مطبوعات جمعية الآثار القبطية

قسم النصوص والوثائق

١٢

تاريخ بطاركة الكنيسة المصرية

المعروف بسير البيعة المقدسة

لساويرس بن المقفع أسقف الأشمونين

المجلد الثالث

الجزء الثاني

البطريرك مرقس الثالث والبطريرك يوحنا السادس

١١٦٧م — ١٢١٦م

قام على نشره

دكتور أنطون خاطر و دكتور ازولد بورمستر

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١٢

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القاهرة

١٩٧٠

مطبعة المعهد العلمى الفرنسى للآثار الشرقية بالقاهرة

تصـــدير

يشمل الجزء الحاضر سيرتى اثنين من البطاركة ؛ هما مرقس الثالث ويوحنا السادس اللذان اعتليا كرسى القديس مرقس من عام ١١٦٧ إلى عام ١٢١٦ ميلادية .

وبالإضافة إلى هاتين السيرتين ، لنا سير أخرى : (١) صلاح الدين (٢) الملك العزيز عثمان (٣) الملك الناصر يوسف (٤) الملك الأفضل على (٥) الملك العادل أبو بكر (٦) الملك الكامل محمد .

وأكثر من هذا ، يوجد جزء لتسجيل الحوادث التى وقعت فى مصر بعد نياحة البطريرك يوحنا السادس .

وفيما يختص بالبطريرك مرقس الثالث ، فان القليل يذكر عنه ، ما عدا تعداداً لأوصافه البطريركية ، وإنه فيما يتعلق بانتخابه ، لم يكن هناك خلاف ، ذلك لأن سابقه البطريرك يوحنا الخامس كان قد أنبأ بتعيينه خليفة بعده .

ولقد ذكر أنه مع بداءة حكم صلاح الدين ، أزيلت الصلبان من قباب الكنائس ، وقد غشى بياض الكنائس من الظاهر ، بطبقة من الطين الأسود ، ومنع دق الأجراس ، ونفذت القوانين التى تنظم زى المسيحيين .

غير أنه بصلاة مرقس الثالث ، قد زالت هذه المضايقات والتعسفات ، وعاد استخدام الكتبة الأقباط فى الديوان المالى للدولة ، وأصبحت فعلا حالتهم على ما يرام واعتبروا أيما اعتبار .

وفيما يتعلق بالبطريرك يوحنا السادس ، فانه قد رسم بعد نياحة سابقه بشهر وخمسة أيام . وقبل اعتلائه كرسى القديس مرقس ، كان يوحنا السادس علمانياً ثرياً ، يمتلك مصنعاً للسكر وطواحين ومالا . وقد اشتهر بأخلاقه الممتازة وإحسانه وأعماله الصالحة . وفى عهده قصّر النيل عن بلوغ مقياسه المعهود فيما بين عام ١٢٠٠ — ١٢٠١ ميلادية ، وترتب على ذلك قحط خطير تبعته مجاعة فظيعة ارتكبت خلالها جرائم وأهوال .

وبدأ التراخى يتسرب فى النظم الكنسية فى ذلك الحين ، كما يتبين ذلك من واقعة مدونة ، أن كاهناً أرمل تزوج ثانية وذهب إلى الاسكندرية حيث باشر الخدمة فى الكنائس ، إن زواج القسوس مرة ثانية يمنعه القانون الكنسى ، ولما علم يوحنا السادس بهذا وبخ بصرامة كهنة الاسكندرية لسماحهم بهذا ، وقد أوقف الكاهن المذكور وأمر بقفل الكنائس فى المدينة .

وأخيراً تسامح مع الكاهن المخطىء ، بعد أن وقّعوا على وثيقة بأنه لا يقبل كاهن غريب عن مدينة الاسكندرية ليؤدى الخدمة فى كنائسها بدون موافقة رسمية .

وفى عهد يوحنا السادس ، جاء رسل من ملك أثيوبيا يلتمسون منه أن يرسم مطرانا على أثيوبيا . وقد تم ذلك ورجع المطران الجديد مع الرسل إلى أثيوبيا حيث استقبل بأروع إكرام .

ولقد عظم شأنه حين باشر القداس الإلهى لأول مرة فى البلاد ، فانهمرت الأمطار غزاراً وكانت قد توقفت عن النزول فى موسمها . وسار كل شىء على ما يرام مدة خمس سنوات ، وبعدها رجع المطران المذكور فجأة إلى القاهرة فى حالة يرثى لها يزعم أنه أرغم على الهروب من أثيوبيا ، لأن محاولة دبرت لاغتياله .

وللوقت أوفد يوحنا السادس رسولا إلى أثيوبيا ليتأكد من صحة الرواية التى ذكرها المطران . وبعد عام رجع الرسول يحمل خطاباً من الملك يوضح فيه الأسباب الحقيقية لهروب المطران . فاذ قد اتهم أحد كهنته بسرقة قضيب من الذهب ، أمر بضربه بقسوة حتى مات ذلك الشقى ، وترتب على ذلك أن أقرباءه أرادوا الانتقام لموته بقتل المطران .

علاوة على هذا ، كان المطران ملوماً لعيشة الترف التى كان يحياها ، الأمر الذى أدى إلى عثرة الكنيسة عثرة خطيرة .

لهذه الأسباب ، فقد عجّل يوحنا السادس برسم مطران جديد أوفده مع الرسول إلى أثيوبيا ، أما المطران السابق فقد حرم من وظيفته وقطع .

وقد كان ارتداد راهب بدير القديس أبو مقار بشيهات سبب متاعب جسيمة للدير ، فقد اتهم الرهبان لدى الحكومة بأنهم يخفون كنزاً ذا قيمة عظمى ، وقد أثبتت التحريات النهائية من جانب المسئولين فى الحكومة أن اتهامه كان

باطلا ، وأن الكنز المذكور عبارة عن أوانى الكنيسة محفوراً فيها أسماء الواهبين . وبعد نياحة البطريرك يوحنا السادس ، بذلت مجهودات لإحراز انتخاب قس معين يسمى داود بن لقلق . وكان يحظى بتأييد الملك العادل .

ومع أن داود هذا صار فى النهاية بطريركاً بلقب كيرلس الثالث ، لكن هذا لم يتحقق إلا بعد عشرين عاماً تقريباً ، ذلك لأنه كان له خصوم كثيرون . والجزء الرئيسى من التاريخ المدون فى المجلد الحاضر يتعلق بحرب صلاح الدين مع الصليبيين وبالحوادث التى وقعت فى مصر أثناء حكم خلفاء صلاح الدين حتى عهد الملك الكامل محمد .

إن قصة هذه الحرب والحوادث التابعة فى مصر ذات قيمة بصفة خاصة ، إذ تزودنا بمعلومات وتفاصيل ذات أهمية بالغة باستقلالها عن المصادر الأفرنجية والإسلامية .

إن النص العربى المطبوع فى الصفحات التالية قد أختير من مخطوط « تاريخ رقم ١ » بالمتحف القبطى بمصر القديمة من صفحة ٢٠٤ ج إلى صفحة ٢٣٣ ظ الذى منه قورنت [1] صفحات ٢٠٤ ج إلى ٢٢٨ ج مع النص المماثل فى المخطوط العربى « تاريخ رقم ٣٠٢ » للمكتبة القومية بباريس صفحات ٢٦١ ظ إلى ٢٨٦ ظ . أما بخصوص صفحات ٢٢٨ ظ إلى ٢٣٣ ظ فلا يوجد نص مماثل فى المخطوط العربى « تاريخ رقم ٣٠٢ » .

وفى الختام ، نود أن نقدم أخلص تشكراتنا لأولئك الذين عاونونا فى إنتاج هذا المجلد . نشكر الأستاذ الدكتور سرج سونرون ، مدير المعهد الفرنسى للآثار الشرقية بالقاهرة ، لتفضله بالسماح بطبع هذا المجلد بمطبعة المعهد ، ونشكر السيد بازيل س . بسيروكيس ، رئيس مطبعة المعهد ، لعنايته العظمى بترتيب وتنظيم النص المطبوع ، ونشكر أيضاً هيئة المطبعة بالمعهد ، لتعاونهم ومساعدتهم لنا .

انطون خاطر ارولد بورمستر

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(١) المقارنة تمت على صورة فوتوغرافية من المخطوط المذكور مودعة بدار الكتب بالقاهرة تحت رقم « تاريخ ٦٤٣٤ » .

* بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس اله واحد[١] امين[٢]

نبتدى بتاييد القدرة العالية بنسخ السيرة الاوله من سير الابا البطاركة الارثذكسيين من الدور الثانى وهى سيرة الاب الجليل الفايز بنعمة الروح القدس انبا مرقس ابن زرعه وهو من العدد الثالث والسبعون صلواته تحفظنا امين .

لما اكملنا بمعونة الله لنا ما نقلناه عن اسلافنا واباونا الاولون خلف بعد سلف من السادة الصالحين والاوليا[٣] المخلصين والصفوة المحقين كما قال فى المزمور سمعنا اللهم اننا[٤] قد سمعنا باذاننا حين اباونا[٥] اخبرونا بالاعمال التى عملت فى ايامهم الاولى عدنا بالبحث[٦] عن سيرة النجبآ المختارين للرياسة المسيحية والديانة الالهية والرعاية الفاضلة والامور الكاملة فابتدانا بما شاهدنا فى عصرنا ورايناه فى زماننا وهو ما نخبركم به فى هذه السيرة وما حدث فى ايام هذا الاب الجليل من الامور الصعبة والشدايد المرهقة والدما المهرقة وزوال الدولة الاوله الثابت اصلنا بها لكثير[٧] عساكرها واصحابها المعتصمة بل المنيعة بكثرة اموالها واسبابها المحتجبة عن العيون فى قصورها بكثرة اجنادها وحجابها التى تنبآ عليها دانيال السعيد وقال يملك من بنى اسماعيل[٨] تسعة عشر ملكا على ارض مصر ولما كمل من البيت العلوى الفاطمى اربعة عشر خليفة منهم ثلثة ملكوا بسلمجانه والمهديه وافريقيه وغيرهم من بلاد الغرب[٩] وهذا اسماوهم المهدى القايم المنصور وملك منهم على مصر الى اخر انقضا[١٠] دولتهم وملك دولة الفرس الذى هم الغز احدى[١١] عشر خليفة وهم المعز الذى بنا القاهرة العزيز ولده الحاكم ولد العزيز الظاهر ولد الحاكم المستنصر ولد الظاهر المستعلى ولد المستنصر الامر ولد المستعلى ثم بعد ذالك[١٢] من بنوا العم والقرابا الحافظ

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(١) اله واحد] ب : الاله الواحد . (٢) امين] ب : غير موجودة . (٣) والاوليا] ب : واولاليا . (٤) اننا] ب : انا . (٥) حين اباونا] ب : اباونا حين . (٦) بالبحث] ب : الى البحث . (٧) لكثير] ب : كثير . (٨) بنى اسماعيل] ب : بنواسمعيل . (٩) الغرب] ب : المغرب . (١٠) انقضا] ب : انقضى . (١١) احدى] ب : احد . (١٢) ذالك] ب : ذلك .

الظافر ولده الفايز ولد الظافر ثم قتل الظافر بيد نصر ابن عباس وقد قدمنا شرح قصته ثم ملك بعده العاضد وهو اخر من ملك منهم وكانة [١] مدة ملكهم بالغرب [٢] وبارض مصر الى يوم زوال الملك من يد العاضد فى اخر المحرم سنة سبعة [٣] وستين وخمس ماية وذالك [٤] ان المهدى ابو محمد عبد الله ظهر بسلجانه وملكها يوم الاحد السابع من ذى الحجة سنة تسعين ومايتى للهجرة والى حين انقضايها على ايام دولة العاضد ابوا [٥] محمد عبد الله وهو الرابع عشر منهم مايتى وخمسة وسبعون سنة وشهر واحد وسبعة وعشرون يوما * من ذالك [٦] ملكوا بالمغرب اربعة وسبعون سنة وملكوا بمصر [٧] مايتى سنة وسنة واحدة فأما وزراهم فلم ندرك الا عصر بعضهم ولا ظفرنا لهم بسير ولا شى يدلنا على مدت [٨] ولاية كل منهم الوزارة ولا كم عدتهم وانما اخبرنا القريب من اسلافنا باسماء بعضهم ممن شاهدوه وينعتونهم على ما رتبوه فيما بينهم مما زعموا انه تفخيم لامرهم وتعظيم لقدرهم فقالوا ان وزر للمستنصر رجل نعته امير الجيوش واسمه بدر الجمالى للمستعلى [٩] سيف الاسلام يانس والامر [١٠] والحافظ المامون ويانس وتاج الدولة بهرام ورضوان ابن الولخشى وللظافر نجم الدين ابن مضال [١١] والعادل ابن السلار والعباس والفايز والعاضد والصالح [١٢] طلايع ابن رزيك ومجد الاسلام ولده وامير الجيوش شاور السعدى والمنصور ضرغام والملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف ابن نجم الدين ايوب وهو ثانى ملوك الترك بارض مصر واخر وزرآ دولت [١٣] المصريين لان اسد الدين شيركوه كان قد وزر العاضد من قبله وملك ستين يوما معدودة لم تزيد ساعة ولا نقصت ساعة ومات [١٤] وملك هذا صلاح الدين [١٥] بعد [١٦] وسنذكر [١٧] ونشرح [١٨] اخبار المملكة وكيف كان زوال الدولة الاوله وفتوح البيت المقدس ومدن الساحل وما فعله الله له

٢٠٤ (ظ)

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(١) وكانة] ب : وكانت . (٢) بالغرب] ب : بالمغرب . (٣) سبعة] ب : سبع .
(٤) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٥) ابوا] ب : ابو . (٦) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٧) بمصر] ب : بأرض مصر . (٨) مدت] ب : مدة . (٩) للمستعلى] ب : وللمستعلى . (١٠) الامر] ب : وللامر . (١١) مضال] ب : مطال . (١٢) الصالح] ب : الصلاح . (١٣) دولت] ب : دولة . (١٤) ومات] ب : ثم مات . (١٥) هذا صلاح الدين] ب : صلاح الدين هذا .
(١٦) بعد] ب : بعده . (١٧) سنذكر] ب : سيذكر . (١٨) ونشرح] ب : ويشرح .

وما ملكه الله اياه ونصف طيب ايام مملكته وعدله ورخص الاسعار بجميل نيته وعدله فى رعيته وما سامح به من المكوس وازالة المظالم [١] مبينا مشروحا انشا الله [٢] كان هذا هذا البطرك [٣] الجليل الفاضل الطاهر النبيل من نسل شريف يسمى قبل بطركيته ابو الفرج ابن ابو اسعد يعرف [٤] بابن زرعه ينسب بهذا الاسم الى جده ابوابوجده وقد وجدنا فيما [٥] تقدم من الابا البطاركة بطركا [٦] يسمى بابن زرعه وكان الاب ساويرس ابن المقفع اسقف [٧] الاشمونين كاتبه فان يكون من نسله فالله اعلم وقد كنت انا المسكين ناظم هذه السيرة تحدث [٨] مع ابن عم هذا البطرك وقلت له اين مرباكم واصولكم فقال من اهل الشام فتحققت انه من نسل ذلك البطرك لانه كان سريانيا من اهل الشام وانا المسكين ناظم هذه السيرة رايت هذا الاب قبل تقدمته وكنت ساكنا بجواره بمدينة مصر وكان كثير من الناس المسلمين والنصاره [٩] بمصر يشهدون له بالعفة والديانة والصوم والصلاة والصدقة وفعل الخير مع كل الناس وانه بتولا لم يتزوج قط ولا شهد له صبوة ولا زلة وكان عالما فى دينه خبيرا بامور الكهنوت [١٠] عانى بنفسه من صباه وقد كان بلغنى ان ابونا الطاهر يوحنا البطرك من قبله [١١] نيح الله نفسه اخبر عنه بالغيب انه البطرك بعده وذالك [١٢] ان ابونا يوحنا البطرك قبله * مرض فزاره جماعة من اراخنة مصر وكبارها وكان قد حضر معهم فقال ٢٠٥ (ج)
للبطريرك [١٣] يا ابونا لو استعملت من الدوا كذا وكذا لوجدت الصحة فقال له البطرك يوحنا وحق اسكيمك يا ابونا قد استعملت [١٤] فدهشوا القوم الحاضرين ونظروا الى بعضهم بعض يزعموا ان فيهم احد فى حلقه [١٥] اسكيم فلم يروا احد غيره فعلموا ان كلام البطريرك [١٦] له واشارته عنه فلما تنيح الاب يوحنا

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(١) المظالم] ب : من المظالم . (٢) انشا الله] ب : ان شاء الله . (٣) كان هذا هذا البطرك] ب : كان هذا الاب البطرك . (٤) ابن ابو اسعد يعرف] ب : ابن ابو سعد ويعرف . (٥) فيما] ب : مما . (٦) الابا البطاركة بطركاً] ب : الآباء البطاركة فى هذا الكتاب بطركاً . (٧) اسقف الاشمونين] ب : اسقف مدينة الاشمونين . (٨) تحدث] ب : تحدثت . (٩) النصاره] ب : النصارى . (١٠) الكهنوت] ب : الكهنه . (١١) يوحنا البطرك من قبله] ب : يوحنا من قبله . (١٢) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (١٣) للبطريرك] ب : للبطرك . (١٤) استعملت] ب : استعمله . (١٥) حلقه] ب : وسطه . (١٦) البطريرك] ب : البطرك .

بعد سنين كثيرة ذكروا ما تنبا به عنه وكانت النوبة للرهبان فاخذوه المصريين وقدموه فلم يختلف فى امره مخالف وكان تقدمته بطركا فى سنة ثمانين وثمان ماية للشهدا الموافقة [١] لسنة ستة وستين وخمس ماية الهلالية واقام على الكرسى خمسة وعشرين سنة وتنيح فى السادس من طوبه سنة تسع ماية وخمسة للشهدا الموافقة لسنة خمس ماية وخمس وثمانين الهلالية ∴ بدوا سيرت [٢] صلاح الدين بشرح [٣] امر الملك الناصر صلاح الدين فى ملك مصر والخليفة يوميذ العاضد باق على ما هو عليه والاجناد المصريين والسودان عبيد دولته مقرين على خدمته فلما كان يوم الثلثا الثالث من صفر سنة اربع وستين وخمس ماية للهجرة والخليفة يوميذ العاضد ابو محمد عبد الله وهو الرابع عشر من خلفا الدولة الفاطمية عليهم افضل السلام ووزيره يوميذ امير الجيوش شاور السعدى نزل مرى ملك الافرنج بجنوده على بلبيس ففتحها وقتل كلمن وجده فيها من الكيانية والاتراك والسودان ظاهرها وقتل جماعة كبيرة من عوام الناس مسلمين ونصارى قتلهم داخلها واباح لعسكره القتل والسبى والنهب ثلثة ايام ليل ونهار اطلق لهم السيف فيها واسر من بقى من اهلها وحملهم معه الى الشام ونهبها واحرقها ومضى باموالها واسراها اقتضى الحال ان الخليفة كتب كتاب لنور الدين محمود ابن زنكى ملك الغز بمدينة دمشق واقليمها وكان ينعت بالملك العادل نور الدين ويعرف بابن قسيم الدولة يعرفه فى كتابه ما جرى على المسلمين بديار مصر ويطلب منه ان يعضده بجيش يستدفع به الفرنج فادركه بانفاذ اسد الدين سيركوه [٤] فوصل ومعه عسكر كثير [٥] من الغز الى البلاد والملك مرى نازل بالفرنج على بلبيس ونضال مقدم مراكب الاسطول على بحر النيل قد وصل الى عطف منية الفيران قريب منية زفتى بعشرة شوانى وعشرين حراقه فلما تواصلت اخبار وصول سيركوه [٦] الى قرب البلاد رحل الملك مرى من على بلبيس رجع الى بلاده وقوى المسلمين على نضال فكسروه فرجع بالمراكب هارب

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(١) الموافقة لسنة ستة] ب : الموافقة لسته . (٢) بدوا سيرت] ب : بدو سيرة .
(٣) بشرح] ب : شرح . (٤) سيركوه] ب : شيركوه . (٥) كثير] ب : كبير . (٦) سيركوه]
ب : اسد الدين .

ونزل اسد الدين سيركوه بعساكره على مدينة بلبيس ورحلوا* الفرنج [١] ٢٠٥ (ظ)
وارتجعوا من قدامه فى البر والبحر واستراح ايام يسيره ثم رحل عن بلبيس نزل
اللوق والقسم وارض الطباله واحاط بالقاهرة مستديرا وحمل اليه الخليفة ضيافة
وخلع سيفه له ولمن وصل معه من الامرا المشهورين ولمقدمين [٢] العسكر
واموال كثير برسم النفقة وخيم وعدد واشيا كثير لا يقدر على وصف فنونها
واصنافها بعيونها واقام فى ضيافة الخليفة لم يدخل القاهرة الى يوم الجمعة
اول يوم من شهر ربيع الاول [٣] سنة اربع وستين وخمس ماية الهلالية انفذ اليه
الخليفة سيف الدم مع موتمن الخلافة جوهر الاستاذ وامره ان يضرب به رقبة
شاور وزيره فقتله ذبحا بسكين يوم السبت الثانى من ربيع الاول من السنة
المذكورة [٤] واقام بقية يومه [٥] ويوم الاحد نازل مكانه وفى نهار يوم الاثنين
الرابع من ربيع الاول من السنة المذكورة دخل القاهرة واخلع عليه الخليفة
خلع الوزارة وهى ثياب بيض مذهبة واسعة الاكمام ومنديل كبير مشدوده [٦]
مثال الدرقه مرخية العذبة الى كفل الفرس وطوق ذهب فى عنقه مرصع [٧]
بالجواهر ولالى يربط ويحل بشرابه حرير مظفورة بلولو حمصى كبار فركب بخلف [٨]
الخليفة من داخل قاعة الذهب بالقصر وخرج وجميع الاجناد والامرا [٩] يمشون
فى ركابه بالسيوف المجبودة وكان له يوم مشهور لم يرى فى ايام الدنيا مثله
ووزر وملك ولما كمل له شهر فى الملك [١٠] نادى بالقاهرة ان يرفعوا النصاره [١١]
عذب عمايمهم ويشدوا زنانيرهم واليهود خرقة صفرة [١٢] فى عمايمهم واقام فيها
ستين يوما ومات [١٣] فى اليوم الخامس من جمادى الاول من السنة المذكورة [١٤]

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(١) الفرنج] ب : الافرنج . (٢) ولمقدمين] ب : والمقدمين . (٣) ربيع الاول سنة اربع]
ب : ربيع الاول من السنة المذكورة وهى سنة اربع . (٤) الاول من السنة المذكورة واقام]
ب : الاول سنة اربع وستين وخمس ماية واقام . (٥) بقية يومه ويوم الاحد] ب : بقية يوم
السبت ويوم الاحد . (٦) مشدوده] ب : مسدودة . (٧) مرصع بالجواهر ولالى] ب : مرصع
بخواتم ولالى . (٨) بخلف] ب : بخلع . (٩) الاجناد والامرا] ب : الامرا والاجناد . (١٠) فى
الملك] ب : فى الليل . (١١) النصاره] ب : النصارى . (١٢) صفرة] ب : صفرا . (١٣) ومات
فى اليوم الخامس] ب : ومات فى الخامس . (١٤) المذكورة ووزر] ب : المذكورة سنة اربع
وستين وخمس مايه ووزر .

ووزر الخليفة بعده فى حياة الخليفة الملك الناصر صلاح الدين وانعت بالملك الناصر صلاح الدنيا والدين سلطان الاسلام والمسلمين جامع الايمان [١] قامع عبدة الصلبان محيي دولة امير المومنين وكان صلاح الدين اسمه يوسف ابن نجم الدين ايوب اخو اسد الدين سيركوه فوقع يوم جلوسه بين يدى الخليفة توقيعاً بخط القاضى الفاضل ولفظه وكان اسم القاضى الفاضل عبد الرحيم ابن على ويعرف بالبيسانى كان ابوه قاضى بيسان وكان عالم [٢] فاضل يفعل الخير مع كل احد مشكور محبوب كل احد يشكره ويدعوا له ويثنى عليه [٣] بل انه من طبع الادمى ان يكون [٤] كاملا لكون [٥] الكمال لله وحده لانه لم يوجد فيه قول يشوبه لقايل سوى انه اشار ان لا يستخدموا النصاره [٦] نظار على اموال الدولة ولا مشارفين فقبل قوله وعمل برايه ولم يرجع احد من النصاره [٧] يستخدم فى نظر [٨] ولا مشارفة فى ايام دولة صلاح الدين ولا من ملك بعده من اولاده وذريته* فوقع ما مثاله ومثال العلامه الحمد لله وبه توفيقى خرج الامر العال الناصرى زاد الله تعالى امضايه بمسامحة الامرآ والشادين والحماه والمتصرفين والعمال والمستخدمين والضمنا والبادلين والمستوفيين والموفيين وكافت [٩] الناس اجمعين بالبقايا الداتره والاخلاف المخرجة والخطوط المخلدة والنفقات المردوده والحواصل المساقة بالقلم وليست بموجودة والاوقات الحكميه وسفاتج المراكب الديوانيه وزايد المساحات وفواصل الاقطاعات وما تشهد به الدواوين من المعاملات على اختلاف اسبابها وتباين ابوابها واسبابها وما يتبع ذالك [١٠] من المواريث الحشرية والاوقاف الشرعية وسفاتج المراكب المحمية جميع ذالك [١١] الى اخر سنة ثلث وستين وخمس ماية مسامحة تشمل [١٢] الامير المامور [١٣] والغيب والحضور والاغنيا والفقرآ والاقويآ والضعفآ لا يستثنا فيها

٢٠٦ (ج)

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(١) جامع الايمان] ب : جامع وكلمة الايمان . (٢) وكان عالم] ب : وكان رجل عالم .
(٣) كل احد يشكره ويدعوا له ويثنى عليه] ب : كل احد يدعى له ويشكره ويثنوا عليه .
(٤) ان يكون] ب : ان لا يكون . (٥) لكون] ب : ليكون . (٦) النصاره] ب : النصارى .
(٧) النصاره] ب : النصارى . (٨) نظر] ب : نظرا . (٩) كافت] ب : كافة . (١٠) ذالك]
ب : ذلك . (١١) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (١٢) تشمل] ب : شمل . (١٣) الامير المامور]
ب : الامير والمامور .

بالحواصل المشخصة والذخاير المخصصة والنفقات التى هى من التبعات مخلصة فانها عدة الجهاد وماوونة [١] الاسعاد [٢] ابتغآ للثواب وطلباً للزلفى [٣] وحسن الماآب فليكتب بذالك [٤] مساطير تقرى فى ساير [٥] اعمال الدولة بعد ثبوته بحيث يثبت مثله ان شا الله تعالى [٦] واستقر الملك الناصر فى الوزارة ونفذ قوله وفعله وكان يعضده فى ذالك [٧] الوقت اخوه العادل [٨] ابوبكر وتاج الملوك والاجل المعظم شمس الدولة ومات شمس الدولة فى ايام دولته فى مدينة الاسكندرية بعد ان عمل مع المصريين من الخير ما يقصر اللسان عن وصفه رحمه الله ورضى عنه ومات تاج الملوك اخيه على ظاهر مدينة حلب عندما حاصرها صـ ح بسهم خرج رمى بها من قلعتها فاصابه فى ركبته فمات وكان كريما لبيباً فاضلا عالما يقول الشعر وله منه ديوان وكان مقدم عسكر الملك [٩] ومشيره الاجل تقى الدين عمر ابن شاهنشاه وكان ذو راى صايب وتدبير جيد وكان له على الاجناد هيبة ينصف المظلوم من الظالم وكان اذا حكم بين اثنين يقعدهما بين يديه جلوس معه ولا يحابى للغنى ولا يهضم جانب الفقير وياخذ الحق من الظالم ولوكان ولده وبعد ما جرى من فتح الساحل الذى نشرحه فيما بعد مضى الى اقليم اخلاط [١٠] من بلاد العجم وكانة [١١] فى يد نكتم [١٢] من ملوك العجم فقاتله [١٣] وكسره واخذ منه البلاد ومات هناك وما بعده [١٤] ولده ولما كان فى جمادى الاخر سنة خمس وستين وخمس ماية بلغ الملك الناصر صلاح الدين عن موتمن الخلافة جوهر استاذ العاضد انه خرج من القاهرة الى الحزقانيه وكانة [١٥] اقطاعه ونزل فى المنظرة التى له المظلة [١٦] على البستان * وقد عزم على انه يقيم فيها الى نصف الليل ويسرى مع العرب يمضى ٢٠٦ (ظ)
الى الفرنج يستنجد بهم ويحضرهم الى القاهرة لمحاربة الملك الناصر واخراجه [١٧] منها

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(١) ماوونة] ب : موونة . (٢) الاسعاد] ب : الاستعداد . (٣) للزلفى] ب : للزلفا .
(٤) بذالك] ب : بذلك . (٥) فى ساير] ب : فى ايام ساير . (٦) تعالى] ب : غير موجودة .
(٧) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٨) اخوه العادل] ب : اخوه الاجل العادل . (٩) الملك ومشيره]
ب : الملك الناصر ومشيره . (١٠) اخلاط] ب : خلاط . (١١) كانة] ب : كانت . (١٢) نكتم]
ب : نكتمر . (١٣) فقاتله] ب : فقابله . (١٤) وما بعده] ب : ومات بعده . (١٥) كانة]
ب : كانت . (١٦) له المظلة] ب : له فيها المظلة . (١٧) اخراجه] ب : اخرجه .

لانه لما تمكن فى المملكة [١] خاف منه الخليفه والاستاذين فجهزوا [٢] موتمن الخلافة للرواج للافرنج يجيبهم لكونه من خواص الخليفة وكان يقبل قوله ويعمل برايه لانه [٣] اكبر من فى قصره من الاستاذين فندب السلطان الطواشى قراقوش وكان ايضا خصياً وكان به خصيصاً وجرد معه ماية فارس فادرك موتمن الخـــلافة فى المنظرة فاستدعاه ينزل [٤] له فلم يفعل بل اغلق باب المنظرة عليه وامر اصحابه ان يقاتلوه فحاصره [٥] قراقوش وقاتله وقتله واخذ راسه بعد ان احرق المنظرة بالنار وعاد الى القاهرة فاجتمعوا السودان وزحفوا لقتال السلطان داخل القاهرة لما سمعوا بقتل موتمن الخلافة جوهر فنصر الله السلطان عليهم وظفره [٦] بهم فلم يقتل واحد منهم بل قال لا لوم عليهم لانهم قاتلوا عن سيدهم وخليفتهم فابقى عليهم وتقدم لهم ان لا يقيموا معه فى القاهرة ويسكنوا باى [٧] ما ارادوا من الريف والصعيد وغير ذالك [٨] من البلاد بل القاهرة لا يقيموا معه فيها [٩] فخرجوا منها الى الارياف والصعيد وتفرقوا فى جميع ديار [١٠] مصر من برج دمياط الى برج اسوان وكان نازل فى اعمال الغربية فرقان عرب كثير منهم قبيلة واحدة تسمى بنى شلش تزيد عن عشرة الف فارس نافقوا واخافوا السبيل فخرج اليهم الاجل تقى الدين بعسكره فطحنهم وسباهم واخذ نساهم واولادهم واموالهم [١١] ومواشيهم ولم يبق منهم رجل فى بيت شعر يوجد ودانت له البلاد وكثر الامن والرخص فى ايام دولته واظهر من العدل ما لم يسبقه احد اليه واخبر صفى الدوله استاذ الجهة الظافر به ابن شمس الدولة اخو صلاح الدين دخل الى القصر ليلا وطلب الخليفة فلما اعلموا الخليفة بانه يطلبه [١٢] مص الخاتم المسموم الذى يعملوه الملوك للموت عند الغلبة ليلا يقعوا فى ايدى اعدايهم [١٣] فيهينونهم ويعذبوهم فيرون الموت اخير لهم من الاهانة والعذاب فلما مصه مات

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(١) لما تمكن فى المملكة] ب : لما تمكن فى السلطان وفى المملكة . (٢) فجهزوا] ب : فحضروا . (٣) لانه] ب : لكونه . (٤) ينزل] ب : فنزل . (٥) فحاصره] ب : فحاصر . (٦) وظفره] ب : وظفروا . (٧) باى] ب : اين . (٨) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٩) لا يقيموا معه فيها] ب : لا يقيموا فيها معه . (١٠) جميع ديار] ب : جميع اقطار وديار . (١١) واولادهم واموالهم] ب : وبنيهم وبناتهم واموالهم . (١٢) بأنه يطلبه] ب : انه يطلب . (١٣) اعدايهم] ب : اعداهم .

وقال غير صفى الدولة انه اخذه حيا وساله موضع [١] كنوزه وامواله فلم يعرفه اياهم فاخذ [٢] عمامته من على راسه وخنقه بها حتى مات واخبر ايضا رجل من اهل قصره انه كان قبل ان يقتلوه قد شرب الخمر مع صلاح الدين وشمس الدولة وسمع الغنا بحضرتهم عنده فى مجلسه فلما انقضى المجلس وقام من كان عنده من اخوة السلطان خلى بسريته [٣] وطلبها على نفسها [٤] * فاجابته الى ما طلب ٢٠٧ (ج)
وكان فى وسطه سراويل ديبقى ذهب مكلل بجواهر من جانبيه ونكلته مكللة مثله بجواهر يساوى جمال [٥] مال استوهبته منه فوهبه لها فجابته لصلاح الدين يفتخر به عليه فاخذه واحضر القاضى والشهود والفقها [٦] ونظم بذالك [٧] مسطورا وسيره الى العراق وبغداد وطلب الفتيا هل يجوز للخليفة يشرب الخمر ويفسق فافتوه الفقها انه اذا ثبت ذلك عليه يخلع من الخلافة فلما وقف على الفتيا تقدم الى اخيه شمس [٨] الدولة بالركوب [٩] الى القصر ليلا والتلطف فى قتل الخليفة على ما قدمنا ذكره . وكان وفاة العاضد لدين الله وهو تمام اربعه عشر خليفة لبيت الفاطميين فى سنة سبع وستين وخمس مايه هلالية وتسلم الملك الناصر القصر وما فيه [١٠] واما التركة والاثاث فتقدم ان يحمل منها الى داره ما يصلح له ولنسايه من الملابس [١١] والجواهر والالى والمصاغ من الذهب والفضة ونحو ذالك [١٢] وان يباع ما لا حاجة له به من الكتب والاوانى ونحو ذالك [١٣] واقام امينا على بيع ذالك [١٤] القاضى الامير محمد ابن محمد ابن ذوالرياستين ابن بنان فاما النفوس فانه جعل حظايا الخليفة واولاده فى دار المظفر برجوان فى حارة جوان [١٥] بالقاهرة واقام عليهم اجناد حراس يحرسون [١٦] ابوابها ليلا ونهاراً [١٧] ولا يمكنوا من يدخل اليهم ولا يخرج منهم واطلق لهم من القوت ما يكفيهم برهة فلما

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(١) موضع] ب : مواضع . (٢) يعرفه اياهم فاخذ] ب : يعرفه فأخذ . (٣) خلى بسريته] ب : خل بها . (٤) نفسها] ب : نفسه . (٥) جمال] ب : جملة . (٦) احضر القاضى والشهود والفقها] ب : احضر قاضى القضاة والفقها والشهود . (٧) بذالك] ب : بذلك . (٨) تقدم الى اخيه شمس] ب : تقدم لشمس . (٩) الدولة بالركوب] ب : الدولة اخيه بالركوب . (١٠) وما فيه] ب : وكلما فيه . (١١) الملابس] ب : الملابيس . (١٢) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (١٣) ذالك] ب : ذلك (١٤) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (١٥) حارة جوان : اقرأ حارة نرجوان . (١٦) يحرسون] ب : يحفظون . (١٧) ليلا ونهارا] ب : ليلا نهاراً .

صاروا اهل القاهرة ومصر من شيعتهم يحملوا اليهم شى من جواهم قطع ذالك [١] عنهم واما الاهل والاقارب وكلمن انتمى اليهم من الرجال فانه جمع منهم مايتى [٢] رجل واكثر [٣] وجعلهم فى مجلس المنافقين فى الايوان [٤] بالقصر وجعل فى ارجلهم قيود حديد يمنعهم من التصرف ووكل بهم من الرجال من يحفظهم واطلق لهم من القوت ما يكفيهم فلما صاروا [٥] القاهريين والمصريين يدخلون لهم بالصدقات قطع ذلك عنهم [٦] فصاروا يعيشوا من الصدقات فسبحان الله العظيم يعز من يشآ ويذل من يشآ ومات كثير منهم فى قيوده على ما هو عليه ودفنوه به فسبحان الحى الذى لا يموت يضع من يشآ ويرفع من يشآ واما جوار الخدمة وعبيد الخدمة فباعهم مع بقية التركة ∴ وهذه نسخة كتاب كتبه القاضى الفاضل ابن البيسانى واسمه عبد الرحيم ابن على الى امرا دولة الغز فى ذالك الزمان بوفاة الامام العاضد وهو اخر خلفا الدولة الفاطميين بديار مصر وهو تمام اربعة عشر خليفة وفى ايامه زال ملكهم وملك صلاح الدين يوسف ابن نجم الدين ايوب الثانى من ملوك دولة الاتراك ∴ كتابنا هذا وارد عليك ايها الامير الفلانى عندما كان من نزول قضا الله السابق وقدره الذى انبا عنه الخبر الصادق فيمن كان منتصباً بالقصر وموسوماً بالامر [٧] وذالك [٨] لمرض [٩]
٢٠٧ (ظ) اقتربت فيه ايامه واشتدت فيه الامه * الى ان انقضت معه عزاه وانحلت معه قواه واتاه من امر الله ما اتاه وتلك سبيل عليها درج الاول والاخر وقضية استوى فيها الضعيف والقادر واوجبنا له من حفظ الذمام ورفع المقام والوفا على اختلاف احكام الايام ان حضرنا الى ابوابه ونقلنا انتقاله من اسرار الامر الى اعلانه ليعلم ان الله قد استاثر بوفاته واثرنا بحسن العهد بموافاته وبلغنا الغاية فى الاجمال فى امره والتوديع له الى قبره وطابت [١٠] نفوس مخلفيه بقرارهم فى قصره وانكفينا الى مستقرنا والدهما ساكنه والدنيا بنظرنا امنه وقلوب الاوليآ موتلفة والنية عن العراه غير منحرفة ويجب على الامير ان يوعز الى الخاطب

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(١) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٢) منهم مايتى] ب : منهم نحومايتى . (٣) واكثر] ب : اواكثر .
(٤) المنافقين فى الايوان] ب : المنافقين الذى فى الايوان . (٥) صاروا] ب : صار . (٦) ذلك عنهم] ب : ذلك ايضاً عنهم . (٧) وموسوماً بالامر] ب : وموسوماً فيه بالامر . (٨) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٩) لمرض] ب : المرض . (١٠) طابت] ب : طابة .

فى يوم الجمعة بالدعا لمن الكلمة فى الاقطار له مسموعة والافاق على خلافته مجموعة الامام ابو[١] محمد بنور الله امير المومنين مصرحا باسمه ولقبه ومثبتا بما اطبق عليه المسلمين من منصبه وتوالى ذالك[٢] فى كل جمعة وجماعة ومن تعرض بيده او لسانه فى امر الذاهب امس او القايم اليوم بما يحيف به حلفا وبما يصدر عن هوآ يشبهه حقاً فليامر الامير باذنه وليدم اليه نوسه واولى ما الزم الناس العافيه فانها اسبغ عطآ واسبل غطآ وفى تقلب الاحوال عبرة لمن كان له قلب يسمع وهو شهيد فليعلم الامير ذالك[٣] ويعمل به انشآ الله[٤] تعالى وكتب فى العشر الاول من المحرم سنة سبع وستين وخمساية[٥] للهجره وهذه السنة نهاية دولتهم وهى تمام مايتى سنه وسنه واحده وملكوا قبل هذه السنة بالمغرب منهم ثلثة المهدى والقايم والمنصور اربعة وسبعين سنة فجميع دولتهم لاربعة عشر خليفة مايتى وخمسة وسبعين سنة وقد نقش المعز تاريخ اول ملكهم فى بلاطه وبناها فى قنطرة باب القنطرة اسفل فمن اراد قراتها فيقرآ هناك والسلام[٦] :.

ولما كان فى شهر ربيع الاخر سنة ثلاثة[٧] وسبعين وخمس ماية خرج امر الملك الناصر صلاح الدين بابطال جميع المكوس من الديار[٨] المصرية صعيدها وبحريها شرقيها وغربيها وبرها وبحرها عن كلمن فيها من المسلمين والنصارى[٩] والغنى والفقير والقوى والضعيف والامير والمامور وامر ان يستادى الزكاة على الوجه الشرعى المامور به من الله عز وجل فصاروا الاجناد المقطعين يقووا على سكان بلادهم وياخذوا منهم المكوس فبلغ ذالك[١٠] الملك الناصر صلاح الدين وهو بالشام فى الغزاه وكان اخوه الملك العادل ابو بكر نايبا عنه فكتب له كتابا بخطه هذه[١١] نسخته المجلس العالى الملكى العادلى اعز الله نصره يعلم انه لم يقطع احد من المقطعين ناحيـــة من النواحى انه يستادى فيها * مكساً ولا يستبيح ٢٠٨ (ج)
للرعية مالا ولا يضيق فيها على مستور مشاعا[١٢] فليكشف جميع بلاد المقطعين

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(١) ابو] ب : ابا . (٢) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٣) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٤) انشآ الله ب : ان شاء الله . (٥) خمسايه] ب : خمس مايه . (٦) هناك والسلام] ب : هناك ليعلم ذلك والسلام . (٧) ثلاثة] ب : ثلثة . (٨) من الديار] ب : من جميع الديار . (٩) النصارى] ب : والدمه . (١٠) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (١١) بخطه هذه] ب : بخطه تقول فيه ما هذه . (١٢) مشاعاً] ب : معاشاً .

ويحظ عنها جميع المظالم والمكوس فانها [١] غير داخلة فى اقطاع المقطعين ومن رضى باقطاعه بعد وضع مكوسها والا فليرتجع عنه ان شا الله تعالى ∴ وفى المحرم سنة ثمان وسبعين وخمساية [٢] جمع صلاح الدين العسكر ومضى الى دمشق بعد موت نور الدين محمد [٣] ابن قسيم الدولة ففتحها وتسلمها بالامان وملكها وجميع قراها واعمالها وتوجه الى حلب حاصرها فلم يقدر ياخذها فى تلك الايام ففتح حمص وبعلبك ثم عدى نهر الفرات [٤] ففتح سنجار ومنبيج وحران ونصيبين ومدن كثير فى ارض الموصل ونزل على مدينة الموصل وحاصرها واقام عليها خمسة شهور ثم تركها ومضى الى امد وميافارقين وفتحها ودفعها لرسلان ابن قليج [٥] وعاد منها عدى الفراة رجع الى حلب فنزل عليها وحاصرها فقتل عليها تاج الملوك اخوه ووقع الصالح بينه وبين صاحب حلب فدفع له المدن الذى يفتحها فى ارض الموصل سنجار وحران ومنبيج ونصيبين واعمالهم كلها وسلم حلب للسلطان فتسلمها ولم يفرح بها منجل [٦] موت اخوه تاج الملوك عليها ودخل قلعتها [٧] ليلا وملكها واعمالها وجميع قراها فى سنة تسع وسبعين وخمس ماية ولما فتح حلب عاد الى دمشق فاستراح مدة يسيرة وخرج للغزاة [٨] ونزل على الكرك وحاصره مده فلم يقدر عليه فعاد الى دمشق واقام بها ثم عاد الى الكرك فى سنة ثمانين وخمس ماية وحاصره مدة ايضا فلم يقدر عليه فرجع الى دمشق وفى رجوعه على [٩] نابلس فهدمها [١٠] واخذ منها مال وسبى ثم عاد الى مصر فى احدى [١١] وثمانين وخمس ماية هلالية وعمل مع الرعية بديار مصر الخير ما يعجز الواصف عن وصفه واعدل عليهم واحسن اليهم وازال مظالم كثيرة وامر بابطال ضمان الملاهى فى جميع ديار مصر وانكر كل منكر واقام الحدود الشرعية وكان يجلس للعدل يومين فى كل جمعة وهما يوم الاثنين ويوم الخميس وصدور [١٢] الدين قاضى القضاه جالس بين يديه ويدخل الى داره ويحضر بين

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(١) فانها] ب : منها . (٢) خمساية] ب : خمس ماية . (٣) محمد] ب : محمود . (٤) الفرات] ب : الفراة . (٥) لرسلان ابن قليج] ب : لابن قليج رسلان . (٦) منجل] ب : من اجل . (٧) ودخل قلعتها] ب : ودخل الى قلعتها . (٨) للغزاة] ب : الغزاة . (٩) رجوعه على] ب : رجوعه نزل على . (١٠) فهدمها] ب : وهدمها . (١١) فى احدى] ب : فى سنة احدى . (١٢) صدور] ب : صدر .

يديه جميع الناس فينصف المظلوم من الظالم ويكون فى مجلسه جماعة من الفقها
واكابر دولته للنظر فى الحكومات بين الناس والعمل بما توجبه احكام الشريعه
الحق والعدل ولما اقام بمصر سنة كاملة عاد الى دمشق فى سنة اثنين وثمانين
وخمس ماية واقام بها ايضا سنة كاملة وجمع العسكر وخرج من دمشق فى سنة
ثلاثة [١] وثمانين وخمس ماية هلالية يريد الغزو * والنزول على الكرك وقد كانوا ٢٠٨ (ظ)
الافرنج فى تلك السنة ملكوا عليها رجل غريب جآ من خلف البحر وكان قد
تزوج بالكندوسه ابنة الملك مرّى فسلمت له الملك لان الملك كان لها بعد ابوها
فدفعته لزوجها فلم يوافق ذالك [٢] قومص طرابلس وحمله الغيض [٣] والشيطان
الى ان راسل صلاح الدين وصادقه ووافقه على الفرنج [٤] وحلف له انه لا يحاربه
ولا يضرب فى وجهه بسيف وكانة [٥] طبرية للقومص فارسل لصلاح الدين
يقول له انزل على طبريه هى لى [٦] وانا ادفعها لك تقوى بها وتضعف قلوب
الافرنج فجا السلطان ونزل قريب من طبرية فسلمها له القومص فلما سمع
ملك الافرنج الذى ملكوه بعد مرى وكان اسمه الكندجفرى حشد عوام
البلاد مع عسكر الساحل وجا اليه فى عسكر كبير فسبقه صلاح الدين الى الما [٧]
ونزل عليه فساق سوق كثير يطلب بسبق صلاح الدين الى الما [٨] فوجده قد
سبقه ونزل عليه [٩] فطلع [١٠] هو ومن معه من الفرسان الى كوم عالى هناك يسمى
كوم حيطين فنزلوا عليه وهم قد هلكوا من العطش حتى صاروا يشربوا
الخمر عوضا من الماء والتقوا مع السلطان وقتل بينهم خلق كثير واكسروا
عسكر المسلمين اول النهار ثم قوى صلاح الدين اخر النهار واما قومص طرابلس
الردى المنافق الذى باع قومه كما باع يودس ربه فكان يتبعه اربع مايت [١١] فارس
فحمل بها كانه يقاتل فاوسعوا له المسلمين الطريق فجاز بهم فى وسط عسكر
المسلمين وتم على حاله لم يرجع يرد وجهه وسار على فوره منهزما الى صور
فدخلها واستقر بها فلما علموا الفرنج ذالك [١٢] ظنوا انه انكسر الى ان انكشف

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(١) ثلاثة] ب : ثلث . (٢) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٣) الغيض] ب : الغيظ . (٤) الفرنج]
ب : الافرنج . (٥) كانة] ب : كانت . (٦) هى لى] ب : وهى لى . (٧) و(٨) الما]
ب : المآء . (٩) قد سبقه ونزل عليه] ب : قد نزل عليه وسبقه اليه . (١٠) فطلع] ب : وطلع .
(١١) مايت] ب : ماية . (١٢) فلما علموا الفرنج ذالك] ب : فاعلموا الفرنج ذلك .

لهم خبثه وفساد نيته فلم يزالوا يقاتلوا حتى نصر الله صلاح الدين عليهم فكسرهم واسر من اسر وقتل من قتل وقد تهلك اهل الخير لما يعلمه الله فى ذالك [١] من صلاحهم ولما ظفر بهم صلاح الدين وحل فى جملتهم الا برنس ارناط صاحب الكرك فاحضره بين يديه وخاطبه بكلام غليظ ومسكوه له الاعوان وقربوه منه فذبحه بيده وغسل يديه بدمه ثم ظفر بالكندجفرى ملك الافرنج بالشكل الذى قدمنا ذكره واحضروه [٢] بين يديه وكان حاضر ذبح الابرنس ارناط الكرك [٣] فلما راه متخبط يخور فى دمه خاف واصفر لونه فقال له صلاح الدين لا تخاف يا ملك فما تموت اليوم بل تحيا ولو بقى لقومك بقية كنت املكك عليهم واساعدك بمالى ورجالى طول ايام حياتك وانا احدثك حديث الابرنس وسبب ما فعلته به وذالك [٤] ان طريق * التجار واكثر المسافرين [٥] على الكرك فكان يمسك القوافل بظلم [٦] وعنف وكان نور الدين وغيره من ملوك المسلمين يرغبون فى الصلح معه ليخفف ضرره عن المسلمين فدفعة يفعل والف دفعة لا يفعل فلما كان فى ايامى ارسلت اليه وهاديته وحملت اليه مال ومتاع وخلع وحلف [٧] لرسولى انه لا ياذى احد من المسلمين ويحسن للتجار ويطيب لهم الطريق ولا يمكن احدا من اصحابه من مضرة مسلم ولا تاجر ولا عابر طريق [٨] وبعد ان حلف بثلث [٩] ايام عبرت قافلة طالبة دمشق فساقها بجمالها ورجالها واموالها طالع بها الكرك فاسر رجالها واخذ اموالها فبلغنى خبرها فعظم ذالك [١٠] عندى وانذرت لله انى متى ظفرة [١١] به فعلت به ما رايت فلا تلومنى يا ملك ثم استدعا [١٢] قدح شراب فجا به اليه الشربدار فاخذه من يده شرب منه وناوله للملك [١٣] فشربه واخلى له ولاصحابه نوبة خيم ووكل به من الرجال من يحفظه ولم يزل عنده حتى سلم له عسقلان [١٤] لانها كانت له وبعد ان تسلمها اخلع عليه واوهبه واطلقه

٢٠٩ (ج)

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(١) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٢) احضروه] ب : احضره . (٣) ارناط الكرك] ب : ارناط صاحب الكرك . (٤) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٥) طريق التجار واكثر المسافرين] ب : طريق اكثر التجار والمسافرين . (٦) القوافل بظلم] ب : القوافل ويمسكهم بظلم . (٧) وحلف] ب : فحلف . (٨) عابر طريق] ب : عابر (طريق غير موجودة) . (٩) بثلث] ب : بثلثة . (١٠) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (١١) متى ظفرة] ب : متى ما ظفرت . (١٢) يا ملك ثم استدعا] ب : يا ملك والوقت استدعى . (١٣) للملك] ب : الملك . (١٤) له عسقلان] ب : له مدينة عسقلان .

فسار الى جزيرة قبرص فملكها [١] ولم يزل فيها الى ان مات ولما كسر السلطان عسكر الافرنج [٢] وابتدى فى فتح مدن الساحل كتب لولده الملك العزيز الذى سلطنه على ديار مصر واقره فيها كتابا يعرفه فيه قضية الحـــال وكيف كانة فكتب الملك العزيز الى ولات [٣] الحروب كتبا يعرفهم بذالك [٤] وهذه نسخة كتاب منهم ورد على والى تنيس بفتح عكا وطبرية ويصف فيه هذه القضية وهذه نسخة الكتاب :. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذى اذهب عننا [٥] الحزن ان ربنا لغفور شكور كتابنا هذا وارد على الامير الاجل الاسفهسلار الاخص حسام الدين سيف المجاهدين عمدة الملوك والسلاطين خاصة امير المومنين ادام الله رفعته وحرس بهجته وكتب حدثه ناطقاً بما جا من نصر الله العزيز وفتحه المبين وما انتج من الظفر الذى عفا اثار المشركين وشفا صدور المومنين واستنطق بشكر الله من [٦] سبح بحمد ربه واستغفره وعظمه فذكره ووسع ذكر طوله ويسره واوضح الى الله عز وجل اطلع على النية السلطانية فى نصره دينه [٧] فنصره وعرف صدق عزمه فى قصد عدوه فاقدره وعضده واظفره وايده بجنوده على من جحد تفرده بالوحدانيه وكفره وامات بسيفه سلطان الشرك فاقبره ومقرب عن ورود الكتاب السلطانى فى يوم الاثنين الرابع من جمادى الاول مورخا بيوم * الجمعة منتهله [٨] مقصوراً على البشرى بما فتح ٢٠٩ (ظ) الله على يديه وذكر النصرة الرادة لعدو الله على عقيبه وان من جملت ما انعم الله به فى يوم الخميس الثالث والعشرون [٩] من ربيع الاخر الى يوم الخميس سلخه ما يوضح فى تاريخه [١٠] يوم الخميس الاول فتحت طبرية ويوم الجمعة والسبت توزلت جموع الافرنجية وكسروا الكسرة التى تركت البلاد منهم على عروشها خاوية والمعاقل المنتزعة من ايديهم باعلا اعلام الاسلام عليها حاله وجمعت من [١١] طواغيث الكفر وبين امهم الهاويه واذاقتهم النار الحامية وفى يوم الاحد تسلمت طبرية وقتل الابرنس ارناط باليد العالية السلطانية وحصل الملك اسيرا

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(١) فلكها] ب : وملكها . (٢) الافرنج] ب : الفرنج . (٣) ولات] ب : ولاة . (٤) بذالك] ب : بذلك . (٥) عننا] ب : عنا . (٦) الله من] ب : الله لسان من . (٧) فى نصره دينه] ب : فى نصره فى دينه . (٨) منتهله] ب : مستهلة . (٩) العشرون] ب : العشرين . (١٠) تاريخه] ب : تواريخه . (١١) جمعت من طواغيث] ب : جمعت بين طواغيث .

واخوه ومقدم الديويه والهنفرى ابن الهنفرى صاحب الكرك وصاحب عتيل وصاحب تل الصافيه وفى يوم الاثنين قتل من فرسان الديويه والاستبار على باب السرادق السلطانى ما عديه مايتا فارس وفى يوم الثلثا انتقل الركاب السلطانى الى مدينة عكا لينازلها وفى يوم الاربع [١] وصلها وفيه جرد العرم الذى [٢] حصلها وفى يوم الخميس فتحت صلحا ورفع العلم المنصور على قلعتها المحروسة صبحاً واستقر الاسلام فيها بوطنه وعاد الى سكنه ورجع جوهره فيها الى معدنه وفى يوم الجمعة مستهل جمادى الاول قيمت خطبة الاسلام فى مسجدها بشعارة وقام الموذن مكان النواقيس معلنا بكلمة التوحيد التى كان قايلها معقول اللسان [٣] وفى تضاعف هذه المدة فتحت الناصره وصفوريا وحيفا والغولة ومعليا والطور والتمست اسكندريه [٤] ونابلس بالامان وسنين خلت من حرب الشيطان وتضمن [٥] الكتاب الكريم ان عدة القتلا استوعبت عدة من حضر المصاف من الفرنج الا القومص فانه نجا نجات من جز الحبل عنقه فضغطه الرعب وخنقه ولجا الى صور فى عدد يسير واستقر بها استقرار الاسير [٦] واشير فى الكتاب المذكور ان عدة من قتل واسر يزيد عن عشرين الفا ادمى وهذه والله المحمود نوبة ما يعرف عارف فى الاسلام مثلها ولا يشهد تاريخ بما يشبه فعلها ولا يشبهها قبلها ومن فضايل هذا الفتح وبشاير هذا المنح تيسره ولم يعدم من المسلمين سوى نفر دون العشره وجراح [٧] من جرح والله المشكور سليمه والنعمة عظيمة ووجوه ولاة الامر بما يسره الله لهم من النصرة [٨] اصبحت وهى كريمة

٢١٠ (ج) وقد استخرنا الله وصممنا عزمنا على * المضى الى المخيمر [٩] المنصور السلطانى سلمه الله تعالى بعكا حرسها الله تعالى اعلمنا الامير ذالك [١٠] لياخذ حظه من هذه البشرى التى عمت فضايلها الاسلام والنعمة التى شملت الخاص والعام ان شا الله تعالى ولما كان بعد كسرة عسكر الافرنج وفتح البلاد المقدم ذكرها نزل [١١]

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(١) الاربع] ب : الاربعا . (٢) الذى] ب : التى . (٣) اللسان] ب : اللسان بسراره .
(٤) اسكندريه] ب : اسكندرونة . (٥) تضمن] ب : يضمن . (٦) الاسير] ب : اليسير .
(٧) وجراح] ب : واحرج . (٨) النصرة] ب : النصر . (٩) المخيمر] ب : المخيم . (١٠) ذالك]
ب : ذلك . (١١) المقدم ذكرها نزل] ب : القدم ذكرها فى الكتاب السلطانى المقدم ذكره
نزل .

الملك العادل (ابوا[١] بكر) على يافا وقاتل من فيها يومين وفى اليوم الثالث طلبوا منه الامان فامنهم ثم بعد ذالك[٢] قتل من ظفر به منهم واسر من اراد وكان فتحها يوم الثلثا الثالث من جمادى الاخرسنة ثلث[٣] وثمانين وخمساية[٤] الهلالية ✠ قصة بادويل الملك فاخبرنا[٥] من تقدم من السلف ان البيت المقدس كان فى يد نفر من المسلمين يسمون الزدلفية من ملوك الترك ثم ملك[٦] بعدهم قوم منهم يسمون الباروقية ومنهم ملكه بادويل ملك الفرنج وسبب ذالك[٧] ان الله لما شا ان ينقله منهم الى غيرهم جعل فى قلوب ملوكهم ان رغبهم فيما يحصل لهم من مكس من يحج اليه من جميع الافرنج فحج[٨] بادويل واخفا نفسه وغير زيه ولم يعلم به احد ووصل الى يافا ستة[٩] بطس فى كل بطسة الف رجل وكانوا البرطيقية ياخذوا المكس ممن يحج الى البيت المقدس من الفرنج وغيرهم فكتب والى يافا الى صاحب البيت المقدس يعلمه ان قد وصل الى يافا ستة الف رجل يريدوا الحج[١٠] فكتب اليه الجواب يقول له اقسمهم نصفين سير منهم ثلاثة[١١] الف فاذا حجوا وعادوا اطلق النصف الثانى يحجوا ففعل والى يافا كما امره واقسمهم وسار بادويل مع من سار الى القدس مخفيا فدخل اليه[١٢] وكشفه وطاف المدينه وكشف الصور[١٣] واماكن القتال وسير رسول ثانى يوم دخوله القدس الى من بقى فى يافا يقول لهم ضعوا بالسيف[١٤] فى اهل يافا اذا عيدنا يوم الاحد فان صبحية[١٥] يوم الاثنين اضع السيف فى بيت المقدس واقتل كلمن فيها من الاجناد وغيرهم من المسلمين فاذا فعلتم ذالك[١٦] تقووا باموال اهل يافا وخيلهم والحقونى وخلوا فى المراكب من يحفظها فى كل مركب عشرين رجل[١٧] فلما فعلوا ذالك[١٨] فتحوا البيت المقدس ويافا

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(١) ابوا] ب : ابو. (٢) ذالك] ب : ذلك. (٣) ثلث] ب : ثلاثة. (٤) خمساية] ب : خمس ماية. (٥) فأخبرنا] ب : واخبرنا. (٦) ملك] ب : ملكه. (٧) ذالك] ب : ذلك. (٨) الافرنج فحج] ب : الافرنج وغيرهم فحج. (٩) يافا ستة] ب : يافا فى سنة. (١٠) الحج فكتب] ب : يحجوا الى البيت المقدس فكتب. (١١) ثلاثة] ب : ثلثة. (١٢) وسار بلا ويل مع من سار الى القدس فدخل] ب : وسار بلا ويل مختفياً مع الذين ساروا الى بيت المقدس مع الذين ساروا اليه فدخل. (١٣) إقرأ : السور. (١٤) بالسف] ب : السيف. (١٥) صبحية] ب : صبحة. (١٦) ذالك] ب : ذلك. (١٧) يحفظها فى كل مركب عشرين رجل] ب : يحفظها عشرين رجل فى كل مركب. (١٨) ذالك] ب : ذلك.

فى يوم واحد وهو يوم الثلثا ثم فتحوها المسلمين منهم فى يوم الثلثا كما عملوا كذالك [١] عمل بهم فسبحان الله المكافى كل احد باعماله ولما كان بعد فتح عكا بايام يسيرة خرج الملك الناصر منها يوم الخميس الثالث عشر من جمادى الاخر من السنة المذكورة نزل على عسقلان يوم الاحد سادس عشرة [٢] بعد* ان صلى بالمسلمين يوم الجمعة فى يافا واحاط العسكر بمدينة عسقلان وكان الكندجعفرى الملك اسير معه فاحضره وقال له تسلم لى عسقلان بلا قتال والا ستقتل على بابها وانا بعد شنقك اخذها بالسيف فخاف الملك من الموت وكانة [٣] عسقلان له واجناده فيها فلما طلبها السلطان منه وخاف على نفسه من الموت لم يكن حيله [٤] الا تسليمها فانفد لاصحابه وقال لهم لا تقاتلوا وسلموها لهم [٥] بالامان فهو اصلح لكم بعد ان قاتلوا ثلاثة [٦] ايام ولم يقدروا عليهم [٧] المسلمين فسلموها اصحاب الملك بالامان يوم السبت التاسع والعشرون [٨] من جمادى الاخر من سنة تاريخه وفى ذالك [٩] اليوم بعينه كسفت الشمس نصف النهار ولما فتحها السلطان كتب الكتب بذالك [١٠] الى ولاة الاعمال المصرية وهذه نسخة الكتاب الى الامير ناصر الدين ابن [١١] بهرام والى الاعمال الغربية ∴ نسخة الكتاب بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ربى اودعنى ان اشكر نعمتك الذى انعمت بها علىّ وعلى والدى وان اعمل صالحا ترضاه كتابنا هذا صادر الى الامير المفضل الامين نصر الدين وعمدة [١٢] المجاهدين عز الخواص مملوك امير المومنين اطال الله بقاه وقد منّ الله علينا وفتح على يدينا مدينة عسقلان التى هى افضل عروستى الدنيا وانقذاها من يد الكفر نرجوا بمشية الله النور فى الدار الاخرى وقد نصبت اعلام المسلمين على ابراجها واسوارها وعمرة [١٣] بموحديها ونبت بمشركيها وكفارها وكثر الموذنون فى اقطارها وارجايها وزالت سمت [١٤] الصلبان من جهاتها وانحايها واعلن الخطيب

٢١٠ (ظ)

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(١) كذالك] ب : كذلك . (٢) عشرة] ب : عشر . (٣) وكانة] ب : وكانت (٤) يكن حيله] ب : يكن له حيله . (٥) لهم] ب : غير موجودة . (٦) ثلاثة] ب : ثلثة . (٧) عليهم] ب : عليها . (٨) العشرون] ب : العشرين . (٩) من سنة تاريخه وفى ذالك] ب : من سنة ثلاث وثمانين وخمس مايه هلالية و فى ذلك . (١٠) بذالك] ب : بذلك . (١١) ابن] ب : بن (١٢) وعمدة] ب : عمدة . (١٣) وعمرة] ب : وعمرى ، إقرأ : و عمّرت . (١٤) سمت] ب : سمة .

بلا اله الا الله على منبرها [١] ومن قصص الفتح انها لما واجهتها جيوش الاسلام الناصرية وانصار المومنين [٢] التوحيد الصلاحية واحاط بكفارها سخط الله وحقوا ان ينجز لهم وعده وان يتمكن منهم اوليآ الله وجنده لجا المشركين الى الفرار واخذوا فى الانحصار فى الجدار فنصبنا عليهم الات القتال واذقناهم من طعم الطعن شديد الوبال واخذنا بقوة فى باشورتها الكبيرى [٣] فهدمناها ولما لحناها مع شدة باسها فحوناها وصلت منجيقاتنا فى قبلة اسوارها فما زالت سهامها [٤] تركع وحجارتها تسجد ونجومها برجومها لشياطين الكفر تقذف وتطرد حتى هدمنا باشورة صغرى تحت سورها ودمرناها واخربنا ابراج السور وابدانه ودمرناها واستبحنا المعقل وان كان منيعا حصنه * رفيعا تله جديدا ٢١١ (ج) حده وطال ما اعجز الايام والانام فسّله فلما خشوا [٥] باسنا جنحوا للسلم فعملنا بظاهر الاية فى الجنوح لها وتطارحوا مبالغين فى المسلم [٦] فى الامان فراينا تقبلها فامناهم ثقة انهم انما يسلمون من الحمام [٧] وانهم يستاصلون بمشية الله بسيوف الاسلام [٨] واشفاقاً من معرة الجيش على من فيها من كتايب المسلمين وصيانة الذمة عن نهب تخريب الناهبين وحملت الامر ان النزول عليها كان يوم الاحد سادس عشر جمادى الاخر نصبت الالات يوم الثلثآ ثامن عشر ووقع نقوب الباشورة الكبرى يوم الاربع تاسع عشر وتسلمت المدينة ونصبت اعلام الاسلام عليها يوم السبت التاسع والعشرين منه هذا من فضل ربى ليبلونى ااشكر ام اكفر ومن شكر فانما يشكر لنفسه ومن كفر فان ربى لغنى كريم اعلمنا الامير المفضل ناصر الدين ذالك [٩] لياخذ حظه من المسار ويشارك من هو قبله من المسلمين بحسن المنار والاسلام [١٠] واقام السلطان نازل على عسقلان بعد فتحها حتى دبر حالها وسلمها لعلم الدين قيصر من مماليكه الخاص الكبار ولاية واقطاع ورحل منها وتوجه منها الى البيت المقدس فى يوم الاربعا الحادى عشر من

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(١) منبرها ومن قصص] ب : منبرها واسمه فتح حاضر يوسعها ماضى فتح عمرها ومن قصص .
(٢) المؤمنين] ب : غير موجودة (٣) الكبيرى] ب : الكبرى . (٤) سهامها] ب : غير موجودة . (٥) خشوا] ب : اخشوا . (٦) المسلم] ب : المسله . (٧) من الحمام وانهم] ب : من الحمام الى الحمام وانهم . (٨) بسيوف الاسلام] ب : بسيوف اهل الاسلام .
(٩) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (١٠) والاسلام] ب : والسلام .

رجب من السنة المقدم ذكرها ونزل على البيت المقدس يوم الخميس من ناحيت * عين سلوان ليجد العسكر الماء قريبا منه ورتب العسكر مستديرا على المدينة من جميع جهاتها وصلى المسلمين على الجبل الذى حولها يوم الجمعة وزحفوا للقتال بعد الصلاة وكان باليان ابن بارزان فارس كبير محتشم من فرسان الافرنج يسكن فى مدينة بيت المقدس واقطاعه مدينة الرملة كان دخل مدينة القدس فى ذالك [١] اليوم وهو الذى كان يدير الحرب ومسك القتال مع السلطان قتال جيد والسلطان يرسل اليه ان يسلم البلد بالامان فلم يفعل وكان رجل [٢] نصرانى من الملكيه يسمى يوسف البطيط من اهل القدس كان وانتقل الى دمشق وسكن فيها وعرف صلاح الدين واخوته قبل ان يكون سلطان وقبل هذه الامور وعرف ابوه وعمه اسد الدين شيركوه وهم بدمشق فى خدمة نور الدين محمود ابن زنكى قبل ان يملكوا مصر فلما ملك السلطان ديار مصر جا اليهم يخفظوه فاخذه [٣] الملك العادل ابوا بكر اخو صلاح الدين الى عنده وانعم عليه واسكنه فى [٤] قصر الخليفة فى قاعت [٥] باب الذهب فى القصر الشرقى بالقاهرة وكان
٢١١ (ظ) صلاح الدين يترسل به الى ملوك الافرنج [٦] قبل هذه * الامور فصار يدرى احوال بلادهم ويعرف كبار فرسانهم فلما راى السلطان الحرب شديد ولم يقدر على المدينة المقدسة احضر يوسف البطيط واتفق معه ان انفذ الى النصاره [٧] الملكية يوعدهم بكل خير ويفتدهم عن مساعدة الافرنج فى القتال وان يسلموا المدينة لصلاح الدين من ناحيتهم وقرر عليهم مال كثير فلما اتصل الخبر بباليان ابن بارزان وكانوا الملكية فى المدينة اكثر من الفرنج خاف يسلموها فيهلكوا [٨] الافرنج جميعهم بالسيف اذعن الى الصالح وقرر القطيعة على جميع من فى المدينة من الفرنج وغيرهم وذالك [٩] غيظ على الملكية لانه لولم يسبقهم يقرر [١٠] القطيعة كانوا قد سلموها واهلكوا الفرنج [١١] جميعهم الذين فيها والقطيعة الذى قررها مع السلطان عشرة دنانير من كل رجل وخمسة دنانير من كل امرا آه [١٢]

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(١) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٢) رجل] ب : رجلا . (٣) فاخذه] ب : واخذه . (٤) واسكنه فى] ب : واسكنه معه فى . (٥) قاعت] ب : قاعة . (٦) الافرنج] ب : الفرنج . (٧) النصاره] ب : النصارى . (٨) فيهلكوا] ب : ويهلكوا . (٩) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (١٠) يقرر] ب : وقرر . (١١) الفرنج] ب : الافرنج . (١٢) امرا آه] ب : امراه .

ودينار واحد من كل صبي او صبية لم يبلغ الحكم ولما تسلمها السلطان كتب الى ولاة الديار المصرية يعرفهم بذالك وكتب الى الامير [١] نصر الدين خضر ابن بهرام والى الاعمال الغربية وقد كان المذكور ولى هذه الاعمال فى شوال سنة احدى وثمانين وخمس ماية وهو مستمر فيها الى يوم تسطير هذه السيرة فى شوال سنة ثلث [٢] وستماية الهلالية ثلثة وعشرين سنة وهو مستمر وكان رجلا جيدا [٣] عادل دين كثير الصدقات مكفوف اليد عن اموال رعيته وهذه نسخة كتاب السلطان اليه بفتوح البيت المقدس ∴ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم كتابنا الى الامير الاجل الاسفهسلار الكبير نصير الدين فخر الاسلام عمدة المجاهدين خاصة امير المومنين ادام نعمته واعلا رتبته واجزل من الخيرات موهبته وارهف عزمته وقد طلعت على اسوار البيت المقدس حرسه الله اعلامنا ونفذة [٤] فيه احكامنا وذهب ايام العدو الكافر واستقبلته ايامنا وثبت بتاييد الله واقدامها واقدامنا وكان [٥] مدة المنازلة له ثلثة عشر يوما وايام المقاتلة سبعة ايام جسوما رمى بالمناجيق حتى خربت الاسوار وحطمتها وحدرت الجدران وهدمتها واقامت كلمة التوحيد وقومتها واظهرت شعاير الدين الحنيفى وعظمتها وكيف يبقا يعوى [٦] الحجر الصغير على مصادمت [٧] الجبل الكبير بل كيف يدوم مع الحق الضلالة [٨] ويقاتل بدوات الحجال عزايم ابطال الرجال وما زالت الكفار فى شقا وبلا وخذلان * وعنا منذ يوم المنازلة الى يوم التسليم لا يخلوا يوم من ٢١٢ (ج)
اسارى وجرحآ بل قتلا وصرعا فنظروا واذا حميت حماتهم قد خمدت وعزايم كماتهم قد همدت وطرف بلدهم قد فض وجناح باشورتهم قد خص وطور قلعتهم قد ذل وثقل الابراج بكفات المناجنيق واصابع سهامها قد فلّ وان لا مخلص لهم من براثين الاسد وان الضلال قد اخفاه الحق ودفعه الرشد وان مدة [٩] ولايتهم قد تصرمت وجرت على مرادها الاقدار وكان البلدان يدخل عليهم فيه من جميع الاقطار وانهم اسارى فى قيدى الجوع والحصار وتوهموا بل تيقنوا

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(١) المصرية يعرفهم بذالك وكتب الى الامير] ب : المصرية كتب يعرفهم بذلك وهذه نسخة كتابة الامير . (٢) ثلث] ب : ثلاث . (٣) جيداً] ب : جيد . (٤) نفذة] ب : نفذت . (٥) وكان] ب : وكانت . (٦) يعوى] ب : غير موجودة اقرأ يقوى . (٧) مصادمت] ب : مصادمة . (٨) الضلالة] ب : والضلال . (٩) مدة] ب : مدت .

ان البلد سيلقيهم [١] الى اوليا الله فيمضوا فيهم حكمى السيف والنار وان المسجد الاقصى قد لبس حلتى الفرح والاستبشار واخلع الذل [٢] والصغار هذا وامداد الاسلام متوافيه والعدد وافيه ونعم الله على وجوه احوال المسلمين ظاهرة غير خافية والخيرات بالعسكر المنصورة وافرة كافية ولما كان يوم الخميس سادس يوم المقاتلة وهو السادس والعشرين من شهر رجب جا لهم الموت من كل مكان وادركهم الصغار والخذلان وزحف المومنون وتقدم الموحدون وتعلقوا بشرافات الاسوار وعليهم الزحف الموصون وبايديهم كووس الحتف والمنون الا ان الجبال سايرة والبحار مايرة ورحى الموت على نفوسهم دايرة فعندها لاذوا بالامان وعادوا بالخذلان وارسلوا واردهم وبعثوا رايدهم يسال فى تقرير القطيعة ويقرع فى قبول ما قبلته انفسهم الابية مذعنة مطيعة وما سمحت به من ذخاير كانة [٣] على ايام [٤] ممتنعة منيعة واختاروا حكم الميزان القايم سلاقهم [٥] خوفا من حكم السيف وعذابه فيهم وتقررت امور قرت بها عينى النبى صلوات الله عليه فى ضريحه ونطق به لسان الراى الصحيح مع صريحه مستحقاً الخاشر [٦] هذا وقربا لمربحه وهو عشرة دنانير على الرجل وخمسة على الامراآه [٧] ودينار واحد على الصبى الذى لم يبلغ الحكم والصبية التى لم تبلغ وعدة من فى البلد تقارب ماية الف او يزيدون وقطعوا ضعفا لا يقدرون على شى سبعت الف [٨] رجل ثلثين الف دينار يقدموها صدقة بين يدى كبارهم وجزية معجلة عن اجرة سكانهم والحمد لله الذى اخفت دعوتهم واخفا دعواهم واستاصل بالسيوف الناصرية غيهم ومن اغواهم وشكرا لله على استنقاذ المسجد الاقصى الذى اسرى اليه بعبده وانجاز ما سبق به صادق وعده والامير ياخذ حظه من هذه البشرى
٢١٢ (ظ) * بالمسرة التى غمرة [٩] القلوب وملأت الايدى والخزاين وبشرت بفتح ما طلعت عليه الشمس من الامصار والمداين وطرزت سيرة ايامنا بغزر الميامن والمحاسن ويامر باشاعتها ويتقدم بطرب البشارة واذاعتها وتزيين البلد وحضور

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(١) سيلقيهم] ب : سيلقطهم . (٢) اخلع الذل] ب : اخلع عليهم الذل . (٣) كانة] ب : كانت . (٤) على ايام] ب : على الايام . (٥) سلاقهم] ب : بتلاقيهم . (٦) الخاشر] ب : الخاسر . (٧) الامراآه] ب : الامرأة . (٨) شى سبعت الف] ب : شى وعد بهم سبعة الف . (٩) غمرة] ب : غمرت .

جمعة هذه المسرة وجماعتها موفقا انشا الله [١] ولما تسلم الملك الناصر صلاح الدين البيت المقدس بالامان والقطيعة المقدم ذكرها فى شهر رجب سنة ثلاث وثمانين وخمس ماية الهلالية اقام فيه الى ان صام شهر رمضان من السنة المذكورة وصلى فيه صلاة العيد بمن [٢] حضر معه من المسلمين وخرج حاصر الكرك فاخذه وقلعة كوكب فاخذها واتوجه [٣] الى صيدآ وبيروت وجبيله وعتيل وسار فى طول الساحل وعرضه والسهل والجبال ففتح مدن وقلاع وقرى هى الى يوم نظم هذه السيرة فى يد المسلمين وفتح وملك بالامان اكثر مما فتح بالسيف واوفا بعهوده ولم ينكث بكلمه [٤] من قوله ولا غدر وكانوا فرسان الفرنج وامراهم وكبارهم يخرجوا من حصونهم وقلاعهم باموالهم ومواشيهم ونساهم واولادهم وجميع ما يملكوه من المال والخيل والبغال والجمال والجوار والمماليك حتى الاسارى من المسلمين ومن رضى يبيعه اسير منهم دفع له فيه قيمته وزايد ومن لا يرضى قال له خذ اسيرك ولكن افعل معه الخير كما فعلت معك وكان كثير من الفرسان يدفعوا له اساراهم ويحلفوا ما ياخذوا ثمن فيحسن اليهم وينعم عليهم باكثر [٥] مما تركوه وكانوا يخرجون من حصونهم لباس الزرد والدروع والخوذ كما كانوا يخرجوا للحرب فاذا رآهم تبسم ثم تدمع عينيه ولم يعترض لاحد منهم شى قيمته حبه بل يسير معهم الاجناد يحفظوهم ويخفروهم حتى يدخلوا بمن اراد صور اليها ومن اراد انطاكيه اليها ∴ وهذه نسخة الخطبة التى خطب بها الخطيب فى البيت المقدس يوم صلاة عيد شهر رمضان بحضرة الملك الناصر صلاح الدين ومن كان معه من المسلمين وهى اول خطبة خطبوا بها بعد فتح المدينة واخذها من يد الافرنج ∴ الحمد لله الله اكبر على سهل [٦] ويسر وفتح ونصر وخذل الاعدآ وقهر ومن علينا بالمسجد الاقصى المطهر واخرج منه الكفر والاعلاج بنوا الاصفر وشتتهم وبددهم ودمر ورد الى الملة الاسلامية الارض المقدسة ارض المحشر والمنشر الذى بارك فيها وحولها واكثر ان فى ذالك [٧] عبره [٨] لمن تذكر وحسره فى قلب من ألحد وتجبر احمده على

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(١) انشاالله] ب : ان شاء الله . (٢) بمن] ب : من . (٣) واتوجه] ب : وتوجه .
(٤) بكلمه] ب : كلمة . (٥) باكثر] ب : با اكثر . (٦) على سهل] ب : على ما سهل .
(٧) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٨) عبره] ب : غير موجودة .

تغيير البيع والصوامع بالمساجد والجوامع وتبديل النواقيس بالتاذين والتقديس
٢١٣ (ج) وتحويل تعظيم صليب المصلوب بتمجيد الحى الذى لا * يموت لم تزل عوايده
جميلة وعطاياه للمومنين جزيلة والسلام ∴ اعلمنا من يقف على هذه السيرة
بصفة هذه الخطبة لان هذا موضع ذكرها ليلا يمتد بنا الكلام فنوردها فى غير
موضعها او نتركها ومرادنا بذالك [١] ان تقفوا على صورة الحال وتفهموا من
اين دخل على دولة الافرنج الاختلال ليعتبر بذالك [٢] اولوا [٣] الالباب
ويتذاكروا [٤] على ممر الدهور والاحقاب ثم نعود الى شرح ما كنا فيه مما ايد الله
به صلاح الدين وما مكنه له من النصر والظفر والتمكين وما صنع مع اعدا [٥] دينه
ودولته كقول التوراه اذا عبر عليك حمار عدوك [٦] وانت جالس ووسقه مايل
فقم اليه واعدل وسقه عليه وقول الانجيل يوكد بما هو اعظم من هذا مما قد
علمتم من قوله حبوا اعداكم وباركوا لاعنيكم [٧] وصلوا على من يشتمكم
واحسنوا الى من اساء اليكم مع بقية الوصايا ليلا يطول الكلام فعمل صلاح الدين
بامر هذين الشريعتين من غير معرفة ولا قراه بل الهام من الله ولاجل ذالك [٨]
مات على فراشه وكانة [٩] عاقبته حميدة فى نفسه وذريته وقد كنا ذكرنا ان صور
وانطاكية كانا قد بقيا فى يد [١٠] الافرنج لما اراد الله من اسراره الخفية فاما صور
فان الله ساق اليها ملك من ملوك الافرنج من [١١] خلف البحر من ناحية الغرب
يسمى مركيس وقال قوم انه رومى ابن اخت ملك القسطنطينية لانه لم يكن
بقى فى الساحل مكان لم يفتحه صلاح الدين سوا صور وقلعة صفد فاما صفد
فانه نزل عليها وحاصرها سبعة شهور واخذها لما جاعوا الذين فيها سلموها له
لانهم لم يكونوا اعدوا شيأ للحصار ولما سلموها له وراحوا [١٢] الى صور وصار
كلمن سلم قلعة اوحصن اومدينة بالامان يمضوا الى صور او الى انطاكيه وفعل [١٣]

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(١) و(٢) بذالك] ب : بذلك . (٣) اولوا] ب : اولو . (٤) ويتذاكروا] ب : ويتذاكروه . (٥) وماصنع مع اعدا دينه] ب : وما صنعه من الخير مع اعداء دينه . (٦) إذا عبر عليك حمار عدوك] ب : اذا عبر حمار عدوك عليك . (٧) لاعنيكم] ب : من يلعنكم . (٨) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٩) كانة] ب : كانت . (١٠) فى يد] ب : بيد . (١١) من] ب : الذى . (١٢) وراحوا] ب : ورجعوا . (١٣) انطاكيه وفعل] ب : انطاكيه ولم يبق فى يد الافرنج موضع فى الساحل حتى فتحه صلاح الدين وفعل .

مع الافرنج لما قدر عليهم كل معروف فاما صور فانه نزل عليها ثلاثة [١] دفوع وحاصرها وضيق عليها واقام عليها الى ان ضجر مقدار سنة يتردد اليها العسكر فى البر ومراكب الاسطول فى البحر فلا يقدر منها على شى ولم يزل مركيس فيها يحفظها ويدبرها بمشية الله تعالى لسلامتها حتى وصلوا اليها الملوك ونزلوا على عكا ظاهر البلد على تل [٢] المشنقة ولما كان فى محرم سنة اربع وثمانين وخمس ماية توجه الملك الناصر صلاح الدين الى [٣] دمشق بعد ان اقام مجاهد مرابط فى ساحل الافرنج سنة اثنين وثمانين وخمس ماية وسنة ثلاثة [٤] وثمانين وخمس ماية هلالية الى ان فتح الساحل جميعه وهدت اموره ووهب اجناده واصحابه ومن عاونوه [٥] من ملوك المسلمين * وساعده من امراهم من الاموال والمواشى ٢١٣ (ظ) والاسارى والخلع مالا يحصى عدده ولقد بلغنى عن غلام من غلمان الاجناد انه [٦] اسر رجل من الافرنج فاباعه لفقاعى بكوز فقاع فظهر بعد ذالك [٧] انه فارس كبير فاعوذ بالله من زوال النعم وحلول النقم ثم ان السلطان اقطع مدن الساحل والقرى والقلع للاجناد واقام بدمشق مدة يسيرة حتى استراح العسكر وخرج نزل [٨] على حصن الاكراد واقام يحاصره نحو شهرين فلم يقدر عليه وتوجه منه الى اعمال انطاكيه ففتح اللاذقيه وبغراس وقرى وقلع وابراج وجا الى حصن برزيه ونزل عليه وحاصره واقام عليه مده يسيره فيسر الله له فتحه ففتحه وملكه وكتب الكتب بذالك [٩] الى ولاة الديار المصرية كل منهم باسمه [١٠] وهذه نسخة كتابه الى الامير نصر الدين خضر ابن بهرام والى الاعمال الغربية :.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم صدرة [١١] هذه البشرى الى الامير الاجل الاسفهسلار الاخص نصير الدين عز الاسلام ادام الله عزه مما جدده الله من الفتح العظيم والنصر الكريم والعز المقيم وهو فتح حصن برزية الذى ابتهجت به الالسنة ولهجت بشكر الله به السنه [١٢] وسمحت به مع ظن الايام والدهر الاقدار المحسنة وتنبهت عيون الانام لانارته وزالت السنه ومكنت من تحصيل المتعذر منه

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(١) ثلاثة] ب : ثلثة . (٢) تل] ب : تلك . (٣) الى] ب : غير موجودة . (٤) ثلاثة] ب : ثلاث . (٥) عاونوه] ب : عضده . (٦) انه] ب : غير موجودة . (٧) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٨) نزل] ب : ونزل . (٩) بذالك] ب : بذلك . (١٠) كل منهم باسمه] ب : غير موجودة . (١١) صدرة : صدرت . (١٢) السنه] ب : الالسنة .

فرصته الممكنة وهذا هو الحصن الذى اتخذه الدهر له معتصما واليسر الواقع له محتما فلم تثبت دعوة خاطب ولم ينفذ ناره لخاطب فلما حالوناه [١] وجدناه لا تعمل فيه الحيل ولا يدور حوله الامل لكن فتحه الله من حيث نحتسب وجعله كسبا لسيوفنا وفتحناه بالسيف عنوة وذالك [٢] يوم الثلثا السابع والعشرين من جمادى الاخر سنة اربع وثمانين وخمس ماية ضحوة فيالها من ضحوة اظلمت على العدو افاقها وانكشف بليل العجاج اشراقها فيالك من ضحوة انالت حظوة وجليت بالحب والحيا للاسلام حبوه ولا شك الا انه عرف ما سبقه من الفتوحات وتقدمه من الخيرات وقد بقيت انطاكيه مقصوصة الجناح ملقاة السلاح ونحن نرجوا من الله تيسير فتحها والله تعالى يسعد الامال بنجحها فليعلم هذه البشرى ويشكر على هذه النعمة [٣] ان شآ الله وهذا الحصن كان [٤] كمال فتوح صلاح الدين وبعده لم يفتح شيا اخر من بلاد الافرنج فى ذالك [٥] الوقت الذى فتح فيه مدن الساحل وكان السلطان قد اخذ بيت جبرايل [٦] بالامان وكان فيه صاحبه * رجلا جليل القدر فى قومه كثير المال واسع الحال ٢١٤ (ج)
وكان يسمى القسطلان واظن ان [٧] تفسير هذه الكلمة الوالى وكان له فى بيت جبريل نعم عظيمة واموال كثيرة وجباب كبيرة [٨] مملوه زيت طيب وخمر فلما طلب الامان قطع السلطان عليه قطيعة مال كثير فقومهم على السلطان بمال كثير ودفعهم له فوفا به السلطان واخذ منه الجباب الزيت والخمر والمال فى بقية القطيعة وخرج بعد ذالك [٩] من البلد بمال كثير ونعم ومواشى ونفوس مماليك وجوار ونساء وحشم فسيره السلطان الى ديار مصر الى مدينة الاسكندرية وكتب الى واليها بالوصية عليه وحفظه وضيافته مدة مقامه بالبلد وان ينفق عليه من مال الديوان ويستاجر له المراكب ويزوده هو ومن معه من مال السلطان الى ان يسير شاكرا ففعل الوالى والمستخدمين معه كلما امروا به وسار الى حيث اراد من بلاد الروم وكان فخر الدين قراجآ والى الاسكندرية يركب

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(١) حالوناه] ب : حاولناه . (٢) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٣) النعمة] ب : النعما . (٤) كان] ب : غير موجودة . (٥) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٦) جبرايل] ب : جبريل . (٧) ان] ب : غير موجودة . (٨) كبيرة] ب : كبار (٩) ذالك] ب : ذلك .

اليه كل يوم ويقضى حوايجه وكان مع القسطلان نحو خمس ماية نفس كان الوالى يقوم بهم وينفق عليهم من مال السلطان مدة مقامهم فى البلد الى ان استاجر له[١] المراكب وسيرهم فلم يقعد هذا القسطلان فى بلاده سوى ستة شهور ومضى الى البنادقة والجنويين والبيسانيين واعمر ماية شينى من ماله وانفق فى رجالها واخذها وجآ الى صور اجتمع هو ومركيس وباليان ابن بارزان وابن الابرنس ارناط صاحب الكرك ومن حضر من فرسان الساحل وخرجوا بالخيل فى البر والمراكب فى البحر وساروا حتى نزلوا على تل المشنقة قبالة عكآ فى الليل وما اصبح الصبح حتى حفروا عليها ثلثة خنادق واطلقوا فيها الماء من النهر الذى[٢] هناك فصار ماها يخرج الى البحر المالح وحاطوا بعكا فى رجب سنة خمس وثمانون وخمس ماية وكان والى عكا خادم من استاذين السلطان يسمى جرديك فلم يطيق ان يدفعهم عنها فكتب الى السلطان الى دمشق يعلمه بذالك[٣] فجا[٤] السلطان وتواصلت العساكر فنزلوا[٥] الافرنج وتواصلوا من كل مكان كانوا فيه واجتمعوا جميعهم وصاروا عسكر عظيم ولما وصل السلطان الى عكا ومعه الملك المظفر تقى الدين نزل على صفوريه وبعد ايام يسيره وصل مظفر الدين ابن زين الدين صاحب سنجار الى السلطان وكان السلطان كل يوم يركب يجى الخندق فى عسكر كبير يقاتل الافرنج ثم يعود الى الخيم الى صفوريه بعد ان جعل على الفرنج نزل فيه ستت الف[٦] فارس لا ينزلوا عن ظهور خيلهم * لا[٧] ليل ولا نهار منهم ثلاثة[٨] الف النهار جميعه ترمى عليهم ٢١٤ (ظ)
النشاب وثلاثت[٩] الف الليل جميعه ترمى عليهم النشاب ولم يمر عليهم شهر من الزمان حتى عملوا على حافة الخندق من ناحيت[١٠] عسكر السلطان صور طوب لبن ورتبوا الرماه تقعد من خلفه بقسى الزنبورك يرموا بسهم غلظ ابهام رجل الانسان طوله ذراع وزن نصله خمسون درهماً مضروب مكبب له اربعة اركان مهما وقع فيه اخرقه وربما نفذ من الشخص الى الذى[١١] وراه فقتلهما[١٢]

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(١) له] ب : لهم . (٢) الذى] ب : التى . (٣) بذالك] ب : بذلك . (٤) فجا] ب : الى ان جا . (٥) فنزلوا] ب : نزلوا . (٦) ستت الف] ب : ستة الاف . (٧) لا] ب : غير موجودة . (٨) ثلاثة] ب : ثلثة . (٩) ثلاثت] ب : ثلثة . (١٠) ناحيت] ب : ناحية . (١١) الى الذى] ب : الذى الى . (١٢) فقتلهما] ب : فقبلهما .

جميعاً ونفذ من طواريهما ودرعوهما وزردهما او غيره وغاص فى الارض ولقد اخبر عنه من راآه[١] انه نفذ فى حجر من حجارة السور الى رشيته فلما علموا ذالك[٢] ما بقى احد من عسكر السلطان يدنوا من الخندق وقوى امرهم وبنوا كنيسة لصلواتهم ومواضع اصطبلات لخيلهم ولما رتبوا اشغالهم اجتمعوا ليلة من الليالى واتفقوا الصبح يسفروهم قد كسبوا عسكر السلطان فقتلوا جماعة وقتل منهم جماعة وهذه نسخة كتاب السلطان لاخيه الملك العادل وهو نازل على حماه بعسكره يعرفه قضية ما جرى بينه وبينهم وكتبه بيده[٣] بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ان تنصروا الله ينصركم ويثبت اقدامكم والذين كفروا فيشغالهم وابطل اعمالهم الذى اعرف به المجلس العالى الملكى العادلى ادام الله دولته انه لما كان بكرة يوم الاربعآ الحادى والعشرين من شعبان سنة خمس وثمانون[٤] وخمس ماية خرجت جميع الفرنجيه رجالهم وفرسانهم[٥] وساقوا من قريب البحر الى القضيب والنهر وكان جميع سيوفهم الى صوب الولد تقى الدين والميمنه اخذت اربعة اطلاب الفقيه بطلب ومحمد ابن الامير حسيرين بطلب والمماليك بطلب وشقة[٦] لحقتهم ولزت الشالاشات والعسكرين فلما لزيناهم رجعت جميع الافرنجيه علينا الفارس والراجل وحملوا علينا والتقوا اصحابنا الفرنج ردوهم وحمل الراجل جميعه دفعنا وما برحنا نرد الخيل الى الراجل والراجل يدفعنا حتى بعدت الخيل عن الراجل دخل قيان والحشام[٧] ما قصر[٨] اكسروا لراجل وتموا[٩] ثم لحقوا الخيل وكذالك[١٠] الراجل قتل اكثره[١١] وعاد الملك المظفر وكسرهم كسرة جيدة وكذالك[١٢] ياركوج وكمشيا ورسلان نوعا وابار البرلو والاسديه والشهابيه كانوا فى فرد طلب ما قصروا قتلوا من الفرنج مقتلة عظيمة وصارة[١٣] الفرنج ترجع من خلفنا يتلقوهم يقتلوهم ما انفلت منهم احد ولله المنة والحمد[١٤] فما كان يوم[١٥] قليل وما اعرف احد فقد الاعجلى رحمه

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(١) راآه] ب : راه (٢) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٣) بيده] ب : بخط يده . (٤) وثمانون] ب : وثمانين . (٥) رجالهم وفرسانهم] ب : راجلهم وفارسهم . (٦) وشقة] ب : وسعت ، اقرأ : وسقت . (٧) قيان والحشام] ب : مسمار والحسام . (٨) ما قصر] ب : ما قصرو . (٩) اقرأ : ثم . (١٠) كذالك] ب : كذلك . (١١) اكثره] ب : اكبره . (١٢) كذالك] ب : كذلك . (١٣) صارة] ب : صارت . (١٤) المنة والحمد] ب : الحمد والمنة . (١٥) يوم] ب : يوما .

الله استشهد الى رحمة الله وحسين الكردى رايته مجرح مثخن * واسماعيل ٢١٥ (ج)
المكلبس [١] مجروح وسلار ابن حسك هولاء جميع من عرفت ولعل عشرين
غلاما ولكن قماش الناس نهبه بعضهم بعض وما قصر سد الدين اخو عز الدين
والمشكور الحسام وقيماز من الميمنه ومظفر الدين ويازكوج والحمله ما كانة
الا على وحدى والله اعلام [٢] والسلام ولما كبسوا الفرنج عسكر السلطان على
صفوريه وجرت هذه الامور التى تقدم ذكرها رحل السلطان من صفوريه
نزل وادى الخروبه وكان البرك يتردد اليهم نهاراً وليلا ستة الف فارس يرمى فيهم
النشاب ولم يكونوا يبالوا بهم ولم يزل الحرب قايم بينهم الى ان [٣] حشد ملك
الامان [٤] ستة ماية [٥] الف رمح وجا الى الدروندان وهى الدروب التى يدخل
منها الى قونيه وغيرها بلاد الملك مسعود من ملوك الترك واكثر بلاده ورعيته
روم رغبوا فى سكناهم عنده لعدله وحسن سيرته معهم فشق بلاد الملك مسعود
وبلاد ابن لاون ملك الارمن وعبر على ملوك كثير بالسيف وكثرت [٦] الرجال
والاموال وكان يحمل ثقله وزاد العسكر على العجل تجرها الخيل والبغال والبقر
وغير ذالك [٧] واقام فى بلاده الى ان وصل الى انطاكيه يمشى سنة كاملة واخبرنا
بعض من حضر عسكره انه لما اراد ان يعدى البحر الى قسطنطينيه حشد ملك
الروم ومنعه يعدى وانه وجد فى البر الذى هو عليه مدينة خراب ذكروا انها
كانة [٨] فى اول الدهر تسمى قسطنطينيه وان هذه الجديدة لما عمرت خربت تلك
فنزل [٩] عليها واعمرها واقام فيها سنة كاملة يقاتل ملك [١٠] الروم حتى قهره وعدى
اليه وحاصره فى مدينة قسطنطينيه وجبى خراجها وخراج جميع مدنها وقراها
اخذ مستغلها فى تلك السنة وتقوى به وسار يطلب الجهاد على البيت المقدس
وجاز على جميع بلدان [١١] ملوك الروم والارمن والمسلمين والفرنج [١٢] بالسيف
ولم يقف احد قدامه من جميع ملوك الدنيا فلما قرب من انطاكيه سار الملك
المظفر تقى الدين ومظفر الدين ابن زين الدين ساروا من مخيم السلطان الى حلب

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(١) اسماعيل المكلبس] ب : اسمعيل المكلبس . (٢) اقرأ : أعلم . (٣) الى ان] ب : حتى .
(٤) اقرأ : الالمان . (٥) : ستة ماية] ب : سمّاية . (٦) كثرت] ب : كثرة . (٧) ذالك] ب :
ذلك . (٨) كانة] ب : كانت . (٩) فنزل] ب : فانزل . (١٠) ملك] ب : غير موجودة .
(١١) على جميع بلدان] ب : على بلدان جميع . (١٢) الفرنج] ب : الافرنج .

لكشف اخبار ملك الامان فلما صح عندهم انه نزل على انطاكيه [١] قطعوا نهر ما الطريق [٢] الذى يريد يسلكها [٣] الى حلب ودمشق وغيرها يسمى نهر الكلب فغرق جميع الطريق فلما وصل اليه الخبر بذالك [٤] ركب فى المراكب من انطاكيه ومضى فى البحر الى عكا ونزل عند عسكر الفرنج فى تل [٥] المشنقة فلما سمع صلاح الدين انه جا فى [٦] المراكب هان قدره عنده وطمع فيه وزحف الى الخنادق وقاتل الفرنج [٧] وبعد زمان يسير مات ملك الامان ومات ولده بعده ومات اكثر اصحابه من تغيير الماء والهوى [٨] وبقى من اصحابه بعضهم
٢١٥ (ظ) * اختلطوا بعسكر الفرنج وخمد ذكره وبطل امره وكا انه [٩] لم يكن فسبحان الله الدايم [١٠] الحياه بعد ان كانوا [١١] ملوك الدنيا قد لاذوا من خوفهم منه امنوا وفرحوا بوفاته وكان وصوله الى تل عكا فى شهر رمضان سنة ست وخمسين [١٢] وخمس ماية وكانوا الافرنج فى تلك السنة قد عملوا ثلثة ابراج خشب وزحّفوها للقتال وكملوها بجميع ما يعمل فيها وقدموها [١٣] حتى الصقوها بصور عكا وكان صلاح الدين قد اخرج جرديك الاستاذ من عكا وسلمها لخادم اخر يسمى قراقوش ونعته بها الدين وكان خبير فى عمارة [١٤] الاسوار وهو الذى اعمر سور القاهره واداره عليها ومده الى المقسم الى ان جعل بحر النيل من داخل السور ثم مده الى الجبل المقطم طالع الى مصر الى ان جازها داخل السور وبنا قلعه على على القاهره فوق راس الجبل خارج المدينه من قبليها ونقر فيها جب للما بالازميل الحديد من فوق الجبل الى اسفله حتى وصل الى الما تقدير [١٥] مايتى ذراع وعمل فيها صهريج يملاه من مصانع عملها خارج من القلعه وفى مده يسيره ادار على القلعة سور وابراج واعمال يفنى الزمان ولا يكاد ان يفنا ولاجل خبرت [١٦] صلاح الدين به سلم له عكا وكان مديرها قبالة الفرنج فلما وصلوا الابراج

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(١) انطاكيه] ب : انطاكيا . (٢) ما الطريق] ب : ماء فى الطريق . (٣) يريد يسلكها] ب : يريد ملك الامان يسلكها . (٤) بذالك] ب : بذلك . (٥) فى تل] ب : تلك . (٦) انه جا فى] ب : انه جا الى الليل فى . (٧) الفرنج] ب : الافرنج . (٨) الهوى] ب : الهوا . (٩) وكا انه] ب : وكانه . (١٠) الله الدايم] ب : الله الحى الدايم . (١١) كانوا] ب : كانت . (١٢) وخمسين] ب : وثمانين . (١٣) فيها وقدموها] ب : فيها ودفعوها وقدموها . (١٤) خبير فى عمارة] ب : خبيرا بالحروب وعمارة . (١٥) تقدير] ب : على (١٦) خبرت] ب : خبرة .

قريبا من السور وطلعوا الفرسان عليها وشدوا الحروب عليها وكشفوها بالنشاب وكاد المسلمين ان يسلموا لهم عكآ حضر رجل يعرف بابن النحاس من اهل بغداد الى عند بها الدين قراقوش وقال له انا بسعادة المولى صلاح الدين احرق هذه الابراج فقال له بها الدين ايش تعمل قال اصنع نفط كما اعرف واضرب به الابراج احرقها ولو ضربت به جبل حديد احرقته فقال له اعمل ما تريد ثم دفع له مايتى دينار فمضى وعمل ثلثة قدور نفط وضرب بها الثلثة ابراج فاحرقها واحرق فيها ما تقديره ست ماية [١] لابس كانوا فوقها من كبار ابطال الفرنج وكان يوم صعب على عسكر الفرنج وفرح وسرور عند ملة [٢] المسلمين الحاضر منهم والغايب والقريب والبعيد لان الفرنج قد [٣] اشرفوا على اخذ البلاد [٤] ثم بعد حرق الابراج عملوا الافرنج منجنيق على بسطة كبيرة جدا وطلع فيها رجال كثير مقاتله وساروا بها حتى الصقوها الى سور [٥] عكا من ناحيت [٦] البحر وكشفوا الرماه من فوق السور بالنشاب منها وصار المنجنيق الذى فيها يضرب فى البلد فخرج ايضا ذالك [٧] النفطى ابن النحاس واحرق البسطة فاحترق كثير ممن كان فيها من مقاتلة الفرنج ثم عملوا الفرنج [٨] بعد حرق البسطة كبش حديد مركب على خشب عظيم جدا وصفحوه والبسوه حديد وعملوا له راس ٢١٦ (ج) لدكس السور تقدير عشرين قنطار من [٩] حديد ودكسوا به السور فرموا منه بدن كبير فخرجوا اليهم المسلمين من عكآ قاتلوهم فاشتد الحرب بينهم وقتل من الفريقين جماعة كبيرة فخرج ايضا ذالك [١٠] النفطى واحرق الكبش الحديد ولو اخذت ان اشرح ما جرى بين المسلمين وبين الفرنج على عكا وغيرها فى كل يوم وكل ساعة وكل شهر وكل سنة فى ذالك [١١] الوقت الذى فتح فيه صلاح الدين البيت المقدس وما هلك عليه من الامم وتفانى عليه من الخلايق وافنى عليه من الاموال وذهب بسببه من النفوس لطال الشرح وعظم الوصف والانتظار واقع لما يتجدد بسببه فى كل زمان وقد تقدم فى السير الاولين فيه

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(١) ست ماية] ب : ستماية . (٢) عند ملة] ب : عند جميع ملة . (٣) قد] ب : كانوا قد . (٤) البلاد] ب : البلد . (٥) سور] ب : صور . (٦) ناحيت] ب : ناحية . (٧) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٨) الفرنج] ب : الافرنج . (٩) من] ب : غير موجودة . (١٠) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (١١) ذالك] ب : غير موجودة .

ما هو اعظم من هذه السيرة وتفانت عليه من الامم ما هو اكثر من هذه الرقم ولم تزال هذه صفته ما دامت ايام الدنيا كل امه ترتكب فيه الفساد وتعمل بضد شروطه يرسل الله عليها امة غليظه لا ترحم ولا تشفق تخرجها منه بالسيف والسبي والجوع والحصار ونهب الاموال وبيع الاولاد والحريم لان الله قال عنه فى التوراه انى اخترت هذا البيت ليذكر فيه اسمى [١] من جميع الدنيا واخترت [٢] داوود ملكا من جميع ملوك الارض وعلى هذا الحكم يريد الملك الذى يكون البيت تحت سلطانه ان يكون فيه من الطهاره والعدل وصلاح السريره وملازمة الصلوات والصدقات مثلما كان فى داوود ولاجل ذالك [٣] اقام ملكا عليه وساكنا فيه اربعون سنة ولم يكن فى هذه المدة غلا ولا حرب ولا وبآ الا من قضيت امراه اوريآ يوم واحد ثم تاب داوود فقبله الله ورفع الموت عن الامه وعاش داوود بقية عمره مرتعش اليدين لما راى ملاك الله وبيده السيف وهو يقتل وهذه القضية مشروحة فى كتاب اسفار الملوك ونحن لما نقصده من الاختصار ونذكر ما تيسر ونترك ما سواه وقد يكون غيرنا اهتم بذالك [٤] وعلم من الاخبار وشاهد من الامور ما لم نشاهده ولا علمنا [٥] وانما اعلمنا اخوتنا بما وصل الينا علمه على قدر ما يسره الله لنا ومن به علينا ولم يزل الحرب بين الفرنج والمسلمين الذى فى عكا متصل الليل والنهار وكل منهم لا ياخذه عن الحرب قرار منذ نزولهم عليها فى شهر رجب سنة خمس وثمانون [٦] وخمس ماية الى جمادى الاخر سنة سبع وثمانون وخمساية [٧] وصل ملك فرنتسيس [٨] بجنوده فى تقدير [٩] ماية بطسة وشينى الى عكا ونزل مع عسكر الافرنج واتفق معهم وتجدد القتال عليها ٥ وكان صلاح الدين قد اخرج العسكر القديم منها ٢١٦ (ظ)
ودخل لها بعسكر جديد فيه جماعة من الامرآ الكبار المعروفين [١٠] منهم سيف الدين على ابن احمد مقدم الاكراد وعلم الدين ارسل مقدم المماليك الصلاحية

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(١) اسمى] ب : باسمى . (٢) الدنيا واخترت] ب : الدنيا وكل الارض واخترت . (٣) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٤) بذالك] ب : بذلك . (٥) ولا علمنا] ب : ولا علمناه . (٦) ثمانون] ب : ثمانين . (٧) وثمانون وخمساية] ب : وثمانين وخمس مايه . (٨) فرنتسيس] ب : افرنتسيس . (٩) تقدير] ب : مقدار . (١٠) المعروفين] ب : المعروف .

والاسدية وابن سيف الدين الجاولى وعز الدين [١] يعقوب الامرى مقدم الترجمان [٢] ولما شدد عليهم افرنيسس [٣] القتال شهر جمادى الاخر ورجب واحاط بالمدينة جميعها وما صار احد يقدر يدخل لها بميره ولا نجده [٤] فتحها الظهر يوم الجمعة [٥] النصف من شعبان سنة تسع وثمانين وخمس ماية الهلالية فجميع ما اقام [٦] الحرب على عكا سنتين وشهر واحد وخمسة عشر يوم [٧] واخبرنى رجل كان حاضر فى عكا لما فتحوها المسلمين انهم وجدوا جامعها قد جعلوه الفرنج كنيسة لما اخذوها من المسلمين اول دفعة وصوروا فيه صور فلما فتحها صلاح الدين من الفرنج [٨] جمعوا المسلمين الاسارى الذى عندهم من الفرنج [٩] وجاآو بهم الى الجامع ملوا الما وغسلوا حيطانه وابوابه وكشطوا منه [١٠] الصور وجابوا الجير بيضوه حتى ما بقى للصور اثر ولا خبر وصلوا فيه بقية الجمعة التى فتحوا عكا فيها ولم يزل ذالك [١١] الرجل فى عكا مقيم الى ان فتحها ملك افرنس فاخذوا الافرنج اسارى المسلمين جاآوا بهم الى الجامع ملوا الماء وغسلوه وجددوا بياضه وصوره [١٢] كما كان فسبحان الله الذى بيده ملكوت كل شى يعز من يشا ويذل من يشا ويجازى كل احد باعماله ولما فتح الافرنس عكا اسر كلمن كان فيها من العسكر واهل البلد وانفذ صلاح الدين يقرر معه قطيعة فيهم [١٣] فلم يتفق بينهم فيهم شى فاخذوا الامرآ الكبار مثل احمد وبهاء الدين قراقوش ويعقوب الامرى وغيرهم من الكبار افردهم وقيدهم واما ارسل ابن [١٤] الجاولى فهربوا عندما فتحت عكا وخرجوا بنفوسهم لا غير الى عسكر المسلمين وتركوا اموالهم وما كان معهم من مماليكهم واجنادهم واما باقى الناس فان افرنس [١٥] اعزل الكتانية وحدهم والسودان وحدهم والاكراد وحدهم والغز وحدهم ولم يخلط جنس مع غيره وقتلهم والعسكر مع صلاح الدين ينظروهم

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(١) عز الدين] ب : فخر الدين . (٢) الترجمان] ب : التركان . (٣) افرنسيس] ب : ملك افرنسيس . (٤) ولا نجده] ب : ولا نجد . (٥) الظهر يوم الجمعة] ب : يوم الجمعة الظهر . (٦) ماية الهلالية فجميع ما اقام] ب : ماية للهجرة الهلالية فجميع مدة ما اقام . (٧) يوم] ب : يوما . (٨) و (٩) الفرنج] ب : الافرنج . (١٠) منه] ب : تلك . (١١) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (١٢) وصوره] ب : وصوروه . (١٣) فيهم] ب : عنهم . (١٤) ابن] ب : وابن . (١٥) افرنس] ب : ملك افرنس .

واخذ ملك افرنس من وقع فى نصيبه من الاسارى معه وعاد فى البحر الى بلاده وكان فى الايام التى فتحه فيها عكا وصل اليها ملك الانكتار واسمه سمرنميد وكان بطل شجاع لا يخاف خبيرا عارفا بالحروب لا يخاف الموت ولا يهاب كثرت [١] العساكر حتى انه لوكان قدامه الوف وهو وحده حمل فيهم ولم يكن فى من وصل ملوك الافرنج مثله وكان اذا حمل لا يقف احد قدامه فسلم له ملك افرنس خمس ماية فارس من عسكره خلاها عنده وجعله مقدم العسكر مكانه وسلم له العساكر واوصاه وسار وبعد ٥ ايام يسيرة من مسيره ٢١٧ (ج) دبر ملك الانكتار رجال عكا ورتب فيها من يحفظها وخرج منها نزل حيفا وقام من حيفا نزل رسوف [٢] وكان صلاح الدين نازل على برج الديويه ويسمى سفرعام فسار لحقه وكان من تدبير ملك الا نكتار انه رتب الرماة بالزنبورك على العجل وعمل عليهم ساير وكانة [٣] العجل سايرة بالرماة من جانبى العسكر ميمنة ومسيرة والعسكر فى القلب ولم يكن يقدر [٤] يدنوا من العجل الا ويهلك فلما لحقه صلاح الدين ارسوف [٥] قاتله فلم يبلغ منه مراد خاف ان يتم الى عسقلان فيملكها فسبقه صلاح الدين اليها فاخربها واحرقها ولم يبقا [٦] فيها جدار قايم ثم توجه صلاح الدين نزل الرملة فلما بلغ ملك الانكتار انه اخرب عسقلان واحرقها بالنار صعب عليه واقام على ارصوف اياما يسيرة ودبر تدبير اخر يريد يكبس عسكر السلطان [٧] صلاح الدين فمضى الجاسوس اعلم صلاح الدين بذالك [٨] فرحل صلاح الدين من الرملة طلع الجبل ونزل على النطرون وهو جبل شامخ عال لا يمكنه [٩] الطلوع اليه الا بصعوبة ولا يكون فيه موضع للحملات [١٠] فرحل ملك الانكتار نزل الرمله فلما نزل الرمله رحل السلطان من النطرون طلب مدينة القدس فرحل ملك الانكتار نزل النطرون وتم السلطان على حاله دخل مدينة القدس واهتم بحفر الخنادق وعمارة الابراج واقام ملك الانكتار على النطرون مدة ثم عاد الى عسقلان نزل [١١] عليها

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(١) كثرت] ب : كثرة . (٢) رسوف] ب : ارسوف . (٣) كانة] ب : كانت . (٤) يكن يقدر] ب : يكن احد يقدر . (٥) ارسوف] ب : ارصوف . (٦) يبقا] ب : يبق . (٧) السلطان] ب : غير موجوده . (٨) بذالك] ب : بذلك . (٩) يمكنه] ب : يمكن . (١٠) للحملات] ب : الحملات . (١١) نزل] ب : انزل .

واعمرها وحصنها وانتقل منها الى غزه اعمرها وحصنها وانتقل من غزه دريرناس وهى قلعة الدراون [١] وكانة [٢] باقية فى يد المسلمين الى اخر جمادى الاول سنة ثمان وثمانين وخمس ماية ففتحها واخذها وقتل واسر كلمن وجده فيها ثم مضى الى بيروت يقاتلها فخرج اليه صلاح الدين من القدس ونزل بالعسكر على يافآ وقاتلها يومين ففتحها وقتل كلمن وجده فيها فى الريض [٣] فاما الفرسان والمقاتلة من الفرنج فانهم دخلوا القلعة وتحصنوا فيها الى ان ادركهم ملك الانكتار فرحل صلاح الدين عنها وعاد نزل النطرون وذالك [٤] فى شهر رجب سنة ثمان وثمانون وخمساية [٥] ولما عاد ملك الانكتار من بيروت الى يافا وخلص البلد ورحل صلاح الدين عنها نزل على يافا وكان [٦] الملك العادل ابوا بكر قد [٧] سار الى بلاد العجم وديار بكر وغيرهم فجمع عساكر [٨] وكان الملك المظفر تقى الدين قد فتح مدينة خلاط واخذها من بكتم ومات واخذها ولده بعده نصير الدين وبقى فيها بعسكر ابوه فلما مضى الملك العادل يجمع عساكر الشرق مضى اليه فاخذ عسكر ابوه وجامع الملك العادل هو ومظفر الدين صاحب [٩] اربيل ومدينة الموصل وغيرهم من عساكر الشرق خلق كثير لا يحصى عدده ولم تجى الفرنج [١٠] ٥ فى تلك السنة نجدة ولا رجل واحد وكانوا العساكر ٢١٧ (ظ) يريدوا المصاف وصلاح الدين يروض الحال معهم ومع الفرنج ولم يزل يدبر والله يعضده بالتوفيق الى ان تصوب رايه فى الهدنة والصلح وحقن الدما وصيانة الاموال والنفوس من التلف للفريقين المسلمين والافرنج فمال الى الصلح وتقررت الهدنة مع الفرنج اربعون شهراً اولها شعبان سنة ثمان وثمانين وخمساية [١١] مع ملك الانكتار وعسكر الساحل على انه اى من وصل من ملوك الافرنج من خلف البحر وكان فى قوة يقـــدر على فسخ الهدنة كانوا عسكر الحال [١٢] ابريا من العهود والايمان وعلى ان الذى فتحوه المسلمين بسيوفهم

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(١) الدراون] ب : الدارون . (٢) كانة] ب : كانت . (٣) الريض] ب : اربض .
(٤) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٥) وثمانون وخمساية] ب : وثمانين وخمس ماية . (٦) وكان] ب : وان . (٧) ابوا بكر قد سار] ب : ابو بكر اخو صلاح الدين قد سار . (٨) عساكر] ب : عساكره . (٩) الدين صاحب] ب : الدين ابن زين الدين صاحب . (١٠) الفرنج] ب : الافرنج . (١١) خمساية] ب : خمس ماية . (١٢) اقرأ : الساحل .

من المدن والقرى والقلاع والحصون يكون لهم والذى هو باق بيد الفرنج لم يفتحوه المسلمين هو باق للافرنج وذكر من حضر عقد الهدنة ان بيروت وصيدا وجباله وجبيل وبلاد وقلاع لم اعرف اسماها فاذكرها يكون بينهم مناصفة فاما البيت المقدس فانه كان بيد المسلمين فى ذالك[١] الوقت فبقى لهم على حاله وقرر صلاح الدين ان يحجوا اليه بحيث لا يدخلوا معهم سيف[٢] ولا شيأ من السلاح وشرط لهم ان لا يوخذ منهم مسكن[٣] وجعل صلاح الدين سيف الدين ازكج[٤] والى البيت المقدس وذكر معه فيه[٥] ثلاثة[٦] الف فارس ممن[٧] المماليك الاسديه وصام صلاح الدين هو والقاضى الفاضل عبد الرحيم ابن على البينانى[٨] شهر رمضان فى البيت المقدس وانفذ الرجال والاجناد وهدم صور عسقلان مستديراً وتركها قرية بغير سور وكان الاتفاق على هدمها[٩] فى عقد الهدية[١٠] وكانوا الفرنج والمسلمين مجتمعين متفقين جميعهم على هدم عسقلان واختلط عسكر الفرنج وعسكر المسلمين بعد الصلح حتى صاروا مثل الاخوة وكذالك[١١] الملوك مع صلاح الدين وحمل اليهم اموال وهدايا وحملوا له هدايا وخيل وطوارق وسيوف المانية مدارة فى علب خشب وقنطاريات مدهونة فسبحان الله المولف[١٢] بين القلوب المتباعدة والطباع المتضاددة فهو سبحانه خالق الخلايق ومدبرها وباريها ومصورها لا اله الا هو ولا معبود سواه فاما اسارى المسلمين الذى مع الفرنج واسارى الفرنج الذى مع المسلمين[١٣] فلم يتقرر فى امرهم شيأ بل بقى كل منهم مع صاحبه على حاله يقوم بقطيعة ويتخلص وبعد الصلح بايام يسيرة ركب ملك الانكتار المراكب فى البحر وعاد الى بلاده بما كسبه وغنمه ومعه جماعة اصحابه واجناده وتوجه صلاح الدين من البيت المقدس الى دمشق فى شوال سنة ثمان وثمانين وخمساية[١٤] بعد ان صام فيه هو

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(١) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٢) سيف] ب : سيفا . (٣) اقرأ : مسكوك . (٤) اقرأ : يازكوج . (٥) معه فيه] ب : فيه معه . (٦) ثلاثة] ب : ثلثة . (٧) ممن] ب : من . (٨) البينانى] ب : ابن البينانى . (٩) هدمها] ب : هدها . (١٠) الهدية] ب : الهدنة . (١١) كذالك] ب : كذلك . (١٢) المولف] ب : المالف . (١٣) اسارى المسلمين الذى مع الفرنج واسارى الفرنج الذى مع المسلمين] ب : اسارى الفرنج الذى مع المسلمين واسارى المسلمين الذى مع الفرنج . (١٤) خمساية] ب : خمس ماية .

وجميع من معه من المسلمين شهر رمضان ومضى الى ٥ دمشق طاهر اولاده ٢١٨ (ج)
وكان له يوميذ اولاد كثير ذكور يركبون الخيل خلفة عددهم [١] خمسة عشر ولد [٢]
وهذه اسمايهم ونعتوهم [٣] الملك العزيز عثمان سلطنه على مملكة ديار مصر والبيت
المقدس واعمالها واقام ملكا عليها بعد ابوه صلاح الدين خمسة سنين ونصف
الملك الاعز يعقوب الملك الموید مسعود الملك فتح الدين اسحق الملك الجواد
ايوب الملك الظاهر غازى وسلطنه على حلب واعمالها الملك الافضل على وسلطنه
على دمشق واعمالها الملك المستمر خضر الملك الزاهر داوود [٤] وبقية الصغار
نورشاه [٥] شاهنشاه ملك شاه احمد ابوا بكر [٦] وهذه العده ليس من امراآه [٧]
واحدة بل عدة نسا وكان فى يد صلاح الدين من مملكات الدنيا فى حال
حيايه [٨] يوميذ اقليم ديار مصر وجميع اعمالها واليمن الى هنعا [٩] وعدن وزبيد
فتحه بيد سيف الاسلام اخوه وفى مدينة [١٠] النوبة الى مدينة ابريم وبلاد صاحب
الحبل والبيت المقدس والساحل وجميع ما قدمنا ذكره من مدنه وقراه وحصون
وقلعة وما فتحه فى بلاد انطاكيه حصن برزيه واللاذقيه وبغراس وغيرهم مما لم نعلم
اسمه فنذكره ومدينة دمشق التى [١١] هى شهوة ملك الدنيا المشبهة بالفردوس فى
انهارها الحلوة الطيبة واشجارها واثمارها وطيب هواها ومدينة [١٢] حلب وقلعتها
دار ابراهيم الخليل عليه السلام جسرة ملوك العرب والعجم واعمالها ورستاقها
ومن خلف نهر الفرات حران ونصيبين وسنجار ومنبيج والرها وامد وميافارقين
وغيرهم من قراهم ورستاقهم مما لم نعلمه فنسميه وكان امره ينفذ فى جميع
ممالك العرب والعجم [١٣] والروم ولم يملك احد ممن عاصرناه وراياناه مثله وطاعته
امم وملوك وكان امره ينفذ فى بلاد الحبشه والنوبه والبجاه واليمن والحجاز
وجميع اعمال القبلة وقد [١٤] كان تردد الى مدينة الموصل وقاتلها وحاصرها

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(١) عددهم] ب : عدتهم . (٢) ولد] ب : ولدا . (٣) ونعتوهم] ب : ونعوتهم .
(٤) داوود] ب : داود . (٥) اقرأ : تورانشاه . (٦) ابوا بكر] ب : ابوبكر . (٧) امراآه]
ب : امراة . (٨) حيايه] ب : حياته . (٩) هنعا] ب : صنعا . (١٠) مدينة] ب : بلاد . (١١) التى]
ب : الذى . (١٢) هواها ومدينة] ب : هواها وايام سبوتها ومدينة . (١٣) العرب والعجم] ب :
العجم والعرب . (١٤) القبلة وقد كان] ب : القبلة وفى الشرق البيت المقدس والساحل مدنه وقراه
ودمشق واعمالها وحلب واعمالها ومن خلف نهر الفراة مدن كبار وقراها وقد قدمنا ذكرها وقد كان .

زمان فلم يدفعها الله له ولا ظفره بها وكان ديار مصر فى جميع ايام دولته من اولها الى اخرها راخية الاسعار كثيرة الخيرات القمح الطيب عشرة ارادب بدينار والشعير عشرين اردب [١] بدينار والفول مثله والعدس والجلبان والبرسيم والترمس جميع ذالك [٢] سعر واحد [٣] عشرين اردب بدينار واما [٤] العسل الدفن المتبن الطيب بدينار القنطار بالمحلى والقطاره بدينار وقيراطين القنطار بالمحلى والعسل النحل بدينار واحد ونصف وربع القنطار [٥] بالمصرى والكشاطه بنصف دينار القنطار بالمصرى والقند الاحمر كانت اسعاره مختلفة على حسب تربه بلد خلاف بلد والنقى من الوسخ فوقت يباع الطيب بدينار القنطار بالمصرى واذا قل ٥ ابتاع ٢١٨ (ظ) بدينار وربع والبياض الذى مثل السكر بدينار ونصف القنطار بالمصرى والقطر بعشرة الدراهم القنطار بالمصرى المحبوب الكتان بخمسين درهم القنطار بالليتى الطيب ودونه بثلثين درهم الشمع الكافورى بثلث [٦] دراهم الرطل بالمصرى والمشاع الشرب كثير والقماش والصوف والادم كثير جدا والتجار [٧] يبيعون ويشترون ويربحون والبركة حالة فى كل شى وكانة ايام دولته كلها حسنة طيبة واحوال الرعية مستقيمة ولم يصادر احد من رعيته ولا ظلم احد كعادة من تقدمه والطرق امنه والامور صالحة ومات فى مدينة دمشق يوم الاربعا السادس والعشرين من صفر [٨] سنة تسع [٩] وثمانين وخمس ماية للهجرة فى قلعة دمشق ودفن فى المدرسة التى بناها فيها وكان عدد عسكره يوم وفاته عشرة الف فارس منه طواشيه اربعة الف [١٠] ومنه قرا غلاميه ستة الف وكان قد كمل له من العمر سبعون سنه وملك مصر وعزها مما قدمنا ذكره اربعه وعشرين سنه وتسعة اشهر ونصف لانه ملك [١١] بعد وفات اسد الدين سيركوه فى جمادى الاول سنة اربع وستين وخمساية [١٢] هلالية وخراجية ومات بدمشق فى التاريخ المذكور وذكر بعض اهل العلم انه ملك ديار مصر يوم الاربعآ ومات بدمشق يوم

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(١) اردب] ب : اردبا . (٢) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٣) سعر واحد] ب : سعرا واحدا .
(٤) واما] ب : فأما . (٥) وربع القنطار] ب : وربع دينار القنطار . (٦) بثلث] ب : بثلثة .
(٧) جدا والتجار] ب : جدا والناس والتجار . (٨) من صفر] ب : من شهر صفر . (٩) تسع]
ب : اربع . (١٠) الف ومنه] ب : الف طواشى ومنه . (١١) ملك بعد] ب : ملك مصر
بعد . (١٢) خمساية] ب : خمس ماية .

الاربع ومن حسن سيرته وفضل دولته ان بعد موته لم تركض فرس لا بالشام ولا بمصر ولا [. . . . .] ولم تختلف [١] اولاده ولا ذريته ولا طلب منهم احد الملك لنفسه ولا خالف اولاده احد من اصحابه بل اتفقوا جميعهم على الذى ملكوه من اولاده الملك العزيز مصر والبيت المقدس والملك الظاهر حلب والملك الافضل دمشق الى دبر [٢] اخوه الملك العادل ابو بكر ما دبر اخذ الملك بمصر ودمشق منهم وسنشرحه فيما بعد وهذا ما انتها الينا علمه والسلام وبعد تقدم ما شرحناه من ايام بطركية هذا الاب السعيد القديس الطاهر انبا مرقس وما قاساه من المصاعب وشاهده من الشدايد فى بداية مملكة صلاح الدين من خروج امره بان تنزع الصلبان الخشب الذى كانوا [٣] على كل قبه عالية فى كل كنيسة من جميع الكنايس التى بارض بديار مصر [٤] راى كنيسة كان ظاهرها مبيض تليس بالطين الاسود من فوق البياض وان لا يدق ناقوس فى جميع ديار مصر ولا يدوروا النصارى بالزيتونة فى مدينة ولا قرية كالعادة الاولى وان يغيروا النصاره زيهم ليعرفوا من المسلمين * بان يشدوا زنانيرهم فى ٢١٩ (ج) اوساطهم ولا يتردون [٥] بعرضى ولا طيلسان ويرفعون عدب عمايمهم ولا يركبون الخيل ولا البغال بل يركبون الحمير ولا يتظاهرون بشرب الخمر وان يخفضوا [٦] اصواتهم فى صلواتهم وطمع اوباش المسلمين فيهم فى ذالك الوقت واهانوهم [٧] ورتبوا على بعض الكنايس فى المدن والقرى فهدموها ونال القوم من ذالك [٨] مشقة عظيمة حتى خرج جماعة من كتاب المصريين والقاهريين من اديانهم وجحدوا مسيحهم ولم تزل الامور تتوطا بصلات هذا القديس مرقس البطرك وهو يجاهد على شعبه ورعيته الى ان اصلح الله لهم قلب سلطانهم ببركة صلواته فقربهم وادناهم واستخدمهم فى ديوانه فى اموال دولته وانعم [٩] عليهم فعادوا الى ارفع [١٠] مما كانوا عليه [١١] وركبوا الخيل والبغال ولبسوا الخفاف والثياب المفرحة وساروا معه فى الغزوات كتاب ديوانه وكتاب اهله واقاربه وكتاب

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(١) تختلف] ب : يخلف . (٢) الى دبر] ب : الى ان دبر . (٣) كانوا] ب : كانت .
(٤) بارض ديار مصر] ب : ارض مصر . (٥) اقرأ : يرتدون . (٦) يخفضوا] ب : يخفوا .
(٧) فى ذالك الوقت واهانوهم] ب : فى ذلك الوقت فيهم واهانوهم . (٨) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٩) دولته وانعم] ب : دولته دخولهم وانعم . (١٠) ارفع] ب : ادنا . (١١) عليه] ب : غير موجودة .

اجناده وتعلق كل نصرانى بكتاب امير من امرآ دولته ومن اهله واقاربه وحفظ كل منهم حرمة كاتبه فصار لكلمتهم [١] جمال ومال [٢] وجاه ونفاذ كلمة وعز ونقل الله بصبرهم وصلوات بطركهم ورجوعهم الى الله وطاعتهم لريسهم ذلهم الى عز واهانتهم الى كرامة وبغضهم الى محبة وضعفهم الى قوه واكثروا من الصدقات ولازموا الصلوات وتشبهوا ببعضهم بعض فى المسارعه الى فعل الخيرات فنمت ارزاقهم وصحت اجسامهم وكثرة [٣] بنوهم وبناتهم وخزاينهم [٤] من خيراتهم وصلحت امورهم وطابت قلوبهم وانشرحت صدورهم وعلت كلمتهم عند سلطانهم فتنجزوا التواقيع منه والكتب عنه الى ولات [٥] الاعمال بمرمة بيعهم وما [٦] تشعث من [٧] كنايسهم وفتحها لاقامت [٨] صلواتهم والدعآ لله بسلامة سلطانهم فرموا ما كان وهى وبنوا ما كان هدم ورموا [٩] ما كان تشعث وعادت الامور الى اوفا ما كانة [١٠] من السلامة ورخص الاسعار وطيب الثمار وجرى النيل ونزول الامطار وتنيح هذا القديس انبا مرقس وقد رضى الله عن شعبه بصلواته وهم محفوظين ولم يهلك منهم الا ابن الهلاك لا زلنا يا اخوة نحن [١١] واياكم بصلواته محفوظين وبعين السلامه والكفايه من الله ملحوظين بصلوات القديس

امـــين

٢١٩ (ظ) ٥ الاب القديس انبا يوانس [١٢] البطرك الثانى من الدور الثانى من عدد الابآ

:. البطاركه الرابع والسبعون :.

ولما تنيح الاب انبا مرقس ابن زرعه البطريرك [١٣] رزقنا الله بركة صلواته فى اليوم السادس من طوبة سنة تسع ماية وخمسة للشهدا الموافقة لسنة خمس [١٤] وثمانين

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(١) لكلمتهم] ب : لكل منهم . (٢) جمال ومال] ب : مال وحال . (٣) كثرة] ب : كثرت . (٤) بناتهم وخزاينهم] ب : بناتهم وامتلت خزاينهم . (٥) ولات] ب: ولاة . (٦) وما] ب : ولم . (٧) من] ب : غيرموجودة . (٨) لأقامت] ب : لأقامة . (٩) ورموا] ب : ولموا . (١٠) ما كانة] ب : مما كانت . (١١) يا اخوة نحن] ب : يا اخوتنا . (١٢) هو يوانس السادس . (١٣) الاب انبا مرقس ابن زرعه البطريرك] ب : الاب القديس الروحانى انبا مرقص ابن زرعه البطرك . (١٤) خمس] ب : خمسة .

وخمساية [١] للهجرة اتفق الشعب الارثذكسى المسيحى والشيوخ الاراخنة بمدينة مصر والقاهرة ومن حضر من الابآ الاساقفة على قسمة الاب العالم [٢] البتول الفاضل الطاهر القديس الدين المسيحى انبا يوحنا وكان اسمه قبل تقدمته ابو المجد ابن ابو غالب ابن سورس فاخذوه قهراً فى يوم الاحد الحادى عشر من امشير سنة تسع ماية وخمسة للشهدا وهى [٣] السنة التى تنيح فيها انبا مرقس [٤] البطرك بعد نياحته [٥] بشهراً واحد وخمسة ايام وقسموه بطركا وكان المساعد لهم فى تقدمته عند السلطان القاضيان المريضى والرضى اخاه ابنا الجباب وكان هذا الاب كما قلنا بتولا عالما لما قد قرى من العتيقة والحديثة كاملا فى جسده وقامته باشوش الوجه حسن الخلق لين الكلام طيب المحاضرة ملازم اوقات الصلوات كثير الصدقات ذو مال وايسار من صباه صار ذالك [٦] اليه من ابوه واجداده وكان له دار وكالة بمدينة مصر يتجر فيها ويبيع ويشترى اصناف البضايع وله سكرية لعمل السكر وطواحين واملاك وكان كاملا فى دينه ودنياه وغير محتاج الى شى من امور الدنيا يصدق صدقات كثير مع اشتغاله بامور الدنيا ما كان يغفل عن صلوات السواعى الليلية والنهارية محبا ومجتهداً فى ضيافة الغربآ وافتقاد المرضى [٧] والمحبوسين ويدفع الجوالى عن الفقرآ من اهله والمحتاجين من قومه وكان كثير المودة لكل احد ويفعل الخير مع كل احد حتى ظهر امره واشتهر ذكره فلما تنيح انبا مرقس ابن زرعه البطرك [٨] الذى كان قبله لم يحتاجوا الاراخنة ان يطلعوا دير ابوا مقار ولا غيره من الديارات كما جرت العادة يطلبوا ويبحثوا عنمن يصلح لهذه الرياسة المسيحية والمملكة العلوية والخدمة الروحانية والدرجة الفاضلة السليحية لما صح عندهم وعلموه وتحققوه مما قدمنا ذكره من صفاته لم يحتاجوا الى شهادة ولا التمسوا على ما وصفناه زيادة فقدموه بتشديد الله لهم والهام روح القدس الذى اختاره ورضيه لرعاية قطيعه كما قال الرب [٩] لبطرس

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(١) خمساية] ب : خمس ماية . (٢) الاب العالم] ب : الاب الفاضل العالم . (٣) للشهدا وهى] ب : للشهدا الموافقة لسنة خمس وثمانين وخمس ماية للهجرة وهى . (٤) مرقس] ب : مرقص . (٥) بعد نياحته] ب : بعد يوم نياحته . (٦) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٧) المرضى] ب : المرضا . (٨) ابن زرعه البطرك] ب : ابن زرعه الذى كان بطركا . (٩) الرب] ب : غير موجودة .

ان كنت تحبنى فارع خرافى وكذالك [١] لما علم السيد المسيح ان هذا الاب يحبه
٢٢٠ (ج) سلم له * خرافه ليرعاهم كما قال فى المزمور ٧٧ فرعاهم بطهارة قلبه وبرفق
يديه ساسهم واهداهم [٢] واهتدت البيعة فى ايامه وصلح حال الشعب ودامت
السلامة وقد كان اتصال الكلام وشرح ما جرى فى ايام [٣] دولة صلاح الدين
قادتنا فيه الضرورة الى كمال سيرته فى ايام بطركية القديس [٤] الطاهر انبا مرقس
وقد كان هذا الاب تنيح قبل وفات [٥] صلاح الدين باربع سنين وكان [٦]
ينبغى ان يكون ما جرى فى هذه الاربع سنين الزايدة فى هذه السيرة وانما
قادة [٧] الضرورة لايرادها هناك لاجل فتوحه واموره وحروبه كانت متصاله [٨]
ببعضها بعض الى ان انفصلت بالهدنة والصلح لان بعدها توجه الى دمشق [٩]
وتوفا كما تقدم شرحه :. الملك العزيز عثمان ولده وملك بعده ولده الملك العزيز
عثمان ديار مصر واعمالها والبيت المقدس واعماله فى شهر ربيع الاول سنة تسع
وثمانون وخمس ماية الهلالية وقد كان صلاح الدين هادن الفرنج [١٠] قبل وفاته
فلم يغدروا به بعد موته ولا فسخوا الهدنة ولا تحرك منهم احد من مكانه
ولما عادوا ملوك الفرنج الانكتار والامان والافرنس وغيرهم الى بلادهم ملكوا
الكندهر على الساحل وكان رجل بطل شجاع قد جا من جملت المجاهدين
لله من المغرب من خلف البحر ولاجل ذالك كانة [١١] هدنة صلاح الدين معه
ومع فرسان الساحل ولما ملك الملك العزيز وكانة [١٢] الهدنة بين المسلمين والفرنج [١٣]
ولم يكن الاجناد مكار ولا سفر مدة سنين الهدنة مسكوا ايديهم عن بيع الغلة
فبلغ القمح ماية وسبعون دينار الماية اردب وكان السعر لا يثبت على حال واحد

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(١) فارع خرافى وكذالك] ب : فارع لى خرافى وكذلك . (٢) واهداهم] ب : وهداهم . (٣) فى ايام] ب : فى سيره ايام . (٤) القديس] ب : الاب القديس . (٥) وفات] ب : وفاة .
(٦) سنين وكان ينبغى] ب : سنين لأنه توفا فى سنة خمس وثمانين وخمس ماية وصلاح الدين توفا فى سنة تسع وثمانين وخمس ماية وكان ينبغى . (٧) قادة] ب : قادت . (٨) متصالة] ب : متصلة .
(٩) دمشق وتوفا كما تقدم شرحه الملك العزيز] ب : دمشق من مصر بعد ترتيب الامور وتهديتها واحكامها فات فى دمشق على ما وصفنا من السلامة له ولرعيته ودفن فى المدرسة التى بناها بدمشق الملك العزيز . (١٠) الفرنج] ب : الافرنج . (١١) و (١٢) كانة] ب : كانت . (١٣) الفرنج] ب : الافرنج .

بل يزيد عن هذه الجملة مدة اسبوع ثم رجع ينقص وكذالك [١] ساير الحبوب اردب بدينار ودونه وجميع القطانى يتضاعف اثمانها واقاموا الناس بديار مصر مكابدين الضر ثلث [٢] سنين ثم ان الملك العزيز جمع العسكر وسار [٣] من مصر الى دمشق فى الدفعة الاولة فى الخامس والعشرون [٤] من جمادى الاول سنة تسعين وخمس ماية الهلالية [٥] يريد ياخذها فلم يقدر عليها فعاد الى القاهرة فتبعه الملك العادل فاغلق الملك العزيز ابواب القاهرة فى وجهه فحاصره الملك العادل فيها شهور ثم مشى القاضى الفاضل بينهما فاصطلحا ودخل الملك العادل الى القاهره واقام فيها اربعة اشهر ثم عاد الى دمشق ومعه الملك العزيز فحاصروها واخذوها من الملك الافضل على فتسلمها الملك العزيز ولما كان فى محرم سنة اربع وتسعين وخمس ماية تواصلت مراكب الفرنج [٦] الى عكا وفسخوا الهدنة فبادر اليهم الملك [٧] فى اول امرهم قبل ان * يكثروا ويدخلوا الحصون ٢٢٠ (ظ) فنزل على يافا وقاتلها ثلثة ايام ففتحها وقتل فيها خلق كثير وسبى اكثر مما قتل ثم تواصلت مراكب الفرنج وطلع منهم الى الساحل خلق كثير فمضى منهم عسكر كثير نزلوا على حصن المسلمين يسمى تنيس [٨] فكتب الملك العادل كتاب للملك العزيز يعرفه بذالك [٩] ويطلب منه ان يسير اليه عسكر مصر فسار الملك العزيز الى الشام بالعسكر فى شهر ربيع الاول سنة اربع وتسعين وخمساية [١٠] نازل الافرنج [١١] وضيق عليهم وجا عليهم مطر وسيل كثير من الجبل وحجاره برد فرحلوا من تنيس [٨] بعد ان هلك منهم ومن دوابهم وقماشهم شى كثير جره السيل فى الماء فرحلوا ونزلوا حوالى مدينة صور [١٢] وعكا وغيرها من مدن الفرنج وبقى الملك العادل والملك العزيز منازلهم بالعسكر فلما كان فى العشرة الاخيرة [١٣] من جمادى الاخر سنة اربعة وتسعين وخمساية [١٤] عاد الملك العزيز

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(١) كذالك] ب : كذلك . (٢) ثلث] ب : ثلثة . (٣) سار] ب : صار . (٤) العشرون] ب : العشرين . (٥) الهلالية] ب : غير موجودة . (٦) الفرنج] ب : الافرنج . (٧) الملك فى] ب : الملك العادل فى . (٨) اقرأ : تبنين . (٩) بذالك] ب : بذلك . (١٠) خمساية] ب : خمس ماية . (١١) الافرنج] ب : الفرنج . (١٢) صور وعكا] ب : سور ومدينة عكا . (١٣) الاخيرة] ب : الآخر . (١٤) اربعة وتسعين وخمساية] ب : اربع وتسعين وخمس ماية .

ومعه بعض العسكر الى مصر وبقى الملك العادل منازلهم [١] واقام يقاتلهم شهرين ثم هادنهم [٢] على البر دون البحر مدة ستة سنين ثم تركهم وتوجه الى دمشق لان الملك العزيز اوهبها له فدخلها وملكها واقام فيها بقية سنة اربع وتسعين وخمساية [٣] ولما عاد الملك العزيز الى [٤] مصر اعدل على الرعية بديار مصر واحسن اليهم واستقام امره وانحلت الاسعار وابيع القمح الطيب اربعة ارادب بدينار والشعير والفول وساير الحبوب عشرة ارادب بدينار ولما كان المحرم [٥] سنة خمس وتسعين وخمساية [٦] خرج الملك العزيز الى برية الفيوم يتصيد فوجد غزالة فتبعها وكان معه كلب من كلاب الصيد فلحق الحصان الذى تحته كلب الصيد وقد اكسر الغزالة فوطى الحصان بيده على ذنب الكلب فدار الكلب من تحت بطن الحصان وعض خصاه فنفر منه ورماه بنفسه الى الارض فوقع الملك العزيز من فوقه صار تحته وجا الحصان فوقه وانقلب عليه بالسرج فدخل القربوس فى صدره مع فواده فعاد الى القاهرة محمول وكان الاطبآ يداووه فلم ينفع [٧] فيه دوا ومات ليلة الاحد ثانى وعشرين من المحرم سنة خمس وتسعين وخمس ماية وقد كمل له فى ملكه خمسة سنين وعشرة شهور وعشرين يوما فسبحان الله الذى لا فنا لملكه ولا راد لحكمه وبه المستعان ∴ الملك الناصر يوسف وملك بعده ولده يوسف وانعتوه نعت جده الملك الناصر وهو الملك الثالث من
٢٢١ (ج) ذرية صلاح الدين وهو يوسف ابن عثمان ابن يوسف ابن ايوب ملك ديار مصر والساحل والبيت المقدس وما كان بيد اخوه [٨] غير ما كان بيد الافرنج من عكا وصور وغيرهما وكان جلوسه فى الملك يوم الاحد الثانى والعشرون [٩] من الحرم سنة خمس وتسعين وخمس ماية وكانة [١٠] بين الفرنج والمسلمين باقية فلم يتحرك احد منهم من مكانه ولا تحرك احد ايضا من ديار مصر ولا ضاع لاحد فى القاهرة ومصر شيأ قيمته حبه وكان يوسف ابن الملك

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(١) اقرأ : منازلتهم . (٢) هادنهم على] ب : هادنهم فهادنوه على . (٣) خمساية] ب : خمس ماية . (٤) العزيز الى] ب : العزيز من الشام الى . (٥) المحرم] ب : فى محرم . (٦) خمساية] ب : خمس ماية . (٧) ينفع] ب : ينجع . (٨) اخوه] ب : ابوه . (٩) العشرون] ب : العشرين . (١٠) وكانة بين الفرنج] ب : وكانت الهدنة بين الفرنج .

العزيز صغيرا لا يكمل لتدبير المملكة فجعلوا الملك المستمر حضر وانعتوه بالملك الظاهر نايبا عنه فى السلطنة فلم يكمل له شهرا واحدا فيها حتى وصل الملك الافضل نور الدين على عمه [١] من قلعة سلخد الى القاهرة ودخل لها يوم الخميس السابع من ربيع الاول سنة خمس وتسعين وخمساية [٢] ∴ الملك الافضل على فلك [٣] وامر ونهى ورفع وتصرف واقام الى سلخ رجب من السنة المذكورة ثم جمع العسكر وسار [٤] الى دمشق يطلب ياخذها من عمه فى مستهل شعبان من السنة المذكورة فوجد عمه الملك العادل قد سبقه ودخل اليها قبل وصوله بيومين وقد حصنها بالرجال والعدد فلم يقدر يدخلها فانفذ الى اخوه الملك الظاهر صاحب حلب وابن تقى الدين ومظفر الدين ابن زين الدين وجمع عساكر الشام وعسكر مصر واقام محاصر عمه الملك العادل فى دمشق من مستهل شعبان سنة خمس وتسعين وخمساية [٥] الى سلخ صفر سنة ست وتسعين وخمساية [٦] الى سلخ صفر سنة ستة وتسعين وخمساية [٧] اختفا الملك العادل فى دمشق مدة خمس عشر يوما لم يبصره احداً من الناس وشاع الخبر عنه بانه خرج يدبر ديار مصر فاجتمع الملك الافضل نور الدين على واخيه الملك الظاهر غازى صاحب حلب وتقى الدين [٨] ومظفر الدين ابن زين الدين وتشاوروا فيما يعملوه فتقرر الراى منهم [٩] ان يعود الملك الافضل نور الدين الى ديار مصر يحفظها وان حضر العادل اليه لحقوه بقيتهم بالعساكر [١٠] من خلفه ويكون هو بالعسكر [١١] من قدامه فيحصل فى الوسط فعاد الملك الافضل الى ديار مصر ودخل مدينة بلبيس فى اليوم العشرين من ربيع الاول سنة ستة وتسعين وخمس ماية [١٢] واخلاها من النساء والقوام ولم يبقا فيها سوى الباعة والتجار وخرج اليه سيف الدين ازكج النايب عنه كان بمصر [١٣] ومعه جماعه من الاجناد وبعد ايام يسيرة تواصلت الاخبار

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(١) عمه] ب : اخوه . (٢) خمساية] ب : خمس ماية . (٣) على فلك] ب : على وكان دخوله القاهرة يوم الخميس السابع من ربيع الاول سنة خمس وتسعين وخمس ماية وملك . (٤) سار] ب : صار . (٥) و (٦) خمساية] ب : خمس ماية . (٧) الى سلخ صفر سنة ستة وتسعين وخمساية] ب : غير موجودة . (٨) حلب وتقى الدين] ب : حلب وشمس الدين ابن تقى الدين . (٩) منهم] ب : بينهم . (١٠) بالعساكر] ب : بعساكرهم . (١١) بالعسكر] ب : بالعساكر . (١٢) ستة وتسعين وخمس ماية] ب : سته وخمسين وستماية . (١٣) بمصر] ب : بالقاهرة .

بان الملك العادل قد وصل الى قطيه فاتفق رايه وراى سيف الدين ازكج على
قتاله ومحاربته ورد جميع الثقل الى القاهرة وتوجه اليه بعسكر وخيل مجردة بغير
ثقل وتحاربوا فى موضع يسمى الشامخ والعرابى وهما ميرلبان [١] من منازل
العرب فى يوم الثلثا الظهر الثامن من ربيع الاخر سنة ستة وتسعين وخمسماية [٢]
٢٢١ (ظ) فاكسر عسكر الملك العادل عسكر الملك الافضل واعطاه الله النصر فى ذالك [٣]
اليوم فغنم اموالهم وامسك عن قتلهم ونجا الملك الافضل بنفسه ودخل الى القاهرة
ولحقه من اصحابه من كان فرسه سابق فلما دخل الى القاهرة حصنها بالرجال
والعدد فتبعه الملك العادل ونزل بعسكره على المطرية وارسل خيله الى معادى
البحر ضبطوها حتى لا يعدى احد الاجناد اليه ينجده او يدخل القاهرة ثم احاط
الملك العادل القاهرة بالعسكر فى نصف ربيع الاخر سنة تاريخه [٤] وارسل الى
كبار الامرآ الذى داخل القاهرة من الاسدية والصلاحية ومن جملتهم ما عرفناه
فاسميناه وكثير منهم لم نعرفه والمشهور منهم سيف الدين ازكج وعلم الدين
كرجى وغرس الدين يمن وسيف الدين سنقر الدوادار وناصر الدين خضر ابن
بهرام وبقية العسكر الذى داخل القاهرة مع الملك الافضل فاصلح قلوبهم فمالوا
اليه ومسكوا نفوسهم عن [٥] قتاله وتركوا الملك الافضل وحده فى القاهرة فى
نفر يسير من اصحابه وخرجوا جميعهم للملك العادل واصطلحوا معه وفتحوا له
ابواب القاهرة فدخل اليها [٦] يوم الجمعة السادس عشر من ربيع الاخر سنة
ست وتسعين وخمسماية [٧] وحضر فيها صلاة الجمعة بجامعها فلما صح عند
الملك الافضل صدر عسكر وامرآ دولته خرج من القاهرة باكر يوم السبت
السابع عشر من ربيع الاخر سنة تاريخه ومعه ثمانين جمل اموال واثاث وذكر
من شهر خروجه انه لم يصحبه من عسكره واصحابه وامرآ دولته سوى ضيا الدين
اخو الفقيه عيسى ومماليكه نحو خمسة عشر فارساً ومع الافضل من مماليكه نحو
من خمسة عشر فارساً يكون الجميع ثلاثين فارساً وتوجه الى قلعة سلخد وهو

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(١) ميرلبان] ب : منزلان بظاهر بلبيس . (٢) خمسماية] ب : خمس ماية . (٣) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٤) تاريخه] ب : ست وتسعين وخمس ماية . (٥) عن] ب : من . (٦) اليها] ب : لها . (٧) خمسماية] ب : خمس ماية للهجرة .

مقيم بها الى يوم نظم هذه السيرة فى سنة ثلث وستماية الهلالية ومضى وقد انتزع منه الملك بديار[١] مصر والبيت المقدس والساحل وغيرهم فيما بين الظهر والعصر يوم الجمعة السادس عشر من ربيع الاخر سنة ستة وتسعين وخمساية[٢] وهذا اليوم بعينه يكون اخر ايام ملك الملك الافضل واول يوم من ملك الملك العادل ديار مصر من السنة المذكورة[٣] فسبحان الله[٤] الدايم الملك دايم البقا يزيل ملوكا ويقيم ملوكا ويهب الحكمة للطفل الصغير الذى ليس لملكه فنآ ولا لقدرته انتها جل وعلا سبحانه تعالى[٥] ∴ الملك العادل ابوا بكر وكان دخوله القاهرة كما قلنا يوم الجمعة سادس عشر ربيع الاخر سنة ستة وتسعين وخمس ماية وزعم قوم[٦] انه لم يدخل الى يوم الاثنين التاسع عشر منه ونزل فى الدار الوزارة واهتدى الحرب واطمانة[٧] ∘ الرعية وامنت الطرق وخرج الملك المستمر ٢٢٢ (ج)
خضر مع اخوه الملك الاخوه[٨] على واقطع الملك العادل الملك[٩] المستمر خضر بلاد السواد من اعمال دمشق واستقر الملك العادل فى الملك بعد ان تقرر بينه وبين الاسدية والصلاحية[١٠] وجميع العسكر ان يكون ولد الملك[١١] العزيز سلطان مصر وغيرها من ملك ابوه وجده ويكون الملك العادل مدبر الدولة حتى[١٢] يبلغ اشده لان الملك العزيز استحلف الامرآ والاجناد قبل وفاته ان ولده يكون سلطان[١٣] على مصر من[١٤] بعده وكان اسمه يوسف وانعتوه بالملك الناصر فابقاه الملك[١٥] العادل على هذه الحالة شهر رجب من السنة المذكورة[١٦] ثم سير عسكر الى دمشق مقدمه عز الدين اسامه واسد الدين سراً سنقر ومعهما جماعة كبيرة من الاجناد واحضروا ولده الكامل[١٧] منها الى ديار مصر فسلطنه عليها وحمل الفاشية قدامه وهذه هى سنة الملوك الفرس القديمة من ايام كسرى

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(١) الملك بديار] ب : ملك ديار. (٢) خمساية] ب : خمس ماية (٣) المذكورة] ب : المتقدم ذكرها. (٤) الله] ب : غير موجودة. (٥) تعالى] ب : تعالا. (٦) قوم] ب : قوماً. (٧) اطمانة] ب : اطمانت. (٨) الاخوه] ب : الافضل. (٩) الملك] ب : للملك. (١٠) الاسدية والصلاحية] ب : الصلاحية والاسدية. (١١) الملك] ب : للملك. (١٢) الدولة حتى] ب : الدولة له حتى. (١٣) سلطان] ب : السلطان. (١٤) مصر من] ب : مصر وغيرها من. (١٥) الملك] ب : غير موجودة. (١٦) المذكورة] ب : المقدم ذكرها. (١٧) ولده الكامل] ب : ولده الملك الكامل.

وسابور واردشير الملوك الاكاسرة وضرب اسمه على سكة الذهب والفضة المتعامل بها فى ديار مصر وامر الخطبا بالديار المصرية ان لا يرجع احد منها يذكر صلاح الدين ولا احد من اولاده على منبر بل يذكروا الخليفه اول والملك العادل ثانى وولده ولى عهده الملك الكامل ثالث ولا يذكر بعد ذالك [١] سوى تمام الخطبة والدعا ثم الصلاة ووهب لخطبا الثغور والغربية والشرقية وقوص والمدن الكبار لكل خطيب خمسين دينار ثمن خلعه واستوزر رجلا من اهل دميرة القبلية يسمى عبد الله ابن على قاضياً عدلا من صباه حسن الوجه تام القامة فقيها عالم بحفظ القران ذو معرفة بصناعة الكتابة وجمع الاموال من وجوهها والحديث على الحسبانات [٢] والنظر فى ترجيه الارتفاعات فانعته بالقاضى صفى الدين واسماه الصاحب وسلم له الدولتين المصرية والشامية فنهض فيهما واستقل بهما حتى صار يستخدم ويصرف ويامر وينهى ولا ينعمل شياً فى صغيرة ولا كبيرة الا بعلمه وبثبوت خطه حتى صار الملك العادل لا ينفرد عنه بشى ولا يطلق ولا يمنع ولا يوقع فى شى الا برايه وقلمه وبلغ منه ما لم يبلغه الصاحب ابن عباد وزير الخليفة ببغداد الذى سمى هذا باسمه [٣] وكان من قوم يعرفوا ببنى شكر وله اثار واخبار قد تداولتها الالسن وشاهدتها الاعين ولو [٤] تكلفنا شرحها حتى ندرك بعض ما كان منها بالديار [٥] الشاميه وفرغت [٦] الصحف ولم تفرغ وكلت الالسن والايدى ولم تغنى واقر بها واعجبها ما جرى

٢٢٢ (ظ) بديار مصر فى سنة سبع وتسعين وخمس مايه ٥ للهجرة فانه فيما [٧] كان خلفا الدولة المصرية وملوكها قد اطلقوه ووقعوا به من الصدقات لاهل الفاقات والرواتب للاقارب والاجانب مما تساوى فيه فى ايام دولتهم [٨] الفقرا والاقويا والاغنيا [٩] والضعفا لان معروفهم وخيرهم كان واصل الى كافة الناس اعداهم واولياهم فاشار هذا الوزير يقطع ذالك [١٠] جميعه فقطع فمنع الله النيل فى تلك السنة ان يصعد على ارض مصر فشرقت جميعها من برج اسوان الى برج دمياط

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(١) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٢) الحسبانات] ب : الحسابات . (٣) باسمه] ب : على اسمه .
(٤) ولو] ب : وان . (٥) منها بالديار الشامية] ب : منها بالديار المصرية لم يبلغ ما كان منها بالديار الشامية . (٦) وفرغت] ب : وعرفت . (٧) فانه فيما] ب : فانه نظر فيما . (٨) دولتهم] ب : دولته . (٩) الاقويا والضعفا] ب : الضعفا والاقويا . (١٠) ذالك] ب : ذلك .

وكان مبلغ ما حصل منه فى المقياس فى تلك السنة ثلثة عشر ذراعا [١] وثمانية اصابع فشرقت البلاد وخربت وهلكت الرعية وتفرقت وتشتت الخلايق وتمزقت ومضى خلق كثير من ديار مصر الى الشام باموالهم واولادهم فهلكوا واخذوهم العربان فى الطريق وماتوا بالبرد والجوع والقتل من العربان واخذ النفوس والاموال حتى كان الرجل منهم يموت ولده او اخوه او اعز الناس عنده فيتركه مطروحاً ويروح ولا يقدر يقف حتى يدفنه فى الرمل بل ينجا بنفسه مع الناس ولا يلتفت الى وراه ولا ينقطع من رفيقه فيهلك واخبرنى من شاهد الخلق موتا رمم من باب بابيس الى باب غزه هم ودوابهم ومواشيهم الواحد الى جانب الاخر وكانة [٢] ثلثة ضربات ضرب الله بها المصريين الغلا والجلا والوبا وذالك [٣] بنية سلطانهم ووزيره بلغ القمح بدينار الويبة مغربلة والخبز بنصف وربع درهم الرطل المصرى وبدرهمين وربع ورقا الرطل بالمحلى [٤] والشعير بخمسة وعشرين درهم [٥] الويبة والفول بعشرين درهم [٦] الويبة واما الحمص والعدس والجلبان فكانوا قليل والذى يجد منهم شيأ يشتريه بدرهمين وربع القدح وكان الترمس والبرسيم بدينارين الاردب ثم بلغ الترمس درهم [٧] القدح مبلول فباعوا الناس من الاثاث والقنايا والدور والجوار والعبيد مما قيمته دينار بدرهم وناس كثير [٨] باعوا بنيهم وبناتهم كالمماليك للخدمة واحتجوا بقولهم نبيعهم لمن يطعمهم الخبز فيعيشوا به اصلح من ان يموتوا بالجوع وكان الولد يخطف الخبز وغيره من يد ابوه ليحيي به نفسه والاب يخطف من ولده [٩] حتى يحيي [١٠] نفسه واكلوا لحوم [١١] الميتة من الحمير والبغال والخيل والكلاب والقطط وجميع الهوام والوحوش [١٢] والطير الحى والميت وكانوا نساء مرضعات يعجزوا من الجوع عن الرضاعه فيرموا اولادهم فى جامع المحلة وغيرها من المدن فى جميع ديار مصر فيرموا الاطفال اولاد شهر وشهرين وثلثة وفوق ذالك [١٣] فى الجوامع والمساجد والطرقات والاسواق بالليل فياتوا نساء اخر ورجال

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(١) ذراعاً] ب : ذراع . (٢) كانة] ب : كانت . (٣) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٤) بالمحلى] ب : المحلى . (٥) و (٦) درهم] ب : درهماً . (٧) درهم] ب : بدرهم . (٨) كثير] ب : كثيرا . (٩) ولده] ب : ابيه . (١٠) حتى يحيي] ب : حتى انه يحيي . (١١) لحوم] ب : لحم . (١٢) الوحوش] ب : الوحش . (١٣) ذالك] ب : ذلك .

٢٢٣ (ج) فياخذوهم[١] فى اقمطتهم انهم يربوهم لله ٥ فياكلوهم وقوم يربوهم وكان كل يوم يصبح فى جامع المحلة منهم جماعة كبيرة فلا يجى المسا حتى ياخذوهم وكان الشرط يمسكوا نسا كثير ومعهم قدور يجدوا فيها اللحوم[٢] الناس صغار وكبار مطبوخين ومسلوقين[٣] ومشويين فيودوهم للولاة فيضربوهم وبعضهم يجدوه قد ذبح او قتل فيقتلوه وكانوا جماعة من الناس صبيان شباب يقفوا فى الاسواق الليل والنهار ويخطفوا ما يشتروه الناس وجملة الامر انهم اكلوا بعضهم بعض وكان القوى يقوى على الضعيف فياكله ولم يبق احد يوارى احد التراب وهان الموت حتى[٤] صاروا مطروحين فى الشوارع والازقة والطرقات والكيمان ولا احد يبكى على احد ولا امراه[٥] تندب ولا تنوح وانقلعت الحنه قلوب[٦] الناس وانقطع من الحياة الرجا وحصل الاياس وهلكت الناس وخربت المدن وخلت[٧] القرى لان اهل القرى انضووا الى المدن لطلب المعاش لانه[٨] لم يبق احد يعمل صنعة ولا يعمر عمارة وضعفت قوة الخلق من الجوع والموت وما بقى احد اذا طلب يقول لله كسره ولا لقمة بل يقول لله لبابه هذا كان قول من يطلب وكانوا كبار الناس بمصر والقاهرة من الاجناد والكتاب واهل الخير من المسلمين والنصارى يصدقوا على الفقرا ويعمل كل احد على قدر طاقته ولم تزل هذه الامور مستمرة سنة سبع وسنة ثمان ولما كان فى شهر ربيع الاول سنة تسع وتسعين وخمس ماية نظر الله جلت قدرته تلاف الخلق ورحمهم وانجلت الاسعار وابيع الخبز ثلثة ارطال بدرهم بالمصرى[٩] وبرطل المحله رطل بدرهم وفى ربيع الاخر ابيع برطل المصرى ستة بدرهم وبرطل المحلة رطلين بدرهم فتراجعت الناس قليلا قليل وبدوا يعمروا والقزازين والحيكه وارباب الصنايع بدوا يعملوا وفى سنة تسع ابيع الخبز بالمصرى احد عشر رطل بدرهم وبالمحلى اربعة ارطال بدرهم وتراخت الاسعار وامنت الطرقات وسافروا

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(١) فياخذوهم] ب : ياخذوهم . (٢) اللحوم] ب : لحوم (٣) مسلوقين] ب : مصلوقين . (٤) الموت حتى] ب : الموتى عند بعضهم بعض حتى . (٥) امراه] ب : امراه . (٦) الحنه قلوب] ب : الحنة من قلوب . (٧) خلت] ب : خليت . (٨) لأنه] ب : لأنهم . (٩) بدرهم بالمصرى] ب : مصرى بدرهم .

الناس فى البر والبحر بعد ان كانت الطرقات انقطعت وما كان احد يقدر يسافر وحده الا ياكلوه الغيلان الذى تغولوا من بنى ادم فاعوذ بالله من سخط الله وهذا ما انتهى الينا علمه وسطرنا هذه السيرة والاب البطرك رزقنا الله بركة صلاته حى فى شوال سنة ثلاثة [١] وستماية الهلالية الموافقة للنصف من بشنس سنة ثلث وعشرين وتسعماية [٢] للشهدا الابرار صلواتهم تحفظنا واياكم وكتب معاى [٣] ابن ابوا [٤] المكارم ابن بركات ابن ابوا [٥] العلا بخطه لنفسه فمن ادرك ٥ نياحت [٦] الاب يوحنا وعرف شى تجدد فى ايامه فليذكره ويتم به ٢٢٣ (ظ) سيرته والمجد للاب والابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد ∴ وفى ايام هذا الاب انتهى [٧] اليه ان قسيس من اهل البشمور سكن مدينة الاسكندرية وكانوا كهنتها يحلفوا عليه يقدس فى كنايسها واقام على ذالك [٨] حيناً وزماناً فحضر رجل يعرفه من اهل بلده الى الاب البطرك انبا يوحنا واعلمه ان القسيس المذكور توفت [٩] زوجته وتزوج ثانيه وانه تعدى قانون الكهنوت فصعب ذالك [١٠] عليه جدا ومنع القس المذكور واغلق الكنايس بالاسكندرية وكتب الى الكهنة كتابا صعب وطلعوا له الى مصر فاغلظ عليهم وعظم ذالك [١١] عندهم جدا فسالوه وثقلوا عليه باراخنة مصر حتى صفح عنهم وتقدم لهم ان لا يرجع غريب يتصرف عندهم واخذ خطوطهم بذالك [١٢] واستمر ذالك [١٣] فى جميع ايامه ولما فسح الله جلت قدرته وعظمته لاخوكم المهتم بهذه السيرة المقدسة الذى اجهد نفسه فى طلبها من كل مكان وجمعها وكتبها بخطه لنفسه فى الحياة ادرك فى ايام هذا الاب الجليل قضية جرت فى ايامه [١٤] وقد ذكر بعض ابهاتنا من الشيوخ انه كان جرى مثلها فى ايام من تقدمه من البطاركة رزقنا الله [١٥] واياكم صلواتهم المقبولة مصطفيين من الله مويدين بروح القدس الساكن فى قلوبهم ∴ كان رسل ملك الحبشة والنوبة قد وردوا عليه بكتاب الملك يلتمسوا منه ان

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(١) ثلاثة] ب : ثلث . (٢) تسعماية] ب : تسع ماية (٣) اقرأ : معى . (٤) و (٥) ابوا] ب : ابو. (٦) نياحت] ب : نياحة . (٧) انتهى] ب : انهى . (٨) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٩) توفت] ب : توفيت . (١٠) و (١١) ذالك] ب : ذلك (١٢) بذالك] ب : بذلك . (١٣) ذالك] ب : ذالك . (١٤) فى ايامه] ب : فى ايام بطركيته . (١٥) البطاركة رزقنا] ب : مبطاركة اراد اخوكم ان يعلمكم بها لتعلموا ان ابهاتنا البطاركة رزقنا .

يقسم لهم مطران لكون المطران الذى كان عندهم قد تنيح ومن عادة الملك انه اذا ارسل [١] رسل الى البطرك يسير معهم هدية جليلة لسلطان مصر وكتاب اليه بان يتقدم للبطرك بقسمة المطران فلما وردت الرسل الى البطرك اقاموا عنده نحو من [٢] ثلثة اشهر [٣] وهو يرسل تلاميذه الى الديارات بوادى هبيب وغيره ويتامل هل عنده بمصر والقاهرة من يصلح للمطرنة فلم يجد احداً وضجروا الرسل من طول مقامهم عنده وعزموا على ان يعرفوا السلطان قصة حالهم وكان ملك ديار مصر لملوك الغز والملك فى ذالك [٤] الوقت العادل ابوا [٥] بكر ابن ايوب وكان فى ذالك [٦] الزمان قد احتوى على ملك مصر والبيت المقدس وجميع الساحل ما خلا عكا وصور وبعض القلاع والقرى التى كانة باقية للفرنج وكان فى ملكه ايضا دمشق واعمالها ومن خلف نهر الفرات [٧] وحران ومنبج ونصيبين والرها وعدة اماكن وقرى لم تعرف اسمايها [٨] وكان ملكا عادلا حريزاً قوياً كثير الغزاة فى الفرنج [٩] والمسلمين وفتح مدناً وقرى وكان
٢٢٤ (ج) له نحو من [١٠] خمسة عشر ولد ويكون عدة عسكره ٥ عشرة الف طواشى وقرا غلام ومماليك نزل اشتراهم بماله فلما ورد اليه الكتاب من ملك الحبشة [١١] كما قلنا بدياً [١٢] بان يتقدم للبطرك بقسمة مطران ويسيره مع رسل الملك تقدم له بذالك [١٣] وطال مقام الرسل عنده ولم يجد احداً ونظر انه ان زاد مقامهم شكوا [١٤] فاصرف قلبه للفكرة فى الاساقفة لما لم يجد من الرهبان والعلمانيين من وافق مراده فاتفق رايه مع [١٥] من بحضرته من الاصحاب والاراخنة والكهنة على رجل يسمى كيل ابن الملبس من اهل طوخ موثر من اعمال الغربية كان قد اقسمه اسقفاً على مدينة فوه وكان بتولا عالماً بالعتيقة والحديثة بشوش الوجه طويل القامة اكحل العينين اسمر اللون بحمرة حسن المنظر جدا فى فاه لدغه كاملا فى اعضايه وعلمه فاخذه وقسمه مطرانا وسيره مع رسل الملك واخبر [١٦] من كان سار معه

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(١) ارسل] ب : اسير . (٢) من] ب : غير موجودة . (٣) اشهر] ب : شهور . (٤) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٥) ابوا] ب : ابو. (٦) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٧) الفرات] ب : الفراة . (٨) اسمايها] ب : اسماها . (٩) الفرنج] ب : الافرنج . (١٠) من] ب : غير موجودة . (١١) الكتاب من ملك الحبشة] ب : كتاب الملك . (١٢) بدياً] ب : اولا . (١٣) بذالك] ب : بذلك . (١٤) شكوا] ب : شكوا للسلطان . (١٥) مع] ب : غير موجودة (١٦) واخبر] ب : فاخبر .

وعاد ان الملك لقيه من سيرة ثلثة ايام من المدينة بالخلع والكرامات ومعه كهنة واساقفة وعسكر عظيم وخلق كثير لما [١] وصل الى مدينة الملك خرج كلمن فيها تلقوه وعملوا على راسه مظلة منسوجة بالذهب مكللة بالجواهر وفرحوا به فرحاً عظيما ولما قدس اول قداس نثروا عليه ذهباً كثيراً واحرقوا عود [٢] وعنبر فى مجمرة الكنيسة كثيرا جدا وانزلوه فى دار المطرنة واقاموا له عشرت [٣] قسوس لخدمته وحفظ ما يكون من جراية المطرنة من الذهب والفضة والثياب وكتب الكنيسة وخزاين اخر ومخازن يكون فيهم حاجات المطبخ للطعام والقمح والحبوب وحمل اليه الملك والامرآ معه خيل كثير وبغال لركوبه وخدمته عبيد [٤] وجوار وكانت البلاد قد انقطع عنها المطر فلما وصل وقدس قبل الله صلاته وانزل المطر فازداد به فرحهم وخافوا منه ووقروه وصار الملك يركب فى كل وقت الى داره وعظم قدره عندهم واقام عندهم على هذه القضية اربع سنين ولما كان فى السنة الخامسة تواصل خبره الى الاب البطرك انبا يوانس انه فارق مدينة الملك وخرج منها متوجه الى مصر الى القلاية البطركية فصعب ذالك [٥] على الاب البطرك ولم يزل منقسم [٦] الفكر مشغول القلب بسببه الى ان وصل الى مصر وحضر بين يديه فساله عن السبب الموجب لعودته فذكر ان للملكة زوجة الملك اخ اسمه خيرون وانها لم تزل [٧] تلج عليه وتثقل عليه وتتشفع عنده بالملك الى ان اقسمه اسقف على مدينة الملك فلما اقسمه صار ٥ يركب ٢٢٤ (ظ)
بالمظلة مثل المطران وحاز الكهنة اليه وصار يحكم بين الناس ويمنع الناس من الرواح الى دار المطران ولا يسلموا عليه ولا يطيعوه فى شى وكان الملك قد خرج من مدينته بعسكره لمحاربة اعداه فعمل خيرون فى الحيلة على قتل المطران وتعب عليه قوم من عنده [٨] تسلقوا الى دار المطران بالليل ليقتلوه فهرب منهم فتبعه [٩] نحو من خمس ماية نفس اصحاب المطران وعبيد كان اشتراهم ووكلا وغيرهم لبلاد قلاية المطران [١٠] وعدتها على ما ذكر اربعين قرية فلما خرج من

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(١) لما] ب : ولما . (٢) عود] ب : عودا . (٣) عشرت] ب : عشرة . (٤) عبيد] ب : وعبيد . (٥) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٦) منقسم] ب : مقسم . (٧) تزل] ب : تزال . (٨) عنده] ب : عبيده . (٩) فتبعه] ب : وتبعه . (١٠) المطران] ب : المطرنة .

مدينة الملك وسار عنها راجعاً الى مصر مدة ثلثة ايام امر الكهنة والقوم الذين [١] ودعوا بالرجوع فرجعوا وصحبه [٢] جماعة منهم نحو ماية [٣] رجل فهلكوا فى الطريق بالجوع والعطش لانهم لما خرجوا من بلاد الملك وقعوا فى بلاد غيره من الملوك الكفار فقاسوا منهم شدة عظيمة وكانوا يمنعوهم العبور على بلادهم الى ان ياخذوا منهم الذهب وغيره فلم يصل المطران الى مصر الا فقيرا [٤] وقد هلك ما كان معه من مال ونفوس ووصل معه من الجميع عبدين وجارية وقط زبدة وهلك الباقى فلما اخبر البطرك بما قدمنا ذكره ان [٥] يقيم ببعض كنايس القاهره حتى يكتب للملك كتابا يستفهم صحة ما ذكره المطران فمضى المطران الى الى القاهرة واقام فى كنيسة حارة زويلة عند قوم من الاراخنة يقال لهم اولاد جمال الكفاه وكتب الاب البطرك الى الملك كتابا [٦] وسيره على يد القس [٧] موسى [٨] ومعه تلميذ من تلاميذه فغاب عنه رواح ومجى مدة سنه ثم عاد الجواب من الملك وهو يقول عن المطران انه قتل قسيس كبير فى طقسه مقدم العشرة [٩] قسآ الذى برسم حفظ خزانة المطرنة وسبب ذالك [١٠] انه اتهمه انه قد اخذ قضيب ذهب من خزانة المطرنة فبطحه وامر عبيده بضربه فضربوه قدامه بغير رحمة وهو يامرهم بضربه حتى اسلم روحه وسالوه [١١] جماعة من الكهنة فيه فلم يقبل فيه سوال وان اهل القسيس الذى قتله هم الذين كانوا يتسلقون عليه ليقتلوه عوض قتله صاحبهم واما خيرون الذى اقسمه المطران اسقفا ذكروا الرسل انه مات بعد خروج المطران من البلاد بشهرين ولم يمطر مطراً فى تلك السنة فى بلادهم ولذالك [١٢] انفذوا [١٣] الرسل بطلب مطران غيره وانه بنا فى المدينه التى للملك [١٤] دار وغرس فيها اشجار واجرى فيها مياه تتخرق فى مجالها وانفق فيها مال كثير وبيضها وعمل لها دهاليز طوال يتعب الذى يدخلها قبل ان يصل الى

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(١) الذين] ب : الذى . (٢) وصحبه] ب : وصحبته . (٣) نحو ماية] ب : نحو من ماية .
(٤) فقيرا] ب : فقير . (٥) ذكره ان] ب : ذكره امره ان . (٦) الى الملك كتابا] ب : كتابا الى الملك . (٧) يد القس] ب : يد رجل يسمى القس . (٨) موسى ومعه] ب : موسى من اهل ومعه . (٩) العشرة] ب : لعشر . (١٠) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (١١) سالوه] ب : سالوا فيه . (١٢) ولذالك] ب : ولذلك . (١٣) انفذوا] ب : اسرعوا بانفاذ . (١٤) فى المدينة التى للملك] ب : فى مدينة الملك .

قاعها وعلاها وحصنها وسماها القصر وكان يحتجب فيها عن الناس لا يخرج
الا من * يوم الاحد الى يوم الاحد يركب الى الكنيسة بغلة عالية والمظلة على ٢٢٥ (ج)
راسه وحوله وخلفه فرسان ورجاله نحو[١] خمس ماية رجل غير الكهنة والشعب
الذى يتبعوه الى الكنيسة ويبدل اذا طلع الهيكل ثياب منسوجة بالذهب مكللة
تساوى مال كثير وذكر عنه كلام كثير لم اقف عليه وهذا بعض ما سمعته من
جملت[٢] الكتاب الواصل الى البطرك[٣] ووصل صحبة القس موسى رسل الملك
وصحبتهم هدية جليلة وتاج ذهب للبطرك وهدية جليلة للسلطان ومن جملتها
وحوش وهم فيل وسبع وزراف وحمار وحش وكان يوم وصولهم فرح[٤] عظيم
عند البطرك وكان الملك العادل سلطان ديار مصر فى تلك السنة وهى سنة ست
وستماية الهلالية الموافقة لسنة ست وعشرون وتسعماية[٥] للشهدا الابرار غايباً
فى الغزاة على مدينة سنجار ومحاصرها بجنوده وولده الملك الكامل نايبه فى ديار
مصر فاخذ البطرك الرسل والهدايا الواصلة معهم له وللسلطان حمل الجميع له
فاستحسن التاج وقال ما كنت اظن ان عندهم من يعمل هذا فقال له الرسول
يا مولاى الملك نعرف اتضاع البطرك وانه ما يلبسه ولو علم انه يلبسه ويجلس به
كان يكلله بجواهر يكون قيمتها خراج ديار مصر جميعها فتعجب الملك الكامل
من كلامه وساله عن الملك وعسكره وحروبه فاخرج اليه الرسول كتابا من الملك
للسلطان وقال له اذا قرات كتابه عرفت كيف هو وكيف عسكره فلما قرى
كتاب الملك وجد من جملته يقول للسلطان تتقدم الى الاب[٦] البطرك الكبير
العظيم الجليل ويصف فضايل البطرك ويقول ان جميع الملوك وجميع الدنيا
ويقول للسلطان ومملكتك ايها الملك محفوظين بصلواته فاحفظه واكرمه وتقدم له
بان يقسم لنا مطران غير المطران الذى كان عندنا ولا يعيده لنا البتة فلما وقف
الملك الكامل على كتاب الملك تقدم للبطرك بان يقسم لهم مطران غيره سرعة ولا
يعوقهم عنده ثم التفت الى الرسول وقال له قد قرات كتاب ملكك وهو رجلا

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(١) نحو] ب : نحو من . (٢) جملت] ب : جملة . (٣) الى البطرك] ب : للبطرك .
(٤) فرح] ب : يوم فرح . (٥) عشرون وتسعماية] ب : عشرين وتسع ماية . (٦) الى الاب]
ب : للأب .

عاقل هات عرفنى قولك لى اذا قرات كتابه عرفت من هو قال له الرسول لواخذة [١] اصف لك فضايله وعساكره وحروبه وتاييد الله له ونصره اياه على اعداه لطال الوصف ولكن اختصر لك على اليسير لتعلم منه الكثير انى قبل صفرى [٢] بيوم واحد اعرض الملك عسكر امير واحد من الامرآ وانا واقف فى ركابه فكانة [٣] عدته ستين الف فارس غير من يتبعهم من غلمانهم * وحواشيهم ٢٢٥ (ظ) فتبسم الملك الكامل من قوله وامر بتسليم الهدية وقال للبطرك خذ هديتك كيف يكون الملك يخصك بشى تحمله الينا فحلف ما ياخذها واقسم عليه بحياة والده الملك العادل ان يقبلها فقبلها وامر بنجا رجال الرسل وان يقسم لهم مطران ولا يعوقهم فخرج من حضرة الملك الكامل وعاد الى مصر واحضر كهنة مصر والقاهرة واراخنتها وجمع مجمع عظيم وتسامعوا المسلمين بالقاهرة ما جرى للبطرك مع الملك الكامل وانه طلع الى مصر يقسم مطران فاستاجروا كل دابة من باب زويلة وغيره من الابواب وطلعوا الى مصر وبلغ اجرة [٤] الحمار من القاهرة الى مصر ثلثة دراهم حتى طلعوا يتفرجوا فلما امتلت كنيسة المعلقة من الخلق نصارى ومسلمين وقفها واخلا الناس من الفريقين احضر البطرك كييل ابن الملبس المطران القديم وخلعه من المطرنة وضجر عليه وابعده وكان لما وصل رسول الملك قد حصل اخوين رهبان من دير انبا اندونه [٥] وسلمهما للتلاميذ وكانا على غاية من الصلاح والنسك الزهد فى الدنيا والوحيدة [٦] والانفراد عن الرهبان فى ديرهم وملازمة الصلاة الليل والنهار والاتضاع وخدمة اخوتهم بلا ضجر ولا ملل احدهما اعلم من الاخر يشهد بصلاحهما [٧] جميع من يعرفهما [٨] واسماهما اسحق ويوسف من اهل البشطمير فقسم اسحق وهو الصغير مطرانا وقسم يوسف وهو الكبير قسا [٩] وسيره معه وذالك [١٠] فى يوم الاحد الثانى [١١] من الصوم الكبير المقدس حادى [١٢] عشر من برمهات سنة ستة [١٣] وعشرين وتسعماية

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(١) لواخذة] ب : لواخذت . (٢) صفرى] ب : سفرى . (٣) فكانة] ب : فكانت .
(٤) اجرة] ب : غير موجودة . (٥) اندونه] ب : انطونة . (٦) الوحيدة] ب : الوحدة .
(٧) بصلاحهما] ب : اصلاحهم . (٨) يعرفهما] ب : يعرفهم . (٩) قسا] ب : قسيساً .
(١٠) ذالك فى يوم] ب : ذلك فى نهار يوم . (١١) الثانى] ب : الجمعة الثانية . (١٢) حادى]
ب : الحادى . (١٣) ستة] ب : ست .

للشهدا الابرار الموافق للتاسع من شهر رمضان المبارك سنة ستة [١] وستماية الهلالية فاما كييل ابن الملبس المطران المقطوع فانه نزل من كنيسة المعلقة بخجل عظيم وهو يصرخ ويحتوا [٢] التراب على راسه ومضى الى حال سبيله وقد عدم المطرنة والاسقفية بسو تدبيره واما المطران الجديد واخوه القس فاخذوهم رسل الملك وتوجهوا بهم بكرامة وسلام الى مدينة عرفه مدينة الملك الذى اقسم المطران [٣] عليها وعلى جميع الحبشة ويوسف اخو المطران [٤] قسيسا وكان اسم الملك فى ذالك الزمان [٥] لالبله ابن شنوده وتفسيره الاسد واسم امراته مسقل كبرى [٦] الذى تفسيره عظيم هو الصليب وجنس الملك قبيلة يقال لها النكبة وسكنه مدينة عرفة وله ولدين اسم الكبير يبارك والصغير ابياب [٧] ولما كان [٨] نهار يوم الاثنين الرابع عشر من بشنس سنة سبع وعشرين وتسع ماية للشهدآ الاطهار الموافق للرابع والعشرون من ذو القعدة سنة سبع وست ماية وصل الى دمياط * ثمانية عشر مركبا من ٢٢٦ (ج) الافرنج عدو [٩] حربية فنزلوا على دير ارميآ الذى للملكيين قريب من دمياط مقدار فرسخ من ناحيت [١٠] الشط الغربى شط بورة والحيرة [١١] وكان من جملة المراكب بسطة كبيرة عمارتها الف رجل بحرية ومقاتلة وطريدتين لحمل الخيل فى كل طريدة خمسون فارساً وسبع شوانى وثمان حراقات عمروا من عكا وخرجوا منها نزلوا على الدير المذكور وكان مقدمهم ومدبرهم رجل يقال له الكندافلنك وطلع من المراكب الماية فارس والف رجل اقتسموا نصفين خمسون فارسا وخمس ماية رجل مضوا الى الحيرة قتلوا واسروا من اهلها الرجال والنسآء ونهبوها واحرقوها بالنار وخمسون فارسا وخمس ماية [١٢] مضوا الى بورة قتلوا واسروا منها الرجال والنساء ونهبوا منها متاع كثير شرب قطع مثمنة من جملتها للسلطان بخمسة الف دينار ولرجل قاضى يقال له على ذكروا انه

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(١) ستة] ب : ست . (٢) اقرأ : ويحط . (٣) المطران] ب : البطرك . (٤) اخو المطران قسيساً] ب : اخو اسحق المطران الجديد قسيساً . (٥) قسيساً وكان اسم الملك فى ذالك الزمان] ب : قسيساً وهذا ما انتهى اليه علمنا فى ذلك الزمان . (٦) ربما مسقل كبدى حيث معناه بالامهرى صليب عظيم . (٧) ربما ابيا ومعناه بالامهرى زهرة وهو اسم علم لكثيرين . (٨) ولما كان] ب : وغير ذلك مما حدث فى ايام هذا الاب انه لما كان . (٩) عدو] ب : عدوا . (١٠) ناحيت] ب : ناحية . (١١) بورة والحيرة] ب : الجيزة ونوره . (١٢) خمس ماية] ب : خمس ماية رجل .

له سنتين مقيم فيها يستعمل ويشد شدات قالوا بعشرة الف دينار وقالوا اكثر منها واما اهل البلد فما عرف مقدار ما خذوه [١] لهم من شدات متاع واكياس مملوه دنانير على اوساط نساهم ومن جملتهم زوجت [٢] القاضى على قاضى بورة كان على وسطها كيس الف دينار ولما نهبوا البلد وقتلوا واسروا من قدروا عليه احرقوا بعضها بالنار كل ذالك [٣] يوم الاثنين واخرجوا من المراكب خيام ضربوها قدام مراكبهم على البر منهم خيمة حمرة [٤] للملك الذى معهم واقاموا ينهبوا ويقتلوا وياسروا كلمن وجدوه يوم الاثنين ويوم الثلثا والاربعا وفى هذه المدة لم يخرج اليهم عسكر ولا قاتلهم احد لان عسكر مصر كان بالشام مع الملك العادل ولم يجسر جلدك والى دمياط يعدى اليهم يقاتلهم لقلة اجناده بل اغلق ابواب دمياط وعمر السور باهل البلد واجناده [٥] وكان على دمياط ثمنية شوانى اصطول [٦] مع الريس منصور فلم يخرج اليهم ولا قاتلهم ولما لم يروا احد يقاتلهم طمعوا وعلموا ان ما فى البلد من يمنعهم عدوا بعضهم فى الحراقات الى بر دمياط فقاتلوها فلم يقدروا منها على شى فعادوا الى مراكبهم وطاب لهم الريح فعادوا الى بلادهم بكسبهم وقد كان العدو ايضا طرق ديار مصر فى ايام هذا الاب دفعة اخرى من ناحيت فم رشيد وفعل فيها وفى فوه فى الحيرة وبورة هذه دفعتين ينجح العدو فيها ويكسب من اطراف البلاد ويعود سالما والامر لله سبحانه ما شا فعل وبعد هذه الامور عاد السلطان الى ديار مصر فى سنة ثمان وستماية واقام بها ولما كان فى شهر رجب سنة تسع وستماية خرج
٢٢٦ (ظ) يتصيد فى الجيزه ومعه * ولده الملك الكامل وسار فى الحاجر الى الاسكندرية ودخل اليها وكشف اسوارها ورتب احوالها وخرج منها بعد ان اقام بها عشرين يوما عدى بر الغربية وشق بلادها وكشف جسورها وعدى منها الى البر الشرقى مضى الى دمياط وكشف اسوارها وقلاعها وابراجها واخلع على البنايين والمهندسين ومضى الى اشمون نزل عليها فجا اليه ولده المعظم واعلمه انه طلب ياخذ قلعة كوكب من عز الدين اسامة لانه اشتراها من المملوك الذى فيها لاسامة

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(١) خذوه] ب : اخذوه . (٢) زوجت] ب : زوجة (٣) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٤) حمرة] ب : حمرا . (٥) واجناده] ب : واجناده وقعد . (٦) اصطول] ب : اسطول .

بعشرة الف دينار وتقرر ان يسلمها له فطلع مملوك اسامة الذى فى القلعة زوجته على القضية وقال لها ناخذ هذا المال الكثير نعيش فيه ونشترى به ضياع واملاك وقد حلف لى المعظم انه ما يخرجنى منها وان يكون حكمى عليها وعلى غيرها من قلاعه ويدفع لى بوق وعلم واكون عنده مثل استاذى فقالت له زوجته جيد [١] افعل ما تريد وكانة [٢] تعرف تكتب فقامت من ساعتها وكتبت لابن اسامة وكان مقيم فى قلعة صفد تعرفه القضية وتقول له اسرع واسبق الى القلعة والا المعظم يسبقك اليها فقام عند وقوفه على كتابها وسبق طلع الى القلعة واخذ المملوك قيده ورماه فى الجب الذى فيها وفى صبيحة اليوم الثانى جاء المعظم اليها فسلم عليه ابن اسامة من فوقها وقال له ارى مولانا شرفنا بعبوره فى ارضنا فقال له المعظم اريد الصيد قال له ابن سامة قد فاتك فضحك منه وتم على فوره الى مصر حتى اجتمع بابوه واعلمه بالقضية ولما بلغ عز الدين اسامة ما جرا [٣] من المعظم اخذ عسكره وذكروا العوام انه سار معه ثلثة امرا اخر وانه سار فى نحو الى فارس الى الشام وقال قوم انه يمضى الى قلاعه وقال قوم انه يمضى الى حلب للملك الظاهر وذالك [٤] فى شهر شعبان سنة تسع وستماية وذكروا ان الملك الكامل سار فى تبعه [٥] بعسكر ومنجنيقات لمحاصرته فى قلاعه ولما تحقق الملك العادل سفره سار من اشموم ونزل العباسة ونادى على الاجناد ان يجهزوا بركهم لسفر الشام وسار اسامه مع العرب فغدروا به وسلموه للملك المعظم فسلمه لابوه الملك العادل وقد كان الملك العادل سار فى طلبه كما تقدم قولنا فلما اظفره الله به مضى الى قلعة كوكب ونزل عليها وحاصرها فسلمها مملوك اسامة الذى فيها [٦] فتسلمها وحمل جميع ما فيها من المال والغلال والسلاح الى غيرها وهدمها وحمل حجارتها الى غيرها وهى [٧] قلعة جبل النطرون اعمرها به [٨] وتوجه الى دمشق فى سنة تسع وستماية بعد ان اخذ اسامة وتسلم بقية قلاعه وهم قلعة صفد وقلعة * عجلون وغيرهما مما لا نعرفه وقد اختلف القول فى امر اسامة ٢٢٧ (ج)
فقوم يقولون قتله وقوم يقولوا اعتقله فى الكرك [٩] وبعد هذه الخطوب اسلم

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(١) جيد] ب : جيدا . (٢) وكانة] ب : وكانت . (٣) جرا] ب : جرى . (٤) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٥) تبعه] ب : طلبه . (٦) فيها] ب : فيها له . (٧) الى غيرها وهى] ب : غير موجودة . (٨) به] ب : بها . (٩) الكرك وبعد هذه] ب : الكرك فى ايام هذا البطرك بعد هذه .

راهب من دير ابو مقار من قلاية البتريرخس اسمه يوحنا على يد الملك الكامل فدفع له حسبة منية غمر واقام فيها ثلثة سنين محتسب ويصلى مع المسلمين فى الجامع بها والمساجد وبعد ذالك [١] ذكر دينه ورهبانيته فندم فاشترى شقة خام ومنديل واخذهم ومضى ووقف للملك الكامل وقال له هولاء كفنى اما [٢] تقتلنى او ترد لى دينى فوقع له توقيع حسن الى كافة الولاة بان يرد له دينه ولبس ثياب الرهبنة [٣] وتظاهر بدين النصرانية واقام على ذالك [٤] زمانا الى ان اتفق ان رجلا نصرانى اسلم من اهل الصعيد ثم ذكر دينه فندم فاخذ كفنه ووقف للملك العادل قبل سفره الى دمشق وقال له ترد علىّ دينى كما رد ابنك الملك الكامل على الراهب دينه ووقع له ان لا يعترضه احد فلما سمع الملك العادل كلامه امر ان يسلم لوالى القاهرة وان يبسط عليه العقوبة الى ان [٥] يموت او يجدد اسلامه فاسلم ثانية [٦] ولم يصبر للعقوبة وسير الملك العادل من ساعته مملوك الى دير ابو مقار وامره ان ياخذ يوحنا فان اسلم والا ياخذ راسه يحضرها له فمضى المملوك الى الدير واخذه وقال له اختار ما تريد اما الاسلام او الموت فاسلم وخرج من الدير مع المملوك وجابه للسلطان الملك العادل فجدد اسلامه على يده واعاده الى حسبة منية غمر واقام فيها بعد سفر السلطان زمانا ثم حضر الى الملك الكامل وقال ان الرهبان حفروا بير فى دير ابو مقار فوجدوا فيها مطلب واوانى ومصاغ كثير وكانوا الرهبان جابوا بناّ مسلم بنا لهم البير وهو الذى حفره [٧] وكان قصد الراهب يوحنا ان ياخذ الملك الكامل جميع اوانى الديارات اذا تم له اخذ اوانى دير ابو مقار فاظهر السيد المسيح فضايل القديس ابو مقار ودر [٨] هذا الفاجر عن محبيه وقديسيه حقيرا مهانا لم يظفر بمقصوده وذالك [٩] انه قال للملك الكامل انه مطلب من عهد الروم وكان قوله ذالك [١٠] تدبير من الله [١١] لتكذيبه وسبب السلامة فندب الملك الكامل معه ثلثة من المماليك [١٢] ومعهم شهود وساروا الى

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(١) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٢) اما] ب : اما ان . (٣) الرهبنة] ب : رهبانيته . (٤) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٥) الى ان] ب : حتى . (٦) ثانية] ب : دفعة ثانية . (٧) وكانوا الرهبان جابوا بناّ مسلم بنا لهم البير وهو الذى حفره] ب : وكانوا الرهبان قد جابو رجل مسلم بنا حفر لهم البير وبناه . (٨) در] ب : رد . (٩) و (١٠) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (١١) تدبير من الله] ب : تدبير الله . (١٢) المماليك] ب : مماليكه .

الدير فى جماعة كبيرة ولم يكن الفاجر يعرف موضع الاوانى لانها مخفية تحت الارض لا يعرف موضعها الا مقدم الدير او رجل اخر من ثقات الشيوخ فمسك يوحنا جماعة من الرهبان كان فى قلبه منهم حسد فعاقبهم فلما علم مقدم الدير ان توانا [١] فى اظهار الاوانى تسلط على الرهبان بالعقوبة واخرجهم من اديانهم بادر وحضر [٢] بين يدى الشهود قال لهم وللاجناد [٣] الذى معهم ان * هذا الرجل [٤] نقل للسلطان الكذب وغير الحق ظناً منه [٥] ان يوافقه على ظلمه وليس عندنا من الاوانى الا كاس فضة او صنية فضة او ستر حرير نكسى به الهيكل وقت القربان وجميعهم برسم القربان اهتموا بهم النصارى وانفذوهم وكل واحد منهم اسمه مكتوب على ما عمله فقالوا له الشهود اذا صح ما قلته فان الملك [٦] الكامل عادل [٧] خلد الله ملكه ومن عدله ان لا ياخذ منها شيأ فطيب قلبك وقلوب اصحابك واحضرها حتى نراها ونعرف ان خصمك [٨] كذب فيما حكاه عنكم اذا قرى ما [٩] عليها من المكتوب وكان [١٠] هذا بتدبير الله جرى [١١] فقام مقدم الدير بين يدى [١٢] الشهود وفتح الموضع واخرج الاوانى فاثبتوها الشهود جميعاً فى الاوراق [١٣] وحملوها الى القاهرة واحضروها بين يدى الملك الكامل فقراها جميعها وكان جملتها ساقية لطيفة بلور صنعة عجيبة وشبكة لولو فاحضر الملك عرفا الصاغة والبرازين وقوموا المصاغ والستور الحرير وجميع الانية فذكر من حضر انها قومت بثلثة الف دينار على حكم الاختصار وربما تميز بازيد من ذالك [١٤] فاحضر الملك الكامل البطرك [١٥] انبا يوانس [١٦] فسلم له جميع الاوانى بعد ان كان قال ابصروا رجلا نصرانى [١٧] واسلم واخذ دين الاسلام بقبول وهو مشهور فيه بثقة وديانة وامانة يقرا لنا ما هو مكتوب على

٢٢٧ (ظ)

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(١) توانا] ب : توانى . (٢) وحضر] ب : فحضر . (٣) للاجناد] ب : الاجناد .
(٤) الرجل] ب : الراهب . (٥) للسلطان الكذب وغير الحق ظنا منه] ب : السلطان خلد الله ملكه غير الحق ظن منه . (٦) فان الملك] ب : فالملك . (٧) عادل] ب : غير موجودة .
(٨) خصمك] ب : خصمكم . (٩) ما] ب : غير موجودة . (١٠) وكان] ب : غير موجودة .
(١١) جرى] ب : جرى الأمر . (١٢) يدى] ب : ايدى . (١٣) الاوراق] ب : اوراق .
(١٤) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (١٥) البطرك] ب : غير موجودة . (١٦) انبا يوانس] ب : انبا يونس . (١٧) رجلا نصرانى] ب : رجلا كان نصرانى .

هذه الاوانى فاحضروا رجلا من اهل الاسكندرية اسمه بطرس ابن يوحنا كان شماسا ببيعة السيدة بها واسلم فقرى للملك الكامل القبطى الذى على الكاسات والصوانى والصلبان والملاعق اسم كل من عمل شيأ عليه فعجب الملك الكامل من ذالك [١] وامر ان يستحلف بثلثة شيوخ من الرهبان ان هذه الانية لم توجد فى بير فحلفوا واحضروا البنآ الذى حفر لهم البير وبناها وكان رجلا مسلم فشهد بين يدى السلطان انه الذى حفر البير وبناها ولم يكن فيها شيأ فصدقه السلطان فعند ذالك [٢] قال الحكيم ابو شاكر للملك الكامل يا مولانا قد كان رفع للملك الناصر صلاح الدين رحمه الله فى هذه الانية واحضرها وعلم كدب الرافع واعادها الى ديرها فعند ذالك [٣] اعادها الملك الكامل وامر بتسليمها للبطرك فاخذها وجعلها فى اطباق على رووس الحمالين واشترى شمع كثير ودار بها جميع شوارع القاهرة واسواقها وحولها [٤] خلق كثير من النصارى وطلع بها الى مصر وطاف شوارعها واسواقها والنصارى تصرخ بالدعا للسلطان وكان يوم مشهور عظيم جدا وصعب على الشاميين بمصر دوران الصلبان فى اسواقها وشوارعها * ولكن لم يجسر ٢٢٨ (ج)
احد يتكلم [٥] ولا يمد يده [٦] من هيبة الملك الكامل خلد الله ايامه وبعد ذالك [٧] جا راهب من دير ابو مقار [٨] من قلاية سكسيك كتب له رقعة فى البطرك يقول فيها ان البطرك فى كل سنه يحمل اليه مال كثير من الاساقفة وقد كانوا البطاركة الذى قبله جرت عادتهم ان ينفقوا فى مراكب الاصطول [٩] من اموالهم فاخذ القاضى الاعز صاحب الديوان الرقعة منه اعرضها على الملك الكامل فقال للقاضى الاعز يا قاضى اذا كان غيرنا ظالما ما نكون نحن مثله دع هذا الراهب يمضى الى ديره حتى نطلبه فخرج اليه القاضى الاعز وقال له ما قاله الملك الكامل فمضى بوجه مخزى وحرس الله الاب البطرك من كيده وجرى فى ايام حياة هذا الاب من الامور الصعبة الحروب والغلا والجلا ما قدمنا ذكره ولو ذكرناه

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(١) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٢) و(٣) ذالك] ب : ذلك . (٤) وحولها] ب : وكان حولها .
(٥) احد يتكلم] ب : احد منهم يتكلم . (٦) يده] ب : له يد . (٧) ذالك] ب : ذلك .
(٨) راهب من دير ابومقار من قلاية سكسيك] ب : راهب اخر فاجر من برية ابومقار ووقف للملك الكامل وكان اسمه عبد المسيح المصور من قلاية سكسيك . (٩) الاصطول] ب : الاسطول .

ما جرى فى ايام رياسته بجميع الديارات المصرية لم نبلغ ذالك ولا وصلنا اليه وانما ضمنا هذه السيرة ما نقلناه ممن تقدمنا من اسلافنا وما وصل الى علمنا بسماع الاخبار من ثقات شيوخنا الى مدينة المحلة بحكم سكننا فيها ومقامنا بها وقد نشر غيرنا من اخوتنا المومنين [١] المقيمين بالقاهرة [٢] ومصر مما شاهده حقا وعلموه يقينا ثم تنيح الاب المغبوط انبا يوانس [٣] المذكور يوم الجمعة السادس عشر من شهر رمضان سنة اثنى عشر وستماية الموافق للثانى عشر من طوبة سنة اثنين وثلثين وتسع ماية [٤] للشهدا الاطهار صلواته [٥] تحفظنا امين وكان هذا الاب البطرك قد سمع وهو حى ان انبا زخارياس البطرك لما تنيح امر ان يدفن جسده المقدس فى الحبس تحت قبر زخارياس البطرك فدفن فى مقبرة الحبس بمصر وهما فيها الى يوم تسطير هذه السيرة والسلام والمجد لله دايما ابديا سرمديا امين .

٢٢٨ (ظ) * نبتدى بمعونته وحسن تاييده بشرح ما جرى على اقليم مصر
وما اصاب الشعوب المومنين بالمسيح المقيمين فيه من برج
دمياط الى برج اسوان بعد وفات الاب المغبوط البكر
الطاهر انبا يوانس البطرك نيح الله نفسه مع الابرار

انا اذكر ما وصل الى علمى فيها فى المواضع الذى انتهى اليها فى هذه السيرة ومدة مقام الكرسى بغير بطرك كما تنبا بذالك انبا يوانس ولما طال الزمان خفت ان اموت ولم اشرح ذالك وقد امهلنى الله حتى سمعته وعلمت وابصرة فاكون كانى قد منعت نفسى تذكار رحمة الله وبخلت على غيرى بها فقدمت خيرة الله وسالته المعونة لى على ذالك متكل على عفوه واثق بلطفه انه على كل شى قادر وقد كنت ذكرة فى اخر سيرة انبا يوانس البطرك انه تنيح يوم الجمعة الثانى عشر من طوبه سنة تسع ماية اثنين وثلثين للشهدا الاطهار الموافق

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(١) المومنين] ب : غير موجودة . (٢) بالقاهرة ومصر] ب : بمصر والقاهرة . (٣) يوانس] ب : يونس . (٤) اثنين وثلثين وتسع ماية] ب : تسع ماية اثنين وثلاثين . (٥) صلواته] ب : صلواتهم .

للسادس عشر من رمضان سنة اثنى عشر وستماية وابتديت انا فى كتابة هذه السيرة يوم الاثنين السابع عشر من برموده سنة سبع وثلثين وتسع ماية الموافق للثامن عشر من صفر سنة ثمان عشر وستماية يكون مقام الكرسى خال بغير بطرك الى هذا التاريخ خمس سنين وثلثة اشهر وما زاد على ذالك يضاف اليه عند قسمة البطرك الذى يقيمه السيد المسيح لرعاية شعبه كما تنبا القديس انبا يوانس البطرك كذالك كان والدى بلغنى ممن كان حاضر عند انبا يوانس يوم نياحه من شيوخ مصر قبل موته بيوم واحد انه غشى عليه نحو ثلثة ساعات ثم فتح عيناه وتحدث مع الحاضرين عنده وسالهم عن منصور تلميذه وكان مريضا فقالوا له مات فقال كفنوه وادفنوه فانا اغدا [1] اكون عنده ثم غشى عليه دفعة ثانية ثم فتح عينيه وقال للحاضرين عنده يكون بينكم بعدى خلاف عظيم فيمن تقيموه ويكون الكرسى بلا بطرك زمانا طويلا حتى يقيم لكم المسيح رجل ياتى به من حيث لا تعرفون وتكون ايامه هادية وروح الله تكون فيه ثم تنيح ثانى يوم ودفن فى الحبس بمصر الى جانب قبر زخارياس البطرك كان وبقى الكرسى خال بغير بطرك من يوم نياحته الى يوم تسطير هذه السيرة كما تقدم القول وكان ذالك بامر الله كما تنبا به عليه الاب انبا يوانس بروح القدس المتكلم من فاه الطاهر ونشرح ها هنا ما جرى من الخلف بين المصريين فى من يقيموه بطركا ممن يصلح كامل الاوصاف والشروط الذى يشهد بها قانون البطركيه اولها ان يكون بتولا لا يعرف له صبوه ولا يشهد ٥ عليه بخلطة مشهودا له بالعفة والديانة وكثرة الامانة والعلم والاتضاع قد قرى العتيقة والحديثة وكانوا مجتهدين فى طلب من هذه صفته وكانة ديار مصر فى مملكة الغز والملك عليها الملك العادل ابو بكر ابن ايوب وكان فى ملكه ديار مصر واعمالها والبيت المقدس واعماله ومن خلف نهر الفراة حران والرها ونصيبين ومنبج فامدوميا فارقين وكل اعمالهم وكان له اولاد كثير فدفع ملك ارض مصر لولده الكامل واسمه محمد ودفع دمشق والبيت المقدس لولده المعظم واسمه عيسى الكريدى ودفع خلاط لولده الاشرف موسى وفرق المدن التى تضاف اليهم على بقية اولاده وقيل عنه ان له

٢٢٩ (ج)

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(١) تقرأ غدا .

عشرين ولد ودفع اليمن لاقسيس ولد ولده الملك الكامل ثم مات بعد ان رتب الامور وسنذكر ذالك فى موضعه ان بلغنا الانتها اليه وكان الملك الكامل ملك مصر قد خرج من القاهرة يريد الفرجة والصيد فعدى الى الغربية وسار فيها يريد الاسكندريه فعدى بحر ابيار فراى صومعة الحبيس الذى هناك فوقف تحتها وصاح له فكلمه من فوقها ودعا له فشكا له وجع فى فواده فصلى له على زيت طيب ودفعه له وقال له اذا دهنت موضع الوجع والله الشافى فدهن به الوجع فبرى لوقته فوهبه شى من يده وصار له فى قلبه مودة ثم عاد الى القاهرة فوجد رجل من اولاد القبط اسمه ابو الفتوح ونعته نشو الخلافة يعرف بابن المقياظ قد استخدمه الملك العادل فى ديوان الجيوش فقربه منه وكان يصدق بكلما يملكه ولا يدخر شيا ويعمل خيرا مع كلمن يقصده من النصاره والمسلمين وجميع الناس ولم يكن متزوج قط وهو كامل بكل عمل حسن فاوى اليه رجل قس اسمه داوود ويعرف بابن لقلق من اهل الفيوم وهو خيرا عالما قد قرى العتيقة والحديثة وجادل مخالفى دينه وظهر عليهم فصار لنشو الخلافة ابو الفتوح كالمعلم وكان يقول بالاعتراف فاما ابو الفتوح اليه فاتصل خبره بالاب انبا يوانس فى حياته وكان يكره القس داوود وكره ابو الفتوح من اجل انه مقيم عنده ومات وهو غير راضى عليهما وكان لما مات مطران الحبشة فى حياة انبا يوانس وجا رسولهم يطلب قسمة مطران فسمع القس داوود بذالك فحمل للملك العادل مايتى دينار على انه يامر البطرك ان يقسمه مطران للحبشة فسير السلطان رسول للبطرك يامره ان يقسمه مطران للحبشة فقال البطرك لرسول الملك * قول لمولانا ٢٢٩ (ظ)
السلطان ان هذا ما يصلح لان امانته بالله فاسدة لانه يقول فى الله ما تقوله الروم فان مضى الى بلاد الحبشة افسدهم وجعلهم روم ويخرجوا عن طاعتى وطاعة السلطان وربما حملهم على محاربة المسلمين الذين هم مجاوريهم فى البلاد ويسفك بينهم دماً كثير ويكون ذالك فى ذمة السلطان وانا وشعبى براآ منه فعاد الرسول الى السلطان واعلمه بما قاله البطرك فلم يكلفه ولا جبره على قسمته وابطل الله امره وضاع عليه ما حمله وقالوا قوم ان السلطان رده عليه بسوال نشو الخلافة ومساعدة فخر الدين عثمان وللوقت اقسم البطرك مطران غيره للحبشة وسيره مع رسول الملك اليهم فلما تنيح الاب البطرك انبا يوانس اراد نشو الخلافة

ابو الفتوح ابن ميقاظ ان يساعد القس داوود عند السلطان والشعب ان يقسمه بطركا وشرع فى ذالك واجتمع بجماعة من الكتاب المصريين وغيرهم فى ان يقيموا القس داوود عليهم بطركا فوافقه منهم اليسير وخالفه الكثير ولم يقدر ان يجمعهم الكل على الرضا به ولا على راى واحد فيه فانفذ رسله الى كراسى الابا الاساقفة بالوجه البحرى والى اسقف طمبدى بالوجه القبلى وكان خيرا عالما فاجتمع منهم سبعة اساقفة فاضافهم واكرمهم واوهبهم وطلب منهم ان يكتبوا خطوطهم فى مسطور عمله له بان يصلح بطركا وكان فيهم اسقفين فقرا احدهم اسمه هدية اسقف دميرة والبرمون والاخر اسمه اصطفن اسقف البنوان دفع القس داوود له شى فكانا يقفا للسلطان اذا ركب يطلبوا منه ان يقسم لهم داوود بطرك ويقولوا للسلطان قد كتبوا له الاساقفة خطوطهم وجماعة الشعب انه يصلح بطركا وكان من سابق تدبير الله ما قدمت ذكره من امر حبيس ابيار مع الملك الكامل فلما سمعهم الملك الكامل يطلبوا لهم بطركا قال لهم انا امر ان يكون حبيس ابيار بطرككم وانا ارضاه لكم وكتب للوقت كتاب الى شمس الدين . . . . . ولوالى الغربية بان يمضى الى ابيار وينزل بالحبيس من صومعته ويسيره الى القاهرة فانزله من صومعته وسيره الى القاهرة فلما سمع نشو الخلافة ابو الفتوح ذالك اتفق مع الامير فخر الدين عثمان وزير الملك الكامل ان يقولوا عنه للسلطان انه يسال مولانا السلطان ان لا يزعجوه ولا ينزلوه من صومعته فانفذوا رسل ردوه بعد ان وصل الى قليوب ففرحوا اهل ابيار برجوعه لهم وطلعوا به الى صومعته فسمع بخبره رجل نصرانى يعقوبى من اهل القاهرة يعرف بالاسعد ابن * صدفة ٢٣٠ (ج)
ضامن دار التفاح فغار لله كما غار فنحاس واخذ معه جماعة من الناس ووقف للسلطان وعاند نشو الخلافة ابو الفتوح فى قسمة داوود وجعل عمدته الملك الكامل وقال له عن داوود انه يصانع بالمال حتى يتقدم علينا وما نرضاه وقد دفع للملك العادل مالا كثير حتى يامر البطرك ان يجعله مطران ما صلح يحل الله لك تجعله علينا بطرك يفسد ديانتنا ويجعل قبط ديار مصر كلهم روم ويخرجها من ايدى المسلمين فانفذ الملك الكامل الى والى مصر يقول له ان انت مكنت ابو الفتوح واصحابه يقيموا لهم بطرك بغير امرى شنقتك وبعد ايام قليل خرج الملك العادل الى اسكندرية فاستاذنه ابو الفتوح فى قسمة داوود فقال له

اجعله بطرك والحقنى الى الاسكندرية ولا تبطى فلما سمع القس داوود بذالك
عمل عكازين احدهما عليه صليب فيه موشى بذهب والاخر موشا بخيوط فضة
وفصل ثياب وغفافير حرير وهيآ ما يحتاجه لقسمته واخذه ابو الفتوح مع
الاساقفة وطلع الى مصر الى المعلقة يقسمه بطركا فاتصل خبره بوالى مصر فركب
ومعه جماعة من اجناده واعوانه وجا الى كنيسة المعلقة ونزل بهم انجس نزول
واخزق بهم وهرب داوود وخرجوا الاساقفة من الكنيسة هاجين على رووسهم
من مصر الى كراسيهم وبطل امر داوود الى يوم تسطير هذه السيرة على ما تقدم
من التاريخ وكهنة كل مكان يدبروه ولم يرجع نشو الخلافة يتحدث فى امر
داوود ولا غيره ونعود الى تمام سيرة الملك العادل ابوا بكر ابن ايوب ملك
ديار مصر وما معها ولما كان يوم الاثنين النصف من جمادى الاخر سنة اربع عشر
وستماية تواصلت له الاخبار ان ملك من ملوك الفرنج يقال له الهنكر من
جزيرت برشيلية وصل الى عكا فى ماية وستين بطسة وطريدة وانه نزل فى
مرج عكا واعرض عسكره وكان عدته اربعة الف فارس وتسعين الف راجل
فجمع الملك العادل عساكره وسار فى مصر ونزل على بلبيس [1] ونزل قريب من
الافرنج واقام ايام فى نابلس حتى كمل عسكره وسار الى عكآ ونزل على الطور
فى مستهل رجب سنة تاريخه ثم وصلت الى عكا بطس وطرايد اخر من ملوك
اخر حتى امتلأ مرج عكآ ونزلوا فيه بالخيم حتى ضاق بهم المرج وسمع الملك
العادل انهم يريدوا يكسبوه فى الليل فرحل من الطور ونزل على انهار بيسان
عند عين جالوت لكثرت الما هناك وكان عسكره نازل من نابلس الى قصر
معين الدين عند قنطرة اسامة وانفذ ملك الهنكر يطلب من السلطان المصاف
وقال الملك لرسوله قول له اذا خرج من عكا الى برآ عنها فانا اصافيه فاعاد رسوله
عليه ما قاله السلطان فسار من يومه * فلما قرب من عسكر المسلمين راى ٢٣٠ (ظ)
السلطان ما هاله من كثرت الفرسان والرجاله لان ملك الهنكر وملك عكا
وصاحب جبلة وطرابلس ومن كان قد بقى فى الساحل من الملوك اتفقوا وحلفوا
لبعضهم بعض كلمة واحدة ان لا يخون احد منهم صاحبه وصاروا بقلب واحد

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(١) الأصح : نابلس .

لحرب المسلمين فلما علم الملك العادل ذالك رحل من على بيسان نزل عقبة فيق فكلمن لحقه من عسكره مسلم فوقعوا الافرنج على سوق العسكر ومن لحقوه فنهبوه وقتلوا خلق كثير واخذوا الخيم والدواب وكلما كان فى المنزلة ونزلوا تحت عقبة فيق فى منزلة السلطان وذكر من اخبر ان الملك العادل انفذ رسل الى اولاد اخوه صلاح الدين وغيرهم من ملوك المسلمين ان يجوا اليه بعساكرهم ويساعدوه على الافرنج فلم يجيه احد فتوجه الى دمشق ونزل فى مرج السعار وخلا مع ابنه الملك المعظم الى فارس مع جماعة من الامرآ نازلين على القدس يحفظوه وفى يوم السبت النصف من شهر رمضان وصل كتاب جلدك والى دمياط كان يخبر فيه ان ملوك الافرنج قالوا للميبازنه والجنوبين انتم الطور لكم امضوا وقاتلوه وخذوه فخرجوا من عند الافرنج اربعة الف رجل لانه حصن على جبل عال لا يقدر فارس يصل اليه وكان معهم عرب من بنى عقبة المحالفين مع الفرنج وكانوا يقاتلوا معهم المسلمين فجا اليهم الملك المعظم ومعه الى فارس وكانوا قد صعدوا الى الطور ونقبوا القلعة واشرفوا على اخذها فادركهم الليل فانفذ الملك المعظم الى العرب بنى عقبة فافسدهم على الفرنج وحلف لهم انه يدفع لهم مالا قرره معهم ويقطعهم بلاد وحلف لهم على ذالك وقال لهم ما يحل لكم من الله سفك دما المسلمين بيد الكفار فى شهر رمضان فاطاعوه وحلفوا لرسوله انهم لا يقاتلوا مع الفرنج ولا يكونوا معهم على المسلمين وقالوا له الفرنج يناموا بالليل فاكسبهم فى نصف الليل والاشارة بيننا وبينكم اذا وقدنا نار فاكسبهم ففعل كما قالوا له وكسبهم نصف الليل فتخلوا عنهم العرب فانتصر عليهم وقتل اكثرهم وسلم ونزل على الطور وقواه بالعدد والمال والرجال وفى مستهل جمادى الاول سنة تاريخه ماتوا الانفار فى جميع ديار مصر بامر الله وكانوا مطروحين موتا حول بلادهم الى حافت البلاد من روايحهم وذكر قوماً من العربان والمسافرين ان ابقار الوحوش فى البرية ماتوا وماتوا ابقار الجيش [1] وانا كاتب هذه السيرة رايت موت الابقار فى ديار مصر فى سنة اربع وخمسين وخمس ماية للهجرة قبل هذه الدفعة وبعد تلك السنة بعشرة سنين زالت دولة

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(١) الأصح : الحشيش .

الخلفاء الفاطميين وملكوا الغز ارض مصر فى سنة اربع وستين وخمس ماية للهجرة
وعشت حتى * رايتها فى هذه الدفعة الاخرى بعد ستين سنة وتواصلت الاخبار ٢٣١ (ج)
ان ملك الافرنج لما رجع من الطور الى عكآ عبر على قرية من قرى الغور تسمى
رحر النصارة فيها خلق كثير نصارى ملكية وسريان ومسلمين كثير فخرجوا
للملك ولقيوه بالانجيل والصلبان والمباخر ووقفوا بين يديه فشكرهم وقال لهم
بقى فى العسكر اربع فرسان مرضى خذوهم عندكم وداووهم فاذا فاقوا سيروهم
الى عكا مع من يوصلهم الىّ وتركهم عندهم ومضى فقاموا مسلمين القرية
على النصاره واخذوهم منهم وقتلوهم ولم يقدروا النصاره يمنعوهم عنهم من
خوف السلطان ووصل خبرهم الى الملك بعكآ فسير عسكر قتل كلمن فى رحر
النصاره والمسلمين الرجال والنساء والاطفال لانه كان قال للنصاره عندكم
مسلمين قالوا له لا فلما رجعوا اعتذروا ان المسلمين قتلوهم فلم يقبل عذرهم
وقتلوا قسيس كنيسة رحر وشقوا بطنه وعملوا فيها كلب ميت لانه كان حلف لهم
ان ما فى القرية مسلما وبعد هذه القضية عاد ملك الفرنج الى بيسان وحمل
ما كان فيها من القمح الى عكا على رووس اهل الغور حمل الصبى القوى نصف
اردب وما دونه ثلث اردب من بيسان الى عكا الى ان حملوا كلما فى بيسان من
القمح وكانوا اذا تعب صبى وحط حمله حتى يستريح قتلوه وحملوه لغيره
من الاسارى ولما حملوا القمح الى عكا اسروا الذين كانوا حملوه من اهل
الغور واقتسموهم الملوك مع ملك عكا واخذ ملك عكا النصف وملك الهنكر
النصف وكان عدد الجميع ثلثة الف وستماية نفس فاما ملك عكا فقيد الذى
اسرهم ولم يقتلهم واما ملك الهنكر فقتل منهم جماعة وقطع من كل مسلم كف يده
اليمنى وسير بقية الاحيا مع اكف القتلى الى بلاده فى بطس الى بابا روميه
وكتب اليه يقول له انى قد فتحت بلاد المسلمين وقد سيرة اليك قليلا من الاحيا
واكف القتلا حتى تراهم واما ملكهم فانه ما يقف لى واذا طلبت المصاف
يهرب منى من موضع الى موضع ولا يقف قدامى وانا افتح ما بقى من القلاع
والحصون واطلبه اين ما كان الى ان اخذه واما البيت المقدس فقد حصنوها
بالرجال والاسوار وانت قلت لا يرمى فيه احداً من ملوك النصرانية سهما
ولا حجر منجنيق وكيف يمكن اخذه من المسلمين بغير قتال عليه ولا زحف اليه

وهم ما اخذوه الا بالقتال الشديد والمنجنيقات فان كنت تحضر الينا فقدم
حضورك لعل الله يدفعه لنا فنعيد فيه جميعا ان شا الله وهذا اخر ما وصل الينا
عن ملك الهنكر وكانوا المسلمين يقولوا انه قتل فى الحرب وقالوا انه اسر
ولم اتحقق عنه شى انه قتل او اسر او عاد الى بلاده والله اعلم بما كان من امره
٢٣١ (ظ) وهو حسبى وبه استعين :. ولما كان يوم الاثنين الثالث من ربيع ٥ الاول سنة
خمسة عشر وستماية عشية النهار ضرب الراقوبى بدمياط على مراكب كثيرة فى
اللجة فلما اصبح الصبح يوم الثلثآ الرابع منه ضرب الراقوبى ذالك اليوم جميعه
والمراكب تتواصل بعضها ببعض وترسى فى اللجة مقابل البروج ولم تزل المراكب
تتواصل مدة اسبوع حتى صار فى ربيع الاول عشرة ايام فلما كملوا صعدوا
على البر وضربوا جميعهم من المسجد الذى على شط البروج ويعرف بمسجد
ابن الخيار الى فوق من بوره وحفروا عليهم خندق عرضه ثلثون ذراعا وعمقه
خمسون ذراعا وطوله من البحر الحلو الى البحر المالح واطلقوا فيه الماء من البحر
الحلو فامتلأ مآ حلو وصار لهم حصنا وشرباً ونصبوا من عندهم منجنيق كبير
على كوم الحيرة مقابل دمياط فكانت حجارة تصل داخل دمياط الى دار الريس
واى شى وقع عليه اهلكه ان كان انسان قتله او دار او حايط هدها او على سقف
خسفه وقتل من تحته وغاص فى الارض فهدم دور كثير فيها واهلك خلقا عظيمة
فعملوا المسلمين من داخل دمياط منجنيق وضربوا به على منجنيق الافرنج
اكسره فصاحوا بالافرنج صيحة عظيمة سقطت منها الحبالا وعملوا منجنيق
اكبر من الاول ومعه اربعة منجنيقات اخر وكانوا يضربوا بالكبير على دمياط
والصغار على برج السلسلة فلم لم يبلغوا مرادهم بالمنجنيقات فاوسعوا الخندق الذى
تقدم ذكره انهم حفروه فاتسع حتى صار بحراً كبيرا فدخلوا منه الى بحر النيل
تسعين مركب شوانى وحراريق فلما صاروا فى بحر النيل عمروا مراكبهم بالرجال
وقاتلوا اهل دمياط يوم الجمعة الحادى والعشرون من ربيع الاول سنة تاريخه
وكان بينهم قتال شديد وقتل من المسلمين ومنهم وجرح من الفريقين كثيرا
وافترقوا عند دخول الليل عليهم ولما لم يظفروا بمرادهم لان المسلمين كانوا
يرموهم من البرج بالنشاب ولعبه عليه يرموا بها مراكبهم بالحجارة وقد ذكر
قوم ان الملك الذى كان يدبرهم وحروبهم اسمه كندالريش لانه كان على راسه

اكليل ذهب مرصع بجواهر يخرج من جوانبه شبه الريش من ذهب مركب فيه
فاسموه كندالريش وقال قوم اخر ان مراكبهم الذى وصلوا فيها ثلثماية بطسة
وطريدة وقالوا انها اكثر من ذالك ولم يتحقق عددهم وذكر قوم ان فيهم
سبعة ملوك مع كل ملك الف فارس وعشرة الف راجل يكون الجملة سبعة الف
فارس وسبعين الف رجل ولم يتحرر ذالك عن يقين بل نقل سماع لانه لم يقدر
احد يمضى اليهم ولا يجى من عندهم واما المنجنيق الذى نصبوه على كوم
الحيرة ٭ فعملوا فى راسه صندوق رصاص وزنه قنطارين شامى واسموه المعرى ٢٣٢ (ج)
وكان تحته بجره سماية رجل وكان يرمى الى وسط دمياط حتى هد دار الريس
واخلا ما حواليها وكان وزن الحجر الذى يخرج منه قنطار شامى وقتلوا به خلق
كثير فى مدة مقامهم على دمياط وفى عسكر الفرنج نسا كثير مسلمات من اهل
الغور وافرنجيات من اهل الساحل يطحنوا لهم القمح ويخدموهم وكان معهم
صغار كثير وبقر وخنازير ودجاج وكان فى البحر مراكب كثير صيادين سمك
يبيعوه فى عسكر الفرنج فلما قالوا للملك كندالريش عنهم مسكهم وضمنهم
السمك بخمسين دينار فى كل يوم وقد كنا قلنا انهم فتحوا بحر من خلف البرج
ودخلوا فيه بالشوانى والحراقات لقتال المسلمين وكانوا فى كل يوم يقاتلوا
اهل دمياط فيقتل بينهم قتلا كثير ثم يفترقوا عند الليل فاقاموا على ذالك ربيع
الاول وربيع الاخر ثم اخذوا مركبين كبار من مراكبهم وسمروا عليهم اخشاب
جافية وعملوا فى وسطهم اربع صوارى وضموا الواحدة الى الاخرى بحكمتهم
حتى صاروا واحدة واسموها المرمة واسمروها بكل مسمار طوله ثلثة اذرع
وذراعين وذراع ونصف وشبر كل شى منهم فى موضعه وعملوا على الاربعة
صوارى سقف سفلى يحمل ماية وخمسون رجل وسقف فوقه يحمل ماية وخمسين
رجل فيكون ثلثماية رجل مقاتلة فقدموها الى البرج الذى فى البحر فلم تلصق به
لان له زلاقة من كل ناحية خارجة منه فلما يقدروا يلصقوها للبرج قوى عليها
التيار فردها بامر الله الى خلف وانكسرت الصوارى من نقل[1] الرجال بالسلاح
ووقع منهم فى البحر جماعة كبيرة غرقوا بلا حرب ولا قتال وبعد هذه المرمة

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[1] تقرأ : ثقل .

لم يرجعوا يقدموا مرمة اخرى ولما جرى عليهم ذالك فى المرمة نصبوا منجنيقين
اخر على البرج الذى فى وسط البحر وكانوا يقاتلوا بها وبالزنبورك وكان له من
دمياط خشب معمول بالمراكب والاخشاب مسمورة عليها ولم يزالوا يضربوا
الخشب حتى كسروا مراكبه واخشابه وقطعوا حباله فلما كان يوم الجمعة الثامن
من جمادى الاخر تكاثروا الافرنج على البرج بالمراكب والرجال فاخذوه
وكان فيه ماية وخمسون من المسلمين قتل منهم وغرق منهم وهرب منهم من عام
الى دمياط فسلم واسر منهم ستين رجل سيروهم الافرنج الى عكا وغيرها من
بلادهم ولم يرجعوا من يوم اخذوا البرج يقدموا مرمة وذكر من اخبر ان الملك
٢٣٢ (ظ) العادل مات بدمشق يوم الجمعة الثامن من جمادى ٥ الاخر سنة تاريخه وهو
يوم اخذوا الافرنج فيه برج دمياط وذكر من اخبر ان جاسوس السلطان
اعلمه ان مراكب كثير من الفرنج تفللت وراحت الشام فعدى اليهم بالعسكر
فاخذهم فلما كان يوم الثلثا الحادى عشر من رجب سنة خمسة عشر وستماية
امر الملك الكامل العسكر ان يعدى فاسرع نحو ثلثة الف راجل وعدوا الى برّ
الافرنج قبل ان يعدى العسكر وكان السلطان الملك الكامل قد اوصا جميع
العسكر الفارس والراجل ان لا يتقدموا للقتال حتى يرفع لهم العلم الذى له على
البرج الذى هو فيه من دمياط فنهض من الراجل جماعة طلبوا بجهلهم الكسب
من قبل ان يكمل العسكر فهجموا خيم الفرنج وقتلوا وكسبوا وتمادى بهم الطمع
وتطلعوا الفرنج لم يروا خلفهم عسكر فرجعوا عليهم فقتلوهم فى الخيم ورموا
رووسهم بالمنجنيق الى دمياط وعرف منهم جماعة كبيرة ورموا نفوسهم فى
البحر بسلاحهم ولباسهم فشالوهم الفرنج بالمراكب واخذوا ما عليهم وهم موتا
وحزن السلطان عليهم وامر ان يرجع العسكر واعرض الرجالة فوجد الذى قتل
منهم ثلثة الف رجل قتلا وغرقا وفيما هو حزين عليهم تواصلت الاخبار بموت
ابوه الملك العادل فى دمشق من تخمة اصابته فى مرج الصغار وحمل الى دمشق
فمات فيها ودفنوه بجانب صلاح الدين اخوه فى المقبرة يوم الجمعة الثامن من
جمادى الاخر سنة خمسة عشر وستماية وهو يوميذ ملك مصر والشام وبيت المقدس
والساحل والقلاع ودمشق واليمن ودفع دمشق وما معها من الشام وبيت المقدس
والساحل والقلاع وما فتحه صلاح الدين من بلاد الفرنج لولده الملك المعظم

يسمى عيسى ويعرف بالكريدى ودفع مصر واعمالها لولده الكامل محمد ودفع حران ومنبج واخلاط وكلما خلف نهر الفراة لولده الاشرف وكان مدة ملكه تسعة عشر سنة وثلثه وخمسون يوما منذ دخل الى مصر ومات وعسكره عشرة الف طواشى وملك ولده الملك الكامل محمد ديار مصر واليمن وسير ولده اقسيس الى اليمن فملكه واستقر هو فى مملكة مصر ونفذ امره وحده بعد موت ابوه لاستقال [١] شهر رجب سنة خمسة عشر وستماية للهجرة ∴

سيرة الملك الكامل محمد ابن الملك العادل ابوا بكر ابوا ايوب ∴ وكان كتاب الملك العادل قبل موته وصل الملك الكامل ان العدو توجه من عكا الى مصر مراكب كثيرة فاحترز على الثغور ولا تقابله واخلى البلاد قدامه مسيرة ثلثة ايام فانه اذا غار يقطع مسافة اربعة ايام فى يوم واحد يقتل ويسبى وينهب ويعود الى خيمه فى بقية يومه فاخلى الملك الكامل قدامه من الغربية ٥ مسيرة اربعة ٢٣٣ (ج) ايام واخلى المحلة وكلما حواليها وسنجار وسنهور وفوه وكانوا هذه المدن خالية وابوابهم مغلقة ولم يقدر احد يخرج باكثر من ثيابه الذى عليه وما ينام فيه وتركوا كلما فى دورهم من القمح والحبوب والنبيذ وجميع القطانى فيها فمنها من سالم [٢] ومنها ما نقص بعضه ومنها ما اخذ كله ومضوا الناس الى القاهرة وقوم الى مصر والى الشام ودمشق وتفرقوا فى جميع فى جميع الدنيا ومنهم من رجع ومنهم من لم يرجع واما سمنود فما خليت وبقيت عامرة وسكنوها ناس كثير من اهل البلاد وكان واليها نعته نور الدين علي وكان حازم طول ليله يدور حواليها والناس تنام فى المراكب وعلى البحر ما يروعهم مروع ولا خرج منها احد ولما كان يوم الثلثا السابع عشر من ذو القعدة حمل عماد الدين ابن المشطوب بين الملك الكامل وبين اخوه الملك الفايز كلام افسد قلوبهما بعضهما بعض وذكر عنه انه حالف الملك الفايز على قتل الملك الكامل ويملك الملك الفايز وكان جنديا من اجناد الملك الكامل حاضر معهم فمضى اليه واعلمه بكلما جرى وقال له انج بنفسك فقام من خيمته وركب فى الليل وساق مع اصحابه وخواصه ومماليكه ولم يشعر به احد الى اشمون ونزل فيها ولما اصبحوا الاسرا طلبوه فلم يجدوه اضطرب العسكر فلما سمعوا انه نزل على اشمون لحقوه وكان

(١) الأصح : لاستهلال . (٢) الأصح : سلم

فى العسكر ضجة حتى تركوا خيمهم واموالهم ومواشيهم فلما اصبح الصبح يوم الثلثا سابع عشر ذو القعدة عدة حراقة من الفرنج للقتال فلم يخرج لها احد فدخلت البر فلم يروا فى الخيم احد والخيم كلها منصوبة والبسط فيها مفروشة والخيل والبغال والجمال حولها مربوطة وليس فيها انسان عادة الحراقة واخبرة الفرنج فقالوا هذه مكيدة عملوها علينا المسلمين فطلعوا منهم قوم الى منارة جامع الحيرة لينظروا ان كان ثم كمناً فلم يروا احد فنزلوا اعلموا الملك فامر ان يعمر شنى برجال ابطال ويعدى الى الخيم يكشف الخبر فعدوا وكشفوا الخيم من اولها الى اخرها فلم يجدوا فيها احد فعادوا واعلموهم فسير المراكب والرجال فحملوا الخيم وكلما فيها من الاموال والاوانى والدواب وشون القمح والشعير والحبوب وكلما للسلطان والامرا والتجار وملكوا اموال لا تحصى بلا سيف ولا قتال بامر الله ومشيته اخذوا من النعم والاموال والدواب والزاد والسلاح مالا يدرك له قيمة ولا يحصى له عدد واتوا به الى خيمهم واخذوا اساره كثير من المسلمين غلمان وغيرهم خلاف ما قتلوه خلق كثير وفى بقية يومهم قدموا البطس والمراكب الكبار وعدوا بالخيل والفرسان الى برّ دمياط

٢٣٣ (ظ) ٥ ونزلوا الفرنج فى خيم المسلمين على العادليه وتقدموا الى دمياط ونزلوا عليها واختلطوا بها فقطعوا اهل دمياط قنطرة باب الريس وكانوا يقاتلوا الفرنج الى ان وصل الملك المعظم عيسى الى اشمون يوم الاثنين الثالث والعشرون من ذو القعدة سنة تاريخه فوجد الفرنج محيطين بدمياط فسال اخوه الملك الكامل عن القضية فاعلمه ان عماد الدين ابن المشطوب افسد عليه العسكر واستحلف الاكراد ان يقتلوه ويملكوا الفايز وانه هرب منهم فى الليل وترك كل شيأ له خوفا على نفسه فلما سمع كلامه جهز ثلثون فارس وثلثين هجين بثلثين راجل من العرب واحضر عماد الدين ابن المشطوب فلما حضر بين يديه قال له ما هذه الاعمال التى فعلتها طلبت تقتل السلطان وتكون سلطان ولو علمت قدر نعمة الله عليك علمت انك اروح سر من السلطان واهنى عيشا منه فاى شى طلبت تكون وامر الاجناد القيام قدامه فرموه ∴

اذى [1] اخر ما وجد من اخبار الابا البطاركة بالكرسى المرقصى رزقنا الله تعالى قبول دعاهم الصالح .

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(١) تقرأ : هذى .

Dhû'l-Ḳa'dah, (in the) year of its date, and found the Franks (al-Faranǧ) encircling Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [1]. And his brother Al-Malik al-Kâmil asked him about the situation, and he informed him that 'Imâd ad-Dîn Ibn al-Maštûb had corrupted the troops against him, and (that) he had adjured the Kurds (al-Akrâd) that they should kill him and make Al-Fâiz king, and that he had fled from them at night, and had left everything to him (Al-Fâiz), fearing for himself. And when he (Al-Malik al-Kâmil) heard his words, he made ready thirty horsemen and thirty dromedaries with thirty men from the Arabs (al-'Arab), and he caused to be brought 'Imâd ad-Dîn Ibn al-Maštûb. And when he was present before [2] him, he said to him : « What are these deeds which thou hast done? Thou hast sought to kill the Sultan and to be Sultan. And if thou hadst known the measure of the grace of God upon thee, thou wouldst have known that thou wert more at ease than the Sultan, and didst enjoy life more than he and whatsoever thou soughtest was (thine) ». And he commanded the soldiers who were standing before him, and they beheaded him [3].

[Marginal Note]. There has come to an end what was found of the news of the fathers, the patriarchs of the See of Mark (al-Marḳuṣî) — may God the Exalted grant to us the acceptation of their righteous intercessions !

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[1] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[2] *Lit.* ' between his hands '.

[3] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 560 رمى راسه , ' il lui coupa la tête '.

returned and brought news to the Franks (al-Faranǧ), and they (the Franks) said : «This is a stratagem (which) the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) have prepared for us». And some people of them went up to the mosque (Ġâmiʿ) of al-Ḥaîrah to see if there was there an ambush, and they did not see anyone. And they descended (and) informed the king, and he commanded that a warship should be equipped with warriors, and should cross over to the tents to find out the news. And they crossed over, and they examined the tents from the first of them to the last of them, and they did not find in them anyone, and they returned, and they informed them (the Franks). And he (the king) caused the ships and the men to proceed, and they carried off the tents, and all what (was) in them in the way of possessions and vessels and beasts, and the garners of wheat and barley and grain, all of which (was) for the Sultan and the amîrs and the merchants ; and they took possession of countless wealth without the sword and without fighting, by the order of God and His will. They took of the valuables and the wealth and the beasts and the supplies and the weapons, the value of which cannot be estimated nor their number be counted, and they took it to their tents. And they took many captives from the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), youths and others than them, apart from the many people [1] whom they killed. And during the rest of the [2] day they brought up transport-ships and great ships, and they crossed over with the horses and the
* Fol. 233 v° knights (horsemen) to the land of Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [3]. * And the Franks (al-Faranǧ) descended in the tents of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) at al-ʿÂdlîah [4], and they advanced to Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [3] and they descended at it, and they threw it into confusion. And the inhabitants of Damietta (Dumyâṭ) cut the bridge [5] of the Bâb ar-Raîs, and they waged war with the Franks (al-Faranǧ) until Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿIsâ arrived at Ašmûn [6] on Monday, the twenty-third of (the month of)

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(1) *Lit.* ' creatures '.
(2) *Lit.* ' their '.
(3) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
(4) Cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, planche II B.
(5) *I.e.* the drawbridge.
(6) Cf. p. 223, n. 5.

land dwelt in it. And its governor (Wâlî) was designated Nûr ad-Dîn 'Alî, and he was prudent. All night [1] long he used to go round it (Samannûd), and the people were sleeping in the ships and on the river [2], and no dread affrighted them, and no one went out from them (the ships). And when it was Tuesday, the seventeenth of (the month of) Dhû'l-Ḳa'dah, 'Imâd ad-Dîn Ibn al-Maštûb bore tales between Al-Malik al-Kâmil and [3] his brother Al-Malik al-Fâîz (which) corrupted their hearts, the one against the other. And it was mentioned concerning him ('Imâd ad-Dîn) that he allied himself with Al-Malik al-Fâîz to kill Al-Malik al-Kâmil, and (that) Al-Malik al-Fâîz should rule. And there was one of the soldiers [4] of Al-Malik al-Kâmil present with them, and he went to him (Al-Malik al-Kâmil), and he informed him of all what had occurred, and he said to him : «Save thyself». And he (Al-Malik al-Kâmil) arose from his tent, and he rode by night, and he pushed forward with his companions and his courtiers and his mamluks (Mamâlîk), and no one recognized him up to Ašmûn [5], and he descended at it. And when it was morning, the confidents sought him, and they found him not, (and) the troops were troubled. And when they heard that he had descended at Ašmûn [5], they followed after him ; and there was an uproar among the troops so that they left their tents and their possessions and their beasts. And when the morning dawned (on) Tuesday, the seventeenth of (the month of) Dhû'l-Ḳa'dah, a fire-ship crossed over from the Franks (al-Faranǧ) to attack [6]. And no one went out to it, and it came to the land. And they (the Franks) did not see in the tents anyone, and all the tents were set up, and the carpets in them were spread out, and the horses and the mules and the camels were tied up around them, and there was no man in them. The fire-ship

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[1] *Lit.* ' his night '.

[2] *Lit.* ' sea '.

[3] *Lit.* ' and between '.

[4] *Lit.* ' a soldier of the soldiers '.

[5] Ašmûn (Ašmûm) Ṭanâḥ (al-Ramân) in the Province of Daḳahlîah, cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, p. 244, and E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171.

[6] The following is a continuation of the account of the expedition against Damietta by Jean de Brienne.

the death of his father, up to the beginning [1] of the month of Rağab (in the) year six hundred and fifteen of the Hiğrah [2].

THE BIOGRAPHY OF AL-MALIK AL-KÂMIL MUḤAMMAD SON OF AL-MALIK AL-ʿÂDIL ABÛ BAKR ABÛ AIYÛB.

And a letter from Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil, before his death, reached Al-Malik al-Kâmil, (saying) : «The enemy has set out from Acre (ʿAkkâ) for Egypt (Miṣr) with many ships. Take heed to the harbours, and do not encounter him, and evacuate the cities before him for a distance of three days, for if he invades, he will cover a distance of four days in one day, slaying and taking captives and pillaging, and he will return to his tents for the rest of the [3] day. And Al-Malik al-Kâmil evacuated
* Fol. 233 r° (the cities) of (the Province of) al-Gharbîah [4] before him * for a distance of four days, and he evacuated Al-Maḥallah [5] and all what (was) around it, and Sinğâr [6] and Sanhûr [7] and Fûah [8]. And these cities were evacuated, and their gates were bolted and no one was able to depart with more than his garments which (were) upon him and that in which he slept ; and they left all what (was) in their houses in the way of wheat and grain and wine and all the leguminous plants in them ; and some of them were whole, and some were reduced in part, and some were completely taken. And people went to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and some people to Cairo (Miṣr) and to Syria (aš-Šâm) and Damascus (Dimašḳ), and they dispersed in all the world, and some of them returned, and some of them did not return. As for Samannûd [9], it was not evacuated, and it remained inhabited, and many people of the inhabitants of the

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(1) *Lit.* ' appearance of the new moon '.
(2) = 1218 A.D.
(3) *Lit.* ' his '.
(4) Cf. p. 111, n. 1.
(5) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 262.
(6) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 375.
(7) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 416.
(8) Cf. p. 185, n. 10.
(9) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

took what was on them, they being dead. And the Sultan grieved over them, and he commanded that the troops should return, and he reviewed the men, and he found (that) those who were killed of them (were) three thousand men, slain and drowned [1]. And while he was grieving over them, the news arrived of the death of his father Al-Malik al-'Âdîl in Damascus (Dimašḳ) from an indigestion [2] which overtook him in the Tower of Ṣafâr, and he was borne to Damascus (Dimašḳ), and he died in it, and they buried him beside Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, his brother, in the tomb, (on) Friday, the eight of (the month of) Ǧumâdâ al-Akhar (in the) year six hundred and fifteen [3]. And he was at that time king of Egypt (Miṣr) and Syria (aš-Šâm) and Jerusalem [4] and the Littoral and the fortresses and Damascus (Dimašḳ) and the Yemen (al-Yaman). And he gave Damascus (Dimašḳ) and what (is) with it in the way of Syria (aš-Šâm) and Jerusalem [4] and the Littoral and the fortresses and what Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn had conquered from the lands of the Franks (al-Faranǧ) to his son Al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam named 'Isâ, and known as the Kurd (al-Kurîdî). And he gave Egypt (Miṣr) and its province to his son Al-Kâmil Muḥammad; and he gave Ḥarrân and Minbiǧ and Akhlâṭ [5] and all what (is) beyond [6] the River Euphrates (al-Furât) to his son Al-Ašraf. And the duration of his reign [7] was nineteen years and fifty-three days from the time of his entry into Egypt (Miṣr), and he died, and his troops (were) ten thousand eunuchs. And his son Al-Malik al-Kâmil Muḥammad ruled the lands of Egypt (Miṣr) and the Yemen (al-Yaman). And he caused to journey his son Aḳsîs to the Yemen(al-Yaman), and he took possession of it, and he himself settled in the Kingdom of Egypt (Miṣr), and he executed his order alone, after

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[1] It was Jean de Brienne who saved the situation for the Franks, cf. R. Grousset, *L'Épopée des Croisades*, pp. 297-298.

[2] According to his biographer Ibn Khallikân, he could eat a roast lamb at a meal, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

[3] = 1218 A.D.

[4] *Lit.* ' the Holy House '.

[5] Cf. Khilâṭ, p. 205, n. 6.

[6] *Lit.* ' behind '.

[7] *Lit.* ' kingdom '.

they saved themselves. And sixty men of them were taken captive whom the Franks (al-Afranǧ) caused to journey to Acre (ʿAkkâ) and to other (places) than it of their land. And from the day they took the tower they did not resort to advance a raft. And it was mentioned by him who bore the news, that Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil died in Damascus (Dimašḳ) on
* Fol. 232 v° Friday, the eight of (the month of) Ǧumâdâ * al-Akhar (in the) year of its date, and it was the day on which the Franks (al-Afranǧ) took the tower of Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [1]. And it was mentioned by him who bore the news, that spies of the Sultan informed him that many ships of the Franks (al-Faranǧ) were leaving and were going to Syria (aš-Šâm), and he crossed over [2] to them with the troops and he took them. And when it was Tuesday, the eleventh of (the month of) Raǧab (in the) year six hundred and fifteen [3], Al-Malik al-Kâmil commanded the troops to cross over [2], and about three thousand foot-men hastened, and they crossed over to the encampment [4] of the Franks (al-Afranǧ) before the troops crossed. And the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil had enjoined on all the troops, the horsemen and the foot-men, that they should not advance to the attack until the standard which was his should be raised for them on the tower in which he was from Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [1]. And a company of the foot-men was roused to action, (and) they sought in their ignorance to overcome before the troops were completed, and they fell upon the tents of the Franks (al-Faranǧ), and they killed and they overcame, and hope of victory carried them too far. And the Franks (al-Faranǧ) looked, and they did not see behind them troops, and they returned to them (the Muslims), and they killed them in the tents, and they hurled their heads with a mangonel into Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [1], and a large company of them was known. And they threw themselves into the river [5] with their arms and their dress, and the Franks (al-Faranǧ) drew them out with boats, and they

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[1] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
[2] *I.e.* the Nile.
[3] = 1218 A.D.
[4] *Lit.* ‘ land ’.
[5] *Lit.* ‘ sea ’.

remained on this wise (for the months of) Rabî'a al-Awal and Rabî'a al-Akhar. Then they took two large ships from their ships, and they nailed on them dry planks, and they erected in the middle of them four masts, and they joined the one to the other by their skill, so that they became one, and they called it ' The Raft '. And every nail (with which) they nailed it (had) the length of three cubits or [1] two cubits or [1] one cubit and a half and a span ; everything of them was in its place. And they constructed on the four masts a lower roof carrying one hundred and fifty men, and a roof above it carrying one hundred and fifty men, and they were three hundred warriors. And they advanced it to the tower which was in the river [2], and it (the raft) did not fasten on to it (the tower), because it had a glacis on every side projecting from it. And when they were not able to fasten it (the raft) on to the tower, the current prevailed over it and drove it back by the command of God. And the masts were broken from the transport of the men with arms, and a large company of them fell into the river [2], (and) they were drowned without fighting or attacking ; and after this raft they did not resort to advance another raft. And when this happened to them with the raft, they set up two other mangonels against the tower which was in the middle of the river [3]. And they used to attack (it) with them and with a catapult (Zanbûrak). And there was to it [4] from Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [5] wood [6] made with boats, and planks were nailed onto them, and they (the Franks) did not cease to hit the wood [6] until they broke its boats and its planks and cut its ropes. And when it was Friday, the fifth of (the month of) Ǧumâdâ al-Akhar, the Franks (al-Afranǧ) multiplied against the tower with ships and men, and they took it. And there were in it one hundred and fifty Muslims (al-Muslimîn), (some) of them were killed, and (some) of them were drowned, and (some) of them escaped by swimming to Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [5], and

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[1] *Lit.* ' and '.
[2] *Lit.* ' sea '.
[3] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
[4] *I.e.* the tower.
[5] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
[6] *I.e.* a pontoon-bridge, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

(were) three hundred ships and transport-port ships, and they said that they were more than this, and their number was not certain. And some people mentioned that in them (the ships) were seven kings (and) with every king (were) a thousand knights (horsemen) and ten thousand foot-soldiers, the total (of which) was seven thousand knights (horsemen) and seventy thousand foot-men. And this was not made certain, but reported from hearsay, because no one was able to go to them nor to come from them. And as for the mangonel which they had set up on
*Fol. 232 r° the mound (Kûm) of al-Ḥaîrah [1], * they made at its head a lead box, its weight (being) two Syrian (Šâmî) ḳanṭârs, and they named it 'The Layer-bare', and there were six hundred men beneath it, hauling it; and it used to shoot into the midst of Damietta (Dumyâṭ), so that it demolished the house of the chief, and it laid bare what (was) around it. And the weight of the stone which went out from it-was a Syrian (Šâmî) ḳanṭâr, and by it they killed many people [2] during the period of their stay before Damietta (Dumyâṭ). And among the troops of the Franks (al-Faranǧ) (were) many Muslim (Muslimât) women from among the inhabitants of the Ghûr (al-Ghûr) [3] and Frankish (Afranǧîât) women from among the inhabitants of the Littoral, to grind for them the wheat and serve them, and there were with them many young children and cows and pigs and fowls. And there were on the sea many boats of those who caught fish to sell it to the troops of the Franks (al-Faranǧ). And when they told the king Count (Kund) Feather (ar-Rîš) [4] about them, he seized them, and he made them responsible for the fish at fifty dînârs every day. And we have said that they opened a river [5] from behind the tower, and they entered into it with warships and fire-ships to attack the Muslims (al-Muslimîn); and every day they were attacking the inhabitants of Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [6], and there was much slaughter between them : then they would separate at night, and they

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(1) Cf. p. 193.
(2) *Lit.* 'creatures'.
(3) Cf. p. 214, n. 2.
(4) Cf. p. 217, n. 5.
(5) *Lit.* 'sea'.
(6) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

it killed those who were under it, and it plunged into the earth; it demolished many houses in it (Damietta), and it destroyed a great number of people [1]. And the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) made from within Damietta (Dumyâṭ) a mangonel, and they shot with it against the mangonel of the Franks (al-Afranǧ), (and) it broke it, and they shouted with a great shout at the Franks (al-Afranǧ), and the ropes slipped from it. And they (the Franks) made a mangonel larger than the first, and with it four other mangonels; and they shot with the larger against Damietta (Dumyâṭ) and with the smaller (ones) against the tower of the chain [2]. And when they did not reach their aim with the mangonels, they widened the trench which has been mentioned before, which they had dug, and it was widened so that it became a large river [3], and ninety warships and fire-ships entered from it into the River [3] Nile. And when they were in the River [3] Nile, they equipped their ships with men, and they attacked the inhabitants of Damietta (Dumyâṭ) (on) Monday, the twenty-first of (the month of) Rabîʿa al-Awal (in the) year of its date [4]. And there was severe fighting between them, and there was slaughter among the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) and among them (the Franks), and many were wounded on both sides. And they separated when night came upon them, and when they did not reach their purpose, for the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) were shooting against them with arrows from the tower, and they were hurling stones at their ships with a catapult on it (the tower). Some people mentioned that the king who was conducting them and their battles had the name Count (Kund) Feather (ar-Rîš), because there was on his head a gold crown adorned with jewels, (and) from its sides there protruded the likeness of a gold feather inserted in it; so they named him Count (Kund) Feather (ar-Rîš) [5]; and other people said that their ships in which they arrived

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[1] *Lit.* ‘ creatures ’.

[2] For an account of this tower on an island in the Nile and the chains, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt*, p. 219.

[3] *Lit.* ‘ sea ’.

[4] = 1218 A.D.

[5] Cf. R. Grousset, *L'Épopée des Croisades*, p. 298. The knight mentioned here was Jean d'Arcis whose helmet was adorned with a peacock feather.

killed in the war, and (others) said that he was taken captive. And I did not make certain of anything concerning him, whether he was killed or made captive or returned to his country; and God knows what resulted [1] from his affair, and He is my sufficiency and in Him I trust ∴

*Fol. 231 v° And when it was Monday, the third of (the month of) Rabîʿa * al-Awal (in the) year six hundred and fifteen [2], in the evening of the day, the watchman at Damietta (Dumyâṭ) caught sight of many ships on the high sea. And when the morning of Tuesday, the fourth of it (Rabîʿa al-Awal), dawned, the watchman looked out all that day, and the ships arrived one after the other, and they anchored at sea opposite to the towers. And the ships continued to arrive for the space of a week, until it was the tenth of (the month of) Rabîʿa al-Awal. And when they were complete, they came up to the land, and all of them (the Franks) looked out from the prayer-house (al-Masǧid) which was at Šaṭ al-Birûǧ, and it is known as the prayer-house (al-Masǧid) of Ibn al-Khîâr above Bûrah (Bûrah) [3]. And they dug opposite to them (the Muslims) a trench, its breadth thirty cubits and its depth fifty cubits, and its length (was) from the Nile [4] to the Mediterranean [5], and they let into it the water from the Nile [4], and it was filled with fresh [6] water, and it became for them a fortification and a source for drinking [7]. And they erected with them a great mangonel on the mound (Kûm) of al-Ḥaîrah [8] opposite to Damietta (Dumyâṭ). And stones used to reach inside Damietta (Dumyâṭ) up to the house of the chief, and whatsoever it (the stone) fell upon was destroyed; if it were a man, it killed him, or a house or a wall, it demolished them, or on a roof, it caused it to collapse, and

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(1) *Lit.* ‘ was ’.

(2) = 1218 A.D.

(3) Cf. p. 193, n. 4.

(4) *Lit.* ‘ the sweet sea ’.

(5) *Lit.* ‘ the salt sea ’.

(6) *Lit.* ‘ sweet ’.

(7) What follows is another account of the expedition of Jean de Brienne against Egypt, cf. R. Grousset, *L'Épopée des Croisades*, p. 296.

(8) Cf. p. 193.

Baîsân [1] in the way of wheat. And if a lad became worn out and set down his load so that he might rest, they killed him, and they caused another one of the captives to carry it. And when they had carried the wheat to Acre ('Akkâ), they made captive from among the inhabitants of the Ghur (al-Ghûr) [2] those who had carried it (the wheat). And the kings divided them (the captives) with the King of Acre ('Akkâ), and the King of Acre ('Akkâ) took the half, and the King ' Hankar ' [3] (took the other) half, and the number of all (was) three thousand and six hundred souls. And as for the King of Acre ('Akkâ) he put fetters on those whom he had made captive and he did not kill them. And as for the King Hankar, he killed a group of them, and he cut off from every Muslim (Muslim) the palm of his right hand, and he caused the rest of them who lived to journey with the palms of the slain to his country in a ship to the Pope (Bâbâ) of Rome (Rûmîah). And he wrote to him, saying : «I have conquered the Land of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), and I have caused to journey to thee a few of the living together with the palms of the slain, so that thou mayest see them. And as for their king, he does not wait for me, and if I seek a truce, he flees from me from place to place, and does not stand before me. And I am conquering what remains in the way of fortresses and castles, and I shall seek him wheresoever (he is) until I take him. As for Jerusalem [4], they have fortified it with men and walls, and thou hast said (that) not one of the kings of Christendom (an-Naṣarânîah) should shoot an arrow, nor a mangonel, a stone into it. And how is it possible to take it from the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) without fighting for it or marching on it. And they (the Muslims) did not take it except by vehement fighting and mangonels. And if thou come to us, hasten to us [5], and may be God will give it (Jerusalem) to us, and we shall all celebrate the feast in it, if God wills». And this (is) the end of what reached us concerning the King Hankar [6]. The Muslims (al-Muslimîn) used to say that he was

[1] Cf. p. 211, n. 8.
[2] Cf. p. 214, n. 2.
[3] Cf. p. 210, n. 5.
[4] *Lit.* ' the Holy House '.
[5] *Lit.* ' hasten thy presence '.
[6] Cf. p. 210, n. 5.

he passed through one of the villages [1] of Ghûr (al-Ghûr) [2], called Raḥar an-Naṣârah, in which are many people [3], Melkites (Malakîat) and Syrians (Surîân), Christians (an-Naṣârâ), and many Muslims (al-Muslimîn). They went out to the King, and they met him with the Gospel and crosses and censers, and they stood before him [4]. And he thanked them and he said to them : «There remain among the troops four knights (horsemen) (who are) sick. Receive them among you and treat them, and when they are strong, cause them to journey to Acre ('Akkâ) with one who will conduct them to me», and he left them with them, and he went away. And the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) of the town rose up against the Christians (an-Naṣârah), and they took them (the knights) from them and they killed them ; and the Christians (an-Naṣârah) were unable to prevent them through fear of the Sultan. And news of them reached the king at Acre ('Akkâ), and he caused the troops to journey, (and) he killed all who (were) in Raḥar, Christians (an-Naṣârah) and Muslims (al-Muslimîn), men, women and children, because he had said to them : «(Are there) with you Muslims (Muslimîn)?». They said to him : «No». And when they returned, they (the Christians) excused themselves that the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) had killed them (the knights), but their excuse was not accepted. And they killed the priest of the church of Raḥar, and they ripped open his belly, and they inserted in it a dead dog, because he had sworn to them that there was not in the town a Muslim (Muslim). And after this affair, the King of the Franks (al-Farang) returned to Baîsân [5], and he caused to be carried away all what was in it in the way of wheat to Acre ('Akkâ) on the heads of the inhabitants of the Ghur (al-Ghûr) [2] : a strong lad carried half an ardab, and he who was less (strong) a third of an ardab from Baîsân to Acre ('Akkâ) until they had carried away all what (was) in

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[1] *Lit.* ' a village of the villages '.

[2] Name of the depression through which the River Jordan flows south of the Lake Tiberias, cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, p. 619.

[3] *Lit.* ' creatures '.

[4] *Lit.* ' between his hands '.

[5] Cf. p. 211, n. 8.

permitted to you by God to shed the blood of Muslims (al-Muslimîn) by the hand of the godless (the Franks) in the month of Ramaḍân, and they obeyed him, and they sware to his messenger that they would not fight together with the Franks (al-Faranǧ), and that they would not be with them against the Muslims (al-Muslimîn). And they said to him : «The Franks (al-Faranǧ) sleep at night, and ye can overcome them at midnight, and the signal between us and you [1] (shall be), when we kindle a fire, then attack them». And he (al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam) did as they had said to him, and he attacked them at midnight. And the Arabs (al-ʿArab) deserted them, and he (Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam) conquered them, and most of them were killed or professed al-Islâm, and he stayed at Toron (aṭ-Ṭûr) [2], and he strengthened it with equipment and money and men. And in the beginning of (the month of) Ǧumâdâ al-Awal (in the) year of its date, the people died in all the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) by an order of God, and they were cast out dead around their towns, and the stench from them (reached) to the borders of the land; and some people of the Bedouins (al-ʿUrbân) and travellers mentioned that the wild cattle [3] in the desert died and the grazing cattle died also. And I, the writer of this biography, saw the death of the cattle in the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) in (the) year five hundred and fifty-four of the Hiǧrah [4] before this time, and ten years after that year the State of the Fatimids (al-Fâṭimiyin) Califs (al-Khulafâ) passed away, and the Ghuzz (al-Ghuzz) [5] ruled the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) in (the) year five hundred and sixty-four of the Hiǧrah [6], and I lived until * I saw it [7] this second time, after sixty years. And news arrived that, when the King of the Franks (al-Faranǧ) returned from Toron (aṭ-Ṭûr) [8] to Acre (ʿAkkâ), * Fol. 231 r°

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[1] *Lit.* ' and between you '.

[2] Cf. p. 211, n. 1.

[3] R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 102 says that 'بقر الوحش ' a un sens très-vague', *espèce de cerf des déserts de l'Arabie,* etc.'.

[4] = 1159 A.D.

[5] *I.e.* the Kurds.

[6] 1168-1169 A.D.

[7] *I.e.* the death of the cattle.

[8] Cf. p. 211, n. 1.

descended at ʿAḳabah Fîk [1]. And everyone followed of his troops (who was) a Muslim (Muslim). And the Franks (al-Afrang̃) fell upon the rear of the troops, and him whom they overtook, they plundered, and they killed many people [2], and they took the tents and the beasts and all what was in the place. And they descended below to ʿAḳabah Fîk [1], to the resting-place of the Sultan. And he who reported the news mentioned that Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil had despatched messengers to the sons of his brother Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn and to others than them from the kings of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), that they should come to him with their troops and aid him against the Franks (al-Afrang̃), and not one answered him. And he turned to Damascus (Dimašḳ), and he descended at the meadow as-Saʿâr, and he left with his son Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam, two thousand horsemen with a company of the amîrs, to go down to Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds) to guard it. And on Saturday (in) the half of the month of Ramaḍân there arrived a letter (from) Ǧaldak, governor (wâlî) of Damietta (Dumyâṭ), (and) he gave news in it that the kings of the Franks (al-Afrang̃) had said to the Mibâznah and the Ġanûbîîn : «Toron (aṭ-Ṭûr) (is) yours, go and attack it and take it». And there went out from the Franks (al-Afrang̃) four thousand men, because it (is) a castle on a high mountain, (and) no knight (horseman) is able to reach it. And there were with them Arabs (ʿArab) from the Sons of ʿAḳabah (Banî ʿAḳabah), allies of the Franks (al-Farang̃), and they were fighting the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) with them. And Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam came to them, and with him two thousand horsemen, and they went up to Toron (aṭ-Ṭûr) [3], and they penetrated into the fortress, and they were on the point of taking it, and night came upon them. And Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam sent to the Arabs (al-ʿArab), the Sons of ʿAḳabah (Banî ʿAḳabah), and he estranged them from the Franks (al-Farang̃), and he sware to them that he would pay to them the money (which) he had settled with them, and (that) he would give to them fiefs in the land, and he sware to them on this. And he said to them : «It is not

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[1] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, p. 562.
[2] *Lit.* ‘ creatures ’.
[3] Cf. p. 211, n. 1.

four thousand knights (horsemen) and ninety thousand foot-men. And Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil gathered together his troops, and he journeyed through Egypt (Miṣr), and he descended at Shechem (Nâblus), and he descended near to the Franks (al-Afrang̃), and he remained some days in Shechem (Nâblus) until his troops were complete, and he journeyed to Acre (ʿAkkâ), and he descended at Toron (aṭ-Ṭûr) [1] at the beginning of (the month of) Rag̃ab (in the) year of its date. Then there arrived a ship and other transport-ships at Acre (ʿAkkâ) from other kings, until the marsh [2] of Acre (ʿAkkâ) was full, and they descended at it in tents, so that the marsh [2] became narrow for them. And Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil heard that they (the Franks) wished to overcome him by night, and he departed from Toron (aṭ-Ṭûr) [1], and he descended at the streams [3] of Baîsân at ʿAîn Ǧâlût [4], on account of the abundance of the water there; and his troops had descended from Shechem (Nâblus) to the Castle of Muʿaîn ad-Dîn by the bridge of Asâmah [5]. And the King Hankar [6] sent to seek a truce from the Sultan, and the king said to his messenger : «Say to him : ʿ If he come out from Acre (ʿAkkâ) to the outside of it, I will make a truce with him ʾ». And his messenger repeated to him what the Sultan had said, and he journeyed on the same day. * And when he drew near to the troops of the Muslims (al- * Fol. 230 v°
Muslimîn), the Sultan saw what amazed him in the way of the multitude of the knights (horsemen) and the foot-men, because the King Hankar [6] and the King of Acre (ʿAkkâ) and the lord of Ǧibalah and Tripolis (Tarâbulus) [7] and those who remained in the Littoral of the kings had come to an agreement, and they had sworn the one to the other one word, that none of them would abandon his companion, and they were of one heart to fight the Muslims (al-Muslimîn). And when Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil learned this, he departed from above Baîsân [8], and he

(1) Mt. Toron, north-west of Acre.
(2) Cf. p. 210, n. 7.
(3) *Lit.* ʿ rivers ʾ.
(4) Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, p. 625.
(5) Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, p. 623.
(6) Cf. p. 210, n. 5.
(7) Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 669-670.
(8) Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 620-624.

And he (Al-Malik al-'Âdil) said to him : «Make him a patriarch and rejoin me in Alexandria, and tarry not». And when the priest David (Dâûûd) heard of this, he made two staffs, (and) on one of the two of them a cross ornamented with gold, and the other ornamented with lines of silver. And he caused robes to be cut and mantles of silk, and he prepared what he needed for his consecration. And Abû'l-Fatûḥ took him with the bishops, and he went up to Cairo (Miṣr) to the (Church) al-Mu'allaḳah [1] to consecrate him as patriarch. And news of him reached the governor (wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr) and he rode, and with him a company of his soldiers and his assistants and he came up to the Church al-Mu'allaḳah [1]. And he treated them [2] as base fellows, and he caused them to be impaled, and David (Dâûûd) escaped, and the bishops departed from the church, taking to their heels [3] from Cairo to their sees. And the affair of David (Dâûûd) was annulled up to the day of the writing of this biography, according to what was dated previously; and the priests of every place repulsed him, and Nišû'l-Khilâfat did not resume speaking about the matter of David (Dâûûd) or other than him. And we return to the completing of the biography of Al-Malik al-'Âdil Abû Bakr Ibn Aiyûb, king of the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) and what (is) with it. And when it was Monday (in) the half of (the month of) Ǧumâdâ al-Akhar (in the) year six hundred and fourteen [4], news reached him that a king from among the kings of the Franks (al-Faranǧ) called the ' Hankar ' [5] from the Island of Baršilîah [6] had arrived at Acre ('Akkâ) in one hundred and sixty ships and transport-ships, and that he had descended at the marsh of Acre ('Akkâ) [7], and (that) he had reviewed his troops, and (that) their complement was

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[1] Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 23-31.

[2] *I.e.* those who had assembled.

[3] *Lit* ' running on their heads '.

[4] = 1217 A.D.

[5] The king referred to, it would seem, is Andrew II, King of Hungary, who disembarked at Acre in September, 1217 A.D., cf. R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant*, p. 254.

[6] Unidentified.

[7] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, map facing, p. 265.

he should go to Abîar and bring down with him the hermit from his hermitage, and (that) he should cause him to journey to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah); and he (the governor) brought him (the hermit) down from his hermitage, and he caused him to journey to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah). And when Nišû'l-Khilâfat Abû'l-Fatûḥ heard this, he agreed with the amîr Fakhr ad-Dîn 'Uthmân, the wazîr of Al-Malik al-Kâmil, that they should say concerning him to the Sultan that he (the hermit) asked our Sire, the Sultan, that he should not trouble him, and should not cause him to descend from his hermitage. And they despatched messengers, (and) they took him back, after he had reached Ḳalîûb [1]. And the inhabitants of Abîar [2] rejoiced at his return to them, and they went up with him to his hermitage. A man, a Jacobite (Ya'ḳûbinî) Christian (Naṣrânî) from the inhabitants of Cairo (Miṣr) known as Al-As'ad Ibn * Ṣadafah, a surety of the Dar at-Tufâḥ heard news of his (David), and * Fol. 230 r°
he was zealous for God, as Phinehas (Finḥâs) [3] was zealous. And he took with him a company of the people, and he stood before the Sultan, and he resisted Nišû'l-Khilâfat Ibn Fatûḥ with regard to the consecration of David (Dâûûd), and he took as his support Al-Malik al-Kâmil, and he said to him concerning David (Dâûûd) that he had bribed with money, so that he might gain an advantage over us, and we do not accept him. And he had paid to Al-Malik al-'Âdil much money, so that he should command the patriarch to make him a metropolitan (Muṭrân) [4]. (He said) : «It is not fitting (that) God permit thee that thou shouldst make him patriarch over us to corrupt our religion and to make all the Copts (Ḳibṭ) of the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) Greek (Rûm), and he will cause it to depart from the hands of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn)». Al-Malik al-Kâmil despatched (a messenger) to the governor (wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr), saying to him : «If thou enable Abû'l-Fatûḥ and his companions to set up for them a patriarch without my order, I shall hang thee». And after a few days Al-Malik al-'Âdil went out to Alexandria, and Abû'l-Fatûḥ asked permission from him for the consecration of David (Dâûûd).

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[1] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 390.
[2] Cf. p. 208, n. 5.
[3] Cf. *Numbers* xxv, 11.
[4] Cf. p. 207.

people that he might be consecrated patriarch. And he made plans for this, and he assembled with a company of the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin) scribes and others than them to the end that they should set up the priest David (Dâûûd) over them as patriarch. A few of them agreed with him, and many disagreed with him, and he was not able to get together all to an agreement nor to one opinion about him (David). And he despatched his messengers to the sees of the fathers, the bishops, in Lower Egypt (al-Waǧah al-Baḥarî) and to the bishop of Ṭambudî [1] in Upper Egypt (al-Waǧah al-Ḳiblî), and he was a virtuous and leaned (man). And there assembled from them seven bishops, and he gave to them hospitality, and he honoured them, and he gave to them gifts, and he sought from them that they should write their signatures on a document (which) he had made for him (David), that he was fit (to be) a patriarch. And there were among them two poor bishops, the name of one of the two of them (being) Hadîah, bishop of Damîrah [2] and al-Baramûn [3], and the name of the other (being) Stephen (Iṣṭafan), bishop of al-Banwân [4], and the priest David (Dâûûd) paid to him something. And the two of them used to stand (in the way) of the Sultan when he rode, soliciting from him, that he should have consecrated for them David (Dâûûd) (as) patriarch. And they would say to the Sultan that the bishops and the assembly of the people had written their signatures that he was fit (to be) patriarch. And it was by a foreordaining of God what I mentioned before, with regard to the affair of the hermit of Abîar [5] with Al-Malik al-Kâmil. And when Al-Malik al-Kâmil heard them soliciting for them a patriarch, he said to them : «I command that the hermit of Abîar [5] be your patriarch, and I agree on him for you». And he wrote immediately a letter to Šams ad-Dîn ..... [6], and to the governor (wâlî) of (the Province of) al-Gharbîah [7] that

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[1] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 479.
[2] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
[3] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 881.
[4] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
[5] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
[6] Here there is a lacuna.
[7] Cf. p. 111, n. 1.

the father, Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'ânnis) in his lifetime. He (Yû'ânnis) had an aversion for the priest David (Dâûûd) and he had an aversion for Abû'l-Fatûḥ because he dwelt with him, and he died without having been reconciled with them. And it was, when the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân) of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašat) died in the lifetime of Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'ânnis), and their messenger came soliciting for them the consecration of a metropolitan (Muṭrân), and the priest David (Dâûûd) heard about this, (that) he bore to Al-Malik al-'Âdil two hundred dînârs, that he should command the patriarch to consecrate him metropolitan (Muṭrân) for Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašat). And the Sultan caused the messenger to go to the patriarch, commanding him to consecrate him (David) metropolitan (Muṭrân) for Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašat). And the patriarch said to the messenger of the king : * «Say to our Sire, the Sultan, that this one is not fit, because his belief in God is corrupt, because he says concerning God what the Greeks (ar-Rûm) say [1], and if he went to the Land of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašat), he would corrupt them, and he would make them Greek (Rûm), and they would depart from my obedience and the obedience of the Sultan, and, perhaps, he would incite them to fight the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) who are neighbouring to them in the country, and much blood would be shed among them, and this would be on the conscience of the Sultan ; but I and my people (are) innocent of it. And the messenger returned to the Sultan, and he informed him of what the patriarch had said, and he (the Sultan) did not press him (the patriarch) and he did not compel him to consecrate him (David), and God made void his affair, and he lost what he had borne. And some people said that the Sultan returned them (the two hundred dînârs) to him at the prayer of Nišû'l-Khilâfat and (with) the help of Fakhr ad-Dîn 'Uthmân. And straightway the patriarch consecrated a metropolitan (Muṭrân) other than him for Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašat), and he caused him to journey with the messenger of the king to them. And when the father, the patriarch, Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'ânnis) went to his rest, Nišû'l-Khilâfat Abû'l-Fatûḥ Ibn al-Miḳâz wished to aid the priest David (Dâûûd) with the Sultan and (with) the

* Fol. 229 v°

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[1] *I.e.* concerning the Two Natures of Christ, it would seem.

mention this in its place, if we reach to the end of it (the biography). And Al-Malik al-Kâmil, the king of Egypt (Miṣr) had gone out from Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), wishing for recreation and hunting, and he crossed over to (the Province of) al-Gharbîah, and he journeyed in it making for Alexandria. And he crossed the river [1] of Abîar [2], and he saw the hermitage of the hermit who was there. And he stood beneath it and he shouted to him, and he (the hermit) conversed with him from above it. And he (Al-Malik al-Kâmil) made supplication to him and he complained to him of a pain in his viscera. And he (the hermit) prayed for him over good oil [3], and he gave it to him, and he said to him : «If thou anoint the place of the pain, (thou wilt be relieved), and God is the healer». And he (Al-Malik al-Kâmil) anointed with it the painful (place), and he was relieved immediately. And he gave to him (the hermit) something as a gift from his hand, and there was affection for him in his heart. Then he returned to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and he found a man of the Children of the Copts (al-Ḳibṭ), his name (being) Abû'l Fatûḥ, and he designated him as Nišû'l-Khilâfat, known as Ibn al-Miḳâz. And Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil had employed him in the Dîwân of the Army, and he drew him near to him. And he (Abû'l-Fatûḥ) used to give as alms all what he possessed, and he would not save anything, and he would do good to everyone who begged of him from among the Christians (an-Naṣârah) and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) and all the people And he was never married, and he was perfect in every good work. And he gave hospitality to a man, a priest, his name (being) David (Dâûûd), known as Ibn Laḳlaḳ [4] from the inhabitants of the Fayûm (al-Fayûm). And he was a virtuous, learned (man) (who) had read the Old and the New (Testaments), and he disputed with the opponents of his religion and he prevailed over them. And he became for Nišû'l-Khilâfat Abû'l-Fatûḥ as a teacher, and he used to confess him. And as for Abû'l-Fatûḥ (he betook himself) to him, and news of him reached

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(1) *Lit.* ' sea '.

(2) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

(3) *I.e.* olive oil.

(4) He became Patriarch of Alexandria, 1235-1243 A.D.

of the going to his rest up to the day of the writing of this biography, as said before. And this was by the order of God, as the father, Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'ânnis) prophesied through the Holy Spirit Who spake through his pure month. And we shall explain here what occurred with regard to the dispute between the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin) concerning whom they should set up as patriarch from among those who would be fit, fulfilling the qualities and conditions to which the patriarchal canon (κανών) testifies. The first of them (is) that he should be a virgin, (and) that he should not have known the follies of youth, and that there should be no witness * against him as regards frivolous speech, * Fol. 229 r°
and that there should be testified for him chastity and religion and abundance of faith and learning and modesty, and that he should have read the Old and the New (Testaments). And they were assiduous in seeking one of this quality. And the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) was under the rule [1] of the Ghuzz (al-Ghuzz) [2], and the king over it (was) Al-Malik al-'Âdil Abû Bakr Ibn Aiyûb. And there was in his kingdom the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) and its provinces, and Jerusalem [3] and its provinces, and from beyond [4] the River Euphrates (al-Furât), Harran (Ḥarrân) and Edessa (ar-Ruhâ) and Nisibis (Naṣîbîn) and Minbiǧ and Amid and Martyropolis (Maiyafâriḳîn) [5] and all their provinces. And he had many sons, and he gave the kingdom of the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) to his son Al-Kâmil and his name (was) Muḥammad, and he gave Damascus (Dimašḳ) and Jerusalem [3] to his son Al-Mu'aẓẓam, and his name (was) 'Isâ al-Kurîdî, and he gave Khilâṭ [6] to his son Al-Ašraf Mûsâ, and he distributed the cities which were in addition to them to the rest of his sons ; and it is said concerning him that he had twenty sons, and he gave the Yemen (al-Yaman) to Aḳîs, a son of his son Al-Malik al-Kâmil. Then he died, after he had arranged affairs, and we shall

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(1) *Lit.* ' kingdom '.
(2) The Ghuzz here will mean the Kurds.
(3) *Lit.* ' the Holy House '.
(4) *Lit.* ' behind '.
(5) For these cities, cf. p. 162, n. 2.
(6) Situated at the north-west end of Lake Van, cf. R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant,* map facing p. 106.

patriarch, that he went to his rest on Friday, the twelfth of (the month of) Ṭûbah (in the) year nine hundred and thirty-two of the Pure Martyrs [1] which corresponds to the sixteenth of (the month of) Ramaḍân (in the) year six hundred and twelve. And I began with the writing of this biography (on) Monday, the seventeenth of (the month of) Baramûdah (in the) year nine hundred and thirty-seven [2] which corresponds to the eighteenth of (the month of) Ṣafar (in the) year six hundred and eighteen. The See has remained vacant, without a patriarch, up to this date [3], five years and three months, and what will be in excess of this will be added to it at the time of the consecration of the patriarch whom the Master Christ (al-Masîḥ) shall set up to pasture His people, as the saintly Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'ânnis), the patriarch, prophesied. Likewise, it was my father (who) was among those of the elders (aš-Šiyûkh) of Cairo (Miṣr), who were present on the day of his [4] going to his rest, (who) informed me that, one day before his [4] death, he [5] swooned for about three hours. Then he [5] opened his eyes, and he conversed with those who were present with him, and he asked them concerning Manṣûr his [4] disciple, and he was sick. And they said to him «He died». And he said to them : «Shroud him and bury him, for to-morrow I shall be with him». Then he swooned a second time. Then he opened his eyes, and he said to those who were present with him : «There will be between you after me a great dispute concerning whom ye will set up [6], and the See will be without a patriarch for a long time, until Christ (al-Masîḥ) will set up for you a man, whence he comes, ye know not, and his day will be tranquil, and the Spirit of God will be in him». Then he went to his rest the next day, and they buried him in Ḥibis [7] at Cairo (Miṣr) beside the tomb of Zacharias (Zakhârîâs) the patriarch. The See was, and has remained vacant without a patriarch from the day

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(1) = 1216 A.D.
(2) = 1221 A.D.
(3) *I.e.* 1221 A.D.
(4) *I.e.* the patriarch's.
(5) *I.e.* the patriarch.
(6) *I.e.* as patriarch.
(7) Cf. p. 203, n. 2.

(the month of) Ṭûbah (in the) year nine hundred and thirty-two of the Pure Martyrs [1] — may his prayers protect us. Amen! And this father, the patriarch, heard, while he was alive, that Abba (Anbâ) Zacharias (Zakhârîâs) the patriarch, when he went to his rest, had commanded that his (John's) holy body should be buried in Ḥibis [2] below the tomb of Zacharias (Zakhârîâs) the patriarch, and he (John) was buried in the cemetery of Ḥibis [2] in Cairo (Miṣr), and they (are) both in it up to the day of the writing of this biography; and peace (be to you), and glory to God always, for ever, eternally. Amen!

*We begin with his aid and the excellence of his assistance to explain what occurred in the region (κλῖμαξ) of Egypt (Miṣr), and what befell the peoples who believe in Christ (Al-Masîḥ) and who live in it, from the tower of Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [3] to the tower of Aswan (Aswân) [4], after the decease of the blessed father, the pure virgin, Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'ânnis) the patriarch — may God give rest to his soul with the righteous! * Fol. 228 v°

I recall what reached my knowledge of it in matters which were brought to me about this biography, and the duration of the remaining of the See without a patriarch, as Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'ânnis) had prophesied concerning this. And when the time was prolonged, I feared that I might die without explaining this [5]. And God accorded to me a respite until I heard it (the news), and I learned (it), and I saw (it). And I should be as though I forbade myself to record the mercy of God, and I should be parsimonious towards others than myself with regard to it (if I did not do so). And I gave priority to the goodness of God, and I sought from Him aid to me for this, relying on His forgiveness, and trusting in His favour, for He is over all things. And I mentioned at the end of the biography of Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'ânnis), the

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[1] = 1216 A.D.

[2] Cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, pp. 131 and 135.

[3] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[4] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

[5] *Lit.* ' and had not explained it '.

*Fol. 228 r° who (were) evil-disposed, * but no one dared to utter a word nor stretch out his hand, on account of the fear of Al-Malik al-Kâmil — may God perpetuate his days! And after this, there came a monk from the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr) [1] from the Cell of Saksîk [2], (and) he wrote to him (Al-Malik al-Kâmil) a report concerning the patriarch, saying in it, that every year there was borne to the patriarch much money from the bishops; and (that it had been) the custom with the patriarchs who were before him to expend from their wealth on the ships of the fleet. And the most high judge (al-Ḳâḍî), possessor of the Dîwân, took the report from him and submitted it to Al-Malik al-Kâmil, and he said to the most high judge (al-Ḳâḍî): «O judge (Ḳâḍî), if another than we were oppressive, we ourselves shall not be like him. Let this monk go to his monastery until we send for him». And the most high judge (al-Ḳâḍî) went out to him, and he said to him what Al-Malik al-Kâmil had said. And he (the monk) went out shamefaced, and God preserved the father, the patriarch, from his wiles. And there occurred in the days of the life of this father, in the way of difficult affairs, wars and dearness, and famine which we have mentioned before, and if we were to record what happened in the days of his leadership in all the lands of Egypt (al-Miṣriyah) we should not reach this, nor should we attain to it. However, we have included this biography which we took over from those who were before us, from our predecessors, and what came to our knowledge from hearing reports of our trustworthy elders (Šiyûkh) (who came) to the city of Al-Maḥallah [3], since we dwelt in it and we stayed in it. And apart from us, news was spread from our faithful brethren who resided at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr), of what they had witnessed in truth, and knew of a certainty. Then the blessed father, the mentioned Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'ânnis), went to his rest on Friday, the sixteenth of (the month of) Ramaḍân (in the) year six hundred and twelve which corresponds to the twelfth of

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(1) Cf. p. 167, n. 4. *MS.* P adds ' another dissolute monk from the Desert of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr), and he stood before Al-Malik al-Kâmil; and his name was ' 'Abd al-Masîḥ, the painter '.

(2) Cf. H.G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 362-383.

(3) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

and his religion and his faith, that he may read for us what is written on these vessels. And they caused to be brought a man from the inhabitants of Alexandria, his name (being) Peter (Buṭrus) Ibn John (Yûḥannâ), (who) had been a deacon in the Church of the Lady at it, and (who) had professed al-Islâm. And he read to Al-Malik al-Kâmil the Coptic which was on the chalices and the patens and the crosses and the spoons [1], the name of every one who had done something on it [2]. And Al-Malik al-Kâmil was amazed at this, and he commanded that three elders (Šiyûkh) of the monks should sware that these vessels were not found in a well, and they sware. And they caused to be brought the builder who had dug for them the well and built it, and he was a Muslim (Muslim) man. And he witnessed before [3] the Sultan that (it was) he who had dug the well and had built it, and (that) there was nothing in it, and the Sultan believed him. And, thereupon, Al-Ḥakîm Abû Šakir said to Al-Malik al-Kâmil «O our Sire, there was a report to Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn — may God have mercy upon him! [4] — concerning these vessels, and he caused them to be brought, and he understood the falsehood of the reporter, and he returned them to their monastery [5]. Thereupon, Al-Malik al-Kâmil returned them, and he commanded them to be delivered to the patriarch. And he (the patriarch) took them, and he placed them on salvers on the heads of carriers, and he bought many candles, and he went round all the streets of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and its markets, and many people [6] of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) surrounded them, and he went up with them to Cairo (Miṣr), and he went round its streets and its markets, and the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) cried out with supplication for the Sultan, and it was a very great, celebrated day. And the procession with the Crosses in its markets and its streets was hard to bear for those

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(1) Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, p. 24.

(2) The name of the donor is often inscribed on the sacred vessels in the Coptic Church.

(3) *Lit.* ‘ between the hands of ’.

(4) An expression which is used, when speaking of one who is deceased.

(5) Cf. *HPEC.*, vol. III, part I, p. 58.

(6) *Lit.* ‘ creatures ’.

the truth, thinking thereby that he (the Sultan) would agree to his oppression ; and we have nothing of the vessels, except a chalice of silver or a paten of silver or a silk veil [1] to cover with it the altar [2] at the time of the Offering (al-Ḳurbân) [3], and all of them (are) for use at the Offering (al-Ḳurbân) [3]. The Christians (an-Naṣârâ) provided for them and sent them, and the name of every one of them is written on what he made [4]. And the witnesses said to him : «If it be true what thou hast said, then Al-Malik al-Kâmil is just — may God perpetuate his kingdom ! — and it appertains to his justice that he will take nothing of them. Quieten thy heart and the hearts of thy companions, and bring them (the vessels) so that we may see them and may know that thine adversary has lied with regard to what he related concerning you, when what is in the way of writing on them has been read». And this happened through the design of God. And the head of the monastery arose from before [5] the witnesses, and he disclosed the place, and he caused to be taken out the vessels, and the witnesses recorded them all on sheets of paper, and they bore them to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and they brought them before [5] Al-Malik al-Kâmil, and he read all of them. And there was among all a fine crystal water-wheel (saḳîah) of marvellous workmanship and a net of pearls. And al-Malik al-Kâmil brought experts in jewelry and cloth-merchants, and they valued the jewelry and the silk veils and all the vessels. And he who was present recorded that they were valued at three thousand dînârs in brief, and, perhaps, (their) worth surpassed that. And Al-Malik al-Kâmil caused the patriarch Abba (Anbâ) John (Yûḥannâ) to be brought, and he delivered to him all the vessels, after he had said : «Seek a Christian (Naṣrânî) man who has professed al-Islâm and has accepted the religion of al-Islâm by consentment, and (who) is renowned in it for his trustworthiness

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[1] This is the veil called «Προσφέρειν», cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, p. 23.

[2] The term ' haîkal ' is strictly applied to the sanctuary, but it is often extended to the altar.

[3] *I.e.* the Divine Liturgy.

[4] The donor's name is often inscribed on sacred vessels.

[5] *Lit.* ' between the hands of '.

his worth Minyat Ghamr [1], and he resided in it for a time, after the journey of the Sultan. Then he presented himself to Al-Malik al-Kâmil, and he said that the monks had dug a well in the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr) [2], and (that) they had found in it a treasure and vessels and much jewelry, and (that) the monks had brought a Muslim (Muslim) builder (who) built for them the well, and (that) it was he who had dug it. It was the aim of the monk John (Yûḥannâ) that Al-Malik al-Kâmil should take all the vessels of the monasteries, when he had completed taking the vessels of the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr) [2]. And the Master Christ (al-Masîḥ) manifested the virtues of the Saint Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr), and He repelled this shameless (one) from His beloved and His saints (as) despicable and vile. He did not reach his aim, and this (because) he said to Al-Malik al-Kâmil that it was a treasure from the time of the Greeks (ar-Rûm), and his saying thus was arranged by God to prove him a liar and for the sake of safety. And Al-Malik al-Kâmil delegated with him three of his [3] mamluks (mamâlîk) and with them witnesses, and they journeyed to the monastery in a great company. And the shameless (one) did not know the place of the vessels, because they (were) hidden under the ground, and (no one) knew their place, except the head of the monastery or another man of the trustworthy elders. Then John (Yûḥannâ) seized a group of monks in whose cell (κελλίον) there was jealousy, and he chastised them. And when the head of the monastery knew that, if he delayed in revealing the vessels, he (John) would overcome the monks by chastisement, and would cause them to depart from their religion, he hastened and presented himself before [4] the witnesses, (and) he said to them and to the soldiers who (were) with them that * this man [5] (John) had reported a lie to the Sultan [6] and had altered * Fol. 227 v°

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[1] Unidentified.
[2] Cf. p. 167, n. 4.
[3] ‘ his ’ is added from *MS.* P.
[4] *Lit.* ‘ between the hands of ’.
[5] *MS.* P has ‘ monk ’.
[6] *MS.* P adds ‘ may God perpetuate his kingdom ’.

to him (as) his worth Minyat Ghamr [1]. And he resided in it esteemed for three years, and he used to pray with the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) in the mosque (al-Ǧâmi') at it and the prayer houses (al-Masâǧid). And after this, he remembered his religion and his monkhood, and he repented. And he bought a piece of coarse cloth and a scarf (μανδήλιον), and he took them and he went and he stood before Al-Malik al-Kâmil, and he said to him : «These (are) my burial-clothes, whether thou killest me or givest back to me my religion». He signed a favourable decision for him to all the governors (al-Wulât) to give back to him his religion ; and he (the monk) wore the garments of monasticism, and he manifested the religion of Christianity (an-Naṣrânîah), and he remained thus for a time, until it happened that a Christian (Naṣrânî) man from the inhabitants of Upper Egypt (aṣ-Ṣa'îd) professed al-Islâm. Afterwards, he (the man) remembered his religion, and he repented, and he took his shroud, and he stood before Al-Malik al-'Âdil, before his journey to Damascus (Dimašḳ), and he said to him : «Give back to me my religion, as thy son, Al-Malik al-Kâmil, gave back to the monk his religion, and wrote for him that no one should oppose him». And when Al-Malik al-'Âdil heard his speech, he commanded that he should be delivered up to the Governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and that he should inflict punishment upon him until he died, or renewed his Islâm. And he professed a second time al-Islâm, and he did not endure the punishment. And Al-Malik al-'Âdil caused to be sent immediately a mamluk (mamlûk) to the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr) [2], and he commanded that he should take John (Yûḥannâ), and if he professed al-Islâm, (it was well), otherwise, he should behead him and bring it (the head) to him. And the mamluk (mamlûk) went to the Monastery, and he took him and he said to him : «Choose what thou wilt, either al-Islâm or death», and he (the monk) professed al-Islâm. And he went out from the Monastery with the mamluk (mamlûk), and he brought him to the Sultan Al-Malik al-'Âdil, and he renewed his Islâm before him [3], and he (Al-Malik al-'Âdil) returned to him (as)

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[1] Unidentified. [2] Cf. p. 167, n. 4. [3] *Lit.* 'at his hand'.

Al-Malik al-ʿÂdîl was assured of his journey, he went from Ašmûm [1], and he descended at Al-ʿAbbâssah [2], and he summoned the soldiers that they should make ready their baggage to journey to Syria (aš-Šâm). And Usâmah journeyed with the Arabs (al-ʿArab), and they betrayed him, and they delivered him up to Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam, and he delivered him to his father Al-Malik al-ʿÂdîl. And Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil had journeyed to seek him, as we have said before. And when God caused him to triumph over him, he went to the Fortress of Kaûkab [3], and he descended at it, and he besieged it, and the mamluk (mamlûk) of Usâmah who (was) in it delivered it up; and he carried off all what (was) in it in the way of money and grain and arms to (a place) other than it. And he demolished it, and he carried away its stones to (a place) other than it, and it was the fortress (on) the mountain of Natrun (an-Naṭrûn) [4], (and) he (re)built it with them. And he turned to Damascus (Dimašḳ) in (the) year six hundred and nine [5], after he had taken Usâmah and had taken the rest of his fortresses, and they were the Fortress of Ṣafad [6] and the Fortress * of ʿAǧlûn [7] and others than them (of) which we do not know. And statements about the affair of Usâmah differed; some people said (that) he killed him, (and) some people said (that) he was confined in the Karak [8], in the days of this patriarch [9]. And after these calamities, a monk from the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr), from the Cell of Batarîrkhus [10], his name was John (Yûḥannâ), professed al-Islâm before [11] Al-Malik al-Kâmil, and he paid

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[1] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
[2] Cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
[3] Cf. p. 195, n. 11.
[4] Cf. p. 157, n. 1.
[5] = 1212-1213 A.D.
[6] Cf. p. 196, n. 2.
[7] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, p. 611.
[8] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 123.
[9] *I.e.* John VI. ' in the days of this patriarch ' is added from *MS.* P.
[10] Cf. H.G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 362-381, but with the reading ' Birbirhus '.
[11] *Lit.* ' at the hand of '.

the mamluk (mamlûk) of Usâmah who was in the fortress revealed the case to his wife, and he said to her : «We will take this large sum of money, we shall live by it, and we shall purchase with it fiefs and property. And Al-Muʿaẓẓam has sworn to me that he will not send me out from it ; and that my rule shall be over it and over other than it of his fortresses, and that he will give to me a trumpet (bûḳ) and a standard, and I shall be with him as his [1] equerry». And his wife said to him : «Good, do what thou wilt», and she knew how to write, and she rose up immediately, and she wrote to Ibn Usâmah, and he was staying in the fortress of Ṣafad [2], making known to him the case, and she said to him : «Hasten, and go in advance to the fortress, otherwise Al-Muʿazzam will precede thee to it». And he rose up, on learning the contents of the letter, and he went in advance, going to the fortress, and he took the mamluk (mamlûk), and he put fetters on him, and he cast him into the dungeon which is in it. And on the morning of the next day Al-Muʿaẓẓam came to it, and Ibn Usâmah greeted him from its [3] summit, and he said to him : «Behold, our Sire hath honoured us by his passing through our land». Al-Muʿaẓẓam said to him : «I wish to hunt». Ibn Usâmah said to him : «Thou hast missed (the quarry)», and he laughed at him. And then instantly (he set out) for Egypt (Miṣr) until he met his father, and he informed him about the case. And when news reached ʿIzz ad-Dîn Usâmah about what had occurred with Al-Muʿaẓẓam, he took his troops, and the common people mentioned that three other amîrs journeyed with him, and that he journeyed to Syria (aš-Šâm) with about two thousand horsemen. And some people said that he was going to his fortresses, and some people said that he was going to Aleppo (Ḥalab) to Al-Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir. And this (was) in (the) month of Šaʿbân (in the) year six hundred and nine [4] ; and they mentioned that Al-Malik al-Kâmil journeyed in pursuit of him with troops and mangonels to besiege him in his fortresses. And when

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[1] The *MS.* reads by error ' my '.

[2] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, p. 560.

[3] *I.e.* of the fortress.

[4] = 1213 A.D.

wind was favourable to them, and they returned to their land with their spoil. And the enemy had also invaded [1] the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) in the days of this father once before from the side of Rosetta (Fûm Rašîd) [2], and it did (the same) in it, and in Fûah [3], in Ḥaîrah, and in Bûrah [4], and both these times the enemy succeeded in them, and they took spoils from the frontiers of the land, and they returned safe; and (it was) the order of God — praised be He! what He wills He does. And after these things, the Sultan returned to the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) in (the) year six hundred and eight [5], and he remained in it. And when it was in (the month of) Rağab (in the) year six hundred and nine [6], he went out hunting in Ǧîzah [7], and with him * his son Al-Malik al-Kâmil. And he journeyed on the paved way [8] to Alexandria, and he entered it, and he examined its walls and arranged its affairs, and he went out from it, after he had stayed in it twenty days. He crossed over to the land of (the Province of) al-Gharbîah [9] and passed through its towns and examined their causeways, and he crossed over from it to the eastern land (province). He went to Damietta (Dumyâṭ) and examined its walls and its fortifications and its towers, and he bestowed robes of honour on the builders and the engineers. And he went out to Ašmûn [10] and descended at it, and his son Al-Mu'azzam came to him, and he informed him that he had sought to take the Fortress of Kaûkab [11] from 'Izz ad-Dîn Usâmah, because he had bought it from the mamluk (mamlûk) of Usâmah who (was) in it, for ten thousand dînârs, and it was settled that he should deliver it up to him. And

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(1) *Lit.* 'trod'.
(2) Cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
(3) Cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
(4) Cf. p. 193, n. 4.
(5) = 1211-1212 A.D.
(6) = 1212-1213 A.D.
(7) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
(8) Or 'dike'.
(9) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
(10) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 182 and 170.
(11) This is the stronghold Belvoir of the Crusaders.

which many belonging to the Sultan, their value (being) five thousand dînârs, and (other pieces) belonging to a man, a judge (Ḳâḍî) called ʿAlî. They mentioned that he had resided in it (Bûrah) for two years. He used to manufacture and produce turbans [1], they said, for ten thousand dînârs, and they said more than that. And as for the inhabitants of the town [2], it was not possible to know what they took belonging to them in the way of turbans [1], goods, bags filled with dînârs round the waists of their women. And among all of them (was) the wife of the Judge (Ḳâḍî) ʿAlî, judge of Bûrah [3], and there was around her waist a bag of one thousand dînârs. And when they had pillaged the town [2] and had killed and had taken captive those they could of it, they burned some of it with fire, (and) all this (was) on the Monday. And they disembarked from the ships tents, and they pitched them before their ships on the land, (and) among them was a red tent belonging to the king who was with them. And they began to pillage and to kill and to take captive every one whom they found on the Monday, the Tuesday and the Wednesday. And during this period no troops went out to them, and no one fought against them, because the troops of Egypt (Miṣr) were in Syria (aš-Šâm) with Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil. And Ǧaldak, governor (wâlî) of Damietta (Dumyâṭ) dared not cross over [4] to them to fight them on account of the fewness of his soldiers, but he barred the gates of Damietta (Dumyâṭ) and he manned the wall with the inhabitants of the town [2] and his soldiers. And there was at Damietta (Dumyâṭ) eight warships of the fleet with the commander Manṣûr. And he did not go out to them and he did not fight against them. And when they saw that no one fought against them, they became emboldened, and they knew that no one in the town [2] would oppose them, some of them crossed over in the fire-ships to the land of Damietta (Dumyâṭ), and they fought against it, and they did not prevail over it in any way, and they returned to their ships. And the

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[1] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 736.
[2] *Lit.* ‘ country ’.
[3] Cf. p. 193, n. *4*.
[4] *I.e.* the river Nile at Damietta.

he (the king) caused him the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân) to reside in the city of ʿArafah. And he (the king) had two sons, the name of the elder was Yabârak, and the younger A....[1]. And when it was the day of Monday, the fourteenth of Bašuns (in the) year nine hundred and twenty-seven of the Pure Martyrs which corresponds to the twenty-fourth of Dhû'l-Ḳaʿdah (in the) year six hundred and seven [2], there arrived at Damietta (Dumyâṭ) *eighteen ships of the Franks (al-Afranǧ) (with) military equipment. And they descended at the Monastery of Jeremiah (Irmyâ) which belongs to the Melchites (al-Malakîyin), which is near to Damietta (Dumyâṭ) the distance of a parasang (farasanḫ) [3], on the side of the western shore, the shore of Bûrah [4] and al-Ḥaîrah. And there was among all the ships, a large transport-ship, its crew (being) one thousand sailors and warriors, and two transport-ships for carrying the horses, in each transport-ship fifty knights (horsemen), and seven warships and eight fire-ships. They had been equipped from Acre (ʿAkkâ), and they came out from it, (and) they descended at the mentioned monastery. And their leader and their commander was a man called Count Aflank [5]. And there disembarked from the ships one hundred knights (horsemen) and a thousand men. They divided into two halves : fifty knights (horsemen) and five hundred men went to al-Ḥaîrah. They killed and they took captives from its inhabitants, men and women, (and) they pillaged it and they burned it with fire. And fifty knights (horsemen) and five hundred men went to Bûrah [4], (and) they killed and they took captives from it, men and women ; and they pillaged from it many objects, pieces of brocaded cloth (Šarb) [6] among

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[1] This name is written without the diacritical points.

[2] = 1211 A.D.

[3] = between 3 and 3½ English miles.

[4] Cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[5] The expedition which is described here is that which was undertaken by Gautier de Montbéliand, cf. E. Blochet, *op. cit.*, p. 299. It cannot be that of Jean de Brienne who disembarked opposite to Damietta on May 29th, 1218 A.D., since in this expedition Damietta was not taken. Cf. R. Grousset, *L'Épopée des Croisades*, p. 296 sqq., et R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant*, pp. 254-255.

[6] For a description of this brocade, cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, pp. 62-63.

than the other, (and) all who knew the two of them testified to their virtue. And the names of the two of them (were) Isaac (Isḥaḳ) and Joseph (Yûsif), from the inhabitants of al-Baštamîr [1]. And he (the patriarch) consecrated Isaac (Isḥaḳ) [2], and he was the younger metropolitan (Muṭrân), and he ordained Joseph (Yûsif), and he was the elder, a priest, and he caused him to journey with him. And this (was) on the second Sunday [3] of the Holy Lent, the eleventh of (the month of) Baramhât (in the) year nine hundred and twenty-six of the Righteous Martyrs [4], which corresponds to the ninth of (the month of) the blessed Ramaḍân (in the) year six hundred and six of the Lunar (Year). As for Kîîl Ibn al-Malabas, the excommunicated metropolitan, (al-Muṭrân), he descended from the Church al-Muʿallaḳah [5] with great shame, and he was shrieking and putting dust on his head. And he went on his way thus; and he was deprived of the metropolitanate (al-Muṭranah) and the episcopacy on account of the misuse of his stewardship. And as for the new metropolitan (al-Muṭrân) and his brother the priest, the messengers of the king took them, and they went with them with honour and peace to the city of ʿArafah, the city of the king, for which he had been consecrated the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân) [6], and over all Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašat), and Joseph (Yûsif), the brother of the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân) (was) the priest [7]. And the name of the king at that time was Lalibala (Lâlibalah) Ibn Šenouti (Šanûdah) [8], and its interpretation (is) «The Lion», and the name of his wife (was) Kebra Maskal (Masghal Kabrâ) of which the interpretation (is) «Great is the Cross». And the race of the king (was) the tribe called An-Nakbah, and

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(1) In the Province of Daḳahlîah, cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

(2) Cf. M. Chaîne, *La Chronologie des Temps Chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie*, Paris, 1925, p. 268, line 2.

(3) *MS.* P has ' in the second week '.

(4) = 1210 A.D.

(5) Cf. p. 191, n. 2.

(6) *MS.* P has ' patriarch '.

(7) For ' the brother — priest ' *MS.* P has ' brother of Isaac (Isḥaḳ) the new metropolitan (al-Muṭrân), priest '.

(8) Cf. M. Chaîne, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

bearest it to us?» And he (the patriarch) sware (that) he would not take it, and he (the king) took an oath on the life of his father Al-Malik al-'Âdil that he would accept it, and he accepted it. He commanded the withdrawal of the men of the messenger, and (he requested) that the patriarch should consecrate for them a metropolitan (Muṭrân) and not detain them (the messengers). And he (the patriarch) went out from the presence of Al-Malik al-Kâmil and he returned to Cairo (Miṣr), and he caused to be brought the priests of Cairo (Miṣr) and Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and their archons (ἄρχων), and he assembled a great assembly. And the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) overheard what had happened to the patriarch with Al-Malik al-Kâmil, and that he (the patriarch) had gone up to Cairo (Miṣr) to consecrate a metropolitan (Muṭrân). And they hired every beast at the Gate Zuwaîlah [1] and other than it of the gates, and they went up to Cairo (Miṣr); and the hire of an ass from Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) to Cairo (Miṣr) reached three dirhams, so that they might go to view (the ceremony). And when the Church al-Mu'allaḳah [2] was filled with people [3], Christians (Naṣârâ) and Muslims (Muslimîn), he stopped it (the ceremony), and he dismissed the people of both parties [4]. The patriarch caused to be brought Kîîl Ibn al-Malabas, the former metropolitan (al-Muṭrân), and he deposed him from the metropolitanate (al-Muṭranah), and he was displeased with him, and he removed him. And it was, when the messenger of the king arrived, (that) there came two brothers, monks of the Monastery of Abba (Anbâ) Antony (Andûnah) [5], and he (the patriarch) delivered the two of them to the disciples. And they had reached to the limit of virtue and asceticism, renunciation of the world and solitude and isolation from the monks in the monastery, and assiduity in prayer, night and day, and humility and service for their brethren without complaint or weariness. One of the two of them (was) more learned

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(1) Cf. D. Russell, *Medieval Cairo and the Monasteries of the Wâdi n'Natrûn*, p. 150.

(2) Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 23-31.

(3) *Lit.* ' creatures '.

(4) *I.e.* the Christians and the Muslims.

(5) Cf. O.F.A. Meinardus, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 31-88.

wear it; and if he (the King of Ethiopia) knew that he would wear it and sit with it, he would have ornamented it with jewels the value of which would be the tax of all the Land of Egypt (Miṣr)». And Al-Malik al-Kâmil marvelled at his speech, and he asked him concerning the king [1] and his troops and his wars. Then the messenger took out a letter for him from the king to the Sultan, and he said to him : «If thou read his letter, thou wilt know how he is and how are his troops». And when he had read the letter of the king, he found from its contents that he was asking the Sultan to go to the venerable, great, notable patriarch, describing the virtues of the patriarch and saying ' all the kings and all the world ' — and saying to the Sultan, ' and thy kingdom, O King, are preserved through his prayers, so guard him, and honour him, and propose to him that he should consecrate for us a metropolitan (Muṭrân) other than the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân) who was with us, and never to send him back to us '. And when Al-Malik al-Kâmil learned of the contents of the letter, he proposed to the patriarch that he should consecrate for them a metropolitan (Muṭrân) other than him [2] speedily, and (that) he should not detain them (the messengers) with him. Then he turned to the messenger and he said to him : «I have read the letter of your king, and he is an intelligent man — hold! Inform me of thy saying to me, ' When thou hast read his letter, thou wilt know who he is '. And the messenger said to him : «If I began to describe to thee his virtues and his troops and his wars, and the support of God to him, and (His) granting victory to him over his enemies, the description would be drawn out, but I shall abridge (it) for thee a little, that thou mayest know from it the more. (It was) that, one day before my journey, the king reviewed the troops of one of the amîrs [3], and I was standing in his retinue, and their complement was sixty-thousand horsemen other
* Fol. 225 v° than their followers from among their youths * and their hangers-on. And Al-Malik al-Kâmil smiled at his saying, and he commanded (that) the gift should be delivered up and he said to the patriarch : «Take thy gift. How is it, the king sets apart for thee something, (and) thou

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(1) *I.e.* the king of Ethiopia.

(2) *I.e.* the former metropolitan.

(3) *Lit.* ' one amîr of the amîrs '.

on it much money, and he whitened it, and he made for it long corridors. He who enters them becomes weary before he reaches their lowest part and their highest part. And he fortified it, and he named it «The Castle» [1]. And he used to isolate himself in it from the people, and he did not go out, except from * Sunday to Sunday, riding to the church (on) a high mule and the umbrella over his head and around him and behind him horsemen and his men, about five hundred men other than the priests and the people who followed him to the church. And he would change when he went up to the sanctuary, his robes for those woven with gold and ornamented with precious stones worth much money. And he (the king) mentioned many words about him with which I am not acquainted ; and this is (only) something of what I heard from all the letter which reached the patriarch. And there arrived in company with the priest Moses (Mûsâ) the messengers of the king, and there accompanied them a splendid gift and a crown of gold for the patriarch, and a splendid gift for the Sultan, including beasts, and they were an elephant, and a lion, and a giraffe and an onager ; and (on) the day of their arrival there was a great rejoicing with the patriarch. And Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil was Sultan of the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) in that year, and it was (the) year six hundred and six of the Lunar (Year) [2] which corresponds to (the) year nine hundred and twenty-six of the Righteous Martyrs [2]. He (Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil) was absent in warfare against the city of Singar (Sinǧâr) [3] and was besieging it with his soldiers. And his son Al-Malik al-Kâmil was his representative (nâib) in the Land of Egypt (Miṣr). And the patriarch took the messengers and the gifts which arrived with them for him and for the Sultan, (and) he bore all to him (Al-Malik al-Kâmil). And he admired the crown, and he said : «I did not think that with them (were) those who made (such as) this». And the messenger said to him : «O Sire King, we know the humility of the patriarch, and that he would not

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[1] The large XIXth century building in the Monastery Al-Muḥarraḳ is called the ' Pachomian Castle ', cf. O.F.A. Meinardus, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, Cairo, 1961, p. 304.

[2] = 1209-1210 A.D.

[3] Cf. p. 144, n. 11.

patriarch) should write to the king a letter enquiring into the truth of what he metropolitan (al-Muṭrân) had reported. And the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân) went to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and he stayed at the Church of the Ḥârat Zuwaîlah [1] with some people of the archons (ἄρχων) who were called the Sons of Ġamâl al-Kafâh. And the father, the patriarch, wrote to the king a letter and despatched it by the hand of [2] the priest Moses (Mûsâ) and with him (was) one [3] of his disciples; and he was absent from him (the patriarch), going and coming, for the space of a year. Then the answer returned from the king, and it said concerning the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân) that he had killed a priest (who was) senior in his order (τάξις), chief of the ten priests who (was) in charge of guarding the treasury of the metropolitanate (al-Muṭranah). And the reason for this (was), that he (the metropolitan) accused him that he had taken a bar of gold from the treasury of the metropolitanate (al-Muṭranah). And he had him stretched out [4], and he ordered his slaves to beat him, and they beat him before him without mercy, and he continued to order them to beat him, until he (the priest) rendered his spirit. And a company of priests asked him about him (the priest), and he did not accept a question about him. And (it was) the relatives of the priest whom he had killed, who had climbed up to him to kill him in return for his killing of their companion. And as for Khaîrûn whom the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân) had consecrated bishop, the messengers stated that he had died two months after the departure of the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân) from their lands. And in that year it had not rained [5] in their lands, and, therefore, they had despatched the messengers with a request for a metropolitan (Muṭrân) other than him. And (they said) that he (the metropolitan) had built in the city which belonged to the king a dwelling-place in which he had planted trees, and caused water in it to penetrate into its court, and he expended

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(1) Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 68-73.

(2) *MS.* P has ‘ of a man called ’.

(3) *Lit.* ‘ a disciple ’.

(4) *I.e.* on the ground.

(5) *Lit.* ‘ rained a rain ’.

and to trouble him and to intercede with him through the king, until he consecrated him bishop of the city of the king. And when he had consecrated him, he used * to ride with the umbrellas as the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân), and he gained the priests over to him, and he began to judge among the people and to prevent the people from going to the House of the Metropolitan (al-Muṭrân), and they did not greet him (the metropolitan), and they did not obey him in anything. And the king had gone out from his city with his troops to war against his enemies; and Khaîrûn made a plot to kill the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân). And some people from among those with him [1] intrigued against him, and they climbed into the House of the Metropolitan (al-Muṭrân) [2] at night to kill him, and he escaped from them. And there followed him about five hundred souls, companions of the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân), and slaves whom he had purchased, and intendants and others than them to the regions of the Cell (κελλίον) of the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân), and their number according to what was mentioned, (was) about forty towns. And when he had gone out from the city of the king and had journeyed from it on the return to Egypt (Miṣr) for the space of three days, he commanded the priests and the people who had come to take leave of him to return, and they returned. And the company of his companions (was) about one hundred men, and they perished on the way from hunger and thirst, because, when they went out from the lands of the king, they came into lands other than his, from among the infidel kings. And they endured great hardship from them, and they used to forbid them transit through their lands, unless they took from them gold and other things beside it, and the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân) did not reach Egypt (Miṣr), except poor, and whatsoever was with him in the way of wealth and souls perished, and there arrived with him from all, two male slaves and one female slave and a civet-cat, and the rest had perished. And when the patriarch was informed of what we have mentioned before, he ordered [3] that he (the metropolitan) should reside in some of the churches of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), until he (the

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(1) ‘ those with him ’. *MS.* P reads ‘ his slaves ’.

(2) *MS.* P reads ‘ Metropolitanate ’.

(3) ‘ he ordered ’ is added from *MS.* P.

priests and bishops and a great number of troops and many people [1]. When he reached the city of the king, all who (were) in it came out to meet him, and they held [2] over his head an umbrella woven with gold and crowned with jewels, and they rejoiced with him exceedingly [3]. And when he celebrated the first Liturgy, they scattered over him much gold, and they burned very much aloe-wood and ambergris in the censer of the church. And they received him in the House of the Metropolitanate (al-Muṭranah), and they appointed for him ten priests for his service and to guard what was in the way of supplies of the metropolitanate (al-Muṭranah) in the way of gold and silver and clothing and books of the Church and other treasures, and stores in which were the kitchen utensils for food and wheat and grains. And the king and the amîrs with him bore to him (the metropolitan) many horses and mules for his riding, and for his service slaves and female slaves. And the country had been deprived of rain, and when he (the metropolitan) arrived and had celebrated the Liturgy, God accepted his prayers, and He caused to descend the rain, and their joy in him increased, and they feared him and they revered him. And the king used to ride at all times to his house, and his (the metropolitan's) esteem was magnified with them, and he remained with them on this wise for four years. And when it was in the fifth year, news of him (the metropolitan) reached the father, the patriarch Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'ânnis), that he (the metropolitan) had departed from the city of the king, and (that) he had gone out from it to Egypt (Miṣr) to the Patriarchal Cell (κελλίον). And this was displeasing to the father, the patriarch, and (his) opinion continued to be divided and (his) heart was uneasy on account of it, until he (the metropolitan) came to Cairo (Miṣr), and was present before [4] him. And he (the patriarch) asked him concerning the reason for his return. And he mentioned that the queen, the wife of the king, had a brother, his name (being) Khaîrûn and that she did not cease to importune him

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[1] *Lit.* ' creatures '.
[2] *Lit.* ' they made '.
[3] *Lit.* ' a great rejoicing '.
[4] *Lit.* ' between his hands '.

of his troops was * ten thousand, eunuchs and young male slaves, and mamluks (mamâlîk); he descended (and) he purchased them with his money. And when the letter came to him [1] from the king of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah) [2], as we have said at the beginning, that he should request [3] the patriarch to consecrate a metropolitan (Muṭrân), and that he should cause him to journey with the messengers of the king, he requested [4] him concerning this. And the stay of the messengers was prolonged with him (the patriarch), and he did not find anyone. And he perceived that, if their stay continued longer [5], they would complain to the Sultan [6]. And he turned his mind [7] to think of the bishops, when he did not find one from among the monks and the laity who complied with his intention. He agreed [8] with those who were present with him from among the companions and the archons (ἄρχων) and the priests on a man named Kîl Ibn al-Malbas from the inhabitants of Ṭûkh Muthur [9] from the provinces of al-Gharbîah. He had consecrated him a bishop for the city of Fûah [10], and he was a virgin, learned in the Old and the New (Testaments), of cheerful countenance, tall of stature, with black eyes, brown in colour with redness, very handsome in appearance, with a lisp in his speech [11], perfect in his members and his knowledge. And he took him and he consecrated him metropolitan (Muṭrân), and he caused him to journey with the messengers of the king. And those who journeyed with him and returned brought news, that the king had met him (at a distance of) three days' journey from the city with robes of honour and marks of respect; and with him (were)

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(1) *I.e.* Al-ʿÂdil Abû Bakr Ibn Aiyûb.
(2) *MS.* P omits ' of Ethiopia '.
(3) *Lit.* ' should lay before '.
(4) *Lit.* ' laid before '.
(5) *Lit.* ' increased '.
(6) ' to the Sultan ' is added from *MS.* P.
(7) *Lit.* ' his heart '.
(8) *Lit.* ' his opinion was agreed '.
(9) Cf. Omar Toussoun, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Arabe*, p. 212.
(10) Cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
(11) *Lit.* ' a bite in his mouth '.

acceptable prayers, who were chosen by God and sustained by the Holy Spirit Who dwells in their hearts [1] ! ✠.

And the King of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah) and Nubia (an-Nûbah) had sent messengers and they came to him (the patriarch) with a letter of the king, asking from him that he should consecrate for them a metropolitan (Muṭrân), because the metropolitan (Muṭrân) who was with them had gone to his rest. And (it was) a custom of the king that, if he sent messengers to the patriarch, he would send with them a splendid gift to the Sultan of Egypt (Miṣr) and a letter to him that he should request the patriarch to consecrate the metropolitan (Muṭrân). And when the messengers came to the patriarch, they stayed with him about three months. And he would send his disciples to the monasteries in Scetis (Wâdî Ḥabîb) and to other than them, and he would consider whether (there was) with him in Cairo (Miṣr) and Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) one who was fit for the metropolitanate. And he did not find one, and the messengers became impatient from the length of their stay with him, and they resolved that they would make known to the Sultan the story of their condition. And the kingdom of the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) belonged to the kings of the Ghuzz (al-Ghuzz) [2], and the king at that time (was) Al-ʿÂdil Abû Bakr Ibn Aiyûb. And at that time there was included in the Kingdom of Egypt (Miṣr) Jerusalem [3], and all the Littoral, except Acre (ʿAkkâ) and Tyr (Ṣûr) and some of the fortresses and towns which remained to the Franks (al-Faranǧ), and in his kingdom there was also Damascus (Dimašḳ) and its provinces, and from beyond [4] the River Euphrates (al-Furât) and Harran (Ḥarrân) and Minbiǧ and Nisibis (Naṣîbîn) and Edessa (ar-Ruhâ) and a number of places and towns the names of which are not known. And he was a king just, cautious, powerful, and (he had made) many raids against the Franks (al-Faranǧ) and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), and he conquered cities and towns. And he had about fifteen children, and the number

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[1] *MS.* P adds ‘ Your brother wished to inform you concerning it, (that) ye might know that our fathers, the patriarchs ’.

[2] The Ghuzz here mean «Kurds».

[3] *Lit.* ‘ the Holy House ’.

[4] *Lit.* ‘ behind ’.

of this father, it came to his knowledge that a priest from the inhabitants of Al-Bašmûr [1] dwelt in the city of Alexandria and its [2] priests used to press him [3] to celebrate the Liturgy in its churches, and he continued on this wise for some time. Then there came a man who knew him, from the inhabitants of his town [4], to the father, the patriarch, Abba (Anbâ) John (Yûḥannâ), and he made known to him that the wife of the mentioned priest had died, and (that) he had married a second (wife), and that he had violated the Canon (κανών) of Holy Orders [5]. And this was very difficult for him [6] to support, and he interdicted the mentioned priest, and he caused the churches to be closed in Alexandria. And he wrote to the priests a severe letter, and they came to him to Cairo (Miṣr). And he imposed hard conditions upon them, and this was very hard for them to support, and they besought him and importuned him through the archons (ἄρχων) of Cairo (Miṣr) until he forgave them. And he laid it down [7] that no stranger should begin again to act (thus) among them; and he took their signatures for this, and this continued during all his days. And when God — His might and His greatness be magnified! — provided a calm period for your brother who concerned himself with this holy biography, he exerted himself in seeking it (the biography) from every place, and he collected it, and he wrote it with his hand [8] for himself in his lifetime. He (your brother) was acquainted in the days of this venerable father with an affair (which) happened in the days of this patriarchate [9]. And some of our forefathers from among the elders (aš-Šiyûkh) mentioned that the like of it had happened in the days of those who had preceded him from among the patriarchs. God grant to us and to you the acceptation of their

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(1) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 350.
(2) *I.e.* of Alexandria.
(3) *Lit.* ‘ to surround him ’.
(4) *Lit.* ‘ his country ’.
(5) *Lit.* ‘ the priesthood ’.
(6) *I.e.* the patriarch.
(7) *Lit.* ‘ advanced to them ’.
(8) *Lit.* ‘ writing ’.
(9) ‘ of his patriarchate’ is the reading of *MS.* P.

conditions continued to last (during the) year (five hundred and ninety-) seven and (five hundred and ninety-) eight [1]. And when it was in (the) month of Rabî'a al-Awal (in the) year five hundred and ninety-nine [2], God beheld — His might be exalted — the ruin of the people [3], and He had mercy upon them, and prices became normal. And bread was sold at three raṭls for a Cairene (Miṣrî) dirham, and at the village raṭl, a raṭl for a dirham. And in (the month of) Rabî'a al-Akhar six (loaves) were sold for a dirham the Cairene (Miṣrî) raṭl, and at the village raṭl, two raṭls for a dirham. And the people returned little by little, and they began to (re)build, and the glazers and the weavers and the artisans began to work. And in (the year) (five hundred and ninety-) nine [2] bread was sold, eleven raṭls for a dirham at the Cairene (Miṣrî) (raṭl), and at the village (raṭl) four raṭls for a dirham. And prices diminished, and the ways became safe, and people journeyed on land and sea [4], after the ways had been cut off, and no one had been able to journey alone, otherwise ghouls would have eaten him, who were ghouls of the sons of Adam [5]. And I take refuge in God from the wrath of God! And this is what came to an end for us as regards information, and we wrote this biography. And the father, the patriarch, — may God grant to us acceptation of the blessing of his prayer! — was alive in (the month of) Šawwâl (in the) year six hundred and three of the Lunar (Year) [6] which corresponds to the middle of (the month of) Bašuns (in the) year nine hundred and twenty-three of the Righteous Martyrs [6] — may their prayers guard us and you! And there wrote with me Ibn Abû Makârim Ibn Barakât Ibn Abû 'l-'Ulâ in his handwriting for himself;
* Fol. 223 v° and he who is acquainted with * the going to his rest of the father John (Yûḥannâ) and knows something (which) is new in his days, let him record it and complete thereby his biography. And glory to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, One God! ✠ And in the days

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(1) = 1200-1202 A.D.
(2) = 1202 A.D.
(3) *Lit.* ' creatures '.
(4) *I.e.* the River Nile.
(5) *I.e.* human ghouls.
(6) 1207 A.D.

Egypt (Miṣr). They would cast away the small children, a child of one month, two months and three (months) and above this, in the mosques (Ġawâmiʿ) and the prayer-houses (Masâǧid) and the ways and the markets at night. Other women and men would come and would take them in their swaddling-clothes, (saying) : «We will foster them for the sake of God», * and they would eat them, and some people fostered them. And every day there used to be in the morning in the mosque (Ġâmiʿ) of the village a great multitude of them, and the evening had not come before they took them. And the guards used to catch many women and with them pots, and they found in them the flesh of people, small and great cooked, boiled and fried. And they led them to the governors (wulât), (and) they beat them, and some whom they found had slaughtered and killed, they would kill them. And there was a band of people, male youths, who used to stand in the markets, night and day, and they used to snatch away what the people bought, and to sum up things, they ate one another, and the strong would prevail over the weak and would eat him. And there did not remain any one to bury any one in the earth. And death was held of little account, so that (the dead) were thrown down in the streets and the lanes and the ways, and (on) the mounds. And no one wept over another and no woman mourned nor lamented, and pity was uprooted from the hearts of the people, and hope was cut off from life, and despair took place. And the people perished, and the cities were ruined, and the towns were deserted, because the inhabitants of the towns left for the cities to seek a means of livelihood, because no one remained to do any work or to erect a building. And the strength of the people [1] was weakened through hunger and death, and none remained to beg, saying: «For the sake of God a morsel or a bite!» but would say «For the sake of God a crumb!». This was the saying of those who begged. And the notables of the people in Cairo (Miṣr) and Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) of the military and the scribes and the generous people of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) and the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) used to give alms to the poor, and everyone did according to the means of his ability. And these

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[1] *Lit.* ‘ creatures ’.

Bedouins (al-'Urbân), and the taking of souls and wealth, so that if a man of them died, his son or his brother or the dearest of people to him left him fallen, and went on, and did not wait, so that he might bury him in the sand, but saved himself with the people, and did not look behind him and did not separate from his companion, lest he should perish. And he who witnessed the decaying corpses of the dead people informed me that from the gate of Bilbaîs [1] to the gate of Gaza (Ghazzah) [2] they and their beasts and their cattle (were) one beside the other. And there were three tribulations which God brought upon the Egyptians (al-Miṣriyin) : dearness, emigration and plague, and this was (the result of) the ambition of their Sultan and his wazîr. Sifted wheat reached a dînâr for a waîbah, and bread (was) for a half and a quarter of a dirham the Cairene (al-Miṣrî) raṭl, and two dirhams and a warḳâ quarter for the local raṭl. And barley (was) at twenty-five dirhams for a waîbah and beans (al-fûl) at twenty dirhams for a waîbah ; and as regards chick-pea and lentils and rambling vetch, they were few, and he who found any of them would buy it for two dirhams and a quarter a pot, and lupines (ϑέρμος) and trefoil at two dînârs an ardab. Then soaked lupines (ϑέρμος) reached a dirham a pot, and people sold of (their) furniture and possessions and dwellings and female slaves and male slaves, and what (had) a value of a dînâr (was sold) for a dirham. And many people sold their sons and their daughters as slaves (Mamâlîk) for service, and they offered the excuse, saying : « We sell them to him who will feed them with bread, so that they may live by it better than that they should die of hunger ». And a son would snatch away bread and other than it from the hand of his father, so that he might live by it himself, and the father would snatch away from his son, so that he might live himself. And they ate the flesh of dead animals, asses and mules and horses and dogs and cats, and all rodents and beasts, and living and dead birds. And nursing women were unable through hunger to suckle, (and) they cast away their children in the mosque (Ǧâmi') of the village, and in others of the cities, in all the Land of

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[1] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

[2] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

ad-Dîn) was from the people known as Banî Šukr, and his achievements and his deeds passed from mouth to mouth [1] and were witnessed by eyes. And if we undertook to explain them, so as to understand some (of the things) which occurred in the Land of Syria (aš-Šamîah) [2], paper [3] would be exhausted, though it is inexhaustible, and all tongues and hands would not suffice ; and the nearest and the strangest of them are what occurred in the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) in the year five hundred and ninety-seven * of the Hiǧrah [4]. And as regards what had belonged to the Califs (Khulafâ) of the Egyptian (al-Miṣriyah) State and its kings, they gave it away [5], and they assigned it in the way of alms to indigent people and allowances to relatives and strangers, by which there was, in the days of their State, equality between the poor and the powerful and the rich and the weak, because their favour and their goodness had reached to all people, their enemies and their friends. Then this wazîr (Ṣafî ad-Dîn) counselled to cut all this, and he cut (it), and God forbade the Nile (an-Nîl) in that year to rise upon the Land of Egypt (Miṣr). And all of it dried up from the tower (πύργος) of Aswân [6] up to the tower (πύργος) of Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [7]. And the amount of what occurred of it [8] according to the measure in that year was thirteen cubits and eight fingers. And the country dried up and was ruined and the subjects perished and were dispersed, and people [9] were separated and dispersed, and many people [9] went from the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) to Syria (aš-Šâm) with their wealth and their children, and they perished. And the Bedouins (al-'Urbân) seized them on the way, and they died of cold and hunger, and from slaughter by the

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(1) *Lit.* ' tongues circulated them '.

(2) *MS.* P adds ' of what (happened) in the Land of Egypt (al-Miṣriyah) did not attain to what happened in the Land of Syria (aš-Šamîah) '.

(3) *Lit.* ' leaves '.

(4) = 1200-1201 A.D.

(5) For the distribution of the possessions of the Faṭimids by Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

(6) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

(7) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

(8) *I.e.* the water of the Nile.

(9) *Lit.* ' creatures '.

silver which is used in the Land of Egypt (Miṣr). And he ordered that none of the preachers in the Land of Egypt (al-Miṣriyah) should mention Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn nor any of his children, in a pulpit (minbar); but (that they should mention the Calif (al-Khalîfat) first, and Al-Malik al-'Âdil, second, and his son, the heir apparent Al-Malik al-Kâmil, third. And there should not be mentioned after this anything except the completion of the sermon (Khuṭbah), and the invocation, then the prayer. And he made a grant to the preachers of the frontiers [1] and (the Provinces of) al-Gharbîah [2] and Šarkîah [3] and Ḳûṣ [4] and the great cities, to every preacher fifty dînârs, the price of a robe of honour, and he made as wazîr a man from the inhabitants of Damîrah of the South [5], named 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Alî. (He had been) a just judge (Ḳâḍî) from his youth, (and he was) handsome of countenance, perfect in stature, a jurisconsult, learned in the memorizing of the Koran (Ḳurân), possessing knowledge of the art of writing and the collecting of wealth from where it was due, and conversant in accounts and in presenting compliments to those in high positions. And he designated him as al-Ḳâḍî Ṣafî ad-Dîn, and he named him as «Companion». And he delivered to him the two States, the Egyptian (al-Miṣriyah) and the Syrian (aš-Šâmîah), and he was zealous in both of them, and he acted independently in both of them, so that he began to employ (people) and to act and to order and to command and nothing small or great was to be done without his knowledge and with the confirmation of his signature, until it came about that Al-Malik al-'Âdil did not do a thing alone apart from him. And he (Al-Malik al-'Âdil) did not permit or forbid or approve of anything, except with his (Ṣafî ad-Dîn's) opinion and his pen, and he reached to what the Companion Ibn 'Abâd, wazîr of the Calif (al-Khalîfat) at Baghdâd (Baghdâd) had not reached, that one who was named with his name [6]. He (Ṣafî

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[1] ثغر also means ' a port '.

[2] Cf. p. 111, n. 1.

[3] Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, pp. 568-576.

[4] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

[5] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

[6] *I.e.* «Companion».

went out with his brother Al-Malik al-Afḍal [1] ʿAlî. And Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil gave as a fief to [1] Al-Malik al-Mustamir Khuḍr the Land of Suwâ [2] from the provinces of Damascus (Dimašḳ). And Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil was established in the kingdom, after it had been arranged between him and [3] the Asadîs (Asadîah) and the Ṣalâḥîs (Ṣalâḥîah) [4] and all the troops, that the son of Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz should be Sultan of Egypt (Miṣr) and other than it from the kingdom of his father and his grandfather, and Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil should be the administrator of the State until he [5] should attain his majority ; because Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz had caused the amîrs and the soldiers to swear, before his death, that his son should be Sultan over Egypt (Miṣr) after him. And his name was Yûsif, and they designated him as Al-Malik an-Nâṣir [6]. And Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil left him in this condition for the month of Raǧab of the mentioned [7] year. Then he journeyed with troops to Damascus (Dimašḳ), their leader(s) (being) ʿIzz ad-Dîn Usâmah [8] and Asad ad-Dîn, (going) secretly to Singar (Sinḳar) [9] ; and with the two of them (there was) a great company of soldiers, and they brought his son Al-Kâmil [10] from it to the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), and he made him Sultan over it. And there was borne before him the saddle-covering [11], and this is an ancient tradition of the kings of Persia (al-Furs) from the days of Chosroes (Kusrâ) and Sapor (Sâbûr) and Ardašin (Ardašîn), kings of the dynasty of Chosroes (al-Akâsirah). And he inscribed [12] his name on the coinage of gold and

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(1) Reading according to *MS.* P.

(2) Cf. P.K. Hitti, *History of Syria,* p. 412. The *MS.* reads ʿ Suwad ʾ.

(3) *Lit.* ʿ and between ʾ.

(4) Cf. p. 147, n. 1.

(5) *I.e.* the son of Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz.

(6) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.,* p. 215.

(7) *MS.* P reads ʿ aforementioned ʾ.

(8) Cf. E. Blochet, *op. cit.,* pp. 223, 267.

(9) Cf. p. 144, n. 11.

(10) *MS.* P prefixes ʿ Al-Malik ʾ.

(11) غاشية, a more or less richly decorated covering placed over the saddle. It was a sign of sovereignty, and was carried before the Sultan by an equerry, cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.,* vol. II, p. 214.

(12) *Lit.* ʿ he struck ʾ.

eighty camels, wealth and vessels; and it is recorded by one who witnessed his departure, that none of his troops and his companions accompanied him, or the amîrs of his State, except Ḍayâ' ad-Dîn, brother of the jurisconsult 'Isâ and his mamluks (mamâlîk), about fifteen horsemen, and from the mamluks (mamâlîk) with Al-Afḍal, about fifteen horsemen, the total being thirty horsemen [1]. And he went to the Fortress of Ṣarkhad [2], and he is dwelling in it up to the day this biography was compiled, in (the) year six hundred and three of the Lunar (Year) [3]. And he (Al-Afḍal) departed, deprived of the kingdom of the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) and Jerusalem [4] and the Littoral and other places beside them, between noon and the afternoon of Friday, the sixteenth of (the month of) Rabî'a al-Akhar (in) the year five hundred and ninety-six [5]. And this same day was the last of the days of the reign of Al-Malik al-Afḍal and the first day of the reign of Al-Malik al-'Âdil (in) the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) of the mentioned year. And praise be to God, the Eternal, the Immortal King (Who) deposes kings and sets up kings, and grants wisdom to a little child, Whose Kingdom does not perish, and to Whose might there is no end! May He be honoured, and exalted! Praise be to Him the Exalted!

Al-Malik al-'Âdil abû Bakr, and his entry (into) Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) was according to what we have said, (on) Friday, the sixteenth of (the month of) Rabî'a al-Akhar (in the) year five hundred and ninety-six [5]. Some people thought that he did not enter, except (on) Monday, the nineteenth of it (Rabî'a al-Akhar) [6]. And he descended at the House
* Fol. 222 r° of the Wizârat [7], and the war came to an end, and the subject(s) * were tranquillized, and the ways were safe. And Al-Malik al-Mustamir Khuḍr

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(1) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

(2) Cf. E. Blochet, *op. cit.*, pp. 258, 259, 267.

(3) = 1206-1207 A.D.

(4) *Lit.* ' the Holy House '.

(5) = 1200 A.D.

(6) Makrîzî says ' Saturday, the 18th of Rabî'a al-Akhar ', cf. E. Blochet, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

(7) Cf. p. 112, n. 7.

he took as spoil their riches, and he refrained from killing them, and Al-Malik al-Afḍal himself escaped, and he entered Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and there followed him those of his companions whose horses were swift. And when he entered Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) he fortified it with men and equipment. And Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil pursued him, and he descended with his troops at Maṭarîah [1], and he sent his horses to the ferries of the river. They seized them so that none of the soldiers could pass over to him (Al-Afḍal) (and) succour him or enter Cairo (al-Kâhirah). Then Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil surrounded Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) with the troops in the half of (the month of) Rabîʿa al-Akhar of the same [2] year. And [3] he sent to the prominent amîrs who were inside Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), who (were) of the Asadîs (Asadîah) and the Ṣalâḥîs (Ṣalâḥîah) [4], and a number of them we knew and we have given their names, and many of them we did not know. And those who were well-known of them (were) Saîf ad-Dîn Azkuǧ and ʿAlam ad-Dîn Kurǧî and Ghars ad-Dîn Yaman and Saîf ad-Dîn Sinḳar ad-Diwâdâr and Nâṣir ad-Dîn Khuḍr Ibn Bahrâm, and the rest of the troops which (were) inside Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) with Al-Malik al-Afḍal. And he was kind to them [5] and they were disposed towards him and they refrained from fighting him, and they left Al-Malik al-Afḍal alone in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) with a small party of his companions. And a company of them went out to Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil, and they became reconciled to him, and they opened for him the gates of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and he entered into it on Friday, the sixteenth of (the month of) Rabîʿa al-Akhar (in the) year five hundred and ninety-six [6]. And he was present in it at the prayer of Friday in its mosque (Ǧâmiʿ). And when Al-Malik al-Afḍal was assured (of this), he issued an order to the troops, and he commanded the government (Daûlah) to go out from Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) (on) the morrow, Saturday, the seventeenth of (the month of) Rabîʿa al-Akhar of the same year [6]. And with him (were)

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(1) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

(2) *Lit* ' the dated '.

(3) *MS.* P adds ' in (the) year of its date, five hundred and ninety-six (A.H.) '.

(4) Cf. page 147, note 1.

(5) *Lit.* ' he did good to their hearts '.

(6) = 1200 A.D. *MS.* P adds ' al-Hiǧrah '.

hundred and ninety-six. Al-Malik al-'Âdil hid in Damascus (Dimašḳ) for the period of fifteen days, (and) no one of the people saw him, and news was spread concerning him that he had gone out to direct the Land of Egypt (Miṣr). Then there assembled Al-Malik al-Afḍal Nûr ad-Dîn 'Alî and his brother Al-Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir Ghâzî, lord [1] of Aleppo (Ḥalab), and Taḳî ad-Dîn and Muẓaffar ad-Dîn Ibn Zaîn ad-Dîn, and they consulted as to what they should do, and they were decided [2] that Al-Malik al-Afḍal Nûr ad-Dîn should return to the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) to guard it, and that if Al-'Âdil came to him, the rest of them would meet him with troops from behind him, and he (Al-Afḍal) with the troops in front of him, and he (Al-'Âdil) would be in the midst. Then Al-Malik al-Afḍal returned to the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), and he entered the city of Bilbaîs [3] on the twentieth day of Rabî'a al-Awal (in the) year five hundred and ninety-six [4], and he evacuated it of the women and provisions, and there did not remain in it, except sellers and merchants. And Saîf ad-Dîn Azkuǧ the viceroy (nâib) of him, went out to him, and he was in Cairo (Miṣr) [5], and with him a company of soldiers. And after a few days, news arrived that Al-Malik al-'Âdil had reached Ḳuṭaifah [6], and his (Al-Afḍal's) opinion and the opinion of Saîf ad-Dîn Askuǧ was in agreement to fight him and to make war against him. And he sent back all the heavy equipment to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and he met him with troops and horses devoid of heavy equipment, and they fought in a place named Aš Šâmikh and Al-'Arâbî, and they are two dwelling-places on the outskirts of Bilbaîs [7], of the dwellings of the Arabs (al-'Arab), on Tuesday at noon, (on) the eighth of (the month of) Rabî'a al-Akhar (in the) year five hundred and ninety-six [8]. And the troops of Al-Malik al-'Âdil overcame the troops of Al-
* Fol. 221 v° Malik al-Afḍal, and God gave to him * the victory on that day. And

(1) *Lit.* ' owner '.
(2) *Lit.* ' the opinion was decided by them '.
(3) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 333.
(4) = 1199 A.D.
(5) *MS.* P has the reading ' Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) '.
(6) Cf. P.K. Hitti, *History of Syria*, map facing, p. 412. The *MS.* has Ḳuṭîah.
(7) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 333. Reading according to *MS.* P.
(8) = 1200 A.D.

the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) continued, and not one of them moved from his position, and no one also from the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) moved, and there was not lost to anyone in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr) anything, the value of which was a grain. And Yûsif Ibn al-Malik al-'Azîz was a young man (and) could not achieve the management of the kingdom; and they made as permanent king (him who) was present and they designated him as Al-Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir, viceroy (nâib) of him in the Sultanate. And he had not completed one month in it before Al-Malik al-Afḍal Nûr ad-Dîn 'Alî, his uncle, arrived at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) from the Fortress of Saint Gilles (Sanǧil) [1], and he entered it (Cairo) on Thursday, the seventh of (the month of) Rabî'a al-Awal (in the) year five hundred and ninety-five [2].

Al-Malik al-Afḍal 'Ali reigned and was supreme [3], and he promoted and he dismissed (as he willed), and he remained to the last day (sulkh) of (the month of) Raǧab of the mentioned year. Then he gathered the troops, and he journeyed to Damascus (Dimašḳ) seeking to take it from his paternal uncle at the beginning of (the month of) Ša'bân of the mentioned year. And he found (that) his paternal uncle Al-Malik al-'Âdil had preceded him, and had entered it (Damascus) two days before his arrival, and had fortified it with men and equipment, and he was not able to enter it [4]. Then he sent to his brother, Al-Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir, lord [5] of Aleppo (Ḥalab) and son [6] of Taḳî ad-Dîn, and to Muẓaffar ad-Dîn Ibn Zaîn ad-Dîn. And he (Al-Afḍal) gathered the troops of Syria (aš-Šâm) and the troops of Egypt (Miṣr), and he remained besieging his paternal uncle Al-Malik al-'Âdil in Damascus (Dimašḳ) from the beginning of (the month of) Ša'bân (in the) year five hundred and ninety-five [7] up to the last day (sulkh) of Ṣafar (in the) year five

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[1] Cf. R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant*, p. 208. The *MS*. reads Salkhid.
[2] = 1189 A.D.
[3] *Lit.* ' he ordered and he prohibited '.
[4] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
[5] *Lit.* ' owner '.
[6] *MS*. P. adds ' Šams ad-Dîn '.
[7] = 1199 A.D.

overtaken [1]. And the horse trod with its fore-leg [2] on the tail of the dog, and the dog turned round under the belly of the horse and bit its testicles, and it (the horse) was startled by it, and it threw him (the rider) with itself to the ground. And Al-Malik al-'Azîz fell from the top of it (the horse), and was under it, and the horse came above him and rolled over him with the saddle, and the pommel entered his breast and his viscera, and he returned to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) carried. And the physicians were treating him, but no treatment availed for him, and he died in the night [3] of Sunday, the twenty-second (of the month) of al-Muḥarram (in the) year five hundred and ninety-five [4]. And of his reign there were completed five years ten months and twenty days. And praise be to God of Whose kingdom there is no extinction, and His judgment is inscrutable, and through Him (is) assistance!

Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Yûsif [5]. And there reigned after him (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) his son Yûsif, and they designated him with the designation of his grandfather, Al-Malik an-Nâṣir, and he was the third king from the descendants of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn. And he was Yûsif Ibn
* Fol. 221 r° 'Uthmân Ibn Yûsif Ibn * Aiyûb, king of the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), and the Littoral, and Jerusalem [6], and what was in the hand of his brother [7] (was) other than what was in the hand of the Franks (al-Afrang), as regards Acre ('Akkâ) and Tyr (Ṣûr) and other places than these. And his reign began [8] on Sunday, the twenty-second of (the month of) al-Muḥarram (in the) year five hundred and ninety-five [9]. And the truce [10] between the Franks (al-Farang) and

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(1) *Lit.* ' was defeated '.
(2) *Lit.* ' its hand '.
(3) *I.e.* Saturday evening.
(4) = 1189 A.D.
(5) A son of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn.
(6) *Lit.* ' the Holy House '.
(7) *MS.* P has ' his father '.
(8) *Lit.* ' his sitting in the kingdom was '.
(9) = 1198 A.D.
(10) ' truce ' added from *MS.* P.

the surroundings of the city of Tyr (Ṣûr) and the city of [1] Acre (ʿAkkâ) and other cities than them of the cities of the Franks (al-Faranǧ). And Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil and Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz continued fighting with the troops. And when it was in the last decade of (the month of) Ǧumâdâ al-Akhar (in the) year five hundred and ninety-four [2], Al Malik al-ʿAzîz returned and with him some of the troops to Egypt (Miṣr). And Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil remained fighting them (the Franks), and he remained killing them for two months. Then he made a truce with them on land, but not on sea [3], for a period of six years [4]. Then he left them, and he turned to Damascus (Dimašḳ), because Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz had bestowed it on him. And he entered it, and he took possession of it, and he remained in it for the rest of the year five hundred and ninety-four [5]. And when Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz returned from Syria (aš-Šâm) [6] to Egypt (Miṣr), he dealt justly with the subject(s) in the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), and he was good to them, and his affair became upright. And prices were uncontrolled, and good wheat was sold at four ardabs for a dînâr, and barley and beans (al-fûl) and the rest of the grains at ten ardabs for a dînâr. And when it was in [7] (the month of) al-Muḥarram (in the) year five hundred and ninety-five [8], Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz went out to the wilderness of the Fayûm [9] to hunt, and he found a gazelle, and he pursued it, and he had with him a dog of the hounds [10], and the horse on which he was [11] caught up with the hound [12], and the gazelle was

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[1] ' city of ' added from *MS*. P.

[2] = 1198 A.D.

[3] *MS*. P omits ' on land, but not on sea, for a period of six years ' and has in place of this ' and they made a truce with him '.

[4] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-217.

[5] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

[6] ' from Syria ' added from *MS*. P.

[7] ' in ' added from *MS*. P.

[8] = 1189 A.D.

[9] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

[10] *Lit.* ' hunting dogs '.

[11] *Lit.* ' which was under him '.

[12] *Lit.* ' hunting dog '.

al-ʿÂdil pursued him, and Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz closed the gates of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) in his face [1], and Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil besieged him in it for months. Then the Ḳâḍî al-Fâḍl came between the two of them, and they were reconciled. And Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil entered Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and he remained in it for four months. Then he returned to Damascus (Dimašḳ) and with him Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz, and they besieged it, and they took it from Al-Malik al-Afḍal ʿAlî, and Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz received it [2]. And when it was in (the month of) Muḥarram (in the) year five hundred and ninety-four [3], ships of the Franks (al-Faranǧ) reached Acre (ʿAkkâ), and they broke the truce. And Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil [4] hastened towards
* Fol. 220 v° them, at the beginning of their arrival [5], before * they should multiply and enter the castles. And he descended on Jaffa (Yâfâ) and fought against it for three days, and he conquered it [6]. And he killed in it many people [7], and he took captive more than those he killed. Then the ships of the Franks (al-Faranǧ) arrived, and there disembarked from them on the Littoral many people [7]. And many troops of them went (and) they descended on the Castle of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) named Toron (Tubnîn) [8]. And Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil wrote a letter to Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz informing him about this, and requesting him to cause to come to him the troops of Egypt (Miṣr). And Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz journeyed to Syria (aš-Šâm) with the troops in (the) month of Rabîʿa al-Awal (in the) year five hundred and ninety-four [9], and he fought the Franks (al-Afranǧ) and he straightened them. And rain and many torrents from the mountain came upon them and hail-stones, and they departed from Toron (Tubnîn), after there had perished of them (many) of them and of their beasts and many things of their equipment (which) the torrent carried away in the water. And they departed, and they descended in

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(1) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-214.
(2) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 214.
(3) 1197-1198 A.D.
(4) ' al-ʿÂdil ' is added from *MS.* P.
(5) *Lit.* ' their affair '.
(6) Cf. R. Grousset, *L'Épopée des Croisades*, p. 287.
(7) *Lit.* ' creatures '.
(8) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
(9) = 1198 A.D.

and its provinces and Jerusalem[1] and its districts, in (the) month of Rabî'a al-Awal (in the) year five hundred and eighty-nine of the Lunar (Year)[2]. And Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn had made a truce with the Franks (al-Faranǧ) before his decease, and they did not act treacherously with him after his death, and they did not break the truce, and no one of them moved from his place. And when the kings of the Franks (al-Faranǧ) (and) England (al-Inkibâr) and Germany (Alâmân) and France (al-Farans) and others than they, returned to their lands, they appointed as king over the Littoral the Count Henri (al-Kundahar), and he was a brave champion (who) had come with all those who had undertaken the holy war (crusade) for God from the West, from beyond[3] the sea; and on account of this the truce of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn was (made) with him and with the knights (horsemen) of the Littoral[4]. And when Al-Malik al-'Azîz reigned and there was the truce between the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) and the Franks (al-Faranǧ), the soldiers were not crafty and they did not make journeys during the years of the truce, (and) they abstained[5] from the sale of grain. And wheat was sold at one hundred and seventy dînârs the hundred ardabs; and the price was not fixed for a single case, but it might increase above this total during a week, then it would return (and) become less, and so all the grains, an ardab for a dînâr or less; and all leguminous plants doubled their price, and the people (who) dwelt in the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) suffered need for three years[6]. Then Al-Malik al-'Azîz gathered the troops, and he journeyed from Egypt (Miṣr) to Damascus (Dimašḳ) for the first time, on the twenty-fifth of (the month of) Ǧumâdâ al-Awal (in the) year five hundred and ninety of the Lunar (Year)[7], wishing to take it, but he could not prevail over it, and he returned to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah); and Al-Malik

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(1) *Lit.* ' the Holy House '.

(2) = 1193 A.D.

(3) *Lit.* ' behind '.

(4) *I.e.* Henri de Champagne, titular king of Jerusalem, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-207.

(5) *Lit.* ' held back their hands '.

(6) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-216.

(7) = 1193-1194 A.D.

consecrated [1] him through the constraint of God to them and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit Who chose him and willed him for pasturing His flock, as the Lord [2] said to Peter (Buṭrus) «If thou love Me, pasture [3] My flock» [4]. And, likewise, when the Master Christ (al-Masîḥ) knew that this
* Fol. 220 r° father loved Him, He delivered to him * His flock to pasture them, as it is said in the Psalm 79 : «He pastured them with the purity of His heart, and with the gentleness of His hands He tended them and led them» [5]. And the Church had peace in his days, and the state of the people was good, and peace continued. And it was for connecting the narrative and explaining what occurred in the days of the State of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn (which) necessarily led us to the completion of his (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn's) biography in the days of the patriarchate of the pure [6] Saint Abba (Anbâ) [7] Mark (Marḳus). And this father went to his rest four years before the decease of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn [8]. And there ought to have been (mentioned) in this biography what occurred in these four additional years, but necessity led us to introduce it there, on account of his (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn's) conquests and affairs and wars (which) were connected with one another until it (the biography) became divided by the truce and the peace, because after it he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) journeyed to Damascus (Dimašḳ) and died, as we have explained before [9].

Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz ʿUthmân, his son. And there reigned after him (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) his son Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz ʿUthmân (in) the Land of Egypt (Miṣr)

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(1) *Lit.* ' advanced '.

(2) *MS.* P omits ' the Lord '.

(3) *MS.* P adds ' for Me '.

(4) Cf. *Jh.* xxi, 16.

(5) *Ps.* lxxvii, 72.

(6) *MS.* P adds ' father '.

(7) *MS.* P has in place of Abba, ' the father '.

(8) *MS.* P adds ' because he (Mark) died in (the) year five hundred and eighty-five (A.H.), and Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn died in (the) year five hundred and eighty-nine (A.H.) '.

(9) *MS.* P has ' from Egypt (Miṣr), after he had arranged affairs and had settled them and had set them right. And he died in Damascus (Dimašḳ) according to what we have described, in peace for him and for his subjects. And he was buried in the College which Malik al-ʿAzîz had built in Damascus (Dimašḳ)'.

for them at his consecration [1], on the part of the Sultan, the two judges Al-Marîḍî and Ar-Raḍî, his brother, the two sons of Al-Ǧabâb. And this father was, as we have said, a virgin, learned by what he had read of the Old and the New (Testaments), perfect in his body and his stature, of cheerful countenance, of good disposition, of soft words, of good speech, regular at the times of the Prayers [2], of much almsgiving. He possessed wealth and means from his childhood, (and) this came to him from his father and his grandfather. And he had a Khan (Dâr Wakâlat) [3] in the city of Cairo (Miṣr) in which he traded, buying and selling (various) sorts of goods ; and he had a sugar factory for making sugar, and mills and property. And he was perfect in (this) world and (the) next world and without need of anything of the affairs of the world. He gave much alms in spite of his occupation with the affairs of the world. He did not neglect the Prayers of the Night and Day Hours [2]. A lover of strangers and assiduous in hospitality towards them, and in the visitation of the sick and prisoners, and paying the tax (al-Ǧawâlî) on behalf of the poor of his relatives and the needy of his people. And he was very friendly to everyone, and doing good to everyone, so that his affair became manifest and his renown became famous. And when Abba (Anbâ) Mark (Marḳus) Ibn Zaraʿah, the patriarch who was before him, went to his rest, the archons (ἄρχων) needed not to go up to the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr) [4] or to another than it of the monasteries, as was the custom, to seek and to search for him who would be fit for this Christian (al-Masîḥiyat) headship and the Heavenly Kingdom and the spiritual service and the excellent Apostolic rank, according to what was correct with them. And they knew it and they verified it, as we have mentioned before, in the way of his qualities. They needed not testimony, and they did not ask for more than what we have described. Then they

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[1] *Lit.* ‘ advancement ’.

[2] *I.e.* the Canonical Hours.

[3] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 838.

[4] Cf. H.G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of Wâdî 'n-Naṭrûn,* Part III, pp. 31-129 and O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *A Guide to the Monasteries of the Wâdî 'n-Naṭrûn,* pp. 28-40.

what was destroyed of their churches and the opening of them for the carrying out of their prayers and supplication to God for the safety of their Sultan. Then they repaired what was weakened, and they built what was demolished and they repaired what was destroyed. And affairs returned to what was better than before in the way of security. And prices became cheap, and fruit became good, and the Nile (an-Nîl) flowed, and the rains descended. And this saintly Abba (Anbâ) Mark (Marḳus) went to his rest, and God was gracious to His people through his prayers, and they were preserved, and not one of them perished, except the son of perdition. «O brethren, we and you cease not (to be) preserved and in real safety [1] and sufficiency from God, protected through the prayers of this Saint. Amen».

*Fol. 219 v° * The saintly father Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'ânnis), the second patriarch of the second series, (and he is) the seventieth-fourth of the number of the fathers the patriarchs.

And when the father Abba (Anbâ) Mark (Marḳus) Ibn Zara'ah the patriarch went to his rest — God grant to us the acceptation of the blessing of his prayers — on the sixth day (of the month) of Ṭûbah (in the) year nine hundred and five of the Martyrs [2] which corresponds to (the) year five hundred and eighty-five of the Hiǧrah, the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Christian (al-Masîḥî) people and the elders (aš-Šiyûkh) and the archons (ἄρχων) in the city of Cairo (Miṣr) and Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and those present from the fathers, the bishops, agreed on the consecration of the learned father, the virtuous, pure, saintly virgin of the Christian (al-Masîḥî) Religion, Abba (Anbâ) John (Yûḥannâ). And his name before his consecration [3] was Abû'l-Maǧd Ibn Abû Ghâlib Ibn Suris. Then they took him by force on Sunday, the eleventh (of the month) of Amšîr (in the) year nine hundred and five of the Martyrs [2], and it is the year (in) which Abba (Anbâ) Mark (Marḳus) went to his rest, one month and five days after his (Abba Marḳus) going to his rest, and they consecrated him patriarch. And there were (as) assistant(s)

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[1] *Lit.* ' eye of safety '. [2] = 1189 A.D. [3] *Lit.* ' advancement '.

in the cities and the towns, and they destroyed them. And the people suffered [1] from this great calamity so that a company of the Cairene (al-Miṣriyin) and the Cairene (al-Ḳâhiriyin) scribes left their religion and denied their Christ (Masîḥ). And affairs continued to be depressed in spite of the prayer of this holy Mark (Marḳus) the patriarch, and he was contending for his people and his flock until God set right for them [2] the heart of their Sultan through the blessing of his prayers. And he (the Sultan) caused them to draw nigh, and he favoured them, and he employed them in his dîwân in the finances of his State and he was gracious towards them. And they returned to a higher (state) than they had had before. And they rode on horses and mules, and they wore light turbans [3] and festal garments. And the scribe of his dîwân and the scribes of his family and his relatives and the scribes of his soldiers journeyed with him on his campaigns. And every Christian (Naṣrânî) attached himself to the scribes of an amîr of the amîrs of his (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn's) State and of his family and his relatives. And every one of them (the amîrs) respected the wife of his scribe, and there was for every one of them elegance and wealth and dignity and an influential word and power. And through their patience and the prayers of their patriarch and their return to God and their obedience to their head, God turned their lowliness into power, and their humiliation into honour, and abhorrence of them into love, and their weakness into strength. And they multiplied (their) alms, and they persevered (in) prayers, and they imitated one another in hastening unto the doing of good. Then their fortune increased, and their bodies became sound, and their sons and their daughters multiplied, and their treasuries were filled [4] with good things, and their affairs improved, and their hearts were cheered, and their breasts were expanded, and their word was influential with the Sultan. And they asked for the execution of the decisions from him (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) and of the letters from him to the governors (Wulât) of the provinces for repairing their churches and

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(1) *Lit.* ' received '.

(2) *I.e.* the Christians.

(3) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, under خف.

(4) ' were filled ' is supplied from *MS.* P.

And his children and his offspring did not disagree, and not one of them sought a kingdom for himself, and his children did not disagree with one of his relatives, but they were all agreed on him whom they made king of his children. Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz (had) Egypt (Miṣr) and Jerusalem [1], and Al-Malîk aẓ-Ẓâhir (had) Aleppo (Ḥalab), and Al-Malik al-Afḍal (had) Damascus (Dimašḳ), until his brother Al-ʿÂdil Abû Bakr prepared a plan to take the kingdom of Egypt (Miṣr) and Damascus (Dimašḳ) from them, and we shall explain it in what (comes) after, and this is what reached us in the way of information ; and peace (be to you !), and after what went before which we have explained from the days of the patriarchate of this pure, holy, prosperous father Abba (Anbâ) Mark (Marḳus). And what he suffered in the way of hardship, and witnessed in the way of adversities, at the beginning of the reign of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, from the issuing of his order that there should be removed the crosses of wood which were on every lofty dome in every church of all the churches which were in the Land of Egypt (Miṣr). (If) he saw a church the exterior of which was whitened, it was plastered with black mud over the whiteness, and that a bell should not be rung [2] in all the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), and that the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) should not go in procession with olive-branches [3] in a city or a town, as was the custom before, and that the Christians (an-Naṣârah) should alter their style of dress that they might be distinguished from the
* Fol. 219 r° Muslims (al-Muslimîn), * and that they should gird their waists with their girdles, and that they should not put on a turban-cloth [4] nor a cloak (Ṭaîlasân), and that they should remove the fringes of their turbans, and (that) they should not ride horses or mules, but (that) they should ride asses, and (that) they should not be seen drinking wine, and (that) they should lower their voices in their prayers. And the rabble of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) became emboldened against them at that time, and they despised them, and they rose up against some of the churches

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[1] *Lit.* ‘ the Holy House ’.

[2] Lit ‘ struck ’. In the East, bells are not rung, but struck.

[3] *I.e.* on the Feast of Palm Sunday.

[4] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 113.

sold at a dînâr the Cairene (al-Miṣrî) ḳanṭâr, and if it is scarce, * for a dînâr and a quarter, and the white which is like sugar at a dînâr and a half for a Cairene (al-Miṣrî) ḳanṭâr, and treacle at ten dirhams for the Cairene (al-Miṣrî) ḳanṭâr. Flax seeds at fifty dirhams for a ḳanṭâr of the good kind and the inferior for thirty dirhams. White wax for three dirhams the Cairene (al-Miṣrî) raṭl. And the common širb was plentiful, and cloth and wool and hides (were) very plentiful, and the merchants were selling and buying and making profits and blessing existed in everything. And the days of his (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn's) State were all of them well (and) good, and the conditions of the subject were set up, and no one was dispossessed of his subjects, and no one was wronged, as had been the custom with those before him, and the ways were safe, and affairs were good. And he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) died in the city of Damascus (Dimašḳ) on Wednesday, the twenty-sixth (of the month) of Ṣafar (in the) year five hundred and eighty-nine [1] in the fortress of Damascus (Dimašḳ), and he was buried in the College (al-Madrasat) which he had built in it (Damascus) [2]. And the number of his troops on the day of his decease was ten thousand horsemen of which four thousand (were) eunuchs and of which six thousand (were) young male slaves. And he had completed seventy years of age, and he had ruled Egypt (Miṣr) and its might according to what we have mentioned before, twenty-four years and nine months and a half, for he ruled after the decease of Asad ad-Dîn Šîrkûh in (the month) of Ǧumâdâ al-Awal (in the) year five hundred and sixty-four of the Lunar (Year) and the Tax (Year) [3], and he died at Damascus (Dimašḳ) on the mentioned date. And some learned people have recorded that he reigned over the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) on a Wednesday, and (that) he died at Damascus (Dimašḳ) on a Wednesday. By reason of his good manner of life and the virtue of his State, (it was) that, after his death, no horse raced either in Syria (aš-Šâm) nor in Egypt (Miṣr) nor .... [4].

* Fol. 218 v°

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[1] = 1193 A.D.

[2] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, pp. 366-367.

[3] = 1168-1169 A.D.

[4] The Cairo and Paris *MSS.* have a lacuna here.

and its provinces and its villages [1], and from beyond the River Euphrates (al-Furât), Harran (Ḥarrân) and Nisibis (Naṣîbîn) and Singar (Sinǧâr) and Manbîǧ and Edessa (Ruḥâ) and Amida (Amid) and Martyropolis (Maiyâfâriḳîn) [2], and other than them from their towns and their villages [1] of those of which we have not been informed that we may name them. And his (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn's) order was executed in all the kingdoms of the Arabs (al-ʿArab) and the Persians (al-ʿAǧam) and the Rûm (ar-Rûm) [3]. And no one with whom we are contemporaries and whom we have seen ruled as he. And nations and kings obeyed him, and his order was executed in the lands of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah), and Nubia (an-Nûbah) and Baǧâ (al-Baǧâh) [4], and the Yemen (al-Yaman) and the Ḥiǧâz (al-Ḥiǧâz) and the provinces of the South. And he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) had often come to the city of Mosul (al-Mawṣil) and had fought against it and had besieged it for a time, but God did not give it to him, and he did not conquer it. And (in) the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) in all the days of his State from its beginning to its end (there was) cheapness of prices (and) abundance of good things : good wheat ten ardab for one dînâr, and barley twenty ardabs for one dînâr, and beans (fûl) likewise, and lentils and haricot beans [5] and clover and lupines (θέρμος) all these at one price, twenty ardabs for a dînâr. And as for good honey buried in straw, a dînâr the ḳanṭâr locally, and drip-honey [6] at a dînâr and two ḳaraṭs by local ḳanṭâr, and the honey of bees for one dînâr and a half and a quarter a Cairene (al-Miṣrî) ḳanṭâr, and kišaṭah for half a dînâr the Cairene (al-Miṣrî) ḳanṭâr, and red sugar candy was at different prices according to the soil, region differing from region, and pure from impure ; and at times the good is

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[1] رستاق, pl. رساتيق, a Persian wording meaning ' village ', cf. A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français,* also R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant,* p. 318 ' ferme ou bourgade '.

[2] For these places, cf. R. Grousset, *op. cit.,* on the map facing p. 87.

[3] For the Sultanate of Iconium or Rûm, cf. P.K. Hitti, *op. cit.,* on the map facing, p. 643.

[4] A people of Nubia, cf. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt,* p. 41.

[5] Or ' rambling vetch '.

[6] Or ' treacle '.

over Aleppo (Ḥalab) and its provinces, (and) Al-Malik al-Afḍal ʿAlî, and he made him ruler over Damascus (Dimašḳ) and its provinces, (and) Al-Malik al-Mustamir Khudr, (and) Al-Malik az-Zâhir David (Dâûûd). And the remainder of the small children (are) Tûrânšah, Šâhinšâh, Malik Šâ, Aḥmad, Abû Bakr, and this number is not from one woman, but (from) a number of women [1]. And there was in the hand of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn of the kingdoms of the world during his life, at that time, the region of the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) and all its provinces, and the Yemen (al-Yaman) up to Ṣanaʿa, and Aden (ʿAdan) and Zabîd were conquered by the hand of Saîf ad-Dîn, his brother [2], and in the lands [3] of Nubia (an-Nûbah) up to the city of Primus (Ibrîm) [2], and the lands of the lord of Gubail [4] and Jerusalem [5] and the Littoral, and all what we have mentioned before of its cities and its towns and its castles and its fortresses, and what he had conquered in the lands of Antioch (Anṭâkîah), the fortress of Burzîah, and Laodicea (al-Lâdikîah) and Baghras [6], and other than them, the names of which we do not know to record (them). And the city of Damascus (Dimašḳ) which is the desire of the kingdom of the world, likened to the Paradise with its good, sweet streams and its trees and its fruits and the goodness of its air [7]. And the city of Aleppo (Ḥalab) and its fortress Dâr Abraham (Ibrâhîm), the Friend (al-Khalîl) — upon him (be) peace! (and) the Bridge of the kings of the Arabs (al-ʿArab) and the Persians (al-ʿAǧam) [8]

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[1] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 372, note.

[2] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt*, p. 197.

[3] Reading according to *MS*. P. The Cairo *MS*. has ' city '.

[4] For the Seigneurie de Giblet (Djoubail), cf. the map facing, p. 274 in R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant*, Paris, 1946.

[5] *Lit*. ' the Holy House '.

[6] For these three places, cf. the map facing, p. 247 in R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, and p. 289.

[7] *MS*. P adds ' and the days of its week '.

[8] Probably the bridge across the Euphrates near Al-Ḥîrah, the site of the Battle of the Bridge between the Arabs and the Persians in 634 A.D., cf. P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1961, p. 155. *MS*. P *adds* : ' and in the east, Jerusalem and the Littoral, its cities and its towns, and Damascus and its provinces, and Aleppo and its provinces, and beyond the River Euphrates, large cities and its towns, and we have mentioned them before'.

so that they became as brethren, and so also the kings with Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn ; and he caused to be borne to them wealth and gifts, and they caused to be borne to him gifts and horses and German (al-Alamanîah) shields and swords concealed in wooden boxes, and varnished [1] staffs of lances (κοντάριον). Praise (be) to God Who causes union between hearts which are separated and characters which are contradictory! And He Who is praised in the Creator of the creatures, and their Director and their Creator and their Fashioner, and there is no God except He, and none to be adored except Himself. As for the captives of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) who were with the Franks (al-Faranǧ), and the captives of the Franks (al-Faranǧ) who were with the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), nothing was fixed about their affair, but everyone of them remained with his master as was before, to pay his ransom and to be set free. A few days after the peace, the King of England (al-Inkitâr) sailed in ships by sea, and he returned to his lands with what he had won and had taken as spoil, and with him a company of his companions and his soldiers. And Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn turned from Jerusalem [2] to Damascus (Dimašḳ) in (the month of) Šawwâl (in the) year five hundred and eighty-eight [3] after he had fasted [4] in it (Jerusalem), he and all who were with him of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) the month
* Fol. 218 r° of Ramaḍân. And he went to * Damascus (Dimašḳ), (and) he caused his sons to be circumcised. And he had at that time many male children (capable of) riding horses behind him, their number being fifteen sons. And these are their names and the qualifications. Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz ʿUthmân (whom) he had made ruler over the kingdom of the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) and Jerusalem [5] and its provinces. And he remained a king over it, after his father Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, for five years and a half. Al-Malik al-Aʿazz Jacob (Yaʿḳûb), (and) Al-Malik al-Mûʾayad Masʿûd, (and) Al-Malik Fatḥ ad-Dîn Isaac (Isḥaḳ), (and) Al-Malik al-Ǧawâd Job (Aiyûb), (and) Al-Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir Ghâzî, and he made him ruler

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[1] Or ‘ painted ’.
[2] *Lit.* ‘ the Holy House ’.
[3] = 1192 A.D.
[4] *I.e.* the fast of the month of Ramaḍân.
[5] *Lit.* ‘ the Holy House ’.

the troops of the Littoral would be absolved from their [1] engagements and their [1] troth, and on the understanding that that which the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) had conquered by their swords in the way of cities and towns and fortresses and castles should be theirs, and what remained in the hand of Franks (al-Faranǧ) (which) the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) had not conquered should remain to the Franks (al-Afranǧ). And (one) who was present at the signing of the truce recorded that Beyrouth (Baîrût) and Sidon (Ṣaîdâ) and Gibalah [2] and Gibail [3], and cities and fortresses, the names of which I do not know to record (them), should be shared between them. As for Jerusalem [4], it was in the hand of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) at that time, and it remained with them as it was before. And Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn agreed that they (the Christians) should go on pilgrimage to it on the condition that they should not take with them a sword or anything in the way of a weapon, and he stipulated for them that they (the authorities) should not take from them a tribute [5]; and Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn made Saîf ad-Dîn Yârkûg governor (Wâlî) of Jerusalem [6], and it is recorded (that there were) with him in it three thousand horsemen from the Asadi (al-Asadîah) [7] mamluks (Mamâlîk). And Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn himself and the Ḳâḍî Al-Fâḍil ʿAbd ar-Raḥîm Ibn ʿAlî al-Baîsânî fasted the month of Ramaḍân in Jerusalem [6]. And he despatched men and soldiers, and he demolished the wall which encircled Ascalon (ʿAsḳalân), and he left it a town without a wall. And there was an agreement regarding its demolition in the terms of the truce. And the Franks (al-Faranǧ) and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) assembled, and all of them agreed to the demolition of Ascalon (ʿAsḳalân) [8]. And the troops of the Franks (al-Faranǧ) and the troops of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) mixed together after the peace

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[1] *Lit.* ‘ the ’.
[2] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 246.
[3] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, p. 666.
[4] *Lit.* ‘ the Holy House ’.
[5] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 356.
[6] *Lit.* ‘ the Holy House ’.
[7] Cf. p. 147, n. 1.
[8] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 356.

had saved the city, and Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn had departed from it, he (the King of England) stayed at Jaffa (Yâfâ). And Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil Abû Bakr [1] had journeyed to the lands of al-ʿÂǧam and Diyâr Bakr [2] and other (places) than them, and he gathered together troops [3]. And Al-Malik Muẓaffar Taḳî ad-Dîn [4] conquered the city of Khilât [5], and he took it from Baktimur (Baktim) [6], and he died, and his son Naṣîr ad-Dîn took it after him, and he remained in it with the troops of his father. And when Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil went to gather together the troops of the East, he (Naṣîr ad-Dîn) went to him, and he took the troops of his father. And Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil, he and Muẓaffar ad-Dîn [4], lord of Arbeles (Arbil) and of the city of Mosul (al-Mawṣul), and other (chiefs) of the troops of the East gathered together many people [7] of which the number cannot be counted; and no relief came to the Franks
* Fol. 217 v° (al-Faranǧ) * in that year, not even a single man. And the troops wished for furlough [8], and Salâh ad-Dîn calmed the case with them and with the Franks (al-Faranǧ), and he did not cease to make arrangements, and God supported him with the arrangements until his opinion was approved for the truce and the peace-treaty and the sparing of blood and the preservation of property and souls from injury for both parties, the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) and the Franks (al-Afranǧ). He (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) agreed to the peace-treaty, and the truce was arranged with the Franks (al-Faranǧ) for forty months, its beginning (being) Šaʿbân (in the) year five hundred and eighty-eight [9], with the King of England (al-Inkitâr) and the troops of the Littoral, on the understanding that, if any of the kings of the Franks (al-Afranǧ) should come from beyond [10] the sea, and was powerful (enough) to break the truce,

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(1) *MS.* P adds ‘ brother of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn ’.
(2) Mesopotamia.
(3) *MS.* P has ‘ his troops ’.
(4) *MS.* P adds ‘ Ibn Zaîn ad-Dîn ’. A nephew of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn.
(5) At the north-west of Lake Van.
(6) Saîf ad-Dîn Baktimur, Shah of Armenia.
(7) *Lit.* ‘ creatures ’.
(8) *Lit.* ‘ summer residence ’.
(9) = 1192 A.D.
(10) *Lit.* ‘ behind ’.

from Ramlah, and he ascended the mountain and he stayed at Natrun (an-Naṭrûn) [1], and it is a high, lofty mountain (which) it is not possible to ascend except with difficulty, and there is no place on it for charges. The King of England (al-Inkitâr) departed, and he stayed at Ramlah. And when he stayed at Ramlah, the Sultan departed from Natrun (an-Naṭrûn), and set out for the city of Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds). And the King of England (al-Inkitâr) departed, and he stayed at Natrun (an-Naṭrûn). Then the Sultan under these circumstances entered the city of Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds), and he provided for the digging of ditches and the building of towers. And the King of England (al-Inkitâr) remained at Natrun (an-Naṭrûn) for a time ; then he returned to Ascalon (ʿAsḳalân) and he stayed at it, and he (re-)built it, and he fortified it, and he passed over from it to Gaza (Ghazzah), and he (re-)built it and he fortified it, and he passed over from Gaza (Ghazzah) [to] Dariranas, and it is the fortress of Darum (Ad-Darâûn) [2], and it had remained in the hand of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) up to the end of Ǧumâdâ al-Awal (in the) year five hundred and eighty-eight. And he conquered it (Darum) and he took it, and he killed and took captive everyone whom he found in it. Then he went to Beyrouth (Baîrût) to attack it [3]. And Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn went out to him from Jerusalem (Al-Ḳuds), and he descended with the troops at Jaffa (Yâfâ), and he attacked it for two days, and he conquered it, and he took it, and he killed everyone whom he found in it, in the suburbs. And as for the knights (horsemen) and the warriors of the Franks (al-Faranǧ), they entered the fortress, and they fortified themselves in it until the King of England (al-Inkitâr) reached them [4]. And Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn departed from it, and he returned, (and) he stayed at Natrun (an-Naṭrûn), and this (was) in (the) month of Raǧab (in the) year five hundred and eighty-eight [5]. And when the King of England (al-Inkitâr) had returned from Beyrouth (Baîrût) to Jaffa (Yâfâ) and

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[1] *I.e.* Toron Militum.

[2] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 338 and B. Meistermann, *Guide de Terre Sainte,* Paris, 1923, p. 46.

[3] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 344.

[4] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* pp. 345-350.

[5] = 1192 A.D.

to such an extent that, if there were before him thousands, and he was alone, he would bear down upon them. And there was not from among those of the kings of the Franks (al-Afrang) who came, like to him. And if he bore down, no one could stand before him. And the King of France (Fransis) delivered to him five hundred knights (horsemen) from his troops, and he left them with him, and he made him chief of the troops in his place. He delivered to him the troops, and he gave
* Fol. 217 r° him instructions, and he departed. And after * a few days from his departure, the King of England (al-Inkitâr) disposed the soldiers (men) of Acre (ʿAkkâ), and he arranged in it those who should guard it, and he went out from it, and he descended on Haifa (Ḥaîfâ), and he descended on Arsûf [1]. And Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn was staying at the fortress (Burg) of Ad-Dîwiyat, and it was named Safraʿâm [2]. Then he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) marched (and) he met him (the King of England). It was a plan of the King of England (al-Inkitâr) to arrange archers with an arbalest (Zanbûrak) on carts, and he appointed for them an escort, and the carts travelled with the archers on both sides of the troops on the right and the left, and the troops were in the centre [3], and no one was able to approach the carts without perishing. And when Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn met him at Arsûf [1], he fought against him, but he did not attain what he wished, (and) he feared that he (the King of England) would turn towards Ascalon (ʿAsḳalân) and take possession of it. So Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn preceded him to it (Ascalon), and he destroyed it, and he burned it, and he did not leave any wall standing in it. Then Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn turned, and he descended on Ramlah [4]. When news reached the King of England (al-Inkitâr) that he Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn had destroyed Ascalon (ʿAsḳalân) and had burned it with fire, he found it hard to bear, and he stayed at Arṣûf [5] for a few days, and he made other plans, wishing to surprise the troops of the Sultan, Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn. And a spy went (and) informed Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn about this, and Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn went out

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(1) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 313.
(2) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 274.
(3) *Lit.* ‘ heart ’.
(4) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 327.
(5) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 313.

it. And the Franks (al-Faranǧ) took the captives of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) and they brought them to the mosque (al-Ǧâmiʿ); they drew water, and they washed it, and they renewed its whiteness and its pictures, as it was (before). And praise be to God by Whose hand (exists) the kingdom of all things! Who makes powerful him whom He wills, and abases him whom He wills, and recompenses every one according to his deeds. And when (the King of) France (Afransis) [1] conquered Acre (ʿAkkâ), he made captive every one who was in it of the troops and the inhabitants of the city. And Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn sent to come to an agreement with him on the ransom for them, but no agreement (was reached) between them concerning anything for them [2]. They took the notable amîrs such as Aḥmad and Bahâ ad-Dîn Ḳarâḳûs and Yaʿḳûb al-Amrî and others besides them of the notables, (and) he separated them and he fettered them. And as for Arsal and Ibn al-Ǧawlî, they escaped when Acre (ʿAkkâ) was conquered, and they went out alone without anything to the troops of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), and they left their possessions and what was with them in the way of their mamluks (Mamâlîk) and their soldiers. As for the rest of the people, (the King of) France (Afransis) caused to be separated the Blacks (al-Katânîah) alone, and the Sudanis (Sûdân) alone, and the Kurds (al-Akrâd) alone, and the Ghuzz (al-Ghuzz), alone, and he did not mix one race (γένος) with another, and he caused them to be killed, and the troops with Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn beheld them [3]. And the King of France (Afransis) took from those who fell to his share of the captives with him, and he returned by sea to his country [4]. And it was in the days in which Acre (ʿAkkâ) was conquered, (that) there reached it the King of England (al-Inkitâr) [5], and his name was Samanamîd [6], and he was a courageous champion (who) did not fear an expert in war, (and) did not fear death, and was not overawed by a multitude of troops,

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(1) *I.e.* Philip of France.
(2) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 306.
(3) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, pp. 306-307.
(4) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, pp. 298-299.
(5) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, pp. 282-287.
(6) *Sic*. The king of England is Richard I.

had brought new troops to it. Among them (was) a company of notable, celebrated amîrs, among whom (was) Saîf ad-Dîn 'Alî Ibn Aḥmad, chief of the Kurds (al-Akarâd) and 'Alam ad-Dîn Arsal, chief of the Mamluks (al-Mamâlîk), the Ṣalâḥîs (aṣ-Ṣalâḥîyah) and the Asadîs (al-Asadîah) [1], and Ibn Saîf ad-Dîn al-Ǧawlî, and Fakhr [2] ad-Dîn Ya'ḳûb al-Amrî, chief of the Turkomans (at-Turǧmân). And when (the King of) France (Afaranatisîs) [3] intensified the fight against them [4] (in) the month(s) of Ǧumâdâ al-Akhar and Raǧab, and he besieged the whole city, and it was not possible for anyone to enter it with provisions or relief, he conquered it, at noon, (on) Friday, the half of (the month of) Ša'bân (in the) year five hundred and eighty-nine of the Lunar (Year) [5]. The whole period [6] of the war at Acre ('Akkâ) (was) two years, one month and fifteen days. A man (who) was present at Acre ('Akkâ) informed me (that), when the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) conquered it, they found that the Franks (al-Faranǧ) had made its mosque (al-Ǧâmi') into a church. When they (the Franks) took it from the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) the first time [7], they painted pictures in it (the mosque). Then, when Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn captured it from the Franks (al-Faranǧ), the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) assembled the captives who (were) with them of the Franks (al-Faranǧ), and they brought them to the mosque (al-Ǧâmi'); they (the Franks) drew water, and they washed its walls and its doors, and they effaced from it the pictures, and they brought lime, and they whitened it, so that there did not remain any trace of the pictures or inscriptions; and they (the Muslims) prayed in it the rest of the Friday on which they conquered Acre ('Akkâ) [8]. And that man continued dwelling at Acre ('Akkâ) until the King of France (Afransis) [9] conquered

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[1] Cf. p. 147, n. 1.
[2] Reading according to *MS.* P. The Cairo *MS.* has ' 'Izz '.
[3] *I.e.* Philip of France.
[4] *I.e.* the Muslims.
[5] = 1193 A.D. This is incorrect, the correct date being 1191 A.D.
[6] *Lit.* ' what remained '.
[7] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 24.
[8] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 219.
[9] *I.e.* Philip of France.

alms-giving, as it was with David (Dâûûd), and on account of this he (David) remained king over it [1], and he dwelt in it [1] for forty years. And during this period there was no dearth, nor war, nor pestilence, except the case of the wife of Uriah (Aûrîâ) [2] for one day. Then David (Dâûûd) repented, and God accepted him, and He took away death from the nation [3]. And David (Dâûûd) lived the remainder of his days [4] affrighted [5] when he saw the angel of God, and in his hand a sword, and he was slaying. And this circumstance (is) explained in the book of the Books of Kings [6]. And, therefore, we intend to abreviate, and we shall record what is easy (for us), and we shall leave what is impossible. It may be that one other than we has provided for this, and has been informed of the news and has witnessed the affairs which we have not witnessed nor been informed of, but our brethren informed us about what reached us in the way of information in the measure of what God made easy for us and vouchsafed to us. And the war did not cease between the Franks (al-Faranǧ) and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) who (were) in Acre (ʿAkkâ), night and day without interruption, and none of them obtained respite from the war from the time of their descent upon it (Acre) in the month of Raǧab (in the) year five hundred and eighty-five [7] until Ġumâdâ al-Akhar (in the) year five hundred and eighty-seven [8]. And the King of France (Faranatisîs) [9] arrived with his soldiers in about a hundred boats and galleys at Acre (ʿAkkâ), and he descended with the troops of the Franks (al-Afranǧ), and he made an agreement with them, and the fighting was renewed at it. * And Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn had sent away the old troops from it (Acre) [10], and he * Fol. 216 v°

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[1] *I.e.* Jerusalem.
[2] Cf. II *Kings* XI, 2-27.
[3] Cf. II *Kings* XXIV, 16.
[4] *Lit.* ‘ of his age ’.
[5] *Lit.* ‘ trembling of hand ’.
[6] Cf. II *Kings* XXIV, 16-17.
[7] = 1189 A.D.
[8] = 1191 A.D.
[9] *I.e.* Philip of France, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 281.
[10] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 277.

(al-Muslimîn) came forth against them from Acre ('Akkâ); they fought them and the battle became intensified between them, and a great company of both parties was killed. Then that naphtha-maker went out again, and he burned the iron (battering-)ram; and if I undertook to explain what happened between the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) and [1] the Franks (al-Faranǧ) at Acre ('Akkâ) and other places than it, every day, (at) every hour, and (in) every month, and (in) every year at that time in which Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn conquered Jerusalem [2], and what was destroyed at it [3] of the nations, and what was annihilated at it [3] of creatures, and (what) perished at it [3] in the way of property, and (what) died on account of it [3] in the way of people [4], the explanation would be drawn out, and the description would be great, and expectation would be anticipated according to what may be renewed on account of it at every time. In the biographies of the former (patriarchs) (which) went before, there was what was greater than (in) this biography, and there was annihilated in them of the nations more than this number. And this state of affairs will not cease as long as the days of the world last. Every nation in it [3] (which) acts corruptly [3] and does (what is) contrary to its conditions, God will send against it a fierce nation, merciless and pitiless, and He will expel it from it [3] with sword and captivity and famine and siege and looting of property and the sale of children and women, for God said concerning it [3] in the Law (Tûrâh) [5] : «I have chosen this House from all the world that My Name be remembered in it, and I have chosen David (Dâûûd) a king from among all the kings of the earth» [6]. And according to this command He desires the king under whose authority the House [7] shall be, that he should possess purity and justice and uprightness of life and assiduity in prayers and

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(1) *Lit.* ' and between '.

(2) *Lit.* ' the Holy House '.

(3) *I.e.* Jerusalem.

(4) *Lit.* ' souls '.

(5) The quotation which follows is not from the Pentateuch, but from the Historical Books.

(6) A very free rendering of III *Kings* VIII, 16 and II *Paralipomenon* VI, 5.

(7) *I.e.* the Temple in Jerusalem.

ad-Dîn Ḳarâḳûs. And he said to him. «I, by the well-being of the lord Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, I shall burn these towers». And Bahâ ad-Dîn said to him. «What wilt thou do?» He said : «I shall make naphtha (νάφθα) according to what I know, and I shall strike with it the towers, (and) I shall burn them, and if I strike with it a mountain of iron, I shall burn it». And he said to him : «Do what thou wilt». Then he (Ḳarâḳûs) paid to him two hundred dînârs, and he went and he make three pots of naphtha (νάφθα), and he struck with them the three towers, and he burned them, and he burned in them what was estimated at six hundred (men) in cuirass (who) were on them from among the notable champions of the Franks (al-Faranǧ). It was a hard day for the troops of the Franks (al-Faranǧ), and (one of) rejoicing and joy for [1] the community of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) who were present from among them, and for those who were absent, and for those who were near and for those who were at a distance, because the Franks (al-Faranǧ) were about to take the city [2]. Then, after the burning of the towers, the Franks (al-Afranǧ) made a mangonel on a very large transport-ship, and many fighting-men went up into it, and they went with it until they fastened it to the wall of Acre (ʿAkkâ) from the side of the sea, and the archers from above the wall exposed (it) [3] to arrows from it. And the mangonel which (was) on it [4] began to strike against the city. And again that naphtha-maker, Ibn an-Naḥâs, went out, and he burned the transport-ship, and he caused to be burned many of those who were in it from among the fighters of the Franks (al-Faranǧ). Then, after the burning of the transport-ship, the Franks (al-Faranǧ) made a (battering-)ram of iron * mounted on a very large (log of) wood, and they overlaid it * Fol. 216 r°
and dressed it in iron, and they made for it a head to batter the wall, estimated at twenty ḳanṭârs [5] of iron. And they battered with it the wall, and they threw down a large curtain [6] of it. And the Muslims

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(1) *MS.* P adds ‘ all ’.
(2) *Lit.* ‘ lands ’.
(3) *I.e.* the city.
(4) *I.e.* the transport-ship.
(5) A ḳanṭâr = 44.928 kilograms.
(6) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, under بدن.

that year had constructed three towers of wood, and they advanced them for fighting and they completed them with all what is worked in them. And they advanced them until they had fastened them to the wall of Acre (ʿAkkâ). And Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn had dismissed Ǧurdîk the equerry [1] from Acre (ʿAkkâ), and he had delivered it to another servant named Ḳarâḳûs [2], and his designation was Bahâ ad-Dîn. And he was an expert in [3] constructing walls, and it was he who had constructed the wall of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and had encircled it with it, and had extended it up to Al-Maḳs (al-Maḳsim) [4], until he made the River Nile (an-Nîl) (to be) inside the wall. Then he extended it to the Mountain al-Muḳaṭṭam (which) rises above Cairo (Miṣr), until he went beyond it (Miṣr) inside the wall [5]. And he built a fortress [6] at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) above the spur [7] of the mountain outside the city at its south. And he excavated in it a pit for water with an iron pickaxe from the top of the mountain to its base, until it reached water estimated (at) two hundred cubits. And he made in it a reservoir to be filled from cisterns (which) he had made outside the fortress. And in a little time he had encircled the fortress (with) a wall and towers and works; time will pass away, and they will scarcely pass away. And on account of (his) experience Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn delivered over to him Acre (ʿAkkâ), and he was a director of it against the Franks (al-Faranǧ). And when they (the Franks) had advanced the towers close to the wall, and the knights (horsemen) had ascended them, and they had intensified the battles against it (Acre), and had exposed it to arrows, and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) were about to yield Acre (ʿAkkâ) to them, a man known as Ibn an-Naḥâs [8] from the inhabitants of Baghdad (Baghdâd), came to Bahâ

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(1) Cf. p. 144.

(2) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo,* p. 176.

(3) *MS.* P adds ' in war '.

(4) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo,* p. 175.

(5) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo,* p. 174. The scheme, however, was never completed.

(6) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt,* pp. 201-203.

(7) *Lit.* ' head '.

(8) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 269.

the kings of the Romans (ar-Rûm) and the Armenians [1] and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) and the Franks (al-Faranǧ) by force [2], and no one could stand before him from all the kings of the world. And when he drew near to Antioch (Anṭâkîah), Al-Malik Muẓaffar Takî ad-Dîn and Muẓaffar ad-Dîn Ibn Zaîn ad-Dîn journeyed from the camp of the Sultan (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) to Aleppo (Ḥalab) to find out news about the King of the Germans (Alâmân). And when it was ascertained by them that he had descended on Antioch (Anṭâkîah), they cut the river of water on [3] the way which he wished to follow to Aleppo (Ḥalab), Damascus (Dimašḳ) and other (places) than them; it is named the Dog River [4], and it submerged all the way. And when the news reached him [5] about this, he sailed in ships from Antioch (Anṭâkîah), and he went by sea to Acre ('Akkâ), and he descended at the troops of the Franks (al-Faranǧ) at Tall al-Mašnaḳah [6]. And when Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn heard that he had come in ships, he made light of his force, and he was emboldened against him, and he marched to the trenches, and he fought the Franks (al-Faranǧ). And after a little time there died the King of the Germans (Alâmân) [7], and his son died after him and most of his companions died on account of the change of water and air. And some of his companions remained, * and they mixed with the troops of the Franks (al-Faranǧ). And his remembrance died out, and his affair became null, and he was as if he had not existed, and praised be God the Ever-living! After that the kings of the world had fled from their fear of him [7], they felt safe, and they rejoiced at his death. And his [8] arrival at the Hill (Tall) of Acre ('Akkâ) was in the month of Ramaḍân (in the) year five hundred and fifty-six [9]. And the Franks (al-Afranǧ) in

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[1] *I.e.* Lesser Armenia.

[2] *Lit.* ' by the sword '.

[3] ' on ' is added from *MS.* P.

[4] In the Lebanon, cf. P.K. Hitti, *History of Syria*, p. 134, n. 1.

[5] This, of course, is Frederick, Duke of Suabia. Frederick Barbarossa having being drowned in the River Saleph in Cilicia.

[6] Cf. p. 140, n. 5.

[7] *I.e.* Frederick Barbarossa.

[8] *I.e.* Frederick, Duke of Suabia.

[9] = 1160-1161 A.D. *sic.* The correct date is 1190 A.D.

subjects (are) Roman (Rûm) [1] (who) wished to have their abode with him on account of his justice and the goodness of his conduct towards them. Then he (the King of the Germans) passed through the country of the King Mas'ûd and the country of the son of Leo (Lâûn), King of the Armenians (al-Arman), and he crossed (the countries of) many kings by the sword, and (he had) a multitude of men and wealth, and his impedimenta and the provisions of the troops were carried in carts (which) horses and mules and oxen and other (beasts) than they drew; and he remained in his (the King of Armenia) country until he came to Antioch (Anṭâkîah) marching for a whole year. And some of those present of his troops informed us that, when he (the King of the Germans) wished to pass over the sea to Constantinople (Ḳusṭanṭînîah) [2], the King of the Romans (ar-Rûm) [3] collected (his troops), and that he prevented him from crossing; and that he had found in the land in which he was a ruined city. They mentioned that it was in ancient times [4] called Constantinople (Ḳusṭanṭînîah), and that when this new one was built that one was destroyed. Then he descended at it and he built it, and he remained in it for a whole year, fighting the King of the Romans (ar-Rûm) [5] until he overcame him, and he marched towards him, and he besieged him in his city of Constantinople (Ḳusṭanṭînîah) [6]. And he collected its taxes and all the taxes of its cities and its towns. He took its products in that year, and he was strengthened by them. And he [7] journeyed towards Jerusalem [8] seeking (to wage) a holy war. He passed through all the lands of

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[1] Seljûk Sultan of Rûm (Asia Minor). Of course, East Romans, *i.e.* Greeks.

[2] Cf. R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

[3] *I.e.* the Greek Emperor Isaac II Angelus.

[4] *Lit.* ' in the beginning of the age '.

[5] Cf. R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 443-446.

[6] Probably, a confusion with Andrinopolis, cf. R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, p. 257, unless the writer has in mind the capture of Constantinople by the Venetians in 1204 A.D.

[7] This is, of course, Frederick, Duke of Suabia. Frederick Barbarossa was drowned in the river Saleph in Cilicia.

[8] *Lit.* ' the Holy House '.

and Kamašyâ and [Â]rsalân (and) (?) Bû'â and Ayâr al-Burulû and the Asadîah and the Šahâbîah [1] (who) were in a single battalion, were not remiss; they killed a great number [2] of the Franks (al-Faranǧ), and the Franks (al-Faranǧ) began to return from our rear; they met them, and they killed them; no one of them escaped [3]. And to God (belongeth) goodness and praise. And it was not a short [4] day; and I do not know anyone (who) was lost except Miǧalî — may God have mercy (upon him)! — he was a martyr for the cause [5] of God — and Ḥusaîn the Kurd (al-Kurdî) whom I saw deeply wounded, * and Isma'îl al-Mukalbas wounded, and Silâr Ibn Ḥasak : these (are) all whom I knew, perhaps, twenty youths; however, the clothes of the people were plundered by one another [6]. Sad ad-Dîn, brother of 'Izz ad-Dîn, and Al-Maškûr al-Ḥusâm were not remiss, and Ḳaîmâz of the right wing, and Muẓaffar ad-Dîn and Yârkûǧ. And the charge was not (upon anyone), except on myself alone. And God knows, and peace (to thee)!». And when the Franks (al-Faranǧ) pressed the troops of the Sultan (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) at Ṣafûrîah, and those affairs which were mentioned before happened, the Sultan departed from Ṣafûrîah (and) he descended at the valley of Kharrûbah [7]. And provisions came to them day and night, six hundred knights (horsemen), and they shot arrows at them, and they used to pay no attention to them. And the war did not cease being carried on between them, until the King of the Germans [8] assembled six hundred thousand lances, and he came to Ad-Darûndân, and it is a defile from which one enters to Iconium (Ḳûnîah) and other places than it, the land of the King Mas'ûd from among the kings of the Turks (at-Turk), and most of his lands and his

* Fol. 215 r°

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(1) The Asadîs were the former officers of Asad ad-Dîn Širkûh, and the Ṣalâḥîs were the officers of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn.

(2) *Lit.* ' a great killing '.

(3) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* pp. 262-264.

(4) *Lit.* ' little '.

(5) *Lit.* ' mercy '.

(6) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 265.

(7) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 267.

(8) *I.e.* the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

him of the situation, (and) what happened between him and between them (the Franks). And he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) wrote it with his hand. «In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate! If ye aid God, He will aid you, and He will make firm your steps, and those who (are) godless [1], let Him cause them disquietude and bring to nought their works! That which I inform the High, Royal Council of al-'Âdil (al-'Âdilî) — may God prolong his State — (is) that, when it was the morrow of Wednesday, the twenty-first of (the month of) Ša'abân (in the) year five hundred and eighty-five [2], the whole body of the Franks (al-Faranǧîah), their infantry (men) and their knights (horsemen) came out, and they marched close to the sea towards the marsh [3] and the river [4]. And all their swords (were) in the direction of the boy Takî ad-Dîn [5]. And the right wing received four battalions [6], the jurisconsult (al-Faḳîh) one battalion, and Muḥammad Ibn al-Amîr Ḥasîrîn one battalion, and the Mamluks (al-Mamâlîk) one battalion, and I pushed forward to join them, and the isolated shooters and the troops came together. And when we pressed them, all the Franks (al-Afranǧîah) attacked us, the knights (horsemen) and the infantry (men), and they bore down upon us. And our companions met the Franks (al-Faranǧ) (and) they resisted them. And all the infantry (men) [7] bore down (upon us) and they pressed us, and we did not cease to push the cavalry (horses) back to the infantry (men); and the infantry (men) were pressing us until the cavalry (horses) were separated from the infantry (men). Ḳaîmân and Al-Husâm entered [8], and they were not remiss; they broke the infantry (men). Then they overtook the cavalry (horses), and thus most of the infantry (men) were killed. And Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar returned and broke them completely [9], and so also Yârkûǧ

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(1) *I.e.* the Crusaders.
(2) *I.e.* 1189 A.D.
(3) *Lit.* ' reeds '.
(4) *I.e.* Nahr Namaîn (Belus).
(5) *I.e.* Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn's nephew.
(6) A Kurdish word, cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, under طلب.
(7) *I.e.* of the Franks.
(8) *I.e.* into the fight.
(9) *Lit.* ' with a good breaking '.

come to the moat amid many troops to fight the Franks (al-Afrang). Then he returned to the camp [1] at Ṣafûrîah, after he had made preparations against the Franks (al-Afrang), (and) had caused to descend at it (the moat) six thousand horsemen : they did not dismount from the back of their horses * either by night or by day ; three thousand * Fol. 214 v°
of them during the whole day were shooting arrows at them (the Franks), and three thousand during the whole night were shooting arrows at them. And there did not pass for them (the Franks) the space of a month [2] before they had made at the edge of the moat in the direction of the troops of the Sultan a wall of unburnt bricks, and they disposed cross-bowmen (who) remained sitting behind it with the bows of the arbalasts (which) shot an arrow the thickness of the toe of a man, its length a cubit, (and) the weight of its head [3] was fifty dirhams, beaten out and rolled back, having four corners. On whatsoever it fell, it would penetrate it, and, may be, it would pass through a person to him who (was) behind him, and would kill both of them together. It would pass through the axes (ܬܘܪܝ) of both of them, and the shields of both of them, and the chain-armour of both of them, or other than it, and it would sink into the ground. Indeed, it was reported by one who saw it, that it pierced a stone of the stones of the wall up to its feathers. And when they were informed of it, none of the troops of the Sultan continued to approach the moat. And their (the Franks') position became strong, and they built a church for their prayers and places for the stables of their horses. And when they had arranged their affairs, they gathered together one night [4], and they agreed on their going forward in the morning, and they overcame the troops of the Sultan (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn), and they killed a company of them, and a company of them (the Franks) were killed. And this (is) a copy of a letter of the Sultan to his brother Al-Malik al-'Âdil (who) was staying at Ḥamâh [5] with his troops, informing

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(1) *Lit.* ' tents '.
(2) *Lit.* ' a month of time '.
(3) For نصله, cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 680.
(4) *Lit.* ' on a night of the nights '.
(5) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 26.

and (to) the Genoeses (al-Ǧanawiyîn) and (to) the Pisans (al-Bîsâniyîn). And he (the Castellan) caused to be constructed a hundred galleys with his (the Castellan's) money, and he paid for their crews [1], and he (the Castellan) took them, and he came to Tyre (Ṣûr). He assembled with the Marquis (al-Markîs) [2] and Balian (Bâlîân) Ibelin (Ibn Bârzân) [3] and the son of the Prince Renaud (Arnaṭ), lord of al-Karak [4], and (with) those present of the knights (horsemen) of the Littoral. And they went forth on horses by land, and in ships by sea, and they journeyed until they descended at night at Tall Mašnaḳah (Hill of the Gallows) [5] opposite to Acre ('Akkâ). And the morning had not become light before they had dug before [6] it (Acre) three moats. And they caused to pass into them water from the river [7] which is there, and its water used to run out into the Salt Sea [8]. They encompassed Acre ('Akkâ) in (the month of) Raǧab (in the) year five hundred and eighty-five. And the governor (wâlî) of Acre ('Akkâ) was a servant of the equerries of the Sultan (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn), called Ǧurdîk. And he was not able to repulse them from it. Then he wrote to the Sultan (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) at Damascus (Dimašḳ) informing him about this. And the Sultan came and the troops arrived. And the Franks (al-Afranǧ) descended, and they arrived from every place in which they were. And an assembly of them gathered together, and they became a great army. And when the Sultan (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) arrived at Acre ('Akkâ), and with him al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Takî ad-Dîn [9], he descended upon Ṣafûrîah [10], and after a few days there reached the Sultan Muẓaffar ad-Dîn Ibn Zaîn ad-Dîn, lord of Sinǧâr [11]. And the Sultan used to ride every day and

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(1) *Lit.* ' men '.
(2) Cf. page 139, note 7.
(3) Cf. page 131, note 6.
(4) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 199.
(5) For another name of this place, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 258.
(6) *Lit.* ' at it '.
(7) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* map facing p. 268.
(8) *I.e.* the Mediterranean Sea.
(9) A nephew of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn.
(10) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 258, note.
(11) For Sinǧâr, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 165.

he had in Bait Gibrin (Baît Ǧibrîl) great possessions [1] and much wealth and great reservoirs [2] filled with good oil [3] and wine. And when he sought a treaty, the Sultan inflicted on him a ransom of much money, and he executed it for the Sultan with much money, and he paid it to him, and the Sultan kept his promise, and he took from him the reservoirs of oil and wine, and money for the rest of the ransom. And after this, he (the Castellan) went forth from the city with much money and possessions [1] and cattle and people [4], male slaves (mamâlîk) and female slaves and women, and a suite [5]. And the Sultan caused him to journey to the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), to the city of Alexandria. And he wrote to its governor (wâlî) a recommendation for him (the Castellan), and that he should guard him and entertain him during his sojourn in the city, and (that) he should pay his expenses from the money of the dîwân, and that he should charter ships and provide him and those with him with money of the Sultan until he should depart with gratitude. Then the governor (wâlî) and the subordinates with him did all whatsoever they were commanded, and he (the Castellan) journeyed to where he willed of the lands of the Romans (ar-Rûm). And Fakhr ad-Dîn Ḳarâǧâ, governor (wâlî) of Alexandria, used to ride to him (the Castellan) every day and to supply his needs. And there were with the Castellan (al-Ḳasṭalân) about five hundred people [6]. The governor (wâlî) used to provide for them and pay their expenses from the money of the Sultan during their sojourn in the city until he chartered for him [7] (the Castellan) ships, and caused them to depart. And this Castellan (al-Ḳasṭalân) did not remain in his (the wâlî's) country beyond six months, and he went to Venice (al-Banâdaḳah) [8]

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(1) *Lit.* ‘ favours ’.

(2) *Lit.* ‘ pits ’.

(3) *I.e.* olive oil.

(4) *Lit.* ‘ souls ’.

(5) For this word, cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, under حشم.

(6) *Lit.* ‘ souls ’.

(7) *MS.* P has ‘ for them ’.

(8) The Arabic spelling of the name of Venice comes through the German, «Venedig».

And the benevolent decrees (of God) accorded it in the opinion of days and the age, and the eyes of men were awakened to its brilliance. And the year passed away, and it became possible to realize what (seemed) impossible, the possible opportune moment. And this is the Castle which the age accepted (as) impregnable and the prosperity which came to it was undisputed. And the entreaty of the preacher (al-Khâṭib) did not assure (it) and the fire of the gatherer of fire-wood did not penetrate (it), and when we tried it we found that strategems did not work with it, and that there was not hope [1], but God conquered it there where we considered (that it was impossible, and He made it a gain for our swords, and we conquered it by force of the sword, and this (was on) Tuesday, the twenty-seventh of (the month of) Ǧumâdâ al-Akhar (in the) year five hundred and eighty-four [2], an hour after sunrise. What an hour after sunrise which cast darkness on the enemy, its horizon [3], and revealed its radiance after a night of tumult. What an hour after sunrise (which) gave delight and manifested (its) gift with love and life to al-Islâm. There is no doubt but that he (the amîr) knows what went before in the way of conquests and progress in the way of good things. Antioch (Anṭâkîah) has remained with its wings clipped, (and) its arms are cast down. And we hope from God that He will make easy its conquest, and may God the Exalted make prosperous (these) hopes with success. And let him (the amîr) be informed of this good news, and let him give thanks for this blessing, if God will». And this castle was the completion of the conquests of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, and after it he did not conquer any thing else of the lands of the Franks (al-Afranǧ) at that time at which he conquered the cities of the Littoral. And the Sultan had taken Bait Gibrin (Baît Ǧibrâîl) [4] by treaty, and its lord was in it,
* Fol. 214 r° * a man of high rank among his people, (with) much wealth, and (in) affluent circumstances. And he was named the Castellan (al-Ḳasṭalân), and I think that the interpretation of this word (is) governor (wâlî). And

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[1] *Lit.* ‘ and hope did not go round it ’.

[2] = 1188 A.D.

[3] *Lit.* ‘ horizons ’.

[4] Cf. B. Meistermann, *Guide de Terre Sainte,* Paris, 1923, pp. 679-680.

captives and robes of honour, the number of which was incalculable. And, indeed, news reached me [1] concerning a youth of the youths of the soldiers, that he took captive a man of the Franks (al-Afrang) and (that) he sold him to a merchant of beer [2] for a pot of beer, and afterwards it appeared that he was a great knight (horseman). I take refuge in God from the removal of graces and the coming down of vengeance. Then the Sultan (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) granted as a fief to the soldiers the cities of the Littoral and the towns and the fortresses, and he remained at Damascus (Dimašḳ) [3] for a short time until the troops were rested. And he went out, and [4] he descended upon the Castle of the Kurds (al-Akrâd) [5], and he remained besieging it for about two months, but he did not prevail over it. And he turned from it to the province of Antioch (Anṭâkîah), and he conquered Laodicea (al-Ladhiḳîah) [6], Baghras (Baghrâs), and towns and fortresses and towers. And he came to the Castle of Barzuyah (Barzîah) [7], and he descended upon it, and he besieged it, and he remained at it for a short time, and God facilitated for him its conquest; and he conquered it, and he took possession of it, and he wrote letters concerning this to the walis (wulât) of the Land of Egypt (al-Miṣrîah), each of them in his name. And this is a copy of his letter to the Amîr Naṣîr ad-Dîn Khuḍr ibn Bahrâm, governor (Wâlî) of the western provinces. «In the Name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate! This good news was despatched to the noble amîr, the marshal (al-Isfahsalâr) [8], the confident, Naṣîr ad-Dîn, the power of al-Islâm, — may God prolong his power — about what God renewed in the way of great conquests and illustrious victories and constant power. And it (the good news) is the conquest of the Castle of Barzuyah (Barzîah) at which tongues rejoiced and tongues voiced thanks to God.

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(1) *I.e.* the writer of this biography.

(2) فقاع can also mean a drink made from dried raisins or other dried fruit.

(3) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 245.

(4) ' and ' is added from *MS.* P.

(5) *I.e.* the Crac des Chevaliers.

(6) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 246.

(7) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 247.

(8) Cf. p. 133.

upon it and he besieged it for seven months, and he took it [1]. When those who were in it were famished, they surrendered it to him, because they had not prepared anything for the siege. And when they had surrendered it to him and they had retired to [2] Tyre (Ṣûr), it came about that everyone who surrendered a fortress or a castle or a city by treaty would go to Tyre (Ṣûr) or to Antioch (Anṭâkîah) [3]. And when he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) had prevailed over them, he would render every service to the Franks (al-Afranǧ). But concerning Tyre (Ṣûr) [4], he descended upon it three times, and he besieged it, and he straightened it, and he remained at it until he became impatient. For a space of a year the troops were (attacking) it by land, and the ships of the fleet by sea, but he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) did not prevail over it in any way. And the Marquis (Markîs) continued in it protecting it and directing it by the will of God the Exalted for its safety, until the kings reached it. And they descended upon Acre (ʿAkkâ) on the outskirt of the town at the Tall al-Mašnaḳat (Hill of the Gallows) [5]. And when it was in Muḥarram (in) the year five hundred and eighty-four [6], Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn turned to Damascus (Dimašḳ) [7], after he had remained fighting the holy war and blockading the Franks (al-Afranǧ) in the Littoral during the year five hundred and eighty-two [8] and the year five hundred and eighty-three [9] of the Lunar (Year), until he had conquered all the Littoral. And his affairs calmed down, and he gave gifts to his soldiers and his companions and to those who had aided him from
* Fol. 213 v° among the kings of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), * and (who) had assisted him from among their amîrs, in the way of possessions and cattle and

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(1) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 249.

(2) *MS*. P has ‘ returned to ’.

(3) *MS*. P adds ‘ and there did not remain in the hand of the Franks (al-Afranǧ) any place on the Littoral, but Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn conquered it ’.

(4) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 239.

(5) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 258 and R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

(6) *I.e.* 1188 A.D.

(7) *MS*. P omits ‘ Damascus ’.

(8) = 1186 A.D.

(9) = 1187 A.D.

intelligence, and that they may bear it in mind with the passing of ages and centuries. Then we shall return to the explanation of what we were at, how God aided Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, and what He made possible for him in the way of victory and triumph and ability, and what He wrought [1] with the enemies of his religion and his State according to the saying of the Law (Taûrah) : «If the ass of thine enemy pass by thee, whilst thou art sitting, and its burden hath inclined, arise, (go) to it and set upright its burden upon it» [2], and the saying of the Gospel corroborates with what is greater than this, according to what you have been instructed from His (Christ's) saying : «Love your enemies, and bless those who curse you, and pray for those who revile you, and do good to him who doeth evil to you» [3], with the rest of the Commandments, lest words be prolonged. And Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn acted according to the command of these two religious laws, without knowing them, but (it was) an inspiration from God, and on account of this he died on his bed [4], and his end (was) praiseworthy for himself and his descendants. And we have already mentioned that Tyre (Ṣûr) and Antioch (Anṭâkîah) remained still in the hand of the Franks (al-Afranǧ) [5] according to what God willed in His hidden mysteries. As for Tyre (Ṣûr), God directed to it a king of the kings of the Franks (al-Afranǧ) from beyond [6] the sea from the side of the West, (who) was called Marquis (Markîs) [7]. Some people said that he was a Roman (Rûmî), son of the sister of the king of Constantinople (al-Ḳusṭanṭînîah) [8], because there did not remain on the Littoral a place (which) Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn had not conquered, except Tyre (Ṣûr) and the fortress of Ṣafed (Ṣafad) [5]. And as regards Ṣafed (Ṣafad) he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) descended

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(1) *MS.* P adds ' of good '.

(2) Cf. *Exodus* XXIII, 5.

(3) Cf. *Matt.* V, 44.

(4) *Lit.* ' his sleeping-mat '.

(5) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 220.

(6) *Lit.* ' behind '.

(7) *I.e.* the Marquis Conrad de Montferrat.

(8) Conrad had spent some time at Constantinople, and arrived in 1187 A.D. before Acre, cf. Réné Grousset, *L'Épopée des Croisades,* Paris, 1939, p. 254.

(Khuṭbat) which the preacher preached in Jerusalem [1] (on) the day of the prayer of the feast of the month of Ramaḍân [2] in the presence of Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Din and those who were with him from among the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), and it was the first sermon (Khuṭbat) (which) they preached in it, after the conquest of the city and the taking of it from the hands of the Franks (al-Afranǧ). «Praise (be) to God — God is greater (Allah Akbar)! — for the facilitation and the prospering, and for the conquest and the victory, and for the defeat and the vanquishing of the enemies, and for the bestowing upon us of the pure Mosque Al-Aḳṣâ (al-Masǧid al-Aḳṣâ), and for the driving out from it godlessness and the renegades [3], sons of the Christians (the yellow ones) [4], and for dispersing them and discouraging them and ruining them, and for the return to the Islamic Faith of the Holy Land, the Land of the Last Judgment and the Resurrection [5] which He blessed and changed and caused it to increase, that in this (might be) an example to him who remembers, and a grief in the heart of him apostatized and tyrannized. I praise Him for the converting of churches and belfries into prayer-houses (al-Masâǧid) and mosques (al-Ǧawâmiʿ), and the exchanging of bells for the call of the muʿezzin and sanctification, and for the converting of the magnifying of the Cross of the Crucified
* Fol. 213 r° unto the glorification of the Living One Who is * immortal. His benefits do not cease (to be) splendid, and His gifts to the Faithful are abundant — and peace (to you)!» He who is acquainted with this biography informed us of the quality of this sermon (Khuṭbat), because this is the place for recording it, lest words be prolonged by us, and we place it in other than its place or we leave it out. Our purpose thereby is that you may be acquainted with the picture of the circumstance and may understand whence disorder entered into the State of the Franks (al-Afranǧ), that thereby it may be an example for those who possess

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(1) *Lit.* ‘ the Holy House ’.

(2) *I.e.* the Feast of the Lesser Bairam at the end of the Fast of Ramaḍân.

(3) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, under the word علج.

(4) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, under the word صفر.

(5) According to tradition the Last Judgment and the Resurrection of the dead will take place at Jerusalem.

went forth (and) besieged Al-Karak [1] and he took it, and the fortress of Belvoir (Kaûkab) and he took it, and he turned towards Sidon (Ṣaîdâ) and Beyrout (Baîrût) and Jubeyl (Ǵibîlah) and ʿAtîl [2]. And he marched through the length of the Littoral and its breadth, the plain and the mountains, and he conquered cities and fortresses and towns which are in the hands of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) up to the day of the composition of this biography. And he conquered and took possession by treaty of more than what he conquered by the sword; and he carried out his engagements and no words of his saying were broken, and he did not act treacherously. And the knights (horsemen) of the Franks (al-Farang̃) and their chiefs (umarâ) and their notables went out from their castles and their fortresses with their possessions and their cattle and their women and their children and all what they possessed in the way of wealth and horses and mules and camels and female slaves and slaves (mamâlîk), even the Muslim (al-Muslimîn) captives. And he who consented from among them to sell to him (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) a captive, he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) paid to him (the owner) for him (the captive) his value and more, and he who did not consent, he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) said to him : «Take thy captive, but do good towards him even as I have done towards thee». And there were many from among the knights (horsemen) (who) delivered up to him (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) their captives, and they sware (that) they would not take a price. Then he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) dealt well with them, and he bestowed upon them more than they had left. And they went out from their castles dressed in their cuirass and their chain-mail and their helmet, as if they were going forth to war. And when he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) saw them, he smiled, then his eyes shed tears, and he did not hold back from them anything (even to) the value of a grain; but he caused the soldiers to journey with them that they might protect them and guard them [3] until they entered Tyre (Ṣûr); he who wished Tyre (Ṣûr) [4], and Antioch (Anṭâkîah), who wished Antioch (Anṭâkîah) [5]. This is a copy of the sermon

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[1] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 249.

[2] Cf. p. 124, n. 11.

[3] Cf. R. Grousset, *L'Épopée des Croisades*, Paris, 1939, p. 251.

[4] *Lit* ' it '.

they set free the double [1] (who) were unable (to pay) anything, seven thousand men (for) thirty thousand dînârs, presenting it as alms before their chiefs, and as a tribute in advance on behalf of the wages of their inhabitants. And praise (be) to God Who has silenced their appeals, and has covered over their claim, and has rooted up by the swords of Al-Nâṣir (an-Nâṣiryat) their error and those who led them into error. And thanks (be) to God for delivering the Mosque Al-Aḳṣâ (al-Masǧîd al-Aḳṣâ) [2] whither God caused his Servant to journey at night [3], and for the execution of what preceded, and His promise is true. And the
* Fol. 212 v° amîr shall receive his share from this good news * with the delight which overwhelmed hearts and filled hands and treasures, and announced the good tidings of the conquest of what the sun had risen upon, in the way of countries and cities, and embellished the narrative of our days with abundance of prosperity and good qualities. And he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) commands that he (the amîr) announce the good news of it, and go forward with the joy of the good news, and propagate it, and decorate the city, being present on the Friday (with) its congregations [4] with this glad news, being successful, if God will. And when Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn took Jerusalem [5] by treaty and (with) the ransom mentioned before in the month of Raǧab (in) the year five hundred and eighty-three of the Lunar (Year) [6], he remained in it until he had completed the fast [7] of the month of Ramaḍân of the mentioned year, and he prayed in it the prayer of the feast [8] with those who were present with him of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn). And he

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[1] *I.e.* double the number of those who could pay, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 229.

[2] The Mosque Al-Aḳṣâ was erected by ʿAbd al-Malik on the site of the Church of the All-Holy Virgin Mary built by Justinian.

[3] Cf. P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 114.

[4] *I.e.* the congregation assembled at the mosque for the prayer and sermon on Friday.

[5] *Lit.* ' the Holy House '.

[6] *I.e.* 1187 A.D.

[7] *I.e.* the Fast of Ramaḍân.

[8] *I.e.* the Feast of the Lesser Bairam at the end of the Fast of Ramaḍân.

fire. And the Mosque al-Aḳṣâ (al-Masǧid al-Aḳṣâ) [1] was arrayed in the ornaments of joy and of good-tidings, and it put off this humiliation and degradation [2]. The reinforcement of al-Islâm (was) sufficient, and the equipment was sufficient and the favours of God were manifest and unhidden on the aspect of the conditions of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), and (there were) good things for the victorious troops in great sufficiency. And when it was Thursday, the sixth day of the fighting, and it was the twenty-sixth of the month of Raǧab, there came to them [3] death from every place, and degradation and humiliation overtook them. And the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) began the assault, and those who believed in the Oneness [4] went forward and they clung to the parapets of the battlements, and for them (there was) protected advance, and in their hands were the cups of decease and death. Indeed, the mountains are moving and the seas are raging, and the millstone of death is revolving upon them. In consequence, they sought protection by a treaty, and they returned in disappointment. They sent their spokesman and they delegated their leader to ask for the fixing of a ransom, and to beg the acceptance of what their reluctant souls accepted submissively and obediently, and what was granted liberally of treasures was formerly forbidden (and) inaccessible. And they accepted the judgment of the upright scale for their safety, fearing the judgment of the sword and its torture upon them. And there were established affairs which (would have) delighted the eyes of the Prophet [5] — the prayers of God be upon him in his tomb! — (and) the tongue of the correct opinion gave judgment with (that of) the tomb. The loser deserved this and accepted it for his profit. And it was ten dînârs for a man and five for a woman, and one dînâr for a youth who had not reached majority, and a maid who had not reached (it). And the number of those in the city (was) about one hundred thousand or more. And

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(1) *I.e.* in the Temple area at Jerusalem.
(2) *I.e.* from which it had suffered when it was a Christian Church.
(3) *I.e.* the Crusaders.
(4) *I.e.* God is One.
(5) *I.e.* Muḥammad.

departed, and our days have arrived, and its steps and our steps have been confirmed by the assistance of God. The period of besieging it was thirteen days, and the days of fighting body to body (were) seven days. The mangonels cast (their projectiles) until they they had demolished and had broken them to pieces and had brought down the walls and had destroyed them. And the word of Oneness and its power were established, and the rites of the religion of the Hanefites (al-Ḥanîfî) [1] and their grandeur were manifested. And how can the little stone resist by yapping [2] the great mountain, and how can falsehood endure with truth, and how can the Bedouin women (Badwât) with (their) ankle-bracelets fight against the firm resolve of valiant
* Fol. 212 r° men? * And the godless [3] did not cease to be in misery and affliction and disappointment and toil from the day of the siege up to the day of the capitulation. They were not one day without the loss of prisoners, and wounded, and slain, and cast down. And they looked, and behold, the ardour of their enthusiasm subsided, and the firm resolve of their Counts (Kamât) [4] weakened. And the battlement of their city was broken and the wing of their bastion was violently shaken, and the summit (Ṭûr) of their fortress was brought down and the weight of their towers by the projectiles (Kafât) [5] of the mangonels, and the fingers of its arrows were disjointed. And (they saw) that there was no saviour for them from the claws of the lion, and (that) error would be concealed by truth and the mark of rationality; and (that) the period of their rule had passed, and (that) the decrees (of God) had accomplished their purpose. And (that) the inhabitants of the towns used to come in to them from all quarters, and that they were prisoners in the fetters of famine and blocade; and they suspected, but were sure that the city would cast them to the friends of God [6], and (that) they would execute upon them the judgment of the sword and

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[1] *I.e.* the Muslims.

[2] *MS.* P omits ‘ by yapping ’.

[3] *I.e.* the Crusaders.

[4] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, under كمت.

[5] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, under كف.

[6] *I.e.* the Muslim rulers.

would be destroyed by the sword, he yielded to reason [1], and he fixed the ransom on all who were in the city of the Franks (al-Faranǧ) and others. And this angered the Melchites (al-Malakiyat), because, if he had not anticipated them in fixing the ransom, they would have surrendered it (the city) and all the Franks (al-Faranǧ) who (were) in it would have been destroyed. And the ransom which he had fixed with the Sultan (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) (was) ten dînârs for each man, and five dînârs for each woman, and one dînâr for each youth or girl, who had not reached majority. And when the Sultan (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) had conquered it (Jerusalem) he wrote to the governors (wulât) of the Land of Egypt (Miṣriyat) informing them of this. And he wrote to the Amîr Naṣir ad-Dîn Khudr Ibn Bahrâm, governor (wâlî) of the western province, and the aforesaid had become governor (wâlî) of this province in (the month of) Šawâl (in) the year five hundred and eighty-one [2], and he continued in it up to the day that this biography was written in (the month) of Šawâl (in) the year six hundred and three of the Lunar (Year) [3], and he continued in it [4] twenty-three years, and he was a good man, just, religious, of much alms-giving, (and he was) blind to the property of subject(s). And this is a copy of the letter of the Sultan (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) to him on the conquest of Jerusalem [5]. «In the Name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate! Our letter (is) to the illustrious amîr, the great marshal (al-Isfahsalâr), Naṣir ad-Dîn, the boast of al-Islâm, the pillar of those who fight the holy war, the confident of the Amîr of the Faithful — may God continue His favour (to him), and exalt his rank and bestow generously on him from His good gifts, and sharpen his resolve. Our standards were raised on the battlements of Jerusalem [5] — may God guard it! — and our commands are executed in it. The days of the godless enemy [6] have

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(1) *Lit.* ‘ to the best ’.

(2) *I.e.* 1185 A.D.

(3) *I.e.* 1207 A.D. This date is important as it gives us the *terminus ad quem* for the compilation of this part of the History of the Patriarchs.

(4) *I.e.* the government.

(5) *Lit.* ‘ the Holy House ’.

(6) *I.e.* the Crusaders.

Sultan sent to him that he should surrender the city by treaty, but he did not do (so). And there was a Christian (Naṣrânî) man from among the Melkites (Malakiyat) [1] named Joseph (Yûsif) al-Baṭîṭ, and he was from among the inhabitants of Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds), and he had removed to Damascus (Dimašḳ) and he dwelt in it. And he had known Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn and his brothers, before he was Sultan and before these affairs; and he had known his father and his paternal uncle Asad ad-Dîn Šîrkûh [2], while they were in Damascus (Dimašḳ) in the service of Nûr ad-Dîn Maḥmûd Ibn Zankî [3], before they had taken possession of Egypt (Miṣr). When the Sultan ruled over the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), he (Yûsif al-Baṭîṭ) came to them that they might protect him, and the king Al-'Âdil Abû Bakr, the brother of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, took him unto him, and he bestowed favours on him, and he caused him to dwell [4] in the Castle of the Calif (Khalîfat) in the Hall of the Golden Gate [5] in the Eastern Castle [5] in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah). And Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn used to send him as an intermediary to the kings of the Franks (al-Afranǧ)
* Fol. 211 v° before these * affairs, and he was conversant with the conditions of their lands, and he knew their chief knights (horsemen). And when the Sultan saw that the fight was severe, and that he prevailed not over the Holy City, he caused Joseph (Yûsif) al-Baṭîṭ to come, and he agreed with him that he should go to the Christian Melkites (an-Naṣârah al-Malakiyat), promising them all good, and that he should prevent them from helping the Franks (al-Afranǧ) in the fight, and that they should surrender the city to Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn on their part, and he appointed for them much money. And when the news reached Balian (Bâlîân) Ibelin (Ibn Bârzân) — and the Melkites (al-Malakiyat) in the city were more than the Franks (al-Faranǧ) — he feared lest they should surrender it (the city), and that all the Franks (al-Afranǧ)

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[1] *I.e.* the Greek Orthodox Christians.

[2] Cf. P.K. Hitti, *History of Syria*, p. 600.

[3] Cf. P.K. Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 599 sqq.

[4] *MS.* P adds ' with him '.

[5] Cf. P. Casanova, ' Description Historique et Topographique de l'Égypte ', p. 101 (*MIFAO*, t. IV, Le Caire, 1920).

the pillage and the devastation of the pillagers. I had issued the order that the attack on it (Ascalon) should be (on) Sunday, the sixteenth of Ġumâdâ al-Akhar [1]. The engines of war were set up (on) Tuesday, the eighteenth, and the breach of the large bastion occurred (on) Wednesday the nineteenth. The city surrendered, and the standards of Al-Islâm were set up over it (on) Saturday the twenty-ninth of it (Ġumâdâ al-Akhar) [2]. This (was) by a favour of my Lord to try me (whether) I were thankful or thankless, for he who is thankful will surely thank for his own sake, and he who is thankless, well, my Lord is surely rich and generous. We informed the Amîr Al-Mufaḍal Nâṣir ad-Dîn of this, that he might receive his part in the march, and might share with those who were before him of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) by the goodness of the beacon of Al-Islâm» [3]. The Sultan (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) remained residing at Ascalon (ʿAsḳalân) after he had conquered it, until he had arranged its state and had delivered it to ʿAlm ad-Dîn Ḳaisar, (one) of his chief, private slaves (mamâlîkat), as a government (wilâyat) and a fief. Then he departed from it, and he turned his face from it towards Jerusalem [4] on Wednesday, the eleventh of Raǧab of the aforementioned year. And he descended on Jerusalem [4] (on) Thursday from the district of the Pool of Siloam (ʿAin Silwân), so that the troops might find water close to it. And he arranged the troops around the city on all its sides. And the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) prayed on the mountain [5] which is around it (on) Friday, and they marched to battle after the prayer. Balian (Bâlîân) of Ibelin (Ibn Bârzân) [6] was a great (and) grave knight (horseman), (one) of the knights (horsemen) of the Franks (al-Afranǧ) who dwelt in the city of Jerusalem [4], and his fief was the city of Ramlah. He had entered the city of Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds) on that day, and it was he who conducted the war and directed the fighting with the Sultan, (and) he fought well. And the

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(1) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 223 : 23rd of August.
(2) *I.e.* the 4th September.
(3) *MS.* P reads ‘ of peace ’ in place of ‘ Al-Islâm ’.
(4) *Lit.* ‘ the Holy House ’.
(5) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 227.
(6) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 225.

His soldiers should prevail over them, (and) the polytheists [1] sought protection in flight, and they were forced to shut themselves up within the walls. Then we set up against them (the walls) military engines, and we caused them to taste the food of penetration, the violence of assault. And we took by force its large bastion and we demolished it. And when we caught sight of it with the strength of its might, then we destroyed [2] it : our mangonels came up to the side of its walls. And its archers [3] did not cease to bend the knee, and its stones to worship [4]; and its naǧum [5] with their projectiles of the devils of godlessness [1] hurled stones and repulsed, until we demolished a small bastion beneath its wall and destroyed it. And we ruined the towers of the wall and its wing, and we destroyed them. And we
* Fol. 211 r° captured [6] the fortress although its fortifications were impregnable, * its earthworks lofty, its extremities new, and it had survived what time [7] and man had been unable to make a breach in it. And when they [8] became apprehensive of our strength, they sought to surrender, and we acted on the significance of the text in conformity to it. And they cast themselves down in exaggeration for surrender by treaty, and we saw (that it would be best) to accept it (the surrender). And we assured them of (our) good faith, that, indeed, they would escape from death [9], and that they would not be exterminated by the will of God through the swords of [10] Al-Islâm ; feeling compassion for the distress of the army (and) for those in it (Ascalon) from the battalions of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), and for the protection of the dhîmî [11] from

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(1) *I.e.* the Crusaders.
(2) *Lit.* ‘ we effaced it ’.
(3) *MS.* P omits ‘ its archers ’.
(4) *I.e.* to fall down.
(5) An engine of war.
(6) *Lit.* ‘ we took ’.
(7) *Lit.* ‘ days ’.
(8) *I.e.* the Crusaders.
(9) *MS.* P has ‘ from death to death ’. This refers probably to the spiritual death of unbelievers in the next world.
(10) *MS.* P adds ‘ the people of ’.
(11) Cf. page 116, note 2.

(Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) had conquered it (Ascalon), he wrote letters concerning this to the governors (wulât) of the provinces of Egypt (al-Miṣrîyat), and this is a copy of the letter to the Amîr Nâṣir ad-Dîn Ibn Bahrâm, governor of the western provinces. The copy of the letter. «In the Name of God, the Merciful and the Compassionate! My Lord, assist me that I may give thanks (for) Thy blessing which Thou hast vouchsafed to me and to my father that I may do the good with which Thou art pleased. This our letter is despatched to the honourable, faithful Amîr Naṣir ad-Dîn, the pillar of those who fight in the holy war, the strength of the notables, the slave (mamlûk) of the Amîr of the Faithful, may God prolong his existence! And God was gracious to us, and He granted victory to us over [1] the city of Ascalon ('Asḳalân) which was the best bride of the world, and He delivered it from the hand of the godless ones [2], and we hope by the Will of God for light in the future abode [3]. And the standards of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) were raised on its towers and its walls, and it was peopled with its believers in the Oneness [4]. And it had been built [5] by its polytheists and its godless (ones) [2], and its muezzins (al-Mûadhdhinûn) multiplied in its districts and its lands, and the sign of the crosses was removed from its quarters and districts, and the preacher (al-Khaṭîb) announced from its pulpit (mînbar) «There is no God, except God» [6]. And from the accounts of the conquest (it is said) that, when the armies of Al-Islâm of Nâṣir (an-Nâṣîriyat) and the supporters of the believers [7] (in) the correct Oneness [4] were before it (Ascalon), the wrath of God encompassed its godless (ones) [2] who merited that God should fulfil His promise concerning them, and that the obeyers of God among them [8] and

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[1] *Lit.* ' He opened to our hands '.

[2] *I.e.* the Crusaders.

[3] *I.e.* the next world.

[4] *I.e.* the Oneness of God.

[5] *I.e.* the fortified mediaeval city of Ascalon.

[6] *MS.* P adds ' And there was instituted a real conquest enlarged by a former conquest which built it (Ascalon) '.

[7] *MS.* P omits ' of the believers '.

[8] *I.e.* the Muslims.

and it was a Tuesday [1]. Then the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) conquered it from them on a Tuesday [2]. As they had done, thus was it done to them, and praise (be) to God Who recompenses every one according to his works! And when it was a few days after the conquest of Acre (ʿAkkâ) [3], Al-Malik an-Nâṣir departed from it on Thursday, the thirteenth of Ǧumâdâ al-Akhar of the aforementioned year, and he
* Fol. 210 v° descended on Ascalon (ʿAsḳalân) [4] (on) Sunday, the sixteenth, after * he had prayed on Friday, (as leader) of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) at Jaffa (Yâfâ). And the troops encompassed the city of Ascalon (ʿAsḳalân), and Count (Kund) Geoffrey (Ġaʿafrî) the King was a captive with him (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn), and he caused him to be brought and he said to him : «Deliver up to me Ascalon (ʿAsḳalân) without fighting, otherwise we shall kill (thee) at its gate, and I, after having hanged thee, I shall take it with the sword». And the king was afraid of death, and Ascalon (ʿAsḳalân) belonged to him and his soldiers (were) in it. And when the Sultan demanded it of him, and he was afraid of death for himself, there was no expedient [5] except to deliver it up. Then he sent to his companions, and he said to them : «Fight not, and deliver it up to them [6] by treaty, it (will be) better for you» [7]. After they had fought for three days, and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) had not prevailed over them [8], the companions of the king delivered it up by treaty on Saturday, the twenty-ninth of Ǧumâdâ al-Akhar of the current year [9]. And on the same day the sun was eclipsed at midday [10]. And when the Sultan

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(1) The Crusaders came in sight of Jerusalem on a Tuesday, June 7th, 1099 A.D., but it was only on Friday, July 15th that the city was captured.

(2) Jerusalem capitulated to Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn on Friday, October 2nd, 1187 A.D.

(3) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 219.

(4) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, pp. 223-224.

(5) *MS*. P adds ‘ for him ’.

(6) *MS*. P. omits ‘ to them ’.

(7) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 223.

(8) *MS*. P has ‘ over it ’.

(9) *MS*. P has ‘ the year five hundred and eighty-three of the Lunar (Year) ’ = 1187 A.D.

(10) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 224.

taxes from those who made the pilgrimage to it (Jerusalem) from among all the Franks (al-Afranǧ) [1]. And Baldwin (Bâdwîl) made the pilgrimage, and he disguised himself and he changed his dress and no one knew him. And he reached Jaffa (Yâfâ) (with) six transport ships [2], and in every transport ship there were one thousand men. The Barṭîḳîah were wont to take the tax from those who made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem [3] from among the Franks (al-Faranǧ) and others. The wâlî of Jaffa (Yâfâ) wrote to the governor of Jerusalem [3] informing him that there had arrived at Jaffa (Yâfâ) six thousand men wishing (to make) the pilgrimage [4]. And he wrote to him the answer, saying to him : «Divide them into halves. Let three thousand of them journey, and when they have made the pilgrimage and have returned, let the second half go to make the pilgrimage». The wâlî of Jaffa (Yâfâ) did as he commanded him, and he divided them. And Baldwin (Bâdwîl) journeyed with those who journeyed to Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds) disguised. And he entered into it, and he explored it, and he went around the city, and he examined the wall and the places of fighting [5]. He caused a messenger to journey (on) the second day of his (Baldwin's) entry into Jerusalem (Al-Ḳuds), to those who had remained in Jaffa (Yâfâ), saying to them : «Put to the sword the inhabitants [6] of Jaffa (Yâfâ). If we are celebrating Sunday, then on the morning of Monday I shall put to the sword [7] (those) in Jerusalem [8], and shall kill every one in it from among the soldiers and others of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn). If ye do this, ye shall be strengthened by reason of the possessions of the inhabitants of Jaffa (Yâfâ) and their horses. Hasten to me, and leave in the ships those who will guard them, in each ship twenty men». And when they had done this, they conquered Jerusalem [8] and Jaffa (Yâfâ) in one day,

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(1) *MS.* P adds ' and others than them '.

(2) بطس is a word which is applied to warships and transport ships.

(3) *Lit.* ' the Holy House '.

(4) *MS.* P adds ' to Jerusalem (the Holy House) '.

(5) *I.e.* the battlements.

(6) *Lit.* ' Put the sword among the inhabitants '.

(7) *Lit.* ' I shall put the sword '.

(8) *Lit.* ' the Holy House '.

of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) beyond a troop of ten, and the wounds of the wounded. And God be thanked (there was) security, and grace was great, and the faces of the chiefs (Wulât) in command became proud by what God had made easy for them in the way of victory. And we prostrated ourselves before God and we were determined in our
* Fol. 210 r° resolution to * depart to the victorious camp of the Sultan [1] — may God the Exalted grant him security ! — at Acre (ʿAkkâ) which is protected by God the Exalted. We have informed the amîr of this that he may take delight in this good news, the merits of which have been extended to Al-Islâm, and the grace which has embraced both the individual and the mass, as God the Exalted willed». And it was, after the defeat of the troops of the Franks (al-Afranǧ) and the conquest of the towns mentioned before [2] that Al-Malik Al-ʿÂdil Abû Bakr descended on Jaffa (Yâfâ), and he fought those in it for two days and the third day they sought from him a treaty, and he gave to them a treaty [3] Then, after this, he killed those whom he had captured of them, and he took captive those whom he willed. And its conquest was (on) Tuesday, the third of Ǧumâdâ al-Akhar (in) the year five hundred and eighty-three of the Lunar (Year) [4]. ∴

The story of Baldwin (Bâdwîl) [5] the King. We were informed by those who were before of (our) predecessors that Jerusalem was in the hand(s) of a party of Muslims (al-Muslimîn) called Az-Zadlafîah of the kings of the Turks (at-Turk). Then after them a people from them called Al-Bârûḳîah had possession of it [6], and from them Baldwin (Bâdwîl), King of the Franks (al-Afranǧ) took possession of it. And the cause of this (was) that, when God willed that it (Jerusalem) should be transferred from them to others, He put it into the hearts of their kings that He might thereby tempt them, to collect for themselves

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(1) *I.e.* Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn.

(2) *MS.* P adds ‘ in the mentioned letter of the Sultan mentioned before ’.

(3) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 291.

(4) = 1187 A.D.

(5) As this curious tale recounts the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, the Baldwin here mentioned can be only Baldwin I, 1110-1118 A.D.

(6) ‘ it ’ is added from *MS.* P.

it capitulated, and the victorious standard was raised on its guarded fortress with shouts [1], and al-Islâm was established in it, its native land, and it returned to its dwelling-place, and its jewel to its mine. And on the Friday, the beginning of Ġumâdâ al-Awal, the sermon (Khuṭbat) was preached in its mosque (al-Masǧid) with ceremony. And the muezzin (al-Mûadhdhin) stood in the place of the bells, proclaiming the word of the Oneness [2] for which the tongue of its speaker had been tied. And in double this time there were captured Nazareth (an-Nâṣirah) and Ṣafûrîah (Ṣafûrîah) and Haifa (Ḥaîfâ) and Al-Fûlah (al-Fûlah) and Ma'alîa and Toron (aṭ-Ṭûr); and Scandalion (Iskandarîah) [3] and Shechem (Nâblus) begged for safety. And (some) years passed from the Battle of Satan (aš-Šaîṭân) [4]. The noble letter stated that the number of the killed included the number of those present of the summer campaign of the Franks (al-Faranǧ), excluding the Count (Ḳûmmuṣ) [5], for he escaped by a hair's breadth [6], and terror constrained and choked him, and he took refuge in Tyre (Ṣûr) [7] with a small number, and he shut himself up in it, (as) a captive is shut up [8]. There was indicated in the mentioned letter that the number of those killed and taken captive surpassed twenty thousand [9] men [10]. And this — and God be praised! — was a disaster [11], (and) the knowledge of its likeness was not known in Al-Islâm, and history does not bear witness to what is comparable to its deeds, and does not compare it (to what was) before it. And among the merits of this conquest and the good news of this benefaction (was) that it was easy, and (that) there was not lost

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(1) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 219.
(2) *I.e.* God is One.
(3) *Sic, lege* Iskandarûnah, so also *MS.* P.
(4) *I.e.* the Battle of Ḥiṭṭîn.
(5) Cf. p. 119, n. 11.
(6) *Lit.* ' with the escape of one with part of the cord round his neck '.
(7) Cf. p. 120.
(8) *Lit.* ' he was fixed '.
(9) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 215.
(10) *Lit.* ' Adamites '.
(11) *I.e.* disaster to the Crusaders.

and that among all what God vouchsafed from Thursday, the twenty-third of (the month of) Rabîʿa al-Akhar up to Thursday inclusive [1], (each event) will be explained on its date. The first Thursday Tiberias (Ṭabîriyat) was conquered [2], and the Friday and the Saturday all the Franks (al-Afranǧîah) were dispersed, and they were completely [3] defeated which freed the lands from them, (and) on its vacant thrones and the fortresses captured from their hands there were raised the standards of al-Islâm according to its case, and they were gathered from the godless monsters [4] and from their mother the Abyss who caused them to taste the fiery flame. And on the Sunday Tiberias (Ṭabîriyat) was surrendered [5], and the Prince Renaud (Arnâṭ) [6] was killed by the august hand of the Sultan [7]. There were taken captive the king [8] and his brother, and the Master of the Templars, and Humphrey (al-Hunfarî), the son of Humphrey (al-Hunfarî) [9] the lord of Al-Karak [10], the lord of ʿAthlith [11] and the lord of Tall aṣ-Ṣafîtha (aṣ Ṣâfîah). And on the Monday there were killed more than two hundred knights (horsemen) of the knights (horsemen) of the Templars and the Hospitallers at the door of the pavilion of the Sultan (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) [12], besides two hundred knights (horsemen). And on the Tuesday the cortège of the Sultan (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) passed on to the city of Acre (ʿAkkâ) to attack it, and on the Wednesday he reached it, and there he deployed numerous troops who captured it. On the Thursday

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(1) سلخة means the last day of the month.

(2) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 205.

(3) *Lit.* ' a defeat '.

(4) *I.e.* the Crusaders.

(5) *I.e.* the Castle of Tiberias.

(6) Cf. p. 121.

(7) *I.e.* Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn.

(8) *I.e.* Guy de Lusignan.

(9) *I.e.* Humphrey of Toron, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 214.

(10) Cf. p. 121.

(11) The *MS.* reads ' Atîl ' *sic.* There is a place called ʿAtîl (Athila), cf. *Die Blauern Führer. Mittlerer Osten*, Paris, 1966, p. 492, but it seems that the reference here is rather to the Castrum Peregrinorum, that is, ʿAthlîth.

(12) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 215.

Compassionate! Praise be to God Who hath taken away from us grief. Verily, our Lord is forgiving (and to Him we owe) thanks. This our letter comes to the noble amîr, the marshal (al-Isfahsalâr) Ḥusâm ad-Dîn, the sword of warriors, the pillar of kings and sultans, the confident of the Amîr of the Faithful — God perpetuate his loftiness and preserve his resplendence! And he wrote about the [1] event proclaiming what came through the victory of God the Strong (One), and His conquest which endures, and what resulted from the victory which effaced the traces of the polytheists [2] and restored the hearts [3] of the Faithful, and called for expression of thanks to God from [4] him who praises with praise his Lord, and asked pardon of Him and magnified Him and remembered Him, and made broad the remembrance of His forbearance and His indulgence. And he laid bare (his heart) to God, the Excellent and the Sublime, Who knew the intention of the Sultan [5] to obtain victory for his religion, and He granted to him victory, and He knew the sincerity of his resolution with regard to the intention of his enemy [6], (and) He gave strength to him and He aided him and He granted victory to him, and He supported him with his soldiers against him who denied His Uniqueness through His Oneness and disbelieved in God [7], and He killed by his [8] sword the sultan of polytheism [9] and He interred him. And concerning the arrival of the letter of the Sultan [5] on Monday the fourth of Ǧumâdâ al-Awal, it was dated on * Friday [10], (and) its beginning was limited to the good news concerning what God had conquered at his (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn's) hands, and it mentioned the victory which repulsed the enemy [6] of God in flight [11], * Fol. 209 v°

(1) *Lit.* ‘ his ’.
(2) *I.e.* the Christians.
(3) *Lit.* ‘ the breasts ’.
(4) *MS.* P has ‘ the tongue of ’.
(5) *I.e.* Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn.
(6) *I.e.* the Crusaders.
(7) *I.e.* the Christians.
(8) Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn's.
(9) *I.e.* Renaud de Châtillon.
(10) *I.e.* the preceding Friday.
(11) *Lit.* ‘ to its heels ’.

its money, going up with it to Al-Karak, and he took captive its men and he took its money. News of it reached me, and for me this (was) odious, and I vowed to God that when I should overcome him, I would do to him what thou hast seen, so blame me not, O King». Then he called for a goblet of beverage, and the cup-bearer came with it to him. And he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) took it from his hand, and he drank of it, and he handed it to the king, and he drank of it [1]. And he set apart for him (the King) and his companions a group of tents, and he appointed for him a body of men who should guard him. And he (the King) continued (to be) with him until he delivered up to him (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) Ascalon (ʿAsḳalân) [2], because it belonged to him. And after he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) had taken it (Ascalon) [3], he bestowed on him (the King) a robe of honour, and he gave to him gifts and he set him free. And he (the King) journeyed to the Island of Cyprus (al-Ḳubruṣ) and he ruled it, and he continued in it until he died [4]. When the Sultan (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) had overcome the troops of the Franks (al-Afrang̃), and had begun with the conquest of the cities of the Littoral [5], he wrote to his son, Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz whom he had put in authority over the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), and he caused him to read a letter informing him in it of the circumstance of the affair and how it had happened [6]. And Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz wrote letters to the governors (Wulât) of war informing them about this, and this is a copy of one of these letters, the one which came to the governor (wâlî) of Tinnis (Tinnîs) [7] concerning the conquest of Acre (ʿAkkâ) [8] and Tiberias (Ṭabarîyah) [9], and describing in it this circumstance. And this is a copy of the letter. «In the Name of God the Merciful and the

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[1] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* pp. 214-215.

[2] *MS.* P has ‘ the city of Ascalon ’.

[3] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* pp. 222-223.

[4] Guy de Lusignan bought the Island of Cyprus from Richard I of England. He died in 1194 A.D.

[5] Cf. p. 120, n. 1.

[6] *Lit.* ‘ was ’.

[7] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.,* p. 507.

[8] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 219.

[9] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 218.

people, as far as what God knows about this concerning their uprightness. And when Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn had conquered them, there was among them all the Prince Renaud (Arnâṭ) [1], the lord of Al-Karak [2], and he caused him to be brought before him [3], and he addressed to him a violent speech. And the assistants took hold of him and they brought him near to him, and he slew him with his hand, and he washed his hands in his blood. Then he overcame Count (Kund) Godfrey (Ǧafrî), king of the Franks (al-Afrang), in the manner which we have mentioned before, and he caused him to be brought [4] before him [3], and he was present at the slaying of the Prince Renaud (Arnâṭ) [1]. And when he saw him struck down, swooning in his blood, he feared, and his colour became pale, and Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn said to him : «Fear not, O King, thou shalt not die to-day but live, and if there remained a remnant of thy people, I would make thee king over them, and I would help thee with my money and my men all the days of thy life. And I shall relate to thee the story of the prince and the reason for what I did to him. And this (is) that the way * of the merchants and most of the travellers (passed) before Al-Karak, and he used to seize the caravans with injustice and violence. Nûr ad-Dîn and others than he of the kings of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) desired peace with him so as to lessen his harm with regard to the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), and he urged him to do (it) a thousand times, but he did not do (so). And when it was in my days, I sent to him and (gave to him) gifts, and I had borne to him money, goods and robes of honour. And he sware to my messenger that he would not harm any one of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), and that he would deal kindly with the merchants and would facilitate for them the way, and that he would not empower any one of his companions to harm a Muslim (Muslim) nor a merchant nor a passer-by on the way. And three days after he had sworn, a caravan passed by going towards Damascus (Dimašḳ). And he drove it with its camels and its men and

* Fol. 209 r°

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(1) The *MS.* and *MS.* P have the reading ‘ Arbâṭ ’.

(2) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* pp. 214-215.

(3) *Lit.* ‘ between his hands ’.

(4) Reading according to *MS.* P.

the common people of the lands with the troops of the Littoral [1], and he came to him (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) with a great army. Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn arrived before him at the water [2], and he remained at it. And he (Godfrey) hastened with great haste, seeking to arrive before Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn at the water. And he found that he had arrived before him and that he was remaining at it. Then he (Godfrey) and those with him of the Knights (horsemen) ascended a high mound there called the Mound of Hittin (Ḥiṯṯîn) [3], and they remained on it. And they perished from thirst, until they began to drink wine in place of water. And they joined (battle with) the Sultan [4], and many soldiers [5] among them were killed, and they defeated the troops of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) at the beginning of the day. Then Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn prevailed at the end of the day. As regards the Count (Ḳûmmuṣ) of Tripolis (Ṭarâbulis) [6], the wicked one, the hypocrite, who sold his people, as-Judas (Yûdas) had sold his Lord, four hundred Knights (horsemen) followed him, and he charged with them, as if he were fighting, and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) opened [7] the way for him, and he passed through with them (his knights) in the midst of the troops of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn). And then, in this wise, he did not return, turning away his face, and, forthwith, he fled [8] in disorder to Tyre (Ṣûr), and he entered it, and he remained in it [9]. And when the Franks (al-Faranǧ) learned this, they thought that he had been defeated, until his wickedness and the corruption of his intention was revealed to them. And they did not cease to fight until God gave the victory to Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn over them. And he defeated them, and he took prisoner those whom he took prisoner, and he killed those whom he killed ; and there perished good

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(1) Cf. R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant,* map facing p. 270.
(2) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* pp. 208-209.
(3) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 212.
(4) *I.e.* Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn.
(5) *Lit.* ‘ creatures ’.
(6) Cf. p. 119.
(7) *Lit.* ‘ widened ’.
(8) *Lit.* ‘ proceeded ’.
(9) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* pp. 212 and 214.

five hundred and eighty-two [1], and he stayed in it also for a whole year, and he gathered together the troops, and he went out from Damascus (Dimašḳ) in the year five hundred and eighty-three of the Lunar (Year) [2] wishing to make raids * and to descend upon Al-Karak [3]. * Fol. 208 v°
In that year the Franks (al-Afranǧ) had made king over it (Kingdom of Jerusalem) an alien man [4] (who) came from beyond [5] the sea, and he had married the Countess (al-Kandûsah) [6], daughter of the king Amaury (Murî), and she conveyed to him the kingdom, for the kingdom belonged to her after her father, and she had given it to her husband. And the Count (Ḳûmmuṣ) of Tripolis (Ṭarâbulis) [7] had not agreed to this [6], and anger and the Devil (aš-Šaiṭân) carried him away until he entered into correspondence with Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, and he made friends with him, and he agreed with him against the Franks (al-Faranǧ), and he sware to him that he would not fight him and that he would not wave [8] a sword in his face. And Tiberias (Ṭabarîyah) belonged to the Count (Ḳûmmuṣ), and he sent to Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, saying to him : «Descend on Tiberias (Ṭabarîyah), it is mine and I will give it to thee. Be strong with it and weaken the hearts of the Franks (al-Afranǧ)» [9]. Then the Sultan [10] came, and he stayed near Tiberias (Ṭabarîyah), and the Count (Ḳûmmuṣ) [11] delivered it up to him [12]. And when the king of the Franks (al-Afranǧ) whom they made king after Amaury (Murî), and his name was Count (Kund) Godfrey (Ġafrî) [13], heard this, he assembled

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(1) = 1186-1187 A.D. This date is incorrect, it should be 1182 A.D.
(2) = 1187-1188 A.D. This date is incorrect, it should be 1183 A.D.
(3) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 179.
(4) *I.e.* Guy de Lusignan, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 200.
(5) *Lit.* ‘ behind ’.
(6) *I.e.* Sibylla, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 200.
(7) *I.e.* Raymond III.
(8) *Lit.* ‘ strike ’.
(9) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.,* p. 207.
(10) *I.e.* Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn.
(11) *I.e.* The Count of Tripolis.
(12) *I.e.* Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn. For the two versions of the capture of Tiberias, cf. E. Blochet, *op. cit.,* p. 172.
(13) *I.e.* Guy de Lusignan, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 200.

out against the invaders [1], and he descended on Al-Karak [2], and he besieged it for a time, but he did not prevail against it, and he returned to Damascus (Dimašḳ) and he stayed at it. Then he returned to Al-Karak in the year five hundred and eighty [3], and he besieged it again for a while, but he did not prevail against it. Then he returned to Damascus (Dimašḳ), and on his return he descended [4] on Shechem (Nâblus) and he destroyed it and he took from it money and captives [5]. Then he returned to Egypt (Miṣr) in the year five hundred and eighty-one of the Lunar (Year) [6], and he wrought good things with the subjects of the habitations of Egypt (Miṣr) which the describer is incapable of describing. And he acted justly with them and did good to them, and he removed many wrongs, and he ordered the abolition of the authorization for places of entertainment in all the habitations of Egypt (Miṣr), and he disapproved of every abomination, and he established the legal religious regulations. And he used to sit for judging two days every week, and they were Monday and Thursday [7], and Ṣadr [8] ad-Dîn, the ḳâḍî al-ḳuḍât, was sitting before [9] him. And he (Ṣadr ad-Dîn) used to enter his (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn's) house, and he presented before [9] him all people, and he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) would deliver the oppressed from the oppressor. And there was in his Council an assembly of jurisconsults and notables of his State for assisting in law-suits between people, and to act according to what the sentences of legal religious law require in the way of truth and justice. And when he had remained in Egypt (Miṣr) a whole year, he returned to Damascus (Dimašḳ) [10] in the year

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(1) *I.e.* the Crusaders.

(2) *I.e.* Le Crac of the Crusades, cf. P.K. Hitti, *History of Syria,* p. 596 and S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 177.

(3) *I.e.* 1184 A.D.

(4) ‘ he descended ’ is supplied from *MS.* P.

(5) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 180.

(6) = 1185-1186 A.D.

(7) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* p. 371.

(8) Reading of this name according to *MS.* P.

(9) *Lit.* ‘ between his hands ’.

(10) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* pp. 164 and 167.

and all its towns (Ḳurâ) and its districts. And he went to Aleppo (Ḥalab) and he besieged it, but he was not able to take it in those days [1]. Then he conquered Emesa (Ḥimṣ) and Baʿalbekk (Baʿlabakk) [2]. Then he crossed the river Euphrates (Al-Furât), and he conquered Singar (Sinǧâr) and Manbig (Manbîǧ) and Harran (Ḥarrân) and Nisibis (Naṣîbîn) [3] and many cities in the land of Mosul (Mawṣil). And he descended on the city of Mosul (Mawṣil) and he besieged it and he remained before [4] it for five months [5]. Then he left it, and he went to Amid [6] and Mayyâfâriḳîn [7] and he conquered them, and he gave them to Raslân Ibn Ḳiliǧ [8]. And he returned from them, crossed the Euphrates (al-Furât), returned to Aleppo (Ḥalab) and he descended on it. And he besieged it, and Taǧ al-Mulûk, his brother, was killed before [4] it. And peace was concluded between him and between the ruler of Aleppo (Ḥalab) [9]; then he gave to him the cities which he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) had conquered in the land of Mosul (Mawṣil) : Singar (Sinǧar) and Harran (Ḥarrân) and Manbig (Manbîǧ) and Nisibis (Naṣîbîn) and all their districts, and he gave Aleppo (Ḥalab) to the Sultan (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn), and he took it, but he did not rejoice over it on account of the death of his brother, Taǧ al-Mulûk before [10] it. And he entered its fortress at night and he took possession of it and all its districts and its towns (Ḳurâ) [11] in the year five hundred and seventy-nine [12]. And when he had conquered Aleppo (Ḥalab), he returned to Damascus (Dimašḳ) and he rested for a short while. And he went

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(1) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200.
(2) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 140.
(3) For these cities, cf. map facing, p. 197 in S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*.
(4) *Lit.* ʿ on ʾ.
(5) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, pp. 171-172.
(6) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 172.
(7) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 192.
(8) *MS.* P has ʿ Ibn Ḳiliǧ Raslân ʾ.
(9) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
(10) *Lit.* ʿ at ʾ.
(11) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 173.
(12) *I.e.* 1183 A.D.

cancel all the taxes in the habitations of Egypt (Miṣr), its Ṣa'îd [1] and its Northern Part and its East and its West and its land and its sea, of every one who (was) in it of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) and the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) [2] and the rich and the poor and the strong and the weak and the governor and the governed. And he ordered that the alms-giving (Zakât) [3] in accordance with the law of religion commanded by God, the Excellent and the Sublime, should be exacted. And the soldiers of the feoffers began to oppress the inhabitants of their lands and to take from them the taxes, and news of this reached Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn while he was in Syria (aš-Šâm) making raids, and his brother Al-Malik al-'Âdil Abû Bakr [4] was the representative of him. And he (Abû Bakr) wrote to him a letter in his handwriting — this is its copy : «The Royal, Just, High Council [5] — may God render strong its victory — knows that no one of the feoffers
* Fol. 208 r° divided a district of the districts that he might exact taxes in it, * nor did he allow property (to pass) to subjects, nor did he harass in them (the districts) any one with regard to his livelihood [6]. Let all the lands of the feoffer be revealed, and let him (the amîr) remove from them all the exactions and the taxes, for they are not included in the perquisites of the feoffers; and he who is satisfied with his fief after the imposition of its taxes, (it is well for him), otherwise, let him desist (from them), if God the Exalted will».

And in (the month of) Muḥarram of the year five hundred and seventy-eight [7] Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn gathered together the troops and went to Damascus (Dimašḳ) after the death of Nûr ad-Dîn Muḥammad [8] Ibn Ḳasîm ad-Daûlah, and he conquered it and took it by treaty [9], and he ruled it

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(1) *I.e.* Upper Egypt.

(2) *MS.* P has ذمة, ' Dhimah ', *i.e.* Christians and Jews enjoying protection in an Islamic State.

(3) Zakât is one of the religious duties incumbent on Muslims.

(4) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

(5) *I.e.* Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn.

(6) *MS.* P has معاشا which supports the meaning of livelihood.

(7) = 1182 A.D., but the correct date should be 1174 A.D.

(8) *MS.* P reads ' Maḥmûd '.

(9) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, New York, 1898, p. 136.

him by the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) with regard to his position, and (what) follows this on every Friday and (in every) community. And he who resists by his hand or his tongue in the affair of him who departed yesterday [1] or of him who is arisen to-day [2], by which he is led astray with regard to him [3] and by which he is turned away by reason of passion truly resembling it, let the amîr deal with him through his authority, and let him continue to keep watch on him. And, first of all, what is necessary for the people is pardon, for it is a perfect gift and a protective gift, and in change of conditions (there is) a warning for him who has a heart to understand [4], and he is a witness (to it). Let the amîr know this and let him do it, if God the Exalted will. And it was written in the first decade of (the month of) Muḥarram (in the) year five hundred and sixty-seven of the Hiǧrah [5], and this year (was) the end of their [6] State, and it was the completion of two hundred years and one year. And three of them ruled before this year in the West (al-Maghrib), Al-Mahdî and Al-Ḳâim and Al-Manṣûr [7] seventy-four years, and the whole of their State for the fourteen Califs (al-Khalîfat) (lasted) two hundred and seventy-five years. Al-Muʿizz [8] engraved the date of the first of their kings on a tablet, and he built it into the arch of the Bâb al-Ḳanṭarah [9], at the bottom, and he who wishes to read it, let him read it there [10], and peace! And when it was the month of Rabîʿa al-Akhar in the year five hundred and seventy-three [11], an order went out from Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn to

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(1) *I.e.* Al-ʿAḍid.

(2) *I.e.* Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn.

(3) *I.e.* either Al-ʿÂḍid or Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn.

(4) Lit. ‘ hear ’.

(5) = 1171 A.D.

(6) *I.e.* the Fatimids.

(7) Cf. p. 100, n. 6.

(8) 969-975 A.D.

(9) Cf. P. Casanova, *op. cit.*, p. 95, and S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo*, map on p. 165.

(10) *MS.* P adds ‘ in order to know it ’.

(11) According to Maḳrîzî the year was five hundred and sixty-six, cf. P. Casanova, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

the State of the Ghuzz (al-Ghuzz) at that time concerning the death of Al-Imâm al-'Âḍid. And he is the last of the Califs (Khulafâ) of the State of the Fatimids (al-Fâṭimiyin) in the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), and he is the completion of the fourteen Califs (Khalîfat). And in his days their kingdom passed away, and there reigned Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn Yûsuf Ibn Naǧm ad-Dîn Aiyûb, the second of the kings of the State of the Turks (al-Atrâk). This our letter comes to thee, O Amîr N., at the time of the fore-ordained judgment of God and His immutable decree, and (when) we were informed of the true news concerning him who was pre-eminent in the Castle and invested with command, and this (was that) through illness his days drew nigh for him and his sufferings
* Fol. 207 v° grew intense for him * until his strength yielded and his power failed, and there befell him by the order of God what befell him. And this (is) the way on which walk the first and the last, and a case in which the weak and the strong are equal. And it was incumbent upon us with regard to him (the Calif) to preserve security and to uphold rank and to be faithful in the differences of the judgments of days. And we presented ourselves before his (the Calif's) gates, and we transferred his death from being a secret affair to a manifest (one) making it known that God had ordained [1] his death. And we fulfilled in a good manner (our) obligation with regard to his death, and we attained (our) end in acting with decorum in his affair, and in taking farewell of him up to his tomb, and the souls of his successors were comforted through settling them in his castle. And we (returned) upset to our abode, and the crowd was silent, and the world seemed to us (to be) in security, and the hearts of the leaders were in harmony, and the intention regarding agreement was not crooked. And it is incumbent on the amîr that he command the preacher (al-Khâtib) on Friday to name him whose word is obeyed [2] in the countries belonging to him, and the regions agreeing to his Califate (al-Khilâfat), the Imâm Abû Muḥammad bi Nûr Allah [3], amîr of the faithful, acknowledged by his name and his designation, and confirmed by what was agreed upon concerning

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[1] *Lit.* ' called '.

[2] *Lit.* ' heard '.

[3] *I.e.* the 'Abbasid Calif Al-Mustaḍî.

And he appointed a trustworthy person for the sale of those things, the judge, the amîr Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Dhû'r-Riyâsitîn Ibn Binân. And as regards the persons, he placed the concubines of the Calif (al-Khalîfat) and his sons in the Dâr al-Muẓaffar [1] in the Ḥârat Barǧawân [2] in Cairo (al-Kâhirah). He appointed for them soldiers as guards to guard its gates night and day, and it was not possible for any one to come in to them nor for any one of them to come out, and he left for them victuals what were sufficient for them for some time. And when it happened that the inhabitants of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and of Cairo (Miṣr) of their sect brought to them any thing of their provisions, he deprived them of this. And as regards the family and the relatives and every one who was related to them of the menfolk, he collected [3] two hundred and more men of them, and he placed them in the Maǧlis al-Munafikîn (Council of the Hypocrites) in the Îwân [4] at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and he placed on their legs iron fetters to prevent them from leaving [5]. And he committed them to men who guarded them, and he left for them victuals what was sufficient for them. And when it happened that the Cairenes (al-Ḳâhiriyin) and the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin) entered to them with charitable gifts, he deprived them of these. Then they began to live from alms-giving — praise be to the great God! He exalts him whom He wills, and He humbles him whom He wills. And many of them died in fetters as they were, and they buried them [6] thus; and praise be to the Living One Who is immortal! He abases him whom He wills and He raises up him whom He wills. And as regards the female slaves of the service and the male slaves of the service, he sold them with the rest of the heritage.

And this is a copy of a letter written by the Ḳâḍî Al-Fâḍil Ibn al-Baîsanî and his name (was) 'Abd ar-Raḥîm Ibn 'Alî, to the amîrs of

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(1) Cf. P. Casanova, 'Makrizi : Description Historique et Topographique de l'Égypte' in *MIFAO*, t. IV, 4e partie, fasc. 1, pp. 99-100.

(2) The *MS*. reads Ǧawân, *sic*, cf. note 1.

(3) *MS*. P has 'about two hundred or more'.

(4) Cf. P. Casanova, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-121.

(5) Cf. E. Blochet, *Histoire d'Égypte de Makrizi*, Paris, 1908, p. 165.

(6) The *MS*. reads 'him'.

were present with him[1] at the interview[2]. And when the interview[2] came to an end, and those who were with him of the brothers of the Sultan had departed, he (the Calif) was alone with his concubine, and
* Fol. 207 r° he sought her for himself, * and she assented to what he sought. And there was around his waist a trouser of Dabîḳî (cloth)[3] of gold ornamented with jewels on both sides, and a clasp ornamented like it with jewels equal to a pile of money. She asked for it as a gift from him, and he gave it as a gift to her. Then she brought it to Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, (and) she boasted with it to him (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn). And he took it, and he brought the judge[4] and the witnesses and the jurisconsults, and he drew up a report concerning this, and he despatched it to the ʿIrâḳ and Baghdâd. And he enquired of the jurisconsults : «Is it lawful for the Calif (al-Khalîfat) to drink wine and to indulge in debauchery?» The jurisconsults gave the legal decision that if this, were proved against him, he should be deposed from the Califate (al-Khilâfat). And when he was informed of the legal decision, he commanded his brother Šams ad-Daûlah to ride to the Castle at night, and to use subtle means to kill the Calif (al-Khalîfat), according to what we have mentioned before. And the death of Al-ʿÂḍid li Dîn Allah was the completion of the fourteen Califs (al-Khalîfat) of the Fatimid (al-Fâṭimiyin) House in the year five hundred and sixty-seven of the Lunar (Year)[5]. And Al-Malik an-Nâṣir took the Castle and what[6] (was) in it. As regards what remained over and the furnishings, he commanded that what was suitable of it for him should be carried to his house[7] and to his women, in the way of clothing and jewels and pearls and ornaments of gold and silver and the like, and to sell that of which he had no need, in the way of books and vessels and the like.

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(1) *Lit.* ‘ at their presence with him ’.

(2) *Lit.* ‘ sitting ’.

(3) Cf. A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français,* Le Caire, 1875, t. II, p. 12.

(4) *MS.* P has ‘ the Ḳâḍî al-Ḳûḍat ’.

(5) = 1171-1172 A.D.

(6) The Paris *MS.* adds ‘ all ’.

(7) *I.e.* the House of the Wazîr, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.,* p. 193 and D. Russell, *Medieval Cairo and the Monasteries of the Wâdî Natrûn,* pp. 167-168, 172, 175.

living in the districts of the (Province of) al-Gharbîah [1] many bands of Arabs ('Arab) of whom one tribe called Banî Šalaš was more than ten thousand horsemen. They acted hypocritically and they terrorized the way(s), and the illustrious Taḳî ad-Dîn went out to them with his troops, and he crushed them and he captured them, and he took their women and their children [2] and their possessions and their cattle, and there did not remain of them a man to be found in a tent [3]. The lands were subjected to him, and there was great [4] security and cheapness in the days of his State, and he showed in the way of justice what no one before him (had shown). And Ṣafî ad-Daûlah, the governor (ustâdh) of the district subdued by him, gave information to Ibn Šams ad-Daûlah, brother of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn. He entered the Castle at night, and he sought the Calif (al-Khalîfat). And when they informed the Calif (al-Khalîfat) that he was seeking him [5], he sucked the poisoned ring which kings are wont to do in order to die [6] in overpowering (circumstances), lest they fall into the hands of their enemies, and they contemn them and torture them, and they see death better for them than contempt and torture [7]. And when he had sucked it, he died. And another than Ṣafî ad-Daûlah said that he (Ibn Šams ad-Daûlah) took him alive, and he asked him about the place [8] of his treasures and his wealth, and he did not tell him about them. Then he took his (the Calif's) turban from off his head, and he strangled him with it until he died. A man of the inhabitants of his Castle also gave information that before they killed him (the Calif), he had drunk wine with Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn and Šams ad-Daûlah, and singing was heard while they

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(1) Cf. Omar Toussoun, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Arabe*, Cairo, 1926, pp. 252-266.

(2) *MS*. P adds ' their sons and the daughters '.

(3) *Lit*. ' a house of hair '. Tents were made from the skin of camels.

(4) *Lit*. ' much '.

(5) *MS*. P has ' that he was sought '.

(6) *Lit*. ' for death '.

(7) An identical story is told of Ḥasan, son of the Calif Al-Ḥâfiẓ, cf. *H.P.E.C.*, vol. III, part I, p. 47.

(8) *MS*. P has ' places '.

for the confident of the Califate (al-Khilâfat) to persuade the Franks (al-Afranǧ) (and) to bring them, he being of those who were attached to the Calif (al-Khalîfat), and he (the Calif) was wont to accept his word and to carry out his opinion, because he was the greatest of all the equerries in his Castle. And the Sultan (Ṣalâḥ al-Dîn) delegated the eunuch Ḳarâḳûš, and he was also castrated, and he was attached to his service [1]. And he sent with him a hundred horsemen, and he (Ḳarâḳûš) came to the confident of the Califate (al-Khilâfat) in the belvedere, and he summoned him to come down, and he did not do so, but he closed the door of the belvedere against him, and he ordered his friends to fight against him. And Ḳarâḳûš besieged him, and he fought against him, and he killed him and he cut off [2] his head, after he had caused the belvedere to be burned with fire, and he returned to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah). And the Sudanis (as-Sûdân) [3] assembled and they marched to fight against the Sultan (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) inside Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), when they heard of the killing of the confident of the Califate (al-Khilâfat), Ǧawhar. And God aided the Sultan (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) against them, and He caused him to overcome them. And he did not kill one of them, but he said there is no blame to them, because they fought for their master and their Calif (al-Khalîfat). And he spared them, and he ordered them that they should not remain with him (the Calif) in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and that they should dwell wheresoever they wished in the Rîf [4] and the Ṣa'îd [5], and other lands than them, but that they should not remain with him (the Calif) in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah). And they went out from it (Cairo) to the Rîfs [4] and the Ṣa'îd [5], and they dispersed into all the dwelling-places of Egypt (Miṣr) from the tower of Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [6] to the tower of Aswân [7]. And there were

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[1] The amîr Ḳarâḳûš was majordomo at the Castle, and was entrusted by Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn with the construction of the Citadel, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 193 and 203, and S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo*, London, 1924, p. 176.

[2] *Lit.* ' he took '.

[3] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

[4] Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, ' The Rîf of Egypt ', *op. cit.*, pp. 96-119.

[5] *I.e.* Upper Egypt.

[6] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[7] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

he died. He was noble, intelligent, virtuous, learned, a composer [1] of verse, and he had a volume (dîwân) of it. And the chief of the troops of the king [2] and his counsellor was the illustrious Taḳî ad-Dîn ʿUmar Ibn Šâhanšah [3]. And he was of sound opinion and good management, and he commanded the respect of the soldiers [4], and he obtained justice for the oppressed from the oppressor. And when he was judging between two (people), he caused both of them to be placed seated with him, and he did not show partiality for the rich and he did not deprive the poor of his rights, and he took away the right of the oppressor, even if he were his son. After what happened in the way of the conquest of the Littoral [5] which we shall explain later, he (Taḳî ad-Dîn) went to a region of mixed people of the Land of Persia (al-ʿAǧam), and it was in the hand of N k t m of the kings of Persia (al-ʿAǧam). And he fought against [6] him and routed him and took from him the country, and he died there, and his son died [7] after him. And when it was Ǧumâdâ al-Akhar of the year five hundred and sixty-five [8], news reached Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn concerning the confident of the Califate (Khilâfat), Ǧawhar the equerry of al-ʿÂḍid, that he had departed from Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) to al-Kharḳâniah, and it was his fief. And he descended at the belvedere which belonged to him, which overlooked a garden. * He proposed to stay in it until midnight * Fol. 206 v°
and to journey with the Arabs (al-ʿArab) and to go to the Franks (al-Faranǧ) to seek aid from them and to bring them to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) to make war on Al-Malik an-Nâṣir, and to drive him from it; because when he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) was firmly established in the kingdom [9], the Calif (al-Khalîfat) and the equerries feared him, and they provided

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(1) *Lit.* ‘ says ’.
(2) *MS.* P adds ‘ An-Nâṣir ’.
(3) A nephew of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn.
(4) *Lit.* ‘ And there was respect for him among the soldiers ’.
(5) *I.e.* the stretch of coast along Palestine and Syria.
(6) *MS.* P has ‘ he met him ’.
(7) ‘ died ’. This is the reading of *MS.* P.
(8) = 1169-1170 A.D.
(9) *MS.* P adds ‘ in authority ’.

the employees, the guarantors, the exchangers, the receivers, the payers and the rest of all the people, for abandoned remainders, outstanding debts, documents long left over, repudiated expenditure, deposits recorded by pen but not found, times officially fixed, the rent of the vehicles of the dîwâns, the surplus of the areas, the divisions of the separate tracks of land, that to which the dîwâns testified in the way of dealings with regard to their different causes and the contrary sections and their causes, and what follows that in the way of inheritances without heirs [1], legal waqfs and the rent of State [2] vehicles, all of these up to the end of the year five hundred and sixty-three [3], a pardon which includes the commander and the commanded [4], those who were absent and those who were present, the rich and the poor, the strong and the weak, without exception, with private deposits and private treasures, and expenses which are in the way of restituted succession, and it is the equipment of the holy war and provision for (its) preparation, desiring a good reward and seeking sycophancy and a good end. And let there be written lines to be read in all the affairs of the State after their registration, in order to establish the like with the help of God the Exalted. Al-Malik an-Nâṣir was established in the ministry, and his word and his deed were executed. And, at that time his brother [5] Al-ʿÂdil Abû Bakr, and Taǧ al-Mulûk, and the illustrious and great Šams ad-Daûlah assisted him. And Šams ad-Daûlah died in the days of his [6] State in the city of Alexandria, after he had performed much good for the Egyptians (al-Miṣriyin) what the tongue falls short in describing. May God have mercy upon him and accept him! And Taǧ al-Mulûk, his brother, died on the outskirts of the city of Aleppo (Ḥalab), while Ṣalâḥ was besieging it, from an arrow. It (the arrow) came out, shot from its fortress, and it struck him in his knee, and

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(1) For the meaning of حشر, cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, t. I, p. 290.

(2) *Lit.* ‘ protected ’.

(3) = 1167-1168 A.D.

(4) Reading from *MS.* P.

(5) *MS.* P adds ‘ illustrious ’.

(6) Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn's.

year. And the Calif (Khalîfat) appointed as wazîr after him, in the lifetime of the Calif (Khalîfat), Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, and he was designated as Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-dunyâ wa'd-dîn, Sultan of al-Islâm and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), Unifier of the Faith [1], Subduer of the adorers of Crosses, Vivifier of the State of the Amîr of the Faithful. And the name of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn was Yûsuf Ibn Naǧm ad-Dîn Aiyûb, brother of Asad ad-Dîn Šîrkûh, and he subscribed on the day of investiture [2] before [3] the Calif (Khalîfat) (his) subscription with the writing of the honourable Ḳâḍî and at his dictation. And the name of the Ḳâḍî was Al-Fâḍil ʿAbd al-Raḥîm Ibn ʿAlî, and he was known as al-Baîsanî [4]. His father was Ḳâḍî of Baîsân [5]. And he was an honourable learned man, doing good to every one, praised and beloved, and every one praised him and made supplication (to God) for him, and eulogized him. However, according to the nature of Adam (Adamî) (men) are not [6] perfect for perfection (belongeth) to God alone; for there was not found in him a word for him who speaketh evil to blame him, except that he counselled that they should not employ Christians (an-Naṣârah) as overseers in the treasuries of the State, nor as inspectors, and his word was accepted and his opinion was carried out, and not one of the Christians (an-Naṣârah) returned to be employed as overseers and inspectors in the days of the State of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, nor of those who ruled after him of his sons and his descendants. * And he (Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn) signed what (was) his model, and the model of the mark [7] (was) ' Praise (be) to God, and through Him is my success '. The exalted order of An-Nâṣir (an-Nâṣirî) went out — God the Exalted increase its execution! — to pardon the amîrs, the superintendents, the patrons, the administrators, the workers, * Fol. 206 r°

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(1) *MS.* P has ' of the word of the Faith '.

(2) *Lit.* ' sitting '.

(3) *Lit.* ' between the hands '.

(4) Cf. E. Blochet, *Histoire d'Égypte de Makrisi,* Paris, 1908, p. 395.

(5) A village in Syria, cf. E. Blochet, *op. cit.,* p. 232, note 2.

(6) ' Not ' is added from *MS.* P.

(7) For علامة signifying a formula which validates documents, cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes,* t. II, Paris, 1927, p. 164.

of the Lunar (Year) [1]. And the Calif (Khalîfat) had sent to him the Sword of Blood through a confident of the Califate (Khilâfat), Ǧawhar the equerry, and he ordered him to behead [2] Šâwar his wazîr, and he killed him, slaying (him) with a knife on the second Saturday of Rabîʿa al-Awal of the aforementioned year [3]. And he (Šîrkûh) remained the rest of its day [4] and Sunday, halting at his place, and in the daytime of Monday, the fourth of Rabîʿa al-Awal of the aforementioned year, he entered Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and the Calif (Khalîfat) clad him with the robes of the ministry (wizârat), and they are white garments with gold and wide sleeves, and a large scarf [5] tightened like a housing loose with fringes towards the croup of a horse, and a gold neck-band on his neck encrusted with precious stones and pearls which fastened and unfastened with a silk ribbon embellished with a pearl bigger than a chick-pea. And he rode behind the Calif (Khalîfat) from inside the Golden Hall [6] at the Castle. And he went out, and all the soldiers and the amîrs walked in his train with drawn swords. And it was for him a famous day, the like of which was not seen in all the days of the world. And he became wazîr and he governed; and when he had completed a month in the government [7], he proclaimed in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) that the Christians (an-Naṣârah) should remove the fringes from their turbans and should fasten (their waists) with their girdles, and the Jews (al-Yahûd) (should attach) a piece of yellow cloth to their turbans. And he remained in it (the government) for sixty days, and he died on the fifth day of Ǧumâdâ al-Awal of the aforementioned [8]

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(1) = 1168-1169 A.D.

(2) *Lit.* ‘ to strike the neck ’.

(3) *MS.* P has in place of ‘ aforementioned year ’ ‘ year five hundred and sixty-four ’.

(4) *I.e.* Saturday. *MS.* P has ‘ the day of Saturday ’.

(5) For the meanings of مندیل, cf. R.P.A. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes,* Amsterdam, 1845, pp. 414-418.

(6) Cf. P. Casanova, *Makrizi : Description Historique et Topographique de l'Égypte,* p. 101.

(7) *MS.* P has for ‘ in the government ’ the reading ‘ in the night he proclaimed ’.

(8) *MS.* P has ‘ of the year five hundred and sixty-four ’ (= 1168-1169 A.D.).

known to him in his letter what had befallen the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) in the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), and he besought of him that he should aid him with an army with which to repulse the Franks (al-Faranǧ). He complied by despatching Asad ad-Dîn Šîrkûh. And he arrived and with him many troops of the Ghuzz (al-Ghuzz) in the land, and the King Amaury (Murî) was descending with the Franks (al-Faranǧ) on Bilbaîs [1]. And Naḍâl, master of the ships of the fleet on the River Nile (an-Nîl), had already reached ʿAṭf Minyat al-Faîrân near Minyat Ziftâ [2] with ten war-ships (Šawânî) and twenty fire-ships (Ḥarrâḳat). And when news came of the arrival of Šîrkûh [3] in the neighbourhood of the city, King Amaury (Murî) departed from Bilbaîs [1], and he returned to his country. And the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) overcame Naḍâl, and they defeated him, and he returned, as a fugitive with the ships. And Asad ad-Dîn Šîrkûh descended with his troops on the city of Bilbaîs [1], and the Franks (al-Faranǧ) * departed, and they retreated before him on land and on sea, and he (Šîrkûh) rested for a few days. Then he departed from Bilbaîs [1], (and) he descended to al-Lûḳ [4] and al-Maks (al-Maksim) [5] and the ʿArd aṭ-Ṭabbâlah [6], and he encompassed Cairo (Miṣr) on all sides. And the Calif (Khalîfat) bore to him a gift [7], and he took off his sword for him, — and to whomsoever had come with him of the eminent amîrs and the chiefs of the army, and much money for expenses, and tents and a great number of many things of which it is not possible to describe their kinds and their species and their substance. And he remained on the Calif's (Khalîfat) hospitality, and he did not enter Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) until Friday, the first day of the month of Rabîʿa al-Awal of the year [8] five hundred and sixty-four

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[1] Cf. p. 104, n. 4.

[2] Cf. Omar Toussoun, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Arabe,* t. I, p. 162, Cairo, 1926.

[3] *MS.* P has ‘ Asad ad-Dîn ’ instead of ‘ Šîrkûh ’.

[4] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo,* p. 258.

[5] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo,* p. 132.

[6] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo,* p. 259.

[7] This word has also the meaning of gift of hospitality and banquet.

[8] For ‘ of the year ’ *MS.* P has ‘ of the aforementioned year and it is the year ’.

of Ṭûbah of the year nine hundred and five of the Martyrs [1] which corresponds to the year five hundred and eighty-five of the Lunar (Year).

The beginning of the life of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn designated as Âmir Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn in the Kingdom of Egypt (Miṣr). And the Calif (Khalîfat) at that time al-ʿÂḍid remained as he was, and the Egyptian (al-Miṣriyin) soldiers and the Sudanis (as-Sûdân) (who were) slaves of his State were retained for his service. And when it was, Tuesday, the third of (the month of) Ṣafar of the year five hundred and sixty-four of the Hiǧrah [2], and the Calif (Khalîfat) at that time (was) Al-ʿÂḍîd Abû Muḥammad ʿAbd Allah and he is the fourteenth of the Califs (Khulafâ) of the Fatimid (al-Fâṭimiyat) State — upon them (be) perfect [3] peace — and his wazîr at that time (was) Amîr al-Ǧuyûš Šâwar as-Saʿadî, Amaury (Murî), king of the Franks (al-Afranǧ), descended with his soldiers upon Bilbaîs [4] and he took it, and he slew every one whom he found in it of the Kabanis (al-Kabaniyah) [5], and the Turks (al-Atrâk) and the Sudanis (as-Sûdân) outside it. And he slew a great multitude of the common people, Muslims (Muslimîn) and Christians (Naṣârâ), he slew them inside it. And he permitted his troops to kill and to take captive and to plunder for three days, night and day, and he gave to them (the free use of) the sword in it. And he took captive the remainder of its inhabitants, and he carried them away with him to Syria (aš-Šâm), and he pillaged it and he burned it and he departed with its possessions and its captives [6]. The situation made it necessary for the Calif (Khalîfat) to write a letter to Nûr ad-Dîn Maḥmûd Ibn Zinkî, king of the Ghuzz (al-Ghuzz) in the city of Damascus (Dimašḳ) and its territory. And he was designated Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil Nûr ad-Dîn, and he was known as Ibn Ḳasîm ad-Daûlah. And he [7] made

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(1) = 1188-1889 A.D.

(2) = 1168 A.D.

(3) *Lit.* ‘ the best ’.

(4) Cf. E. Amélineau, *Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Copte,* p. 333.

(5) As the second letter of this word is without diacritical points, it may be read otherwise.

(6) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.,* p. 184.

(7) *I.e.* the Calif.

(who) were in Cairo (Miṣr) bore witness to his chastity, his religion, his fasting, his praying, his alms-giving, and his doing good to all the people ; and that he was a virgin and that he had never been married. They did not witness against him the follies of youth or a fault. He was learned in his religion, instructed in the affairs of the priesthood, and he had a care for his soul from his youth. It was reported to me that our pure father, John (Yûḥannâ), the patriarch who (was) before him — may God, give rest to his soul — announced beforehand [1] concerning him that he would be patriarch after him. And it was that our father, John (Yûḥannâ), the patriarch, (who was) before him, * fell sick, and a company of the archons (ἄρχων) of Cairo (Miṣr) and its notables visited him, and he (Ibn Zaraʿah) was with them, and he said to the patriarch : «O our father, if thou wert to use such and such a medicine, thou wouldst find health». And the patriarch John (Yûḥannâ) said to him : «By the troth of thy skhêma (σχῆμα), O our father, I have used it». And the people who were present were astonished and they looked at one another, and they imagined that among them one had the skhêma (σχῆμα) round his throat [2], but they did not see anyone except him (Ibn Zaraʿah) and they knew that the speech of the patriarch was for him and his indication to him [3]. And when the father John (Yûḥannâ) went to his rest after many years, they recalled what he had prophesied concerning him (Ibn Zaraʿah). And it was the turn for the monks [4], but the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin) took him and they consecrated him [5], and there was no disagreement about his affair. And he was consecrated [6] patriarch in the year eight hundred and eighty of the Martyrs [7] which corresponds to the year five hundred and sixty-six of the Lunar (Year). And he remained on the throne twenty-five years, and he went to his rest on the sixth

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(1) *I.e.* by premonition.
(2) *MS.* P has ' waist '.
(3) *I.e.* that he should be his successor.
(4) *I.e.* to elect a patriarch.
(5) *Lit.* ' advanced him '.
(6) *Lit.* ' advanced '.
(7) = 1163-1164 A.D.

nor reduced by an hour, and he died [1]. And this Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn ruled after him [2], and we shall record and explain the news of the kingdom, and how the former State passed away, and the conquest of Jerusalem [3] and the cities of the sea-coast, and what God wrought for him, and what God put into his possession, and the good equity of the days of his reign and his justice. And he reduced prices through the goodness of his intention and his justice among his subjects; and what was bad in it [4] in the way of taxes and the removal of injustice (will be) shewn and explained, God willing. This venerable, virtuous, pure, noble Patriarch [5], of distinguished descent, was called before he became patriarch [6] Abû'l-Faraǧ Ibn Abû Asʿad [7] known as Ibn Zaraʿah, (and) he was related through this name to his paternal great great grandfather. And we found in what went before [8] of the fathers, the patriarchs, a patriarch called Ibn Zaraʿah whose scribe was the father Severus (Sâwîrus) Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, bishop of [9] al-Ašmûnaîn, and if he was from his descendants, God knows. And I, the wretched scribe who arranged this biography, conversed with the son of the paternal uncle of this patriarch, and I said to him : « Where were you brought up, and (from where) is your origin? » And he said : « From the inhabitants of Syria (Šâm) ». And I was assured that he was from the descendants of that patriarch, because he was a Syrian (Suryânî) from the inhabitants of Syria (Šâm). And I, the wretched (one) who arranged this biography, saw this father before his consecration [10], and I was dwelling in his vicinity in the city of Cairo (Miṣr). And many of the people of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) and the Christians (an-Naṣârah)

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(1) *MS.* P adds ' then ' cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
(2) ' him ' added from *MS.* P.
(3) *Lit.* ' the Holy House '.
(4) *I.e.* the kingdom.
(5) *MS.* P prefixes ' father '.
(6) *Lit.* ' before his patriarchate '.
(7) *MS.* P has ' Saʿad '.
(8) *MS.* P adds ' in this book '.
(9) *MS.* P prefixes ' the city of '.
(10) *Lit.* ' his advancement '.

Al-Mahdî Abû Muḥammad ʿAbd Allah appeared at Salamiyah (Salabaḥânah) and ruled it on Sunday, the seventh of (the month of) Dhû'l-Ḥiǧǧah (in the) year two hundred and ninety of the Hiǧrah [1], and up to the time of its passing away in the days of the government of Al-ʿÂḍid Abû Muḥammad ʿAbd Allah, and he was the fourteenth of them, (were) two hundred and seventy-five years, one month and twenty-seven days. Of these * they ruled in the West (al-Maghrib) seventy-four years, and they ruled in Egypt (Miṣr) two hundred years and one year. And as regards their wazîrs, we did not find out anything except the period of some of them, and we did not find biographies of them nor anything (which) guided us to the duration of the administration (wilâyat) of each of them as wazîr, neither how much was their equipment; however, we were informed of the names of some of them by our near forefathers who witnessed it [2], and they gave a description of them according to what they held (important) among themselves, and what they pretended was an honour to their deeds and magnifying to their rank. They [3] said that the wazîr of Al-Mustanṣir (was) a man designated as Amîr al-Ǧuyûš, and his name (was) Badr al-Ǧamâlî, (and) of Al-Mustaʿlî, Saîf al-Islâm Yânis, and of Al-Âmir and Al-Ḥâfiẓ, Al-Mâmûn and Yânis and Taǧ ad-Daûlah Bahrâm and Ruḍwân Ibn Walkhašî, and of Aẓ-Ẓâfir, Naǧm ad-Dîn Ibn Muḍâl [4], and of ʿÂdil, Ibn as-Salâr and Al-ʿAbbâs, and of Al-Fâiz and Al-ʿÂḍid and Aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ṭalâîʿ Ibn Ruzzîk and Maǧd al-Islâm, his son, and Amîr al-Ǧuyûš Šâwar as-Saʿdî and Al-Manṣûr Ḍirghâm, and Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn Yûsuf Ibn Naǧm ad-Dîn Aiyûb who is the second of the kings of the Turks (at-Turk) in the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), and the last of the wazîrs of the State of the Egyptians (al-Miṣriyin), because Asad ad-Dîn Šîrkûh [5] was a wazîr of Al-ʿÂḍid before him, and he ruled sixty days, and their count was neither increased by an hour

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(1) = 902-903 A.D.

(2) *I.e.* the period.

(3) *I.e.* our forefathers.

(4) *Lege* Muṣâl.

(5) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 186, note 1.

nineteen kings from the Sons of Ishmael (Ismâʿîl) [1]. And when the Shiʿite (al-ʿAlawî) Fatimid (al-Fâṭimî) House was completed, (it was) fourteen Califs (Khalîfat) [2] three of whom ruled Salamiyah, (Salabaḥânah) [3] and al-Mahdîyah [4] and Africa (Afrîḳîah) [5] and other than them of the lands of the West (al-Gharb), and these are their names. Al-Mahdî, al-Ḳâîm, al-Manṣûr [6], and a king from them (was) over Egypt (Miṣr) until the end of the termination of their State. And there reigned over the State of the Persians (al-Furs) who are the Ghuzz (al-Ghuzz), eleven Califs (Khalîfat) and they are : Al-Muʿizz who built Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), Al-ʿAzîz his son, Al-Ḥâkim, son of Al-ʿAzîz, Aẓ-Ẓâhir, son of Al-Ḥâkim, Al-Mustanṣir, son of Aẓ-Ẓâhir, Al-Mustaʿlî, son of Al-Mustanṣir, Al-Âmir, son of Al-Mustaʿlî. Then, after this, from the sons of the uncles and relations, Al-Ḥâfiẓ, Aẓ-Ẓâfir and his son Al-Fâîz, son of Aẓ-Ẓâfir. Then Aẓ-Ẓâfir was killed at the hand of Naṣr, son of ʿAbbâs, the story of which we have already given a description [7]. Then there reigned after him Al-ʿÂḍid, and he was the last of the kings of them. And the duration of their rule over the West (al-Gharb) and the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) was up to the day of the passing away of the kingdom from the hand of Al-ʿÂḍid at the end of al-Muḥarram (in the) year five hundred and sixty-seven [8]. And it [9] (was) that

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Periodica, vol. XXXII, fasc. II, pp. 394-449, and O.F.A. Meinardus, ' New Evidence on the XIVth Vision of Daniel from the History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church ' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica,* vol. XXXIV, fasc. II, pp. 281-309.

[1] Cf. *Dan.* xiv, 23.

[2] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt,* p. 116.

[3] Salamiyah is south-east of Ḥamâh, Syria.

[4] In Tunisia, 22 kilometres south-east of al-Ḳayrawân.

[5] *I.e.* Africa Minor, mainly Tunisia.

[6] Al-Mahdî, first Fatimid Calif, 909-934 A.D., Al-Ḳâîm, 934-946 A.D., Al-Manṣûr, 945-953.

[7] Cf. A. Khater and O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church,* vol. III, part I, pp. 73-75.

[8] *I.e.* 1171 A.D. Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.,* p. 193.

[9] *Lit.* ' that '.

* In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Amen. We begin with the support of the power of the Highest to copy the first biography of the biographies of the fathers, the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Patriarchs of the second period, and it is the biography of the venerable father who acquired the grace of the Holy Spirit, Abba (Anbâ) Mark (Marḳus) Ibn Zara'ah, and he is the seventy-third of their number — may his prayers guard us. Amen. *Fol. 204 r°

When we had completed with the assistance of God to us what we had transcribed concerning our predecessors, our former fathers, successor after predecessor, from among the virtuous masters and sincere chiefs and truth-loving elect, as is said in the Psalm 43 : ' God, we have heard with our ears, when our fathers related to us the works which Thou didst do in their days of old ' [1], we returned to the research of the biography of the elect, praiseworthy (ones) the heads of Christianity and of the religion of God, and of the virtuous shepherds, and of (their) perfect deeds. And we began with what we witnessed in our age, and saw in our time, and it is what we inform you in this biography, and what occurred in the days of this venerable father in the way of difficulties and oppressive hardships and bloodshed and the passing away of the former State to which our origin [2] had been firmly attached through the multitude of its troops and its allies, (and) invincible through the multitude of its riches, and its means which are hidden from the eyes in its castles, and through the multitude of its soldiers and its assistants about which blessed [3] Daniel (Dânyâl) prophesied and said [4] : There shall rule over the Land of Egypt (Miṣr)

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[1] Cf. *Ps.* XLIII, 1. The ' when ', however, does not occur in the Greek, Coptic or Arabic Versions.

[2] *I.e.* ' our country '.

[3] *Lit.* ' prosperous '.

[4] This prophecy occurs in the fourteenth chapter of the Coptic (Bohairic) Version of the Book of Daniel. For a critical study on this chapter, cf. O.F.A. Meinardus, ' A Commentary on the XIVth Vision of Daniel ' in *Orientalia Christiana*

After the death of the Patriarch John VI, efforts were made to secure the election of a certain priest named David Ibn Laḳlaḳ, who had the support of Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil. Though this David ultimately became patriarch with the title Cyril III, this was only after almost twenty years, since he had many opponents [1].

The main part of the history recorded in the present volume is concerned with the war of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn against the Crusaders, and with the events which occurred in Egypt during the reigns of the successors of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, down to the time of Al-Malik al-Kâmil Muḥammad. The account of this war and the subsequent events in Egypt is particularly valuable in that it provides information and most interesting details which are independent of the Frankish and Muslim sources.

The Arabic text which is printed in the following pages has been taken from *MS*. Hist. 1 of the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, foll. 204 r°-233 v°, of which foll. 204 r°-228 r° have been collated [2] with the corresponding text in *MS*. Arabe Hist. 302 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, foll. 261 v°-286 v°. For foll. 228 v°-233 v° there is no corresponding text in *MS*. Arabe Hist. 302.

In conclusion, we wish to present our sincerest thanks to those who have helped us in the production of this volume. To Professor Serge Sauneron, Director of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, for his very kind permission to print this volume at the Printing Press of the Institute, to Mr. Basil S. Psiroukis, Master Printer at the Printing Press of the Institute, for the great care which he has taken in the arrangement and the setting-up of the printed text, and to the Staff of the Printing Press of the Institute for their helpful co-operation.

Antoine Khater O.H.E. KHS-Burmester

1969

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[1] For the lengthy and detailed accounts of the various methods used to secure the election of David Ibn Laḳlaḳ as patriarch, cf. Vol. IV, Parts I-II of the *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*.

[2] The Collation was made from a photographic copy of this *MS*. which is in the National Library, Cairo, listed under number Hist. 6434.

of priests is forbidden by Canon Law, and when John VI learned of this, he most severely rebuked the clergy of Alexandria for allowing this to happen, interdicted the said priest, and caused the churches in the city to be closed. However, he was persuaded eventually to forgive the offending clergy, after they had set their signatures to a document in which it was stated that no priest who was a stranger to the city of Alexandria should officiate in its churches without due approval.

During the time of the patriarchate of John VI, messengers came from the king of Ethiopia to solicit him to consecrate for Ethiopia a metropolitan. This he accordingly did, and the new metropolitan returned with the messengers to Ethiopia, where he was received with the greatest honours. His prestige was furthermore enhanced when, after he had celebrated the Divine Liturgy for the first time in the country, the rains which had not come in their season, began at once to fall abundantly. All was well for five years, after which the said metropolitan suddenly arrived in Cairo in a piteous state, claiming that he had been obliged to flee from Ethiopia, since an attempt had been made on his life. John VI immediately sent a messenger to Ethiopia to ascertain the truth of the statements which the metropolitan had made. After a year the messenger returned with a letter from the king which gave the real reasons for the flight of the metropolitan. Suspecting one of his priests of having stolen a gold bar, he had him beaten so severely that the wretched man died. Consequently, his relatives wished to avenge his death by killing the metropolitan. Furthermore, the metropolitan was reproached for the luxurious manner of his life which was a cause of profound scandal for the Church. Thereupon, John VI promptly consecrated a new metropolitan whom he despatched with the messenger to Ethiopia. The former metropolitan was deprived of his office and excommunicated.

The apostasy of a monk of the Monastery of Saint Macarius in Scetis was the cause of great troubles for the monastery. He accused the monks to the government that they possessed a hidden treasure of great value. Ultimate investigation by government officials showed that his accusation was false, and that the said treasure consisted mainly of Church vessels on which were inscribed the names of the donors.

PREFACE

The present Part comprises the biographies of two patriarchs, namely, Mark III and John VI, who occupied the Throne of Saint Mark from 1167-1216 A.D. In addition to these two biographies, we have other biographies for *a*) Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, *b*) Al-Malik al-ʿAzîz ʿUthmân, *c*) Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Yûsif, *d*) Al-Malik al-Afḍal ʿAlî, *e*) Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil Abû Bakr, *f*) Al-Malik al-Kâmil Muḥammad. Furthermore, there is a section recording the events which occurred in Egypt after the death of the Patriarch John VI.

As regards the Patriarch Mark III, little is said of him beyond an enumeration of his qualifications for the patriarchate, and that regarding his election there was no disagreement, since his predecessor, the Patriarch John V, had by premonition designated him as his successor. It is stated that at the beginning of the reign of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, crosses were removed from the domes of the churches, the whitewash on the exterior of the churches was covered over with black mud, the ringing of bells was forbidden, and laws regulating the dress of Christians were enforced. However, at the prayer of Mark III these vexations and disabilities were removed by Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, and Coptic scribes were again employed in the financial department of the State, and, indeed, their condition became very prosperous and they were held in high esteem.

With regard to the Patriarch John VI, he was consecrated one month and five days after the decease of his predecessor. Before his elevation to the Throne of Saint Mark, John VI had been a wealthy layman possessing a sugar-factory, mills and property. He was renowned for his excellent character, his charity and his good works. In the days of his patriarchate, the Nile failed to attain its normal height in the years 1200-1201 A.D., and, consequently, a serious dearth ensued. This was followed by a terrible famine during which horrible acts were perpetrated.

Ecclesiastical regulations at this time appear to have become lax, since it is recorded that a certain priest, a widower, remarried and went to Alexandria, where he officiated in the churches. Remarriage

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HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS OF THE EGYPTIAN CHURCH

KNOWN AS THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY CHURCH

BY

SAWÎRUS IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʿ

BISHOP OF AL-AŠMÛNÎN

VOLUME III. PART II

MARK III — JOHN VI

(A.D. 1167-1216)

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

BY

ANTOINE KHATER
LL. D., PARIS

O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER
PH. D., CANTAB.

LE CAIRE
1970

HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS OF THE EGYPTIAN CHURCH

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