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قِسْمُ النَّصُوصِ وَالْوَنَائِقِ

١١

# نَائِحَةُ بَطْرِيْقِ الْكَنِيسَةِ الْمَصْرِيَّةِ

المعروف بسيرة الببيعة المقدسة  
لساويرس بن المقفع أسقف الأشمونين

المجلد الثالث

الجزء الأول

من البطريرك مقاره الثاني إلى البطريرك يوحنا الخامس

١١٠٢م — ١١٦٧م

ونام على نشره

دكتور أنطون حناطو و دكتور ازولد بورمستر



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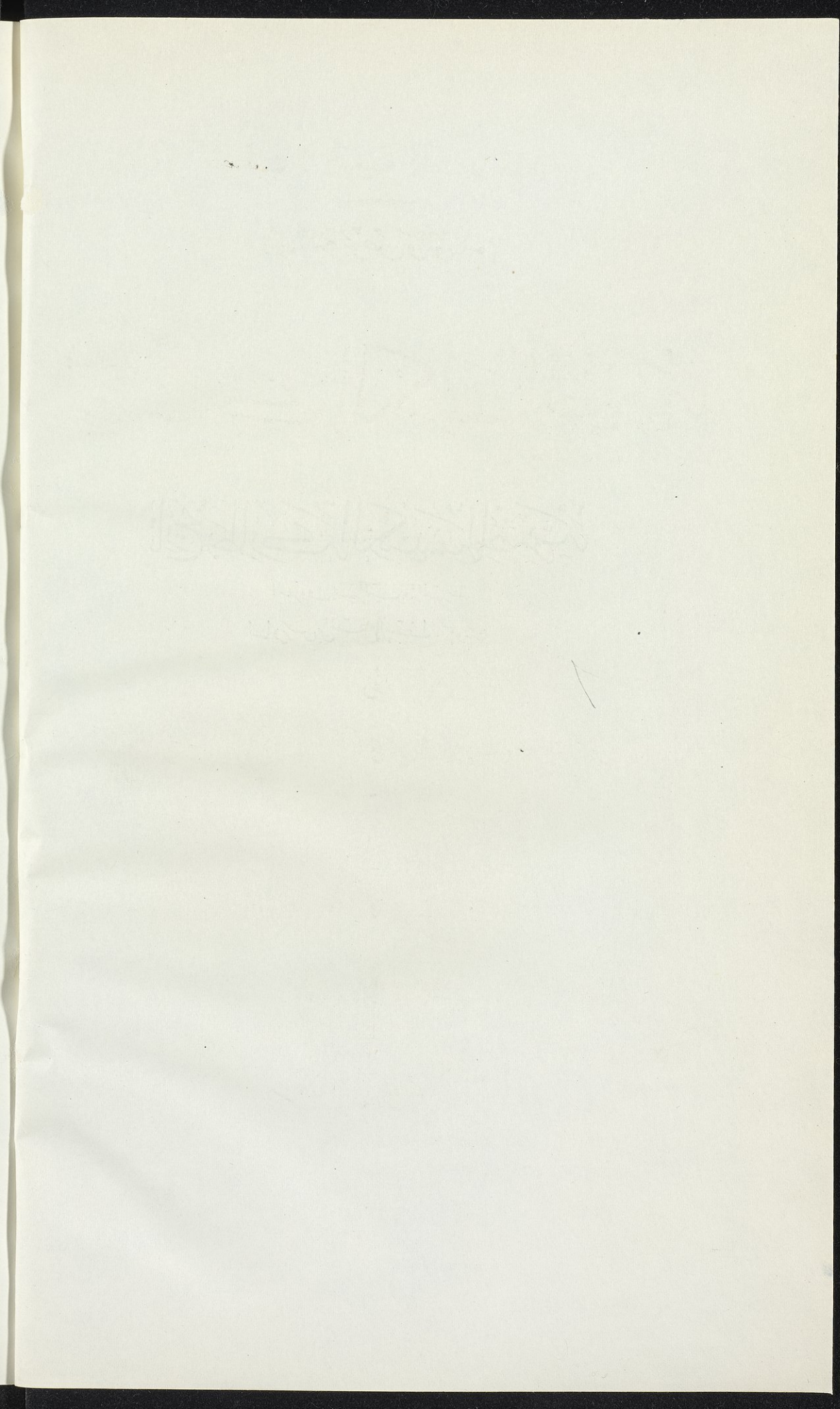
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تاريخ بطريرك كنيسة الصري

المعروف بسيرة الببيعة المقدسة  
لساويرس بن المقفع أسقف الأشمونين





مَطْبُوعَاتُ جَمِيعَةِ الْأَثَارِ الْقِبْطِيَّةِ

قِسْمُ النَّصُوصِ وَالْوَثَائِقِ

١١

# نَائِحٌ بِطَارِكِ الْكَنِيسَةِ الْمَصْرِيَّةِ

المعروف بسيرة البيعة المقدسة  
لساويرس بن المقفع أسقف الأشمونين

المجلد الثالث

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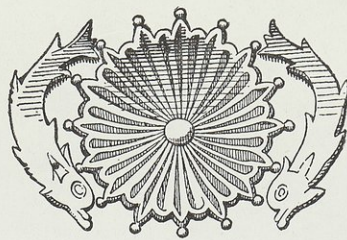
الجزء الأول

من البطريرك مقاره الثاني إلى البطريرك يوحنا الخامس

١١٠٢ م — ١١٦٧ م

فنام على نشره

دكتور أنطون حناط و دكتور ازولد بورمستر



القاهرة

١٩٦٨

مطبوعات المعهد العلمي للآثار الشرقية بالقاهرة

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مطبوعة المعهد العلمي للآثار الشرقية بالقاهرة

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V.P.K



## تصدير

يشمل الجزء الحاضر سير أربعة بطاركة ، وهم مقاره الثانى ، وغبريال الثانى ، وميخائيل الخامس ، ويوحنا الخامس ، وقد اعتلى هؤلاء البطاركة كرسى القديس مرقس من سنة ١١٠٢ إلى سنة ١١٦٧ ميلادية .

مقاره الثانى : مع أن هذا البطريك صرّح بأنه كان ابناً لزواج ثان ، الأمر الذى - بحسب القانون الكنسى القبطى - يمنعه من رسامته فى الكهنوت ، لكنه مع ذلك أختير بطريكاً ، وقدم بدير القديس أبى مقار فى شيهات ( وادى النطرون ) .

إن الدور المهم الذى ظل هذا الدير يلعبه فيما يتعلق باختيار وتقديم بطاركة الاسكندرية ، يتضح من هذه الحقيقة ، أنه بعد تقديمه للمرة الثانية فى الاسكندرية ، لم يسمح له رهبان الدير بالتقديس فى مصر ( القاهرة ) قبل تقديسه بديرهم ، وبذلك يهدونه أنه إذا لم يرضخ لرغباتهم ، فإنهم لن يسمحوا له بدخول ديرهم مرة ثانية . وقد حدثت ظاهرتان طبيعيتان أثناء رئاسة هذا البطريك ، فقد هبّت عاصفة رملية ، بلغ من كثافتها أنها جلبت ظلاماً كلياً فى الساعة الثالثة بعد الظهر<sup>(١)</sup> . وبعد ذلك بسنتين قامت زلزلة عنيفة ، أدت إلى تدمير كنيسة القديس ميخائيل المختارة بجزيرة الروضة ، مع أن هدمها فى الواقع تمّ بأمر بناء معين لم يستلم رشوة كافية لتحويل حائط كان بينه بأمر الوزير الأفضل ، وقد كانت هناك محاولة من هذا البطريك ليحتفظ لنفسه بكرسى مصر ، أدت إلى مراسلات مطولة مع إكليروس وأعيان مصر ، كتبت فى لغة المبالغة لذلك العصر . أما فيما يتعلق بالحوادث التاريخية ، فقد وردت إشارة وجيزة بشأن غزو مصر بواسطة بلدوين الأول ملك أورشليم وموته بعد ذلك فى العريش . وقد أعطى وصفاً مفصلاً عن اغتيال الوزير الأفضل

(١) وقد شهد المؤلفان عاصفة رملية كهذه فى القاهرة منذ عشرين عاماً .

ومصادرة ثروته العارمة بواسطة الخليفة الذى كان يحكم فى ذلك الوقت . وهناك ذكر أيضاً محاولة الوزير التالى للاستيلاء على الخلافة لنفسه .

غبريال الثانى : وقد كان قبل رسامته بطريكاً كاتباً بوظيفة حكومية فى القاهرة (مصر) ولقد كان واحداً من العلمانيين القلائل الذين أختيروا بطاركة بالاسكندرية . وفى رسامته الثانية بدبر القديس أبى مقار ، قد تورط فى مجادلة خطيرة مع الرهبان بشأن صيغة أضافها إلى اعتراف الإيمان عن الحضور الحقيقى للمسيح ، التى يتلوها الكاهن قبل تناول المقدس . ومن بين الحوادث التاريخية المدونة فى هذه السيرة قصة حسن حين خلع والده الحافظ واستولى هو على الخلافة ، وكيف أنه أرغم فى الختام على الانتحار ، وكذلك الثورة بقيادة رضوان ابن ولحشى ضد الوزير الأرمنى بهرام والأرمن المستوطنين فى مصر ، وكذلك طلب ملك أثيوبيا من غبريال رسامة أكثر من سبعة أساقفة لأثيوبيا .

ميخائيل الخامس : عند انتخاب هذا البطريرك ، قامت ضجة كبيرة بفعل دسائس شخص معين يسمى يونس ابن كدران ، الذى سعى لانتخابه بطريكاً . كما وردت إشارة لعادة شيقة عند طرح جسد القديس أبى يوحنا سنهوت فى النهر لكى يجلب زيادة الماء فيه عند فيضان النيل سنوياً . هذا البطريرك كان متشدداً بصفة خاصة تجاه الرهبان العصاة ، وقد عاقبهم بالضرب والحبس .

يوحنا الخامس : إن دسائس يونس ابن كدران أثارت أيضاً متاعب جسيمة ، حين اتخذت الإجراءات لاختيار بطريك جديد ، وفى النهاية أصدر الخليفة أمره بانعقاد مجلس بحضور الرؤساء الحكوميين لاختيار مرشح مناسب للبطريركية . ومن بين الحوادث التاريخية المدونة ذكر اغتيال رضوان ابن ولحشى ، وفاة الخليفة الحافظ واغتيال ابنه الظافر بواسطة نصر ابن عباس ، وزارة طلائع ابن رزيق ، حدوث غلاء فى مصر ، اغتيال طلائع ابن رزيق ، ظهور ضرغام وشاور ، قتل ضرغام ، نهب القاهرة (مصر) وغزو مصر بواسطة أمورى وشيركوه .

إن النص العربي المطبوع في الصفحات التالية قد اختير من مخطوط «تاريخ رقم ١» بالمتحف القبطي بمصر القديمة من صفحة ١٨٥ ظ إلى صفحة ٢٠٣ ظ ، وتمت مقارنته بالنص المائل في المخطوط «تاريخ عربي رقم ٣٠٢» للمكتبة القومية بباريس من صفحة ٢٣٨ ظ إلى ٢٦١ ج<sup>(١)</sup> ، وجميع القراءات المختلفة مدونة في الملاحظات أسفل الصفحة ، وهذا المخطوط مميز بالحرف (ب) (باريس)<sup>(٢)</sup> .

وفيما يختص بسيرة البطريك مقاره الثاني ، قد قورن أيضاً النص العربي لمخطوط المتحف القبطي مع النص المطابق في مخطوط «تاريخ رقم ٣» بمكتبة البطريكية القبطية بالاسكندرية . وأهم القراءات المختلفة مدونة في الملاحظات أسفل الصفحة ، وهذا المخطوط مميز بالحرف (أ)<sup>(٣)</sup> . وفيما يختص بسير البطارقة التاليين ، هذا المخطوط لم يصل إلى أيدي المؤلفين .

وفي الختام ، نود أن نشكر شكرياً جزيلاً أولئك الذين عاونونا في إنتاج هذا المجلد . نشكر الأستاذ فرنسوا دوما ، مدير المعهد الفرنسي للآثار الشرقية بالقاهرة ، لتفصله بالسماح لنا 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 .

ازولر بورمستر

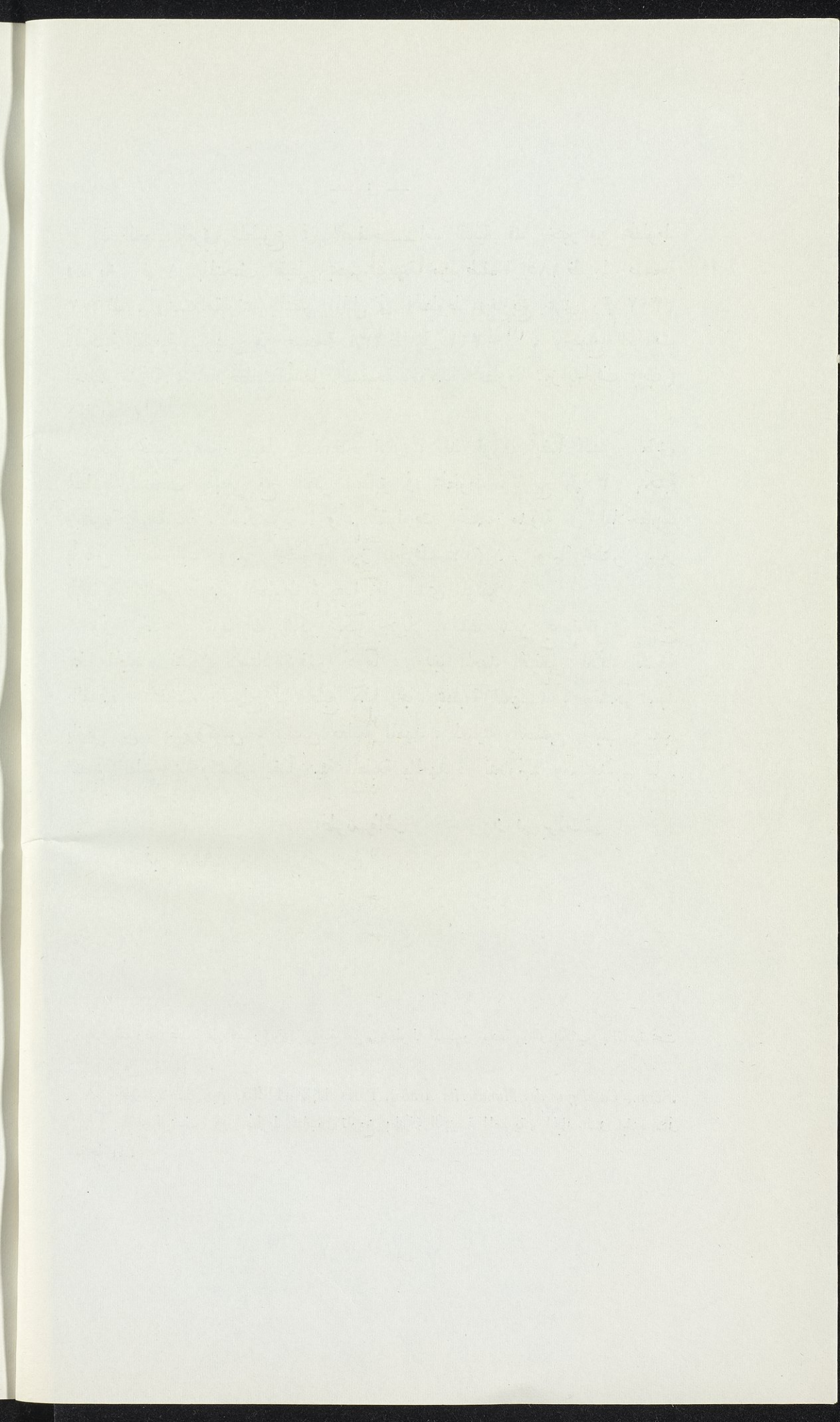
انطونه خاطر

نوفمبر ١٩٦٨

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

(٢) انظر *SLANE, Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes, Paris 1883-1895, pp. 82-83* .

(٣) انظر لوصف هذا المخطوط كتاب «تاريخ بطارقة الكنيسة المصرية» المجلد الثاني الجزء الثاني



## \* ابا مقاره البطرك

وهو من العدد التاسع والستون

جلس<sup>(١)</sup> هذا الاب الجليل على كرسى البطركية فى ايام مملكة الامير ووزارة الافضل ابن امير الجيوش ثم بعد موته وزر المامون<sup>(٢)</sup> ولما تنيح انبا ميخائيل<sup>(٣)</sup> البطرك كانت النوبة فى تخير من يقام عوضا منه للمصريين<sup>(٤)</sup> ورهبان دير ابو مقار وكتبوا للاساقفة المقيمين باعمال الصعيدين الاعلا والادنا واسفل الارض يعلموهم بوفاته ويعزوهم فيه ويسالوهم الحضور ليجتمعوا ويقع الاتفاق على من يرتضوه للبطركية الجليلية وكتبوا ايضا للاسكندرانيين<sup>(٥)</sup> بمثل ذلك وكان زمان الصيف وادراك الغلات والثمار والكروم والاساقفة مشغولين بتحصيل ما يحتاجوا اليه برسم الكنايس المقدسه من الغلات والحر وغيره فلم يتفق لهم اجتماع الا بعد الصليب فوصل بعضهم الى مصر وبعضهم الى الديارات المباركة واتفق راي الذين وصلوا الى مصر على المسير الى دير ابو مقار القديس للاجتماع مع بقية الاساقفة<sup>(٦)</sup> الذين هناك والرهبان على الصلاة والتضرع الى الرب سبحانه<sup>(٧)</sup> فى ارشادهم<sup>(٨)</sup> الى من يرتضيه ويختاره لرعايتهم والرياسة عليهم فساروا الى هناك فى شهر يابه واجتمعوا فى بيعة القديس ابو مقار ومكثوا اياما يصلوا ويتذاكروا من فى<sup>(٩)</sup> تلك<sup>(١٠)</sup> البريه من السواح والقديسين ومن فى الصوامع من الحبسيين ويرجحوا الراى فيمن يصلح لهذه الرياسة والرتبة الشريفة الكهنوتية والخلافة الرسولية المرقصية فلم يتفق رايهم على من

(١) جلس [ ا : و جلس (٢) جلس . . . المامون ] ا : هذه الجملة مكتوبة على الهامش بالمداد الأحمر ، ب (= مخطوط باريس) : هذه الجملة واردة فى نص المخطوط . (٣) انبا ميخائيل [ ب : الاب انبا ميخائيل . (٤) للمصريين ] ب : المصريين . (٥) للاسكندرانيين [ ب : الى الاسكندرانيين . (٦) الاساقفة ] ا : هذه الكلمة غير موجودة . (٧) سبحانه [ ا : سبحانه . (٨) فى ارشادهم ] ب : ارشادهم (دون فى) . (٩) فى [ ب : غير موجودة . (١٠) تلك ] ا : غير موجودة .

يصلح لذلك ولا استقر في نفوسهم من يقدموه واقاموا على هذه القضية الى اخر بابه واتفق رايبهم على تقدمة احد رجلين احدهما القديس مقاره القس بدير ابو مقار المعروف بالمصور او الشماس يونس ابن سنهوت واختلفوا فيمن يقدموه منهما فاستقر بينهم ان كتبوا الى الاراخنة بمصر<sup>(١)</sup> يذكروا فيه طول مقامهم بوادى هبيب وانهم كشفوا عن كلمن في الديارات التي هناك والسواح والحبسا فلم يجدوا من يصلح للتقدمه الا احد المذكورين وقد استقر بيننا رد الامر اليكم فيهما فن اخترتموه منهما ورضيتم به قدمناه فلما وصل الكتاب اجتمع الاراخنة بكنيسة القديس ابو سرجه بقصر الشمع وقروا الكتاب فنه من كان يعرف الراهبين المذكورين ومنهم من كان يعرف احدهما دون الاخر ومنهم من لا يعرف احد منهم بالحملة والذين كانوا يعرفوهما زكوهما جميعا ثم قالوا ان مقاره كهل محجاج جيد الكلام ضابط لقوانين<sup>(٢)</sup> الراهبه \* وان يونس الراهب شاب جيد الكهنوة<sup>(٣)</sup> صبيح الوجه فصيح المنطق فرغبوا جميعهم في مقاره لاجل شيخوخته وحنكته ونادوا<sup>(٤)</sup> باسمه كنفم واحد وكتبوا الجواب بذلك فلما وصل الكتاب الى الآبا<sup>(٥)</sup> الاساقفة والكهنه المقيمين بالدير اجتمعوا كلهم لقراته واتفقوا اجمعين على الرضا بما تضمنته<sup>(٦)</sup> وقام بعض الاساقفة والكهنه والرهبان حيث مقاره المذكور وقبضوه واتوا به الى الجمع فتصور من ذلك وامتنع واستحلفهم ان يعفوه وقال لهم انا ابن ثانيه لا علم لي ولا كهنوت ولا اصلح لما تريده مني فلم يلتفتوا الى قوله وقيدوه والبسوه الثوب ووسموه<sup>(٧)</sup> وذلك في يوم الاحد الثالث عشر من هتور سنه ثمان مائه وتسعه عشر للشهدا وهي سنة اثنين وتسعين واربع مائه الحراجيه وساروا الى مصر وكان وصوله الى كنيسة ابو قزمان التي عند القنطرة بجوار البستان المعروف بالزهري في يوم الخميس السابع عشر من هتور المذكور

(١) بمصر يذكروا [ ب : بمصر كتاب يذكروا . (٢) لقوانين ] ب : القوانين .  
(٣) الكهنوة [ ا : الكهنوت . (٤) ونادوا باسمه ] ب : نادوا كلهم باسمه . (٥) الآبا [ ب : الآباء . (٦) تضمنته ] ا : تضمنته . (٧) الثوب ووسموه [ ب : الثوب ثوب البطرقيه ووسموه .



ففضى الشيخ ابو الفضل ابن الاسقف الى دار السيد الاجل الافضل وكان يومئذ كاتبه وهو الموقع عنه فى الاموال والرجال ومتولى ديوان المجلس والنظر فى جميع دواوين الاستيفا على جميع اعمال المملكة واعلمه بوصول الاب بطرك انبا مقاره وانه يحتاج (١) الى المسير الى الاسكندرية ليصلى عليه فى كنائسها لانها كرسى البطركيه وان الولى والمستخدمين هناك يطلبوا منه رسوم جرت عادة من تقدمه بها وهذا رجلا راهب ضعيف الحال ليس معه شى ولا اقتنا قط دينار ولا درهم وساله اعفاه من ذلك واحضاره بين يديه لتطيب نفسه ويقوى امره كما جرت عادة من تقدمه فاجابه الى ذلك وامر باحضاره مكرما مبجلا فركب من الكنيسة المقدم ذكرها والكهنة بين يديه يقرؤا وهم حاملين الاناجيل المقدسه ومجامر البخور والشمع الموقود والشعب حوله والاساقفة والارائخه ركاب دوابهم خلفه ومتولى المعونة بالقاهره معه ورجالته بين ايديهم حتى وصلوا الى دار السيد الاجل الافضل فلما دخل اليه دعا له دعاء (٢) كثير فراه (٣) وديع عفيف حسن الوجه جيد الكلام ورزقه الله منه حظ وقبول فادناه واجلسه واكرمه اكراما كثيرا وخاطبه خطابا جميلا وامر ان يكتب له منشور الى والى الاسكندرية وغيره من الولاة الذين يعبر عليهم فى طريقه باعزازه واكرامه واعفاه من طلب رسم ولا غيره ومساعدته ومعاضدته فى جميع ما يحتاج اليه وقام خرج من مجلسه على اجمل قضية ففرح الشعب بذلك فرحا عظيما واخذوا المنشور وساروا الى الاسكندرية فخرج كل الشعب للقايه وكان دخولهم اليها على اجمل قضية واوفاهما ولقى من الولى ملقا (٤) حسن واكرمه وبجله ومنع المستخدمين من تكليفه درهما واحدا (٥) فضلا عما سواه وكان تكريزه فى كنيسة مارى مرقس الانجيلي بالاسكندرية فى يوم الاحد الثانى عشر من كيهك سنة ثمان مائة وتسعه عشر للشهدا (٦) بعد ان جرى له مع الاسكندرانيين خطوب كثيرة بسبب الرسم المستقر لهم على من يجلس فى البطركيه فامتنع من كتب الخط لهم بذلك وقال لهم انا رجل راهب ما لى شى

(١) يحتاج [ ا : محتاج . (٢) دعآ ] ب : دعآء . (٣) فراه [ ا : فراه . (٤) ملقا ] ا : ملق . (٥) واحد [ ا : واحدا . (٦) للشهدا ] ب : هذه الكلمة ناقصة .

ولا اكتب خطى بشى ومهما قدرت عليه دفعته لهم فى كل سنه فان رضيتم على هذه القضية والا اتركونى ارجع الى حيث كنت فهو اصلح لى واحب الى<sup>(١)</sup> مما دعوتونى اليه ولم يزل الخطاب يترد<sup>(٢)</sup> بينهم<sup>(٣)</sup> عدة ايام الى كتب<sup>(٤)</sup> خطه بماتى دينار عدداً فى كل سنه ووصل الى مصر يوم السبت الرابع والعشرين من كيهك المذكور واجتمع الاراخنه والشعب فى يوم الاحد غدوة فى كنيسة السيدة المعلقة وظنوا انه يقدس ويكرز فاجتمع جماعة من رهبان دير ابو مقار وقالوا ما يقدس بعد قداسه فى اسكندريه<sup>(٥)</sup> الا فى دير ابو مقار كما جرت عادة من تقدمك فان انت نقضت هذا الرسم وقدست اليوم فى هذه الكنيسة بمصر قبل ان تقدس فى اسكنا ابو مقار ما يكون بيننا وبينك معاملة فيما بعد ولا نرفع اسمك على هيكلنا ولا ندعك تدخله ولا تقدر فيه ابدا ولو وقتلنا كلنا وشعثوا<sup>(٦)</sup> وجلبوا واكثروا الكلام والصياح فلم يقدس فى ذلك اليوم واقام بمصر لم يقدس الى بعد الغطاس وسار<sup>(٧)</sup> الى دير ابو مقار فى النصف من طوبه وقدس فى الاسكنا بكنيسة ابو مقار<sup>(٨)</sup> فى يوم الاحد الثالث والعشرين منه وعاد الى مصر وقدس فى كنيسة السيدة المعلقة بمصر فى يوم الاحد اخر طوبه من السنة المذكورة وكرز فيها وكان يوم حسن وقرى تقليده على الانبل يونانى وقبطى وعربى وكل القداس كما يجب وقرب جميع الشعب وكان خلق كثير قد اجتمع فى ذلك اليوم حتى ضاقت بهم الكنيسة وفرح الشعب وشكروا الله تعالى على<sup>(٩)</sup> رحمته وتعاهده لشعبه فى كل وقت كما وعد فى انجيله المقدس<sup>(١٠)</sup> اذ قال انا معكم الى انقضى<sup>(١١)</sup> الدهر وفى السنه الخامسه لابا مقاره البطرك المذكور قرى سجل<sup>(١٢)</sup> فى الايوان الكبير بالقصر فى يوم الاحد التاسع عشر من المحرم سنة احدى وخمس مائه الهلاليه الموافق للعاشر من توت

١٨٦ (ظ)

(١) الى [ ب : لى . (٢) يتردد ] ا و ب : يتردد . (٣) بينهم [ ا : غير موجودة . (٤) الى كتب ] ب : الى أن كتب . (٥) اسكندريه [ ا : الاسكندرية . (٦) وشعثوا ] ا : وشعثوا . (٧) وسار [ ب : وساروا . (٨) بكنيسة ابو مقار ] ب : بكنيسة القديس ابو مقار . (٩) على [ ا : غير موجودة . (١٠) انجيله المقدس ] ب : انجيله الطاهر المقدس . (١١) انقضى [ ا و ب : انقضا . (١٢) قرى سجل ] ا : فى سجل .

سنة تسع وتسعين واربع مايه الحراجيه يتضمن نقل هذه السنه الحراجيه الى هذه السنه الهلاليه نقلا لا يتجاوز التسميه وان يورخ في ساير الاعمال لسنة (١) احدى وخمس مايه الهلاليه الحراجيه ويلغى ذكر ما سواها ويبطل في ساير الدواوين من الحسابات والمعاملات . وفي السنه الثامنه من بطركيته في يوم الاحد السابع عشر من شوال سنه (٢) اربع وخمس مايه الهلاليه وهو الخامس من بشنس سنه خمس مايه الحراجيه ثارت ريح عظيمه سودا وغبار في الساعه التاسعه من يوم الاحد المذكور وصار في الجوحمره عظيمه منتشره على الارض مثل النار ثم صارت ظلمه عظيمه (٣) شديده حتى لم يبصر احد من الناس الاخر واعتقد جميع الناس ان القيامة قد حضرت فخرجوا من دورهم ومساكنها (٤) وخلوا ابوابها مفتوحة معتقدين انهم هلكا لا رجوع لهم اليها وصاروا هايمين على وجوههم في الجوامع والكنائس والازقه والباعه تركوا حوانيتهم وما فيها من ذهب وفضه وقطاني وتجارة وبر ومتاع وغيره وساحوا في الظلمه حارين يطلبوا المواضع المنفسحة المكشوفة خوفا ان تسقط عليهم السقوف او الحيطان وكانت ساعه مهولة لم يرى مثلها وذكر جماعة من الشيوخ انهم لم يروا مثله ولا سمعوا به من ايام موسى النبي وبعد ساعه جات (٥) المطر وانقشعت الغبره وسكنت الرياح وزالت (٦) وظهر النور فعاد الناس الى بيوتهم والى حوانيتهم وشكروا الله تعالى ومجدوه الذي اوراهم يسير (٧) من قدرته فلما كادوا يهلكوا ادركهم بعفوه ورحمته ، وفي يوم الجمعة الثالث من توت سنة احدى وخمس مايه الحراجيه الموافق لسنة ثمان مايه وثمانه عشر (٨) للشهدا (٩) الابرار في الساعه الثالثه من النهار كانت زلزلة عظيمه فلما كان الليل هدمت كنيسة ميكايل (١٠) المختاره بجزيره مصر وقيل انها سقطت من الزلزلة وكان السبب في ذلك ما حكاه جميل ابن يحنس الصعيدى قس الكنيسه المذكوره ومعاني

(١) لسنة [ ب : السنه . (٢) سنه [ ا : غير موجودة . (٣) عظيمه [ ب : غير موجودة .  
(٤) مساكنها [ ب : مساكنهم . (٥) جات [ ا : جات . (٦) وزالت [ ا : وزلت .  
(٧) يسير [ ب : يسيراً . (٨) ثمانية عشر [ ا : ستة عشر . (٩) للشهدا [ ب : للشهداء .  
(١٠) ميكايل [ ا : ميخائيل .

الاحول<sup>(١)</sup> قيمها ان يوسف المستحب<sup>(٢)</sup> المسلماني ابن مرقوره النصراني البنا صار مقيا في الجزيرة اكثر وقته لعمارة المواضع المستزهاة المستجدة بجوار هذه الكنيسة وهي البساتين والادر\* المسماه بالروضه الذي امره السيد الاجل الافضل بانشاها هناك فلما كملت دار عليها كلها حصن فانتهى الى<sup>(٣)</sup> طاحون الكنيسة وهي قبالة بابها فذكروا ان يوسف المستحب قال لهم اعطوني شي حتى اوارب الحصن عن الطاحون<sup>(٤)</sup> والاهدمتها واجزته في وسطها وانهم<sup>(٥)</sup> اوعدوه بدنانير ثم رجع يذلمهم ولم يعطوه شي وقالوا له ان انت انتهيت عن اذيتنا والا استغثنا فيك للسلطان وعرفناه ما قد عرفناه من ذميم طريقتك في خدمته التي لم نرضاها وقد نزه الله ايامه عما تفعله فيها ونحن قوم ضعفا<sup>(٦)</sup> تريد تقطع مصانعتنا وتريد منا ما لا نقدر عليه وجرت بينهم خصايم كثير فلما حدثت الزلزلة في اليوم المقدم ذكره بات هو والفعلة معه في الروضه<sup>(٧)</sup> في العمارة كما جرت عادته فلما جن الليل امر الفعلة بهدها فما اصبغ الصبح الا وهي مهدومة واوصى<sup>(٨)</sup> الفعلة بكمآن ذلك فلم يجسر<sup>(٩)</sup> احد منهم ينطق به لخوفهم منه فلما كان بالغداة اذاع هو والفعلة ان الزلزلة التي كانت بالنهار شققت حيطانها فلما جن الليل وقويت<sup>(١٠)</sup> عليها الرياح سقطت لانها حيطان قديمه وان هذا بتواني اهلها وقيمتها وانهم لو كانوا حضروا في ذلك اليوم حتى يبادروا بادعامها ما اصابها شي واذاع<sup>(١١)</sup> ذلك عند كل الناس فنال النصرارى من ذلك غم عظيم وحزنوا<sup>(١٢)</sup> عليها حزنا عظيما<sup>(١٣)</sup> وبلغ الاب البطرک هذا الخبر فحزن حزنا كثير<sup>(١٤)</sup> وقال انما كان هذا في ايامي لكثرة ذنوبي ولما وصل بعد ذلك الى مصر تقدم الى وكيل احباس الكنائس المعلقة<sup>(١٥)</sup> وغيرها ان يمضى

(١) الاحول [ ا : الاحوال . (٢) المسحب ] : المستحب . (٣) فانتهى الى [ ب : فانتهى الحصن الى . (٤) الطاحون ] ا : الطاعون (كذا) . (٥) وانهم [ ب : فانهم . (٦) ضعفا ] ا : ضعفا . (٧) الروضة [ ا : الضرورة (كذا) ] (٨) واوصى [ ا : واوصا . (٩) يجسر ] ا : يستجرى . (١٠) وقويت [ ا : قويت . (١١) واذاع ] ب : واشاع . (١٢) عظيم وحزنوا [ ب : عظيم وكابه وحزنوا . (١٣) عظيما ] ب : كبير . (١٤) كثير [ ب : كبير (فيمكن ان تكون كثير أو كبير) . (١٥) المعلقة ] ب : بالمعلقة .

الى كنيسة ميكايل (١) المختاره ويحمل اخشابها والاتها الى حيث امره وبقيت مهذومه الى حيث نظمت (٢) هذه السيرة وفي يوم السبت السابع عشر من بشنس سنة ست وخمس مائه الخراجيه الموافقه لسنة ثمان مائه ثلثة وثلثين للشهدا على ان اول السنة توت تنيح الاب القديس انبا سنهوت اسقف مصر قدس الله روحه فلقد كان فاضل مليح الكهنوة (٣) غزير العلم فنوع متواضع سليم الصدر ساذج النية صبور طاهر جميل الافعال وحمل الى كنيسه القديس ابوسرجه واجتمع الشعب كله وجميع الكهنة المصريين والقاهريين اليها في تلك الليلة وفي غدها وكان يوم (٤) عيد الخمسين المقدس واتفق ايضا انه كان يوم عاشورا وحضر الاب اغريغوريس (٥) بطرك الارمن لتجنيزه والصلاة عليه واخرج منها الى التربة التي كان بناها في الحبش عند وفاة اخيه القس الراهب سويرس نيح الله نفسه والكهنة والشعب حول تابوته يمشوا ويبكوا (٦) ويقروا ومعهم (٧) الشمع الموقود والبطرك (٨) والاراخنة ومن حضر من الاساقفة ركاب خلفه وحزن عليه جميعهم حزن شديد لمعرفةهم (٩) انهم لا يجدوا مثله ولا من اجتمع فيه الفضائل (١٠) والعلم والطهارة والكهنوة (١١) مثلما (١٢) ما اجتمع فيه وكان الاب القديس ابا (١٣) مقاره البطرك غايب في قلايته التي في ازرى بجزيرة بنى نصر فكتبت اليه انا الخاطى يوحنا ابن صاعد كاتب هذه السيره كتاب اعزيه فيه هذه نسخته (١٤) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قد صدرت كتبى الى الحضرة الساميه القديسه النفيسه (١٥) البطركيه الفاضله الرئيسه (١٦) فخر الله اليعقوبيه وضيا (١٧) البيعه الارتدكسيه سيد الابا (١٨) ورييس الرووسا (١٩) المخصوص بالفضائل

(١) ميكايل [ ا : ميخايل ، ب : ميكايل . (٢) نظمت [ ا : نظمت . (٣) الكهنوة [ ا : الكهنوت . (٤) يوم [ ب : غير موجودة . (٥) اغريغوريس [ ا : اغريغوريوس . (٦) ويبكوا [ ب : وتبكوا . (٧) ومعهم [ ب : بدلا من هذه الكلمة يوجد « وبايديهم » . (٨) البطرك [ ب : البترك . (٩) لمعرفةهم [ ا : بمعرفةهم . (١٠) فيه الفضائل [ ب : فيه من الفضائل . (١١) والكهنوة [ ا : والكهنوت . (١٢) مثلما [ ب : غير موجودة . (١٣) ابا [ ا : انبا . (١٤) « نسخته » بالمداد الاحمر [ ا : « هذه نسخته » بالمداد الاحمر . (١٥) النفيسه [ ب : النفيسية . (١٦) الرئيسه [ ب : الرئيسة . (١٧) وضيا [ ب : وضياء . (١٨) الابا [ ب : الاباء . (١٩) ورييس الرووسا [ ب : ورييس الرؤساء .

الروحانية<sup>(١)</sup> والمواهب العلوية والافعال المرضيه خليفه مارى مرقص<sup>(٢)</sup> الانجيلي  
 ثالث عشر الجمع الرسولى حرس الله مجدها وثبت سعدها واهلك ضدها متضمنه<sup>(٣)</sup>  
 ١٨٧ (ظ) ما عندى من الشوق المسيحى والارتياح الروحانى \* والتلطف الى قربها والتبارك  
 من<sup>(٤)</sup> قدسها والرب جل اسمه يسرنى بمشاهدتها والنظر الى رياستها ولا يعدمنى  
 بركة صلاحها<sup>(٥)</sup> بجوده وعميم رحمته غير خاف عن علمها<sup>(٦)</sup> ما كان من نياحة  
 الاب السعيد الفاضل انبا سنوت اسقف مصر ولدها الروحانى ومحبا الحقانى  
 نوح الله نفسه وارضاه بنظر وجهه وكرم مثواه وانشى اجلها واحسن عزها  
 وطول عمرها وجعل الكافه فداها وهى تعلم ان هذا الكرسي لا يجرى مجرى  
 غيره من الكراسى القبليه والبحريه لان فيه اراخنه مصر ومقدميها ووجوه  
 اقباطها وروسايها<sup>(٧)</sup> وهم كتاب الدوله وخدام المملكه واسقفهم فى كل اوان  
 يحضر بحضرة ملك الزمان ويجب ان يكون الذى يقام لرعايتهم وينتصب لسياستهم  
 والنظر فى احكامهم وامورهم قد باغ الكهوليه وعرف بلزوم طرايق الرهبنة  
 وقرارة الكتب الشرعيه وخدمه الهياكل المسيحيه وحفظ الطقوس الكهنوتيه  
 والنظر فى القوانين الرسولية واشتهرت حسن عبادته وعلمه وطهارته ونسكه  
 وجميل سيرته وعفاهه وتواضعه وجميل طريقته اذ كانت ثبت الله سعدها  
 عارفه بما جرت به عادته المصريين مع اساقفتهم قديما وحديثا<sup>(٨)</sup> وان نساهم  
 وبناتهم واخوتهم واهاليهم<sup>(٩)</sup> يتصوروا<sup>(١٠)</sup> الى اسقفهم فى مهماتهم ويحلوا به  
 فى ملماهم ويشكوا اليه ضرهم وما يجرى<sup>(١١)</sup> عليهم من ازواجهم واهلهم  
 ويكشفوا له اسرارهم ويحتكموا اليه فى امورهم سرا وعلاقيه ويستشيروه فى  
 نوايهم الظاهره والباطنه فيكتم ما يسمعه منهم<sup>(١٢)</sup> ويشير عليهم بما يعود  
 بمصالحهم ويصبرهم ويعزيهم ويتلطف<sup>(١٣)</sup> بهم ويبدل<sup>(١٤)</sup> جهده فى صلاح

(١) الروحانية [ ا : الروحانى . (٢) مرقص ] ا و ب : مرقس . (٣) متضمنه [ ب :  
 مضمنه . (٤) من ] ا : الى . (٥) صلاحها [ ب : صلواتها . (٦) عن علمها ]  
 ب : عنها . (٧) وروسايها [ ا : وروسايها ، ب : وروساها . (٨) وحديثا ] ا : جديدا .  
 (٩) واخوتهم واهاليهم [ ب : واهاليهم وخواثم . (١٠) يتصوروا ] ا : يتصوروا .  
 (١١) يجرى [ ا : جرى . (١٢) منهم ] ب : غير موجوده . (١٣) ويتلطف [ ا : ويستلطف .  
 (١٤) يبدل ] ب : يبدل .

ما بينهم وبين رجالهم خفيا بحسن سياسته<sup>(١)</sup> كما كان يفعل الاب المتنيح ومن كان قبله قدس الله ارواحهم فلهذا وغيره من احكام هذا الكرسي ينبغي ان يكون اسقفه قد بلغ حد الكهوليه<sup>(٢)</sup> او قد<sup>(٣)</sup> تعداها وعرفت حميد طريقته في زمان شببته ولزومه نواميس الرهبنة واشتهر بالعفاف والصيانه والتواضع والديانه والصبر والطهاره وصحة الامانه والمعرفه بالعلوم الالهيه والسياسه الكلية والاداب البيعيه والاحكام الشرعيه والامانه الارتدكسيه والخدمه الكهنوتييه والقوانين الحقيقيه ويتعين على قدسها وحنوها على شعبها ان يصلى عنهم ويفرغ نفسه النفسه للفكر فيمن يتخيره لهم ويستصلحه للتقدم عليهم ويحمل عن قلبها ثقلهم اذ كانت حرس الله عزها عارفة بالآباء<sup>(٤)</sup> والحبسا والمتوحدين في البرارى والقلالى وما يخلوا ان يكون فيهم من هذه<sup>(٥)</sup> صفته فيرشدها الرب اليه ويدلها بجميل نيتها عليه ببركة صلواتها وحسن طويتها وقدسها وطهارتها ومحبتها وفكرتها فاذا<sup>(٦)</sup> كان هذا هكذا<sup>(٧)</sup> فانا اومن ان الله تعالى يجمع قلوب الكافه على طاعته وقبوله ومحبته والرضا بتقدمته عليهم ورعايته لهم بمعونة الروح القدس السابع نعمه<sup>(٨)</sup> ومواهبه على مستحقها ورأيها الموفق في الوقوف<sup>(٩)</sup> على هذه الخدمه والنظر فيما تضمنته بصليب راياها السعيد والصفح عما لعله فيها من زلل وكتابها<sup>(١٠)</sup> الكريم فانا اتشرف به واسر بوروده واتبارك بوفوده واسعد بنظره سعوى بالنظر الى قدسها وارغب في مواصلي به متضمنا اوامرها<sup>(١١)</sup> ومهامها وان تذكرنى عقيب صلواتها على معهود عاداتها ان شاء الله تعالى .

فوصل الجواب بما نسخته<sup>(١٢)</sup> بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصل كتاب الولد<sup>(١٣)</sup> الحبيب الموفق السعيد الخصوص بالخبه الروحانيه والعلوم الدينيه \* اطال الله ١٨٨ (ج)

(١) سياسته [ ا : سياسه ، ب : سياسه وطول روح وملاطفه . (٢) الكهوليه [ ب : الكهوله . (٣) او قد [ ا : وقد . (٤) بالآباء [ ا : بالامانه (كذا) . (٥) هذه [ ا : هذا . (٦) فاذا [ ب : واذا . (٧) كان هذا هكذا [ ا : كان هكذا . (٨) نعمه [ ا : نعمته . (٩) في الوقوف [ ا : غير موجوده . (١٠) وكتابها [ ب : وجوابها (هذه الكلمه توجد ايضا في الهامش) . (١١) متضمنا اوامرنا [ ب : متضمنا اوامرنا . (١٢) الجملة « فوصل الجواب بما نسخته » بالمداد الأحمر في اوم (المتحف القبطي) . (١٣) الولد الحبيب [ ب : الولد الشيخ الحبيب .

بقاه وادام تاييده وعلاه وتمكينه وكبت<sup>(١)</sup> اعداه وبارك عليه وعنده وحفظه  
 يمينه الحصين ونجاه من مصايد العدو وفخاخ<sup>(٢)</sup> الاشرار واستجاب من  
 مسكتي فيه صالح الدعاء<sup>(٣)</sup> بشفاعة القديسين ووقفنا<sup>(٤)</sup> عليه وسررنا بمعرفة  
 خبره اطابه الله ولم يذكر شيا من الشوق والوحشه الا وعندنا اضعافه ونسال<sup>(٥)</sup>  
 الله قرب الاجتماع على الايثار بمنه وجوده فاما ما شرحه من وفاة اسقف مصر  
 قدس الله روحه وجعلها مع انفس<sup>(٦)</sup> الابرار فقد علم الله ما نالنا لفقده<sup>(٧)</sup>  
 من الحزن والكاآبه ما لا<sup>(٨)</sup> نقدر نصفه فاما ارشادنا الى ما نعتمده فيمن<sup>(٩)</sup>  
 نقدمه بعده مما يقع التراضى عليه فالامر لله يقدم من يراه وراى من يجرى  
 مجراه من الاراخنه الصايب فيه ولو وجدنا من كملت فيه الاوصاف التي تضمنها  
 كتابه ما عجلنا تقدمته براينا ولا كنا نجهل الى هذا الحد الممنوع منه نسال الله  
 ان يقضى بما فيه الخيره وحميد العاقبه وكتابه المسرور لا يخلينا منه متضمننا  
 ذكر اخباره واحواله وسلام الرب يكون معه ورحمته تحل عليه فكتب<sup>(١٠)</sup>  
 في سلخ شهر بشنس سنه اربع وثلثين وثمان مايه<sup>(١١)</sup> هذا التاريخ على ان  
 اول<sup>(١٢)</sup> السنه برموده وتاريخ كتابي اليه اول السنه توت بمقتضى حساب الابقطى  
 ولما وصلنى الجواب المذكور عن كتابي الصادر عنى<sup>(١٣)</sup> خاصة اصدرت اليه  
 كتابا اخر عنى وعن جميع الشعب : هذه نسخته<sup>(١٤)</sup> : بسم الله الرحمن  
 الرحيم لما كانت التعزيه اطال الله بقا الحضرة الساميه النفيسه الرئيسه<sup>(١٥)</sup> الاجليه  
 البطرقيه القديسه سيده الابا ورييسه الرووسا المتوجهه بالنعمة السمايه<sup>(١٦)</sup> المكلمة  
 بالفضايل الروحانيه فخر الارتدكسيه وضيا البيعه المسيحيه وعماد الملله اليعقوبيه  
 تاج بنى المعموديه ثالث عشر الحواريين الاطهار خامس الانجيليين الابرار

(١) وكبت [ ا : وكتب (كذا) . (٢) وفخاخ [ ا : وأفخاخ ، ب : أو فخاخ .  
 (٣) الدعاء [ ب : الدعاء . (٤) ووقفنا [ ا و ب : ووقفنا . (٥) ونسال [ ب : ويسأل .  
 (٦) أنفس [ ب : نفس . (٧) لفقده [ ا : من فقده . (٨) مالا [ ب : بما .  
 (٩) فيمن [ ب : فى باب من . (١٠) فكتب [ ا : كتبت . (١١) وثمان مايه هذا [ ب :  
 وثمان مايه للشهدا . (١٢) ان اول [ ب : ان تكون اول . (١٣) الصادر عنى [ ب :  
 الصادر الذى عنى . (١٤) العبارة « هذه نسخته » بالمداد الاحمر فى ا و م . (١٥) الرئيسه [ ب :  
 ا : الرئيسه ، ب : الرئيسيه . (١٦) السمايه [ ب : السائيه .



خليفة ماري مرقس الانجيلي حرس الله عزها وادام تمكينها وانفذ احكامها  
واسعد ايامها سنه بعد التحمل (١) بها مقصرا فيما وجب عليه والنازل لها متاخرا  
عما لزمه البدار اليه وكانت بما ميزها (٢) الله تعالى به من القدس الجليل والفضل  
الجزيل والعلم ان هذه الدار (٣) الدنيا دار ممر والاخره دار مقر وبما استرعها اياه  
من امر شعبه واستخلصها له من هداية المومنين به يرشد الناس الى الهدى  
ويوضح لهم مناهج التقوى وبتعاليمه الروحانيه (٤) يخلص من حبايل الغرور  
وينجون من كل محذور ويرجون الفوز يوم النشور اقتصرون منها على ما يقيمون  
به رسم خدمتها واغناهم العلم بحمله (٥) في التسليم لما قدره الله تعالى وقضاه  
والرضا بما حكم به وامضاه عن الاكثار في هذا الباب وحبب (٦) اليهم الاقتصار  
على الموجز (٧) من الخطاب وقد كان من امر الله تعالى وحاكمه العدل في نقل  
الاب القديس الرئيس (٨) الطاهر انبا ستهوت اسقف مصر نيح الله نفسه الى  
حيث اختار الله له دارا واعد لامثاله قرارا واستحققه باعماله التي تضى بين يديه  
واستوجبه بافعاله التي قربته منه سبحانه وازلفته (٩) ماقت (١٠) في الاعضاد  
ونكأ القلوب والاكباد وعند الله يحاسب ذلك الاب السيد الذي عمل فينا  
بمروضاته ولم يعدل بنا عن مفروضاته واليه نرغب خاضعين لعظمته واياه نسال  
ضارعين الى رحمته ان يبق على اولاد المعموديه الجمال برياستها ويعمر البيع  
الارتدكسيه بدوام جلالتها ونفاستها فان النعمه في ذلك تكثر \* ان تخطها الاقلام (١١٨٨ ظ)  
وتعظم ان يبق بها المسهب (١١) فيه (١٢) من الكلام ولقد اتصل بتلاميذها ان وجع  
يسير الم بها وعرض حقير عرض لها فكانوا في صورة الواله الحيران ارتياعا  
وفي صورة (١٣) الفاقد الثكلان انزعاجا الى ان تواترت الاخبار باقلاع الاذى  
عنها واحسان الله تعالى الى الكافه فيها فاخذ تلاميذها من المسره الحظ الاسنى

(١) التحمل [ ا : التحيل ، اقرأ : التأجيل . (٢) ميزها ] ب : ميزه . (٣) الدار [ ا : غير موجودة . (٤) الروحانيه ] ا : الحيبه . (٥) بحمله ] ا و ب : بحملها . (٦) وحبب [ ب : وحث . (٧) الموجز ] ب : المرجو . (٨) الرئيس [ ا : الرئيس ، ب : الرئيس . (٩) وازلفته ] ا : وازلفته . (١٠) ماقت (كذا) في ا . (١١) المسهب [ ا : المسهب . (١٢) فيه ] ا : فيه . (١٣) صورة ] ب : حالة .

وجازوا من الجدل بهذه المنحة النصيب الاوفى وسالوا الله تعالى ان يجعل لباس التقا<sup>(١)</sup> سابغا عليها وسبوغ النعا<sup>(٢)</sup> رهنا لديها وغير خاف عن علمها<sup>(٣)</sup> ادام الله عاليها ان كرسى مصر مميزا عن غيره في كل الاوقات محفوف بمراعاة امره على عدد الساعات مستوجب للملاحظة<sup>(٤)</sup> شأنه مع اللحظات لكونه دار الخلافة ومقر سرير المملكة وان الحاجة داعية الى قسمة اسقف يرسمه ترتضيه حضرته ويرضى تلاميذه طريقته ويحمد جميعهم سيرته وسريته عالما بدينه وامانته موثوق بحكمته وحنكته وتجربته وقد بان عنه غرة الشباب وحدته وتميز بسن الكبر وخبرته فيسير<sup>(٥)</sup> فيهم وفي حرمهم كسيرة من تقدمت رياسته عليهم ممن اشترى الاخره بالدنيا وارضى السيد المسيح بافعاله الحسنى وانفقت الكلمة على استحقاقه الرياسة واستقلاله بائقال السياسة<sup>(٦)</sup> ورضيته الجماعه مقدما عليها ومدبرا لها حسب<sup>(٧)</sup> ما اقتضاه قانون البيعه واحكامها وقرره قضا<sup>(٨)</sup> الشريعة وحكامها الذين شد الله بها ما بنوا وثبت بقدها ما قضاوا وامضوا واحلها في منصبهم<sup>(٩)</sup> واقضى اليها بمنزلتهم وجماعه رعيتهما<sup>(١٠)</sup> يضربون<sup>(١١)</sup> لها المطانوه امام قدسها الطاهر واسكيمها الفاضل في شداد ازهرهم والاهتمام بصلاح امرهم ومساعدتهم في تخيير<sup>(١٢)</sup> من يرصاه ويرتضوه ويراه مستحقا لكشف من وراهم ويروه وعلمهم بما توجهه على نفسها في هذا<sup>(١٣)</sup> الحال اغناهم عن بسط المثال ورايها في اجابتهم<sup>(١٤)</sup> عن هذا الكتاب بما يغنيهم عن تكرار<sup>(١٥)</sup> الخطاب وذكرهم في صلواتها المقدسه وادعيتها المقبوله المستجابة الموفق الاعلا ان شاء الله تعالى .

واوقفت الجماعه من الكهنه وبعض<sup>(١٦)</sup> الشعب على هذا الكتاب فاستصوبوه

(١) التقا [ ب : البقا . (٢) النعا (كذا) في ا ، اقرأ النعمة . (٣) عن علمها ] ب : عنها .  
(٤) العبارة «ملاحظة» . . . يرسمه « غير موجودة في ا . (٥) فيسير ] ب : يسير .  
(٦) بائقال السياسة [ ا : باستقلال بالسياسة . (٧) ومدبرا لها حسب ] ب : ومدبرا لها ومقدما  
عليها حسب . (٨) اقرأ : قضاة . (٩) منصبهم [ ا : منصبها . (١٠) رعيتهما ] ا : رعيتم .  
(١١) يضربون [ ا : ضربوا . (١٢) تخيير ] ب : تخير . (١٣) هذا ] ب : هذه .  
(١٤) اجابتهم [ ب : اجابهم . (١٥) تكرار ] ب : تكرير . (١٦) الكهنه وبعض ]  
ب : الكهنه والاراخته وبعض .

واتفقت كلمتهم على الرضا به وتسييره <sup>(١)</sup> الى الاب القديس ابا مقاره البطرك <sup>(٢)</sup> وكتبوا <sup>(٣)</sup> عنوانه <sup>(٤)</sup> تلاميذها جماعة النصارى اليعاقبة المصريين وسيرته اليه مع رسول قاصد فعاد الجواب .: بما هذه نسخته <sup>(٥)</sup> .: وصل كتاب الاولاد الاحبا <sup>(٦)</sup> المختارون والاخوه الشيوخ المكرمين الموفقين الاراخنه التقيين <sup>(٧)</sup> وكافة الشعب الارتدكسيين اطال الله بقاهم وادام عزهم <sup>(٨)</sup> ونعاهم وبارك عليهم وعلى منازلهم واولادهم وكافة حوزتهم <sup>(٩)</sup> باتم البركات وافضل السعادات وحفظهم يمينه الحصين ونجاهم من مناصب العدو وفضاخ الاشرار واستجاب من مسكنتي فيهم صالح الادعيه بشفاعة القديسين والابرار امين . مقصورا على احد امرين اما توييخ او عتب بجمد عاقبته <sup>(١٠)</sup> موعظهم مما لا حاجه الى تكريره ولا اقامه الحججه فيه من تعزیه وغيرها <sup>(١١)</sup> فما نزل <sup>(١٢)</sup> منهم فيه الاسهاب والمباشرة في ذلك الباب والاقتصار والتحبب اليهم على الموجز من الخطاب ونعم فاما ما شرحوه من انتقال الاخ (القديس الحبيب الروحاني) <sup>(١٣)</sup> الاسقف <sup>(١٤)</sup> انبا سنهوت اسقفهم قدس الله نفسه وخروجه من هذا العالم الفاني ومصيره الى الله سبحانه <sup>(١٥)</sup> فنالنا عليه من الحزن الشديد والغم الوكيد وكثره البكا <sup>(١٦)</sup> وغزير العبرات ما يزيد على ما نصوه في كتابهم مما نالهم عليه والعزا فيه واحد وانا اتحقق ان الله جل اسمه قد اسكنه مع الابرار والصالحين \* في <sup>(١٧)</sup> حياة النعيم معدن <sup>(١٨)</sup> رحمته ١٨٩ (ج)

ودار كرامته وسمع الصوت البهج الفرح ادخل الى فرح سيدك واما ما ذكروه من تقدمه غيره وارشادنا الى معرفة القانون فيه لما علموه من عجزى وتقصير معرفتى فلا ضررا عليهم فيه لان التذكار يقدح فوايد العلم وان كان عجز او

(١) وتسييره [ ا : وتسييره . (٢) البطرك [ ا : غير موجودة . (٣) وكتبوا [ ب : وكتب .  
(٤) عنوانه [ ا : عنه انه . (٥) العبارة « بما هذه نسخته » بالمداد الاحمر في ا و م .  
(٦) الاحبا [ ب : الاحباء . (٧) التقيين [ ا : النقيين . (٨) عزهم [ ب : غير موجودة .  
(٩) وكافة حوزتهم [ ا : وجوزتهم . (١٠) عاقبته [ ا : عاقبته . (١١) تعزیه وغيرها [ ا : يعزیه وغير .  
(١٢) نزل [ ا : ترك . (١٣) القديس الحبيب الروحاني [ ا : على الهامش مقطوعة في م وكاملة في ا و ب . (١٤) الاسقف [ ب : غير موجودة .  
(١٥) سبحانه [ ا : سبحانه . (١٦) البكا [ ب : البكاء . (١٧) في [ ا : غير موجودة .  
(١٨) معدن [ ا : يعون .

تقصير فليس ذلك منى بل هو منهم لتأخيرهم عن تقدمه غيره الى هذه الغاية حسب ما تضمنه القانون الذى عرفونى<sup>(١)</sup> به ولا خروج لى عنه ولا اعلم السبب فى تأخيره فانه يقول ان يكون الاسقف مختاراً من شعبه ويقع<sup>(٢)</sup> التراضى من جميعهم عليه ويكون معروف بالاوصاف التى تضمنها كتابهم ليس قال القانون ان يكون مختاراً من شعب غريب ولا من بطرك والان فالسمع والطاعة لهم فيما امر به القانون تختاروا<sup>(٣)</sup> من يقع عليه رضاكم به وتسكنون اليه ويكون مستصلح لكم اقدمه عليكم<sup>(٤)</sup> ولا اخرج عن رأيكم فيه لانكم مقاسيه ومباشرية ونحن شاكرين لما خصهم الله به من محبة من يسوس امرهم وينظر فى احكامهم وهكذا<sup>(٥)</sup> تكون الرووسا<sup>(٦)</sup> والمقدمين الذين بهم قيام منار الدين وترتيب احوال الضعفا والمساكين اعنى الشيوخ الاراخنة المسحيين ادام الله علوهم<sup>(٧)</sup> ويلزمهم مراعاتنا والدب<sup>(٨)</sup> عنا عوضاً من الملوك الارتذكسيين السالفين لمقامهم فى المجالس العاليه والدواوين المعموره ومباشرتهم السلاطين والمقدمين مما افاضه الله علينا اجمعين من مراحم الحضرة العاليه المعظمه المالكه رقنا خلد الله ايامها ونصر عساكرها وفتح لها مشارق الارض ومغاربها بشفاعه الصالحين من خلقه واستجاب منا ومن الكافة صالح الدعاء فى معاليها التى بحسن رافتها<sup>(٩)</sup> واحسانها اعاده الامور الى كيانها وحمل نظامها الملكى والذى ونعم جزيله نسال الله ان يوزعنا شكرها وجمله الامر يطيبوا نفوسهم ويشرحوا صدورهم فانى يعلم الله لوجائى ملايكة السماء<sup>(١٠)</sup> ما قدمت واحدا منهم الا الذى يقدموه من ذاتهم ويضربوا عنه المطانوه حسب ما تضمنه القانون والتقدمه منهم والتاخير منهم وانا برى من الاثم الواقع فى هذا<sup>(١١)</sup> الباب ليلايظنوا اننى<sup>(١٢)</sup> وخرت<sup>(١٣)</sup> هذا الكرسي لفايدة دنيانية من جملة ما نحن مهتمين به فى غير ذلك

(١) عرفونى [ ا : عرفنى . (٢) ويقع [ ا : ويوقع . (٣) تختاروا [ ا : يختاروا .  
(٤) عليكم [ ا : عليهم . (٥) وهكذا [ ا : وهكذا (٦) الرووسا [ ب : الرؤوساء .  
(٧) علوهم [ ب : علوهم . (٨) والدب [ ا : والرب ، اقرأ الذب بمعنى الدفاع .  
(٩) رافتها [ ا : رافتها . (١٠) ملايكة السماء [ ب : ملايكة من السماء . (١١) هذا [ ا :  
هذهذا . (١٢) اننى [ ب : انى . (١٣) وخرت [ ا : اخترت .

لعدم<sup>(١)</sup> من يصلح ولله الامر من قبل ومن بعد سلام الرب سبحانه<sup>(٢)</sup> يكون معهم ويحل عليهم وعندهم وكتب في العشر الثاني من بوونه سنة اربع وثلثين وثمان<sup>(٣)</sup> مائة للشهدا والشكر لله دائما هذه السنة ثلث وثلثين وثمان<sup>(٤)</sup> مائة على ان اول السنة توت وهو التاريخ الصحيح الذى وضع عليه الابا حساب<sup>(٥)</sup> الابقطى<sup>(٦)</sup> الشمس والقمر، فلما وصل هذا الجواب وقريناه وجدناه جواب من هو محرر<sup>(٧)</sup> وكتابا لا<sup>(٨)</sup> يقتضى ان يكون هذا جوابه وكشفنا عن السبب فيه فعرفنا ان الاب البطرك لا يشتهى ان يجعل في كرسي مصر اسقف وانه قد قام في نفسه<sup>(٩)</sup> ان يكون هو الحاكم فيه اذا حضر واذا غاب استتاب عنه نايب فلم يرضينا ذلك وقلنا منه وقلنا كما انه لا يجوز<sup>(١٠)</sup> ان يكون لنصراني<sup>(١١)</sup> زوجتين كذلك لا يجوز ان يكون لاسقف كرسيين وهذا الاب انبا مقاره البطرك هو اسقف مدينه الاسكندريه فكيف يمكن ان يكون له اسقفية مصر فاستقر الراى على تعجيل<sup>(١٢)</sup> الاهتمام بمن نتخيره<sup>(١٣)</sup> للاسقفية فاجتمع الكهنة والشعب في بيعة الشهيد الجليل سرجيوس بقصر الشمع وتذاكروا من في الديارات من الرهبان الكهنة وغيرهم ممن يصلح للاسقفية بمصر ومن في الصوامع \* فذكروا<sup>(١٤)</sup> ١٨٩ (ظ)

(١) لعدم [ ا : تقدم . (٢) سبحانه [ ا : سبحانه . (٣) وثمان [ ب : وثمان .  
(٤) وثمان [ ا : وثمان . (٥) حساب [ ب : الحساب . (٦) الابقطى [ ب : لابقطى .  
(٧) محرر [ ا : مخروج . (٨) لا [ ا : الا . (٩) قام في نفسه [ ا : قام نفسه .  
(١٠) لا يجوز [ ب : لا يمكن . (١١) لنصراني [ ا : للنصراني . (١٢) تعجيل [ ا : تعجيل ، صححت في الهامش « تعجيل » . (١٣) نتخيره [ ا : يتخيره . (١٤) فذكروا [ ا : قد ذكروا . (١٥) هذه [ ا : هذا . (١٦) الحبيس [ ا : الحبيس . (١٧) مقاره [ ب : غير موجودة .

الاموت يونس الشماس ابن سنهوت<sup>(١)</sup> وكتبت اسما هولاء<sup>(٢)</sup> الاربعه  
 فى اربع رقاع بخطى وشمعهم وجعلتهم على الهيكل وقدسنا عليه<sup>(٣)</sup> ولما فرغ  
 القداس وتغرب الشعب تقدم صبي<sup>(٤)</sup> من الشماسه اخذ من الرقاع واحده  
 بحيث ينظرها الشعب جميعه واذا فيها اسم يونس ابن سنهوت فرضى الجميع<sup>(٥)</sup>  
 بذلك وكتبوا به مسطور وكتبوا فيه الاراخنه والكهنه وكبار الشعب خطوطهم  
 بالرضى به وامتنعت انا الخاطى ان اكتب خطى فيه وقلت اذا حضر الرجل  
 ورايته وتحدث<sup>(٦)</sup> معه وعلمت انه عالم مستقيم الامانه<sup>(٧)</sup> حينئذ<sup>(٨)</sup> اكتب  
 خطى بالرضا به<sup>(٩)</sup> فلما كملت خطوط الكهنه والشعب المصريين والقاهريين  
 فى المحضر اصدرته الى الاب انبا مقاره البطرك طى كتاب عن الجماعه اليه  
 نسخته<sup>(١٠)</sup> وصل كتاب الحضرة السامية الاجلية القديسه الفاضلة الرئيسة النفيسه<sup>(١١)</sup>  
 تاج الملة الارتدكسية وضيا البيعه المسيحيه وجمال بنى المعموديه سيد الآبا  
 ورييس الرووسا<sup>(١٢)</sup> التابعة لاثار الآبا<sup>(١٣)</sup> الحواريون الاطهار وخليفه مارى  
 مرقص<sup>(١٤)</sup> احد الرسل الابرار اطال الله بقاها وحرس عزها وعلاها بعد ارتقاب  
 لقدمه وتطلع<sup>(١٥)</sup> لوصوله فتلقاه رعيتيه بحقه من الاعظام وما يقتضيه محله من  
 الاكرام واكثروا شكر الله تعالى على ما اسفر<sup>(١٦)</sup> عنه من<sup>(١٧)</sup> انبا سلامتها التى  
 يعتدوا بها من اجل المواهب لله عليهم واوفا الطافه الخفيه فيهم فاغتنبوا بذلك  
 اغتباط المتمسكين بطاعتها المتقربين الى الله سبحانه<sup>(١٨)</sup> بالعمل بمروضاتها المسترشدين  
 فى جميع امورهم بما يهديهم الله اليه بتعاليمها الروحانيه واحكامها العادلة  
 المرضية والله يحفظ بقدسها نظام الدين من الشتات ويجرس ببركات<sup>(١٩)</sup>

(١) يونس الشماس ابن سنهوت [ ب : يونس بدير سنهوت الشماس . (٢) هولاء ]  
 ا : هولاء . (٣) عليه [ ب : عليهم . (٤) من [ ب : غير موجودة . (٥) الجميع ]  
 ا : الجمع . (٦) وتحدث [ ا و ب : وتحدثت . (٧) مستقيم الامانه ] ا : غير موجودة .  
 (٨) حينئذ [ ا : حينئذا . (٩) بالرضا به ] ا : بالوصاية . (١٠) كلمة « نسخته »  
 بالمداد الاحمر فى ا و م . (١١) الرئيسة النفيسه [ ب : الرئيسة النفيسية . (١٢) ورييس  
 الرووسا ] ب : ورييس الرووساء . (١٣) الآبا [ ب : الآباء . (١٤) مرقص ] ا و ب : مرقس .  
 (١٥) وتطلع [ ا : ويطلع (كذا) . (١٦) اسفر ] ب : استقر . (١٧) من [ ب :  
 غير موجودة . (١٨) سبحانه ] ا و ب : سبحانه . (١٩) ببركات ] ب : بركة .

دعاها (١) جميع الشعب من الافات ويصون بصلواتها المرفوعة اليه سبحانه (٢) بغير حجاب ودعاها المقبول المستجاب الكلمة الارتدكسية من الافتراق ويويد البيع المسيحية بمزية الاتفاق ويقرب اوتها ومثول شعبها (٣) بين يديها وتبركهم من قدسها على افضل الاحوال الماثوره والقضايا المختاره بصلواتها المقدسه فاما ما رسمته ادام الله علاها (٤) من تخير (٥) من يرتضونه للتقدمه عليهم والنظر في امورهم حسب (٦) توجيه قوانين البيعة فقد قابله بالسمع والطاعة بعد المعرفة بقدر المنسه عليهم به والانعام بموجبه واجتمعوا في بيعة الشهيد الجليل سرجيوس (٧) بعد ان قدموا استخاره الله امامهم ورجعوا اليه عن ضمماير سلميه من الهوى صادقه في النجوا في توفيقهم لارتضا من يوافقهم قولاً وفعلاً ويسير فيهم احسن سيره (٨) ونبلا (٩) واثبتوا اسما اثني عشر (١٠) رجلا ممن اتفقت الكلمة على العلم بدينه والمعرفة بصحة يقينه ثم تخيروا من هذه العده اربعة (١١) نفر وهم مرقوره الحبيس بايار وتيدر القس (١٢) بدير ابو مقار ويونس (١٣) السنهوري والشماس يونس ابن سنهوت واودعت اسمائهم (١٤) اربعة (١٥) رقا (١٦) \* وشمعت وحملت على الهيكل المقدس بالبيعه ١٩٠ (ج)

المذكورة وقدس عليها ثلثة ايام اخرها يوم الاحد الرابع عشر من ايب واجتمع الكهنه واحاطوا بالهيكل والشعب عند بابه قيام وارتفع من جميعهم الضجيج والابتهال والتضرع الى السيد المسيح والسؤال في ان يختار (١٧) لسياسة شعبه وتديبر بيعته من يراه عاملا (١٨) بفروضه سايرا فيهم سيرة القديسين الاطهار والصالحين الابرار الذين انتخبهم لرعى خرافه واصطفاهم لرياسه المومنين به وتقدم الشماس الطفل ولد الشيخ ابو الفخر (١٩) ادام الله تاييده واخذ بحضور

(١) دعاها [ ب : دعاها . (٢) سبحانه [ ا : غير موجودة . (٣) شعبها [ ا : سمعتها .  
(٤) علاها [ ا : اعلاها . (٥) تخير [ ا : يختار . (٦) حسبها [ ب : حسب ما .  
(٧) سرجيوس [ ب : ماري سرجيوس . (٨) سيره [ ا : مسيره . (٩) ونبلا [ ا : وفعلا .  
(١٠) اسما اثني عشر [ ب : اسماء اثنا عشر . (١١) اربعة [ ب : اربع . (١٢) القس [ ب : غير  
موجودة . (١٣) ويونس [ ا : يونس . (١٤) اسمائهم [ ب : اسمهم . (١٥) اربعة [ ب : اربع .  
(١٦) من هنا الى آخر هذا الجزء اوراق مرمة في م (مخطوط المتحف القبطي) .  
(١٧) يختار [ ا : يختاروا . (١٨) من يراه عاملا [ ب : من يراه فيما يحترفه عاملا .  
(١٩) ابو الفخر [ ب : بو الفخر .

الجماعة واحدة من الرقاع المذكورة وفتحت فوجدت باسم يونس ابن سنهوت فشكروا الله تعالى على ما هداهم اليه واستبشروا بما دهم عليه ورضوا بما رضيه واختاره مقدما عليهم وقد ضمن (١) تلاميذها (٢) بجميع ذلك مسطوراً اثبت فيه خطوط جماعتهم وتلاميذها يقبلون اسكيميا ويضربون المطانوات بين ايديها ويسالوا استدعى الشماس المذكور كما جرت العادة بان يستدعى مثله وتقدمته اسقفا عليهم ليقوم بعاره البيع وتدير امور الشعب وينعم باجرانهم على جميل عاداتها الكريمة يذكرهم في صلواتها المقدسة وادعيتها المستجابه ورايها الموفق انشا (٣) الله تعالى .: فوصل الجواب بما نسخته (٤) وصلت مكاتبه الاخوة المختارين الاحبا السعداء الكهنه الاخيار والشيوخ المكرمين المحبوبين الموقفين التقيين (٥) الفايزين بكل فضيلة مسيحية الخصوصين بجميع التحيات الروحانية الاراخنة (٦) الارتدكسين وكافت (٧) الشعب المسيحيين اطال الله بقاهم وادام نعمهم وعلاهم ورفعهم (٨) وكبت (٩) اعداهم وبارك عليهم وعلى منازلهم واولادهم ومعايشهم ببركات يعولوا بها شانهم ويزيد منها رفعتهم ويعظم منها مكانهم ويوفر (١٠) حظوظهم ويثبت عليهم النعمة الدائمة والغبطة (١١) الحاله وحفظهم بعينه التي لا تنام وكنفه الذي لا يظلم ويكفيهم كل المناصب الشيطانية والفخاخ الرديه ويستجيب من مسكنتي فيهم صالح الادعية بشفاعه ذات الشفاعات مريم البتول وصلوات البشير ماري مرقس مكمل (١٢) الشهادات ومحقق الدين والامانات وكافه القديسين والابرار اجمعين يتضمن معانيهم السنية والفاظهم العذبة الروحانية كالشهد والمن المذكورين في سفر الزبور (١٣) ولما تأملت معادن فضلهم ودار اكرامهم وجدتها مقصوره على امتداحهم لفقرى الذي لست انا باهله ولا

(١) ضمن : ساقطة من م وموجودة في ا . (٢) تلاميذها [ ا : تلميذها . (٣) انشا [ ب : ان شا . (٤) جملة « فوصل الجواب بما نسخته » بالمداد الاحمر في م و ا . (٥) التقيين [ ا : التقيين . (٦) الاراخنة [ ا : غير موجودة . (٧) وكافت [ ا و ب : وكافة . (٨) ورفعهم [ ا و ب : ووقفهم . (٩) وكبت [ ا : وكبت (كذا) . (١٠) ويوفر [ ا : يوفق . (١١) والغبطة [ ا : الغبطة . (١٢) مكمل [ ا : بكل . (١٣) الزبور [ ا : المزبور .



منسوبا اليه ولا حقيق به لمعرفة بذاتي وانى غير<sup>(١)</sup> صالحا لما اهلتمونى<sup>(٢)</sup> شكر<sup>(٣)</sup> خلوصى \* محبتهم وصفوا اعتقادهم وبراعة<sup>(٤)</sup> فهمهم ولجة علمهم ١٩٠ (ظ)  
وبراعتهم وحسن ادابهم كما قيل عن موسى النبي فى التوراه وتعلم موسى من  
حكمة المصريين فيهم الفخر<sup>(٥)</sup> والكمال وبقية<sup>(٦)</sup> ما سمعت<sup>(٧)</sup> به الامال  
والزياده فى العمر والاجال والله تعالى ذكره يقيم بهم منار الدين ويشيد بحياتهم<sup>(٨)</sup>  
عضد الاخوة المسيحيين ويديم تعميرهم ويقدم نفوس اسلافهم ويرزقنا جميعا  
رحمة ورافة<sup>(٩)</sup> امام منبره المرهوب وموقفه<sup>(١٠)</sup> المرعوب امين فاما ما<sup>(١١)</sup> ذكروه  
من الشوق الروحاني فعندى منه ما يجوز حد الوصف ويعلوا كل اسباب  
واطناب اسال البارى سبحانه قرب الاويه<sup>(١٢)</sup> وتكميل<sup>(١٣)</sup> الاجتماع على اتم  
القضايا السارة والاحوال الماثوره والذى اشاروا فهو ممن يجب فيه شكرهم  
والثنا عليهم لمحبتهم لابيهم الروحانيين ورغبتهم فيمن يسوس<sup>(١٤)</sup> احوالهم  
ويرم شعب<sup>(١٥)</sup> بيعتهم وانهم قدموا الله تعالى فى بداية طلبهم ورغبوا اليه فى  
ان يظهر لهم من هو مستحق<sup>(١٦)</sup> لما طلبوه وارادوه فنعم ما فعلوا لان الكتب  
المقدسه تقول اجعل الله بدو<sup>(١٧)</sup> امرك وهو بكرمه ينجح مسعاهم ويقضى لنا  
ولهم بما فيه الخيره وحميد العاقبه والذى اوضح<sup>(١٨)</sup> الله اسمه لهم<sup>(١٩)</sup> واخرجه  
الوجود<sup>(٢٠)</sup> لديهم وتراضى جميعهم عليه فهو نعم الانسان والقلب طيب على  
ما تطيب به نفوسهم وتستقيم به امورهم وتكمل<sup>(٢١)</sup> لسياسة احوالهم فيتقدموا  
بمشية الله جل اسمه بتحصيله عندهم والاستيثاق<sup>(٢٢)</sup> منه وحفظه وحينئذ احضر

(١) غير [ ب : غير موجودة . (٢) اهلتمونى [ ا : اهلتمونى . (٣) شكر [ ا و ب : شكرت . (٤) وبراعه [ ا : وبراعه . (٥) فيهم الفخر [ ب : فيهم  
الجمال والفخر . (٦) وبقية [ ا : بغيه . (٧) سمعت [ ا : سمعت . (٨) ويشيد  
بحياتهم [ ا : ويشد بحياتهم . (٩) ورافة [ ا : ورافه . (١٠) وموقفه [ ا : وموته (كذا) .  
(١١) فاما ما : بالمداد الاحمر فى ا . (١٢) الاويه كذا فى ا ، اقرأ الاويه . (١٣) وتكمل [ ا :  
ويهلك ، ب : تمهيل . (١٤) يسوس [ ا : يسييس . (١٥) ويرم شعب [ ا : ويوم شعث .  
(١٦) مستحق [ ا : يستحق . (١٧) بدو [ ا : بدوا . (١٨) اوضح [ ا و ب : اوضح .  
(١٩) لهم [ ا : غير موجودة . (٢٠) الوجود [ ب : للوجود . (٢١) وتكمل [ ا : وتكمل .  
(٢٢) والاستيثاق [ ا : والاستيثاق .

ان اعان الله بالحياه ونتمم محبوبهم ونبليغ ايثارهم فغير خاف عنهم ان المذكور يسوم نفسه مقام (١) غير مقام الاسقفية حتى انه مضى الى الحضرة (٢) الاجيلية (٣) القدسية (٤) الطاهرة النقية الابوية البطركية الأرمن (٥) ادام الله قدسها وقصدتها وتطارح عليها الى ان الزمتني بان كتبت له حجة من القلاية اني لا اجعله في شئ من درجات الكهنوت بشهادة ذلك (٦) القديس بطرك الارمن على ومخاطبته اياي عليه وذلك (٦) في السنة التي سير فيها الرسول (٧) الى بلاد الحبشه فاستفهموا هذا الامر منه واستعينوا به في احضار الشخص المذكور اليكم وتحصيله عندكم لتعلموا برات (٨) ساحتي (٩) وان الامر منكم والسؤال له فيه والرغبة اليه ولا ينظرني بانى قلت له قول ونقضته وعلى الجملة فتحرصوا في تحصيله وانى لا اتاخر عن تقديمه لهم حسب ما اقترحوه وارتضوه والى حين ذلك (٦) لا يخلونا من مكاتبتهم متضمنه ذكر احوالهم واخبارهم سلام الرب سبحانه (١٠) يكون معهم ويحل عليهم وعندهم وكتب في الرابع والعشرون (١١) من شهر مسرى سنة اربع وثلاثين وثمان مائة للشهدا الابرار والحمد (١٢) لله دائما ابديا (١٣) ولما وصل الكتاب من الاب مقاره (١٤) البطرک ووقفنا عليه اجتمعنا (١٥) ومضينا الى بطرك الارمن وهو يومئذ في \* كنيسة السيدة بارض الزهره (١٦) التي ما بين القاهره ومصر وقريناه عليه فقال صدق الاب البطرک فيما تضمنه كتابه وساناه (١٧) في (١٨) مساعدته لنا في احضار يونس الراهب ابن سنهوت المقدم ذكره فكتب كتابا للاب مقاره البطرک ان يسير اليه من تلاميذه (١٩) من يحضره فسير اليه تلميذان

(١) مقام [ ا : غير موجودة . (٢) الحضرة [ ا : غير موجودة . (٣) الاجيلية [ ا و ب : الاجيلية . (٤) القدسية [ ا و ب : القديسه . (٥) الارمن [ ا : الاومن (كذا) ، ب : للارمن . (٦) ذلك [ ا و ب : ذلك . (٧) الرسول [ ا : غير موجودة . (٨) برات [ ا : براه ، ب : ابراه . (٩) ساحتي [ ا : نياحتي . (١٠) سبحانه [ ا : سبحانه . (١١) والعشرون [ ا : والعشرين . (١٢) والحمد [ ب : والسبح . (١٣) ابديا [ ا : ابدا ، ب : غير موجودة . (١٤) الاب مقاره [ ا و ب : الاب انبا مقاره . (١٥) اجتمعنا [ ا : اجتمعنا . (١٦) الزهره [ ا : الزهرى . (١٧) وساناه [ ا : وساننا . (١٨) في [ ب : غير موجودة . (١٩) تلاميذه [ ا : تلاميذ .

فاحضروه وانزلوه في دار الشيخ ابو الفضل التي (١) فيما بين نجيب (٢) ودار الغزل (٣) بمصر فلما كان في اليوم الثاني استدعاه بطرك الارمن الى قلايته واقام عنده ايام وذلك (٤) براى انبا (٥) مقاره بطركنا اراد بذلك (٦) يمتحنه بطرك الارمن ويختبر حاله وعلمه وامانته فوجده كما يجب في كلما (٧) يحتاج اليه منه فاخذة الشيخ ابو الفضل سعيد ابن ابراهيم ابن المصطنع المنسوب الى بنى الاسكاف بحكم مصاهرتهم وليس هو منهم واعاده الى داره فيما بين نجيب (٨) ودار الغزل واقام فيها منذ خروجه من قلاية بطرك الارمن فلما كان اليوم السابع عشر من بابه المذكور اجتمع الكهنة والاراخنة والشعب الى دار الشيخ ابو الفضل المذكور وانفذوا الى متولى المعونه بمصر واعلموه ان قد اقيم لهم اسقف جديد عوضا من المتوفى وانهم يريدوا يزفوه من حيث هو الى كنيسة ابو سرجه بقصر الشمع بالذى جرت به العاده وهم يخشوا من عوام الناس ان يتعرض لهم منهم سفه (٩) في الطريق فيقع في ذلك (١٠) ما يشغل القلب فانفذ الولى اليهم خليفته وجماعه من رجالته وركب الاسقف بغلة عالية (١١) من دواب بعض اصحاب الدواوين في الساعه الثالثه من النهار وزفوه بالقراه (١٢) وبين يديه الشمع (١٣) والانجيل ومجامر البخور من الدار المذكورة الى كنيسة ابو سرجه المذكورة وقدس وقرى تقليده فيها (١٤) انبا مينا اسقف ملبج وانبا ميخائيل اسقف اطفيح (١٥) وانبا يوحنا اسقف الخندق وهو كرسي بسطه وكان يوم (١٦) عظيم وكان له مثل ذلك (١٧) في يوم الاحد الذى بعده في القاهره في كنيسة السيدة بحارة زويله وكرز فيها بعد ان زفوه بالقراه والشمع والانجيل والمجامر من باب خوخت (١٨) ميمون دبه التي على الخليج الى هذه الكنيسة ومعه خليفة متولى

- (١) التي [ ب : الذى . (٢) نجيب [ ا : بحيث . (٣) الغزل [ ب : العدل .  
 (٤) ذلك [ ا و ب : ذلك . (٥) انبا [ ب : ابا . (٦) بذلك [ ا و ب : بذلك .  
 (٧) كلما [ ا : كل ما . (٨) نجيب [ ا : بحيث . (٩) سفه [ ا و ب : سفه .  
 (١٠) ذلك [ ا و ب : ذلك . (١١) عالية [ ا : غالية . (١٢) بالقراه [ ا و ب : بالقراه .  
 (١٣) وبين يديه الشمع [ ا : والشمع بين يديه . (١٤) فيها [ ا : + وكرزه فيها .  
 (١٥) وانبا ميخائيل اسقف اطفيح [ ا : غير موجودة . (١٦) يوم [ ب : يوما .  
 (١٧) ذلك [ ا و ب : ذلك . (١٨) خوخت [ ا و ب : خوخته .

المعونة بالقاهرة ورجاله وحدثني الشيخ ابو الفضل المقدم ذكره لما حضر ليفتقدني انه ما دفع لتلاميذ البطرك ولا لكتابه درهما واحدا لا عن رسم ولا عن غيره ولا جسروا يطلبوا منه شيئا<sup>(١)</sup> خوفا من الاراخنة وكذلك<sup>(٢)</sup> جرت حال سنهوت نوح الله نفسه عند تقدمته اسقفا<sup>(٣)</sup> وكذلك انبا يعقوب الذي كان اسقفا قبله بل لما صير البطريك المذكور هذا الاب انبا يونس اغومنس امتنع من تكميله اسقف حتى اخذ خطه \* بانه يحمل نصف ارتفاع الكرسي في كل سنة للقلاية البطركية عن الديارية وكان ما يوخذ من انبا سنهوت الاسقف نوح الله نفسه في كل سنة للقلاية خمسة عشر دينار والكتاب<sup>(٤)</sup> والتلاميذ دينارين اذا حملوا اليه الارسطيكا<sup>(٥)</sup> الجميع في السنة سبعة عشر دينار وفي ابيب سنة ثمان مائة اربعة وتلتين للشهدا وهي السنة الخامسة عشر لبطركية الاب القديس انبا مقاره البطرك وصل<sup>(٦)</sup> بردويل مقدم الفرنج<sup>(٧)</sup> في عسكر عظيم الى الفرما فنهبا واحرقها وعول على المهجوم الى مصر بغته فرض وفي ثالث يوم اشتد مرضه فامر اصحابه ان يحملوه ويعودوا الى الشام فحملوه وعادوا فلما وصلوا الى العريش مات هناك فشقوا بطنه وملحوه كما اوصاهم وعادوا به الى القدس وكان السيد الاجل الافضل لما بلغه وصولهم الى الفرما جرد<sup>(٨)</sup> اليهم عسكر عظيم فلما مات<sup>(٩)</sup> بردويل مقدمهم وعادوا<sup>(١٠)</sup> تبعهم<sup>(١١)</sup> العسكر الى الشام وعاد<sup>(١٢)</sup> وقد كفانا الله امرهم نساله جل اسمه دوام رحمته ونعمته ويلهمنا شكره ولا ينسينا<sup>(١٣)</sup> ذكره بجوده ومجده ولما كان يوم الاحد النصف من كيهك سنة احدى عشر وخمسين الخراجيه وهي سنة ثمان مائة ثمانية وتلتين<sup>(١٤)</sup> للشهدا وهو<sup>(١٥)</sup> سلخ شهر رمضان سنة خمس عشر وخمس مائة الهلالية الذي في

(١) شيئا [ اوب : شى . (٢) وكذلك [ ا : وكذلك ، ب : لذلك . (٣) العبارة « جرت حال . . . اسقفا » غير موجودة في ا . (٤) والكتاب [ ا : والكتاب . (٥) الارسطيكا [ ا : الارستكنا . (٦) وصل [ ا : ووصل . (٧) الفرنج [ ا : الافرنج . (٨) الفرما جرد [ ب : الفرما قد جرد . (٩) فلما مات [ ب : فلما عاد ومات . (١٠) وعادوا [ ب : غير موجودة . (١١) وعادوا تبعهم [ ا : عادوا وتبعهم . (١٢) وعاد [ ب : غير موجودة . (١٣) ولا ينسينا [ ا : ولا ينسينا . (١٤) ثمان مائة ثمانية وتلتين [ ا : ثمان مائة وتلتين . (١٥) للشهدا وهو [ ب : للشهدا القديسين وهو .

غده يكون الفطر<sup>(١)</sup> ركب السيد الاجل الافضل من داره بمصر التي تسمى دار الملك وطلع الى القاهرة المحروسة ودخل الى القصر الشريف وجلس بين يدي مولانا الامر باحكام الله وعرضة<sup>(٢)</sup> عليه المضال والدواب والسروج وغير ذلك<sup>(٣)</sup> وتخبر منه ما يكون برسم الركوب في غد<sup>(٤)</sup> ذلك اليوم على جرى<sup>(٥)</sup> العادة في مثله وخرج من القصر وعاد الى مصر فلما تجاوز سوق السيوفيين وراس الجسر خرج عليه ثلاثة رجال لم يعرفوا وقيل انهم من بلاد الشرق فاستقبله اثنين منهم وبايديهم سكينتين<sup>(٦)</sup> فلما راهم<sup>(٧)</sup> الغلمان بادروا اليهم بالسيوف فقتلوه<sup>(٨)</sup> وفي اشتغال الغلمان<sup>(٩)</sup> بقتلهما خرج اليه الثالث من زقاق دار الكتاب<sup>(١٠)</sup> وضربه بسكين فقتله وبادروا الغلمان اليه فقطعوه بسيوفهم وحملوا السيد الاجل الافضل الى دار الملك وهم يظنون انه حي فلما صار في الدار وجدوه قد مات فلما بلغ خبره لمولانا الامر باحكام الله نزل من ساعته الى دار الملك واحتاط على جميع ما فيهما من الاموال وامر بكتمان وفاته في تلك الليلة عن الناس وفي غد اظهر امره للوجود وفي غداة يوم الثالث اخرج تابوته في السحر وجميع الناس يمشوا حوله حفاه وخرج مولانا الامر خلد \* الله<sup>(١١)</sup> ملكه راكب خلفه بثياب<sup>(١٢)</sup> غسيل وعمامة حمدانيه بدوابه حتى ١٩٢ (ج)

وصل الى تربة والده بظاهر القاهرة خارج باب النصر فصلى عليه ودفن فيها وعاد مولانا الى دار الملك بمصر واقام فيها سبعة عشر يوم حتى حمل جميع ما فيها من الاموال والجواهر والذهب والفضة والملايس والفرش والاثاث<sup>(١٣)</sup> والالات الى القصر ويقال ان المال الذي وجد عيناً في الاكياس اربعة الف الف دينار<sup>(١٤)</sup> وما<sup>(١٥)</sup> سوى ذلك<sup>(١٦)</sup> مما تقدم ذكره مع السلاح والدواب ما يعرف<sup>(١٧)</sup>

(١) الفطر [ ا : الفطير . (٢) وعرضة [ ا و ب : وعرضت . (٣) ذلك [ ا و ب : ذلك . (٤) غد [ ا : غير موجودة . (٥) جرى [ ا : جارى . (٦) سكينتين [ ا : سكينين . (٧) راهم [ ا و ب : راوهم . (٨) فقتلوهما [ ا و ب : فقتلوهما . (٩) الغلمان [ ا : غير موجودة . (١٠) الكتاب [ ب : الكاتبة . (١١) الله : مكررة في م لانها اول الصفحة . (١٢) بثياب [ ا : بنياب . (١٣) الاثاث [ ا : الاناث . (١٤) الف الف دينار [ ا : الفا دينار . (١٥) وما [ ا : غير موجودة . (١٦) ذلك [ ا و ب : ذلك . (١٧) والدواب ما يعرف [ ب : والدواب فانه ما يعرف .

قيمته وصار مولانا عليه السلام<sup>(١)</sup> يجلس كل يوم في قاعة الذهب بالقصر السعيد للنظر في امور<sup>(٢)</sup> المملكة ورجال الدولة والقايد الاجل ابوا<sup>(٣)</sup> عبد الله واخوته بين يديه لتنفيذ الامور والركوب معه في كل يوم سبت ويوم الثلاثاء الى البساتين والمناظر بضواحي القاهره وظاهر مصر واستمر<sup>(٤)</sup> على ذلك بقية شهر سنة خمس عشر وخمسين<sup>(٥)</sup> الهلالية ولما كان في سنة ستة عشر وخمس مائة اخلع مولانا خلد الله ملكه على القايد الاجل عبد الله وقلده الوزاره وتدير مملكته والنظر في امور رجال دولته وكتب له بذلك<sup>(٦)</sup> سبجلا معظم<sup>(٧)</sup> وذكر فيه القابه ونعوقه<sup>(٨)</sup> ومن جعلتها السيد الاجل المامون الى ان عول على قتله اذا خلا به في قصره فاتضح له ذلك بدلائل عرف صحتها وحقيقتها سبق اليه وبادر بالقبض عليه وعلى اخوته واولاده ووالده<sup>(٩)</sup> في عشية يوم الجمعة الثالث من رمضان<sup>(١٠)</sup> سنة تسعة عشر وخمس مائة واعتقلهم في خزانه بالقصر السعيد موثوقين بالحديد والقيود وبعد مدة مات حيدوه<sup>(١١)</sup> وبقي محمد ابن فاتك الملقب كان بالمأمون<sup>(١٢)</sup> وانتهى الى الخليفه ان محمد ابن فاتك المذكور كان في ايام وزارته سير الى بلاد اليمن رجل من خواصه يعرف بابي الحسن نجيب الدولة على انه رسوله الى الحره<sup>(١٣)</sup> ملكة اليمن في الظاهر وقرر معه في الباطن ان يذيع<sup>(١٤)</sup> عنه انه ولد ابن نزار ابن مولانا المنتصر<sup>(١٥)</sup> بالله وانه احق بالخلافه وهو الان مقما بها وان يقيم له الدعوة هناك ويضرب له السكه باسمه هناك<sup>(١٦)</sup> فسير اليها الامام الامر باحكام الله<sup>(١٧)</sup> احد الامرا وينعت باسد الدولة ومعه كتب الى الحره فلما وقفت عليها وعرفت قضيت<sup>(١٨)</sup> حال ابوا<sup>(١٩)</sup> الحسن

(١) عليه السلام [ ا و ب : سلام الله عليه . (٢) امور ] ا : غير موجودة .  
 (٣) ابوا [ ا : ابو . (٤) واستمر ] ا و ب : واستمرت . (٥) وخمسين ] ا : وخمس مائة .  
 (٦) بذلك [ ا و ب : بذلك . (٧) سبجلا معظم ] ا : سبجلا عظيم . (٨) ونعوقه ] ا :  
 ونعوته وهي الاصح . (٩) ووالده ] ب : وولده . (١٠) رمضان ] ا : غير موجودة .  
 (١١) حيدوه ] ا : حيدره . (١٢) كان بالمأمون ] ا : كان المامون . (١٣) الى الحره ]  
 ب : في الحيره . (١٤) ان يذيع ] ا : انه يذيع . (١٥) المنتصر ] ا و ب : المستنصر .  
 (١٦) هناك ] ب : غير موجودة . (١٧) الامر باحكام الله ] ب : الحاكم بامر الله .  
 (١٨) قضيت ] ب : قضية . (١٩) ابوا ] ا : ابو .

المذكور لم تزل<sup>(١)</sup> تتحيل بسياستها الى ان قبضت عليه وسيرته الى مصر فلما وصل يوم الثلاثاء العاشر من محرم<sup>(٢)</sup> سنة احدى عشر وخمسمائة<sup>(٣)</sup> استشهد في القاهرة ومصر وهو\* راكب على جمل وتحتة دكه وعلى راسه طرطور رصاص مزوق ١٩٢ (ظ) وعلى كتفه قرد وفي يده مرآة تزيه وجهه وخلف ظهره رجال<sup>(٤)</sup> العوام وفي يده نعال وهو يبطش به طول الطريق الى ان وصل الى القصر الشريف واعتقل عند صاحبه محمد ابن فاتك<sup>(٥)</sup>

اسأل الله جلت قدرته وتعالى ذكره ان يرزقك ايها الاب الراهب ابن يوحنا النفيس الشماس الابصلمدى النعمه والامن والكفايه بشفاعه السيده البتول الطاهره مريم والدة الخلاص وكافة الشهداء والقديسين .

## ١٩٣ (ح) **الاب غبريال ابن تريك البطرك\*** وهو من عدد الابا السبعون

هذا الاب الجليل غبريال ابن تريك كان من اهل مصر من نسل شريف من اعيان الكتاب جلس على كرسي البطركيه اربعة عشر سنه وسته<sup>(٦)</sup> شهر وتذبح في العاشر من برمودة سنه اثنين وستين وثمان مائه للشهدا الموافقه للحادى عشر من شوال سنه تسع وثلثون وخمس مائه الهلاليه وكان اسمه وهو علماني ابو العلا شماسا في كنيسه القديس ابو مرقوره بمصر رجل كهل عاقل صالح عالم خبير<sup>(٧)</sup> ذات سيره جميله وصدقه كثيره وبر ومعروف محباً للصلوات والقداسات وخدمة الكنايس والغربا والمرضى مفتقدا الارامل<sup>(٨)</sup> والايتام ومن في السجون والضيق ومجتهدا في قراه الكتب وتفسير معانيها والبحث عنها ناسخ

(١) لم تزل [ ا : ولم تزل . (٢) محرم ] ا : المحرم . (٣) احدى عشر وخمسمائة [ ا : احدى وعشرون وخمس مائه ، ب : احدى عشرين وخمس مائه . (٤) رجال ] ا : رجل . (٥) يبيض في م و ا . ذكر في م على هامشه العبارة « لم وجد نقلته » . (٦) وسته [ ب : وست . (٧) خبير ] ب : خير . (٨) الارامل [ ب : للارامل .

جيد قبطنى وعربى ينسخ<sup>(١)</sup> لنفسه كتب كثيرة ومجلدات اشتراها من كتب  
العتيقة والحديثة مما<sup>(٢)</sup> يصلح للبيعه المقدسه والدين المسيحى وكان يخدم فى  
ديوان المكاتبات وقت وفى بيت المال وقت ومن كتبه بيت المال اخذوه  
لما وقع عليه الاتفاق وكرزوه بطركا وكان عمره فى ذلك الوقت سبعة واربعين  
سنه وكان المساعد فى قسمته مع الاراخنه الشيخ ابى البركات ابن ابى المبت<sup>(٣)</sup>  
الملكى صاحب ديوان التحقيق ومن حضر من الاسكندرانيين بمصر لان النوبه  
كانت لهم وطلع به الى كنيسه المعلقه فى يوم الثلاثاء التاسع من امشير من سنه  
سبع واربعين وثمان مائه للشهدا فدهنوه ومضوا به فى عشارى موكبى الى  
اسكندريه واوسموه بطركا وذلك فى ايام احمد ابن الافضل ابن امير الجيوش  
ويسمى شاهنشاه وذكر مولف هذه السيره وهو الاب مرقس ابن زرعه انه  
لم يكن لاحد من الاساقفه علم بقسمته ولا الرهبان ولا مشوره فى امره<sup>(٤)</sup>  
لان كرسي البطرقيه اقام خاليا سنين كثيره بعد وفاة انبا مقاره واخبر من يوثق به  
ان الجماعه التى اجتمعت من الاراخنه لطلب بطرك مضوا الى دير ابو مقار  
فاخذوهم اولاد ابو مقار ومضوا معهم الى ابا يوسف القديس السريانى فى  
دير السريان لكى يشاوروه وياخذوا بركته<sup>(٥)</sup> وكانت نعمه الله حاله عليه  
روح القدس<sup>(٦)</sup> ساكنه فيه وكان يخبر بالغيب فلما تحدثوا معه فى امر البطرقيه  
ومن يصلح لها لان قوم منهم كانوا تطاولوا لها فقال لهم ابا يوسف ارجعوا  
الى منازلكم فقد تعبتم فى مجيكم الى هاهنا فان بطركم فى مصر واثار اليه واسماه لهم  
وقال لهم هو فلان ابن تريك فرجعوا وفعولوا كما قال لهم وكذلك يقال عن  
البطرك انبا مقاره الذى كان قبله ان ابا يوسف هذا قال عنه مثل ذلك وكذلك  
الحبيس بايار انه اخبر بذلك وذكر من كان يعاشره من صباه ويخالطه من اترابه  
انه<sup>(٧)</sup> كان يعمل موضع من دار ابوه مثل كنيسه وكان يقرأ فيها كأنه يقدس  
ثم يبارك على اهل دار ابوه ويلعب وهو طفل ويقول لهم انا بطركم ويلبس مزره

(١) ينسخ [ ب : فنسخ . (٢) مما [ ب : وما . (٣) المبت [ ب : الليت .  
(٤) فى أمره [ ب : غير موجوده . (٥) وياخذوا بركته [ ب : وياخذوا من بركته .  
(٦) عليه وروح القدس [ ب : عليه لان روح القدس . (٧) انه [ ب : ان .



حرير كانت له مثل القصله ولما كبر اقسام شماساً ولله في خلقه اسرار لا يعلمها الا هو ومن يطلعه عليها من قديسيه ومحبي اسمه وقد قال الرسول انه لا ياخذ احد كرامه من ذاته \* الا ان يعطاها من السما من عند الله لان الله قال لارميا ١٩٣ (ظ) النبي قد جعلتك نبيا وانت في بطن امك اصطفتك للنبوۃ وقال لخرقيال النبي قد جعلتك (١) مثل ناطور لهذا الشعب وقال لموسى قد جعلتك الاله فرعون وقال لداوود النبي اني امسحه ملكا وارفعه على جميع ملوك الارض ونظاير هذه الاقوال كثيره في الشريعه ولما عاد هذا البطرک الى الجيزه بعد مجيئه من اسكندريه طلع الى دير القديس ابو مقار ليكرزوه هناك على جارى العاده لمن تقدمه من البطاركه جرى الحديث في معنى الاعتراف القول على القربان قبل تناوله وهو او من واعترف ان هذا جسد ربنا ومخلصنا يسوع المسيح الذى اخذه من والده الاله مريم العذرى وصار واحد مع لاهوته فانكر قوم من الرهبان بالدير المذكور قول هذه اللفظه الذى هى وصار واحد مع لاهوته لكونها مضافه وذكروا انهم لم تجرى عادتهم يقولوها فاعتذر بانها قالها في يوم تقدمته كما لقنوه الاساقفه الذين قدموه ولا يسوغ له تركها ولا (٢) النزول عنها لكونها لفظه صحيحه وجرى في ذلك خطوب ومفاوضات استقر اخرها اضافته الكلمات الاخر التي تقرر الحاقها بها وهى وصار واحد مع لاهوته بغير امتزاج (٣) ولا اختلاط فوافقهم على ذلك وقاله واستعملها الى الان وانفق اكثر الناس على القول بها الا قوم من اهل الصعيد فانهم استمروا على عادتهم المعروفه فلم يعارضهم في ذلك ولا جبرهم عليه وفي بدايه قسمته توفى انبا يونس اسقف مصر في ربيع الاخر سنه ثمان وعشرين وخمس مائه الهلاليه وصلى عليه مع جماعه من الكهنه ودفنه في الحبس ولم يقسم احد بعده على مصر مده بطركيته ومنع دفن الموتى (٤) في الكنايس ولما اتصل به تعدى قوم ومخالفتهم امره في ذلك وانهم دفنوا بسوس القمص في كنيسه حاره الروم بالقاهره انفذ الكنيسه واقامت مده مغلوقة ثم امر بفتحها بعد زمان بسؤال الاراخنه وحمل جسد

(١) النبي قد جعلتك [ ب : النبي يا ابن آدم قد جعلتك . (٢) له تركها ولا ] ب : غير موجودة . (٣) بغير امتزاج [ ب : بغير افتراق ولا امتزاج . (٤) الموتى ] ب : الموتى .

الاب انبا مقاره البطرك الذى كان قبله وكان مدفون فى كنيسه المعلقه بمصر بعد ان جدد عليه الصلاه ولفه فى عفاره حرير وحمله الى دير القديس ابو مقار فى ثانى سنه من تقدمته وجعله فى غشا ادم من فوق وكفنه وامر ان يؤخذ الغشا الادم بعد وصوله الدير ودفنه مع اجساد البطاركة يجعل فيه جسد القديس ابو مقار الكبير ويؤخذ ما عليه يكفن به البطرك انبا مقاره وان تكون هذه سنه مستمره لغيره يدرج فيه وفى ايام هذا البطرك بعد قتل احمد ابن الافضل الذى كان يسمى كتيفات جلس الامام الحافظ فى الخلافه وكان وزيره يانس ولما ملك قتل صبيان الخاص الذى كانوا اجناد الامام الامر لما قامت نفسه منهم لاجل انهم كانوا قتلوا من تقدمه ولم يقيم فى الملك سوى سنه واحده وسموه فى ماء عملوه له فى ابريق المرحاض فلما استعمله تهرى تحته ووقع جوفه فمات فقام من اولاده رجل يسمى الامير حسن وادعى الخلافه وبايعه قوم اسماهم صبيان الزرد وكانوا من خلط الاجناد ومن جميع الطوائف فقوى بهم وساعده فانعم عليهم وقدمهم واقطعهم البلاد وولاهم الولايات وجعلهم امرا دولته واجناده فقوى امره وقبض على جماعه كبيره من امرا دوله ابوه وكان يحضرهم بين يديه بالليل ويضرب رقابهم ويدفع دورهم واموالهم لصبيان الزرد \* واهلك عالم وخلق بالسيف من جميع الناس الامرا وغيرهم وكان فى كل يوم تصبح جماعه مقتولين بين القصرين اجساد بلا رووس حتى لا يعرفوا ولما تمكن وقوى خلع الحافظ ابوه من الخلافه وقبض عليه وقيده وسجنه وجرى فى ايامه بين العبيد السودان وبين الاجناد حرب عظيم فى موضع يسمى كوم الدرب قبلى مصر فى بلاد اطفيح وقتل من السودان خلق كثير وقبض الامير حسن على الاب البطرك انبا غبريال وصادره وسجنه فى خزانه البنود الى ان قسطوا له الكتاب من جواربهم وساعده التجار من اموالهم حتى حمل له الف دينار وخلصه الله من يديه ولما اطلع الله على ظلمه وشره وقتله للنفوس وغصبه اموال الناس بغير حق اثار عليه جماعه من اجناد دولته ففضوا الى الغريبه الى واليها وكان رجل نصرانى ارمنى يسمى بهرام وينعت تاج الدوله وكان مقدم الارمن لكونه ارمنى من جنس ملوكها ثم وصل الى ديار مصر مع امير الجيوش

بلد الجمالى عند مجيئه من عكا فى ايام المستنصر بالله واستمر فى خدمه الدوله  
فقدموه وولوه الولايات وهو باق على دينه وكان عندهم جليلا موقرا لهم فيه  
راى جميل ومحبه فولوه الغريبه ففضوا اليه الاجناد واستصرخوا به ورغبوا فيه  
وسالوه ان يكون وزير وسلطان عليهم فدخل معهم الى القاهره فاخذوه وملكوه  
بغير اختياره فهرب الامير حسن واختفا وعاد ابوه الى ما كان عليه واستوزر  
هذا الامير وهو نصرانيا وجلس الحافظ يوم عودته الى خلافته فى شهر من سنه  
تسع وعشرين وخمس مايه الهلاليه وكان اخوتاج الدوله بهرام الوزير رجل  
قديس لا يرغب فى الدنيا فقسموه بطركا للارمن فى بلاده ثم وصل الى مصر  
وهو بطركا لهم وكان مشهور بالدين والعفاف والقدس والكرم والصدقه والرحمه  
وسموه انبا اغريغوريس فلما تنيح اقاموا اخر عوضا منه بطركا فى ديار مصر  
واسمونه نانياس ثم لما تمكن الحافظ من خلافته دس بعض الامرا والاجناد  
ان يطلبوا ولده الامير حسن ويقتلوه وقرر ذلك مع كبار العسكر ومقدمين  
الدوله واوعدهم عليه بالانعام والاقطاعات فاجتمع جميع الامرا والاجناد  
الى القصر ورموا فيه النشاب واحضروا حطب كثير وقالوا جميعهم صيحه  
واحد نريد الامير حسن تسلموه لنا والا احرقنا القصر وكل من فيه فطلبه ابوه  
الحافظ من اهل القصر وقال لهم ان تاخر ساعه لا يظهر احرقونا واحرقوا جميع  
قصورنا وهم اجنادنا واعواننا على من يناوينا وقد قاموا علينا فاين لنا غيرهم  
يعيننا عليهم فطلبوه سكان القصر من بعضهم بعضا الى ان ظفروا به واحضروه  
بين يدي والده الحافظ فلما راه بكاء وقال له يا ولدى قد غلبت عنك وعن  
روحي فعرفنى الخيله فى سلامتك فان دفعتك لهم عاقبوك واهانوك ثم بعدما  
يفعلوه بك يقتلوك وكانى ارى من وجه صلاح حالى وحالك ان تمص هذا  
الخاتم فتموت فى سبيل الله بلا عقوبه منهم ثم رعى له بخاتم مسموم يعلوه  
الملوك عندهم لمثل هذا<sup>(١)</sup> الامور الغالبه عليهم فيرون الموت لهم اخير من  
الحياه فى يد اعدائهم وتحكمهم فيهم فاخذ الخاتم فمصه فمات فاخرجه الى  
وسط القصر ووضع جسده على دكه خشب وفتح ابواب القصر وامرهم ان

(١) هذا [ ب : هذه .

يدخلوا وينظروه فدخلوا وراوه ميت فكشفوا الغطا عن وجهه ليلا يكون نايم \* ونغزوه في جميع جسده بالسكاكين ونصول الشباب فلما تحققوا موته تركوه وخرجوا وكان اشد هم في الكلام والطلب له واحد يسمى رضوان ابن ولخشي من امرا الدولة فانعته الحافظ بفحل الامرا وولاه الغريبه واستمر تاج الدوله بهرام في الوزاره لاستقبال جمادى الاول سنه تسع وعشرين وخمس مايه الهلاليه الى اخر ربيع الاخر سنه احدى وثلثين وخمس مايه فكثرت كلام المسلمين فيه لاجل مذهبه وحسدوه لاجل محبه الخليفه له وكونه علا كلمته عليهم وكان للنصارى في ايام دولته نفاذ كلمه وعزه انفس وكل تصرف جليل من الدواوين الكبار الذى للخليفه والوزرا في ايديهم وكان منهم النظر والمشارفين في جميع ارض مصر قبليها وبحريها وتغورها فلما ضعفت كلمه المسلمين وعزت كلمتهم الجتهم الضروره الى عمل الخيله في قطع هذا المرض من اصله فقصدوا الراحة منهم بزوال الوزاره عن تاج الدوله بهرام فتعصبوا منهم جماعه امرا واجناد وخلط الناس ومضوا الى الغريبه واستصرخوا برضوان ابن ولخشي واليها وقالوا له الخليفه سماك<sup>(١)</sup> فحل الامرا وما للمسلمين من يتقدم من اهانه الارمن غيرك فان قويوا اكثر من هذا تنصر كثير من المسلمين واستنصوه فنهض معهم وحشد العربان ومقطعين البلاد ونادى يا مجاهدين في الكفار وعلق مصاحف القران على اسنه الرواح قدام العسكر وسار وقد اجتمع له من المسلمين جيش عرمرم لا يحصى عدده من كثرته واستعلا بكلمه الاسلام فلما وصل الى مسجد الخضر وامر<sup>(٢)</sup> العسكران يعدى البحر الى الجانب الاخر توصلت اخباره لبهرام بذلك فخفق دماً الناس وقال لاصحابه لا بد ان اموت فيطالبني الله بدم من قتل منكم ومنهم ومملكه هذه الديار قد جعلها الله للمسلمين فما يجوز ولا يحل لى من الله ان اقاتل القوم على مملكتهم وانتزع منهم حقهم ولولم يستعين بي الخليفه على ما جرى عليه من ولده ورضى بي بما فعلته من خدمته وطاعته ما ابتدعت شيئاً من نفسى قوموا خذوا ما قدرتم عليه من اموالكم واولادكم وامضوا بنا

(١) سماك [ ب : انعتك . (٢) مسجد الخضر وامر ] ب : مسجد الخضر ونزل فيه وامر .

الى قوص اخذ اخى وكان قد ولى اخوه باسك قوص ثم نمضى الى بلادنا  
ونترك للقوم مملكتهم فمالنا بقتلهم حاجه فقالوا له الشجعان من الارمن كيف  
نعمل ما قلت ونحن الف قوس نقدر نفتح الدنيا الى باب روميه ونحن نلقاهم  
ونكسرهم بمعونه الله لنا فلم يوافقهم وسار من وقته الى قوص فى طلب اخوه  
باسك فلما وصل اليها وجد الخبر بوزاره رضوان ابن ونحشى قد سبقه وقد قتلوا  
اهل قوص<sup>(١)</sup> اخيه ودفنوه فى الزبل فى اصطبل دوابه بدار الولاية فنزل عليها  
فغلقوا ابواب حصنها فى وجهه فحاصرها ثم عفا عنها وفرق العسكر عنه وطاع  
الى الديارات البيض وحده واقام فى احدها واما رضوان ابن ونحشى فدخل  
الى القاهره واخلع الخليفه عليه للوزاره فى سنه احدى وثلثين وخمس مائه ونهب  
كنائس القاهره والحدق واحرقوا المسلمين دير الارمن المعروف بالزهرى  
وقتلوا بطركهم وكلمن وجدوه معه من الرهبان فى الدير ورضوان ابن ونحشى  
اول وزير امر ان لا يستخدموا النصرى فى الدواوين الكبار ولا نظار ولا  
مشارفين وان يشدوا زنايرهم فى اوساطهم ولا يركبوا الخيل وضاعف عليهم  
وعلى اليهود الجزيه وجعلها ثلث<sup>(٢)</sup> طبقات قوم من الاغنيا اربعة دنانير  
وسدس \* وقوما دونهم دينارين وقيراطين فاما بقيه عامتهم فدينار واحد  
وثلث وربيع وعليه ورقا درهم واستخدم فى ديوان الجوالى رجل من شهود  
مصري يعرف بالقاضى المهذب ابن ابى البقا وكان سبب ذلك ما كان من استخدام  
الخليفه للشيخ صنيعه الخلافه ابو زكري ابن يحيى ابن بولس الكاتب النصرانى  
فى ديوان التحقيق واخلع عليه بالدراعه واجلسه داخل قصره فى قاعه باب  
الذهب فى موضع افرد له منها واستخدم معه اثني عشر كاتباً من النصرى  
الاعيان فى ايام وزاره بهرام فى اواخر سنه ثلثين وخمس مائه وكان معه ايضا  
كاتبان من المسلمين يعرف احدهما بالقاضى الخطير ابن البواب والاخر بالقاضى  
المرتضى ابن الطرابلسى الذى كان رضوان ابن ونحشى استخدمهما فى ديوان  
المجلس عوضاً منه ثم حرفه بعد ذلك وابعدته الى بلاد اسيوط لانها بلده وموطن  
اسلافه وبقيت الكاتبان المذكوران مستمرين كل واحد منهم انفراد بديوانه وبقي

(١) وقد قتلوا اهل قوص [ ب : وقد قتلوا المسلمين اهل قوص . (٢) تلت [ ب : ثلثة .

يطبق الجوالى على الذمه الى ان سطرت هذه السيره وحدث فى ايام وزارة رضوان ابن ونخشى غلا شديد الى ان عدم اكثر الناس القوت وابع رضوان المذكور قمح وغيره من الارز الاحمر والقول المسود والحبوب المسوسه والقمح الذى صار من قدمه وطول مكثه فى الشون والمخازن والمطامير والاهرا السلطانيه من ايام امير الجيوش لضروره عدم القوت شيا كثير بثمان كثير حتى ان المصريين اسموه القمح الدنوكى وكان سعر الخبز فى تلك الايام رطل مصرى بدرهم ثم ادرك الله الخلق وارخص<sup>(١)</sup> اسعارهم وكان قد جرى مثل ذلك فى سنه اربع وتلتين وخمس مايه هلاليه لم يبلغ النيل فيها الا دون اربعة عشر ذراعا فغليت الاسعار لما شرقت البلاد فاصاب الناس ضر شديد بسبب تشريق البلاد وكان ميخائيل اسقف صهرجت قد اهتم بتجديد كنيسه منيه زقى وكرزها وقدمس بها واكملها على اسم القديس مارى جرجس فوثبوا المسلمون بمنيه زقى عليها وهدوها لبغضهم فى النصرارى وجعلوها مسجدا فوق ميخائيل الاسقف للوزير رضوان ابن ونخشى واستصرخ به واوضح له انها بيعه قديمه فوق له بخطه بعمارتها واعادتها الى ما كانت عليه من حدودها علوا وسفلا فاعمرها واكلها وكرزها بعد ان قاسا عليها شده عظيمه وغرامه كثيره واستمر رضوان فى الوزاره الى ان قاموا عليه الاجناد وامرا الدوله فخرج من دار الوزاره بالقاهره هاربا وليس يلبس لرجليه سوى خفأ واحدا ولم يمهلوه حتى يلبس الاخر ونزل عند العرب الدرماويين ففضوا به الى الشام فافسد نفر من الغز وانضاف معهم العرب الذين اجازوه وجا الى القاهره ونزل فوق الجبل عند موضع الرصد على جبل المقطم وخرج اليه عسكر المصريين فقاتلوه<sup>(٢)</sup> فكسروهم ثم صدقوه القتال فانصروا عليه وغلبوه فلما راي انه مغلوب عاد الى بلاد الشام دفعه تانيه فكتب اليه الامام الحافظ وامنه وطيب قلبه وسير اليه من اصحابه من وثق به وعلى يده مال يتسفر به للحضور هو ومن معه من اصحابه واتباعه فعاد صحبه من نذب لاحضاره من امرا الدوله فانزله الامام الحافظ عنده فى

(١) الخلق وارخص [ ب : الخلق برحمته ورحم المساكين وسمع دعاهم وفرج عنهم وارخص .

(٢) فقاتلوه [ ب : وقتلوه .

قصر واخلا له قاعه عظيمه ومحالها (١) ومرافقها وجميع بنيه وبنين عياله (٢) وكان فيها مكروما متصرفا في نفسه منطلقا (٣) \* فاما بهرام الارمني الذي كان ١٩٥ (ظ) وزير قبله لما احضره رضوان من الديارات البيض جعله عنده في داره فلما جرى على رضوان ما جرى انشد مولانا الحافظ نقله الى قصره وطلبه ان يعود الى وزارته فلم يفعل وقال انا راهب ما انا جندي واستقر مقامه في القصر الى ان توفي محدوما واخرج تابوته من باب الساباط الى كنيسه الزهري ودفنوه فيها وكان في اطيح اسقف للارمن يسبب (٤) حتى صار بطركا وعند قسمته طلب حضور انبا غبريال ابن تريك اليه لكي يضع يده عليه فلم يحضر اليه وقت قسمته الى ان تقرب في كنيسه وافطر ليلا يلزمه ان يضع يده عليه وكان انبا غبريال قد منع اخذ شرطونه على الكهنوت ولا ياخذ شي على قسمه اسقف ولا غيره ولا يستحسن ذلك لغيره وسلك فيه ما قاله الانجيل المقدس مجانا اخذتم مجانا اعطوا لان نعمه الله وعطيته ورياسة الكهنوت لا تباع بالمال وكان متشددا في هذا الحال وكتب مسطورا بذلك ومنع من ياخذه ومن يدفعه وذكر عنه من كان خبيرا به انه قد اقسم ثلثه وخمسين اسقفا وكان قد حضر اليه رجل قسيس يسمى بغيره وطلب منه ان يقسمه اسقف على بلاد اخميم وبذل له مال فلم يفعل ياخذه فلما رده مضى ويسبب الى ان استعان بولد الخليفه (٥) ابن الامام الحافظ وكان يسمى ولي العهد وحمل له مال جزيل له مقدار رساله ان يشفع فيه عند البطرك حتى يقسمه اسقفا فانفذ اليه ولي العهد وتقل عليه بسببه فلم يقبل واعتذر له وكتب رقعته للخليفه اعلمه فيها قصه حال الاسقف وانه طلب الرياسه والكهنوت بالرشوه وان ذلك لا يجوز في مذهب النصرانيه فلما عرضت رقعته على الحافظ شكره وعظم منزلته ووقع له بان لا يعترض في مذهبه ولا يلزمه احد بما لا يجوز في شرعه (٦) ثم بلغه بعد ذلك ان له مال

(١) ومحالها [ ب : و مجالسها . (٢) وجميع بنيه وبنين عياله ] ب : وجمع بينه وبين زوجته وعياله . (٣) منطلقا فلما [ ب : منطلقا بغير قيد ولا حوطه ولا من يحفظه فلما . (٤) يسبب ] ب : فتسبب . (٥) استعان بولد الخليفه [ ب : استعان بجاه ولد الخليفه . (٦) في شرعه ] ب : في حدود شرعه .

جزيل وخاف ان يمنع القس<sup>(١)</sup> بقيره من الاسقفيه فيخرج من دينه ويتلف المال فقسمه اسقفا على كرسى اخر غير الذى طلبه وقصد بذلك ربح نفسه ولا يتلف ماله فحمل بقيره اليه المال فلم يراه بعينه بل امر ان يسلم الوكيل رباع الكنائس وتقدم له ان يصرفه في عماره جوستق دير الشمع وغيره ٥ وكان رجلا من اولاد الكتاب المميزين ممن له تقدمه في قومه ورياسته يسمى ابو اليمن ابن العميدى فترك الخدم والتصرف ولزم خدمه كنيسه القديس ابوجرج بدير الطين فنقلوا الناس السو للبطرك انبا غبريال عنه كلاما زسجا قصدوا به فساد حاله عنده وان يخرجوه من البيعه المذكوره او يكونوا ابصروا عليه شئ منكر فانكروه فلما اعلموا البطرك بذلك لم يمكنه الصبر عن النظر فيما قالوه والبحث عنه فصعب ذلك على ابو اليمن ابن العميدى وخرج من مذهبه فعظم امره على الاب البطرك وندم عليه غاية الندم ولم يرجع بعده يتشدد على احد خوفا ان يفعل مثله ٥ واجرى الله على ايدى هذا البطرك ايات وعجائب<sup>(٢)</sup> واعمال حسنه وانا اذكر بعضها وهو ما حدث في بلاد الحبشه وذلك ان ملك الحبشه طلب ابا ميخائيل واسمه قبل قسمته مطران على الحبشه حبيب وطلب منه ان يكرز له اساقفه زايد عن العده الجارى بها العاده<sup>(٣)</sup> المعروفه المقرره من قديم الزمان<sup>(٤)</sup> فامتنع من ذلك وقال ما اقدر اعمل شئ الا براى البطرك فانفذ الملك \* الى البطرك كتابا يساله في ذلك وكتابا اخر صحبه رسوله الى ملك مصر فخرج امر الخليفه الى البطرك باجابته الى ما طلبه فاعتذر عن ذلك وقال للخليفه يا مولاي اذا صارت الاساقفه عند الحبشه اكثر من هذه العده تجاسروا على قسمه مطران وطفخوا نفوسهم من طاعه بطاركه مصر واستغنوا عنهم وصاروا يقيموا لنفوسهم وما يبقا لهم ببطاركه مصر حاجه ولا يودوا لهم طاعه ويخرجهم ذلك الى العداوه

١٩٦ (ج)

(١) القس [ ب : القسيس . (٢) عجائب [ ب : غير موجودة . (٣) الجارى بها العاده [ ب : غير موجودة (٤) يوجد في هامش المخطوط م في صفحة ١٩٦ - الجملة الآتية بالمداد الاحمر : « حاشيه العده الجارى بها العاده ان يقسم على الحبشه والنوبه سبعة اساقفه لا غير فلو كملوا عشره كانوا يقسموا المطارنه ولا يرجعوا يحتاجوا الى بطرك مصر فلجل هذا امتنع البطرك ان يقسم لهم » .



والحاربه لمن هو متاخم بلادهم من المسلمين فيخل منهم النظام وتكثر فيهم الحروب كما كانوا يفعلون في قديم الزمان في ايام فرعون وموسى ومن تقدمه من ملوك الفراعنه فانهم كانوا يغزوهم في البر والبحر والاخبار بذلك مدونه في سير الاوائل ثم كتب البطرك<sup>(١)</sup> كتابا يردعه ويامر ان يرجع عما<sup>(٢)</sup> طلبه وسير الكتاب اليه ولما عادوا رسل البطرك من الحبشه اخبروا ان نار نزلت من السماء على قصر الملك فاحرقت بعضه ثم اصاب بلاد الحبشه غلا عظيم<sup>(٣)</sup> في تلك السنه ووبا عظيم ولم يمطر فيها مطرا وقاسوا لاجل ذلك صعوبه عظيمه فقبل الملك كتاب البطرك ورجع الى الله وكتب الى خليفه مصر يساله ان يسال البطرك يحلله ويكتب له كتاب بركه عليه وعلى بلاده فكتب له بذلك وسيره اليه فرفع الله في ساعه وصول الكتاب اليهم بنخطه عنهم وادركتهم رحمته فطرت المطر وزرعت بلادهم ورخصت اسعارهم وزال وارفع عنهم الغلا والوبا برحمه الله ورضا هذا الاب عنهم وكان البطرك المذكور قد مرض مرضا شديدا اشرف منه على التلف فرأى في منامه كان جماعه كهنه ورهبان ومعهم اناجيل وصلبان وجمامر وقالوا له جينا نفتقدك اليوم وانت تبرا من مرضك هذا ولكن نحن نعود اليك في العام القابل في مثل هذا الزمان وناخذك معنا فعوفى من مرضه في تلك الدفعه ومن بعد سنه مرض وتنيح في التاريخ الذى قدمنا ذكره في اول هذه السيره وكان في ايام هذا البطرك واحد من رهبان دير ابو كما اسمه حلوش من اولاد بنات بسطيه الذى كان امينا على استخراج دهن البلسان اعنى الميرون رفع<sup>(٤)</sup> في الرهبان وسعى بهم عند الامام الحافظ ان<sup>(٥)</sup> عندهم ملاحم وعلوم يعرفوا منها ما يجرى على الملوك وكيف يكون تغلب الدول ويجمعوا الدنانير وغيرها من قنايا الذهب والفضه والمصاغ ويخالفوا بهذا مذهبهم وكلام انجيلهم ووصيه المسيح لهم وان عندهم صوره ساقيه بلور لا يوجد عند احد من ملوك الدنيا مثلها فندب معه حجاب واجناد فاخذهم وطلع الى الديارات بوادى هيب وسلطهم على الرهبان فاهانوهم واحرقوا بهم وغرموهم ونهبوهم وقطعوا

(١) البطرك كتابا [ ب : البطرك له كتابا . (٢) عما [ ب : عن ما . (٣) عظيم [ ب : شديد . (٤) رفع [ ب : فرفع . (٥) الحافظ ان [ ب : الحافظ وذكر عنهم ان .

مصانعتهم وحل بهم منه شده عظيمه واخذ منهم قوم من شيوخهم ودخل بهم القاهره فلم يصح شئ مما حكاه عنهم وخلصهم الله منه واحسن الخليفه اليهم واعادهم الى دياراتهم بسلامه وكان هذا حلوش لما دخل بالترسمين معه الى دير ابو مقار احرق حشمه الهيكل المقدس اعنى هيكل بنيامين وهجم (١) عليه ودخل اليه هو ومن معه وقتشوا الاسكنا جميعه وقيل عنه انه رفض الهيكل برجله عجباً وتكبيرا فضربه الله في رجله بجيه رديه اكاله ولم تزل تاكل رجله حتى مات منها بعد شدايد عظيمه وكان الدود والتن والضربان لا يفتر منها لا ليل ولا نهار وكان يعترف بما فعل ويقول هذه مكافاه الرجل الذى تعدت ودخلت الى ذلك المكان المقدس بغير وقار ولم يزل كذلك الى ان مات ونسال الله ان يرحمنا صدقه منه علينا (٢) .

### ميخائيل ابن دنشترى البطرک \*

(ظ) ١٩٦

وهو من العدد الحادى والسبعون

هذا الاب الجليل كان راهبا من قلايه تعرف بدنشترى بدير القديس ابو مقار شيخ حسن الوجه والهيه ذات وقار وعفه قديس طاهر الا انه لم يكن عالما ولا راض نفسه فى قراه الكتب لان ابويه لم يهتموا بذلك فلم يتعرض لطلب كهنوت ولا طقس بل انه لزم قانون الرهبنة من غير قراه قبطى ولا عربى فلما تنيح الاب البطرک انبا غبريال وبقي الكرسي خاليا ممن يدبره اربعة شهور وايام تعرض لطلب البطرکيه راهب من دير ابو مقار يسمى ونس (٣) ابن كدران وتعصب معه قوم من اخوته الرهبان واجتمعوا قوم من الاساقفه وتساعدوا جميعا وهم يعقوب القارى اسقف لقانه من اعمال البحيره واخرسطودلوس اسقف فوه وميخائيل اسقف طنطا واجتهد يونس ابن كدران فى طلب البطرکيه

(٢) ونسال الله ان يرحمنا

(١) بنيامين وهجم [ ب : بنيامين بدير ابو مقار وهجم .  
(٣) اقرأ : يونس . صدقه منه علينا ] ب : غير موجودة .

وساعده المذكورين فلم يرضى فعله الرب ولاجل ذلك لم يرغب فيه ولا رجلا واحد من الشعب باسره وقد كان (١) قبل حضوره الى مصر قسموه قمصا في دير ابو مقار وكان رجلا طويل القامه جميل الوجه حسن الهيه طيب الخلق حلو الكلام عالم باللغه القبطيه وكتب البيعه ماهرًا في العتيقه والحديثه الا ان الشيطان نجانا الله واياكم من تجاربه وحيله ومصايدہ وكفا جميع بنى المعموديه شر ضرباته (٢) ضربه بهذه الضربه الرديه التي هي طلب الرياسه للكبريا الذي اسقطه الله بها فهو حريص ان يسقط من قدر عليه منا بها ليكون معه في الجحيم فحسن له طلب الرتبه والتقدمه على شعب الله بغير رايهم ولا رضاهم وكان الشيخ ابو يوسف ابن سويرس الفيلسوف مشارف البحيره في ذلك الزمان فكتب الى الاراخنه بمصر يعرفهم ما صح عنده من قبح اخبار يونس ابن كدران وكونه تعدى في انه طلب ولم يوفق حتى يكون مطلوب وان تهجمه وطلبه مما يدل على نقص عقله وعماد قلبه وكيف يقدر يدبر شعب الله من لا يعرف يدبر نفسه ويعلمهم ما انطلقت به اللسن في عرضه من الاحاديث السمجه لاجل تعرضه للطلب على هذا الوجه فاقتضى الحال اجتماع من حضر من الشيوخ الاراخنه المصريين ومن حضر من الاساقفه استقر اخرها ايقاف امر يونس المذكور وان يطلب غيره ممن يصلح لهذه الرياسه ويقع اتفاق الشعب والاراخنه عليه وعمل بذلك مسطورا واخذ فيه خط من حضره (٣) قال الاب الجليل انبا مرقص ابن زرعه البطرک مولف هذه السيره وناظمها نيح الله نفسه مع القديسين انه لما وقع الاتفاق على طلب من يختاره الله لتدبير شعبه كتبت رقاع فيها هذه الاسماء وهم يونس ابن ابو الفتح راهب من اولاد بويحنس سليمان ابن الدحمادى من دير برموس وانا الحقيير (٤) مرقص ناقل هذه السيره كنت حاضر وميخائيل الذى اختاره الله من دنشترى كان حاضرا وطلبوا منه ان يكتب خطه في المسطور على ابن كدران فلم يفعل فتوهم قوم من الحاضرين انه حضر معه لمساعدته

(١) من الشعب باسره وقد كان [ ب : من الشعب ولا احد من الاراخنة ولا الكهنه وقد كان .  
(٢) ضرباته [ ب : غير موجودة . (٣) حضره [ ب : حضر . (٤) الحقيير [ ب : غير موجودة .

وانما كان امتناعه كونه لا يعرف قبطى ولا عربى فعرفتم به وانه ممن يصاح  
لهذه الرياسه وكانت اراده الله فيه فكتبوه وكتب الرقاع باسمها ثلثه منهم كما  
تقدم القول على جارى العاده وكتبت رقعته باسم السيد المسيح الراعى الصالح  
ورفعوا على الهيكل واقام القداس عليهم ثلثه ايام متواليه <sup>(١)</sup> واحضر طفلا  
١٩٧ (ج) فاخذ <sup>(٢)</sup> واحده منهم فطلعت <sup>(٣)</sup> الرقعته \* التى باسم ميخائيل وذكر من حضر  
من شيوخ الرهبان التقات ان ابو الخير الابسلمدس <sup>(٤)</sup> بدير القديس ابو مقار  
وكان قديسا طاهرا يندر بالغيب قال لما سمع ما جرى لابن كدران ان البطرك  
يكون من قلايه دنشترى هذه التى ميخائيل منها وذكر عنه انه ليله توفى انبا  
غبريال البطرك راي روحه بين الملايكه صاعدين بها الى السماء فاعلم من كان  
عنده من الاخوه حاضر بذلك فى ساعته وقال لهم قد تذيح البطرك فى هذه الساعه  
وبعد ثلثه ايام من قوله لهم وصلوا قوم من الرهبان الى الدير واخبروا بوفاه  
البطرك فى ذلك الوقت الذى قاله وذكر عن راهب اخر ان هذا انبا ميخائيل  
البطرك كان قد مرض قبل بطركيته مرضه صعبه شديده اشرف فيها على الموت  
انه قال لقوم من الرهبان سالوه عن مرضه انه لا يموت فى هذه المرضه ولا يموت  
الا بعد ان يصير بطركا ولما اتفقت الجماعه على الرضا به كرزوه شامسا ثم قسأ  
وفى ثالث يوم كرزوه قمصاً فى كنيسه المعلقه بمصر بعد استيدان الخليفه يومئذ  
وخروج امره بتقدمته وكتب له سجل بذلك فسار مع من حضر من الاساقفه  
والكهنه والشعب الى المدينه العظمى الاسكندريه فى عشارى موكبي جرده  
الخليفه واجلسوه على كرسى مارى مرقص واكملوا تكريزه فى يوم الاحد  
الخامس من مسرى سنه ست وسبعين وثمان مائه للشهدا القديسين وبكلفه  
عظيمه حتى حفظوه قداس باسيليوس خاصه الى ان قدس به وعاد الى مصر  
وكان يوم دخوله اليها مشهور تلقاه من وجوه المسلمين وكبارهم اكثر ممن تلقاه  
من النصرارى وكان فرح عظيم ومسرره عند النصرارى بمدينتى مصر والقاهره  
واحبه كثيرا واطاعوه وكان يفرح اذا راي الشعب كثير فى البيعه والكهنه

(١) متواليه [ ب : مواليه . (٢) فاخذ [ ب : واخذ . (٣) فطلعت [ ب : وطلعت .

(٤) الابسلمدس [ ب : الابصلمودس .

كثير في الاسكنا ويكثر من الدعاهم وكانت ايام بطركيته طيبه جدا وبعد ايام يسيره من جلوسه اقسام<sup>(١)</sup> خمسة اساقفه احدهم كان من اولاد الاراخنه بمصر يقال له ابن نفرا كان قد تهرب في دير ابو مقار في قلايه دنشترى الذى هذا البطرك منها وكان معه مقيم فيها فقسمه اسقف على . . .<sup>(٢)</sup> وهو صبي حدث السن كان شماسا في الاسكنا في ايام انبا غبريال فلما وصل الى مصر وخرج الى دير الشمع كرزه في يوم الخميس والعهده الجاربه ان لا يكرز اسقف الا يوم الاحد وانما خصه بذلك لاجل انه من اولاد قلايته وكان عمره يومئذ نحو من ثلثين سنه فجاء منه من القدس والطهاره والعلم ما لم يلحقه كثير من الشيوخ المتقدمين ثم اقسام الشيخ ابو المكارم ابن يوسف الارخن ثم اقسام الشماس ابن جارود وكان من كهنه بيعه القديس ابو سرجه وكان من اعيان الكتاب وتولى دواوين كبار كبير البيت في المصريين اقسامه اسقفا على كرسى شبرا الخيمه واسماه مرقس وكان كرسى شبرا دمهور خال من اسقف جميع ايام بطركيه انبا غبريال ابن تريك لان العاده جاربه له ان لا يكون عليه الا بتول وهذا الاسقف كان قد تزوج وماتت امراته وكان انبا غبريال قد منع من يرجع يخرج جسد القديس ابو يحنس سنهوت من بيعته لما كان يجرى عليه عند طرح جسده في البحر من نجاسه المصريين ولما لم يرجعوا كهنته يطرحوا جسده في البحر نشف البحر قدام بيعته فلما رجع هذا الاسقف امرهم ان يطرحوه في البحر فرجع البحر زاد الى ان طف قدام بيعته فحملوا له المصريين ندور كثيره فرجع هذا الاسقف طالب الكهنه بالرسم الذى كان ياخذ من تقدمه فاخذ منهم\* واقسم ايضا ١٩٧ (ظ)

راهباً اسمه سنون صعيدى على كرسى منيه بنى خصيب اسقفاً واخر صعيدى من بلاد اسنا كان تاجرا اسمه تاونا اقسامه اسقفاً على كرسى اخيم وقس من اهل البلينا اسمه ابو البدر خصيب اقسامه اسقفاً على كرسى البلينا وكان البطرك<sup>(٣)</sup> انبا ميخائيل عظيم السطوه على الرهبان والمتكبرين وكان يادب من اخطا منهم ليس بالكلام فقط بل والضرب والسجن . ولم يقال عنه قطان احد خرج

(١) اقسام [ ب : قسم . (٢) لم يذكر اسم المكان في المخطوط . (٣) وكان البطرك [ ب : وكان الاب البطرك .

من دينه في ايامه وكان مده مقامه على الكرسي ثمانيه شهور واربعه ايام منها  
ثلثه شهور في عافيه ثم مرض فلما طال مرضه توجه الى دير القديس ابو مقار  
واقام فيه مقاسى المرض خمسة شهور الى ان انتفخ وتنيح في يوم الجمعة من جمعه  
الفصح وهو اليوم الثالث من برموده سنة ثلث وستين وثمان مائه للشهدا وذكروا  
ان (١) رهبان من قلايه كدران اسقوه سما حتى كان سببا لموته والله يعلم ان كان  
كما قالوا عنهم ام لا وهو المجازى كل احد باعماله فكفنوه ودفنوه مع ابيه  
البطاركة رزقنا الله واياكم بركة صلواتهم وكانت البيعه في ايامه في هدو  
وسلامه والله المجد دائماً (٢)

## الاب يوحنا البطرک

وهو من العدد الثاني والسبعون

جلس هذا الاب في مملكه الحافظ والظافر ولده والفايز ولد الظافر (٣)  
ومده مقامه على الكرسي تسعه عشر سنه وثمانيه شهور وتنيح في الرابع من  
بشنس سنه ثلث وثمانين وثمان مائه للشهدا هذا كان راهباً قديساً قسم شماساً  
عفيفاً صالحاً مذكوراً في الرهبان من دير ابو يحنس وكان قد حضر تقدمه انبا  
ميخائيل المتنيح وذكر (٤) اسمه في الرقاع الثلثه (٥) التي كتبوها ورفعوها على  
الهياكل كما شرحنا فيما تقدم فاتفق الراى على تقدمته وسيروا اليه (٦) من الكهنه  
من يحضره الى مصر فاحضروه واقسم قساً ثم قمصاً بكنيسه المعلقه بمصر وحضر  
يونس ابن كدران الذى تقدم شرحه (٧) في سيره انبا ميخائيل المتنيح وجدد  
الطلب من السلطان الحاضر على يد من توسط حاله عنده وخرج امره بعقد  
مجلس له ولبن طلب غيره فحضروا الاساقفه بحضور خواص الدوله وصاحب

(١) ان [ ب : غير موجودة . (٢) والله المجد دائماً ] ب : غير موجودة .  
(٣) الجملة « جلس . . . الظافر » مكتوبة بالمداد الاحمر في هامش المخطوط م . (٤) وذكر  
ب : وكتبوا . (٥) في الرقاع الثلثه [ ب : من جمله الثلثه رقاع . (٦) اليه ] ب : له .  
(٧) شرحه [ ب : شرح حاله .

الباب وقاضى القضاة وصاحب ديوان الانشا وغيرهم من صدور الدوله وكبارها والمميزين وجرى فى ذلك خطوب ومفاوضات فقال من حضر من الاساقفه والكهنة ليس لهم بطرك الا من طلبوه ورجبوا فيه ولا يكون هو طالب ولا راغب وهذه سنه القوم من اول ما عبدوا الله بدين النصرانيه والى هذا الوقت (١) وقد سبق داوود النبى بالنبوه على ما يكون لكونهم ما يقيموا الا من رغبوا فيه لا من رغب فيهم فقال فى المزمور *ثنيدي* (٢) يوثقوا ملوكهم بالقيود واشرفهم بسلاسل من حديد فهم اذا صح عندهم ان الرجل الذى يريدوا يقدموه عليهم كامل اوصاف شريعتهم من القدس والدين والعلم والصلاح والعفاف والرحمه وبقية ما يحتاجوه ان يكون فيه على حكم مذهبهم اخذوه كرها من غير اختياره وقيده بالقيود الحديد ليلا يهرب منهم الى البريه الجوانيه (٣) فلا يقدروا عليه لان قليل هم اهل هذه الصفه وان كانوا الكل ابائنا واخوتنا فاهل هذه الطبقة لا يوجد منهم الا من الالف واحد يكون قد توحده وقد تفرد وترك العالم وهرب منهم وجعل حياته مع وحش الجبال وسباع البريه فقلل الله طبع السباع الكاسره والوحوش الضاريه الى مسالمتها وان الاسوده اذا راته \* تاتى اليه وتسجد عند رجليه فيبارك عليها ويستانس بها ولا تضره ١٩٨ (ج)

لمثل ذلك الشخص يطلبوا النصرارى ان يكون مقدم عليهم فان لم يجده قدموا غيره من اهل الاتضاع والعلم والدين ومن يشهد له بالعفاف والطهر ولا يجوز لهم ان يقدموا عليهم من رغب فيهم ولا من طلب بالسلطان فلما قالوا هذا الكلام تقرر ان يكتب سجلا ويسير الحاجب معهم الى مدينه الاسكندريه ليعقد لهم فيها مجلس ويحضره اكابر النصرارى واراختها وكهنتها وارى من رغبوا فيه اما يوحنا واما يونس ابن كدران فيقدموه لوقته فساروا الى مدينه الاسكندريه وعقد لهم مجلس فى دار الاماره بحضور الوالى والقاضى وكبار اراختها والنصرارى المستخدمين والتجار والاساقفه السائرين اليها من كراسيم والمصريين والقاهريين ومن كان معهم وسال الوالى والقاضى والفقهاء الحاضرين عقد المجلس النصرارى قايلين

(١) هذا الوقت [ ب : وقتنا هذا . (٢) *ثنيدي* يوثقوا [ ب : التاسع والاربعون  
 والمائيه . (٣) الجوانيه [ ب : الداخله .

قد امر مولانا سلام الله عليه ان الذى ترغبوا فيه من هذين الرجلين قدموه عليكم فاتفقوا على من ترتضوا به منهما فصاحوا جميعهم بكلمه واحده يونس ابن ابو الفتح بطركنا وهو مستحق لهذه الرتبة وكان ذلك فى ايام خلافة الحافظ وذكر من حضر عقد هذا المجلس من المسلمين ان رجلا منهم قال ليونس ابن ابو الفتح فى المجلس ما تقول انت فى هذا الرجل اعنى يونس ابن كدران اهو مستحق لهذه الرتبة دونك فقال نعم هو اصلح منى واعلم بالشريعة فاستحسنوا ذلك منه وعظم قدره فى اعينهم منجل<sup>(١)</sup> هذا الكلام وللوقت قدموه بطركا فى يوم الاحد ثانى النسي سنه ثلث وستين وثمان مائه للشهدا الابرار وكل تكريزه بالاسكندريه وعاد الى مصر وتلقاه النصارى بالقاهره ومصر باحسن ملقا وساروا بين يديه الى كنيسه ابو مرقوره مستقر سكنه وفرحوا به فرحاً عظيماً وقصد ان يطيب قلب يونس ابن كدران واخوته الرهبان بان يقسمه اسقفا على سمهود فامتنع ولم يطيعه ولم يزل وقت مقيم بالدير ووقت مقيم بالريف حتى مات وفى ايام الحافظ نقب رضوان ابن ونحشى الموضوع الذى كان فيه بالقصر وخرج من النقب وعدى الى الجيزه وحشد جماعه من الاجناد والعربان والمغاربه ودخل الى القاهره وامر<sup>(٢)</sup> ونهى وفى بقيه يوم دخوله اليها قتل داخل الجامع الاقمر الذى عند الركن المخلق بيد السودان ومن اتفق معهم من الاجناد واستمر الامام الحافظ بغير وزير الى ان مات وبعد ان قتل رضوان ابن ونحشى الوزير اعاد مولانا الحافظ الشيخ صنيعه الخلافه ابن يونس الى ديوانه بالقصر واثبات خطه فيه بامضايه واستخدم الشيخ صنيعه الخلافه من قبله صاحبى ديوان احدهما ديوان المجلس والاخر لديوان التحقيق وصار منه الى الخليفه ومنهما اليه وهو الواسطه بين الخليفه وبين كافه الناس من الكبار وغيرهم وكان يستخدم ولاه الحروب فى الولايات كبارها وصغارها ونكته الحافظ واخذ منه مالا كثير ثم اعاده واستخدمه واستمر معه هكذى نكته<sup>(٣)</sup> وخدمه دفعه بعد اخرى الى ان تموا عليه الكتاب الذى استخدمهم المستمرين اصطفهم وقربهم

(١) منجل [ ب : من اجل . (٢) الى القاهره وامر ] ب : الى القاهره وملكها وامر .  
(٣) نكته [ ب : غير موجودة .



اليه ومال اليهم وانكشف عليهم واطلعهم على سره فرافعوا وواقفوه واثبتوا في جهته مال كثير فامر الحافظ باعتقاله في خزانة البنود ولم يزالوا يفسدوا \* قلب ١٩٨ (ظ) الحافظ عليه الى ان (١) قتله بالسيف هو واخ له صغير يسمى ابو المحاسن لان اعداه حملوا زهر الدوله الصقلابي الى خزانة البنود الى ان نقل عنهما انهما شتا الخليفه فامر للوقت بقتلهما فضربت اعناقهما بالسيف ظلما فلم (٢) يهمل الله امرهما ولا غفل عن دماهما فابتلا زهر الدوله الصقلابي بمرض (٣) الاستسقا فاقام به اياما (٤) يسيره حتى شاهدوا الناس فيه قدره الله وعرفوا انه عاقبه بسببهما وانهما بريان وتعجبوا من سرعه المكافاه له والمقاصصه ومجدوا الله على ذلك وكانوا قوم سحره (٥) مستخدمين مع صنيعه الخلافه وهم الذين حملوا عليه (٦) زهر الدوله الصقلابي حتى فعل به ما تقدم شرحه لعداوه بينه (٧) وبينه فلما هم الله فعلهم ومشيمهم على الدماء فقتلهم مولانا الحافظ بالسيف الذي قتله به في الموضوع الذي قتل فيه صنيعه الخلافه واخيه ووقعت دما السحره على دماهما وصدق كلام الله القايل من اهرق دم في العالم يهرق دمه وكانت مكافاه السحره بذلك بعد ان قتل صنيعه الخلافه بدون السنه (٨) ثم مات الحافظ في الرابع من جمادى الاخره سنه اربع واربعين وخمس مايه الهلاليه وجلس بعده ولده ابو منصور ابن اسمعيل وبويع له اهله واخوته ورجال دولته وانعتوه بالامام الظافر ووزر له من امرا دولته امير نعمته نجم الدين ابن مصال لانه كان من خواص الحافظ ابوه ومن كبار دولته وكان يرجع الى رايه ومشورته ففاق عليه امير يسمى على ابن السلار كان واليا بنجر الاسكندريه فحشد الاجناد وعدى الى الغربيه فاجتمع معه اجنادها وعربانها وصار معه عسكر كبير وكان امير من جنس ملوك الملمين بالعرب يسمى عباس من اولاد الامير تميم ابن باديس واليا بالغربيه وكانت امه اسمها بلوره زوجته هذا على ابن السلار فلما عدى

(١) الى ان [ ب : حتى . (٢) فلم [ ب : ولم . (٣) الصقلابي بمرض [

ب : الصقلابي الذي كذب عليهما بمرض . (٤) اياما [ ب : ايام . (٥) وكانوا قوم سحره [

ب : وكانوا قوماً من السحره . (٦) وهم الذين حملوا عليه [ ب : فحسدوه وحملوا عليه .

(٧) بينه [ ب : بينهم . (٨) السنه [ ب : سنه .

الى الغربيه اخذ عباس واليا معه وسار الى القاهره فدخلها على ابن السلار  
وملكها في شعبان سنه اربع واربعين وخمس مائه واخذ الوزاره وانعتوه بالسيد  
الاجل العادل امير الجيوش فهرب نجم الدين ابن مصال وعدى الى الجيزه  
فتحرك معه السودان فتجدت لهم العساكر فكسروهم وقتل من السودان خلق  
كثير واخذت راس ابن مصال وطيف بها القاهره على رمح وقصد النصارى  
بالقاهره ومصر في ايام العادل ابن السلار ان يشدوا الزنار ويقلعوا طيالسهم  
فلم يستمر ذلك سوى ثلثه ايام وكان السبب في ذلك قوم فقها من المبغضين  
لنصارى اجتمعوا بناصر الدين نصر ابن عباس وكان قد ولاه العادل مصر  
فحملوه على ذلك وقالوا له انك اذا فعلت هذا بالنصارى صانعوك بمال كثير  
حتى تزيله عنهم فلما فعل ذلك بهم واقام ثلثه ايام ينتظر ان احد منهم يحضر  
اليه او يتحدث معه بسبب مصانعه او غيرها فلم يحضر اليه احد علم ان الفقها  
غروه فنادى في اليوم الرابع ان يجرؤا على عادتهم واستمر العادل ابن السلار  
في الوزاره الى ان دخل عليه نصر ابن عباس من باب سردار الوزاره فقتله واخذ  
راسه واخرجها واشهرها بين القصرين وكان عباس ابوه والى الشقيه مقيم في  
بليس فانفذ اليه نصر يعرفه بما فعل فدخل عباس من بليس الى القاهره واخلع  
عليه للوزاره وانعتوه بالسيد الافضل وفي ايامه فتحوا الفرنج عسقلان ولم يكن  
بقي بيد المسلمين من الشام سواها وكان فتوحها بيد الافرنج في مده سنه في  
جمادى الاخر سنه ثمان واربعين وخمس مائه ٥

١٩٩ (ج) \* وكانوا النصارى قد اعمروا كنيسه بالمطريه التي فيها بير البلسم التي يستخرج  
منه دهن الميرون على اتر الكنيسه القديمه وكرزوها على اسم القديس ماري جرجس  
وقدسوا فيها قبل ان يكملوا صورها فهدموها المسلمين وبنوا مكانها مسجد  
وكان ناصر الدين ابن عباس قد صار له خلطه بالامام الظافر ويدخل اليه بالليل  
الى قصره ياكل عنده ويشرب ويبات ويصبح وكان الخليفه يخرج معه بالليل  
الى داره فيقعد عنده بعض الليل ويسمع الغنا ثم يودعه حتى يدخل به الى قصره  
فصعب ذلك على عباس ابوه وخاف ان يقتله كما قتل على<sup>(١)</sup> ابن السلار وحكى

(١) على [ ب : العادل .

من كان معاشرهم ان عباس ابوه بلغه ان الخليفة قال لنصر الدوله اقتل ابوك  
وكن انت الوزير فانك اجمل من ابوك لها فدبر عباس الحيله في السلامه فكان  
فيها العطب والهلكه وذلك انه حمل نصر الدوله على قتل الخليفه بقوله له ان  
الناس قد استباحوا (١) عرضك وصار لهم فيك حديث قبيح بما سمعوه من  
خلطتك بالظافر فباى شى يكون منك مما يقولوه وضحك (٢) عباس ابوه  
فقال (٣) له نصر الدوله انت تضحك انى اخاف عليك ان لا ترجع تضحك  
فتوهم منه انه يعنى قتله ولم يخطر بباله الدايمه التى عملها من قبل الخليفه ولما كان  
ليله ذلك اليوم دخل قصر الخليفه على جارى عادته وقعد عنده ساعه ثم ساله  
المشى معه والفرجه على العوام متنكرين فخرج معه من باب الزهومه ووقفا  
عند دكان الفقاعى الذى مقابله وشربا منه فقاع ومشيا فساله ان يمضى معه  
الى داره الذى فى السيوفيين يقعد ساعه ويعود فمضى معه وكان الخليفه متنكر  
ببرده ملتف بها وكان معه استاذين فلما حصل معه فى مجلسه وقعد عنده ساعه  
امر واحد من اصحابه خنقه بمنديله حتى مات ثم قتل الاستاذين ورماه فى بير  
معين ورما الاستاذين فوقه ثم اردم البير وبلطها حتى لم تصير تعرف وكان ذلك  
بتاريخ التاسع والعشرين من المحرم سنة تسع واربعين وخمس مائه واخفى امرهم  
عن الناس فظهره الله وانقم لهم وذلك انه مضى لابوه عباس واعلمه بما فعله  
فخاف ان يقوموا عليه العوام ويخرجوه من الملك والذى خاف منه وقع فيه  
وكان تدميره فى تدبيره وذلك انه اصبح ركب الى القصر واحضر زمام القصر  
وطلب ان يستاذن الخليفه عليه ولم يكن عند زمام القصر ولا غيره علم من خروج  
الخليفه ولا ما جرى عليه فدخل يطلبه فلم يقدر عليه فاخذ عباس زمام القصر  
وطالبه به فحلف وكثر الايمان انه لم يعرف له مكان فقال له احضر لى اخوته  
ليلا يكونوا قتلوه فدخل القصر واحضر له يوسف وجبريل اخوته وصلاح ابن  
حسن اخوه فطلبه منهم وادعى عليهم انهم قتلوه وامر اجناده يقتلوهم فقتلوهم

(١) الناس قد استباحوا [ ب : الناس الخواص والعوام قد استباحوا . (٢) وضحك ]

ب : فضحك . (٣) ابوه فقال [ ب : ابوه من قوله هذا فقال .

وقتلوا زمام القصر ونهب مجلس القصر<sup>(١)</sup> الملك بيد اصحابه وقتلهم جميعهم<sup>(٢)</sup> في قاعه باب الذهب واخذ ولد الخليفه وهو طفل صغير وكان اسمه عيسى فاجلسه خليفه في سلاح المحرم سنه تسع واربعين وخمس مائه الهلاليه وانعتوه بالامام الفايز ولم يزل عباس مستمر في الوزاره الى ان نافق عليه امير يسمى طلايع ابن رزيك كان والى البهنسى والاشمونين من اعمال الصعيد انفذوا له نسا من القصر شعورهم فاخذها وجعلها على رماح وعمل رايات سود وحشد ١٩٩ (ظ) حشود كثير من راجل وفارس ووصل الى القاهره \* في اليوم الرابع عشر من ربيع الاول سنه تسع واربعين وخمس مائه وعند وصوله الى القاهره خرج عباس ونصر ابنه وجماعه اصحابه وقد اوسق كلما له وكلما نهيه من القصر على البغال والجمال والحيل وخرج من القاهره طالب الشام فاجتمع عليه الافرنج والعربان فاخذوا كلما معه ولم يزل يحمل فيهم هو وولده ويقاتل حتى قتل واسر ولده واما طلايع ابن رزيك فاخلع عليه للوزاره فركب الى القصر وعقدوا له عقد الوزاره وطوقوه به وكتب ووقع ونقد امره فركب الى دار ابن عباس ومعه جماعه من الامرا والاستاذين وقاضى القضاء وداعى الدعاه وقدامه صدور ذهب وفضه فيها مباخر مملوه عود وعنبر واستاذ صغير كان لابن<sup>(٣)</sup> عباس كان حاضر قتل الخليفه والاستاذين ورميهم البير فحذتهم بنجرهم ودلهم على موضعهم<sup>(٤)</sup> فحفروه وطلعوا بهم منه وحملوهم الى القصر غسلوهم وكفنوهم ودفنوهم واستقر طلايع ابن رزيك في الوزاره وانعتوه بالملك الصالح وكان محبا لجمع المال واهلك نفوس كثيره في المطالبه بالمال وجمع منه شئ كثير من غير وجوهه وكان يقرب الرفاعين ويحسن اليهم ويسمع اقوالهم مبغضا للنصارى وبعض مذاهب المسلمين لان مذهبه كان امامى وامر ان لا يكون لعوام النصارى ولا اليهود دوايب وكان الغلا في اول سنه من وزارته وايبع القمح فيها بخمسه دنانير الاردب مده اربع شهور لا غير تم تراخت الاسعار في طول مده وزارته وكان سعر الغله لا يثبت على حال بل يزيد وينقص من اردبين بدينار الى

(١) القصر [ ب : غير موجودة . (٢) جميعهم [ ب : جميع . (٣) كان لابن [ ب : كان لنصر ابن . (٤) موضعهم [ ب : الموضع .

اردب الى نصف اردب بدينار فظهر<sup>(١)</sup> في ايامه موت البقر بالريه ولم يكن عرف قبل ايامه بمصر<sup>(٢)</sup> وتردد ذلك وقت بعد وقت في سنين مختلفه حتى صار الناس يحرثوا على الخيل والجمال والحمير وبعد هذه الامور مات الامام الفايز في ايام وزارته في شهر رجب سنه خمس وخمسين وخمس مائه الهلاليه وجلس بعده عبد الله ابن يوسف ابن الحافظ وانعتوه بالامام العاضد ثم ان الصالح ازوجه ابنته على كره منه واستمر الصالح في الوزاره الى يوم الاثنين الثامن عشر من شهر رمضان سنه ست وخمسين وخمس مائه الهلاليه ركب الى القصر على جارى العاده فعرض له في دهليز العمود وهو خارج من عند الخليفه رجل من صغار الاجناد واحقرهم يعرف بابن الراعى ومعه رجلين من السودان احدهما يسمى مقبل فنخسه ابن الراعى بسيف في بطنه اخرج امعاه ثم ضرباه الرجلين بسيوفهما فجرحوه<sup>(٣)</sup> في عداه مواضع في جسده وكان قد اصبح متخوم فحمل الى داره قتيلا ومات في النصف من الليل وجلس بعده ولده رزيك وانعتوه بالاجل مجد الاسلام وكان الصالح قد ولى امير ينعت بالمكرم واسمه شاور ولاه مدينه قوص واعمالها وكان الصالح<sup>(٤)</sup> ابن اخت اسمه حسام ونعته عز الدين هذا كانت اراده الله ان تزول دولتهم على يديه فجعل في قلبه بغضه شاور المكرم وعداوته وكان خاله الصالح قد ولاه منيه بنى خصيب فكان يمسك اصحاب شاور ورسله وغلماناه في البر والبحر يضر بهم ويهينهم ويعتقلهم ويجرى عليهم منه كل صعوبه<sup>(٥)</sup> والى امره مع شاور في كل قبيح فكتب شاور اليه دفعه كثيره يستعطفه ويطلب مسالته ويقول له انك مملوك دوله خاله وصنيعته فجاوبه عن ذلك بان اخذ صندوق لطيف وعمل فيه درتين جلود بقر مطبقه وانفدهم\* لشاور فلما راهم قام وقعد وكان يقتل نفسه وكان ٢٠٠ (ج)

شيخ داهيه خبير بالحروب والحداع والخيل والمكايد فشمروا على ساق الاجتهاد ووطد نفسه على الحروب والجهاد وهيا العدد والاستعداد وانفق الاموال

(١) فظهر [ ب : وظهر . (٢) ايامه بمصر ] ب : ايامه بارض مصر . (٣) فجرحوه [

ب : فجرحاه . (٤) الصالح ] ب : للصالح . (٥) ويجرى عليهم منه كل صعوبه [

ب : ويجرى عليه منهم كل صعوبه .

وحشد<sup>(١)</sup> وجمع عسكرا لم يثق به لان بنى رزيك كانوا قد تماكوا سنين كثير تقارب عشره فكثرة<sup>(٢)</sup> اموالهم ورجالهم وقويت احوالهم فلما علم انه لا يطيق قتالهم جمع اصحابه ومن كان معه من ثقات اهله واقاربه من اهل النصيحة والراى فشاورهم فى ان يندفع من قدام عسكرهم الى برية الواح ويجول فيها طولا وعرضاً بحيث لا يستقر به مكان فاذا طال على من يطلبه عدم وجوده تفلتت العساكر لفروغ الزاد ومشقه البلاد وحر الجبال ونكد الحال ثم لا يقدر يتبعه الى برية الواح<sup>(٣)</sup> عسكر كبير لقلت<sup>(٤)</sup> الما وحر الهوى وقلت<sup>(٥)</sup> العشب للدواب ولكونها رمال وتلال لا شجره تظل ولا ثمره فاشاروا عليه بذلك<sup>(٦)</sup> فسار مع الحشود الى مغارة الواح<sup>(٧)</sup> فاقترص من اصحابه على عشرين فارساً بخيلهم وجمالهم وزادهم وعدتهم واخذ لنفسه جمال وخيل وبغال وزاد كثير وذهب ومال كثير لنفقته وقماش يدفعه للعربان وسار وكان الامر كما قال لما تبعته العساكر ثلثة شهور وهو يزوغ منها من مكان الى مكان لا يقع له على خبز تفلتت العساكر ورجعت الى القاهرة ولم تبلغ مراد وقالوا عنه انه توجه الى الغرب عند<sup>(٨)</sup> امير المومنين ملك الغرب فلما غيب الظن عنه مقدار شهرين اخرين هبط من برية الواح الى بحيرة اسكندريه ومعه اصحابه ومعهم جمال عليها افراد خوص وعدى من محلة عبد الرحمن الى الغريه ونزل بظاهر بلقينه وهى قريه مجاوره للمحله مقدار ميل فى يوم الاحد الثامن من المحرم سنة ثمان وخمسين وخمسمائة<sup>(٩)</sup> هلاليه واجتمع اليه اجناد الغريه وعربها من بنى شيس فلم يقيم ثلثة ايام حتى صار عنده عساكر واجناد وعربان يقارب عشرة الف فارس فوقع للاجناد باقطاعات وامرا العربان ينيهوا ما لبى رزيك فى بلاد اقطاعهم من حواصل الغله والمعاصر والمواشى وانعم على كل قوم بشى طيب قلوبهم وسار حتى نزل على مسجد الخضر فعدى منه الى برا القاهرة فلما اتصل

(١) الاموال وحشد [ ب : الاموال وجمع الرجال وحشد .  
(٢) فكثرة [ ب : فكثرت .  
(٣) الواح [ ب : الواحات .  
(٤) لقلت [ ب : لقلته .  
(٥) وقلت [ ب : وقلة .  
(٦) بذلك [ ب : بذلك .  
(٧) الواح [ ب : اللواح .  
(٨) الغرب عند [ ب : الغرب  
الى عند .  
(٩) خمسمائة [ ب : خمس مائه .

بمجد الاسلام ابن الصالح الوزير في ذلك الوقت خبر تعديته وانه قد قارب  
القاهرة خرج هو وجماعه بنى رزيك نصف الليل من القاهرة هارين وذكر  
جماعه من اصحابهم انهم كانوا يسمعون صوت جليه وصياح خلفهم من كل  
جانب اخرجوا اخرجوا ثم <sup>(١)</sup> يطلبوا من يصيح فلا يجدوا احد فعلموا انهم  
الملايكة بامر الله \* اخرجوهم فخرجوا من ابواب القاهرة كل واحد منهم ٢٠٠ (ظ)  
بنفسه فتركوا <sup>(٢)</sup> اموالهم ومنازلهم وعيالهم فهبوها السودان واذابوا كالملاح واما مجد  
الاسلام رزيك وزيرهم فانه اخذ خُرج صغير عمل في ناحيه منه جواهر وياقوت  
وزمرد وشي كثير من هذه الاصناف وما يكون قيمته خراج ديار مصر سنه  
وملا الناحيه الاخرى اكياس دنانير وجعله على حصان يسوى الف دينار من  
خيله وركبه وخرج من القاهرة من باب زويله وحده ولم يصحبه احد فلم يعرف  
اين يروح وسار متوجه الى قبلى مصر فوقع في فريق عرب لرجل مقدم منهم  
يسمى يعقوب ابن البيض فاخذوه عبيده وعروه واخذوا الحصان وكلما عليه  
ومضوا عنه وتركوه فبقى وحده في البريه عريان حائر وكان شتى وبرد شديد  
في شهر طوبه فرأى نار من بعيد فتبعها فلما قرب منها جرت عليه كلاب الفريق  
فقعد على الارض وحجى على يديه ورجليه حتى دخل طرف الفريق فوجد  
كلب راقد في الرماد فرقد بجانبه وضمه اليه حتى وجد سخوته فسبحان الله  
مزيل النعم وعظيمة قدرته واعوذ به من سخطه هذا رزيك كان اول الليل  
عزيز مصر وسلطانها جالس في مجلسه يامر وينهى الى العتمه سلب من ملكه  
وبان من نعمته وخرج هاج على وجهه لقيه من اهانه واخذ ماله كل هذا الى  
نصف الليل صار راقد مع كلب في رماد سبحان الله يوتى الملك من يشا وينزع  
الملك ممن يشا ويعز من يشا وينذل من يشا بيده الملك وهو على كل شياً <sup>(٣)</sup> قدير  
فلما اصبح الصبح وهو على تلك الحال ابصرته جاريه فانكره <sup>(٤)</sup> حاله وسالته  
من انت فقال لها قولى لمولاك يجى الى عندى فهو يعرفنى ففضيت ليعقوب  
واخبرته به فحضر اليه وعرفه وعانقه وبكا ثم اخذه وخلا به واخلا له بيت

(١) ثم [ ب : غير موجودة . (٢) فتركوا [ ب : وتركوا . (٣) شياً [ ب : شى .  
(٤) فانكره [ ب : فانكرت .

شعر واكساه واقام عنده الى ان تمكن شاور في مملكته واخاع عليه خلع الوزارة وانعتوه بامير الجيوش وطلب مجد الاسلام فعرف مكانه واحضر يعقوب ابن البيض وطلبه منه فاحضره له من فريقه النازل شرقي اطفيح فتلقاه امير الجيوش شاور باحسن ملقا واكرمه وبجله واخلا له قاعه في دارالوزارة وجعله فيها واحضر له سريره وولده واستاذ لخدمته وكان يفتقده في كل وقت بنفسه ويسال عنه ويحضر صحبته فاكهه وياكل معه حتى يطيب قلبه فنقل له عنه اخوه جلال الاسلام انه يريد يهرب ويخرج يفسد الامرا ويطلب الوزارة فصعب عليه ذلك<sup>(١)</sup> وامر به ان يقيد بالحديد فقيدوه ثم صبر جلال الاسلام ايضا مده \*<sup>(٢)</sup> واشاع عنه ان عنده مبرد وقد برد بعض القيد فكشفوا عن ذلك<sup>(٣)</sup> فوجدوه صحيح فسمع طي ابن شاور المنعوت بالعاذل في ذلك<sup>(٤)</sup> الوقت بنجر مجد الاسلام رزيك وانه برد القيد فاخذ سيفه ولم يشاور ابوه ولا علم به احد ودخل اليه وضرب رقبته وكان ذلك<sup>(٥)</sup> ليلة جمعه في العشر الاخير من شهر رمضان سنه ثمان وخمسين وخمس مائه فلما بلغ امير الجيوش ابوه الخبر صعب عليه فلم يقدر يرد ما فات ولما كانت ليلت<sup>(٦)</sup> الجمعة القابله وصبيحتها<sup>(٧)</sup> التاسع والعشرين من شهر رمضان المذكور نافق على امير الجيوش شاور امير من الامرا اسمه ضرغام ونعته سيف المجاهدين وله اخوه احدهم يسمى ملهم والاخر نصر وكان شاور قد احسن الى ضرغام وقربه وادناه وجعله صاحب باب وحلف ضرغام<sup>(٨)</sup> لشاور اربعين يمينا انه لا ينافق عليه وكذب وخرج من عنده ليلة الجمعة كما قلنا فنافق وحالف الامرا في الليل وجيش عسكر وفتح باب البرقيه من ابواب القاهرة وخرج منه ثم فتحوا له باب زويله دخل منه وصاح عسكره وقصدوا دار الوزارة فخرج شاور وهو يتعمم ولم يمهلوه حتى يكمل عمامته بل اخذ باقيتها في كفه وركب حصانه وتقلد بسيفه وجا الى باب الفتوح وجده مغلق والسودان محتفظين به فصاح ياريحان فلبوا نداه وفتحوا له باب الفتوح فوقف في وسطهم وشكرهم واثنا عليهم ووعدهم ان اعاده الله الى ملكه كافاهم باحسن مكافاه

(١) ذلك [ ب : ذلك . (٢) ليلت [ ب : ليلة . (٣) وصبيحتها [ ب : وصبيحتها .  
(٤) ضرغام لشاور [ ب : شاور لضرغام .



ولما عاد وظفر اوفاهم ثم خرج من باب الفتوح وسار تحت ليله حتى وصل الى بيوت عشيرته بنى سعد فنزل عندهم وملك ضرغام واخوانه وظفروا بطى ابن شاور المنعوت بالعدل فقتلوه وكان ذلك مكافاه من الله لكونه قتل مجد الاسلام رزيك وهو برى واستمر ضرغام فى الوزاره تسعه شهور اولها شوال سنه ثمان وخمسين وخمسايه<sup>(١)</sup> واخرها جمادى الاخر سنه تسعه وخمسين وخمس مايه وانعتوه بالملك الافضل واخوه ملهم بالعدل واخوه نصر ناصر المسلمين فاما شاور فانه توجه الى دمشق واجتمع بنور الدين ابن قسم الدوله واسمه محمود ابن زكى واقام عنده مده فجهز معه عسكر مقدمه اسد الدين شيركوه ثم عاد الى ديار مصر ونزل ببلييس وخرج اليه ناصر المسلمين اخو ضرغام بعسكر كبير فلما راي شيركوه ذلك<sup>(٢)</sup> خاف وقال لشاور كيف فعلت هذا الفعل بنا وبنفسك انما جيتنا الى مصر لتهلكنا لعل نكون نحن واصحابك فى النى فارس فى هذا العسكر عشرين الف فارس مقاتله ويتبعه مثلها خدام واصحاب فقال له شاور لا يهولك الامر فكلهم معى وما منهم احد يقاتلنى وكان على ظاهر بلييس كوم عظيم فقال شاور لشيركوه اصعد بنا الى الكوم \* وطول روحك لا تقاتلهم ٢٠١ (ظ) حتى تحمى الشمس جيد ولم يقول شاور هذا الا لعلمه ان الشمس اذا قويت تفللوا يطلبوا الظل تحت الشجر والجدران فلما حميت الشمس وقت الظهر وهم قد تفللوا وطلب كل واحد منهم<sup>(٣)</sup> مكان يستظل فيه فنزل شاور وشيركوه من على الكوم وحملوا بعسكرهم عليهم فكسروهم واسروهم وعروهم واخذوا خيلهم واموالهم ولم يقتلوا منهم ولا<sup>(٤)</sup> واحد وهرب بقيتهم الى القاهره فسار شاور وشيركوه خلفهم بالعسكر الى القاهره ونزلوا فى ارض الطباله والوق ودير القاهره وحاصروها ولم يزل القتال والحرب مستمر وضرغام واخوته مباشرين الحرب متفرقين على ابوابها الى ان كتب الامام العاضد الخليفه فى ذلك الوقت رقعته لضرغام الوزير يقول له فيها بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم نحن نعرفك<sup>(٥)</sup> ايها الملك لانه لم يبق فى فيك ظل الا الى صلاة العصر فانج بنفسك ان

(١) وخمسايه [ ب : وخمس مايه . (٢) ذلك ] ب : ذلك . (٣) كل واحد منهم [ ب : كل واحد قدم منهم . (٤) ولا ] ب : غير موجوده . (٥) نعرفك [ ب : نغزيك .

قدرة<sup>(١)</sup> والسلام وكان ضرغام في ذلك<sup>(٢)</sup> اليوم قد جا الى القصر ووقف مقابل باب الذهب في امر عرض له ياخذ راى الخليفة فيه فوجد ابواب القصر مغلقة فرميت له هذه الرقعة فلما وقف عليها لم يرجع الى ورايه<sup>(٣)</sup> بل ثم خرج من باب زويله فادركته خيل الغز عند الكبش تحت جبل المقطم بين القاهرة ومصر فقتلوه ولم يعرفوه انه ضرغام فلما جابوا راسه الخيم عرفه شاور وركب للوقت وجا الى القاهرة ففتحت له الابواب ودخل فلم يستقر به القرار حتى بلغه ان اسد الدين يريد يغدر به فاحترز واغلق ابواب القاهرة فتقدم اليه وقاتله وحاصره وامتددة<sup>(٤)</sup> ايدى الغز في سكان مصر من النصارى السودان والارمن والاتراك المصريين وكانوا يقتلوا منهم ويبيعوهم فان وجدوا من يشتري منهم والاقتلوا ذلك<sup>(٥)</sup> الشخص ونهبوا اموالهم واخذوا نساهم وكانوا ينادوا على النصرانى من يشتري كافران وعلى التركى المصرى من يشتري تركى خليع بات في الصقيع وعلى الاسود من يشتري سويدان وكانوا يبيعوهم بثمن خسيس بعشرين درهم النصرانى وعشره دراهم<sup>(٥)</sup> التركى وخمس دراهم<sup>(٥)</sup> الاسود واستشهد على يدهم<sup>(٦)</sup> راهب اسمه شنوفه من دير ابو مقار مسكوه واعرضوا عليه الاسلام فامتنع منه فقتلوه وراموا ان يحرقوا جسده فلم يحترق فاخذوه النصراره ودفنوه في كنيسة ابو سرجه بمصر في اليوم الرابع والعشرين من بشنس وهدموا<sup>(٧)</sup> كنائس كثير للشهدا في ذلك<sup>(٢)</sup> الوقت في ضواحي القاهرة وهدموا كنيسة الحمرا بجارة الروم البرانية وكنيسة الزهرى ونهبوا كل كنيسة هدموها وبعد ما ان اهتدت الامور اهتم الشيخ الاسعد صليب صاحب الديوان بعمارة كنيسة الحمرا والزهرى وما قدر عليه من الكنائس وكان يتعاهدهم ويفتقدهم بالقداسات فيهم ويهتم باقمنت<sup>(٨)</sup> \* الجير حتى كملت العماره ولم يزل اسد الدين مقيم على القاهرة يحاصر شاور الى ان انفذ شاور للملك مرى ملك الافرنج بمال عظيم حتى جا بعسكره فلم اخبر

٢٠٢ (ج)

(١) قدرة [ ب : قدرت . (٢) ذلك [ ب : ذلك . (٣) ورايه [ ب : وراه .  
(٤) وامتددة [ ب : وامتدت . (٥) دراهم [ ب : الدراهم . (٦) يدهم [ ب : ايديهم .  
(٧) من بشنس وهدموا [ ب : من بشنس سنة ثمانية وثمان مائه للشهدا وهدموا . (٨) باقمنت [ ب : بأقمنته .

اسد الدين شيركوه العربان بقرب الافرنج من البلاد رحل بعسكره الى الصعيد ولما وصل الملك مرّى بعسكره الى بلبليس حمل اليه من الخليفه والوزير من المال والمدايا شئ كثير واستراح على بلبليس شهراً واحداً<sup>(١)</sup> ثم جا الى القاهره ونزل بعسكره حول القاهره ثم سار عسكر الفرنج ومرّى ملكهم وعسكر المسلمين وشاور سلطانهم في طلب اسد الدين شيركوه وعسكره فلما تبعوه عدى الى البر الغربى وسار الى الصعيد الاعلا فادركوه على بقعه تسمى البابين والتقوا معه فقتل من عسكره خلق كثير وقتل ايضاً من الفرنج والمصريين جماعه كبيره واسر كل منهم من الاخر اسارى ثم عاد اسد الدين الى اسكندريه وتحصن فيها وتبعه الملك مرّى وعسكر الفرنج وعسكر المصريين ونزلوا عليها وحاصروه فلما طال به الحصار خرج منها ليلاً وعاد الى القاهره لياخذها فلما علم به الملك مرّى وشاور تبعوه وجرت خطوب كثيره تقرر اخرها ان قطعوا له مال اخذه وعاد الى بلاده واوفا شاور بما عاهد عليه الفرنج من سلامتهم لانه لو اراد ان يغدرهم ويتفق مع عسكره الغربا عليهم ما رجع منهم مخبر وقد كان الملك مرّى عرف انه اخطا لكونه حصل بعسكره في وسط بلاد الاسلام من خلق بحرين الشرقى والغربى وسلمه الله لعدله وحسن تدبيره واستمر شاور في الوزاره الى اخر يوم السبت الثامن من ربيع الاول سنة اربع وستين وخمسمائه<sup>(٢)</sup> وجرت له خطوب ياتى ذكرها فيما بعد وفي ايام هذا البطرك تنصر رجل من اليهود بمصر من كبار قومه خبيراً عالماً من اعيان طايفته يسمى ابو الفخر ابن ازهر وقرى مذهب النصرانيه وتكلم باللغه القبطيه في اسرع وقت وكان يجادل اليهود باللغه العبرانيه ويفسر للنصاره باللغه القبطيه وتمهر في مذهب النصرانيه حتى صار اعلم من اهله ومات على دين النصرانيه مومن بالمسيح بعد ان قاساً من المسلمين واليهود شدائد وكانوا اليهود يبذلوا للسلطين المال على قتله فيخلصه المسيح منهم فلا يصلوا لمضرته واقام نصراني يمشى في بطون اليهود نحو من<sup>(٣)</sup> اربعين سنة بمصر وفي ايام هذا البطرك وصل كتاب من ملك الحبشه الى العادل ابن

(١) واحداً [ ب : غير موجودة . (٢) وخمسمائه ] ب : وخمس مائه . (٣) من [ ب : غير موجودة .

السلار يلتبس قسمت<sup>(١)</sup> مطران وكان عنده مطران يقال له انبا ميخائيل وكان اسمه حبيب الاطفيحي فلما كبر وشاخ انفذ الملك يطلب مطران غيره وهذا ٢٠٢ (ظ) حبيب كان قسمه<sup>(٢)</sup> انبا مقاره البطرك فلما جرى بينه وبين \* الملك كلام تغير عليه وكتب يطلب غيره وسبب ذلك ان الملك كان تغلب على المملكة بغير حق فوبخه المطران وانفذ كتاب للسلطان وكان في ذلك<sup>(٣)</sup> الوقت العادل ابن السلار وزير وكتاب ايضا للبطرك يطلب مطران غيره وهو بالحياه لم يموت فامتنع ابونا البطرك من ذلك<sup>(٣)</sup> وقال للوزير العادل ما في شريعتنا ان<sup>(٤)</sup> نولى انسان رتبة الكهنوت نرجع نعرله منها حتى يموت فاذا مات ولينا غيره لان رتبة الكهنوه<sup>(٥)</sup> سمايه ما هي ارضيه فضجر عليه العادل الوزير وامر باعتقاله في سجن دار الوزاره كان العادل يعتقل فيه من يسخط عليه من امرا دولته فقاسا البطرك من ضيق هذا السجن وتئن رايحته شده عظيمه واستمر اعتقاله فيه الى ان<sup>(٦)</sup> فرج الله عنه بقتل العادل وكذلك<sup>(٧)</sup> جرت له قضيه اخره<sup>(٨)</sup> في ايام الصالح ابن رزيك الوزير في اخر ايامه وذلك انه كان بسمنود قوم رهبان من قلاية بشبيش من دير ابو مقار ابوهم يسمى سلمون وان هذا البطرك اقسم على كرسي سمنود اسقفا ذكروا انه ابن اخته واسماه انبا مقاره وهو اخوه في الرهبنه ومعهم في القلايه التي<sup>(٩)</sup> كان فيها ولاجل منافسات الدنيا والمجد الفارغ يجد الشيطان السبيل الى هلاك النفوس<sup>(١٠)</sup> بضرباته لاجل التحاسد وان قوما سو حسنوا لهذا الاسقف ان كتب للبطرك يقول له عن انبا سلمون واخوته الرهبان اولاد بشبيش انهم اضافوا في الاعتراف عند كمال القداس لفظه مستجده ابتدعوها من نفوسهم لم تقوها الاوائل وهي بلفظة<sup>(١١)</sup> الْقَبْطِي *ΠΡΕΥΤΑΝΘΟ* الذى تفسيرها المحي وهي لفظه مستعمله في مواضع كثيره من القداس وجا بها كلام الامانه اخر القداس على هذه القضيه وهو قولهم او من واعترف الى النفس

(١) قسمت [ ب : قسمه . (٢) قسمه [ ب : اقسامه . (٣) ذلك [ ب : ذلك .  
 (٤) شريعتنا ان [ ب : شريعتنا بعد ان . (٥) الكهنوه [ ب : الكهنوت . (٦) الى ان [ ب : حتى . (٧) وكذلك [ ب : وكذلك . (٨) اخره [ ب : اخرى . (٩) التي [ ب : الذى . (١٠) النفوس [ ب : نفوس الناس . (١١) بلفظة [ ب : لفظه .

الاحير ان هذا الجسد المحي الذي اخذه الابن الوحيد ربنا ومخلصنا يسوع المسيح من مريم العذرى وصار واحد مع لاهوته بغير اختلاط ولا امتزاج ولا افتراق فلما وقف البطرک على كتاب انبا مقاره اسقف سمنود تغير على انبا سلمون واخوته واستوحش منهم وكثر الحديث فى ذلك<sup>(١)</sup> فانفذ وجمع جماعه كثير<sup>(٢)</sup> من الاساقفه ونظروا فى ذلك<sup>(١)</sup> فوجدوه حق وليس فيه شيا<sup>(٣)</sup> يكره لانه الجسد المحي بالحقيقه ومودى من يومن به الى الحياه الدايمة فكتب البطرک بذلك<sup>(٤)</sup> الى ساير الاعمال فقبولوه اهل الوجه البحرى ومصر والاسكندريه وجميع رهبان الديارات ما خلا القسا باسكنا ابو مقار فانهم امتنعوا من اضافتها واعتدروا عن ذلك<sup>(١)</sup> بانها مضافه مستجده لم يجرى بها عادة من تقدمهم وانها ما اضيفت الا لمعنى اخر منجلهم<sup>(٥)</sup> فانتصب قوما منهم لمرافعت<sup>(٦)</sup> \* هذا الاب البطريرك<sup>(٧)</sup> والاساقفه وتحدثوا فيهم باشيا كثير واطمعوا ٢٠٣ (ج)

الصالح الوزير انهم يحصلوا له منهم مال لعلمهم بظلمه ومحبه للمال فانفذ احضر هذا الاب البطرک مع الرهبان الى بين يديه وعقد لهم مجلس قدامه وجرى الحديث فى معنى عقيدة النصارى ومقاتلهم وكان قصده ما يحصله منهم لا النظر فى الديارات لان النصرانيه حاله معروفه ليس هى دين جديد يحتاج الى البحث عنه واختباره ولما جرت مخاطبه فى المجلس قال البطرک للصالح الوزير موسى ايش هو عندك قال نبي قال فى المسيح ما هو عندكم قال روح الله وكلمته قال اتقدر ان تقول ان روح الله وكلمته نبي قال لا قال البطرک فروح الله وكلمته اعظم واشرف من الانبيا لانه خالق الخلايق كلها بكلمته الذى بها قال اكل الخلايق كوني فكائة<sup>(٨)</sup> كلمح البصر فهى خالقة الخلايق<sup>(٩)</sup> والاشيا كلها فسكت الوزير وجرى بينه وبين الرهبان مرافعات كثير فزجرهم البطرک بالكلام و اشار بعكازه الحديد الذى بيده ليضرب بعضهم فصرخوا وشكوا ذلك<sup>(١)</sup>

(١) ذلك [ ب : ذلك . (٢) كثير [ ب : كبيرة . (٣) شيا [ ب : شى . (٤) بذلك [ ب : بذلك . (٥) منجلهم [ ب : من اجلهم . (٦) لمرافعت [ ب : لمرافعة . (٧) البطريرك [ ب : البطرک . (٨) فكائة [ ب : فكانت . (٩) الخلايق [ ب : غير موجودة .

لوزير وقالوا له يحرق<sup>(١)</sup> بنا قدامك في مجلسك فقال لهم مدوا ايضا انتم ايديكم اليه فقالوا ما نقدر فامر باخراج البطرك فخرج من قدامه وهو يدعى عليه ويقول كما رفعت اصاغرنا علينا الرب يرفع اصاغر قومك عليك فوكل به الصالح رجلين ثم امر باعتقاله وكتب مناشير وسيره<sup>(٢)</sup> مع المترسمين بالاجعال الى كراسى الاساقفه بالوجه البحرى وناولهم صعوبه عظيمه من المترسمين ومن ولاة الاعمال الى ان ظهر الله اعجوبه<sup>(٣)</sup> مشهوره تحدث بها المسلمين الذين كانوا معه معتقلين اكثر مما تحدث بها النصراره<sup>(٤)</sup> وذلك انه كان<sup>(٥)</sup> ملازم الصوم والصلاه والطلبه الى الله كجرى<sup>(٦)</sup> عادته وانه ليله من الليالى غفى ونام ثم قال لمن حوله من الناس تقووا بالله وافرحوا فان بعد ايام يسيره يفرج الله عنى وعنكم وكان كان لانه<sup>(٧)</sup> بعد اربعة عشر يوما من روياه وهو فى الاعتقال ركب الصالح من داره فى عزه وموكبه ومملكته الى القصر للسلام على جارى العاده فلعبوا عليه فى دهليز العمود وهو خارج من عند الخليفه بيد رجل من اصاغر الناس يعرف بابن الراعى كما دعى عليه الاب<sup>(٨)</sup> البطريرك<sup>(٩)</sup> كذلك<sup>(١٠)</sup> كان وحمل الى داره مجروح فمات وانفذ ابنه مجد الاسلام اطلق البطرك وكلمن معه فى السجن وفرج الله عنهم بصلاته وقدسسه وكذلك<sup>(١١)</sup> الاساقفه فرج الله عنهم بعدما قاسوا من الضر فى النكال وغرامه الاجعال ما اضر بهم<sup>(١٢)</sup> وصدق قول مخلصنا فى الانجيل انى معكم الى انتقضا العالم\* فله الشكر على ذلك<sup>(١٣)</sup> وفى ايام شاور الوزير تنيح البطرك انبا يوانس<sup>(١٤)</sup> فى اليوم الرابع من بشنس سنة ثلث وثمانين وثمان مائه للشهدا فى كنيسة القديس ابو مرقوره وكان له مناحه عظيمه وليله حسنه بالصلوات والقراه وفى صبيحة تلك الليله دفنوا

(١) يحرق] ب : انحرق . (٢) وسيره] ب : وسيرت (٣) الله اعجوبه] ب : الله له اعجوبية . (٤) النصراره] ب : النصرارى . (٥) كان] ب : غير موجودة . (٦) كجرى] ب : على جارى . (٧) كان لانه] ب : كان كذلك لانه . (٨) الاب] ب : غير موجودة . (٩) البطريرك] ب : البطرك . (١٠) كذلك] ب : كذلك . (١١) وكذلك] ب : وكذلك . (١٢) ما اضر بهم] ب : ما اضر بهم . (١٣) ذلك] ب : ذلك . (١٤) يوانس] ب : يونس .

جسده في الكنيسة المذكوره مع جسد الاب انبا غبريال البطرك الذي كان قبله  
وقيل عنه ان قوم تحدثوا معه في نقل جسد انبا غبريال البطرك الى دير ابو مقار  
فقال لهم سيجي من ينقل جسدى وجسده جميعا فكان كما قال لانهما نقلتا  
الى دير ابو مقار في ايام الاب الجليل انبا مرقس ابن زرعه البطرك بعده في  
الصوم المقدس سنة ستة<sup>(١)</sup> وثمانين وثمان مائه للشهدا الابرار وكان لاخراجهما  
ليه مشهوره من كثرت<sup>(٢)</sup> الجمع والناس الحاضرين لذلك<sup>(٣)</sup> ومداومة القراه<sup>(٤)</sup>  
والصلوات من اول الليل الى اخره وحملوا اجسادهم<sup>(٥)</sup> من طريق دير نهيا  
ودفنا في تربة البطاركة مع ابايها بسلام من الله نيح نفوسهم اجمعين رزقنا  
الله بركة صلواتهم المقدسه امين اذكر<sup>(٦)</sup> يارب عبدك الحقير الذليل المسكين  
شنوده بالاسم قمص خادم دير القديس العظيم البار انبا بولا الكبير اول السواح  
الذى رمم هذه السير يرجو بذلك العفو والمسامحه بغفران خطاياها بشفاعه من  
ذكره اسمائهم فيها وكان ترميم ذلك يومئذ بالقلايه العامره بالمحروسه في ايام  
رياسة السيد الاب الجليل المغبوط الطوباني ريس الرووسا وسيد السادات  
الاب المكرم بكل نوع انبا بطرس البطريرك التاسع والمائه من عدد الابا البطاركة  
ادام الله تعالى علينا رياسته سنينا عديده وازمنه متصله سالمه هاديه مديده بالعمر  
الطويل والحياه السعيده امين .

(١) ستة [ ب : ست . (٢) كثرت [ ب : كثرة . (٣) لذلك [ ب : لذلك .  
(٤) القراه [ ب : القراه . (٥) اجسادهم [ ب : اجسادهما . (٦) ان الاسطر من « اذكر  
يارب ... » حتى « ... امين » غير موجودة في المخطوط ب .

and ninth of the number of the fathers, the patriarchs<sup>(1)</sup>. May God the Exalted perpetuate for us his leadership many years and (in) continuous, peaceful, calm and prolonged times, with long years<sup>(2)</sup> and happy life. Amen.

Then there follows it<sup>(3)</sup> the remainder of the second part of the biographies.

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(1) Peter VII, 1809-1852 A.D.

(2) *Lit.* 'age'.

(3) *i.e.* the present biography.



Ibn Zara'ah<sup>(1)</sup>, the patriarch after him, in the Holy Fast<sup>(2)</sup> (in the) year eight hundred and eighty-six of the Pure Martyrs<sup>(3)</sup>. And the taking out of them<sup>(4)</sup> was a notable night by reason of the number of the multitude and the people who were present on account of this, and the prolongation of the readings<sup>(5)</sup> and the prayers from the beginning of the night until its end. And they bare their bodies by way of the Monastery of Nahiyâ<sup>(6)</sup>, and they (the two bodies) were buried in the patriarchal tomb with their fathers, in peace from God. May all their souls together rest, (and) may God grant to us acceptance through the blessing of their holy prayers. Amen.

( Note<sup>(7)</sup> )

Remember, O Lord, Thy lowly servant, the humble, wretched Šenouti (Šanûdah), in name hegoumenos (kummus), servant of the Monastery of the Great Saint, the righteous Abba (Anbâ) Paul (Bûlâ) the Great<sup>(8)</sup>, the first hermit, who revised this biography. He entreats thereby pardon and clemency through the forgiveness of his sins by the intercessions of those whose names he has mentioned in it. And the revision of it was, at that time, in the flourishing cell at Cairo (Al-Mahrûsah)<sup>(9)</sup>, in the days of the leadership of the master, the venerable, happy, blessed father, chief of chiefs and master of masters, the father honoured in every way, Abba (Anbâ) Peter (Buṭrus) the patriarch, the one hundred

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<sup>(1)</sup> LXXIIIrd Patriarch, 1166-1189 A.D.

<sup>(2)</sup> *i.e.* Lent.

<sup>(3)</sup> = 1170 A.D.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* the removal from their tombs.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* lessons from the Funeral Service.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

<sup>(7)</sup> This Note is not in the Paris *MS*.

<sup>(8)</sup> For the Monastery of St. Paul the First Hermit, cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, Cairo, 1961, pp. 89-116; O.F.A. MEINARDUS, 'The Monastery of St. Paul in the Eastern Desert' in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Égypte*, t. XXXIV, pp. 81-109.

<sup>(9)</sup> This term «Guarded» is applied to Cairo, and the cell would be the Patriarchal one at Al-Azbakiât, *i.e.* the Patriarchate.

usual custom. And they played a trick on him in the Passage of the Column <sup>(1)</sup>, while he was going out from the presence of the Calif (al-Khalîfat), at the hand of a man from the lowest of the people, known as Ibn ar-Râ'î, even as the father, the patriarch had cursed him (Şâlih), so it was, and they bare him to his house wounded, and he died. And his son Mağd al-Islâm sent (and) released the patriarch and everyone with him in the prison; and God delivered them through his prayer and his sanctity. And, likewise, the bishops, God delivered them, after they had endured the hardship of punishment and the fines of the exactors which harmed them. And the saying of our Saviour in the Gospel was fulfilled: « I am with you unto the consummation of the world » <sup>(2)</sup>, \* and to Him (be) thanks for this. And in the days of Şâwar, the wazîr, \* fol. 203 v° the patriarch Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'annis) <sup>(3)</sup> went to his rest on the fourth day of (the month of) Bašuns (in the) year eight hundred and eighty-three of the Martyrs <sup>(4)</sup>, in the Church of Saint Abba (Abû) Mercurius (Marķûrah) <sup>(5)</sup>. And there was for him a great mourning, and (it was) a good night with prayers and readings <sup>(6)</sup>; and on the morning of that night they buried his body in the aforementioned Church with the body of the father Abba (Anbâ) Gabriel (Ghabryâl), the patriarch, who was before him <sup>(7)</sup>. And it is said concerning him, that some people spoke with him about transporting the body of Abba (Anbâ) Gabriel (Ghabryâl), the patriarch, to the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maķâr) <sup>(8)</sup>, and he said to them: « He who will transport my body and his body together will come ». And this was, as he said, because they were transported to the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maķâr) <sup>(8)</sup> in the days of the venerable father, Abba (Anbâ) Mark (Marķus)

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. p. 240.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. *Matt.* xxviii, 20.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. p. 66 sqq.

<sup>(4)</sup> = 1167 A.D.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 40-49.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* lessons from the Funeral Service.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. p. 39 sqq.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. p. 2, n. 2.

said : « Is it possible to say that the spirit of God and His word (is) a prophet? ». He (Şâlih) said : « No ». The patriarch said : « Then the spirit of God and His word is greater and more exalted than the prophets, for He created all creatures by His word by which He said to all creatures : ‘ Be ’, and they were in a twinkling of an eye. And He is the Creator of creatures and all things ». The wazîr was silent. And there occurred between him and the monks many discussions. Then the patriarch restrained them by words, and he raised <sup>(1)</sup> his iron rod which (was) in his hand to strike some of them. And they cried out, and they complained about it to the wazîr. And they said to him : « He is furious with us before thee in thy council ». He said to them : « Stretch out, ye also, your hands against him ». They said : « It is not possible ». Then he commanded the patriarch to be removed ; and he went out from before him, invoking evil upon him and saying : « Even as thou hast raised those lower than us over us, the Lord will raise the lower of thy people over thee » ; and Şâlih committed him to two men. Then he commanded him to be fettered, and he wrote an ordinance, and he despatched it with the exactors of fines to the sees of the bishops of the Delta (al-Wağah al-Bağarî). And they experienced great hardship from the exactors and the wâlîs of the districts, until God manifested <sup>(2)</sup> a memorable miracle which the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) who were fettered with him (the patriarch) talked about more than what the Christians (an-Naşârah) talked about. And this (was) that he (the patriarch) was assiduous in fasting and prayer and supplication to God, as (was) his usual custom ; and (it was) that one night <sup>(3)</sup> he was dozing and sleeping. Then he said to those around him of the people : « Take strength in God and rejoice, for after a few days God will deliver me and you ». And so it was <sup>(4)</sup>, because after fourteen days from his revelation, while he was in fetters, Şâlih rode from his house in his might and his retinue and his sovereignty to the Castle for the greeting <sup>(5)</sup>, according to the

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ pointed with ’.

<sup>(2)</sup> The Paris *MS.* adds ‘ to him ’.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ a night of the nights ’.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ and it was was ’.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* a levee of the Calif.

was not in it anything objectionable, for It <sup>(1)</sup> is the life-giving Body in truth, leading him who believes in It to everlasting life. And the patriarch wrote concerning this to all the districts <sup>(2)</sup>, and the inhabitants of the Delta (al-Wağah al-Baḥarî), and Cairo (Miṣr) and Alexandria, and all the monks of the monasteries accepted it <sup>(3)</sup>, with the exception of the priests in the Sanctuary (σκηνή) of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḡâr) <sup>(4)</sup>. And they refused to add it, and they excused themselves for this on the grounds that it (was) a recent addition, and that it did not accord with the practice of their predecessors, and that it had not been added except for another meaning on their account. Some of them rose up to appeal against \* this father, the patriarch, and the bishops; and they said many things among themselves. And they assured Ṣâliḥ the wazîr, (saying) that they would obtain money for him from them (the monks), by reason of their knowledge of his injustice and his love of money. And he sent to bring this father, the patriarch, with the monks before him <sup>(5)</sup>, and he assembled for them a council before him. And there occurred discussions concerning the meaning of the belief of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) and their argument. And his intention was what he might obtain from them, not out of consideration for the monasteries, since the case of Christianity (an-Naṣarâniyat) was known: it was not a new religion (which) requires investigation and an examination of it. And when discussion occurred in the council, the patriarch said to Ṣâliḥ: « Moses (Mûsâ), what is he with thee? ». He said: « A prophet ». He (the patriarch) said with reference to Christ: « What is He with you? <sup>(6)</sup> ». He (Ṣâliḥ) said: « The spirit of God and His word » <sup>(7)</sup>. He (the patriarch)

\* fol. 203 r°

<sup>(1)</sup> *i.e.* the consecrated eucharistic bread.

<sup>(2)</sup> *i.e.* of Egypt.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* the expression 'life-giving'.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. H. G. EVELYN WHITE, *The Monasteries of the Wâdî 'n-Naṭrûn*, part III, pp. 90-99.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* 'between his hands'.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* in your religion and according to the Qurân.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. *The Qurân*, *Sûrat of the Women*: إِنَّمَا الْمَسِيحُ عِيسَى ابْنُ مَرْيَمَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ وَكَلِمَتُهُ أَلْقَاهَا إِلَى مَرْيَمَ وَرُوحٌ مِنْهُ .

«Verily, the Messiah Jesus ('Isâ), the son of Mary (Maryam), (is) the apostle of God and His word which He communicated to Mary (Maryam), and the Spirit of Him».

him in the Cell (*κελλίον*) which was in it. And on account of worldly gains and empty glory, Satan (*aš-Šaiṭān*) finds a way for the perdition of souls through his blows, on account of envy. And (it was) that evil people had made good to this bishop that he should write to the patriarch, telling him about Abba (*Anbā*) Salamūn and his brethren, the monks, sons of (the Cell) of Bišbīš<sup>(1)</sup>, that they had added in the Confession<sup>(2)</sup> at the completing of the Liturgy (*al-Ḳuddās*) a new expression which they had invented themselves, which (their) predecessors had not said. It is the Coptic (*al-ḳibtī*) expression *ΝΡΕΥΤΑΝΘΟ* which is translated 'life-giving'; and it is an expression used in many places in the Liturgy (*al-Ḳuddās*), it comes in the declaration of faith at the end of the Liturgy (*al-Ḳuddās*), as regards this question, and it is their saying<sup>(3)</sup>: « I believe and I confess to the last breath that this life-giving Body (is) that which the Only Son, our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ took from Mary the Virgin, and it became one with His Divinity without confusion nor mingling nor separation ». And when the patriarch was informed of the contents of the letter of Abba (*Anbā*) Macarius (*Maḳārah*), bishop of Samannūd<sup>(4)</sup>, he changed towards Abba (*Anbā*) Salamūn and his brethren, and he felt displeasure for them, and talk increased about this. Then he sent and assembled a numerous company of bishops, and they examined this, and they found it correct, and there

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. p. 91, n. 5.

<sup>(2)</sup> This is the profession of faith in the transmutation of the Elements of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ.

<sup>(3)</sup> The present text is as follows : *†ΝΑΖ†* (thrice) *ΟΥΟΣ †ΕΡ ΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΝ*  
*ΩΛ ΠΙΝΙΧΙ ΝΘΛΕ ΧΕ ΟΛΙ ΤΕ †ΣΑΡΞ ΝΡΕΥΤΑΝΘΟ ΕΤΑ ΠΕΚΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ*  
*ΝΩΗΡΙ ΠΕΝΘ̄ ΟΥΟΣ ΠΕΝΝΟΥ† ΟΥΟΣ ΠΕΝΩΤΗΡ ΙΗ̄Σ ΠΧ̄Σ ΟΙΤΣ ΕΒΟΛ*  
*ΘΕΝ ΤΕΝΘ̄ ΝΝΗΒ ΤΗΡΕΝ †ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΕΘΟΥΛΒ †ΛΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΛΧΛΙΣ*  
*ΝΟΥΛΙ ΝΕΜ ΤΕΜΕΘΝΟΥ† ΘΕΝ ΟΥΜΕΤΑΤΜΟΥΧΤ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΜΕΤΑΤΘΩΘ*  
*ΝΕΜ ΟΥΜΕΤΑΤΦΙΒ†* 'I believe (thrice) and I confess till the last breath, that this is the life-giving Flesh which Thine Only-begotten Son, our Lord, and our God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ took from the Mistress of us all, the Holy God-bearer, Holy Mary. He made it one with His Divinity without mingling and without confusion and without alteration', cf. 'ABD AL-MASĪŪ ṢALĪB, *Pi Jôm ente pi Eukhologion ethouab*, Cairo, 1903, pp. 406-407 and F.E. BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. I, Oxford, 1896, p. 185.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. p. 91, n. 4.

he was old and advanced in age, the king sent to seek a metropolitan (muṭrân) other than him. And this Ḥabîb Abba (Anbâ) Macarius (Maḳârah) the patriarch had consecrated. And when words occurred between him and \* the king <sup>(1)</sup>, he (the king) changed towards him, and he wrote to seek another than him; and the reason for this (was) that the king had usurped the kingdom unjustly, and the metropolitan (muṭrân) had rebuked him, and he (the king) had sent a letter to the Sultan; and, at that time, Al-Âdil Ibn Salâr was wazîr. And he (the king) wrote also to the patriarch to seek a metropolitan (muṭrân) other than him, while he (was) alive <sup>(2)</sup> and not dead. And our father, the patriarch, refused (to do) this, and he said to the wazîr Al-Âdil: « It is not in our law (šarîat) that, having appointed a man to the order of the priesthood, we go back and deprive him of it until he dies. And if he is dead, we appoint another than him, because the order of the priesthood is heavenly, not earthly». And Al-Âdil, the wazîr, was wrothful with him, and he ordered him to be fettered in the prison of the House of the Ministry (wizârat) <sup>(3)</sup>. Al-Âdil used to put fetters on him with whom he was wrothful of the amîrs of his State. And the patriarch suffered great hardship from the confinement of this prison and the stench of its odour. And he continued fettered in it until God released him through the murder of Al-Âdil; likewise, there occurred for him another trial in the days of Aş-Şâlih Ibn Ruzzîk, the wazîr, at the end of his days. And this (was) that there were at Samannûd <sup>(4)</sup> some monks from the Cell (κελλιον) of Bisbîš <sup>(5)</sup> of the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr), and their father was called Salamûn. This patriarch <sup>(6)</sup> had consecrated a bishop for the See of Samannûd <sup>(4)</sup>, (and) they mentioned that he was the son of his (the patriarch's) sister, and they named him Abba (Anbâ) Macarius (Maḳârah), and he (was) his brother in monasticism, and (was) with

\* fol. 202 v°

<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* 'between him and between the king'.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'in life'.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. p. 53, n. 1.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

<sup>(5)</sup> This Cell is probably the same as that called Bigbiğ, cf. H.G. EVELYN WHITE, *The Monasteries of the Wâdî 'n-Naṭrun*, vol. II, pp. 280-281.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* the Patriarch Macarius.

people of the eastern and western sea; and God delivered him by reason of His justice and the excellence of His economy. And Šāwar continued in the ministry (wizārat) until the end of Saturday, the eighth of Rabī'a the First, (in the) year five hundred and sixty-four<sup>(1)</sup>; and there occurred for him calamities, the mention of which will come in what follows.

In the days of this patriarch<sup>(2)</sup>, a man of the Jews (al-Yahūd) in Cairo (Miṣr) of the eminent ones of his people (and) a learned scholar of the notables of his sect, became Christian. He was called Abū 'l-Fakhr Ibn Azhar, and he had studied the Christian (an-Naṣrānīyat) religion, and he spoke the Coptic (al-ḳibṭīyat) language in a very short time. And he used to debate with the Jews (al-Yahūd) in the Hebrew (al-'Ibrānīyat) language, and to interpret to the Christians (an-Nasārah) in the Coptic (al-ḳibṭīyat) language<sup>(3)</sup>. And he became expert in the Christian (an-Naṣrānīyat) religion, so that he became more learned (in it) than its people. And he died in the Christian (an-Naṣrānīyat) religion, a believer in Christ (al-Masīḥ), after he had suffered severely from the Muslims (al-Muslimīn) and the Jews (al-Yahūd). And the Jews (al-Yahūd) used to pay to the authorities money to kill him, but Christ (al-Masīḥ) used to save him from them; and they did not arrive at harming him, and he remained a Christian (an-Naṣrānī), and he used to walk in the midst of the Jews (al-Yahūd) for nearly forty years at Cairo (Miṣr). And in the days of this patriarch<sup>(4)</sup>, a letter arrived from the king of Ethiopia (al-Habaṣat) for Al-'Ādil Ibn as-Salār requesting the consecration<sup>(5)</sup> of a metropolitan (muṭrān). And there was with him<sup>(6)</sup> a metropolitan (muṭrān) called Abba (Anbā) Michael (Mīkhāyīl) and his name<sup>(7)</sup> was Ḥabīb al-Atfīḥī<sup>(8)</sup>. And when

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<sup>(1)</sup> = 1168 A.D.

<sup>(2)</sup> *i.e.* the Patriarch John.

<sup>(3)</sup> This is important evidence that Coptic was still spoken among the Copts at the end of the XIIth century.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* the Patriarch John.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* 'setting apart'.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* the king of Ethiopia.

<sup>(7)</sup> *i.e.* before his consecration.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

(al-Khalīfat) and the wazīr many things in the way of money and presents ; and he rested at Bilbaīs<sup>(1)</sup> for one month. Then he came to Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah), and he halted with his army around Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah). Then the army of the Franks (al-Faraṅġ) and Amaury (Marī), their king, and the army of the Muslims (al-Muslimīn) and Šāwar, their master, marched in search of Asad ad-Dīn Šīrkūh and his army. And when they pursued him, he crossed over (the river) to the western side, and marched towards the Upper Ša‘īd<sup>(2)</sup>, and they overtook him at a spot called Al-Bābaīn<sup>(3)</sup>, and they encountered him. And many people of his army were slain, and a great multitude of the Franks (al-Faraṅġ) and the Muslims (al-Muslimīn) also were slain, and each of them captured from the other prisoners. Then Asad ad-Dīn returned to Alexandria and fortified himself in it. And the king Amaury (Marī) and the army of the Franks (al-Faraṅġ) and the army of the Egyptians (al-Miṣriyīn) followed him, and they halted at it (Alexandria) and they besieged him. And when the siege had lasted long, he (Asad ad-Dīn) went out from it by night, and he returned to Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) to take it. And when he was informed about him (Asad ad-Dīn) King Amaury (Marī) and Šāwar followed him ; and much discussion took place, at the end of which it was settled that they should pay an annual grant<sup>(4)</sup> to him (Amaury) of money. He took it and he returned to his country. And Šāwar executed what he had promised to the Franks (al-Faraṅġ) with regard to the security, for if he had wished to deceive them and to come to terms with his army of foreigners against them, there would not have returned (one) of them to tell the tale<sup>(5)</sup>. And the king Amaury (Marī) knew that he had made a mistake, because he had come with his army into the midst of an Islamic country of

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

<sup>(2)</sup> *i.e.* Upper Egypt.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* ‘the two Gates’, cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 181. It was ten miles south of Minyah.

<sup>(4)</sup> As the word *قطع* has here the sense of a regular subsidy, the recipient concerned would appear to be Amaury rather than Šīrkūh who also was paid a sum of money to leave Egypt with his troops, cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* ‘any teller’.



(al-Aswad). And a monk was martyred at their hands. His name (was) Šanûfah, from the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr) <sup>(1)</sup>. They seized him and placed before him (the choice of) al-Islâm, but he refused it, and they killed him, and they intended to burn his body, but it did not burn, and the Christians (an-Našârah) took it, and they buried it in the Church of Abba (Abû) Sergius (Sarġah) <sup>(2)</sup> in Cairo (Miṣr) on the twenty-fourth day of (the month of) Bašuns <sup>(3)</sup>. And they demolished many churches (dedicated) to the Martyrs, at that time, in the outskirts of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah). And they demolished the Church Al-Ḥamrâ <sup>(4)</sup> in the Ḥârat ar-Rûm al-Barânîat <sup>(5)</sup> and the Church Az-Zuhrî <sup>(6)</sup>, and they pillaged every church (which) they demolished. And after affairs had calmed down, the Šâikh Al-As‘ad Šalîb, owner of the dîwâns, provided for the rebuilding of the Church Al-Ḥamrâ and Az-Zuhrî, and what he was able (to do) with regard to the churches. And he took care of them and provided them with Liturgies (ḳadasât), and he provided limekilns \* until the rebuilding was completed. And Asad ad-Dîn continued to remain around Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and to blockade Šâwar, until Šâwar conveyed to the king Amaury (Marî) <sup>(7)</sup>, king of the Franks (al-Afranġ), a great (sum) of money, so that he came with his army. And when the Bedouins (al-‘Urbân) informed Asad ad-Dîn Šîrkûh of the approach of the Franks (al-Afranġ) from the districts <sup>(8)</sup>, he departed with his troops to Upper Egypt (aš-Ša‘îd). And when the king Amaury (Marî) arrived at Bilbaïs <sup>(9)</sup>, there was borne to him from the Calif

\* fol. 202 r°

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. p. 2, n. 2.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. p. 3, n. 4.

<sup>(3)</sup> The Paris MS. adds, ‘ of the year eight hundred and eight of the Martyrs ’ = 1092 A.D.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, pp. 87, 91 mentions the Church of St. George called Al-Ḥamrâ.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* the outer Ḥârat ar-Rûm.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, Appendix, pp. 328-329, translating Maḳrîzî.

<sup>(7)</sup> *i.e.* Amaury I (1162 A.D.), cf. René GROUSSET, *L’Épopée des Croisades*, Paris, 1939, p. 195 sqq.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ lands ’ *i.e.* of Egypt.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

and he stood facing the Golden Gate <sup>(1)</sup>, on account of an affair (which) had befallen him, to take the opinion of the Calif (al-Khalifat) about it, and he found the gates of the Castle (Kaṣr) closed, and this letter was thrown to him. And when he had learned its contents, he did not return back, but thereupon went out through the Gate Az-Zuwaṭlah <sup>(2)</sup>. And the horses of the Ghuzz overtook him at al-Kabš <sup>(3)</sup> under the Mountain Al-Muqaṭṭam <sup>(4)</sup> between Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr), and they killed him, and they did not recognize him that he was Ḍirghām. And when they brought his head to the tents, Šāwar recognized him; and thereupon he rode and he came to Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah). And the gates were opened to him and he entered, but no stability was established for him, since news reached him that Asad ad-Dīn was seeking to deal treacherously with him. Then he was on his guard, and he closed the gates of Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah), and he advanced against him and he did battle with him and he blocaded him. And the hands of the Ghuzz were stretched out against the inhabitants of Cairo (Miṣr) from among the Christians (an-Naṣārā), the Sudanis (as-Sūdān), and the Armenians (al-Arman), and the Turks (al-Atrāk) of the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyīn). And they used to kill them and to sell them, if they found some one to buy from them, if not, they killed that person; and they robbed their possessions and they took their women folk. And they used to cry for sale a Christian (an-Naṣrānī): « Who will buy an infidel? », and a Turk (at-Turkī) of Cairo (al-Miṣrī): « Who will buy a dissolute Turk (Turkī) (who) spent the night in the bitter cold? <sup>(5)</sup>, and a negro (al-Aswad): « Who will buy a Sudanese (as-Suwīdān)? ». And they used to sell them at a vile price, a Christian (an-Naṣrānī) for twenty dirhams, and ten dirhams a Turk (at-Turkī), and five dirhams a negro

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. p. 51, n. 2.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. p. 84, n. 10.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, pp. 90, 121, plan on p. 165 and illustration on p. 177, and B.T.A. EVETTS, *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 110.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. MAKRIZĪ, *Description Topographique et Historique de l'Égypte*, translated by U. BOURIANT in *Mém. M.I.F.A.O.C.*, t. XVII, pp. 356-358.

<sup>(5)</sup> The words خلیع بات فی الصقیع ترکى are rhymed.

and following after it a similar number <sup>(1)</sup> of attendants and companions». And Šāwar said to him : « Let not the matter terrify thee, because all of them are with me, and not one of them will fight against me». And there was on the outskirts of Bilbâis <sup>(2)</sup> a great mound. And Šāwar said \* fol. 201 v° to Šîrkûh : « Let us ascend the mound, \* and be patient <sup>(3)</sup>, and do not fight them until the sun becomes very hot». And Šāwar did not say this without knowing that, when the sun would be strong, they (the soldiers) would be dispersed and would be seeking shade under trees and walls. And when the sun grew hot (at) the time of noon, and they (the soldiers) were dispersed, every one of them having sought a place in which to remain in the shade, Šāwar and Šîrkûh descended from the mound, and they bear down upon them with their troops, and they routed them, and they made them prisoner, and they stripped them, and they took their horses and their possessions, but they did not kill one of them, and the rest of them escaped to Cairo (al-Ķâhirah). And Šāwar and Šîrkûh marched behind them with the army to Cairo (al-Ķâhirah), and they halted at the ‘Ard at-Ṭabâlat <sup>(4)</sup> and (at) al-Lûḵ <sup>(5)</sup> and (at) the limits (daîr) of Cairo (al-Ķâhirah), and they besieged it (Cairo), and the fighting did not cease, and the war continued. And Ḍirghâm and his brothers were occupied with the war, and they were posted <sup>(6)</sup> at its gates, until Imâm al-Âḍid, the Calif (al-Khalîfat) at that time, wrote a letter to Ḍirghâm, the wazîr, saying to him in it : « In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, we inform thee <sup>(7)</sup>, O Malik <sup>(8)</sup>, for there doth not remain for thee protection, except till the prayer of the afternoon <sup>(9)</sup>, so save thyself, if thou canst, and peace (be to thee)». And it was (that) Ḍirghâm, on that day had come to the Castle (Ķaṣr),

<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ its likeness ’.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ possess thy spirit in patience ’.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* the demesne of the tamburina, cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, p. 107.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ were distributed ’.

<sup>(7)</sup> The Paris *MS.* has ‘ we have pity on thee ’.

<sup>(8)</sup> The title ‘ malik ’ was assumed by most of the wazîrs of the later Fâṭimids.

<sup>(9)</sup> *i.e.* from 3-4 p.m.

(as-Sûdân) were guarding it. And he shouted « O Rîhân »<sup>(1)</sup>, and they answered his call, and they opened for him the Gate Al-Futûḥ<sup>(2)</sup>. And he halted in their midst, and he thanked them, and he praised them, and he promised them that, should God return him to his kingdom, he would recompense them with the best of recompenses. And when he returned and gained the victory, he fulfilled his promise to them. Then he went out through the Gate Al-Futûḥ<sup>(2)</sup>, and he journeyed under (the cover of) night, until he reached the houses of his family the Banî Sa'ad, and he stayed with them. And Ḍirghâm and his brothers reigned, and they seized Ta' Ibn Šâwar who was designated Al-Âdil, and they killed him, and this (was) a retribution from God, because he had killed Mağd al-Islâm Ruzzîk, and he was innocent<sup>(3)</sup>. And Ḍirghâm continued in the ministry (wizârat) nine months, the first of them (being) Šawwâl (in the) year five hundred and fifty-eight<sup>(4)</sup>, and the last of them, Ğumâdâ the Second (in the) year five hundred and fifty-nine<sup>(5)</sup>. And they designated him Al-Malik Al-Afdal, and his brother Malham, as Al-Âdil, and his brother Naşr, as Nâşir al-Muslimîn. And as for Šâwar, he went to Damascus (Dimaşk), and he met Nûr ad-Dîn Ibn Kaşim ad-Da'ulah, and his name (was) Maḥmûd Ibn Zankî<sup>(6)</sup>, and he stayed with him for a time, and he made ready together an army, the leader of it (being) Asad ad-Dîn Šîrkûh. Then he returned to the lands of Egypt (Mişr), and he halted at Bilbâis<sup>(7)</sup>. And Nâşir al-Muslimîn, brother of Ḍirghâm, went out against him with a great army. And when Šîrkûh saw this, he feared, and he said to Šâwar : « How didst thou do this deed unto us and unto thyself, that thou didst come to us to Egypt (Mişr) to destroy us ? May be we and thy companions are two thousand horsemen. In this army (there are) twenty thousand combatant horsemen,

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<sup>(1)</sup> A usual name for slaves.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171 and illustration 9.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* of the charge laid against him.

<sup>(4)</sup> = 1162 A.D.

<sup>(5)</sup> = 1163 A.D.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

decade of the month of Ramaḍān (in the) year five hundred and fifty eight <sup>(1)</sup>. And when the news reached Amīr al-Ġuyūš, his father, it was difficult for him to support, but he was not able to undo what was done <sup>(2)</sup>. And when it was the night <sup>(3)</sup> of the next Friday and its morning, the twenty-ninth of the aforementioned month of Ramaḍān, an amīr of the amīrs, his name was Dirghām, acted hypocritically towards Amīr al-Ġuyūš Šāwar, and his designation (was) Saīf al-Muġāhidīn <sup>(4)</sup>. And he had brothers, one of them was named Malham <sup>(5)</sup> and the other Naṣr <sup>(6)</sup>. And Šāwar had done good to Dirghām, and had brought him near, and had drawn him nigh to him, and had made him High Chamberlain (Owner of the Door) <sup>(7)</sup>. And Dirghām sware to Šāwar forty oaths that he would not act hypocritically towards him, and he lied, and he went out from his presence on the night of Friday, as we have said, and he acted hypocritically towards him, and he formed an alliance with the amīrs at night, and he assembled the troops, and he opened the Gate al-Barkīah <sup>(8)</sup>, (one) of the gates of Cairo (al-Ķāhirah), and he went out through it. Then they opened for him the Gate Az-Zuwaīlah <sup>(9)</sup>, and he entered through it, and his troops shouted, and they repaired to the House of the Ministry (Wizārat) <sup>(10)</sup>. And Šāwar went out while he was putting on his turban, and they did not give him time, so that he could not complete putting on his turban, but he took the remainder of it in his sleeve. And he mounted his horse, and he girded on his sword, and he came to the Gate Al-Futūḥ <sup>(11)</sup>, and he found it closed. And the Sudanis

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<sup>(1)</sup> = 1162 A.D.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'to bring back what was passed'.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* the eve.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* 'Sword of the Warriors'.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* 'Inspired'.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* 'Victory'.

<sup>(7)</sup> This was an office second only to that of wazīr; cf. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, p. 129. It is also known as the Bāb al-Ghurayyib.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, pp. 129-130.

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. p. 53, n. 1.

<sup>(11)</sup> Cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171 and illustration 9.

master to come to me, for he knoweth me». Then she went to Jacob (Ya'qûb), and she informed him about him, and he came to him, and he recognized him, and he embraced him and he wept. Then he took him, and remained apart with him, and he made free for him a tent <sup>(1)</sup>, and he clothed him. And he (Mağd al-Islâm) stayed with him until Şâwar was firmly established in his kingdom, and was invested with the robe of honour of the ministry (wizârat), and they had designated him as Amîr al-Ğuyûş. And he sought for Mağd al-Islâm, and he learned of his place, and he caused to be brought to him Jacob (Ya'qûb) Ibn al-Bîd, and he required him (Mağd al-Islâm) of him. Then he caused him (Mağd al-Islâm) to be brought to him from his <sup>(2)</sup> band which was camping east of Atfîh <sup>(3)</sup>. And Amîr al-Ğuyûş Şâwar received him with the best reception, and he honoured him and exalted him and made free for him a hall (kâ'at) in the House of the Ministry (Wizârat) <sup>(4)</sup>, and he placed him in it, and he caused to be brought to him (Mağd al-Islâm) his concubine and his son and an equerry for his service. And he used to visit him at all times by himself, and to enquire after him, and to bring together with him his fruits and to eat with him, so that he rejoiced his heart. Then his brother Ğalâl al-Islâm reported to him about him (Mağd al-Islâm), that he wished to escape and to go out to estrange the amîrs and to seek the ministry (wizârat). This was difficult for him (Amîr al-Ğuyûş) to support, and he commanded that he should be fettered with iron, and they fettered him. Then Ğalâl al-Islâm waited again for a time, \* and he spread news about him (his brother) that he had with him a file, and that he had filed a part of the fetter; and they examined about this, and they found it correct. Then Taî, the son of Şâwar, designated Al-Âdil, heard at that time the news of Mağd al-Islâm Ruzzîk, that he had filed the fetter; and he took his sword, and he did not ask his father, and no one knew about him, and he entered to him, and he beheaded him <sup>(5)</sup>, and this was on the night of Friday in the last

\* fol. 201 r°

<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* 'house of hair'.

<sup>(2)</sup> *i.e.* Ya'qûb's.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. p. 53, n. 1.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* 'struck his neck'.

of the land-tax (Kharâğ) of the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) for a year. And he filled the other side with bags of dīnârs, and he put them on a horse equal (in value) to a thousand dīnârs, from his horses. And he mounted it, and he went out from Cairo (al-Ḳahîrah) by the Gate az-Zuwaïlah<sup>(1)</sup> alone, and no one accompanied him, and he knew not whither he was going. And he journeyed alone southward of Cairo (Miṣr), and he fell in with a band of Arabs (al-ʿArab), the headman of whom was called Jacob (Yaʿqûb) Ibn al-Bîḍ. And his slaves took him and stripped him, and they took the horse and all that (was) on it, and they departed from him, and they left him. And he remained alone in the desert naked and confused. And it was winter, and great cold in the month of Ṭûbah<sup>(2)</sup>. And he saw a fire in the distance, and he went towards it, and when he approached it, dogs of the band rushed at him, and he sat down on the ground, and he crawled on his hands and his feet until he entered the tail-end of the band. And he found a dog sleeping in the ashes, and he lay down at the side of it, and he hugged it until he found warmth. And praised be God, the Depriver of blessing, and the magnitude of His power; and I seek refuge in Him from His displeasure. This Ruzzîk was, at the beginning of the night, governor of Egypt (Miṣr) and its ruler, sitting in his Council, commanding and forbidding until darkness<sup>(3)</sup>. Robbed of his kingdom and stripped of grace, he had departed as a fugitive precipitately<sup>(4)</sup>, and he was met by those who contemned him, and took his money, (and) all this up to midnight, (and) he was sleeping with a dog in the ashes — praised be God! He gives the kingdom to whom He wills, and He takes the kingdom away from whom He wills; and He exalts whom He wills, and He abases whom He wills. By His hands (is) the kingdom, and He is powerful over every thing: And when morning came, and he was in this condition, a slave-girl perceived him, and she was ignorant of his rank<sup>(5)</sup>, and she asked him: « Who art thou? ». And he said to her: « Tell thy

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, p. 150 and illustration 8.

<sup>(2)</sup> January 9th—February 7th according to the Gregorian Calendar.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* until evening.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* 'on his face'.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* 'condition'.

Al-Maḥallat <sup>(1)</sup>, the space of a mile, on Sunday, the eight of (the month of) al-Muḥarram (in the) year five hundred and fifty-eight of the Lunar (Year) <sup>(2)</sup>. And he gathered to him the soldiers (of the Province) of al-Gharbîah <sup>(3)</sup> and its Arabs (al-ʿArab) from among the Banî Šîs, and hardly had he remained for three days than there was with him troops and soldiers and Bedouins (al-ʿUrbân), approximately ten thousand horsemen; he assigned to the soldiers fiefs, and he commanded the Bedouins (al-ʿUrbân) to pillage what belonged to the Banî Ruzzîk in the district of their fiefs, in the way of granaries of the crops and oil-presses and cattle, and he bestowed on all the people something (which) pleased their hearts. And he journeyed until he descended at Maḡid al-Khidr <sup>(4)</sup>, and he turned from it to the outskirts of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah). And when the news of his crossing over <sup>(5)</sup> came to the knowledge of Maḡd al-Islâm Ibn aṣ-Šâliḥ : the wazîr at that time, and that he (Šâwar) was close to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), he (Ibn aṣ-Šâliḥ) and a company of the Banî Ruzzîk went out at midnight from Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) as fugitives. And a company of their companions recorded that they had heard a confused sound and cries behind them from every side : « Go out, go out ». Then they sought those who cried out, and they did not find anyone, and they understood that it was the angels by the command of God, \* who made them go out. Then everyone of them fled for himself from the gates of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah). And they left behind their money and their houses and their families. And the Sudanis (as-Sûdân) pillaged them, and they <sup>(6)</sup> dissolved as salt. And as for Maḡd al-Islâm Ruzzîk, their wazîr, he took a small saddle-bag, (and) he put in one side of it jewellery and hyacinths (*ἰακινθός*) <sup>(7)</sup> and emeralds, and many things of this kind, and what would be the value

\* fol. 200 v<sup>r</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

<sup>(2)</sup> = 1162 A.D.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. page 49.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* the Nile.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* the Banî Ruzzîk.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. *Apoc.* XXI, 20.



consulted them about fleeing before their<sup>(1)</sup> troops into the desert of the oasis<sup>(2)</sup>, and wandering in it through its length and its breadth, so as not to stay in a place. And if (the time) were protracted for those who were seeking him without finding him, the troops<sup>(3)</sup> would desert through the exhaustion of provisions and the difficulty of the country and the heat of the desert<sup>(4)</sup> and the hardship of (their) condition. For that reason a great (number) of troops would not be able to follow him into the desert of the oasis, on account of the scarcity of water and the heat of the air and the scarcity of grass for the beasts; and because it is sand and mounds, and no tree for shade and no fruit. Then they counselled him (to act) thus, and he journeyed with a multitude to a cave of the oasis. And he limited himself to twenty horsemen of his companions, with their horses and their camels and their provisions for a journey and their arms. And he took for himself camels and horses and mules, and much provision for a journey, and gold and much money for his expenses, and cloth to give to the Bedouins (al-'Urbân). And he journeyed, and the affair was as he had said. When the troops had pursued him for three months, while he was eluding them from place to place which did not have food<sup>(5)</sup>, the troops deserted, and they returned to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) without having attained their aim; and they said concerning him that he had turned to the west to Amîr al-Mû'minîn, king of the West. And when the thought of him had vanished, (after) the space of another two months, he came down from the desert of the oases to the lake of Alexandria<sup>(6)</sup>, and with him his companions, and with them camels on which (were) palm-leaf baskets. And he passed from Maḥallat 'Abd ar-Raḥman to (the Province of) al-Gharbîah<sup>(7)</sup>, and he halted on the outskirts of Balḳînah which is a village near to

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(1) *i.e.* Ḥusâm's troops.

(2) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

(3) *i.e.* Ḥusâm's troops.

(4) The term جيل is quite normally applied to the desert.

(5) *Lit.* 'bread'.

(6) Cf. U. BOURIANT, 'Description Topographique et Historique de l'Égypte' in *Mém. M.A.F.C.*, t. XVII, 1900, p. 484.

(7) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

as Al-Mukarram, and his name was Šāwar<sup>(1)</sup>, (and) he appointed him wālī of the city of Kûṣ<sup>(2)</sup> and its districts. And Aṣ-Šāliḥ had a nephew, his name (was) Ḥusām and his designation ‘Izz ad-Dīn. This was the will of God that their government perished at his (Šāwar’s) hands; and He put in his (Ḥusām’s) heart violent hatred of Šāwar al-Mukarram and enmity of him. And his uncle Aṣ-Šāliḥ had appointed him wālī of Minyat Banī Khaṣīb<sup>(3)</sup>. And he (Ḥusām) used to seize the companions of Šāwar and his messengers and his slaves by land and by river<sup>(4)</sup>, and to beat them and to treat them with disdain and to keep them prisoner, and there befell them from him every difficulty, (and) his affair with Šāwar continued in every bad way. And Šāwar wrote to him many excuses to make him favourably inclined towards him and to seek peace with him, and to say to him that he was the slave (mamlūk) of his (Ḥusām’s) uncle’s State and a favour of his. Then he answered him concerning this that he (Ḥusām) had taken a fine chest and had placed in it two folded sinews of cow-hide and had sent them \* to Šāwar. And when he saw them, he stood up and he sat down<sup>(5)</sup>, and he was on the point of killing himself. And he was a sagacious old man (šāikh), experienced in wars and guile and craft and ruses. And he girded up the leg of effort, and he strengthened his soul for wars and battle. And he prepared a great number (of men) and (made) preparation, and he spent money. And he assembled<sup>(6)</sup> and collected troops, but he did not consider them trustworthy, for the Banī Ruzzīk<sup>(7)</sup> had ruled many years, almost ten; and their wealth and their men had multiplied, and their position had become strong. And when he understood that he would not be able to war against them, he assembled his companions and whomsoever was with him from among those who were trustworthy of his family and his relatives, of those of counsel and opinion, and he

\* fol. 200 r°

(1) Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

(2) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

(3) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

(4) *Lit.* ‘sea’. بحر, however, is regularly used of the River Nile.

(5) A sign of great emotion.

(6) The Paris *MS.* adds ‘men’.

(7) *i.e.* the family of Ruzzīk.

Then prices became less during all the period of his ministry (wizârat). And the price of the crops was not fixed in any way, but it increased and decreased from two ardabs a dînâr to one ardab, (and) to half an ardab a dînâr. And in his days there appeared the death of cattle from murrain, and it was not known before his days in Egypt (Miṣr), and this returned time after time during various years, so that the people began to plough with horses and camels and donkeys. And after these affairs there died the Imâm al-Fâiz in the days of his ministry (wizârat), in the month of Raġab (in the) year five hundred and fifty-five of the Lunar (Year)<sup>(1)</sup>, and there reigned<sup>(2)</sup> after him ‘Abd Allah, a son of Joseph (Yûsif), the son of al-Hâfiz, and they designated him as al-Imâm al-‘Âdid<sup>(3)</sup>. Then (it was) that Aṣ-Ṣâliḥ<sup>(4)</sup> united his daughter in marriage with him (the Calif) with reluctance. And Aṣ-Ṣâliḥ continued in the ministry (wizârat) until Monday, the eighteenth of the month of Ramaḍân (in the) year five hundred and fifty-six of the Lunar (Year)<sup>(5)</sup>. He rode to the Castle according to (his) usual custom, and (a disaster) happened to him in the Passage of the Column<sup>(6)</sup>, while he was going out from the presence of the Calif (al-Khalîfat). A man from the common soldiers and the most contemptible of them, known as Ibn ar-Râ‘î, and with him two men from the Sudanis (as-Sûdân), one of the two of them was named Muḵbil. And Ibn ar-Râ‘î pierced him (Aṣ-Ṣâliḥ) with a sword in his belly (and) his entrails came out. Then the two men pierced him with their swords, and they wounded him in a number of places in his body, and he was hemmed in; and he was carried to his house mortally (wounded), and he died in the middle of the night. And there reigned<sup>(7)</sup> after him his son Ruzzîk, and they designated him as Al-Aġall Maġd al-Islâm. And Aṣ-Ṣâliḥ had appointed as wâlî an amîr designated

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<sup>(1)</sup> = 1160 A.D.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ‘sat’.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-176.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* Ruzzîk.

<sup>(5)</sup> = 1160 A.D.

<sup>(6)</sup> P. RAVAISSÉ, ‘Essai sur l’Histoire et sur la Topographie du Caire d’après Makrîzî’ in *Mém. Miss. Arch. Franç. au Caire*, t. I, p. 461.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* ‘sat’.

killed, and his son was taken prisoner <sup>(1)</sup>. As regards Ṭalāṭ Ibn Ruzzīk, he was invested with the ministry (wizārat), and he rode to the Castle, and they made for him the act for the ministry (wizārat), and they empowered him by it, and he wrote and signed and executed his command. And he rode to the house of the son of ʿAbbās, and with him a troop of amīrs and two equerries and the chief judge (ḳādī al-ḳaḍāt) and the chief propagandist (dāʿī ad-daʿāt), and before him (were carried) trays of gold and silver and on them censers filled with aloes-wood and ambergris. A little page (ustād) of <sup>(2)</sup> the son of ʿAbbās was present at the murder of the Calif (al-Khalīfat) and the two equerries and their being cast into the well, and he related to them information of them <sup>(3)</sup>, and he guided them to the place where they were <sup>(4)</sup>, and they excavated it, and they brought them up from it <sup>(5)</sup>, and they bare them to the Castle. They washed them and shrouded them and buried them. And Ṭalāṭ Ibn Ruzzīk established himself in the ministry (wizārat), and they designated him as al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ. And he was a lover of amassing money, and he destroyed many people <sup>(6)</sup> in his search after money <sup>(7)</sup>. And he amassed of it much without scruple. And he used to bring near to him the sorcerors and to deal well with them, and to listen to their sayings. And he hated the Christians (an-Naṣārā) and certain sects of the Muslims (al-Muslimīn), because his sect was (that of) the Imamians <sup>(8)</sup>, and he commanded that the turbans of neither the Christians (an-Naṣārā) nor the Jews (al-Yahūd) should have tassels <sup>(9)</sup>. And there was dearness in the first year of his ministry (wizārat), and wheat was sold in it for five dīnārs the ardab <sup>(10)</sup> for the period of four months and not more.

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-173.

<sup>(2)</sup> The Paris MS. adds 'Naṣr'.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* the Calif and the two equerries.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* 'their position'.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* the well.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* 'souls'.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

<sup>(8)</sup> *i.e.* the Sect of the Twelve Imams.

<sup>(9)</sup> For نَوَائِب, cf. R.P.A. DOZY, *Dictionnaire détaillé des Noms des Vêtements des Arabes*, p. 307.

<sup>(10)</sup> A dry measure.

he said to him : «Present to me his brothers, lest they have killed him». Then he (the seneschal) entered the Castle, and he presented to him ‘Abbās Joseph (Yūsif) and Gabriel (Ġibrīl) his brothers, and Ṣalaḥ, a son of Ḥasan, his brother. And he demanded him (the Calif) of them, and he accused them that they had killed him. And he commanded his soldiers to kill them, and they killed them, and they killed the seneschal (zimâm) of the Castle. And he (‘Abbās) pillaged the Council Chamber of the Castle of the king by the hands of his companions. And he killed all of them in the Paved Court of the Golden Gate <sup>(1)</sup>. And he took the son of the Calif (al-Khalīfat), and he was a little child, and his name (was) ‘Īsâ, and he enthroned him <sup>(2)</sup> as Calif (al-Khalīfat) on the last day (salḥ) of (the month of) al-Muḥarram (in the) year five hundred and forty-nine of the Lunar (Year) <sup>(3)</sup>, and they designated him as al-Imâm al-Fâiz. And ‘Abbās did not cease to continue in the ministry (wizârat), until an amîr named Ṭalâ‘ Ibn Ruzzik acted hypocritically towards him. He was wâlî of al-Bahnasâ <sup>(4)</sup> and al-Ašmûnain <sup>(5)</sup> from the districts of the Ṣa‘îd <sup>(6)</sup>. The women of the Castle sent to him their hair, and he took it and placed it on lances, and he made black flags, and he assembled a great troop of foot-soldiers and cavalry, and he arrived in Cairo (al-Ķâhirah) \* on the fourteenth day of (the month of) Rabī‘a the First (in the) year five hundred and forty-nine <sup>(7)</sup>. And on his arrival at Cairo (al-Ķâhirah), ‘Abbās and Naṣr, his son, and a company of his companions departed, and he loaded all that he had, and all that he had looted from the Castle, on mules and camels and horses, and he went out from Cairo (al-Ķâhirah), seeking (to reach) Syria (aš-Šâm). Then the Franks (al-Afrangġ) and the Bedouins (al-‘Urbân) united against him, and they seized all that was with him. And he and his son did not cease to attack them, and he (‘Abbās) fought until he was

\* fol. 199 v°

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. p. 51, n. 2.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ‘seated him’.

<sup>(3)</sup> = 1154 A.D.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* Upper Egypt.

<sup>(7)</sup> = 1154 A.D.

Calif) to go with him to his house which was in As-Siyûfiyîn<sup>(1)</sup>, to sit for a while<sup>(2)</sup> and to return, and he went with him. And the Calif (al-Khalîfat) was incognito in his cloak (burd)<sup>(3)</sup> with which he was envelopped, and there were with him two equerries. And it happened when (he was) with him in the reception-room, and had remained sitting with him for a while<sup>(4)</sup>, that he (Naşr) gave an order to one of his friends (who) strangled him (the Calif) with his scarf (μανδηλιον) until he died. Then he killed the two equerries, and he threw him (the Calif) into a well of spring-water and he threw the two equerries on the top of him. Then he filled up with earth the well and paved it with a flagstone so that it became unrecognisable. And this was on the date of the twenty-ninth of (the month of) al-Muḥarram (in the) year five hundred and forty-nine<sup>(5)</sup>; and he hid their<sup>(6)</sup> affair from the people, but God revealed it and avenged them. And this (was) that he (Naşr) went to his father ‘Abbâs and he informed him of what he had done. And he (‘Abbâs) feared that the common people would rise against him and drive him out from the kingdom, and that which he feared befell him, and his ruin (resulted) from his machination. And this (was) that when it was morning he rode to the Castle, and he caused the seneschal (zimâm) of the Castle to come, and he sought leave of the Calif (al-Khalîfat) to enter to him. And the seneschal (zimâm) of the Castle and others beside him did not know of the going out of the Calif (al-Khalîfat), nor of what had happened to him, and he entered to seek for him, and he was not able (to find him). Then he (‘Abbâs) seized the seneschal (zimâm) of the Castle, and demanded him (the Calif) of him, and he swore and multiplied (his) oaths that (his)<sup>(7)</sup> place<sup>(8)</sup> was not known to him. And

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. P. CASANOVA, ‘Maḥrîzî : Description Historique et Topographique de l’Égypte’ in *Mémoires de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie du Caire*, t. IV, pp. 74-75.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ‘an hour’.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. R.P.A. DOZY, *Dictionnaire détaillé des Noms des Vêtements chez les Arabes*, Amsterdam, 1845, pp. 59-64.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* ‘an hour’.

<sup>(5)</sup> = 1154 A.D.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* of the Calif and the two equerries.

<sup>(7)</sup> *i.e.* the Calif’s.

<sup>(8)</sup> *i.e.* where he was.

him by night to his Castle, to eat with him and to drink and to spend the night and early morning (with him). And the Calif (al-Khalifat) used to go out with him at night to his dwelling-place, and sit with him part of the night and listen to singing, and would take leave of him (only) when he entered his Castle. And this caused affliction to 'Abbâs, his father, and he feared that he would kill him as he had killed 'Alî <sup>(1)</sup> Ibn as-Salâr. And one who was an associate of them reported that news had reached 'Abbâs, his father, that the Calif (al-Khalifat) had said to Naşr ad-Daûlat : « Kill thy father, and be thou the wazîr, for thou art more elegant than thy father for it ». And 'Abbâs devised for his safety a stratagem, and in it there was destruction and death. This (was) that he incited Naşr ad-Daûlat to kill the Calif (al-Khalifat), by saying to him : « The people <sup>(2)</sup> have assailed thine honour, and thou hast become for them (a subject) of obscene talk from what they have heard concerning thy connections with Az-Zâfir, and what wilt thou do concerning what they have said ? » and 'Abbâs, his father, laughed. And Naşr ad-Daûlat said to him : « Thou laughest. I fear that thy laughter will not be repeated ! ». And he, 'Abbâs, suspected him that he was meaning to kill him <sup>(3)</sup>, and there did not occur to his mind the ill that he had done with regard to the Calif (al-Khalifat). And when it was the night of that day, he (Naşr) entered the Castle of the Calif (al-Khalifat) according to his usual custom. And he remained sitting with him for a while <sup>(4)</sup>. Then he asked him to go for a walk with him and to enjoy seeing incognito the common people. And he went out with him by the Gate Az-Zuhûmat <sup>(5)</sup>. And the two of them stopped at the shop of the brewer who was opposite to it (the Gate), and they drank at it <sup>(6)</sup> beer, and they went away. And he (Naşr) asked him (the

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<sup>(1)</sup> The Paris MS. has Al-'Âdil.

<sup>(2)</sup> The Paris MS. adds ' personal and general '.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* 'Abbâs.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* ' an hour '.

<sup>(5)</sup> For this secret door, cf. P. RAVAISSE, ' Essai sur l'Histoire et sur la Topographie du Caire d'après Maḳrîzî ' in *Mém. Miss. Arch. Franç. au Caire*, Paris, 1890, plan 1, and p. 95.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* ' from him '.

on the fourth day, that they should act according to their custom. And to Âdil Ibn Salâr continued in the ministry (wizârat) until Naşr Ibn ʿAbbâs came in unto him through the Bâb as-Sirdâr<sup>(1)</sup> of the ministry (wizârat) and killed him, and took his head and caused it to be taken out and to be displayed in the « Betwixt the Castles »<sup>(2)</sup>. And ʿAbbâs, his father, was wâlî of (the Province of) Şarkîah<sup>(3)</sup>, (and) was dwelling at Bilbaîs<sup>(4)</sup>. And Naşr sent to him to inform him of what he had done. Then ʿAbbâs entered into Cairo (al-Kâhirah) from Bilbaîs<sup>(4)</sup>, and he was invested with the ministry (wizârat), and they designated him as As-Saîd al-Afđal, and in his days the Franks (al-Farangġ) conquered Ascalon (ʿAskalân)<sup>(5)</sup>. And there was not left in the hands of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) except it, and its conquest was at the hand of the Franks (al-Afranġ) during the year, in Ğumâdâ the Second (in the) year five hundred and forty-eight<sup>(6)</sup>.

\* The Christians (an-Naşârâ) had built a church at al-Maţarîah<sup>(7)</sup>, in which (was) a well of balsam<sup>(8)</sup> from which is extracted the oil of chrisim (μύρον), on the remains of an ancient church. And they consecrated it in the name of Saint, my lord (Mârî) George (Ġirġis), and they celebrated the Divine Liturgy in it, before they had completed its pictures<sup>(9)</sup>. Then the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) pulled it down and built in its place a prayer-house (masġîd). And it was (that) Nâşr ad-Dîn, the son of ʿAbbâs, began to associate with the Imâm Aẓ-Zâfir and to enter in unto

\* fol. 199 r°

<sup>(1)</sup> *i.e.* Gate of the General.

<sup>(2)</sup> *i.e.* the square between the Eastern and Western Castles. Cf. S. LANE-POOLE *op. cit.*, p. 109.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. OMAR TOUSSOUN, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Arabe*, t I, pp. 233-244.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

<sup>(6)</sup> = 1153 A.D.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

<sup>(8)</sup> This 'well of balsam' may find some explanation from what is said by S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, London, 1924, pp. 45-50 : 'Near by is a spring of fresh water . . . which it is said became sweet because the Bambino was bathed there. From the spots where the drops fell from his swaddling clothes, after they, too, had been washed in this sacred spring sprang up balsam-trees'.

<sup>(9)</sup> Or should we read سورها 'its encircling-wall'?



called 'Alî Ibn as-Salâr acted hypocritically towards him (Az-Zâfir). He was wâlî of the frontier city of Alexandria, and he collected soldiers, and he crossed to (the Province of) al-Gharbîah<sup>(1)</sup>, and there assembled with him its soldiers and its Arabs (al-'Arab), and there were with him many troops. And there was an amîr from the race of the kings well acquainted with the Arabs (al-'Arab), called 'Abbâs, from among the sons of the amîr Tumaîm Ibn Bâdis, wâlî of (the Province of) al-Gharbîah<sup>(1)</sup>, and his mother whose name (was) Balûrah, was wife of this 'Alî Ibn Salâr. And when he crossed to the (Province of) al-Gharbîah<sup>(1)</sup>, he took 'Abbâs its wâlî with him. And 'Alî Ibn Salâr marched to Cairo (al-Ķâhirah) and he entered it and took possession of it in Ša'abân (in the) year five hundred and forty-four<sup>(2)</sup>. And he took the ministry (wizârat), and they designated him as as-Saîd al-Aġall al-'Âdil Amîr al-Ġuyûš. And Naġm ad-Dîn Ibn Maşâl fled, and he crossed to al-Ġîzah<sup>(3)</sup>, and there moved with him the black troops (as-Sûdân). And soldiers were sent against them, and they defeated them, and there were killed many soldiers of the black troops (as-Sûdân), and the head of Ibn Maşâl was taken, and it was carried round Cairo (al-Ķâhirah) on a lance. And in the days of al-'Âdil Ibn Salâr it was purposed (that) the Christians (an-Našârâ) of Cairo (al-Ķâhirah) and of Cairo (Mişr), should bind a girdle (on their waists) and remove their cloaks (taïlas), but this (order) did not continue beyond three days. And the reason for this was (that) certain of the jurists from among those who detest the Christians (an-Našârâ) came together to Nâşir ad-Dîn Nâşr, the son of 'Abbâs, whom al-'Âdil had made wâlî of Cairo (Mişr). And they incited him to this, and they said to him « If thou do this with the Christians (an-Našârâ), they will bribe thee with much money to remove it from them ». And when he had done this with them and had remained three days expecting that one of them would present himself to him or speak with him about a bribe or something else, and no one presented himself to him, he knew that the jurists had deceived him, (and) he announced,

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

<sup>(2)</sup> = 1149 A.D.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

was He unmindful of the blood of the two of them, and He afflicted Zahr ad-Da'ulah aṣ-Ṣaḳalâbî who had lied against them<sup>(1)</sup> with the sickness of dropsy, and he remained with it for a short time<sup>(2)</sup>, so that the people witnessed in him the power of God and they recognized that He had punished him on account of the two of them, and that they were innocent, and they marvelled at the swiftness of the retribution to him and the punishment; and they glorified God on account of this. And there were some people, magicians, who were employed with Ṣanî'at al-Khilâfat, (and) they envied him<sup>(3)</sup>, (and) they (were) those who incited Zahr ad-Da'ulah aṣ-Ṣaḳalâbî against him (Ṣanî'at), until he did to him what has been explained before, through the enmity between them and him<sup>(4)</sup>. And God held them responsible for their deed and their passage through blood. And our Sire al-Ḥâfiẓ killed them by the sword with which he killed him (Ṣanî'at), in the place in which he killed Ṣanî'at al-Khilâfat and his brother, and the blood of the magicians dripped on the blood of the two of them; and true is the saying of God which saith: « He who sheddeth blood in the world, in the world his blood shall be shed »<sup>(5)</sup>. And the retribution of the magicians was thus, after the killing of Ṣanî'at al-Khilâfat unlawfully. Then al-Ḥâfiẓ died on the fourth (of the month) of Ğumâdâ the Second (in the) year five hundred and forty-four of the Lunar (Year)<sup>(6)</sup>. And after him there reigned<sup>(7)</sup> his son Abû'l-Manṣûr Ibn Isma'îl, and his relations and his brothers and the men of his State recognized him (as Calif), and they designated him as al-Imâm Az-Zâfir. And one of the amîrs of his State, whose designation was Nağm ad-Dîn Ibn Maṣâl<sup>(8)</sup>, became a wazîr for him, because he was from among the intimates of al-Ḥâfiẓ, his father, and from among the great ones of his State, and he used to have recourse to his opinion and his advice. Then an amîr

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(1) ' who had lied against them ' added from the Paris MS.

(2) *Lit.* ' a few days '.

(3) ' they envied him ' added from the Paris MS.

(4) Reading from the Paris MS.

(5) Cf. *Gen.* ix, 6.

(6) = 1149 A.D.

(7) *Lit.* ' sat '.

(8) Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

is at the Rukn al-Mukhallaḡ<sup>(1)</sup> at the hands of the Sudanis (as-Sūdân) and those who agreed with them from among the soldiers; and the Imâm al-Ḥâfiẓ remained without a wazîr until he died. And after the murder of Rudwân Ibn Walkhašî the wazîr, our Sire brought back aš-Šaikh Şanî‘at al-Khilâfat Ibn Yûnis to his dîwân in the Castle (al-Ḳaṣr), and he confirmed his writing concerning him with his signature. And aš-Šaikh Şanî‘at al-Khilâfat, on his part, employed the two heads<sup>(2)</sup> of the Dîwân, one of the two of them (for) the Dîwân of the Council, and the other for the Dîwân of Investigation (at-Taḥkîk), and he was the link<sup>(3)</sup> between them and the Calif (al-Khalîfat) and he was the intermediary between the Calif (al-Khalîfat) and between all the people from among the great ones and others beside them. And he<sup>(4)</sup> used to employ the ministers (wulât) for war in the governments (wilâyât) great and small. And al-Ḥâfiẓ broke his word with him<sup>(4)</sup>, and he took from him much money, (and) afterwards he brought him back and he employed him; and he continued thus with him, breaking his word with him and employing him time after another, until the scribes whom he employed permanently, to whom he had done good, and had attached to himself and shown favours to them, and acquainted them with his secrets, exposed him (to the Calif), and they stood against him, and they proved that he had (kept) much money for his own account. And al-Ḥâfiẓ ordered him to be fettered in the Treasury of the Flags<sup>(5)</sup>, and they did not cease to corrupt \* the heart of al-Ḥâfiẓ against him until he killed him with the sword, he and his young brother called Abû'l-Maḡâsin, because his enemies bare Zahr ad-Daûlah aš-Şaḡalâbî to the Treasury of the Flags<sup>(5)</sup> until it (the report) was carried back concerning the two of them, that the two of them had reviled the Calif (al-Khalîfat). Then he ordered to kill them immediately, and he beheaded the two of them<sup>(6)</sup> unjustly. And God did not neglect the affair of the two of them, nor

\* fol. 198 v°

(1) *i.e.* ‘The Anointed Stone’. Cf. P. RAVAISSE, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 and 103.

(2) *Lit.* ‘owners’.

(3) *Lit.* ‘it was from him to the Calif, and from them to him’.

(4) *i.e.* aš-Šaikh Şanî‘at al-Khilâfat.

(5) Cf. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

(6) *Lit.* ‘he struck the necks of the two of them with the sword’.

and more learned in sacred law»; and they appreciated this (remark) by him, and his worth was magnified in their eyes on account of this speech. And, thereupon, they consecrated <sup>(1)</sup> him patriarch on Sunday, the second (of the month) of Nasî <sup>(2)</sup> (in the) year eight hundred and sixty-three of the Pure Martyrs <sup>(3)</sup>. And his consecration was accomplished at Alexandria, and he returned to Cairo (Miṣr), and the Christians (an-Naṣārâ) at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr) received him with a fine reception, and walked before <sup>(4)</sup> him to the Church of Abba (Abû) Mercurius (Marḳûrah) <sup>(5)</sup>, the place of his dwelling, and they rejoiced over him with a great rejoicing. He intended to content the heart of John (Yûnis) Ibn Kadrân and his brethren, the monks, by consecrating him bishop of Samannûd <sup>(6)</sup>, but he (John) refused, and he did not obey him, and he continued staying sometimes in the monastery, and staying sometimes in the Rîf <sup>(7)</sup>. And in the days of al-Ḥâfiz, Ruḍwân Ibn Walkhašî made a hole in the place in which he was at the Castle <sup>(8)</sup>. And he went out through the hole, and he crossed over to al-Ġîzah <sup>(9)</sup>, and he collected a body of soldiers and Arabs (al-ʿArab) and Moors (al-Maghâribat), and he entered Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and took possession of it <sup>(10)</sup> and was supreme <sup>(11)</sup>. And in the latter part of the day of his entry into it (Cairo), he was killed inside the Grey Mosque (al-Aḳmar) <sup>(12)</sup> which

<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* 'advanced'.

<sup>(2)</sup> The intercalary month of the Coptic year. The date corresponds to August 25th.

<sup>(3)</sup> = 1147 A.D.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* 'between his hands'.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 41-49.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, 'The Rif of Egypt' in *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, fasc. 1-2, Rome, 1939, pp. 96-119.

<sup>(8)</sup> For an account of the imprisonment, escape and death of Ruḍwân; cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

<sup>(10)</sup> *i.e.* 'and took possession of it'. Addition from the Paris MS.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Lit.* 'he ordered and prohibited'.

<sup>(12)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, pp. 157-160. P. RAVASSE, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

his feet, and he blessed them, and became friendly with them, and they did not harm him. And the Christians (an-Naṣārâ) seek one similar to this one, that he may be set <sup>(1)</sup> over them, and if they find him not, they consecrate <sup>(1)</sup> another from among those who are humble, learned, and religious, and him for whom witness is borne regarding chastity and purity. And it is not lawful for them to consecrate <sup>(1)</sup> for them him who desires them, nor him who solicits (the office) through the Sultan. And when they had said this speech, it was decided that a decree (siğil) should be written, and that the Chamberlain (Ḥâğib) should journey with them to the city of Alexandria to hold a council for them in it, and that there should attend it the great ones of the Christians (an-Naṣārâ), their archons (ἄρχων) and their priests, and that whomsoever they desired, either John (Yûḥannâ) or Yûnis Ibn Kadrân, they should consecrate <sup>(2)</sup> him immediately. Then they journeyed to the city of Alexandria, and there was held for them a council in the Government House (Dâr al-Amârat) in the presence of the governor (wâlî) and the judge (ḳâdî) and the great archons (ἄρχων) and the Christian (an-Naṣârâ) employees and the merchants, and the bishops who had come to it from their sees, and the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyîn) and the Cairenes (al-Ḳâhiriyîn) and those who were with them. And the governor (wâlî) and the judge (ḳâdî) and the jurists questioned those who attended the council held for the Christians (an-Naṣârâ), saying that our Sire (Maûlî) — the peace of God be upon him — ordered that (the one) whom ye desire of these two men — consecrate <sup>(2)</sup> him for you and be agreed upon him whom ye wish for of the two of them. And all of them shouted with one word : « Yûnis Ibn Abû 'l-Faṭḥ (is) our patriarch, and he is worthy of this rank ». And this was in the days of the califate (Khilâfat) of al-Ḥâfîz. And those who were present at the holding of this council from among the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) mentioned that a man of them said to John (Yûnis) Ibn Abû 'l-Faṭḥ at the council : « What dost thou say about this man, namely, John (Yûnis) Ibn Kadrân, is he more worthy of this rank than thee? ». And he said : « Yea, he is more fitted than I,

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* 'advance over'.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'advance'.

affair with him (the Sultan). And his order went out to hold a council for him and for those who had sought another than him. The bishops attended in the presence of the notables of the State, and the High Chamberlain (Owner of the Door) and the Chief of the judges (Kâdî al-Kûdât) and the Head of the Department of Planning (Owner of the Diwân al-Insâ) and others beside them from among the notables of the State and its great and distinguished ones. And there occurred at this grave affairs and much talk, and those of the bishops and the priests who were present said that he (was) not a patriarch for them, except he whom they sought and desired, and not he who sought and desired (the patriarchate). And this (was) the rule of the people from the beginning, when they worshipped God according to the Christian (an-Naşrâniyat) religion, up to this time. And David (Dâûd) the prophet had anticipated (this) by the prophecy about what should be, that they should not appoint (anyone), except him they wished for, (and) not him who wished for them. And he said in the Psalm 149 : « To bind their kings with fetters and their nobles with chains of iron »<sup>(1)</sup>. And when they have the assurance that the man whom they desire to consecrate<sup>(2)</sup> for them, fulfils the prescriptions of their law in the way of sanctity and religion and learning and good-conduct and chastity and charity, and the rest of what they required that he should have according to their religious belief, they take him by force, without his choice, and they bind him with an iron fetter, lest he escape from them into<sup>(3)</sup> the inner desert, and they have no power over him ; for few are the people of this qualification, and though they are all our fathers and our brethren, people of this category are not found, except one in a thousand. One (who) was a solitary and lived alone and had left the world and escaped from them, made his life (one) with the wild beasts of the mountains and the lions of the desert, and God changed the nature of the lions which rend and of the fierce wild beasts, until they were at peace with him, so that when the lions saw him, \* they came to him and worshipped at

\* fol. 198 r°

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(1) *Ps.* cXLIX, 8.

(2) *Lit.* ' advance over '.

(3) ' into ' reading from the Paris *MS.*

and they buried him with his fathers, the patriarchs. May God grant to us and to you the blessing of their prayers. And the Church in his days was in tranquillity and security. And to God (be) the glory for ever <sup>(1)</sup>!

THE FATHER JOHN (YŪḤANNĀ), THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE SEVENTY-SECOND OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father sat (on the throne) in the reign <sup>(2)</sup> of al-Ḥāfīz and Az-Zāfir his son, and al-Fāʾīz, the son of Az-Zāfir <sup>(3)</sup>. And the duration of his occupation of the See was nineteen years and eight months, and he went to his rest on the fourth of (the month of) Bašuns (in the) year eight hundred and eighty-three of the Martyrs <sup>(4)</sup>. This one was a saintly monk, ordained deacon, chaste, upright, (and) mentioned among the monks (as being) from the Monastery of Abū Yihnis <sup>(5)</sup>. And he was present at the consecration <sup>(6)</sup> of Abba (Anbā) Michael (Mikhāyīl) the deceased, and his name was mentioned on (one of) the three pieces of paper which they wrote, and which they offered on the altars (haiyākal), as we have stated before <sup>(7)</sup>. And they agreed (in their) opinion to consecrate <sup>(8)</sup> him, and they sent to him (some) of the priests who should bring him to Cairo (Miṣr), and they brought him. And he was ordained priest (and) then hegoumenos (Ḳummuṣ) in the Church al-Muʿallaḳah <sup>(9)</sup> in Cairo (Miṣr). And there was present John (Yūʾannis) Ibn Kadrān, who was described before in the biography of Abba (Anbā) Michael (Mikhāyīl) the deceased. And he renewed the solicitation with the present Sultan, at the hand of those who were intermediaries for his

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<sup>(1)</sup> 'And to God . . . . . for ever!' is not in the Paris MS.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'kingdom'.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, pp. 171-175. 'This father . . . . . the son of Az-Zāfir' is written in the margin of the folio.

<sup>(4)</sup> = April 29th, 1167.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. p. 25, n. 4.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* 'advancement'.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. p. 61.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Lit.* 'to advance'.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-31.

(al-Miṣriyîn) bore to him many ex-voto offerings. And this bishop continued to demand from the priests the ordination-fee which he who was before him used to take, and he took it from them. \* And he also consecrated a monk, his name (was) Sanûn, a Ṣaʿîdian (Ṣaʿîdî), bishop for the See of Minîat Banî Khaṣîb<sup>(1)</sup>. And another Ṣaʿîdian (Ṣaʿîdî) from the region of Isnâ<sup>(2)</sup>. He had been a merchant, (and) his name (was) Tâûnâ, (and) he consecrated him bishop for the See of Akhmîm<sup>(3)</sup>. And a priest from the inhabitants of al-Balîanâ<sup>(4)</sup>, his name was Abû 'l-Badr Khaṣîb, he consecrated bishop for the See of al-Balîanâ<sup>(4)</sup>. The father<sup>(5)</sup>, the patriarch, Abba (Anbâ) Michael (Mîkhâyîl) used<sup>(6)</sup> great severity towards the monks and those who were arrogant, and he used to punish those who sinned from among them, not only by word, but also by beating and imprisonment. And it is said concerning him that no one left his religion in his days. And the duration of his occupation of the See (was) eight months and four days, three months of which (he was) in good health. Then he fell sick, and when his sickness lasted, he went to the Monastery of Saint Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḩâr)<sup>(7)</sup>, and he remained in it, enduring the sickness for five months until he swelled up. And he went to his rest on the Friday of the week of Easter (al-Fiṣḩ), and it was the third day of (the month of) Baramûdah (in the) year eight hundred and sixty-three of the Martyrs<sup>(8)</sup>. They related that the monks from the cell (κελλίον) of Kadrân<sup>(9)</sup> administered to him poison until it became<sup>(10)</sup> the cause of his death, and God knows if it was, as was said, concerning them or not; and He recompenses every one according to his deeds. And they shrouded him (the patriarch)

\* fol. 197 v°

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>(5)</sup> 'the father' added from the Paris MS.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* 'of great authority'.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. p. 2, n. 2.

<sup>(8)</sup> = March 29th, 1147 A.D.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. p. 59.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Lit.* 'it was'.



Thursday. It is the established custom that a bishop shall not be consecrated, except on a Sunday. However, he made a special case for him, on account of his being of the sons of his (the patriarch's) cell. And his age at that time was about thirty years; and there proceeded from him sanctity, chastity and learning (such as) was not attained by many of the advanced<sup>(1)</sup> elders (aš-šiyûkh). Then he (the patriarch) consecrated Aš-Šaikh Abû 'l-Makârim Ibn Joseph (Yûsif) the archon (ἀρχων). Then he consecrated Aš-Šamâs Ibn Ġârûd, and he was from among the priests of the Church of Saint Abba (Abû) Sergius (Sarġah)<sup>(2)</sup>. And he was from among the notables of the scribes, and he had been head of the great dîwâns, of high family<sup>(3)</sup> among the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyîn). He consecrated him bishop of the See of Šubrâ al-Khaïmah<sup>(4)</sup>, and he named him Mark (Marḡus). And the See of Šubrâ Damanhûr<sup>(5)</sup> had been without a bishop all the days of the patriarchate of Abba (Anbâ) Gabriel (Ghabryâl) Ibn Turaïk, because it had the established custom that there should not be (bishop) of it, except a virgin, and this bishop had been married and his wife had died. And Abba (Anbâ) Gabriel (Ghabryâl) forbade them to resort to the taking out the body of the Saint Apa (Abû) John (Yihnis) Sanhût<sup>(6)</sup> from his church, because it was the custom for them to cast his (Yihnis) body into the river<sup>(7)</sup>, by reason of the impurities of the Egyptians (al-Miṣriyîn). And when the priests did not resort to cast his body into the river, it dried up in front of his church. And when this bishop returned, he ordered them to cast him (the Saint) into the river, and the river returned (and) rose until it overflowed in front of his church, and the Egyptians

<sup>(1)</sup> *i.e.* advanced in monastic virtues.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-23.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* 'great house'.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 457. District (Markaz) of Šarġiah.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>(6)</sup> The Saint is commemorated on the 8th Bašuns in the Synaxarium.

<sup>(7)</sup> *i.e.* the Baḡr (Canal) Mûîs. For a similar ceremony at Šubrâ which was abolished by Baybars in 1303 A.D.; cf. U. BOURIANT, 'Description Topographique et Historique de l'Égypte' in *Mém. M.A.F.C.*, t. XVII, pp. 194-197. Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

(al-Khalifat) had set apart for him. And they seated him upon the throne of my lord Mark (Mârî Markuṣ). And they completed his consecration on Sunday, the fifth of (the month of) Misrâ (in the) year eight hundred and seventy-six of the Saintly Martyrs <sup>(1)</sup>. (They had) great trouble to make him memorize <sup>(2)</sup> the Liturgy (al-Ḳuddâs) of Basil (Bâsilîûs) <sup>(3)</sup> only <sup>(4)</sup>, until he celebrated it. And he returned to Cairo (Miṣr), and the day of his entry into it was memorable. And there met him from among the notables of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) and their great ones, more than there met him from among the Christians (an-Naṣârâ). And there was great joy and contentment among the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) in the two cities, Cairo (Miṣr) and Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah). And they loved him much and they obeyed him; and he used to rejoice when he saw many people in the church, and many priests in the sanctuary (σκηνη), and he multiplied supplication for them. And the days of his patriarchate were exceedingly good; and a few days after his enthronement, he consecrated five bishops. One of them was from among the sons of the archons (ἀρχων) in Cairo (Miṣr), called Ibn Nafrâ. He had become a monk in the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr) <sup>(5)</sup> in the cell (called) the Great Cell (Diniṣtirî) <sup>(6)</sup> from which was this patriarch, and he used to dwell with him in it, and he (the patriarch) consecrated him bishop for . . . . . <sup>(7)</sup>. While he was a lad of youthful years, he was a deacon in the sanctuary (σκηνη) <sup>(8)</sup>, in the days of Abba (Anbâ) Gabriel (Ghabryâl). And when he arrived in Cairo (Miṣr), he went out to the Dair aš-Šam<sup>c</sup> <sup>(9)</sup>, and he (the patriarch) consecrated him on a

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<sup>(1)</sup> = August 29th, 1160 A.D.

<sup>(2)</sup> He was unable to read Coptic or Arabic, cf. p. 59.

<sup>(3)</sup> The first of the three Anaphorae of the Coptic Church.

<sup>(4)</sup> For the meaning 'only' of خاصة in the Middle Arabic of the Copts, cf. S. KUSSAM, 'Contribution à l'Étude du Moyen Arabe des Coptes' in *Le Muséon*, t. LXXX, Louvain, 1967, p. 165 sqq.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. p. 2, n. 2.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. p. 59, n. 2.

<sup>(7)</sup> The city is not indicated.

<sup>(8)</sup> *i.e.* the Sanctuary of Benjamin in the Monastery of St. Macarius.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-196.

\* fol. 197 r° over them for three days in succession. And a child was brought, and he took one of them, and the piece of paper was seen (to be) \* that with the name Michael (Mikhâyîl). And those who were present of the elders (aş-šiyûkh) of the God-fearing monks, mentioned that Abû 'I-Khaîr the psalmodist (ψαλμωδός) at the Monastery of Saint Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr) <sup>(1)</sup> — and he was a saint, pure, (who) foresaw what would take place — said when he heard what had happened to Ibn Kadrân, that the patriarch would be from the Great Cell (Diništirî) <sup>(2)</sup>, this from which was Michael (Mikhâyîl). And he mentioned concerning him, that, on the night of the decease of Abba (Anbâ) Gabriel (Ghabryâl) the patriarch, he saw his soul among the angels ascending with it to heaven, and he informed those who were with him from among the brethren present, about this at once. And he said to them. «The patriarch hath gone to his rest at this hour». And after three days from (the time of) his saying (this) to them, some monks arrived at the Monastery, and they brought news of the decease of the patriarch <sup>(3)</sup> at that time which he had said. And it was mentioned by another monk that this Abba (Anbâ) Michael (Mikhâyîl) the patriarch was, before his becoming patriarch, sick of a severe and painful sickness in which he was nigh unto death, (and) that he said to some of the monks (who) asked him concerning his sickness that he would not die in this sickness, and (that) he would not die except after he had become patriarch. And when the assembly agreed on accepting him, they ordained him deacon, and then priest, and on the third day they ordained him begoumenos (ḳummuş) in the Church al-Mu'allakah <sup>(4)</sup> in Cairo (Mişr), after they had received the permission of the Calif (al-Khalifat) at that time. And his order went out to consecrate <sup>(5)</sup> him, and he wrote for him a decree (sigîl) concerning this. And he journeyed with those who were present from among the bishops and the priests and the people to the great city of Alexandria in a processional barge (uşârî) which the Calif

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. p. 2, n. 2.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. p. 59, n. 2.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* Gabriel Ibn Turaîk.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-31.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* 'to advance'.

patriarchate) in this manner, when the case required that there should assemble those who were present of the elders (šiyûkh), the Cairene (al-Miṣriyîn) archons (ἀρχων) and of those who were present of the bishops. They discussed (matters) at the end of which it was settled (that) the affair of the mentioned Yûnis should be stopped and there should be sought one other than him from among those who were fit for this leadership, and the agreement of the people and the archons (ἀρχων) about him. And there was made for this a document, and there was obtained for it the signature of those present. The venerable father Abba (Anbâ) Mark (Marḳuṣ) Ibn Zara‘ah the patriarch<sup>(1)</sup>, the compiler of this biography and its reviser — may God give rest to his soul with the Saints — said that when the agreement was reached for seeking him whom God should choose for directing His people, pieces of paper were written in which were these names, and they are: Yûnis Ibn Abû ‘l-Faṭḥ, a monk of the sons of Abba (Bû) John (Yihnis), Solomon (Sulaïmân) Ibn ad-Daḥbâdî<sup>(2)</sup> of the Monastery of Baramûs<sup>(3)</sup>. And I, the humble Mark (Marḳuṣ), the copyist of this biography, was present, and Michael (Mikhâyîl) whom God had chosen from the Great Cell (Diništirî) was present, and they sought from him that he should write his signature in the document against Ibn Kadrân, but he did not do (it), (and) certain of those who were present suspected that he had come with him to help him, but that which hindered him was because he did not know Coptic or Arabic. And (when) I informed them about him, and that he was of those who were fit for this leadership, and the will of God was for him, they wrote him. And the pieces of paper were written with the names of the three of them, as mentioned before, according as was the custom. And a paper was written with the Name of the Master Christ (al-Masiḥ), the Good Shepherd, and they<sup>(4)</sup> were placed upon the altar (haikal)<sup>(5)</sup>, and the Divine Liturgy (al-Ḳuddâs) was celebrated

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<sup>(1)</sup> *i.e.* the seventy-third patriarch.

<sup>(2)</sup> This name is not clear in the Arabic.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. H.G. EVELYN WHITE, *op. cit.*, vol. II. pp. 98-104.

<sup>(4)</sup> The four pieces of paper.

<sup>(5)</sup> Strictly speaking, haikal indicates ‘sanctuary’ but it is also used to denote ‘altar’.

bishop of Fûah<sup>(1)</sup>, and Michael (Mikhâyîl), bishop of Tandatâ<sup>(2)</sup>. And Yûnis Ibn Kadrân exerted himself in soliciting the patriarchate, and the aforementioned supported him. But the Lord did not approve of his action, and, on account of this, not a single man of all the people wished for him<sup>(3)</sup>. And before his coming to Cairo (Mişr), they had ordained him hegoumenos (ηγούμενος) in the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr)<sup>(4)</sup>. He was a man tall in stature, of handsome countenance, of fine appearance, of good disposition, of pleasant speech, learned in the Coptic language and the books of the Church, (and) skilled in the Old and the New (Testaments), only Satan (aş-Şaitân) — may God remove us and you from his temptations and his wiles and his snares, and defend all the sons of Baptism against his evil blows — struck him with this malicious blow that he solicited the leadership through pride, (and) thereby God caused him to fall, and he (Satan) (is) eager to cause to fall him amongst us over whom he has power through it (pride), so that he may be with him in Hell; and he embellished (it) for him, and he (Yûnis) solicited the rank and the advancement over the people of God without their opinion or their consent. And the Şaikh Abû Joseph (Yûsif) Ibn Severus (Sawîrus) al-Filasûf was superintendent of al-Buḥaîrah<sup>(5)</sup> at this time, and he wrote to the archons (ἀρχων) at Cairo (Mişr) to inform them what was correct in his opinion<sup>(6)</sup> concerning the baseness of the reports about Yûnis Ibn Kadrân, and how he had transgressed in that he had solicited (the patriarchate) and had not waited until he should be sought, and that his impetuosity and his request point to the imperfection of his mind and the blindness of his heart. And how could he control the people of God who does not know how to control himself, and instruct them, while tongues are loosed about his honour in coarse talk on account of his seeking to solicit (the

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

<sup>(3)</sup> The Paris *MS.* adds 'nor one of the archons (ἀρχων) nor one of the priests, and it was so'.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. p. 2, n. 2.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* 'to him'.

haughtily and proudly. And God struck him on his foot with a malignant gangrenous pustule, and it did not cease to eat away his foot until he died from it after great distress, and there were worms and putrefaction and sores, and he did not escape from them, night or day. And he used to confess what he had done, and he used to say : «This is the reward of the foot which transgressed and entered into that holy place without reverence», and he continued thus until he died. And we beseech God to have mercy on us, as a charity towards us from Him<sup>(1)</sup>.

\* MICHAEL (MĪKHĀYĪL) IBN DINIŠTIRĪ<sup>(2)</sup> THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE SEVENTY- \* fol. 196 v°  
FIRST OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This venerable father was a monk of the Cell known as the Great Cell (Diništirī) in the Monastery of Saint Abba (Abū) Macarius (Maḳâr), an old man of comely appearance and handsome, grave, possessing piety and chastity, a saint, pure ; only that he was not learned and did not find pleasure in the reading of books, because his parents had not cared about this. And he had not sought to solicit the priesthood or a rank (τᾶξις), but he was assiduous (in the observance) of the Canons (κανόν) of the monks, without reading Coptic or Arabic. And when the father, the patriarch, Abba (Anbâ) Gabriel (Ghabryâl) went to his rest, and the See had remained vacant of him who directs it, four months and (some) days, a monk of the Monastery of Abba (Abū) Macarius (Maḳâr)<sup>(3)</sup> sought to solicit the patriarchate, and he was called Wanis<sup>(4)</sup> Ibn Kadrân. And certain of his brethren, the monks, leagued themselves with him ; and they assembled with certain of the bishops, and they all supported one another. And they were James (Yaḳḳûb) al-Ḳârî, bishop of Laḳânah<sup>(5)</sup> of the Province of Buḥātrah<sup>(6)</sup>, and Christodoulos (Akhrīštūdulûs),

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<sup>(1)</sup> 'And we beseech... from Him' is not in the Paris MS.

<sup>(2)</sup> دینیشتری = 𐩠𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣 𐩢𐩣𐩠 = the Great Cell. One of the cells of the Monastery of Abba Macarius ; cf. H.G. EVELYN WHITE, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 282.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. p. 2, n. 2.

<sup>(4)</sup> Read Yûnis.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

he went to his rest on the date which we have previously mentioned at the beginning of this biography. And there was in the days of this patriarch one of the monks of the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Kamâ<sup>(1)</sup>, whose name (was) Ḥalwaš, of the children of the daughters of Bastiyah, who was in charge of extracting the oil of balsam, that is the chrism (μῦρον), and he brought a case against the monks, and he calumniated them to the Imâm al-Ḥâfiz, that they had magical arts and sciences, by which they knew what is happening to kings, and how States conquer, and they accumulate dînârs and other things beside them in the way of acquisition of gold and silver and jewelry, and by this they disobey their religion and the words of their Gospel and the commandment of Christ (al-Masîḥ) to them, and an image of a water-wheel in crystal, its likeness is not found with anyone of the kings of the world. He summoned with him chamberlains and soldiers, and took them, and he went up to the Monasteries in the Wâdî Habîb<sup>(2)</sup>, and he gave them power over the monks. And they insulted them, and they abused them, and they taxed them, and they pillaged them, and they broke their workshops, and there befell them from him a great calamity. And he took from them certain of their elders (šuyûkh), and he entered Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) with them. But nothing was verified of what he had reported about them, and God delivered them from him, and the califate (al-Khalifat) was well-disposed towards them, and he sent them back to their monasteries in safety. And it happened, when this Ḥalwaš entered with those who were sent with him, into the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr)<sup>(3)</sup>, he violated<sup>(4)</sup> the sanctity of the holy sanctuary, that is the Sanctuary (ḥaḳkal) of Benjamin (Banyâmîn)<sup>(5)</sup> [at the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr)]<sup>(6)</sup>, and he attacked it, and he entered into it, he and those with him, and they examined the whole sanctuary (σκηνη). And it is said concerning him that he kicked the sanctuary (ḥaḳkal) with his foot

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. H.G. EVELYN WHITE, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 305.

<sup>(2)</sup> *i.e.* the Wâdî 'n-Naṭrân.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. p. 2, n. 2.

<sup>(4)</sup> Reading خرق.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. H.G. EVELYN WHITE, *op. cit.*, part III, pp. 90-99.

<sup>(6)</sup> Addition from the Paris MS.

will not remain for them any need of the Patriarchs of Egypt (Miṣr), and they will not owe obedience to them, and this will drive them into enmity and hostility towards whomsoever borders their lands from among the Muslims (al-Muslimīn), and discipline will be relaxed among them. And wars will be multiplied by them, as they were wont to do in ancient times, in the days of Pharaoh and Moses (Mûsâ) and of those who were before him of the Pharaonic kings, and (as) they were wont to attack them by land and by sea, and reports about this are recorded in the history of the first (peoples). Then the patriarch wrote [to him]<sup>(1)</sup> a letter warning him and commanding him to desist from what he sought from him, and he despatched the letter to him<sup>(1)</sup>. And when the messengers of the patriarch returned from Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašat), they reported that fire had descended from heaven upon the castle of the king and it had burned a part of it. Then the lands of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašat) experienced great dearness in that year, and a great pestilence, and rain did not fall in it, and they endured on account of this great difficulty. Then the king received the letter of the patriarch, and he came back to God, and he wrote to the califate (al-Khalifat) of Egypt (Miṣr), (and) he asked him to ask the patriarch to absolve him and to write to him a letter of blessing upon him and upon his lands. Then he (the patriarch) wrote to him concerning this, and despatched it (the letter) to him (the king). And at the hour of the arrival of the reply to them, God removed His wrath from them and His mercy reached them, and the rain fell, and their lands were sown, and their prices became cheap, and the dearness and the pestilence were removed from them through the mercy of God and the good-pleasure of this father for them. And the mentioned patriarch was sick of a severe sickness. He was nigh to perishing from it. Then he saw in his dream, as it were, a company of priests and monks, and with them Gospels and crosses and censers, and they said to him : « We have come to visit thee to-day, and thou wilt be healed of this sickness of thine, but we will return to thee in the next year, at this same time, and we will take thee with us ». And he was healed of his sickness that time. And after a year he fell sick, and

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<sup>(1)</sup> *i.e.* the king of Ethiopia. '[to him]' an addition from the Paris MS.



And evil people reported to the patriarch Abba (Anbâ) Gabriel (Ghabryâl) infamous words about him. They intended thereby to corrupt his case with him (the patriarch), that they might remove him from the mentioned church, or might observe in him a detestable evil, so that they might reject him. And when they informed the patriarch about this, he did not undertake patiently to see into what they had said and to investigate about it. And this offended Abû 'l-Yaman Ibn al-'Amîdî and he departed from his religion. And his affair was hard to bear for the father, the patriarch, and he repented of it with bitter repentance; and after it he did not repeat being severe with any one, fearing lest he (another) might do the same as he. And God performed at the hands of this patriarch wonders and miracles and good works, and I shall record some of them. And it is what took place in the lands of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašat), and this (was) that the king of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašat) summoned Abba (Anbâ) Michael (Mikhâyîl) — and his name before his consecration (as) Metropolitan (muṭrân) of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašat) (was) Ḥabîb — and he sought from him that he should consecrate for him bishops in excess of the usual number according to the recognized custom established from ancient times<sup>(1)</sup>, but he refused this. And he said : « I have not the power to do anything, except on the advice of the patriarch ». And the king despatched \* to the patriarch a letter asking him about this, and another letter to the king of Egypt (Miṣr) which his messenger accompanied. And an order of the califate (Khalifat) went out to the patriarch to comply with what he<sup>(2)</sup> asked. And he excused himself and said to the califate (al-Khalifat) « O Sire, if the bishops for Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašat) become more than this number, they will dare to consecrate an Archbishop (muṭrân), and they will free themselves from the obedience of the Patriarchs of Egypt (Miṣr), and they will dispense with them, and they will begin to appoint (patriarchs) for themselves, and there

\* fol. 196 r°

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<sup>(1)</sup> Marginal Note : (It was) the usual custom to consecrate for Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašat) and Nubia (an-Nubat) seven bishops and not more. For if they complete ten, they would consecrate metropolitans (al-maṭârinah), and they will have no need for the Patriarch of Egypt (Miṣr). On account of this the patriarch forbids to consecrate for them.

<sup>(2)</sup> *i.e.* the king of Ethiopia.

aid of the son of the califate (Khalifat), the son of the Imâm al-Ḥâfiz, and he was called Walî al-ʿAhd. And he bore to him a great amount of money of great value, and he asked him to intercede for him with the patriarch, so that he might consecrate him bishop. And Walî al-ʿAhd sent to him (the patriarch), and he brought pressure to bear upon him concerning him (the priest), but he did not accept (to consecrate him); and he exculpated himself, and he wrote a letter to the califate (Khalifat), and he informed him in it of the story of the affair of the bishop, and that he sought the authority of the priesthood by bribing, and that this was not permitted in the Christian (an-Naṣarâniyat) religion. And when the letter was presented to al-Ḥâfiz, he thanked him (the patriarch), and magnified his position, and he signed a document for him that there should not be any interference in his religion, and that no one might constrain him (to do) what was not permitted within [the limits of]<sup>(1)</sup> his law. Then news reached him (the patriarch) after that, that he (the priest) had a very great amount of money, and he feared that if he prevented the priest Buḳîrah from (receiving) the episcopate, he might depart from his religion and the money would be lost. So he consecrated him bishop for a see other than that which he had sought; and he intended thereby to win his soul and that he should not lose his money. And Buḳîrah bore to him the money, but he did not look at it with his eyes, but he commanded that it should be delivered to the manager (wakîl) for the property of the churches; and he ordered him to spend it on the (re)building of the keep (ḡaûsak) of the Monastery of the Beacon<sup>(2)</sup> and other things beside it. And there was a man from among the sons of the notable scribes, who had his presidency and his leadership among his people, and he was called Abû 'l-Yaman Ibn al-ʿAmîdî<sup>(3)</sup>. And he left the servants and (his) manner of life, and he attached himself to the service of the church of Saint Abba (Abû) George (Ġurġ) in the Monastery of Clay (Dair at-Ṭîn)<sup>(4)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> Addition from the Paris MS.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 132; OMAR TOUSSOUN, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Arabe*, t. I, p. 78.

what occurred, our Sire al-Ḥāfiẓ transferred him to his Castle, and he besought him that he should return to his ministry (wizārat), but he did not do it and he said : « I am a monk ; I am not a soldier » ; and he took up his abode in the Castle being served until he died. And he (al-Ḥāfiẓ) caused his coffin to be taken out from the Gate of the Arched Passage (as-Sābāt) to the Church of Az-Zuhri<sup>(1)</sup>, and they buried him in it. And there was at Atfīḥ<sup>(2)</sup> a bishop for the Armenians (Arman) who made efforts until he became patriarch for them<sup>(3)</sup>. And at his consecration, he besought the presence of Abba (Anbā) Gabriel (Ghabryāl) Ibn Turaīk with him, so that he might lay his hand upon him. But he did not come to him at the time of his consecration, until he (Gabriel) had administered the Holy Communion in his church. And he broke his fast, lest they should constrain him to lay his hand on him. Abba (Anbā) Gabriel (Ghabryāl) had forbidden the taking of simony (χειροτονία) for the priesthood, and he did not take anything for the consecration of a bishop or for other than him, and he did not approve of this in others, and he followed in this what the Holy Gospels say : « Freely ye received, freely give »<sup>(4)</sup>, for the grace of God and His gift and the authority of the priesthood is not sold with money. And he was emphatic in this matter, and he wrote a document about this<sup>(5)</sup>. And he suspended him who receives it (simony) and him who pays it. It is mentioned concerning him<sup>(6)</sup> by one who was well acquainted with him, that he consecrated fifty-three bishops, and that there came to him a man, a priest, called Buḳārah, and he sought of him that he should consecrate him bishop for the country of Akhmīm<sup>(7)</sup>, and he offered to him money, but he refused to accept it. And when he (Gabriel) repulsed him, he went and set about, until he implored

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<sup>(1)</sup> For an account of this church and its destruction cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, pp. 328-329.

<sup>(2)</sup> E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

<sup>(3)</sup> This bishop is mentioned by B.T.A. EVETTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Matt.* x, 8.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* simony.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* Gabriel Ibn Turaīk.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

and the amîrs of the State. Then he departed from the House of the Ministry (Dâr al-Wizârat) <sup>(1)</sup> in Cairo (al-Kâhirah) in flight, and he did not put on his feet save one boot, and they did not give him time so that he might put on the other. And he stayed with the Dirmâwiyyîn Arabs (al-‘Arab), and they took him to Syria (aš-Šam). And he stirred up a party of the Ghuzz (al-Ghuzz), and the Arabs (al-‘Arab) who had allowed him (to pass) joined themselves to him. And he came to Cairo (al-Kâhirah), and he halted on the top of the mountain at the place of the Observatory <sup>(2)</sup> on the Mountain al-Muḳḳaṭam. And the army of the Egyptians (al-Miṣriyyîn) came out against him and they fought him, and he routed them. Then they fought him in earnest, and they conquered him and defeated him. And when he saw that he was defeated, he returned to the land of Syria (aš-Šam) a second time <sup>(3)</sup>. And the Imâm al-Ḥâfiẓ wrote to him and reassured him and appeased him <sup>(4)</sup>, and he sent to him from among his companions one who was trustworthy for him, and in his hand was money with which to travel, he and those with him of his companions and his followers. Then he returned accompanied by those whom he had chosen to go (with him) from among the amîrs of the State. Then the Imâm al-Ḥâfiẓ caused him to stay with him in a Castle, and he set apart for him a great hall and its quarters and its offices, and he gathered together his sons and the sons of his sons <sup>(5)</sup>. And he was in it honoured (and) free to do what he liked, (and) [at liberty, without fetters, and he was not under surveillance, and he was not guarded <sup>(6)</sup>].

\* And as regards Bahrâm the Armenian (Arman) who was wazîr before him, when Ruḍwân caused him to come from the White Monastery <sup>(7)</sup>, he placed him with him in his house. And when there befell Ruḍwân

\* fol. 195 v°

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. P. RAVAISSE, *op. cit.*, p. 50, 54-55.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 131. For Ar-Rasad, cf. P. CASANOVA, ‘Description, etc.’ *M.I.F.A.O.C.*, t. III, p. 284, and U. BOURIANT, *Makrizi. Description Topographique et Historique de l’Égypte*, pp. 363-370.

<sup>(3)</sup> For particulars about Ruḍwân; cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, p. 19, note 4.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* ‘he made good his heart’.

<sup>(5)</sup> The Paris *MS.* has ‘and he was assembled with his wife and his sons’.

<sup>(6)</sup> Addition from the Paris *MS.*

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. p. 50, n. 3.

times) of famine, and many things (were) at a great price, so that the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyîn) called it «historic»<sup>(1)</sup> wheat. And the cost of bread in those days was an Egyptian (Miṣrî) raṭl for a dirham. Then God came to the aid of (His) creatures [through His mercy, and He had compassion on their poor, and He heard their supplication and He relieved them]<sup>(2)</sup> and He lowered their costs. And there happened similar to this in the year five hundred and thirty-four of the Lunar (Year)<sup>(3)</sup>. The Nile did not attain in it above<sup>(4)</sup> fourteen cubits, and the cost (of food) became dear. When the land was dried up, the people experienced great harm by reason of the drought of the land. And Michael (Mîkhâyîl), bishop of Şahrağt<sup>(5)</sup>, undertook the renewal of the church of Minyat Ziftâ<sup>(6)</sup>, and he consecrated it, and he celebrated the Divine Liturgy in it, and he dedicated it<sup>(7)</sup> to the name of Saint, my lord (Mârî) George (Ġirğis). And the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) of Minyat Ziftâ<sup>(6)</sup> sprang upon it, and they demolished it out of their hatred for the Christians (an-Naṣârâ), and they made it a prayer-house (Masğid). And Michael (Mîkhâyîl) the bishop stood before the wazîr Ruḍwân Ibn Walkhašî, and he cried for help from him, and he made clear to him that it was an ancient church<sup>(8)</sup>. And he signed for him (a document) in his hand-writing to restore it and to return it to what was its former state<sup>(9)</sup> in the way of its limits, upwards and downwards. And he restored it and completed it, and he consecrated it, after he had endured on account of it great affliction and a great fine. And Ruḍwân continued in the ministry (wizârat) until there rose up against him the soldiers

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<sup>(1)</sup> The meaning of دنوكى is unknown. It may refer either to the age of the wheat, or it may be an ironical epithet which the Cairenes applied to Ruḍwân.

<sup>(2)</sup> Addition from the Paris MSS.

<sup>(3)</sup> = 1139-1140 A.D.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* 'except'.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. OMAR TOUSSOUN, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Arabe*, t. I, p. 162, Cairo, 1926.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* 'finished it'.

<sup>(8)</sup> New churches may not be built without permission from the State.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Lit.* 'what was on it'.

employed in the Dîwân al-Ġawâlî<sup>(1)</sup> a man from the witnesses of Cairo (Miṣr), known as the KĀḏî al-Muhadhhab Ibn Abî'l-Bakâ, and the cause for this was what (had happened) through the Calif's (al-Khalîfat) employing a protégé of the califate (al-Khilâfat), the Šaikh Abû Zikrî Ibn Yahyâ Ibn Paul (Bûlus), the Christian (an-Naṣrânî) scribe, in the Dîwân of Investigation (at-Taḥkîk). He had invested him with a coat-of-mail, and had caused him to sit within his Castle, in the Hall of the Golden Gate<sup>(2)</sup>, in a place (which) he had set apart for him in it. And he employed with him twelve scribes from among the Christians (an-Naṣârâ), notables, in the days of the ministry (wizârat) of Bahrâm, towards the end of the year five hundred and thirty<sup>(3)</sup>. And there was with him also two scribes from among the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), one of the two of them was known as the KĀḏî al-Khaṭîr Ibn al-Bawâb, and the other, as the KĀḏî al-Murtadî Ibn at-Tarâbulsî<sup>(4)</sup>, both of whom Ruḏwân Ibn Walkhašî had employed in the Dîwân of the Council (al-Mağlis) instead of him<sup>(5)</sup>. Then he dismissed him<sup>(5)</sup> after this, and he banished him to the region of Asyûṭ<sup>(6)</sup>, because it was his country and the home of his ancestors; and the two mentioned scribes remained permanent, each one of them separate in his dîwân. The application of the Ġawâlî (Tax) for the dhimah<sup>(7)</sup> has remained until I wrote this biography. And I found in the days of the ministry (wizârat) of Ruḏwân Ibn Walkhašî (there was) a severe dearth until most of the people lacked food, and the mentioned Ruḏwân sold wheat and other things beside it in the way of red rice, black broad beans<sup>(8)</sup>, weevilled cereals, and wheat (which) had become (rotten) from its oldness and the length of its staying in the granaries and the depots, the silos and government stores from the days of Amîr al-Ġuyûš for need (in

<sup>(1)</sup> *i.e.* of Taxes.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 110 and P. CASANOVA, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

<sup>(3)</sup> = 1136-1137 A.D.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* of Tripolis.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* Abû Zikrî Ibn Yahyâ Ibn Bûlus.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. p. 23, n. 5.

<sup>(8)</sup> *i.e.* faba vulgaris.

he reached it, he found (that) the news of the ministry of Ruḍwān Ibn Walkhašī had arrived before him, and the Muslim (Muslimīn)<sup>(1)</sup> inhabitants of Kūṣ<sup>(2)</sup> had killed his brother and had buried him in the dung in the stable of his beasts at the Government House (wilāyat). And he made an assault upon it, but they closed the doors of its fortress in his face, so he besieged it. Then he pardoned it and sent away from him the troops, and he went up to the White Monastery<sup>(3)</sup> alone, and he stayed in one of them<sup>(4)</sup>. As regards Ruḍwān Ibn Walkhašī, he entered Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) and the Calif (al-Khalīfat) invested him with the ministry (wizārat) in the year five hundred and thirty-one<sup>(5)</sup>. And he plundered the churches of Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) and the Khandaq<sup>(6)</sup>, and the Muslims (al-Muslimīn) burned the dwellings of the Armenians (Arman) known as Az-Zuhrī<sup>(7)</sup>, and they killed their patriarch and all whom they found with him of the monks in the monastery<sup>(7)</sup>. And Ruḍwān Ibn Walkhašī (was) the first wazīr (who) ordered that the Christians (an-Naṣārā) should not be employed in the important dīwāns nor as superintendents nor as administrators, and that they should bind their girdles about their waists, and that they should not ride on a horse. And he doubled for them and for the Jews (al-Yahūd) the capitation-tax (al-ğizyat), and he made it of three categories, for the people who (were) rich, four dīnārs and one sixth, \* and the people below them, two dīnārs and two qirāts; and as regards the rest of their common people, one dīnār and one third and a quarter, and for him of low extraction, a dirham. And he

\* fol. 195 r°

(1) 'the Muslim' is added from the Paris MS.

(2) Cf. p. 49, n. 2.

(3) The plural is used, probably on account of the various buildings enclosed within the walls of the White Monastery. Cf. UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Les Couvents près de Sohâg* (Deyr el-Abiaḍ et Deyr el-Aḥmar), Milan, 1926, Les annexes de l'église, pp. 111-117. This event is recorded by B.T.A. EVETTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 239.

(4) *i.e.* one of the buildings.

(5) = 1136-1137 A.D.

(6) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

(7) Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, p. 328. This district was near the Lions' Bridge over the Canal west of the Lûḳ and close to the Mosque of Taybars, cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, p. 217.

(al-Khalîfat) has named thee Faḥl al-Umarâ'; and (there is) no one for the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) to deliver them from the disdain of the Armenians (Arman) save thee; and if they become stronger than this many of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) will become Christians». And they roused him up, and he arose with them, and he gathered together the Arabs (al-'Urbân) and the chiefs of the country, and he proclaimed. «O warriors against the infidels». And he attached books of the Qurân to the points of the lances in front of the army. And he journeyed, and there gathered to him of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) a numerous army the number of which (could) not be counted by reason of its quantity, and he raised high the word of al-Islâm. And when he reached Masğid al-Khidr, he descended at it <sup>(1)</sup>, and he commanded the army to pass over the river to the other side. News of him reached Bahrâm about this, (and) the blood of the people was roused, and he said to his companions: «Without fail I shall die and God will require of me the blood of the slain from among you and from among them. And the kingdom of this land God has given to the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), and it is not lawful nor permissible for me by God to fight against the people for their kingdom, and to deprive them of their rights. Had the Calif (Khalîfat) not asked aid of me for what happened to him from his son, and agreed with me about what I did in his service and his obedience, I would not have begun anything of myself. Arise, take what you are able of your money and your children. And let us go to Kûş <sup>(2)</sup>, to take my brother—he had made his brother Bâsâk <sup>(3)</sup> wâlî of Kûş. Then we will go to our country and leave to the people their kingdom; there is no need for us to make war against them». And the courageous of the Armenians (al-Arman) said to him: «How shall we do what thou hast said. We are a thousand bowmen: we can conquer the world up to the gate of Rome (Rûmîah), and we will encounter them and we will defeat them with the help of God to us». But he did not agree with them, and he departed immediately to Kûş <sup>(2)</sup> to seek his brother Bâsâk. And when

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<sup>(1)</sup> 'he descended at it' is added from the Paris MS.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

<sup>(3)</sup> ÉT. QUATREMÈRE, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte*. Paris 1811, p. 197, gives a similar account of this wâlî, and names him Basek.



to the midst of the Castle, and he placed his <sup>(1)</sup> body on a wooden bench, and he opened the gates of the Castle, and he ordered them to enter and behold him. And they entered and they saw him dead. And they took off the covering from his face, lest he were (only) sleeping. \* And they pricked him over all his body with knives and the heads of arrows, and when they were assured of his death, they left him and went out. And one called Rudwân Ibn Walkhašî <sup>(2)</sup> of the amîrs of the State was the most vehement in speaking and in seeking for him. And al-Ḥâfîz designated him as Faḥl al-Umarâ' and made him wâlî of (the Province of) al-Gharbîah <sup>(3)</sup>. And Tâġ ad-Daûlah Bahrâm continued in the wizârat from (the month of) Ġumâdâ al-Awal (in the) year five hundred and twenty-nine of the Lunar (Year) <sup>(4)</sup> until the end (of the month of) Rabî'a al-Akhar (in the) year five hundred and thirty-one <sup>(5)</sup>. And the speech of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) about him increased on account of his belief and they envied him on account of the love of the Calif (al-Khalîfat) for him, because his word surpassed them <sup>(6)</sup>. And in the days of his government the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) had an influential word and prestige and dignified treatment from the important dîwâns which the Calif (al-Khalîfat) and the wazîrs had in their hands. And of them were the superintendents and administrators in all the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), in the south of it and the north of it, and its hamlets. And when the word of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) weakened and their (the Christians') word became strong, need (arose) to act craftily to cut off this disease at its root, and they resolved (to have) a rest from them by taking away the government from Tâġ ad-Daûlah Bahrâm. And a body of the amîrs and the soldiers and a rabble of people became fanatic and they went to (the Province of) al-Gharbîah <sup>(7)</sup>, and they cried for help from Rudwân Ibn Walkhašî its wâlî; and they said to him: «The Calif

<sup>(1)</sup> *i.e.* the son's body.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

<sup>(4)</sup> = 1134-1135 A.D.

<sup>(5)</sup> = 1136-1137 A.D.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* 'over them'.

<sup>(7)</sup> E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

patriarch for the Armenians (Arman) in his country. Then he came to Egypt (Miṣr), and he (was) patriarch for them. He was renowned for religion and chastity and holiness and generosity and alms-giving and compassion. He was called Abba (Anbâ) Gregory (Ighrîghûrîus), and when he went to his rest, they appointed another in place of him as patriarch in the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), and they called him Ananias (Nâniyâs). Then, when al-Ḥâfîz was firmly established in his califate (Khilâfat), some of the amîrs and soldiers plotted to ask for his son, the amîr Ḥasan, and to kill him. And this was decided upon with the great of the army and the chiefs of the State. And he (al-Ḥâfîz) promised them largesses and fiefs. And all the amîrs and the soldiers assembled at the Castle and they shot arrows at it. And they brought much wood, and all of them said with one cry : « We seek the amîr Ḥasan. Deliver him up to us, otherwise we shall burn the Castle and every one in it ». And his father al-Ḥâfîz sought him among the inhabitants of the Castle, and he said to them : « If he delay one hour and does not show himself, they will burn us and will burn all our castles, and they are our soldiers and our helpers against those who are enemies to us, and, indeed, they have risen against us. Where have we others than they to help us against them ? ». Then the inhabitants of the Castle sought for him, the ones and the others, until they found him and brought him before <sup>(1)</sup> his father al-Ḥâfîz. And when he saw him, he wept, and he said to him : « O my son, I have been vanquished as regards thee and as regards myself <sup>(2)</sup>. Tell me a way for thy safety. If I deliver thee up to them, they will chastise thee and contemn thee. Then, after they have done this to thee, they will slay thee. And as I see (it will be) for the good of my state and thy state that thou suck this ring, and thou wilt die in God's cause, without chastisement by them ». Then he threw to him a poisoned ring (such as) kings are accustomed to have with them for overpowering circumstances for them, similar to this, (and) see death better for them than life in the hand of their enemies and to be under their tyranny. And he took the ring and sucked it and died. And he (Al-Ḥâfîz) took him

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ' between the hands of '.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ' my spirit '.

to him from their female slaves and the merchants aided him with their money, so that there was borne to him a thousand dīnārs, and God delivered him from his hands. And when God saw his (Ḥasan's) oppression and his evil and his killing of the people and his taking by force of the property of the people without (any) right, He raised up against him a body of the soldiers of the State. And they went to (the (Province of) al-Gharbīah <sup>(1)</sup> to its wālī, and he was a Christian (Naṣrānī) man, an Armenian (Armanī), called Bahrām <sup>(2)</sup>, and he was designated as Tāğ ad-Daūlah <sup>(3)</sup>, and he was a chief of the Armenians (Arman), for he was of the race of its kings. Then he came to the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) with the amīr al-Ġuyūš Badr al-Ġamālī, on his coming from Acre (ʿAkkā) in the days of al-Mustanṣir bi'llah <sup>(4)</sup>. And he continued in the service of the State, and they advanced him and they made him wālī of provinces (wilāyāt); and he kept his religion, and he was exalted and respected by them, and they had a good opinion of him and love for him, and they made him wālī of (the Province of) al-Gharbīah <sup>(5)</sup>. And the soldiers went to him, and they cried to him for help, and they wished for him and besought him that he should be a wazīr and ruler over them. Then he entered with them into Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah), and they took him and made him a king without his choice. Then the amīr Ḥasan fled and he hid himself, and his father <sup>(6)</sup> returned to his former state <sup>(7)</sup>. And he <sup>(6)</sup> made this amīr wazīr, and he was a Christian (Naṣrānī). And al-Ḥāfiẓ reigned as calif <sup>(8)</sup> on the day of his return to the califate (al-Khilāfat) in the months <sup>(9)</sup> of the year five hundred and twenty-nine of the Lunar (Year) <sup>(10)</sup>. And the brother of Tāğ ad-Daūlah Bahrām, the wazīr, was a saintly man not interested in the world, and had been consecrated

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* Crown of the State.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* al-Ḥāfiẓ.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* 'to what was upon him'.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Lit.* 'sat'.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>(10)</sup> = 1134-1135 A.D.

they poisoned him with water prepared for him in the pitcher of the latrine<sup>(1)</sup>. And when he used it, it lacerated his lower parts and his entrails fell out; and he died. And (one) of his sons, a man called the amîr Ḥasan<sup>(2)</sup> arose, (and) he laid claim to the califate (Khilâfat), and some people whom he named Chain-mailed Youths accepted him (as Calif). They were a mixture of soldiers and of all sects, and he was strengthened by them and they helped him. And he accorded favours to them and advanced them, and he distributed to them the land, and appointed them governors of provinces (wilâyât), and made them amîrs of his State and of his troops. Then his authority became strong, and he seized a great number of the amîrs of his father's State, and he used to have them brought before him<sup>(3)</sup> by night, and he beheaded<sup>(4)</sup> them, and he gave their houses and properties to the Chain-mailed Youths, \* and he destroyed a multitude of people by the sword from among all the people, amîrs and others beside them. And every day a number were (found) in the morning slain in the Baîn al-Ḳaşrain<sup>(5)</sup>, bodies without heads, so that they might not be recognized. And when he had become firmly established and strong he deposed al-Ḥâfiz, his father, from the califate (Khilâfat) and seized him and put fetters on him and imprisoned him. There occurred in his days a great battle between the Sudanis (Sûdân)<sup>(6)</sup> and the soldiers at a place called Kûm ad-Darb to the south of Cairo (Mişr) in the region of Afîḥ<sup>(7)</sup>, and many people of the Sudanis (Sûdân)<sup>(6)</sup> were slain. And the Amîr Ḥasan seized the father, the patriarch, Abba (Anbâ) Gabriel (Ghabryâl), and he confiscated his (possessions)<sup>(8)</sup>, and he imprisoned him in the Treasury of the Flags<sup>(9)</sup>, until the scribes paid

\* fol. 194 r°

<sup>(1)</sup> This still commonly replaces toilet paper in Egypt.

<sup>(2)</sup> Ḥasan was poisoned at al-Ḥâfiz's, orders, cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* 'between his hands'.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* 'he struck their necks'.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 109 and 160 and D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.* p. 157.

<sup>(6)</sup> For the Sudanis or black troops, cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Lit.* 'him'.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 148 and P. RAVASSE 'Essai sur l'Histoire et sur la Topographie du Caire d'après Maḳrîzî', pp. 68-69 in *Miss. arch. fr. Mém.*, t. III, 1890.

the body of the father Abba (Anbâ) Macarius (Maḳârah), the patriarch who was before him — and he was buried in the Church al-Mu ‘allaḳah <sup>(1)</sup> in Cairo (Miṣr) — after he had said again <sup>(2)</sup> over him the prayers, and he shrouded him in a silk covering, and he had him borne to the Monastery of Saint Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr) <sup>(3)</sup> in the second year of his reign <sup>(4)</sup>. And he placed him <sup>(5)</sup> in a skin envelope above his shroud, and he ordered that the skin envelope should be taken, after his <sup>(5)</sup> arrival at the Monastery, and to bury him <sup>(5)</sup> with the bodies of the patriarchs, placing in it <sup>(6)</sup> the body of Saint Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr) the Great, and (he ordered) to take what was upon him <sup>(7)</sup>, and to shroud in it the patriarch Abba (Anbâ) Macarius (Maḳârah); and that this rule should be continued for others beside him, to be enveloped in it <sup>(6)</sup>. And in the days of this patriarch <sup>(8)</sup>, after the assassination of Aḥmad, the son of al-Afḍal <sup>(9)</sup>, who was called Katîfât, al-Imâm al-Ḥâfîz occupied the califate (Khilâfat) <sup>(10)</sup> and his wazîr was Yânis <sup>(11)</sup>. When he (Yânis) became ‘king’, he had killed the young guard <sup>(12)</sup> who had been soldiers of the Imâm al-Âmir for he was wrathful <sup>(13)</sup> with them, because they had killed him who was before him <sup>(14)</sup>. And he did not remain as ‘king’ <sup>(15)</sup> beyond one year <sup>(16)</sup>. And

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-31.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ‘renewed’.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. p. 2, n. 4.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* ‘his advancement’.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* Abba Macarius the patriarch.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* the skin envelope.

<sup>(7)</sup> *i.e.* the shroud.

<sup>(8)</sup> *i.e.* Gabriel Ibn Turaik.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Lit.* ‘sat in the Khilâfat’.

<sup>(11)</sup> According to S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 168, Yânis, an Armenian slave of al-Afḍal became al-Ḥâfîz’s wazîr for a year, after which he was removed by poison.

<sup>(12)</sup> *Lit.* ‘special youths’ cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 167, ‘the Calif’s personal corps or «young guard»’.

<sup>(13)</sup> *Lit.* ‘his soul stood up’.

<sup>(14)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

<sup>(15)</sup> *Lit.* ‘he did not remain in power’.

<sup>(16)</sup> At the time in question, the wazîrs were the real rulers of the country, and one actually assumed the title ‘king’ (malik).

because it (had been) added, and they mentioned that it was not their custom to say it. He excused himself (saying) that he had said it on the day of his consecration <sup>(1)</sup>, as the bishops who consecrated him, had taught him, and it was not permitted to him to abandon it nor to depart from it, since it was a correct expression. There occurred on account of this troubles and discussions. At the end of them it was decided <sup>(2)</sup> to add the other words which they had agreed to join to it, and they are: 'It became one with His divinity without <sup>(3)</sup> confusion and without mingling' <sup>(4)</sup>, and he agreed with them on this, and he said it and he has used it until now. The majority of the people agreed on saying it, except the people of the inhabitants of Upper Egypt (aṣ-Ṣa'īd), for they continued in their custom which was known (to them), and he did not thwart them in this and he did not constrain them to it.

At the beginning of his reign <sup>(5)</sup> Abba (Anbā) John (Yū'annis), bishop of Cairo (Miṣr), died in (the month of) Rabī'ā al-Akhar of the Lunar (Year) five hundred and twenty-eight <sup>(6)</sup>, and he (the patriarch) prayed over him with a company of priests, and he buried him at al-Ḥibṣ <sup>(7)</sup>, and he did not consecrate any one after him for Cairo (Miṣr) during his patriarchate. And he forbade the burial of the dead in churches; and when (news) reached him that some people had transgressed and were disobedient to his order concerning this, and that they had buried the hegoumenos Bessus (Bisūs) in the church of the Ḥārat ar-Rūm <sup>(8)</sup> in Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah), he executed (his order) and he closed the church, and it remained closed for a time. Then, he ordered its opening after a time, at the request of the archons (ἀρχων). And he translated <sup>(9)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. p. 40.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'its end was decided'.

<sup>(3)</sup> *MS.* P adds 'without separation'.

<sup>(4)</sup> The present editions of the Euchologion have 'without mingling and without confusion and without alteration'.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* 'consecration'.

<sup>(6)</sup> = 1133-1134 A.D.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.* p. 131.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 75-80.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Lit.* 'carried'.

hood <sup>(1)</sup>, and when he grew up, he was ordained deacon. And God has mysteries regarding His creatures (which) are not known, except to Himself and to him to whom He reveals them from among His Saints and lovers of His Name. Indeed, the Apostle said : «No one taketh the honour by himself, \* fol. 193 v° \*except that it be given from heaven from God» <sup>(2)</sup>; for God said to Jeremiah (Īrmiyâ) the prophet : «I made thee a prophet, (whilst) thou (wast) in the womb of thy mother ; I chose thee for prophecy» <sup>(3)</sup>. And He said to Ezekiel (Ḥazkyâl) the prophet : «I made thee <sup>(4)</sup> as a watchman for this people» <sup>(5)</sup>. And He said to Moses (Mûsâ) : «I made thee a god of Pharaoh» <sup>(6)</sup>; and He said to David (Dâûûd) the prophet : «I anoint him king, and I raise him over all the kings of the earth» <sup>(7)</sup>. Similar to these sayings (there are) many in the sacred law (šarî'at). And when this patriarch returned to al-Ġazah <sup>(8)</sup> after his coming from Alexandria, he went up to the Monastery of Saint Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḡâr) <sup>(9)</sup> for his consecration there, as had been the custom for those of the patriarchs before him. A conversation took place regarding the meaning of the ' Confession ' which is said over the Oblation (al-Ḳurbân) before communicating from it, and it is : « I believe and I confess that this is the Body of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ Which He took from the God-bearer, my Lady Mary (Mart Maryam) the Virgin, and It became one with His Divinity» <sup>(10)</sup>. Some of the monks at the mentioned Monastery refused to accept the wording of this expression which is ' It became one with His divinity ',

<sup>(1)</sup> The phelonion (burnus) of the patriarch and bishops has a hood attached to it, cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, p. 30 and plate I.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. *Hebr.* v, 4.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. *Jer.* i, 5.

<sup>(4)</sup> The Paris MS. adds ' O son of Adam '.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. *Ezek.* iii, 17.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. *Ex.* vii, 1.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. *Ps.* lxxxviii, 20\*, 28\*.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. p. 2, n. 4.

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. 'ABD AL-MASÎḤ ṢALÎB, *Pijôm ente Pieukhologion ethouab*, Cairo, 1903, pp. 406-407; F.E. BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896, p. 185; JOHN, MARQUESS of Bute, *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day*, London, 1882, p. 108.

See had remained vacant for many years after the decease of Abba (Anbâ) Macarius (Maḡârah). A trustworthy person stated that the assembly of the archons (ἀρχων) which came together to seek a patriarch, went to the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḡâr)<sup>(1)</sup>. And the sons<sup>(2)</sup> of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḡâr) received them, and they went with them to Abba (Abû) Joseph (Yûsif), the Syrian (as-Suryânî) Saint, in the Monastery of the Syrians (as-Suryân)<sup>(3)</sup>, so that they might consult him and receive his blessing. And the grace of God had descended upon him, and the Holy Spirit was dwelling in him, and he was informed of that which was hidden. And when they had conversed with him concerning the affair of the Patriarchate and him who was fit for it, since some of them were striving after it. Then Abba (Abâ) Joseph (Yûsif) said to them : « Return to your homes : ye have, indeed, wearied yourselves in your coming hither since your patriarch (is) in Cairo (Miṣr) », and he indicated him and named him to them. And he said to them : « He is so and so Ibn Turaîk ». Then they returned and did, as he had said to them. And likewise it is said concerning the patriarch Abba (Anbâ) Macarius (Maḡârah) who was before him, that this Abba (Abâ) Joseph (Yûsif) had said concerning him the same as this. And likewise, the anachorite at Abyâr<sup>(4)</sup> had informed about this, and had mentioned him who had been the<sup>(5)</sup> companion of his childhood and him who had associated with him from among his contemporaries. He used to make a place in the house of his father as a church, and he used to read in it, as if he were celebrating the Divine Liturgy, and then he blessed the people of his father's house. And he used to play, when he was a child, and he used to say to them : « I am your patriarch ». And he used to put on a silk garment<sup>(6)</sup>, (and) it was for him like a

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. p. 2, n. 2.

<sup>(2)</sup> *i.e.* the monks.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. H.G. EVELYN WHITE, *op. cit.*, part III, pp. 169-224 and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Monasteries of the Wâdî 'n-Naṭrân*, pp. 13-21.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. p. 28, n. 1.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* ' his '.

<sup>(6)</sup> For the various meanings of مِسْر, cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires*, vol. I, p. 20, ' shawl ', cloak, etc.



and to the sick, a visitor of widows and orphans and those in prison and in affliction. (He was) assiduous in the reading of the Scriptures and the explanation of their meaning, and in searching them; a good copyist of Coptic and Arabic, copying for himself many books and volumes which he had bought of the Old and the New Testaments, of what was suitable for the Holy Church and the Christian (al-Masīḥī) religion. He served in the Dīwān of Correspondence (Al-Mukātabāt) for a time, and in the Treasury (Baīt al-Māl) for a time. And they took him from his clerical work (at) the Treasury (Baīt al-Māl), when an agreement had been reached concerning him. And they consecrated him patriarch, and his age at that time was forty-seven years. And there assisted at his consecration together with the archons (ἄρχων) the Šāikh Abū'l-Barakāt Ibn Abū'l-Laīth al-Malkī<sup>(1)</sup>, master of the Dīwān of Investigation (At-Taḥkīk), and of those who were present of the Alexandrians at Cairo (Miṣr), for it was the turn for them<sup>(2)</sup>. And he<sup>(3)</sup> went up with him<sup>(4)</sup> to the Church al-Mu'allaḡah<sup>(5)</sup> on Tuesday the ninth of (the month of) Amšīr (in) the year eight hundred and forty-seven of the Martyrs<sup>(6)</sup>, and they anointed him<sup>(7)</sup>, and they went with him in a processional barge (ūsārī) to Alexandria, and they consecrated him patriarch. And this was in the days of Aḡmad Ibn al-Afḡal, son of the Amīr al-Ġuyūš, and he was called Šāhanšah. And the compiler of this biography, and he is the father Mark (Marḡus) Ibn Zara'ah, mentioned that his consecration was not known to any of the bishops, nor the monks, and (that there had been) no consultation about his affair, since the Patriarchal

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>(2)</sup> *i.e.* the turn of the Alexandrians to elect the patriarch.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* Abū'l-Barakāt.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* Gabriel.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. A.J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 206-235, and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-31.

<sup>(6)</sup> = February 3rd, 1131 A.D.

<sup>(7)</sup> As there is no anointing in any of the rites of Ordination of the Coptic Church, this unction was probably made with the oil which is blessed at the reading of the Apocalypse on Holy Saturday. This oil is reserved for simple unctions. Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, Cairo, 1967, p. 293, also p. 153 where this oil is used for anointing persons bitten by a mad dog.

was shewn in Cairo (al-Kāhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr) \* riding on a camel \* fol. 192 v° and beneath him a bench (dikkat), and on his head a decorated lead fool's cap, and on his shoulder an ape, and in his hand a mirror showing him his face, and behind his back men of the common people, and in their<sup>(1)</sup> hands shoes, and they<sup>(2)</sup> were belabouring (him) with them all the way until he reached the Prosperous Castle<sup>(3)</sup>, and he was imprisoned with his companion Muḥammad Ibn Fâtik.

[Note]. I ask of God, —may His might be magnified and His remembrance be exalted! —that He may grant to thee, O father, the monk, son of the esteemed John (Yûḥannâ), the deacon and the singer (ψάλτης), grace and security and sufficiency through the intercession of the Mistress, the Pure Virgin, my Lady Mary (Mart Maryam), the Bearer of Salvation, and of all the Martyrs and the Saints.

\* THE FATHER GABRIEL (GHABRYÂL) IBN TURAÏK THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE SEVENTIETH OF THE NUMBER OF THE FATHERS. \* fol. 193 r°

This venerable father Gabriel (Ghabryâl) Ibn Turaïk was of the inhabitants of Cairo (Miṣr), of distinguished race, (and) from among the notables of the scribes. He sat on the patriarchal throne fourteen years and six months, and he went to his rest on the tenth of (the month of) Baramûdah (in the) year eight hundred and sixty-two of the Martyrs<sup>(4)</sup> which corresponds to the eleventh of (the month of) Şawwâl (in the) year five hundred and thirty-nine of the Lunar (Year). His name was, while he (was) a layman, Abû'l-'Ulâ, a deacon in the Church of Saint Abba (Abû) Mercurius (Marḳûrah)<sup>(5)</sup> at Cairo (Miṣr). He was a man of middle age, wise, good, learned, experienced, of excellent manner of life, of much alms-giving and piety, known for his love of the Prayers<sup>(6)</sup> and the Liturgies<sup>(7)</sup>, and for his ministration to the churches, to strangers

(1) The MS. has 'his', *sic*.

(2) The MS. has 'he', *sic*.

(3) Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

(4) = April 5th, 1146 A.D.

(5) Cf. A.J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 75-154 and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-49.

(6) *i.e.* the Canonical Hours.

(7) *i.e.* the Anaphorae of the Divine Eucharist.

wrote for him for this reason an important decree (siğil), and he mentioned in it his titles and his designations, (one) among all (being) the Noble Master al-Mâ'mûn, until he determined to kill him <sup>(1)</sup>, when he should be alone with him <sup>(1)</sup> in his Castle. This was clear to him <sup>(1)</sup> from indications of which he knew the correctness and the truth. He (the Calif) forestalled him, and he hastened to seize him and his brothers and his sons and his father, on the evening of Friday, the third (of the month) of Ramađân in the year five hundred and nineteen <sup>(2)</sup>, and he imprisoned them in a closet in the Prosperous Castle <sup>(3)</sup>, bound with iron and fetters. After a time Hîdûh died, and there remained Muḥammad Ibn Fâtik who was designated al-Mâ'mûn. The Calif (al-Khalifat) was informed that the aforesaid Muḥammad Ibn Fâtik had sent, in the days of his ministry, to the land of the Yemen (Al-Yaman) a man of his own known as Abû'l-Ḥasan Nağîb ad-Daûlah, as his messenger to al-Ḥurrah, the queen of the Yemen (Al-Yaman), openly, but in secret he arranged with him that he should noise it abroad that he <sup>(4)</sup> was the son of Ibn Nizâr, son of our Sire Al-Muntaşir bi'llah, and that he (was) more worthy of the califate dwelling in it <sup>(5)</sup>, and he (was) now, and that he should make propaganda for him there, and should strike for him coins there with his name <sup>(6)</sup>. The Imâm Al-Âmir bi Aḥkâmi'llah <sup>(7)</sup> sent to her <sup>(8)</sup> one of the amirs who bore the designation Asad ad-Daûlah and with him letters to al-Ḥurrah. When she learned of their contents, and she understood the matter of the case of Abû'l-Ḥasan the aforesaid, she continued according to her policy to act with cunning, until she seized him and sent him to Egypt (Mişr). And when he arrived on Tuesday, the tenth of (the month of) Muḥarram (in the) year five hundred and eleven <sup>(9)</sup>, he

<sup>(1)</sup> *i.e.* the Calif.

<sup>(2)</sup> = 1125-1126 A.D.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* Muḥammad Ibn Fâtik.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* he was living in Egypt.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 162, note 1.

<sup>(7)</sup> The Paris MS. has Al-Ḥâkim bi Amr Allah.

<sup>(8)</sup> *i.e.* the queen of the Yemen (Al-Yaman).

<sup>(9)</sup> = 1117-1118 A.D. In the Alexandria and Paris MSS. there is 'five hundred and twenty one'.

after dawn, and all the people walked about it barefooted. Our Sire al-Âmir — may God perpetuate \* his kingdom — went forth riding \* fol. 192 r° behind him with bleached garments and a Ḥamdânî turban on his beast, until he reached the tomb of his father outside Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) beyond the Bâb an-Naṣr<sup>(1)</sup>. And prayers were said over him, and he was buried in it<sup>(2)</sup>. Our Sire returned to the House of the King in Cairo (Miṣr), and he stayed in it for seventeen days<sup>(3)</sup>, until he had carried (off) all what was in it in the way of money, jewels, gold, silver, garments, carpets, furniture and utensils to the Castle. And it is said that the money which was found in coin in bags (was) four thousand thousand dînârs<sup>(4)</sup> besides that which was mentioned before, with weapons and beasts the value of which is not known. Our Sire — peace (be) upon him ! — used to sit every day in the Gold Room<sup>(5)</sup> in the Prosperous Castle<sup>(5)</sup> to supervise the affairs of the kingdom and the men of the State. And the noble general Abû ‘Abd Allah<sup>(6)</sup> and his brothers (were) before him<sup>(7)</sup> to execute affairs and to ride with him every Saturday and Tuesday to the gardens and the belvederes in the suburbs of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and the outskirts of Cairo (Miṣr). And he continued with this for the remaining months of the year five hundred and fifteen of the Lunar (Year)<sup>(8)</sup>. When it was the year five hundred and sixteen<sup>(9)</sup>, our Sire — may God perpetuate his kingdom ! — bestowed a robe of honour on the noble general ‘Abd Allah, and he invested him with the ministry (wizârat) and the direction of his kingdom and the supervision over the affairs of the government officials, and he

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 152 and D. RUSSELL, *Medieval Cairo and the Monasteries of the Wâdi Naṣrân*, London, 1962, pp. 171-172.

<sup>(2)</sup> *i.e.* the tomb of Al-Afdal's father.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 165, says 'forty days'.

<sup>(4)</sup> S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 165 gives fuller details.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. P. CASANOVA, 'Maḳrîzî: Description Historique et Topographique de l'Égypte, in *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, t. IV, p. 101.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 162.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* 'between his hands'.

<sup>(8)</sup> = 1122 A.D.

<sup>(9)</sup> = 1122-1123 A.D.

called the House of the King (Dâr al-Malik) <sup>(1)</sup>, and he went up to Cairo (al-Kâhirah) the protected, and he entered into the noble Castle <sup>(2)</sup>, and he sat before <sup>(3)</sup> our Sire Al-Âmir bi Aḥkâmi'llah. The umbrellas and the beasts and the saddles and other things beside were displayed to him, and he chose from them what should be (used) for the ceremony of the cavalcade on the morrow of that day, according as was the custom on similar (occasions), and he went forth from the Castle and he returned to Cairo (Miṣr). And when he had passed through the market of As-Suyûfiyin <sup>(4)</sup> and the Râs al-Ġisr <sup>(5)</sup>, three unknown men came out against him, and it is said that they were from the land of the East. Two of them confronted him, and in their hands (were) two knives. When the pages saw them, they hastened towards them with swords, and they killed them. But while the pages were occupied in killing them the third (one) came out from the lane of the Dâr al-Kitâbah, and he struck him with a knife and killed him. The pages hastened towards him, and they cut him down with their swords. They bare the noble lord al-Afdal to the House of the King <sup>(1)</sup>, and they thought that he was alive. But when he was in the house, they found that he was already dead <sup>(6)</sup>. When news of him reached our Sire Al-Âmir bi Aḥkâmi'llah, he went down immediately to the House of the King <sup>(1)</sup>, and he took care of all what (was) in it in the way of money. And he ordered his death to be concealed that night from the people, and in the morning he revealed his case to the public. And on the morning of Tuesday, he caused to be brought out his coffin <sup>(7)</sup>

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. P. CASANOVA, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

<sup>(2)</sup> This is the Great East Palace, cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* 'between the hands'.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. P. CASANOVA, 'Maḥrîzî: Description Historique et Topographique de l'Égypte' in *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, t. IV, pp. 74, 75.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* the Head of the Bridge of Boats, cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 141. Maḥrîzî quoting Sa'îd al-Kâṣṣ mentions the Râs al-Ġisr, cf. P. CASANOVA, 'Maḥrîzî: Description Historique et Topographique de l'Égypte' in *Mém. Inst. Franç. Arch. Orient.*, t. III, p. 241.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

<sup>(7)</sup> *i.e.* tábût.

Letter, in all, seventeen dinârs a year. And in Abîb of the year eight hundred and thirty-four of the Martyrs <sup>(1)</sup>, and it (was) the fifteenth year of the patriarchate of the saintly father Abba (Anbâ) Macarius (Maḳârah) the Patriarch, Baldwin (Bardwîl), the leader of the Franks (al-Faranġ) arrived with a great army at al-Faramâ <sup>(2)</sup>, and he pillaged it and he burned it, and he determined upon a sudden attack against Cairo (Miṣr). Then he fell sick, and on the third day his sickness became serious, and he commanded his companions to carry him and to return to Syria (Aš-Šâm). Then they carried him and returned, and when they reached al-ʿArîš <sup>(3)</sup>, he died there. Then they cut open his belly and they salted him <sup>(4)</sup>, as he had commanded them. And they returned with him to Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds). And it happened, when news of their arrival at al-Faramâ <sup>(4)</sup> reached the noble lord al-Afḍal <sup>(5)</sup>, he raised a great army (to oppose) them. When Baldwin (Bardwîl), their leader, died, and they returned, the army pursued them to Syria (aš-Šâm), and returned, and God protected us against their deeds. We asked Him, whose Name (is) great, to perpetuate His mercy and His grace; and to inspire us to give thanks to Him and to cause us not to forget the remembrance of Him through His goodness and glory. And when it was the Sunday of the half of (the month of) Kîhak <sup>(6)</sup> (in the) year five hundred and eleven of the Tax Year (al-Khirâġiah), and it (was) the year eight hundred and thirty-eight of the Martyrs <sup>(7)</sup>, and it (was) the end of the month of Ramaḍân of the year five hundred and fifteen of the Lunar (Year), on the morrow of which would be the fitr <sup>(8)</sup>, the noble lord Al-Afḍal rode from his house in Cairo (Miṣr) which is

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<sup>(1)</sup> = September-October, 1118 A.D.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 165. A very similar account is given by B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. J. MASPERO et G. WIET, 'Matériaux pour servir à la Géographie de l'Égypte', 2<sup>e</sup> fasc. in *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, t. 36, p. 125.

<sup>(4)</sup> B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, p. ۷۳ has فصبوه 'they embalmed him'.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

<sup>(6)</sup> = December 12th-26th.

<sup>(7)</sup> = 1122 A.D.

<sup>(8)</sup> *i.e.* the day following the end of the fast of Ramaḍân.

(Mikhâyîl), bishop of Atfiḥ<sup>(1)</sup>, and Abba (Anbâ) John (Yûḥannâ), bishop of al-Khandak<sup>(2)</sup>, and it is the See of Baṣṭah<sup>(3)</sup>. And it was a great day, and similar to it was that of the Sunday after it in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) in the Church of the Mistress in the Ḥârat Zuwaïlah<sup>(4)</sup>, and he<sup>(5)</sup> was consecrated in it, after they had conducted him with readings and candles and gospels and censers from the Gate Khaûkhat<sup>(6)</sup> Maïmûn Dabbah which (is) at the Khalîḡ<sup>(7)</sup> to this Church, and with him (was) the substitute of the Mutawallî of Relief at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and his men. And the Šâikh Abû'l-Faḍl, the aforesaid, related to me, when he came to visit me, that he did not pay to the disciples of the Patriarch nor to his scribe a single dirham for the consecration nor for other than it. And they did not dare to demand from him any thing, for fear of the archons (ἄρχων). This was the case with Sanhût — may God give rest to his soul ! — at his consecration<sup>(8)</sup> as bishop, and thus (was it) with Abba (Anbâ) James (Ya'ḳûb) who was bishop before him. But when the aforesaid Patriarch made this father Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'annis) hegoumenos (ἡγούμενος), he declined to finish (making him) bishop, until he had received his<sup>(9)</sup> signature \* that he would convey half of the revenue of the See every year to the cell (κελλίον) of the Patriarchate for the diyâriat<sup>(10)</sup> which used to be taken from Abba (Anbâ) Sanhût the bishop — may God give rest to his soul ! — every year to the cell (κελλίον), (namely), fifteen dînârs, and (for) the scribes and the disciples two dînârs, if they should bear to him the Synodical (συνοδική)

\* fol. 191 v°

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-73.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* the bishop-elect.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* 'the Wicket Gate', cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, p. 129 and P. CASANOVA, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, p. 20. For an illustration of this Canal before it was filled in, cf. D. RUSSELL (Lady Russell Pasha), *Medieval Cairo and the Monasteries of the Wādî Natrûn*, London, 1962, Illustration 24.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Lit.* 'advancement'.

<sup>(9)</sup> Yû'annis'.

<sup>(10)</sup> Contribution collected from the monasteries.

him and he returned with him to his house which is between Nağīb<sup>(1)</sup> and Dâr al-Ghazl. And he (Yû'annis) stayed in it from the time that he had departed from the cell (*κελλίον*) of the Patriarch of the Armenians (al-Arman). And when it was the seventeenth day of the aforementioned (month of) Bâbah<sup>(2)</sup>, the priests and the archons (*ἄρχων*) and the people assembled at the house of the Šaikh Abû'l-Faḍl the aforesaid, and they sent to the Mutawallî of Relief in Cairo (Mişr), and they informed him that there had been appointed for them a new bishop in place of the deceased (one), and they wished to conduct him from where he was to the Church of Abba (Abû) Sergius (Sarğah) in the Kaşr aš-Şam<sup>c</sup><sup>(3)</sup>, according to what was the custom, and they were afraid of the common people, lest there might happen to them some insolence from them on the way, and there occur thereby what would make (their) heart uneasy. The wâlî sent to them his substitute and a company of his men, and the bishop<sup>(4)</sup> rode a high mule from among the beasts of some of the possessors of the dîwâns<sup>(5)</sup> at the third hour of the day<sup>(6)</sup>, and they conducted him with readings<sup>(7)</sup>, and before him<sup>(8)</sup> (were) candles, and gospels and censers of incense, from the aforesaid house to the aforementioned Church of Abba (Abû) Sergius (Sarğah)<sup>(9)</sup>. And he<sup>(10)</sup> celebrated the Divine Liturgy, and his deed of investiture (*taḳlîd*) was read in it<sup>(11)</sup> (by) Abba (Anbâ) Menas (Minâ), bishop of Malîğ<sup>(12)</sup>, and Abba (Anbâ) Michael

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<sup>(1)</sup> The *MS.* has Bağîb.

<sup>(2)</sup> = October 14th.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. A.J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 181-205, and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-33.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* the bishop-elect.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* government officials.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* at 9 a.m.

<sup>(7)</sup> *i.e.* lessons from the Holy Scriptures.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Lit.* 'between his hands'.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. A.J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 181-205, and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-33.

<sup>(10)</sup> *i.e.* the bishop-elect.

<sup>(11)</sup> The Paris *MS.* adds 'and he was consecrated in it'.

<sup>(12)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 243.



to get him, and I will not delay with his consecration <sup>(1)</sup> for them, according to what they solicited and desired. Up till then, let them not cease from their correspondence which relates to the mention of their affairs and their news. The peace of the Lord — praised be He ! — be with them and descend upon them and (abide) with them. It is written on the twenty-fourth of the month of Misrâ (in the) year eight hundred and thirty-four of the Pure Martyrs <sup>(2)</sup>, and thanks (be) to God for ever and ever». And when the letter from the father Macarius (Maḳârah) the patriarch arrived, and we were informed of it, we assembled, and we went to the \* fol. 191 r° Patriarch of the Armenians (al-Arman), and he was at that time in \* the Church of the Mistress at the demesne of Az-Zuhrî <sup>(3)</sup> which is between Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr), and we read it to him. And he said. « The father, the patriarch, is right as to what his letter contains ». We asked him to help us to bring John (Yû'annis) the monk, ibn Sanhût, the aforesaid. And he wrote a letter to the father Macarius (Maḳârah), that he should send to him (one) of his disciples who would bring him (Yû'annis), and he sent to him two disciples, and they brought him (Yû'annis), and they caused him to descend at the house of the Šaikh Abû 'l-Faḍl which is between Nağîb and Dâr al-Ghazl in Cairo (Miṣr). And it was on the second day, (and) the Patriarch of the Armenians (al-Arman) convoked him (Yû'annis) to his cell (κελλιον), and he remained with him (the Patriarch) for some days. And this was at the suggestion of Abba (Anbâ) Macarius (Maḳârah) our Patriarch. He intended thereby that the Patriarch of the Armenians (al-Arman) should examine him (Yû'annis) and test his state, and his knowledge and his belief. And he found him (Yû'annis) according to what was necessary in all that he required of him. Then the Šaikh Abû 'l-Faḍl Sa'îd Ibn Abraham (Ibrâhîm) Ibn al-Muṣṭana' who was related to the sons of al-Iskâf by reason of their affinity, though he was not of them <sup>(4)</sup>, took

<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ' advancement '.

<sup>(2)</sup> = 17th August, 1118 A.D.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. B.T.A. EVERTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, pp. 7-8, 11, and the remark in the present volume p. 4.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* he was related to them by marriage.

in it of good and praiseworthy issue. He whose name God manifested to them, and the Presence <sup>(1)</sup> drew forth for them, and with whom all were satisfied, he is the right man; and my <sup>(2)</sup> heart is agreeable to him to whom their souls are agreeable, and by whom their affairs shall be arranged and the direction of their matters shall be perfected. Let them proceed by the Will of God — Whose Name is great — to get him with them and to make sure of him and to guard him, and then I shall come, if God accord (me) life, and we shall fulfil their request and reach to their goal. It is not hidden from them that the aforesaid offered himself for a rank other than a rank of the episcopate, in that he went to the most honoured presence, the holy, chaste, pure, father <sup>(3)</sup>, the Patriarch <sup>(4)</sup> of the Armenians (al-Arman) — may God perpetrate his <sup>(5)</sup> holiness, and he came to him <sup>(6)</sup>, and importuned him <sup>(6)</sup>, until he <sup>(7)</sup> obliged me to write for him <sup>(8)</sup> a document from the cell (κελλίον) that I shall not appoint him in any of the ranks of the priesthood, with a testimonial to me of that Saint, the Patriarch of the Armenians (al-Arman), together with what he wrote about him. This was in the year in which the messenger was sent to the land of the Abyssinians (al-Ḥabašah). Inquire ye, then (about) this matter from him <sup>(9)</sup>, and ask him to help in summoning the aforesaid person to you, and in getting him with you to learn that I am innocent. The matter is in your hands <sup>(10)</sup>, and he has to be asked <sup>(11)</sup> what he wishes <sup>(12)</sup>, that he may not regard me as having said to him a word and broken it. To sum up, endeavour

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<sup>(1)</sup> *i.e.* the Real Presence in the Divine Liturgy which was celebrated over the names for three days.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ the ’.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ fatherhood ’.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ patriarchate ’.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ it ’.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ it ’.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ it ’, *i.e.* the Armenian Patriarch.

<sup>(8)</sup> *i.e.* the candidate.

<sup>(9)</sup> *i.e.* the Armenian Patriarch.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ is from you ’.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ the question about it (is) for him ’.

<sup>(12)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ and the will (is) to him ’.

manna which are mentioned in the Book of the Psalms<sup>(1)</sup>. When I became acquainted with the sources of their kindness and the abode of their honour, I found them confined to their praising of my poorness, of which I am not worthy or to which I am not related, nor competent for it, because I know myself, and that I am not worthy of what you made me worthy of being thanked — the sincerity \* of their love and the purity of their belief and the skill of their understanding and the depth of their knowledge and their proficiency and good manners, as it was said concerning Moses (Mûsâ) the prophet in the Pentateuch (Taûrâh) «And Moses (Mûsâ) was learned in the wisdom of the Egyptians (al-Miṣriyîn)»<sup>(2)</sup>, in whom was boast and perfection, and the rest by which hopes are raised, and there is increase of age and periods. May God whose remembrance is exalted, establish through them the beacon of religion, and set up through their life a support of the Christian (al-Masîhiyîn) brethren, perpetuate existence, and hallow the souls of their forefathers, and grant to us all mercy and pity before His fearful Judgment-Seat and His terrible Presence. Amen. And as regards what they mentioned in the way of spiritual yearning, I have of it what surpasses the limit of description — and they exceed in every enlargement and exaggeration. I ask the Creator — praised be He ! — to bring near (my) return and to perfect the assembly for the completion of pleasant affairs and memorable facts. And (the matter) which they indicated is (one) about which it is pleasant (for me) to thank them and to praise them on account of their love for their spiritual fathers, and of their desire of him who will guide their affairs and repair the cracks of their church. They gave priority to God the Exalted at the beginning of their request, and they implored Him that He should manifest to them him who was worthy of what they implored and desired. What they did is well, for the Holy Scriptures say : «Let God be the beginning of thy affair»<sup>(3)</sup>. And He through His generosity shall make their endeavour succeed, and perform for us and for them what (is)

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Ps.* LXXVII, 24 and *Ps.* CXVIII, 103.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Acts* VII, 22.

<sup>(3)</sup> Unidentified.

deacon, as is the custom to summon such as he, and to consecrate <sup>(1)</sup> him bishop for them, in order that he may undertake the repairing of the churches, and may direct the affairs of the people; and that it <sup>(2)</sup> may be agreeable to execute them <sup>(3)</sup>, according to its excellent (and) generous custom, (and) that it <sup>(4)</sup> may remember them in its <sup>(5)</sup> holy prayers and its <sup>(5)</sup> requests which are heard, and that (it may give them) its <sup>(5)</sup> prosperous opinions, if God the Exalted wills». The answer arrived, of which (this) is a copy. «There arrived the letter of the chosen, beloved, and happy brethren, the good priests, and the honourable, beloved, prosperous, and virtuous elders (šiyûkh), victorious in every Christian (Masḥiyah) virtue, who are specialized with all spiritual greetings, the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) archons (ἄρχων) and the rest of the Christian (al-Masḥiyah) people — may God prolong their lives and perpetuate their graces, and exalt them and raise them up, and restrain their enemies, and bless them and their houses and their children and their livelihood with the blessings by which their affairs are exalted, and increase thereby their rank, and magnify thereby their positions, and multiply their fortunes, and confirm for them perpetual grace and enduring well-being. May He guard them with eyes which sleep not, and (under) His wing which does not oppress, and may He turn them away from all satanic (aš-šaitānīat) snares and evil traps, and may He hearken to the good requests for them from my wretchedness, through the intercession of her who possesses intercession, Mary (Maryam) the Virgin, and the prayers of the Evangelist, my lord Mark (Mārī Markus), the completer of the witnesses and the certifier of religion and belief, and of all the Saints and the Righteous together. It <sup>(6)</sup> contained their <sup>(7)</sup> sublime expressions and their sweet, spiritual words like the honey and the

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ‘to advance’.

<sup>(2)</sup> *i.e.* the Patriarch.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* the demands.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* the Patriarch.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* the Patriarch’s.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* the letter.

<sup>(7)</sup> *i.e.* the people’s.

soundness of their belief. Then they selected from this number four persons, and they (were) Mercurius (Marḳûrah) the hermit at Abyâr <sup>(1)</sup>, and Theodore (Tîdur) the priest at Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr) <sup>(2)</sup>, and John (Yû'annis) of Sanhûr <sup>(3)</sup>, and the deacon John (Yû'annis), son of Sanhût. Their names were put on four pieces of paper, \* and sealed and borne to the holy altar (haikal) at the aforementioned Church, and the Divine Liturgy was celebrated over them for three days, the last of which was Sunday, the fourteenth of Abîb <sup>(4)</sup>. And the priests assembled, and they surrounded the altar; and the people (were) standing at the door <sup>(5)</sup>, and clamours, supplications and entreaties these raised by all to the Master Christ (al-Masiḥ), asking that He may choose for governing His people and for directing His Church him whom He sees performing His precepts (and) observing among them <sup>(6)</sup> the manner of life of the pure, virtuous and righteous Saints whom He elected to pasture His flock and chose for being chiefs of His faithful. And the deacon, the boy, son of the elder (aš-šaiḫ) Abû 'l-Fakhr approached — may God perpetuate His support <sup>(7)</sup> — and he took in the presence of the congregation one of the aforementioned pieces of paper. And it was opened and there was found (on it) the name John (Yû'annis), son of Sanhût. Then they thanked God the Exalted for that to which He had directed them, and they took a good omen from that to which He had guided them, and they consented to him whom He willed and chose to preside over them. And its <sup>(8)</sup> disciples enclosed a report about all this in which were confirmed the signatures of their congregations. And its <sup>(8)</sup> disciples kiss the skhêma <sup>(8)</sup> and make an obeisance (μετάνοια) before it <sup>(9)</sup>, and they ask that it <sup>(9)</sup> shall summon the aforementioned

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. p. 2, n. 4.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* July 18th.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* of the Sanctuary.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* the people.

<sup>(7)</sup> *i.e.* of him.

<sup>(8)</sup> *i.e.* the Patriarch's.

<sup>(9)</sup> *i.e.* the Patriarch.

perfect kindness latent in them. They rejoiced about this with the rejoicing of those who hold fast to its<sup>(1)</sup> obedience, and draw nigh to God — praised be He ! — by doing according to its<sup>(1)</sup> good-will, (and) of those who are directed in all their affairs through the guidance of God by its<sup>(1)</sup> spiritual teaching and its<sup>(1)</sup> just and acceptable judgments. May God protect by its<sup>(1)</sup> holiness the organization of religion from being disordered, and guard by the blessing of its<sup>(1)</sup> invocations all the people from calamities, and preserve by its<sup>(1)</sup> prayers which are offered to Him — praised be He ! — without a partition wall, and its<sup>(1)</sup> accepted and heard invocations the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) word from being dispersed, and may He strengthen the Christian (al-Masīḥiyah) Churches by the distinction of agreement, and may He draw near its<sup>(1)</sup> return and the presence of its<sup>(1)</sup> people before it<sup>(2)</sup>, and may He bless them through its<sup>(3)</sup> holiness in the best conditions transmitted by tradition and elect judgments through its<sup>(3)</sup> holy prayers. And as regards what it decided — may God perpetuate its<sup>(3)</sup> highness — in the way of choosing him whom they approved, to consecrate for them<sup>(4)</sup> to supervise their affairs according to what the canons (κανόν) of the Church require. They accepted it<sup>(5)</sup> with hearing and obedience, after knowing the extent of the favour towards them through it<sup>(5)</sup>, and the benefits according to it<sup>(5)</sup>. And they assembled in the Church of the illustrious martyr Sergius (Sargīūs)<sup>(6)</sup>, after they had performed divination<sup>(7)</sup>, and had implored Him (God) with a mind free from passion, confident in their prayer for success in choosing him who was suitable in word and in deed, and (who) would observe among them the best manner of life and magnanimity. And they confirmed the names of twelve men concerning whom it was agreed<sup>(8)</sup> to be informed of their religion and to have knowledge of the

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<sup>(1)</sup> *i.e.* Patriarch's.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ' between its (the Patriarch's) hands '.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* the Patriarch's.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* the Cairenes.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* the decision.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-23.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* ' they had put the will of God before them '.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Lit.* ' the word was agreed '.

of paper one, in such a manner that all the people saw it, and lo, on it (was) the name John (Yû'annis), son of Sanhût. And all agreed to that, and they wrote a report about it, and the archons (ἄρχων) and the priests and the notables of the people wrote in it their signatures consenting to it. And I, the sinner, abstained from writing my signature in it, and I said : ' If the man come, and I see him, and I converse with him, and I learn that he is learned, sound in the Orthodox Faith, then I will write my signature consenting to it'. And when the signatures of the priests and the people of Cairo (al-Miṣriyîn) and of Cairo (al-Kâhiriyyin) were completed in the report <sup>(1)</sup>, I forwarded it to the father Abba (Anbâ) Macarius (Maḳarah), the patriarch, enclosing a letter on behalf of the assembly to him. A copy of it : « There arrived the letter of Your <sup>(2)</sup> lofty, most venerable, saintly, virtuous, presidential, esteemed Presence, the crown of the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Community, the light of the Christian, (al-Masîhiyah) Church, the beauty of the Children of Baptism <sup>(3)</sup>, the Master of the fathers, the Chief of chiefs, who follows in the traces of the Pure Fathers, the Apostles (al-Hawâriyûn), and the successor of my lord Mark (Mârî Marḳuṣ), one of the Righteous Apostles — may God prolong its <sup>(4)</sup> duration and guard its glory and its eminence. After expecting its <sup>(5)</sup> coming and awaiting its <sup>(5)</sup> arrival, his <sup>(6)</sup> subjects received it <sup>(7)</sup> with what it merits in the way of importance, and what its <sup>(8)</sup> state deserves in the way of honour. They multiplied thanks to God the Exalted for what it <sup>(9)</sup> revealed by it <sup>(10)</sup> in the way of its <sup>(11)</sup> safety which they esteem on account of the more important gifts of God towards them, and His more

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<sup>(1)</sup> مجّض, ' an act signed by witnesses'.

<sup>(2)</sup> *i.e.* the Patriarch's.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* the Christians.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* Patriarch's.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* the letter's.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* Patriarch's.

<sup>(7)</sup> *i.e.* the letter.

<sup>(8)</sup> *i.e.* the letter's.

<sup>(9)</sup> *i.e.* Patriarch.

<sup>(10)</sup> *i.e.* the letter.

<sup>(11)</sup> *i.e.* Patriarch's.

of Cairo (Miṣr), and the hermitages. \* And they mentioned twelve men, \* fol. 189 v° and these are their names : Kayîl<sup>(1)</sup>, the singer (Ψάλτης) at the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr)<sup>(2)</sup>; Menas (Mînâ), the priest of the Sanctuary (σκηνή)<sup>(3)</sup> of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr); Gabriel (Ghabryâl), the Alexandrian priest; Agapius (Ḥabîb), the priest, the scribe; James (Ya'ḳûb), the priest of the Monastery of Abba (Abû) John (Yihnis)<sup>(4)</sup>; Mercurius (Marḳûrah), the hermit at Abyâr<sup>(5)</sup>; Theodore (Tîdur), the priest of the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr)<sup>(6)</sup>; John (Yû'annis) of Sanhûr<sup>(7)</sup>, the disciple of Macarius (Maḳârah) the door-keeper (ἸΝΟΥΤ); John (Yû'annis), son of Sanhût; Apatêr (Badîr), the priest in the sanctuary (σκηνή); Joseph (Yusîb), the monk in the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr)<sup>(8)</sup>; Eulogus (Awlakah) the monk. Then they chose from this number four persons and they are : Mercurius (Marḳûrah) the hermit at Abyâr<sup>(9)</sup>; Theodore (Tîdur) the priest of the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr)<sup>(10)</sup>; John (Yû'annis) the monk, the disciple of Macarius (Maḳârah) the door-keeper (ἸΝΟΥΤ) and John (Yû'annis) the deacon, son of Sanhût<sup>(11)</sup>. And I wrote the names of those four on four pieces of paper in my handwriting, and I sealed them, and I placed them on the altar (haikal), and we celebrated the Divine Liturgy on it. And when the Divine Liturgy (al-Ḳuddâs) was finished, and the people had been communicated, a youth from among the deacons approached; he took from the pieces

<sup>(1)</sup> An Arabic form of the Coptic  $\chi\lambda\eta\lambda$ .

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. H.G. EVELYN WHITE, *op. cit.*, part III, pp. 31-139 and O. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 161-210.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. p. 7, n. 3.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. H.G. EVELYN WHITE, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 302 for the Monastery of St. John the Short, p. 305 if the reference is to the Monastery of St. John Kame.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. p. 2, n. 4.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, 415.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. p. 2, n. 4.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. p. 2, n. 4.

<sup>(11)</sup> John (Yû'annis) the deacon, son of Sanhût. The Paris *MS.* has : ' John (Yû'annis) Apatêr (Badîr) Sanhût the deacon?'



this case, lest they think that I delayed <sup>(1)</sup> this see for worldly advantage, (but) all with which I am preoccupied is not in that, (but) on account of the lack of him who is suitable, and the matter is in the hands of God <sup>(2)</sup>. May the peace of the Lord — praised be He! — be with them and descend upon them and (be) among them! It is written in the second decade of Baû'ûnah, year eight hundred and thirty-four of the Martyrs <sup>(3)</sup>, and thanks be to God for ever». This year is eight hundred and thirty-three <sup>(4)</sup> if we consider that the beginning of the year is Tût <sup>(5)</sup>, and it is the correct date upon which the Fathers based the Epact Computation (*ἐπακτός*), solar and lunar (years). And when this letter reached (us) and we read it, we found it is a letter from one who is blamed, and a letter of which the reply was not befitting to him. And we discovered the reason for it, and we knew that the father, the patriarch, did not wish to make a bishop for the see of Cairo (Miṣr), and that he had the idea to be ruler in it <sup>(6)</sup>, if he were present, and if he were absent to appoint a substitute for himself. We did not consent to this, and we were perturbed about it. And we said that as it is not permitted that a Christian (Naṣrânî) have two wives, likewise it is not permitted to a bishop that he have two sees. And this father Abba (Anbâ) Macarius (Maḳârah), the patriarch, (as) he is bishop of the City of Alexandria, how is it possible that he have the bishopric of Cairo (Miṣr)! We came to the opinion <sup>(7)</sup> to concern ourselves in haste with him whom we should select for bishop. The priests and the people assembled in the Church of the illustrious martyr Sergius (Sarġîûs) in Kaṣr Šam<sup>c</sup> <sup>(8)</sup>, and they called to mind those who were in the monasteries, from among the hieromonks and others who were suitable for the bishopric

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Scilicet* to consecrate a bishop for.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'to God (belongs) the matter before and after'.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* 5th-14th June, 1118 A.D.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* 1117 A.D.

<sup>(5)</sup> 29th August.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* the see.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* 'The opinion was established'.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. A.J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 181-205 and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-23.

for what God has granted to them <sup>(1)</sup> in particular, in the way of love for those who guide their affairs and consider their judgments. And in this shall be the chiefs and principal men with whom is the setting up of the light-house of religion, and the arrangement of the affairs of the weak and the poor, namely the Christian (al-Masīḥiyîn) elders (aš-šiyukh), the archons (ἀρχων) — may God perpetuate their high positions <sup>(2)</sup>! — and our care and the defence of us is incumbent upon them, in place of the former Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) kings, on account of their rank in the high councils and the flourishing dîwâns, and their connections with the sultans and the chiefs, in the way of what God has showered upon us all, as regards the mercies of the high, great Majesty <sup>(3)</sup> towards us — may God perpetuate its <sup>(4)</sup> days and grant victory to its <sup>(4)</sup> soldiers, and open for it <sup>(3)</sup> the east and the west of the land through the intercessions of the righteous of His creatures, (and) may He hearken to the petitions from us and from all the good for its Highness <sup>(3)</sup> which through the beauty of its <sup>(4)</sup> kindness and goodness may bring back things to their (normal) state and support its <sup>(4)</sup> royal order and the protected ones <sup>(5)</sup> and (grant us) abundant graces. We ask God to urge us to thank it <sup>(6)</sup>, and, in fine <sup>(7)</sup>, may their souls be happy and their breasts joyful. As for me, God knows that if angels of heaven came to me, I should not consecrate <sup>(8)</sup> one of them except him whom they <sup>(9)</sup> propose of themselves, and they make an obeisance (μετάνοια) to me for him, according to what the Canon (κανών) contained. The consecration <sup>(10)</sup> depends on them and the delay (depends) on them; I am innocent of the transgression which has taken place in

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<sup>(1)</sup> *i.e.* the people.

<sup>(2)</sup> *MS.* P has 'their sciences'.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* the ruler.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* the ruler's.

<sup>(5)</sup> ذى is the term used for a Christian or a Jew enjoying protective rights in a Muslim State.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* the ruler.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* 'the whole matter'.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Lit.* 'advance'.

<sup>(9)</sup> *i.e.* the people.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Lit.* 'the advancement'.

account of him. Condolence for him is mutual<sup>(1)</sup>. I am sure that God — His name is great! — has caused him to dwell with the righteous and the good \* in the life of delights, the mine of His mercy and the house of His honour. He (the bishop) heard the glad and joyful voice : « Enter into the joy of thy Master »<sup>(2)</sup>. And as regards what they mentioned about his (the bishop's) consecration<sup>(3)</sup> in place of him<sup>(4)</sup>, and the directing of us to the knowledge of the canon (*κανών*) concerning it, with regard to what they know of my infirmity and the shortcoming of my knowledge, there is nothing of evil in them about it, because recalling to mind sets in order the utility of knowledge. If there be weakness or shortcoming, this will not be from me, but from them, as regards the delay in his (the bishop's) consecration<sup>(5)</sup> in place of him<sup>(6)</sup> up to this time<sup>(7)</sup>, according to what the canon (*κανών*) about which they informed me, contained, and, as regards me, there has been no departure from it, and I do not know the reason for the delay in it. And it<sup>(8)</sup> says that the bishop shall be chosen by his people, and acceptance of him by all is required ; and he shall be known for the qualities which their letter contained. The Canon (*κανών*) does not say that he (the bishop) shall be chosen by outside people nor by a patriarch. And now it is for me to hear and obey them in what the Canon (*κανών*) ordered. Ye shall choose him with whom ye are satisfied, and in whom<sup>(9)</sup> ye have confidence<sup>(10)</sup> ; and (him who) shall be suitable to you I will consecrate for you. And I shall not depart from your opinion about him, because ye will have to endure him and his affairs. We are thankful

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ' one '.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Matt.* xxv, 21.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* ' advancement '.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* the late bishop.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* ' advancement '.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* the late bishop.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* ' this extreme limit '.

<sup>(8)</sup> *i.e.* the Canon 2 of Hippolytus, cf. R.G. COQUIN, *Les Canons d'Hippolyte*, (*Patrologia Orientalis*, t. XXI, fasc. 2, pp. [81]-[83]).

<sup>(9)</sup> *Lit.* ' him '.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Lit.* ' rest '.

and some of the people learned of the contents of this letter, and they found it sound, and they agreed <sup>(1)</sup> to accept it and to send it to the saintly father Abba (Abâ) Macarius (Maḳârah) the patriarch. And its <sup>(2)</sup> disciples — a number of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ), the Egyptian (al-Miṣriyîn) Jacobites (Yaḳûbiyah) — wrote his address, and they sent the letter to him by an appointed messenger, and the reply was returned, of which this (is) its copy.

«The letter of the beloved, chosen sons, and the venerable (and) prosperous brethren, the elders (šiyûkh), the pious archons (ἀρχων), and all the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) people has arrived — may God prolong their existence and perpetuate their honour <sup>(3)</sup> and their grace, and bless them and their homes and their children and all that belongs to them with fuller blessings and better joys, and protect them by His strong right hand, and save them from the snares of the enemy and the traps of evil (people), and may He accord the righteous supplications of my wretchedness for them, through the intercessions of the Saints and the righteous (ones)! Amen. It (the letter) was confined to one of two things, either a reprimand or a reproach, the end of which is praised by their preacher <sup>(4)</sup>, and there is no need for reiterating it nor to establish a proof for it in the way of consolation and other things; and the prolixity and the interference in that matter which came down from them in it; and, in short, (my) love towards them is shewn in (this) brief letter. And well, but as to what they explained (in the letter) about the translation of the saintly <sup>(5)</sup>, beloved, spiritual brother, the bishop Abba (Anbâ) Sanhût their bishop — may God hallow his soul and his exit from this perishable world, and his arrival to God — praised be He! — we grieved on account of him a great grieving and positive sorrow and abundant weeping and copious tears which exceeds what they mentioned in their letter of what they grieved on

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ their word was agreed ’.

<sup>(2)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarchate’s.

<sup>(3)</sup> *MS.* P omits ‘ their honour ’.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarch.

<sup>(5)</sup> ‘ saintly — beloved ’ written in the margin of the *MS.*

his way (of life) shall be approved of by his <sup>(1)</sup> disciples, and all of them shall praise his life and his conduct; who knows his religion and is praised for his faith, who is trusted for his wisdom and his practice and his experience, and from whom the inexperience and the impetuosity of youth is remote, and who is distinguished by length of years <sup>(2)</sup> and its experience. And he shall walk among them and among their wives, after the behaviour of him whose leadership surpasses them, from among those who have purchased the next world at (the price of this) world, and (who) has pleased the Master Christ (al-Masîḥ) by his good deeds. Agreement shall be reached <sup>(3)</sup> as regards his worthiness of the leadership and his independence in the burden of administration; and that the people have agreed (to have him as) president over them and a manager for them, according to what the Canon (κανών) of the Church and its rulings require, and the decision of the judges of religions law (šariat) and its rulers, those by whom God has strengthened what they have built, and has confirmed by its <sup>(4)</sup> holiness what they have performed and executed, and has glorified it in their position, and has protected it by their rank. A number of its <sup>(4)</sup> subjects make an obeisance (μετάνοια) to it before its <sup>(4)</sup> pure holiness and its <sup>(4)</sup> virtuous skhêma (σχῆμα) for strengthening their weakness and taking care to improve their affairs, and for helping them in the choice of him to whom he agrees and they agree, and him (whom) he sees worthy to reveal from their concealed whom they see. Their knowledge about what is incumbent upon it <sup>(5)</sup> in this case dispenses them from giving an example, and its <sup>(6)</sup> opinion (set forth) in replying to this letter of theirs dispenses them thereby from repeating the message. And it <sup>(5)</sup> has remembered them in its <sup>(6)</sup> holy prayers and its supplications which are accepted and heard — may he (the patriarch) be most prosperous, if God the Exalted will». A number of the priests <sup>(7)</sup>

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<sup>(1)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarch's.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'years of age'.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* 'The word has been agreed'.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarchate's.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarchate.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarchate's.

<sup>(7)</sup> *MS.* P adds 'archons' (ἀρχων).

master, is held of account, who worked among us according to His good-pleasure, and did not turn us aside from His designs. We beseech Him, humbling ourselves before His greatness, (and) we ask (Him), entreating His mercy that He preserve for the Children of Baptism beauty through its<sup>(1)</sup> leadership, and to preserve the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Churches through the permanence of its<sup>(2)</sup> splendour and its<sup>(2)</sup> preciousness; for the grace in this<sup>(3)</sup> is too much \* that pens may set it down \* fol. 188 v° in writing, and too great that he who is prolix in speech is sufficient for (describing) it<sup>(3)</sup>. It has reached its<sup>(2)</sup> disciples that it<sup>(3)</sup> has undergone a little affliction, and (that) it has been exposed to some contempt, and they were in a state of confused perplexity (and) they were alarmed (and) in a state of forlorn bereavement, (and) they were dismayed, until the news followed that the evil had been removed from it<sup>(3)</sup>, and the benevolence of God the Exalted (was) towards all in it<sup>(3)</sup>. And its<sup>(4)</sup> disciples received in the way of delight a great portion, and they received in the way of exaltation a full share through this bounty. And they asked God the Exalted to make the garment of piety<sup>(5)</sup> full for it<sup>(4)</sup>, and the fullness of grace a pledge for it<sup>(6)</sup>. It is not hidden from its<sup>(6)</sup> knowledge — may God perpetuate its<sup>(6)</sup> loftiness! — that the See of Cairo (Miṣr) has been distinguished from other (Sees) at all times, favoured with the observance of his<sup>(7)</sup> order at every hour<sup>(8)</sup>, worthy of observing his<sup>(7)</sup> affair instantly<sup>(9)</sup>; because it (Cairo) is the abode of the Calif (al-Khilâfat) and the established place of the throne of the kingdom, and that necessity calls for the consecration of a bishop, (and) he<sup>(10)</sup> shall consecrate him. His Eminence<sup>(10)</sup> shall agree to him<sup>(11)</sup>; and

<sup>(1)</sup> *i.e.* patriarchate's.

<sup>(2)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarchate's.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarchate.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarchate's.

<sup>(5)</sup> The Paris *MS.* has 'duration'.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarchate's.

<sup>(7)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarch's.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Lit.* 'according to the number of the hours'.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Lit.* 'with instancy'.

<sup>(10)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarch.

<sup>(11)</sup> *i.e.* the bishop-elect.

Apostles (al-Ḥawâryîn), the fifth of the Pure Evangelists, the successor (Khalifah) of my lord Mark (Mârî Marḡus) the Evangelist. May God preserve its <sup>(1)</sup> power, and prolong its stablishment, and execute its judgments, and render its days happy, a year after procrastination by which it <sup>(2)</sup> fell short of what was incumbent upon it <sup>(2)</sup>; and there befell it <sup>(2)</sup> delay in what was necessary (to do) early, and what God the Exalted distinguished in it in the way of venerable holiness and great virtue, and the knowledge, that this worldly abode (is) a transitory abode, and (that) the future life (is) a lasting abode, and (by what) He (God) had called its attention to the affair of His people, and had chosen it for the purpose of guiding the faithful to Him. He leads the people in the right way, and he explains to them the way of piety, and through his spiritual teaching it is saved from the snares of deceit, and they escape from all what is to be avoided, and they hope for victory (in) the Day of the Resurrection. They limit themselves by it <sup>(3)</sup> to what they perform in the accomplishment of its <sup>(4)</sup> service, (and its <sup>(4)</sup>) instruction suffices them to bear with resignation what God the Exalted has ordained and destined, to accept what He has decreed and executed, rather than excessive (mourning) on this subject; and it <sup>(3)</sup> made it agreeable to them to limit themselves to brevity with regard to (their) letter. And it was, indeed, by the order of God the Exalted and His just judgment, that the saintly father, the pure Chief, Abba (Anbâ) Sanhût, bishop of Cairo (Miṣr) was translated — may God give rest to his soul! — thither, (where) God had chosen for him an abode, and had made ready a dwelling-place for those such as he; and he merited it through his deeds which shone before <sup>(5)</sup> Him, and of which he was worthy through his acts which drew him near to Him, praised be He! — and he came nigh to Him, (and this it was) what shortened <sup>(6)</sup> the forearms, and moved hearts and livers. And with God that father, the

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<sup>(1)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarchate's.

<sup>(2)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarch.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarchate, and so, the patriarch.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* patriarchate's.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* 'between His hands'.

<sup>(6)</sup> *MS.* A reads 'weakened'.

my opinion hasten <sup>(1)</sup> to consecrate <sup>(2)</sup>, and, to this end, we should not ignore (any) interdiction with regard to him. We ask God to bring to pass that in which (there is) good, and the consequence of which (is) commendable, and (that) he <sup>(3)</sup> may not deprive us of his delightful correspondence <sup>(4)</sup> which contains mention of his news and of his affairs. May the peace of the Lord be with him, and may His mercy descend upon him». It <sup>(5)</sup> was written at the end of the month of Bašuns (in the) year eight hundred and thirty-four <sup>(6)</sup>, this date, if the beginning of the year (is considered) Baramûdah <sup>(7)</sup>, and the date of my letter to him <sup>(8)</sup>, the beginning of the year, Tût, according to the Epect Computation <sup>(9)</sup> (ἐπακτός).

When the aforesaid reply reached me in answer to my letter which was sent by myself, I despatched to him <sup>(10)</sup> another letter on behalf of myself and on behalf of all the people. This (is) a copy of it. « In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Condolence <sup>(11)</sup>! May God prolong the existence of Your <sup>(12)</sup> lofty, precious Highness, the venerable, holy, patriarchal presence, the lord of the fathers, the chief of the chiefs, crowned with heavenly grace, crowned with heavenly virtues, the boast of Orthodoxy (ὀρθοδοξία) and the light of the Christian (al-Masîhyah) Church, the support of the Jacobite (al-Ya'qûbiyah) community (millat), the crown of the Children of Baptism <sup>(13)</sup>, the thirteenth of the Pure

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<sup>(1)</sup> The Arabic text has here a redundant negative.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'advance'.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* the writer of the letter.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* 'letter'.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* the letter.

<sup>(6)</sup> = April-May, 1118 A.D. *MS. P.* adds 'of the Martyrs'.

<sup>(7)</sup> = March-April. It should be noted that the Lunar Year 512 began on the 29th of Baramûdah, 834 A.M.

<sup>(8)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarch.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. M. CHAÎNE, *La Chronologie des Temps Chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie*, Paris, 1925, pp. 103-108.

<sup>(10)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarch.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Lit.* 'When the condolence was'.

<sup>(12)</sup> *Lit.* 'the'.

<sup>(13)</sup> *i.e.* the Christians.



The answer, of which (this is) a copy, arrived <sup>(1)</sup>. « In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! The letter of <sup>(2)</sup> the beloved son, the prosperous, the happy one, who is distinguished by spiritual love and religious knowledge, has arrived \* — may God prolong his existence and preserve his standing and his high rank and his influence, and humble his enemies, and bless him and his, and guard him by His strong right hand, and deliver him from the snares of the Enemy and the snares of the wicked, and may He hearken unto the pious prayer for him of my wretchedness, through the intercession of the Saints! We are informed about it <sup>(3)</sup> and we are pleased to learn its information — may God make it good ! — and there is mentioned (in it) nothing (in the way) of yearning and longing, but that we feel the same many times doubled. We beseech God to bring about the meeting <sup>(4)</sup> soon through His grace and His generosity. As regards what has been set forth concerning the death of the bishop of Cairo (Miṣr) — may God hallow his soul and place it with the souls of the righteous ! — God, indeed, knows how we are affected <sup>(5)</sup> on account of his loss, in the way of grief and sorrow which it is not possible for us to describe. And as regards the <sup>(6)</sup> guidance upon which we rely concerning him whom we shall consecrate <sup>(7)</sup> after him <sup>(8)</sup>, him on whom mutual agreement has been reached, the order belongs to God (Who) consecrates <sup>(7)</sup> whom He approves <sup>(9)</sup>, — together with the opinion which is agreed upon by the archons (ἀρχων) which is sound concerning him. If we find him in whom are perfected the qualifications which his <sup>(10)</sup> letter mentions <sup>(11)</sup>, we should according to

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<sup>(1)</sup> 'The answer . . . . . arrived' is written in red ink.

<sup>(2)</sup> *MS. P.* adds 'the ṣaikh'.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* the contents of the letter.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* with the patriarch.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* 'what befell us'.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* 'our'.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* 'advance'.

<sup>(8)</sup> *i.e.* the late bishop.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Lit.* 'sees'.

<sup>(10)</sup> *i.e.* the writer's.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Lit.* 'contains'.

holiness and its compassion on its people, that he <sup>(1)</sup> should pray for them and devote his precious soul to considering whom he should choose for them, and to find him (who is) fit to preside over them and to bear their burden instead of it <sup>(2)</sup>, since it <sup>(3)</sup> — may God preserve its <sup>(4)</sup> power! — knows the fathers and the recluses and the anchorites in the deserts and the cells (*κελλίον*). Among them there will not be wanting those (of) his <sup>(5)</sup> qualification, and the Lord will direct it <sup>(3)</sup> to him, and will lead it <sup>(3)</sup> through its <sup>(4)</sup> good intention to him by the blessing of its prayers and its good conscience and its holiness and its purity and its love and its intention. And if this be so, I believe that God the Exalted will bring together the hearts of all to obey him <sup>(6)</sup> and to accept him and to love him and to consent to his consecration <sup>(7)</sup> (as bishop) for them and to his charge of them, through the assistance of the Holy Spirit Who envelops with His graces and His gifts those who are worthy of them, and its <sup>(4)</sup> happy opinion unto the taking cognizance of this matter <sup>(8)</sup>, and the considering of what it contains through the correctness of its <sup>(4)</sup> happy opinion, and the forgiving of what there (may be) in it of error. And its <sup>(4)</sup> noble letter, I shall be honoured by it, and I shall rejoice at its arrival, and I shall be blessed by its coming, and I shall be (as) happy to see it (as) I am happy <sup>(9)</sup> to see its <sup>(10)</sup> holiness, and I wish to communicate through it <sup>(11)</sup> what it <sup>(11)</sup> contains in the way of its <sup>(12)</sup> orders and its important affairs, and that it <sup>(13)</sup> may remember me at the end of its <sup>(12)</sup> prayers, according to its known custom, if God the Exalted will».

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<sup>(1)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarch.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'on its heart'.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarchate.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarchate's.

<sup>(5)</sup> *i.e.* those required of the new bishop.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* the new bishop.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* 'advancement'.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Lit.* 'service'.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Lit.* 'my happiness is'.

<sup>(10)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarch's.

<sup>(11)</sup> *i.e.* the letter.

<sup>(12)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarch's.

<sup>(13)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarch.

orders (τάξις), and should be qualified in the application of the Apostolic Canons (κανών). The beauty of his devotion, his learning, his purity, his asceticism, the excellent manner of his life, his continence, his modesty and the excellence of his way should be published abroad, since it (the patriarchate) — may God strengthen its fortune ! — knows what was the custom of the Cairenes (al-Misriyîn) with their bishops in former and in recent times, and (how) their wives and their daughters and their sisters and their relatives bow and scrape to their bishop in their serious affairs, and consult him privately in their misfortunes, and complain to him of their adversities and of what has befallen them from their husbands and their relatives, and reveal to him their secrets. (How) they take him as a judge in their affairs privately and openly, and consult him concerning their intentions both open and hidden, and (that) he (must) keep secret what he hears from them<sup>(1)</sup>, and advise them in what is of benefit to their interests, and encourage them to be patient, and console them, and be gracious to them, and do his utmost in setting right what is between them and<sup>(2)</sup> their husbands privately through his<sup>(3)</sup> good policy<sup>(4)</sup>, as used to do the late<sup>(5)</sup> father and those who were before him — may God hallow their souls! For this (reason) and for others beside it of the conditions of this See<sup>(6)</sup>, it is requisite that its bishop should have reached the beginning of mature age, or should have passed it, and that his good manners in the time of his youth should be known, (as well as) his assiduity in the laws of monasticism. He should have the reputation for continence, chastity, humility, religion, patience, purity, soundness of belief, knowledge of theological science and of general policy, of ecclesiastical literature, of legal judgments, of the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Faith, of priestly ministrations, and of the true Canons (κανών). It is incumbent on its<sup>(7)</sup>

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<sup>(1)</sup> *MS.* P. omits ' from them '.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ' and between '.

<sup>(3)</sup> *MS.* P. omits ' his '.

<sup>(4)</sup> *MS.* P. adds ' and long-suffering and graciousness '.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* ' who has gone to rest '.

<sup>(6)</sup> *i.e.* the See of Cairo.

<sup>(7)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarchate which is used here deferentially for the patriarch.

Apostles<sup>(1)</sup>. May God preserve his (the patriarch's) glory and strengthen its<sup>(2)</sup> well-being and destroy its adversaries. Its (the letter's) contents (express) what I have of Christian (Mas̄ḥiyī) yearning and spiritual joy \* and longing to approach it (the patriarchate) and to obtain a blessing from its holiness. May the Lord — His Name is great! — give me joy to behold it and to see its presidency, and not deprive me of the blessing of its prayers through His goodness and the universality of His mercy. It is not hidden from its knowledge<sup>(3)</sup> of what occurred<sup>(4)</sup> in the way of the falling asleep of the happy, virtuous father, Abba (Anbā) Sanhūt, bishop of Cairo (Miṣr), its spiritual son and its true lover. May God give rest to his soul and satisfy him through beholding His face, and honour his dwelling! May He extend its<sup>(5)</sup> term, accord it greater consolation, and prolong its age, and make all its ransom. It knows that this See<sup>(6)</sup> does not follow<sup>(7)</sup> the same course (as) the other southern and northern Sees, because in it there are the archons (ἄρχων) of Cairo (Miṣr) and its leaders and the notables of its Copts (Aḳbāt) and its chiefs who are<sup>(8)</sup> the scribes of the State and the servants of the kingdom, and (that) their bishop should at all times be present in attendance on the reigning king<sup>(9)</sup>; and that it is requisite that he who shall be set up to pasture them and shall be appointed to govern them and to watch over their judgments and their affairs, should have reached mature age, and should be known for being assiduous in the rules<sup>(10)</sup> of monasticism and in reading the legal books, and in the service of the Christian (al-Mas̄ḥiyah) sanctuaries (hayâkl), and in observing the priestly

\* fol. 187 v°

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(1) *Lit.* 'Apostolic Company'.

(2) From this point onwards, the writer of this letter uses out of deference the term 'its patriarchate', when referring to the person of the patriarch.

(3) In place of 'from its knowledge' *MS. P.* has 'from it'.

(4) *Lit.* 'was'.

(5) *i.e.* the patriarchate's.

(6) *i.e.* the See of Cairo.

(7) *Lit.* 'does not run'.

(8) *Lit.* 'and they are'.

(9) *Lit.* 'king of the time'.

(10) *Lit.* 'manners'.

it happened also that it was the day of 'Ašûrâ<sup>(1)</sup>. The father Gregory (Ighrîghûrîus), Patriarch of the Armenians (al-Arman), was present to perform his funeral service and to pray over him. He (Abba Sanhût) was taken out from it (the church) to the tomb which he had built in al-Ĥibiš<sup>(2)</sup>, on the death of his brother, the priest, the monk, Severus (Sawîrus) — may God give rest to his soul —, and the priests and the people were around his bier, walking and weeping and reciting (prayers), and with<sup>(3)</sup> them lighted candles, and the Patriarch<sup>(4)</sup> and the archons (ἄρχων), and those of the bishops who were present, were riding behind him, and all of them were exceedingly sorrowful<sup>(5)</sup> on account of him (Abba Sanhût), by reason of their knowledge that they would not find his like nor him in whom there would be (united) virtues, knowledge, purity and priesthood such as had been (united) in him.

The saintly father Abba Macarius (Abâ Maḳârah), the patriarch, was absent at his cell (κελλίον) which (was) at Azarî on the Island of Banî Naşr<sup>(6)</sup>, and I, the sinner, John (Yûḥannâ) ibn Şâ'id, the writer of this biography, wrote to him a letter in which I consoled him. This (is) a copy of it<sup>(7)</sup> :

« In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful! I have despatched my letters to the lofty, saintly, esteemed, patriarchal, virtuous, presidential Excellency, the boast of the Jacobite (Ya'ḳûbiyah) community (millat) and the light of the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Church, master of the fathers<sup>(8)</sup>, chief of the chiefs, to whom pertaineth spiritual virtues, lofty gifts and pleasing deeds, the successor of my lord Mark (Mârî Marḳuş) the Evangelist, the thirteenth of the Company of the

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<sup>(1)</sup> *i.e.* the tenth day of Muḥarram, the first month of the Lunar Year.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. B.T.A. EVERTS, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>(3)</sup> In place of 'with them' *MS.* P. reads 'in their hands'.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* the Patriarch of the Armenians.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* 'sorrowed a great sorrow'.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. *H.P.E.C.*, vol. II, part III, p. 372, n. 2, and O.F.A. MEINARDUS, 'Patriarchal Cells in the Nile Delta' in *Orientalia Suecana*, vol. XIV (1965)-vol. XV (1966), Uppsala, 1966, pp. 60-61.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* 'its copy'.

<sup>(8)</sup> *i.e.* the bishops.

they could have hastened to shore it up, (and) nothing would have befallen it; and he spread this abroad among all the people. There befell the Christians (an-Naṣārâ) a great <sup>(1)</sup> grief on account of this, and they were exceedingly sorrowful <sup>(2)</sup> about it. This news reached the father, the patriarch, and he sorrowed very much, and he said : « This (affair) happened <sup>(3)</sup> in my days on account of the multitude of my sins ». When he arrived after this in Cairo (Miṣr), he ordered the agent (wakîl) for endowments (aḥbâs) of the churches, al-Muʿallaḡah <sup>(4)</sup> and of others beside it, to go to the Church of Michael (Mikâyîl) the Elect <sup>(5)</sup>, and to bear (away) its woodwork and its vessels, whither he commanded him, and it (the church) remained demolished up to (the time), when this biography was compiled.

On Saturday, the seventeenth of (the month of) Bašuns (in the) Tax Year (al-Khirâġiah) five hundred and six, which corresponds to the year eight hundred and thirty-three of the Martyrs <sup>(6)</sup> — the beginning of the year is Tût — the saintly father Abba (Anbâ) Sanhût, bishop of Cairo (Miṣr) went to his rest — may God hallow his soul ! He was, indeed, a virtuous, good priest <sup>(7)</sup>, of abundant knowledge, content, humble, good-tempered <sup>(8)</sup>, guileless in intention, patient, pure and of good deeds. He was borne to the Church of Saint Abba Sergius (Abû Sarġah) <sup>(9)</sup>, and all the people and the priests of Cairo (Miṣriyîn) and Cairo (Ķâhiriyin) assembled in it that night and on the <sup>(10)</sup> next morning. It was the day of <sup>(11)</sup> the Feast of the Holy Pentecost <sup>(12)</sup>, and

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<sup>(1)</sup> *MS.* P. adds ' and affliction '.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ' they sorrowed a great sorrow '.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* ' was '.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. p. 6, n. 8.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. p. 9, n. 4.

<sup>(6)</sup> 12th May, 1117 A.D.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* ' virtuous, good in priesthood '.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Lit.* ' sound in breast '.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. p. 3, n. 4.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Lit.* ' early morning '.

<sup>(11)</sup> *MS.* P. omits ' the day of '.

<sup>(12)</sup> *Lit.* ' of the Holy ' Fifty (Days).

\* fol. 187 r° \* which are called Roḍah (ar-Rûḍah) <sup>(1)</sup>, which the lord, the noble al-Afḍal commanded to be built there. When they were completed, then all of them were surrounded by a fortified wall, and it (the fortified wall) ended at the mill of the church, and it (the mill) (was) in front of its (the fortified wall's) gate. They mentioned that Joseph (Yûsuf) al-Mustaḥab said to them : « Give me something so that I may place the fortified wall in an oblique direction to the mill, otherwise, I shall demolish it, and I shall pass it (the fortified wall) through the midst of it (the mill) », and they promised him dînârs. Then he returned to oppress them, and they did not give to him anything, and they said to him : « If thou ceasest to wrong us, (it is well), otherwise, we shall have recourse to the Sultan against thee, and we shall inform of what we know of that which is blameworthy in thy work in his service, of which we do not approve, and may God keep his days far from (the evil) which thou hast done in them. We are a weak people, (and) thou desirest to cut off our occupation, and thou wishest from us what we are not able (to do) ». And many disputes took place between them. When the earthquake occurred on the aforementioned day, he (Joseph) and the workmen with him spent the night at Roḍah (ar-Rûḍah) <sup>(1)</sup> at the building, as was his custom. When night fell, he commanded the workers to demolish it (the church), and by morning it had been demolished <sup>(2)</sup>, and he commanded the workers to conceal this (affair), and none of them dared to speak of it on account of their fear of him. When the morrow came <sup>(3)</sup>, he and the workers spread it abroad that the earthquake which had happened <sup>(3)</sup> in the day (time) had split its (the church's) walls, and (that) when night fell, and the wind blew violently <sup>(4)</sup> upon it, it fell down, because it had old walls, and that this (had happened) through the negligence of its congregation <sup>(5)</sup> and its guardian, and (that) if they had been present on that day, then

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<sup>(1)</sup> This is the present name of the island.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ' and morrow had not dawned, except that it had been demolished '.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* ' was '.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* ' became strong '.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* ' people '.

no return to them for them. They began to wander about aimlessly<sup>(1)</sup> in the mosques and the churches and the lanes. Those who sold left their shops and what (was) in them in the way of gold, silver, pulse, merchandise, wheat, goods and chattels and other (things). They walked in the darkness, being confused, seeking the wide and open places, fearing lest the roofs and the walls might fall upon them. It was a terrible hour, the like of it had not been seen, and a number of old men recorded that they had not seen (anything) like it nor heard of it from the days of Moses (Mûsâ) the prophet. After an hour the rain came, and the dust was dispersed, and the wind grew calm and ceased, and the light appeared, and the people returned to their houses and to their shops, and they thanked God the Exalted, and they glorified Him Who had shewn to them a little of His power. When they were on the point of perishing, He overtook them with His pardon and His mercy.

On Friday, the third of Tût, (in the) Tax Year (al-Khirâgiah) five hundred and one, which corresponds to the year eight hundred and eighteen of the Pure Martyrs<sup>(2)</sup>, at the third hour<sup>(3)</sup> of the day, there was a great earthquake, and when it was night, the Church of Michael (Mikâyîl) the Elect<sup>(4)</sup> on the Island of Cairo (Mişr)<sup>(5)</sup> was demolished. It is said that it fell down through the earthquake. The reason for this was what Ġamîl ibn John (Yihnis) aş-Şa'îdî, the priest of the aforementioned church, and Ma'ânî al-Aḥwal, its sacristan, related, how Joseph (Yûsuf) al-Mustaḥab al-Muṣlîmânî, son of Mercurius (Marḳûrah) the Christian (an-Naşrânî), the builder, remained on the Island the greater part of his time for building the places, the new recreation grounds adjacent to this church, which are the gardens and the enclosures,

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* 'on their faces'.

<sup>(2)</sup> = 31st August, 1101 A.D. *MS.* A has 'eight hundred and sixteen'.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* 9 a.m.

<sup>(4)</sup> The appellation 'the Elect' may be explained probably from the fact that a palace called «The Elect» was built on the Island of Rûḍa by Muḥammad al-Ikhşîd (934-946 A.D.). Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, London, 1924, p. 95, quoting Mas'ûdî. This Church of St. Michael would thus be distinguished from other Churches of the same dedication.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. *H.P.E.C.*, vol. II, part II, p. 232, n. 4.



The people rejoiced, and they thanked God the Exalted for His mercy and His visitation to His people at all times, as He promised in His Holy <sup>(1)</sup> Gospel, when He said : « I am with you unto the consummation of the age » <sup>(2)</sup>.

In the fifth year of Abba Macarius (Abâ Maḳârah), the aforementioned patriarch, a decree (siḡil) was read in the Great Arched Hall (‘Iwân) at the Castle <sup>(3)</sup>, on Sunday the nineteenth of (the month of) Muḥarram (in the) year five hundred and one of the Lunar (Year) which corresponds to the tenth of Tût <sup>(4)</sup> (in the) year four hundred and ninety-nine of the Tax Year (al-Khirâḡiah), containing the transference of this Tax Year (al-Khirâḡiah) to this Lunar Year, a change which did not go beyond words <sup>(5)</sup>, and that dating in all affairs should be according to the Lunar-Tax Year five hundred and one, and (that) the mention of other (dates) save it should be cancelled, and that it (the date of the Tax Year) should be abolished in all the Dîwâns with regard to accountancy and business.

In the eighth year of his (Macarius’) patriarchate, on Sunday, the seventeenth (of the month) of Šawwâl (in the) Lunar Year five hundred and four, which (was) the fifth of Bašuns <sup>(6)</sup> (in the) Tax Year (al-Khirâḡiah) five hundred, a great black wind and dust <sup>(7)</sup> arose at the ninth hour <sup>(8)</sup> of the aforementioned Sunday. There occurred in the sky a great redness which spread over the earth as a fire. Then there was a great <sup>(9)</sup>, intense darkness until no one of the people could discern the other. All the people believed that the Resurrection <sup>(10)</sup> had already come. They went out from their abodes and the dwelling-places in them, and they left open the doors, believing that they were doomed (and that there would be)

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<sup>(1)</sup> MS. P. adds ‘ Pure ’.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. *Matt.* xxviii, 20.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. *H.P.E.C.*, vol. II, part III, p. 343.

<sup>(4)</sup> = 7th September (Julian Calendar).

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ the naming ’.

<sup>(6)</sup> = 30th April (Julian Calendar).

<sup>(7)</sup> *i.e.* a sandstorm.

<sup>(8)</sup> *i.e.* 3 p.m.

<sup>(9)</sup> MS. P. omits ‘ great ’.

<sup>(10)</sup> *i.e.* the General Resurrection at the Last Day.

except in the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) <sup>(1)</sup>, as has been the custom of them who have preceded thee <sup>(2)</sup>. If thou break this rule and celebrate the Liturgy to-day in this Church at Cairo (Miṣr), before thou celebrate the Liturgy in the Skênê of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) <sup>(3)</sup>, there shall be no dealings between us and between thee afterwards, and we shall not mention <sup>(4)</sup> thy name in our sanctuary, and we shall not let thee enter it, nor ever celebrate the Liturgy in it, (even) if all of us be killed». They made a tumult and they became hostile and they multiplied (their) words and (their) shouting. He did not celebrate the Liturgy that day, and he remained at Cairo (Miṣr), and he did not celebrate the Liturgy until after the Epiphany (al-Ghiṭâs); and he <sup>(5)</sup> journeyed to the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) <sup>(1)</sup> in the half (of the month) of Ṭûbah <sup>(6)</sup>, and he celebrated the Liturgy in the Skênê at the Church of Abba <sup>(7)</sup> Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) <sup>(3)</sup> on Sunday, the twenty-third of it (Ṭûbah) <sup>(8)</sup>; and he returned to Cairo (Miṣr), and he celebrated the Liturgy in the Church of the Mistress al-Mu'allakah at Cairo (Miṣr) <sup>(9)</sup> on Sunday, the last (day) of Ṭûbah <sup>(10)</sup> of the aforementioned year, and he was consecrated in it. It was a good day, and his Letter of Introduction (Taklîd) <sup>(11)</sup> was read from the ambon (ἄμβων) in Greek and Coptic and Arabic, and he accomplished the Liturgy (al-Ḳuddâs) as it behoved, and he communicated all the people, and there were many who had assembled on that day, so that the Church was overcrowded <sup>(12)</sup> for them.

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. p. 2, n. 2.

<sup>(2)</sup> This change from the Third Person Singular to the Second Person Singular and *vice versa* frequently occurs in speeches in our text.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. H.G. EVELYN WHITE, *op. cit.*, part III, pp. 90-99.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* 'lift up'.

<sup>(5)</sup> *MS. P.* has 'they'.

<sup>(6)</sup> = January.

<sup>(7)</sup> *MS. P.* prefixes 'Saint'.

<sup>(8)</sup> = 18th January.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. p. 6, n. 8.

<sup>(10)</sup> = 25th January.

<sup>(11)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *The Rite of the Consecration of the Patriarch of Alexandria*, Cairo, 1960, pp. 26-33 (Text), pp. 67-73 (Translation).

<sup>(12)</sup> *Lit.* 'straightened'.

the people came out to meet him. Their entrance into it (was) in a fine (and) perfect state. He (the patriarch) met with a good reception from the wâlî, and he honoured him and revered him, and he prevented the officials from burdening him with the charge of a single dirham, beside anything else.

His consecration was in the Church of my lord Mark (Mârî Markus) the Evangelist at Alexandria, on Sunday, the twelfth of Kîhak (in the) year eight hundred and nineteen of the Martyrs <sup>(1)</sup>, after he had had <sup>(2)</sup> many discussions with the Alexandrians on account of the dues which were fixed by them on him who sat on the Patriarchal Throne <sup>(3)</sup>. He declined to write his <sup>(4)</sup> signature for them concerning this, and he said to them : « I am a man, a monk, (and) I have nothing, and I shall not write my signature for anything. Whatsoever I am able, I shall pay it to them every year. If ye agree to this proposition <sup>(5)</sup>, (it is well), otherwise, allow me to return to where I was. It will be more fitting and preferable to me than what ye have called upon me (to do) ». The discussion between them continued to be repeated for a number of days, until he (the patriarch) wrote his signature for two hundred dînârs in number for every year. He arrived in Cairo (Mişr) on Saturday, the twenty-fourth of the aforementioned Kîhak <sup>(6)</sup>, and the archons (ἀρχων) and the people assembled on Sunday in the early morning (ghudwah) <sup>(7)</sup> in the Church \* of the Mistress al-Mu'allakah <sup>(8)</sup>, and they thought that he would celebrate the Liturgy and be consecrated. A company of the monks of the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) <sup>(9)</sup> assembled, and they said : « He shall not celebrate the Liturgy after his celebration of the Liturgy at Alexandria,

\* fol. 186 v°

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<sup>(1)</sup> = 8th December, 1103 A.D. MS. P. omits ' of the Martyrs '.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ' there happened to him '.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* ' in the patriarchate '.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* ' the '.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* ' case '.

<sup>(6)</sup> = 20th December.

<sup>(7)</sup> *i.e.* the time between dawn and sunrise.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. A.J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 206-235 and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-31.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. p. 2, n. 2.

who had nothing, and possessed neither a dīnār nor a dirham at all; and he asked him to exempt him from this, and to cause him to be brought before him <sup>(1)</sup>, so that he <sup>(2)</sup> might be comforted and his affair be strengthened, according to what was the custom of those who had preceded him. He <sup>(3)</sup> granted this, and he commanded him <sup>(4)</sup> to be brought with honour (and) dignity <sup>(5)</sup>. He <sup>(4)</sup> rode from the aforementioned Church, and the priests before him <sup>(1)</sup> reading, and they were carrying the Holy Gospels and censers of incense and lighted candles, and the people around him, and the bishops and the archons (ἄρχων) were riding on their beasts behind him, and the Mutawallī of the Police at Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) (was) with him, and his men before them <sup>(6)</sup>, until they arrived at the abode of the lord, the noble al-Afdal. When he had entered unto him, he prayed for him much <sup>(7)</sup>. He (al-Afdal) saw that (he was) meek (and) modest, comely of countenance and of good speech; and God granted to him <sup>(4)</sup> through him <sup>(8)</sup> the good fortune to be accepted by him <sup>(9)</sup>. He (al-Afdal) went up to him, and he caused him to be seated, and he honoured him exceedingly <sup>(10)</sup>, and he addressed to him a courteous speech, and he commanded that there should be written for him an official document to the wālī of Alexandria and to others beside him of the wālīs by whom he would pass on his way, to respect him and to honour him and to abstain from requiring (of him) the dues or other (things) beside them, and to assist him and to aid him in all that he needed. He (the patriarch) arose, and he went out from his audience in fine state, and the people rejoiced at this exceedingly <sup>(11)</sup>, and they took the official document, and they journeyed to Alexandria, and all

<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ between his hands ’.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ his soul ’.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i.e.* al-Afdal.

<sup>(4)</sup> *i.e.* the patriarch.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ he being honoured (and) dignified ’.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ between their hands ’.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ many prayers ’.

<sup>(8)</sup> *i.e.* al-Afdal.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ good fortune and acceptance ’.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ many honours ’.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ a great rejoicing ’.

adjured them that they should release him, and he said to them : « I am the son of a second (marriage) <sup>(1)</sup>. I have no learning nor am I a priest <sup>(2)</sup>, and I am not fit for what ye wish of me ». But they did not pay attention to his speech, and they put fetters on him, and they clothed him with the robe <sup>(3)</sup>. And they consecrated him, and this (was) on Sunday, the thirteenth of Hatûr (in the) year eight hundred and nineteen of the Martyrs <sup>(4)</sup>, which is the Tax Year (al-Khirâġiah) <sup>(5)</sup> four hundred and ninety-two. They journeyed to Cairo (Miṣr), and his arrival at the Church of Abba Cosmas (Abû Kuzmân) <sup>(6)</sup> which is at the bridge near the Garden known as az-Zuhrî <sup>(7)</sup>, (was) on Thursday, the seventeenth of the aforesaid Hatûr <sup>(8)</sup>. Aš-Šaikh Abû'l-Faḍl ibn al-Uṣḩuf went to the abode of the lord, the noble al-Afḍal <sup>(9)</sup>. He was at that time his scribe, and he was the person who signed in his stead for money and men, and he was in charge of the Dîwân of the Council, and (was) overseer of all the Dîwâns of the Exchequer (al-Istifâ) for all the affairs of the kingdom. He informed him of the arrival of the father, the patriarch, Abba Macarius (Anbâ Maḩarah), and that he needed to journey to Alexandria so that prayer should be said over him in its churches, because it is the See of the Patriarchate; and that the wâlî and the officials there were asking from him the dues which it was the custom of those who had preceded him (to pay); and (that) this was a man, a monk, weak in (his) state,

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<sup>(1)</sup> According to the Canon Law of the Coptic Church, children of a second marriage are excluded from the priesthood.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'there is not to me learning nor priesthood'.

<sup>(3)</sup> *MS. P.* adds 'the robe of the patriarchate'.

<sup>(4)</sup> = 9th November, 1103 A.D.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. P. CASANOVA, 'Maḩrîzî : Description Historique et Topographique de l'Égypte', chapter entitled Concordance de l'Année Kharâġî (Fiscale) des Coptes avec l'Année Hilâlî (Lunaire) des Arabes » in *Mém. Inst. Franç. Arch. Orient. du Caire*, t. III, Cairo, 1906, pp. 66-101.

<sup>(6)</sup> This Church is mentioned by al-Maḩrîzî, cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt, etc.*, pp. 328-329. Cf. also *H.P.E.C.*, vol. II, part III, p. 345.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, pp. 328 sqq.

<sup>(8)</sup> = 13th November.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. *H.P.E.C.*, vol. II, part III, pp. 388-389 and S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London, 1925, pp. 161-165.

monasteries which are there, and the anchorites and the hermits, but they had not found him who was fit for consecration <sup>(1)</sup>, save one of the two aforementioned, and (that) ' it has already been settled among us (that) the answer to the affair concerning the two of them (lies) with you, and whom ye choose and accept of the two of them, him we will consecrate ' <sup>(2)</sup>.

When the letter arrived, the archons (ἄρχων) assembled at the Church of Saint Abba Sergius (Abû Sarġah) <sup>(3)</sup> at Kaşr aš-Šam<sup>c</sup> <sup>(4)</sup>, and they read the letter. There were some of them who knew the two aforementioned monks, and there were some of them who knew one of them without the other, and there were some of them who did not know the one (or the other) of them at all. Those who knew the two of them, all of them supported both of them. Then they said that Macarius (Maġârah) was mature, disputatious, of good speech, observing the canon (κανών) of monasticism, \* whilst John (Yû'annis), the monk, \* fol. 186 r° was a young man, a good priest <sup>(5)</sup>, comely of countenance and eloquent in speech. All of them wished for Macarius (Maġârah) on account of his old age and his experience, and they <sup>(6)</sup> called out his name, as with one mouth, and they wrote the reply with regard to this. When the letter reached the fathers, the bishops, and the priests who were residing in the monastery, all of them assembled to read it, and they unanimously agreed on accepting what it contained. Some of the bishops and the priests and the monks arose, (and they went to) where the aforesaid Macarius (Maġârah) (was), and they seized him, and they brought him to the assembly, and he struggled against this, and he refused, and he

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ' advancement '.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ' advance '.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. A.J. BUTLER, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, vol. I, pp. 181-205 and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 18-23.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. A.J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 155-181 and A.J. BUTLER, *Babylon of Egypt*, Oxford, 1914, and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 and 18.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* ' of good priesthood '.

<sup>(6)</sup> *MS. P.* adds ' all '.

some of them, in the blessed monasteries. Those who arrived in Cairo (Miṣr) agreed in (their) opinion <sup>(1)</sup> to journey to the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) <sup>(2)</sup> the Saint, to assemble with the rest of the bishops who (were) there and (with) the monks, for prayer and supplication to the Lord — Praise be to Him ! —, to direct them to him whom He accepts and chooses to pasture them and to have headship over them. They journeyed thither in the month of Bâbah <sup>(3)</sup>, and they assembled in the Church of the Saint Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) <sup>(4)</sup>, and they remained (for some) days, praying and calling to mind those of the anchorites and saints who (were) in that desert, and about the hermits who (were) in the cells, and giving preponderance in (their) opinion about him who was fit for this headship and noble rank of the priesthood and the apostolic succession of Mark (al-Marḳuṣiyah). And they did not agree in their opinion concerning him who was fit for this, and they did not settle in their souls about whom they should consecrate <sup>(5)</sup>. And they remained in this state until the end of Bâbah <sup>(3)</sup>. And they agreed in their opinion on the consecration of one of two men, one of them being the saintly Macarius (Maḳârah), the priest, at the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) <sup>(4)</sup>, who was known as the painter; or (on) the deacon John (Yû'annis), son of Sanhût. They disagreed about which of the two of them they should consecrate <sup>(5)</sup>. And they settled among themselves <sup>(6)</sup> to write a letter <sup>(7)</sup> to the archons (ἀρχων) of Cairo (Miṣr), (and) they mentioned in it their long stay in the Wâdî Habîb <sup>(8)</sup>, and that they had examined all who were in the

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* 'the opinion of those . . . . was agreed'.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. H.G. EVELYN WHITE, *The Monasteries of the Wâdî 'n-Natrân*, part III, pp. 31-129, and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Monasteries of the Wâdî 'n-Natrân*, pp. 28-40.

<sup>(3)</sup> This month = September — October (Julian Calendar).

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. H.G. EVELYN WHITE, *op. cit.*, part III, pp. 83-111 and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-37.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* 'advance'.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* 'their souls'.

<sup>(7)</sup> 'A letter' is supplied from MS. P.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. H.G. EVELYN WHITE, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 404.

\* ABBA MACARIUS (ABÂ MAḤÂRAH), THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE SIXTY-NINTH \* fol. 185 v°  
OF (THEIR) NUMBER. THIS VENERABLE FATHER SAT ON THE THRONE OF THE  
PATRIARCHATE IN THE DAYS OF THE KING (*Lit.* KINGDOM OF) AL-AMÎR <sup>(1)</sup> AND  
OF THE WAZIRATE OF AL-ÂFDAL IBN AMÎR AL-GÛYUŞ. THEN, AFTER HIS DEATH,  
OF THE WAZIRATE OF AL-MÂMÛN.

When <sup>(2)</sup> Abba Michael (Anbâ Mikhâyîl), the patriarch, went to his rest, it was the turn of the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyîn) and of the monks of the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḥâr) <sup>(3)</sup> for choosing him who should be set up in his stead, and they wrote to the bishops who dwelt in the districts of the two Şa'ids (aş-Şa'idaîn), the Upper and the Lower Land <sup>(4)</sup>, to inform them of his death and to condole with them about him, and to ask them to come so that they might meet together and that an agreement might be reached concerning him to whom they should give their consent for the venerable patriarchate; and they wrote also to the Alexandrians in the same manner. It was the time of summer and of the ripening of the crops, the fruits, and the vineyards, and the bishops were occupied in collecting what they required in the way of dues to the holy churches, as grain and wine and other things beside these, and the assembling was not suitable for them, except after (the Feast of) the Cross <sup>(5)</sup>. Some of them arrived in Cairo (Mişr) <sup>(6)</sup>, and

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<sup>(1)</sup> « This venerable father — al-Mâmûn » is written in the margin of the *MS.* In the Paris *MS.* it is written in the text. Al-Amîr Abû 'Alî Manşûr reigned from 1101-1131 A.D.

<sup>(2)</sup> *P.* adds ' the father '.

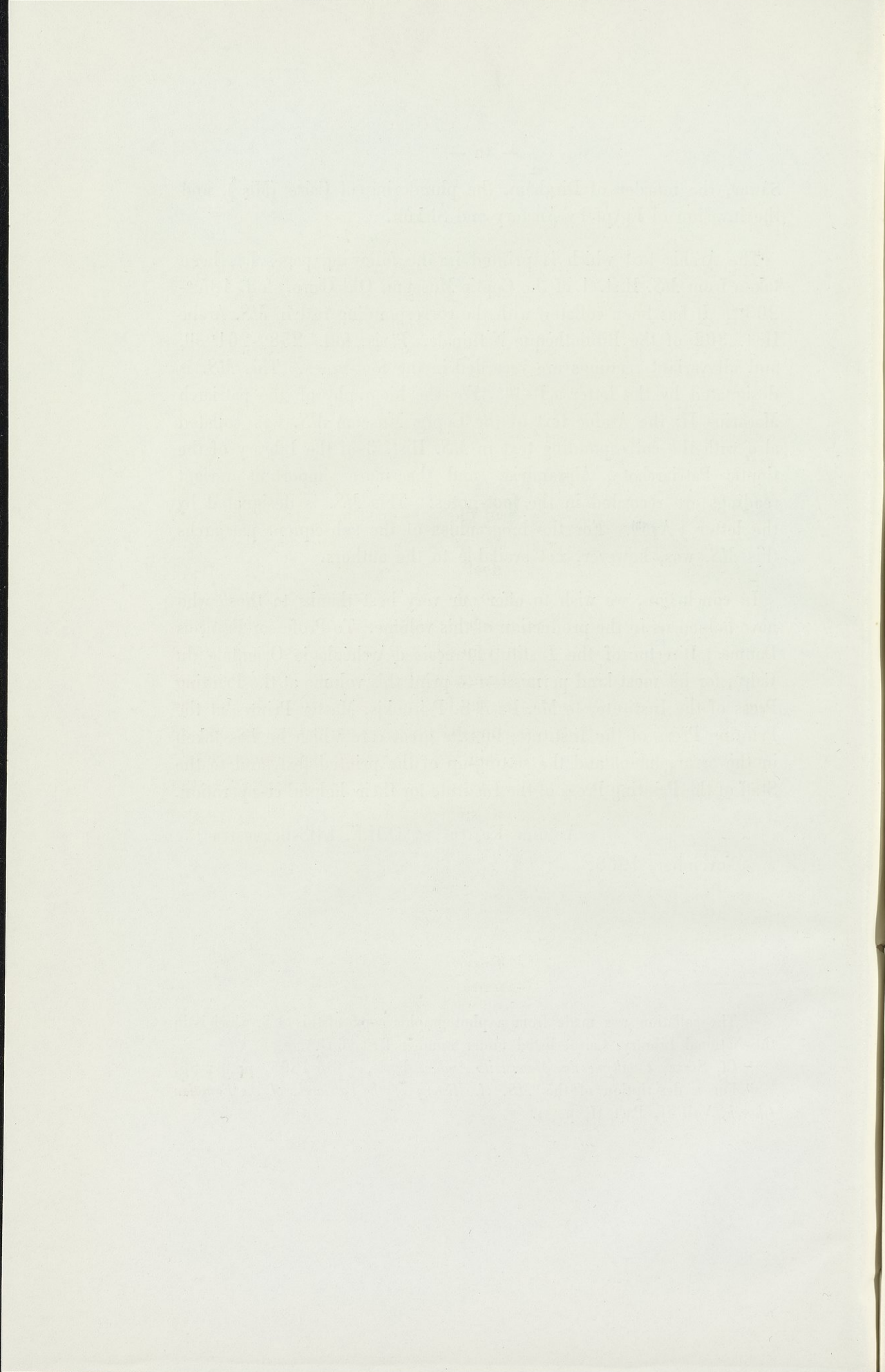
<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. H.G. EVELYN WHITE, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n-Naṭrân*, Part III, pp. 31-129, and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n-Naṭrân*, pp. 28-40.

<sup>(4)</sup> The Lower Land means the Delta.

<sup>(5)</sup> It is on the 17th Tût = 14th September (Julian Calendar).

<sup>(6)</sup> For a description of the extent of Mişr, cf. P. CASANOVA, 'Maḥrizî : Description Historique et Topographique de l'Égypte' in *Mém. Inst. Franç. Arch. Orient.*, t. III, part III, Le Caire, 1906, pp. 298-301.





Šāwar, the murder of Dirghām, the plundering of Cairo (Miṣr), and the invasion of Egypt by Amaury and Širkūh.

The Arabic text which is printed in the following pages has been taken from *MS. Hist. 1* of the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, foll. 185<sup>v</sup>-203<sup>v</sup>. It has been collated with the corresponding text in *MS. Arabe Hist. 302* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, foll. 238<sup>v</sup>-261<sup>r</sup> (1), and all variant readings are recorded in the foot-notes. This *MS.* is designated by the letter « P » (2). For the biography of the patriarch Macarius II, the Arabic text of the Coptic Museum *MS.* was collated also with the corresponding text in *MS. Hist. 3* of the Library of the Coptic Patriarchate, Alexandria, and the more important variant readings are recorded in the foot-notes. This *MS.* is designated by the letter « A » (3). For the biographies of the subsequent patriarchs this *MS.* was, however, not available to the authors.

In conclusion, we wish to offer our very best thanks to those who have helped us in the production of this volume. To Professor François Daumas, Director of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, for his most 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

November, 1968.

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(1) The collation was made from a photographic copy of this *MS.* which is in the National Library, Cairo, listed under number Hist. 6434.

(2) Cf. SLANE, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes*, Paris, 1883-1895, pp. 82-83.

(3) For a description of this *MS.* cf. *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, Vol. II, Part II, p. vi.

of the assassination of the wazîr Al-Afdal and the expropriation of his immense wealth by the reigning Calif. There is also mention of the attempt by the succeeding wazîr to seize for himself the califate.

*Gabriel II.* Before becoming patriarch Gabriel had been a scribe in a Government office in Cairo (Miṣr), and was one of the few laymen who have been elected patriarchs of Alexandria. At his second consecration at the Monastery of Saint Macarius, he became involved in a serious dispute with the monks concerning an addition which he made to the Confession of faith in the Real Presence of Christ, which is recited by the priest before receiving the Holy Communion. Among the historical events recorded in this biography there is an account of how Ḥasan deposed his father Al-Ḥāfiẓ and seized himself the califate, and how he was ultimately forced to commit suicide, the revolt against the Armenian wazîr Bahrām and the Armenians resident in Egypt, led by Ruḍwān Ibn Walkhaṣṭi, and a request from the King of Ethiopia that Gabriel should permit that more than seven bishops be consecrated for Ethiopia.

*Michael V.* At the election of this patriarch considerable trouble was caused by the intrigues of a certain Yûnis Ibn Kadrān who sought to be elected patriarch himself. There is a reference to an interesting custom of casting the body of Saint Apa John Sanhût into the river, in order to procure the rise of the water in it at the annual inundation of the Nile. This patriarch was particularly severe towards insubordinate monks whom he punished by beating and imprisonment.

*John V.* The intrigues of Yûnis Ibn Kadrān again caused considerable trouble, when steps were being taken to choose a new patriarch, and, eventually, an order was issued by the Calif that a Council should be held in the presence of Government officials, to choose a suitable candidate for the patriarchate. Among the historical events recorded there is mention of the assassination of Ruḍwān Ibn Walkhaṣṭi, the death of the Calif Al-Ḥāfiẓ and the assassination of his son Az-Zâfir by Naṣr, son of 'Abbās, the wizârat of Ṭalâ' Ibn Ruzzîk, a dearth in Egypt, the assassination of Ṭalâ' Ibn Ruzzîk, the rise of Ḍirghām and

## PREFACE

The present Part comprises the biographies of four patriarchs, namely, Macarius II, Gabriel II, Michael V and John V. These patriarchs occupied the Throne of Saint Mark from 1102 to 1167 A.D.

*Macarius II.* Although this patriarch declared that he was the son of a second marriage, which according to Coptic Canon Law would exclude him from ordination to the priesthood, he was nevertheless chosen as patriarch and consecrated at the Monastery of Saint Macarius in Scetis. The important role which this monastery still played in the matter of the election and consecration of the patriarchs of Alexandria is evident from the fact that, after his second consecration in Alexandria, the monks of this monastery would not allow him to celebrate the Divine Liturgy in Cairo before he had celebrated it in their monastery, threatening him that if he did not comply with their wishes, they would never permit him to enter their monastery again. During the reign of this patriarch there occurred two phenomena of Nature, a sand-storm of such density that it produced total darkness at 3 p.m.<sup>(1)</sup>, and two years later, a severe earthquake which contributed to the destruction of the Church of Saint Michael the Elect on the Island of Rodah, though its actual demolition was ordered by a certain builder who did not receive sufficient bribes to divert a wall which he was building at the order of the wazîr Al-Afdal. An attempt by this patriarch to reserve for himself the See of Cairo resulted in a lengthy correspondence with the clergy and notables of Cairo, written in the extravagant language of the times. As regards historical events, there is a brief reference to the invasion of Egypt by Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem and his subsequent death at 'Ariš. A detailed description is also given

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<sup>(1)</sup> Such a sand-storm was witnessed in Cairo about twenty years ago by the authors.

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HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS  
OF THE EGYPTIAN CHURCH

KNOWN AS THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY CHURCH

BY

SAWĪRUS IBN AL-MUKAFFA<sup>c</sup>

BISHOP OF AL-AŠMŪNĪN

VOLUME III. PART I

3/1

MACARIUS II — JOHN V

(A. D. 1102-1167)

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

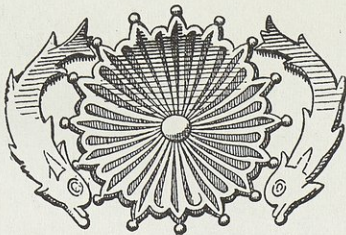
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LE CAIRE

1968

THE HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS  
OF THE CALDEAN NATION

**HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS  
OF THE EGYPTIAN CHURCH**



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