرة رؤوس ومن كتبه التي الفها ايضا كتاب الفه ونعته بكتاب المعلم والتلميذ يتضمن ثمانية ابواب وكتاب الفه ونعته بالمجموع فيما اليه المرجوع وكتب غير ذلك فصل يذكر فيه خبر المصيدة بارض النيل مكان يجتمع اليه في يوم معين سمك كثير يخرج اهل ذلك المكان فيصيدونه بايديهم ولا يهرب منه شئ حتى ان اهل ذلك المكان ياخذوا منه ما ياكلون ويلبسون جميعهم فان غربت الشمس في ذلك اليوم لم يعون احد ياخذ شئ منه بالجملة ولا ذلك العام لا يوجد في ذلك المكان سمك في يوم من الايام الى مثل ذلك اليوم المعين فصل خبر مدينة الحجر هذه المدينة كلما فيها حجر اسود مانع وصورة معلم صبيان جالس وبين يديه صبيان كثير كبار وصغار ومثالات سباع ووجوش وغير ذلك فصل خبر الاسطوانة المتحركة بارض مصر وهي اسطوانة رخام ارتفاعها من الارض سبعة عشر ذراع بالعمل وعرضها ذراعين وهي تتحرك يوم في السنة حركة واحدة فصل خبر الشجرة التي لا تثمر الا اذا جرى انسان الى فحورها

ومؤتمرين بامرته وان لكل واحد من هؤلاء الثلاثة عملاً لا يشركه  
 فيه الاخرون ذلك ان الاب يامر والابن يخلق ما يامر به الاب بخلقته  
 وروح القدس يحيي ما يامر به الاب باحياءه وان كل مخلوق موجود  
 الابن بامر الاب خلقه وكل حي موجود روح القدس بامر الاب احياءه  
 Fol. 16 a ثم اعتقد ان في طبيعة اللاهوت تأنيث وخص بالتأنيث روح القدس  
 واعتقد ان كلمة الله الازلية مولودة في ازليتها من الاب ومن روح  
 القدس ويصرح ويقول وكما ليس للاب ابتداء كذلك روح القدس لم  
 يزل منبثق منه بغير ابتداء والابن هو ايضاً لم يزل مولود منهما بغير  
 ابتداء ثم اعتقد ان الله لم يكلم شئ من مخلوقاته بل كلامه لابنه  
 وروح قدسه وخالف جميع ما جاء في كتب الله العتيقة والجديدة  
 من كلام الله لعالمه ثم اعتقد ان الابا والانبيا كانوا مكشورين في  
 الجحيم لذنوبهم الذي لم يقدروا يخلصوا انفسهم معاً عملوه من  
 طاعة الله وانهم كانوا في الجحيم معاقبين بعقوبة الى ان خلصهم  
 الرب المسيح الذي هو بلا خطية ثم اعتقد ان الابا والانبيا خاليين  
 من موهبة روح القدس ثم ان روح القدس لم يتكلم على افواههم  
 ويسلب الابا والانبيا نعمة روح القدس وقال لو كان فيهم روح  
 القدس لما هبطوا الى الجحيم وادعم سوء هذا الاعتقاد بان كل  
 الحسنات التي عملها الابا والانبيا كان الله يحسب ذلك للشيطان  
 Fol. 16 b وان بهذا الحكم كان الشيطان يساعدهم على عمل الحسنات بغير  
 روح القدس ثم عصد ذلك باعتقاده الحسنات التي عملها التلاميذ  
 وكافة شعب المسيح يعتقد بها للمسيح بحكم انهم يعملوها بروح  
 القدس واعتقد ان لا يموت احد من لدن آدم والى هلم جراً الا  
 انا عمل خطية يستحق بها الموت وان جسد المسيح خاصة لم  
 يعمل خطية يستوجب بها الموت فلما مات اخذ من ابيه كل

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فخير ابن القنبر الذي صار قسيس بغير استحقاق من وجوه عدة  
وتسمى مرقس وقسان راية فيما وضعه من مصنفاته في الكتب  
المخالفة للحق التي استمال بها من الناس الساجدين العديمين  
الفهم واستمالهم الى طريق المخالفين وهو ان هذا الطاغى المخالف  
كان قد تزوج امرأة واقامت عنده مدة وانه اراد ان يترهب وينعزل  
منها فلم توافقه على ما اراد فتحيل وزوجها في الخفية لغيره  
وجاء الى ادبا يونس اسقف قسيس واوهمه انها ترهبت وسكنت  
الدير مع الرهبانات فرهبه وقسمه قسيس فلم يخف امره بعد ذلك  
Fol. 14 b وبلغ الاب البطرك ادبا يونس خبرة وهو الثاني وسبعين في عدو  
الابا البطاركة حرومه وقطعه وحروم من قسمه قسيس لانه لم يكشف  
عن صحيح امره بما يثبت صدقه قبل ان يرهبه ويقسمه قسيس  
وصار شريكاً له في اثمه واستخفاه بالقوانين الابسطلية ان بولس  
الرسول يقول ان الامراة اذا هي اختارت ان تعتزل عن بعلمها  
بموافقة منه لها فيما ارادت فلا تتزوج بغيره فان آثرت التزوج  
فتعوى الى بعلمها الاول والرجل فلا يعتزل زوجته بالجملة وهذا  
اعتزل زوجته واحوجها تعتزل عنه وازوجها لغيره ثم لما اظهر نفسه  
بالعلم وتفسير الكتب المقدسة ترجمها من القبطى للعربى ثم تفسر  
ذلك تفسير التفسير على قدر ما يتصور في عقله ولما اقام في  
كنيسة قسيس اخفا الدلال الذي يدل على ما يجب قراءته في  
كل يوم من فصول الاناجيل وكتب البيعة المقدسة وجعل هو نفسه  
الدلال اى متى امر باخراجه من فصول الاناجيل والرسائل  
والقتاليقون والابركسيس يخرج ما يقوم في نفسه مما يفسره  
Fol. 15 a تفسير التفسير مما يقوى به بدعته ويدعم به سوء اعتقاده الى ان  
سرق عقول بعض الشعب الارثوذكسى الذي حملهم خوفهم من

❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح ❖

به عادة فقال ابن القنبر لعن الله ساعة صرت منكم فقال له البطرک نحن ما عندنا الا الخير والسلامة ثم بعد ذلك طلب ان يفرد له كنيسة في سنباط بعد ما جرى له فيها فقال مطرانها للبطرك اعنى من المطرنية ودعه ياخذ له كنيسة انا رسمت له اذت فسكت البطرک لم يتكلم وجرى له مع هذا المطران اعنى مطران سنباط امر قبيح اقتضى وثوب المطران عليه وضربه ضرب موجعاً وكشف راسه فى ملا من الناس وذلك فى شهر ابيي سنة احدى وتسعمائة كنائسيّة وفيه ايضاً جسر هذا الشقى ابن القنبر ورجع طلع الى الاب البطرک ادبا مرقس ومعه ابن عبدون وواحد من اجلا اصحاب البطرک يدل عليه الى قلايته بالمعلقة وهو فى جماعة فقال له البطرک ايش رجع جانبك الى عندى يا محروم بهذا الزى المغير عن صفتنا ومدّ يده الى راسه وطرح البرطلة وبقي مكشوف الراس وان احد تلاميذ البطرک اعاد البرطلة على راسه فصعب ذلك على البطرک وانكر على التلميذ ما فعله بغير اذن وقام من عنده وخرج مخزى لا يعرف كيف يمشى ثم اتصل ذلك ببطرك الملكية فاحضره وانكر عليه وقال له تطلع الى بطرك قد خالفت امانته وكيف يستقيم لك ذلك ثم ان بطرك الملكية شيعة دير القصير واقام به هو واصحابه مالكا لامره لا يرجع الى شى غير المخالفة لكل طائفة مظن بنفسه Fol. 14 a انه حكيم و بظنه غلب عليه الجهل واقام بعد ذلك مدة يسيرة ومات وقد خسر نفسه و نفوس الذين اظلمهم بخداعه ❖ فصل ثم بعد موته وجدت رقعة فى اوراق بخط ادبا ميخائيل مطران دمياط وهو يقول لمولف هذا الكتاب وربما كانت جواب عن مكاتبته له فى امر ابن القنبر وما اثر فى الوجوه من الشر ضمنها الحقيير المسكين ميخائيل دمياط يوضح لمحبه الاخ ما اتصل بى من امر



♦ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح ♦

سقط ودخل في جملة الهراطقة المخالفين الذين يظنوا ان مشنة  
الناسوت مخالفة لمشنة اللاهوت وصار محروماً من ثلاث بطاركة  
اذبا يونس وهو في العدن الثاني والسبعين وتنيح هذا البطريرك  
وهذا الشقي معقود بحرومة ليس له منها خلاص وبطريرك انطاكية  
وهو اذبا ميخائيل واذبا مرقس وهو الثالث وسبعين في العدن  
وستين اسقفاً بالوجهي البحري والقبلي ء فصل وكان هذا ابن  
القنبر قد جمع جماعة من الملكية المخالفين لنا في الامانة  
الارثدكسية مع من انتمى اليه من جهال القبط السادجين قد  
ورن الى قليوب واراد ان يستميل بها قوماً من اهلها فسمع به  
كاتب البلد وضامن البلد وغيرهم من الجماعة الارثدكسيين فراحوا  
اليه وقاموا عليه ومسكوه هو وجماعته والزموهم بوزن الجزية ورسما  
عليهم واعلموا والى البلد بان هذه الجماعة مخالفة لشرعهم وهم  
تحت حروم البطريرك وكل ارض حلوا بها لا بد ان يحصل لاهلها  
نكد فاطلب منهم الجالية ولا تفارقهم حتى تاخذ منهم شي ليل  
يطلعوا البلد في خفية فيحصل لاهل البلد نكد فطلبهم الوالى  
واعتقلهم ولم يفارقهم حتى اقاموا بسبعة عشر دينار على سبيل  
الجزية وبعد وزنهم الجزية كتبوا عليهم حجج بالقسامة انهم لا  
يطلبوا قليوب سوى عبار طريق طالبين المدينة او غيرها ولا ينزلون  
بها بالجملة الكافية وخرجوا من قليوب باسوح حال ثم بلغه وصول  
بطرك الملكية من الاسكندرية وانه مقيم بايوان فتوجه اليه ليسلم  
عليه ويهنه بالسلامة ومعه جمية يزكوا مقالته انا اشتكا حاله  
وكان قد اجتمع عند هذا البطريرك جماعة من المطارنة اعنى مطارنة  
البلاد فانها للبطرك ما احدثه عليهم مما يخرج عن قوانين مذهبهم  
فنظروا في ذلك وقالوا ان هذا رجل قبطي وهو يفعل ما لم تجر

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بانه لا يجوز له فعل ما جسر عليه بعد ما يكتب ما يتحققه منه  
فكتب كل منهم خطه بما جرى من خلافه لشرعه وانه لا يجوز له  
فعل ما جسر عليه ولا يفسح له في هوى نفسه الذي ارتكبه  
وخالف الشرع ويؤكد كل منهم عليه القطع والحكم ثم لم يقنعوا ما  
فعله وكونه لم يقف عند ايمانه التي حلف بها على الانجيل  
وجسد القديس العظيم انطونة في بيعة الله ولا خلافه لشرعه وقبوله  
ما وجب عليه في شريعة النصارى الذي هو منهم حتى كتب قصة  
ورفعها للسلطان ضمنها انه يروم عقد مجلس مع البطرك وموه  
فيها وقال ما اراد والتمس امانا عليها \* بخط القاضي الفاضل  
ابن على البيساني ما هذه نسخة انت رجل كبير الفضول  
وبطرك النصارى تقول عن رجل برئاً عن الخروج عن حقيقة مذهبه  
انه خرج واتى بمقالة غير معهودة قصرت بها كلمة شعبه وقطعت  
سنة الامر الجامع لاهل دينه وقد نفيت دفعة وقدمت على  
العودة من النفي بغير فسحة ومع هذا فاخرج اميا ليس له  
رذبة ولا حكم ولا تتصرف في تقدمته على النصارى ولا حكم  
بينهم الى ان يعقد لك مجلسا شرعيا ينقضى اخره اما ان تكون  
منهم فلا تخالفهم واما ان تكون خارجاً عنهم فانت <sup>2</sup> ظال عن  
المؤمنين واصحاب الكتاب فيلزمك الاسلام فانك غير <sup>3</sup> يهوديا ولا  
نصرانيا انتهى ذلك \* فصل ولما استقر في ناحية اقامته مستمرا  
على ما كان عليه في طريقته الاولى ثم حضر الى القلاية بكنيسة  
المعلقة بمصر ومثل بين يدي البطرك واعترف بذنبه وسال العفو  
عنه فاجيب الى ذلك واقبمت الصلاة والقديس ولما حضر ليتقرب

<sup>2</sup> ضال <sup>1</sup> فكتب القاضي الفاضل على قصته ما هذه نسخة In the margin

<sup>3</sup> يهودي <sup>4</sup> نصراني

سوالهم وكتب لرئيس الدير باحضار مرقس هذا الى المكان الذي  
 فيه جسد القديس اذبا انطونة ويستحلفه عليه وعلى انجيل  
 يوحنا بانه لا يعون يفعل شيئا مما كان يفعله وبعد ذلك يفسح  
 له في عودته ففعل ذلك واطلقه فعاد الى بلانه بهذا الشرط فصل  
 وكان مرقس المذكور قد وصل الى الريف من دير انطونة بعد  
 استحلافه على الانجيل المقدس وجسد ابونا انطونة المذكور Fol. 10 b  
 والتوثيق منه انه لا يعون لما كان عليه ولا يخرج عن قوانين البيعة  
 وما حلتها الشريعة وان هذا مرقس المذكور لما وصل الى بلانه عان  
 لما كان عليه واشد واشر واجتمع اليه من جهة الارياك والكفور  
 والبلان جمع كبير جداً ما يناهز خمسة الاف رجل ووصلت اخباره  
 الى قلوب ومنهم من اطاعه ورجع اليه واوجبوا على نفوسهم ما  
 قرره على كل منهم ورتبه حتى ان منهم من اوجب على نفسه ما  
 يحمله اليه من ماله وثمره بستانه وكرمه وعشر ما يتحصل له من  
 المال ويحمله اليه وزان عما كان عليه اولاً فكتب اليه الاب البطريك  
 يشعره بما سيكون من امره ان لم يرجع ويرهبه ويتوعده بما سوف  
 يحل به ان تم على طغيانه وخروجه عن ما حلف به ولم يقف  
 عند ايمانه ووعظه وحذره عن عاقبة الايمان والخلاف وقبول المنع  
 وان عاقبة هذا تنتهي الى الهلاك السوف لم يلتفت لما كتبه البطريك  
 بل تواقع وزان في طغيانه وخلافه ولم يرجع فكتب البطريك للاساقفة  
 بالوجه البكرى كتب تتضمن قضية حاله من ابتدائها الى انتهائها  
 وما تضمنته القوانين التي بها يجب قطعه بالكرام الموكدة ان هو Fol. 11 a  
 استمر على طغيانه وتمسك بظلاله شيطانه وان يكتب كل منهم خطه

<sup>1</sup> Effaced.

ان يتشبهوا باليهود والكنفا في شى من سننهم المستعملة بينهم  
 فى وقتنا هذا واقام لهذا القول ادلة كثيرة ومنع ان لا يبخر فى  
 الكنائس بالسندروس بل باللبان لانه قدم للسيد مع الذهب والمر  
 فمن هذا الوجه لا يجب ان يبخر فى الكنيسة بغيره ويقول لمن  
 يعترف له انا احمل عنك بعض خطيتك والبعض يغفر لك من الله  
 بعملك القانون ومن ياخذ عن خطايا قانوناً فى الدنيا لم<sup>1</sup> يجب  
 الله عليه قانوناً<sup>2</sup> ثانى فى الاخرة وصاروا اصحابه المعترفين عليه  
 يسمونه ابونا المعلم وانا وقف فى الكنائس اجتمع اليه جماعة كبيرة  
 واثار اسباب كثيرة لم تكن فى البيعة ثم تحقق ذلك الابا الاساقفة  
 بالوجه البحرى وطالعوا به الاب بطيريك انبا مرقس وهو الثالث  
 والسبعين فى العدى فانكر ذلك عليه وكتب له كتب يحذره وينهيه  
 ويعظه بمواعظ تعزية له فلم يسمع منه ولا رجع له فاوجبت الضرورة  
 البطيريك ان يسير له يطلبه فطلع اليه الى القلاية بكنيسة المعلقة  
 بمصر وعقد له سنودس بحضور جماعة من الاساقفة والكهنة القسوس  
 والاراخنة وقال له اعلم ان من حل شى من اوضاع البيعة - وامر  
 الشعب بخلافه فانه تحت تبعة الشرع فلم لا ترجع عن ما انت  
 عليه وجرت معه خطوب كثيرة تقرراخرها انه يمضى محتفظاً به  
 مع وكلا من جهة البطيريك الى دير انبا انتونة قريباً من اطفيح  
 وذلك فى شهر امشير سنة تسعين وثمانمائة للشهدا الابرار وان<sup>3</sup> يكن  
 هو وجميع اخوته يحلقون شعور رؤوسهم ثم تصور من هذه  
 الحالة وقصد الاب البطيريك ويطارح عليه بوالدته واخوته وخاله  
 ولم يزالوا على يديه ورجليه وبسوال الاراخنة له حينئذ اجاب

١. يوجب.

٢. ثانياً.

٣. يكون.

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❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح ❖

وكفور احد واربعين سبعين الفا وثلثمائة وثمانية وخمسون ديناراً ❖  
 الدقهلية سبعين نواحي تسعة وثلاثين كفور احد وثلاثين ❖ كفور  
 ثلاثة وخمسون الف وسبعمائة احد وستين ديناراً ❖ الابوانية ستة  
 نواحي وستة كفور اربعة الاف وسبعمائة دينار جزيرة قوسنيا اربعة  
 وسبعين نواحي ثمانية وستين وكفور ستة مائة الف وتسعة وخمسين  
 الفا وستمائة واربعة وستين ديناراً الغربية ثلثمائة واربعة عشر نواحي  
 مائة وتسعة واربعين كفور مائة خمسة وستين اربعمائة الف وثلاثين  
 الفا وتسعمائة وخمسة وخمسين ديناراً السنوية مائة وتسعة  
 وعشرين نواحي سبعين وسبعة وتسعين وكفور اثنى وثلاثين مائتي  
 الف وستمائة وسبعة وخمسين ديناراً المنوفيتين مائة وناحية نواحي  
 تسعة وستين وكفور اثنى وثلاثين مائة الف واربعين الفا وتسعمائة  
 وثلاثة وثلاثين ديناراً فوة والمزاحميتين ثلاثة عشر نواحي عشرة  
 كفور ثلاثة ستة الاف وثمانين ديناراً النستراوية ستة نواحي ستة  
 اربعة عشر الف وتسعمائة وعشرة دنانير رشيد والجديدية وانكو  
 ثلاث نواحي ثلاثة الاف ديناراً جزيرة بنى نصر اربعة وستين نواحي  
 احد واربعين كفور ثلاثة وعشرين اثنى وستين الفا وخمسمائة  
 وثمانية دنانير البحيرة مائة وستة وسبعين نواحي سبعة وثمانين  
 كفور وتسعة وثمانين مائة الف وتسعة وثلاثين الفا وثلثمائة وثلاثة  
 عشر دينار حوف رمسيس مائة وكفر واحد الوجه القبلي خمسمائة  
 وثمانية وثمانين نواحي ثلثمائة وتسعة وسبعين وكفور مائتي وتسعة  
 الف الف وعشرين الفا وتسعمائة وثلاثة وخمسون ديناراً الجيزية  
 سبعة وتسعين نواحي سبعين وكفور سبعة وعشرين مائة الف وتسعة  
 وعشرين الفا وستمائة واحد واربعين ديناراً الاطفيحية سبعة عشر  
 نواحي ثلاثة عشر وكفور اربعة تسعة وثلاثين الف واربعمائة وتسعة

❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلاح ❖

يحرر عليه ارتفاع فدان البيع والاديرة بالوجهى القبلى والبحرى  
لسنة خمس وسبعين وخمسمائة مما كان بيد النصارى من اذعام  
الخلفا الفاطميين الى اخر سنة تسع وستين وخمسمائة الهلالية  
الخراجية ونقل عنهم الى المسلمين ولم يبق شيئا منه فى ايدى  
النصارى وذلك فى دولة الغز الاكران فى اخر خلافة المستضى  
بامر الله ومملكة صلاح الدين يوسف ابن ايوب الكردى من العين  
<sup>2</sup> الفى وتسعمائة ثلاثة وعشرون ديناراً و من الغلة اربعة الاف وثمان  
مائة وستة وعشرين ارباً ومن الفدان تسعمائة وخمسة عشر فدانا ❖  
الوجه القبلى اربعمائة وسبعة وستين ديناراً والغلة المعينة وتسع  
مائة وستة فدانين الوجه البحرى الفى واربعمائة وخمسة واربعون  
ديناراً وتسع فدانين فصل تجب ايضا فى هذا الكتاب ووصف  
الذى اشتمل عليه عدة النواحي والكفور باعمال الدولة وغيره مال  
Fol. 7 b اقطاعها خارجا عن مدينة الاسكندرية و ثغر دمياط وتنبس وقط  
وتقادة وبركة الحبش بظاهر مصر والمقدر عن ذلك وهو ستين الف  
دينار عن الفى ومائة ستة وثامانون ناحية ونواحي الكفور الف  
ومائتى وستة وسبعين ناحية وكفور ثمنائة وتسعين كفاً وثلاثة  
الاف الف واحد وستين الف <sup>3</sup> ديناراً فصل الوجه البحرى من جميعه  
عن الف وخمسمائة وثمانية وتسعين نواحي تسعمائة وسبعة عشر  
كفور ستمائة احد وثمانين الفى الفاً واربعين الفاً واربعين ديناراً  
الشرقية اربعمائة اثنى وخمسين نواحي مائتين واربعه وتسعين كفور  
مائة ثمانية وخمسين ستمائة الف اربعة وتسعين الفاً ومائة احد  
وعشرون ديناراً المرتاحية تسعة وثمانين نواحي وثمانية واربعين

<sup>1</sup> شى.

<sup>2</sup> الفان.

<sup>3</sup> دينار.



❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلاح ❖

والتمس منهم شيئاً على حكم المصانعة مما تصل القدرة اليه فاغلق  
الكنيستين بعد نهب الكنيسة الكبيرة وسمر بابها بلوح الى اخر يوم  
الجمعة ثالث عشر شعبان سنة<sup>1</sup> احد وثمانين وخمسمائة وصل  
انسان ارمني وذكراثة من اصحاب تاج الدولة بهرام الارمني الذي  
كان وزيراً للإمام الحافظ وذكراثة كان دفن مالاً لتاج الدولة الوزير  
المذكور في الكنيسة الكبرى وانه حضر ليظهرة فلم يسمع له وقيل انه  
Fol. 6 b جاء يتخيل حتى تفتح الكنيسة ويحفر في بعض المواضع ويقول  
المال عدم من هنا والذين نهبوا الكنيسة اخذوه ويتظلم وتتم له  
الكنيسة مفتوحة فيقيم فيها ما قبضه الخيل الا انه وضع عليها ختم  
ثاني من قبل الملك المظفر ولم يجد في ذلك شئ ولما توجه تقي  
الدين الى الشام في شهر شعبان سنة اثني وثمانين وخمسمائة  
ووصل الملك العادل ابو بكر الى القاهرة امر بالافراج عن هذه البيعة  
الاثنين في العاشر من شهر رمضان من السنة المذكورة وتسلم القبط  
البيعتين هم والارمن وتصرفوا وكان مدة غلقها سنة واحدة خمسة  
عشر يوماً وقدسوا القبط في الكبرى احد من شهر كهيك المبارك  
سنة ثلاث وتسعمائة للشهدا الابرار ثم منع القبط الارمن من البيعة  
الكبرى وتحدث في ذلك جماعة من<sup>2</sup> الاكابر وعادت البيعتين بيد  
الارمن فصل الخط المعروف باسطبل الفيل مجاور بركتى قارون  
وذلك بين مصر والقاهرة وبهذا الخط المذكور بيعة وهدمت  
متقدماً ثم صارت ساحة وباقي جدرانها ظاهر على وجه الارض  
Fol. 7 a وجعل موضعها مسجداً انشاه حسين الكردى صهر صلاح ابن  
رزيك الوزير في خلافة الامام العاضد لدين الله ❖ فصل والذي

<sup>1</sup> احدى

<sup>2</sup> Effaced.

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❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح ❖

بالباقلاني الذي كان قاضي القضاة بمصر في يوم الاثنين السابع والعشرين من شوال سنة ثمان وستين وخمسائة فصل ولما لم يبق في طائفة الارمن من له كلمة تسلّموا القبط بتوقيع مولانا السلطان بسفارة الشيخ الرئيس صفى الدولة ابن ابي المعالي المعروف بابن شراقي كاتبه هذه البيعة الكبيرة العتيقة البنا وجدد معالمها الامير سعيد الدولة بهرام زمام الارمن ولما كمل الشيخ صفى الدولة ما يحتاج اليه في العمارة للبيعة على يد القس<sup>1</sup> ابو الوفا ابن<sup>1</sup> ابو البشر حضر اليها الاب البطريرك انبا مرقس وهو الثالث والسبعين في Fol. 5 a  
العدن وانبا يوحنا اسقف طموية واسقف بسطة انبا ميخائيل وجماعة من الكهنة والاراحنة والشعب الارثوذكسي وكرزت في يوم الاربعاء السابع وعشرين من بوونة سنة<sup>2</sup> اثني وتسعون وثمانمائة للشهدا الابرار<sup>3</sup> وقدست فيها وقرب الشعب من يده وصارت هذه البيعة بطريركية<sup>4</sup> وتولا القداس بعد ذلك بها كهنة بيعة السيدة بحارة الروم بالقاهرة واهتم ابو سعيد ابن الزيات بتصوير<sup>5</sup> جاف هذه البيعة من صنعة ابي الفتح ابن الاقص المعروف بابن الحوفي المصور وكمل ذلك في امشير سنة اثني وتسعين وثمانمائة للشهدا الابرار فصل وصل من بلاد الارمن اسقف ومعه<sup>6</sup> ثلاث قسوس من قبل ملك الارمن والبطرك وعلى يده تقليد منها<sup>7</sup> وكتابين احدهما من الملك صلاح الدين والاخر من الملك سيف الدين<sup>8</sup> بوبكر اخيه الى الملك تقي الدين يوكدا في كتبهما باكرام الاسقف وان يسلم اليه كنيسة الارمن بالزهري والبستان وانزل هذا الاسقف بكنيسة يوحنا المعدادان بحارة زويلة فلم يمكنه الفقيه الطوسي من ذلك وقوى عليه واقام Fol. 5 b

<sup>1</sup> ابي. <sup>2</sup> For اثنتين وتسعين, so generally throughout. <sup>3</sup> وقدس.  
<sup>4</sup> وتولى. <sup>5</sup> شاو (?). <sup>6</sup> ثلاثة. <sup>7</sup> كتابان. <sup>8</sup> ابي for ابو.

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Fol. 4 a وقال له اريد اليوم اكشف اليك سرّاً لم يطلع عليه احد غير استنان واحد وانت تكون الثانى فقلت له اننى اكنمه فكشف عن سوءته وقال ابصر هذا الحال فرايت قضيب زكرة قد عدم بالاصالة ولم يبق الا جلدة طويلة والانتيين وفى هذه الجلدة حبة فاستعلمت منه قضية الحال فذكر انه كان قد لحقته مثل هذه الحبة وهو صبي فاكلت منه القضيب جميعه حتى لم يبق منه غير هذه الجلدة التى تراها وها قد عادت الحبة فى هذا الوقت وقال اننى داويته الى ان برئى وزالت الحبة واستعلمت منه حال الاستنان فذكر انه كان رفع فيه الى الحافظ بسبب ابنة اليصال فانها كانت جميلة الصورة وكانت تاتى اليه وتخدمه وتستشيرته وتعترف عليه وتعمل قانونه ولم يكن احد يقدر ان<sup>1</sup> يدخلوا بها لاجل ديانتها وعقلها واستشهر امر خلوتها به وترددوا الى قلايته فاجتمع به ذلك الاستنان فى امرها وقال له ان بعض الناس يتهموك بها فقال له لو كشف للناس امرى فى حال عضو التناسل لم يتحدث فى احد ولكن الله متولى السرائر بعلم الظاهر والباطن وانه حملته نفسه ان اخبر الحافظ بصورة الحال وساله فى ان يسير من امناه من يتخيره لكشف ما ادعاه البطريقك من حال عضو التناسل فسير له استنان من اكابر خدامه مؤتمن عنده على خزائن ماله وصادق القول عنده بكشف له عن ذلك فلم يمكنه ان يمتنع من ذلك فاطلعه على امره وزالت الشبهة عنه وظهرت براته وباطل ما ثقلوه عنه وكان هذا القول بعد توجهه الى الشام ووفاته به وكان اجتماعى انا الحقيير ناظم هذا الكتاب بابى القاسم هذا عند الاعز حسن ابن سلامة المعروف

Fol. 4 b

❖ تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح ❖

يده من آذينة المذابح ودينانير ذهب وذكر ان في هذا الدير من الارمن<sup>1</sup> عشرون راهباً وجعل له بالقاهرة قسيساً نائباً عنه مع ولد القس لإقامة الصلوات والقداسات في اوقاتها في كنيسة يوحنا المعدادان علو بيعة السيدة الطاهرة بحارة زويلة على ما تقدم شرحه اولاً وتجتمع بها جماعة من طائفة الارمن من الرجال والنساء والدير الذي لهذه الطائفة والكنائس فانه خال مسدود الباب فصل ووصلت البشائر بوصوله الى البيت المقدس سالماً وتلقاه جميع النصارى بالابتهاج والفرح بالقرارة والصلبان قدامه والشموع<sup>2</sup> الموقود والمجامر والبخور فصل<sup>3</sup> ثم اقام اياماً في عيشة سالحة وتنيح الى رحمة الله سبحانه في الخامس من شهر طوبه من السنة المذكورة ودفن في دير يعقوب<sup>3</sup> ابن زبدى باورشليم وكان حسن الخلق جميل الصورة تام القامة مستدير اللحية وقد وخطه الشيب من العارضين هذا وعمره ما يناهز<sup>4</sup> ثمانون سنة فصل<sup>5</sup> وذكر ان اسقف الارمن المقيم بالبيت المقدس لما رأى اجتماع الناس الى هذا البطريرك القديس لما<sup>5</sup> فيه الخصال الجميلة حسده واسقاه فمات ولم يمهل الله هذا الاسقف بعده ولا هناء بعيشة سالحة ومات بعده بعشرين يوماً والله اعلم بالسرفيما ذقل عن الاسقف وكان البطريرك المتقدم ذكره كاهناً عالماً بصيراً بالكتب الالهية مفسراً لها وكان<sup>6</sup> قوما حسدوه لنتاه الجميل بين الناس فقالوا عنه انه يحاضر النساء وكان هذا القول من الحسدة زيادة في بره وقال جامع هذا الكتاب اننى اجتمعت بابى القاسم خليل الطبيب الفيلسوف العسقلانى وقال انه حضر الى هذا البطريرك المذكور في بعض الايام في قلايته بدير الزهرى

١. عشرون. ٢. الموقودة. ٣. بن. ٤. ثمانين. ٥. Add. ٦. قوم.

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# تاريخ الشيخ ابي صلح الارمني

تذكر فيه اخبار من نواحي مصر واقطاعها

الفصل الاول نبتدي بعون الله وارشاده ان في عصرنا هذا في  
ابتداء سنة اربع وستين وخمسمائة كان بنا الكنيسة التي على اسم  
ماري يعقوب بناحية البساتين<sup>1</sup> نواحي بلان مصر بناحية الجبل  
في زمان \* \* \* اميراً مسلطاً عليها من جانب الخليفة وكان  
محبباً لجميع النصارى الكبير منهم والصغير وكان له في كل شهر  
عشرة دنانير على الاقطاع<sup>2</sup> فكمل تجديد همتة عمارة هذه  
البيعة التي احترقت وعمل لها قبة عالية على الاسكنا تنظر من  
البعث وجعل لها اقبية وعقودات وكملها بالابواب الكبار ثم اخذت  
الابواب فجدها عوضها فاخذت ثانياً فجدها وكمل تجديد البيعة  
ولم يكرزها ولم يقدس فيها ولما تنيح دفن بها وهذا الدير في وسط  
البساتين والرياض والمزروعات وهو من المستنزهات الحسنه فصل  
ولما ملك الغز الاكران اقليم مصر في شهر ربيع<sup>3</sup> الاخرة سنة اربع  
وستين وخمسمائة وجرى للارمن ما هو مشهور وابعث البطريك  
الارمني هو ورهبان الارمن من هذا الدير سدّ بابه وبقيت  
هذه الكنائس خالية ولا يجسر احد يسلك اليها فصل واقطع  
البيستان للفقير اليها على الدمشقي وافرد للارمن كنيسة يوحنا

<sup>1</sup> من Prefix

<sup>2</sup> كمل تحت يد همته Perhaps

<sup>3</sup> الاخر

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