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قِسْمُ النُّصُوصِ وَالوَرَثَائِقِ

١٥

# تاريخ بطاركة الكنيسة المصرية

طبقاً للخطوط العربي رقم ٣٠٢ المحفوظ بالمكتبة الوطنية بباريس

من ورقة رقم ٢٨٧ ظ إلى ٣٥٥ ج

## المجلد الرابع

الجزء الثاني

كيرلس الثالث : ابن لفلق

١٢١٦ - ١٢٤٣ ميلادية

فنام على نشره

دكتور أنطون حناطر و دكتور ازولد بورستر



القاهرة

١٩٧٤

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(\*\*) Ce prix est majoré pour raison de diminution du stock restant.

تاريخ بطاركة الكنيسة المصرية

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من ورقة رقم ٢٨٧ ظ إلى ٣٥٥ ج

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قِسْمُ النَّصُوصِ وَالْوَثَائِقِ

١٥

# تَارِيحُ بَطْرِيْقِ الْكَنِيسَةِ الْمَصْرِيَّةِ

طَبَقًا لِلْخَطوطِ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ رَقْمُ ٣٠٢ الْمَحْفُوظِ بِالْمَكْتَبَةِ الْوَطْنِيَّةِ بِبَارِيسَ

مِنْ وَرَقَةٍ رَقْمُ ٢٨٧ ظ إِلَى ٣٥٥ ج

## المجلد الرابع

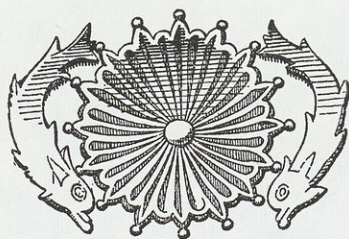
الجزء الثاني

### كَيْرِسُ الثَّالِثِ : ابْنُ لَمْلِقِ

١٢١٦ - ١٢٤٣ ميلادية

فنام على نشره

دكتور أنطون حناط و دكتور ازولد بورمستر



القاهرة

١٩٧٤

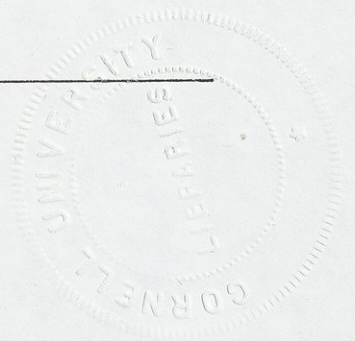


Sāwīṭūs ih al-Muqaffā', Bp. of al  
Ashmūnīn, ff. 955-987.

Tarīkh al-hatārikat al-Kanīsat  
al-Misriyāt.

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مطبعة المعهد العلمي الفرنسي للآثار الشرقية



171

٣٢١ (ظ)

٣٢٢ (ج)

وكان من حقوق الطبقة المذكورة سطيحة من \* جانب المسجد وكانت مكشوفة  
من المسجد فاراد البطرك ان يعمل عليها سترة فمنعه الموزن المذكور ولما عملت  
طلع هدها وازالها وبقيت النفوس غير طيبة واتفق ان البطرك خرج الى منية صراد  
ليعيّد بها عيد السيده في احد وعشرين يوماً من طوبه وكانت الطبقة المذكورة  
خالية فاصبح من كانت معه مفاتيح القلاية طلع اليها فوجد الابواب من برا مغلقة  
ساله والباب فوقاني قد كسر وموضع اخر قد ثقب وباب الخزانة قد قلعت  
منه حشوه وكان ثم قماش كثير وجاء البطرك فما وجد عدم له سوى صنية فضه  
وصليب فضة كان فيه قطعة من صليب الصليبوت وجميع القماش سالما وكانت  
له قيمة وحضر البوابون فشهدوا ان هذا المكان ما عمل الا من ناحية المسجد  
واعلموا الوالى بذلك فاخذ الموزن وحبسه وجاءت شفاعة بعض اكابر المسلمين  
الى البطرك بسببه فابى ان يخرجهم فتعصب الموزنون بالجامع العتيق بمصر وهم  
جمع كبير وصاروا يجتمعون طوايف ويحضرون الى المسجد المذكور ويوذنون  
جميعاً حتى تنزعج الحارة لهم فشكى حاطم الى القاضى جمال الدين بن المثلثي  
صاحب ديوان الاحباس فرسم بان لا يوذّن في المسجد الا موزن واحد وافضى  
الامر الى ان اغلق المسجد المذكور فاجتمع المسلمون العوام وجاءوا في جم غفير  
الى باب المسجد وكسروا الاقفال التي عليه وطلعوا المأذنة وغوثوا ولبوا واجتمع  
على باب الكنيسة المعلقة جمع لا يحصى وخافت انفس المومنين وكان يوم  
الاحد الاول من الصوم والبطرك قد ابدل وهو في القداس وقد قدس قداس  
كيرلس فجا الوالى وصرف الناس وانفصل الامر على خير ومضى اكثر الجمع  
الى الامير جمال الدين بن يغمور نايب السلطان وشكوا اليه وقالوا يا مولانا  
تغلق المساجد وتفتح الكنائس فقال هذا حديث ما يسمع بل ان الجميع تفتح  
ومن اراد المسجد طلع اليه ومن اراد الكنيسة طلع اليها الا انه لا يوذى احد  
ولا يتعرض احد الى احد فهولاء رعية السلطان وانتم اخبروا ان كان هذا المسجد  
فقيراً انا اقوم به الا ان التعدى لا يمكن احد منه فضى المسلمون وجمعوا  
بينهم شيئاً وبيضوا المسجد وعملوا عنده مصطبه وبيضوها ولم يجر منهم الا خيراً

وكان النصرارى فى هذه المدة كلها مع المسلمين فى انصاف عظيم واکرام  
جسيم وود عميم فالله سبحانه يحرس ايامهم وينصر سلطانهم وهو سلطاننا وامامهم  
وهوراعينا وبعد ذلك توجه الاب البطرك الى دير بومقار فى الجمعة السادسة من  
الصوم المقدس ومعه \* جماعة من اساقفة الوجه البحرى ومن القسوس والشماسه (ظ) ٣٢٢  
ومحفل كبير وكان قد استطلق من السلطان الملك العادل شيئاً من دهن البلسم  
فامر له به فاخذته معه ومضى الى الدير وقدمه فى الخميس الكبير على الرسم  
والعادة وكان معه جمع كبير من كهنة القاهرة ومصر والبلاد فاراد ان يجبر قلوبهم  
بان يصرفهم فى هيكل بنيامين فاغتاظ الرهبان من ذلك وجاوا بالعكاكيز  
وكسروا بعض قناديل الكنيسة ولم يلتفت البطرك اليهم بل كمل شغله وخرج الى  
قلايته بات بها واصبح صلاتاً فيها صلاة الساعة الاولى من الجمعة الكبيرة واذا  
الرهبان قد اجتمعوا وحضروا اليه وضربوا له المطانوه وسالوه ان يغفر لهم  
ذلتهم ودخلوا تحت كلما شرطه عليهم وكانت لهم عوايد ردية ازالهم عنها وجأ  
الى الكنيسة وفرح وكمل العيد وكرز لمن اراد تكريزه الا ان الرسم ما كان بد  
منه لاجل ما تاخر من المبلغ المقرر للسلطان ثم توجه الى ثغر الاسكندرية واقام به  
مدة وجرى له فيها ما جرى فى الدير مع كهنتها ثم رجعوا الى الطاعة وموافقة  
الجماعة وكان هذا البطرك له قوة نفس وصبر واحتمال فما كان يبالي بشى مما  
يجرى ثم عاد الى مصر بعد ان شق بلاد الغربية واكثر الوجه البحرى وافتقد  
كنايسه والسلطان عز نصره مقيم بالشام والشيخ السنى الراهب معهم بكنيسة  
بوسرجه بمصر وهولا يطيع البطرك ولا يجتمع به ولا يوافق على شى من اعماله  
والبطرك لا يصل الى الكنيسة المذكورة وليس له فيها شى الا ذكر اسمه فى  
القداسات والصلوات لا غير وكان يقول لولا امر السلطان منعت من يذكر  
اسمه فى هذه الكنيسة لان هذا ما هو بطرك بل هو ضامن البطركيه من السلطان  
والسلطان لا يخالف ويذكر اشياء يندد بها ويهدد وفى هذه الايام رسم بحفر  
جانب البحر على الساحل ليعمل فيه اساس السور الذى رسم بينايه على مصر  
والقاهرة فسير الى البطرك ورسم له بان يحضر اصحابه ويحفر مع الناس وعزل له  
مكان مقدار طوله مائة ذراع فى عمق الاساس وقد كان الناس كلهم قد حفروا  
الامرا والاشراف والولاه وسائر الناس واليهود اخرجوهم عند خروج النصرارى

فاستحى الناس وحضروا من كل مكان وحفروا وبقوا كذلك قريباً من شهر  
ثم انهم العمل واستراحوا وكان البطرک يقوم بهم فيما ياكلون وما يشربون  
ووقف اخذ الشرطونيه وقل الا في النادر والاسعار راخيه والاشياء موجوده  
والامن عام (١) البلاد واما الشيخ نش الخلافة ابا الفتوح فان البطرک كان مشى  
الى منزله ليلة وبات \* عنده فآثر فيه ذلك وصار لا صديقا ولا عدواً بل على  
جانب الا انه يكثر التردد الى كنيسة بوسرجه والاجتماع بالشيخ السنى الراهب  
وكان البطرک قد حرم انه لا يقيم راهب في مدينة ولا ريف الا في ايام الجرائنه  
لا غير واستمر الحال على ذلك ثم وردت الاخبار بان عسكر الروم خرجوا  
وجاوا الى حران واحرقوا دار العافيه التى بظاهرها وسبوا ونهبوا وعادوا  
نزّلوا على امد يحاصرونها وزاد الماء المبارك واطمان الناس بذلك وجاء امر  
السلطان باخراج العساكر ولم يكن حضر منهم الا الاجناد وبعض الامراء القليل  
منهم والا الجميع كانوا في خدمة السلطان بدمشق فتجهزوا وخرجوا متقاطرين  
من عشرة وخمسة عشر واكثر واقل وكانوا ضعفي ليس لهم شى لحسة اخبارهم  
ورخص اسعار الغلات واستقر الحال على ذلك ودخلت سنة ثلاث وخمسين  
وتسع مايه وبلغ النيل المبارك ثمانية عشر ذراعاً وثمانية اصابع والاسعار راخيه  
والخيرات موجوده كثيرة ثم ان جماعة من الاراخنه اجتمعوا وطلعوا الا الاب  
البطرک بكنيسة المعلقة وقالوا له الى متى تفعل هذه الاشياء التى قد جعلتنا بها  
سبة بين الامم والشعوب قال لهم وما هى قالوا له أخذك الشرطونيه على الكهنوت  
فقال نوفي مال السلطان قالوا له ومن احوجك الى ان نقرر للسلطان مالا قال  
انتم قررتم المال للملك قالوا فما كان يتعين عليك ان تدخل فيه ولا البطرکيه  
طرحت عليك بالشدة بل انت برطلت عليها وخطبتها ولك اليوم تسعى فيها  
عشرين سنة وقد اخربت كنيستنا قال انا ما اخربت كنيستكم بل عمرتها وما كان  
بقى فيها اسقف وقد صار فيها اليوم خمسين اسقفا ومن الكهنه ما لا يحصى عددهم  
وزاد الحديث منهم ونغص اخر الامر انه حلف ان المبلغ الذى للسلطان ما تغلق  
الى الان وانه بقي منه الى ساعة تلك ثلثماية دينار قالوا له فلاساقفة الاخرى اخذون

(١) أقرأ : « عم » .

الشرطونية قال ومن يرضى للاساقفة بهذا والله ما بلغنى ان اسقفاً اخذ شرطونيه الا فامنعوه وهذه كتبى تحترق البلاد بهذا قالوا فتكرز اولاد التوانى قال ارونى قانونا قد منعوا فيه من الكهنوت قالوا عاده كنيستنا وما جرت به سنه اباينا قال انا اوافقكم على هذا على انه عاده لكم لا شرع وناموس قالوا فزيرد كتباً الى الوجهين القبلى والبحرى بمنع الشرطونيه وقطع تكريز اولاد من تزوجت رجلا ثانياً قال انا اكتبها واسيرها لكم وانفصل المجلس على لا شىء ولم يكتب كتباً ولا عمل شيئاً ثم وقع المرض فى الناس والموت مثل السنة الخارجة \* واشد واستمر ذلك ومات ناس كثيرون ومرض البترك مرضة شديدة قارب فيها الموت ومن الله عليه بالعافية ثم ان السلطان عز الله نصره عاد من سفرته هذه الى القاهرة المحروسة فى الثانى والعشرين من كيهك موبداً منصوراً وخرج الى ثغردمياط المحروس فى العشرين من امشير اقام به مدة ثم انتقل الى ثغراالاسكندرية واقام بها مدة وكان غرضه على انه يقيم بها زماناً طويلاً لانها طيبة فى الصيف وكان قد اهتم فيها بدار ما رأى احد من الملوك مثلها حتى جاء امراً وجب له الخروج منها والحجى الى القاهرة المحروسه وهو ان اخاه الملك الاشرف صاحب دمشق وسنجان تغير قلبه ووقع بينهما شأن فعاد لتدبير هذه الحال وكان قد وصل رسول الخليفة من بغداد وهو رجل فقيه من اكابرها ومضى الى السلطان الى دمياط واجتمع به فى معنى الصالح مع ملك الروم التى كانت الحاربة بينه وبينه وسير السلطان معه رسولا من قبله وسارا الى ان وصلا الى قيساريه وهى كرسى مملكة الروم للمسلمين فاتفق فى وصولها ان مات ملك الروم المذكور ولم يجتمعا به وقعد على كرسيه ولده واطلق الاسرى الذين كانوا عنده من عسكر مصر والشام الذى كان ابوه اسرهم فى تيك المدة المتقدمة ثم ان مولانا السلطان اعز الله نصره اطلق الاسرى الذين كانوا عنده كلهم الذين اخذهم من القلاع التى استعادها من الروم وقويت الاخبار بمجاهرة الملك الاشرف لمولانا السلطان وواقفه على ذلك صاحب حمص وصاحب حماه واكثر ملوك الشرق حتى انه طرد نوابه الذين بدمشق واخذ حواصله التى بها وحواصل ابن اخيه الملك الناصر صاحب الكرك لانه كان فى طاعة السلطان الملك الكامل وجأ الى خدمته الى القاهرة المحروسة فى يوم الجمعة الثانى من ابيب من هذه السنة

وكان يوم عبوره يوماً مشهوداً لان المدينتين زينتا والاسوار من باب النصر الى القلعة المحروسة وكان كل امير ياخذ برجاً وبدنيين ثلثة ومنهم من ياخذ برجين على قدرته ويزينها بعدته ورنكه واسلحته والصور العجيبة والحركات المستغربة وكان كل واحد يريد ان يزيد على الآخر فكان امرأ عجيباً مستحسناً فاما القلعة فما زينها الا السلطان وخواصه وخدامه الساكنون وكانت كنيسة الجزيرة قد انهدت زربيتها واخذ البحر البستان الذى لها وبعض كنايس العلو وخشى على الجامع الذى بها وهو المقياس فخرج السلطان الى والى مصر بان يتقدم الى البطرك بعمارتها فنزل بها واهتم بامرها وعمرها ويقال انه انفق عليها الف دينار وعمرتها برسمة قاعة على البحر بشبابيك وهمة عالية ما ترى \* احسن ٣٢٤ (ج)

منها وقدس بها وجلس على السنطون وقرى عليه الابرولوغس واخذها من اسقف الجيزة وصارت بطريكيه ونزل بها وكذلك الديارات فى جميع الديار المصرية فانه جعلها كلها بطريكيه ولم يجعل لاسقف حكماً الا فى كنايس المدن خاصة ثم انه قدم مطرانا على البيت المقدس والساحل والشام الى نواحى الفرات وسيره الى هناك وامتعص لهذا بعض الاراخنة وقال هذا ما لا يجوز لان هذه البلاد من كرسى انطاكيه والكروسيان واحد ويقع بهذا فرق لم تجر به عادة ولم يلتفت البطرك بل قدمه وجعل الحكم له فى تيك البلاد كلها حتى بلاد الافرنج وسيره فلما كان عيد القيامة المقدسة وصل انبا اغناطس بطريك السريان الى البيت المقدس والكناناغيطس<sup>(١)</sup> بطريك الارمن فلما بلغ البطرك ذلك جهز لبطرك السريان هدية من هدايا مصر وسير بها اسقف الخندق وقسيس من قسوس مصر فلما وصلوا الى القدس بلغ المطران وصولهم فخرج بلقاهم بالاناجيل والمباخر والصلبان وانزهم عنده ومضى اسقف الخندق الى بطرك السريان اجتمع به وسلم عليه واعطاه كتاب الاب البطرك وهديته وكانت عود بخور ومنديلين لليد وشبوقه ابنوس فقبلها واقبل عليهم وقال لهم الاب البطريك انبا كيرلس اخى وانما هذا الشيطان رعى بيننا وافرق الكنيسة وما له عندى تصرف يعنى المطران وخرجوا من عنده فنفذ اليهم وسالهم النزول عنده فامتنع الاسقف

(١) اقرأ : « الكثاليكوس » .

وقال انا نازل عند المطران وما اقدر اخرج من عنده الا باذنه فحقت بطرك  
السريان من ذلك ورد الهدية ومنع المطران ولم يرجع يرى الاسقف وجهاً  
واما المطران فانه استعان بالافرنج وواخي منهم جماعة وتصرف في كنايس  
القبط هو وشعبه ويقال ان الافرنج اخذوا خطه بان اعترافه اعترافهم واعتقاده  
اعتقادهم وان هذه عادة لهم ان لا يتصرف احد من الاجناس الا بعد ذلك  
وانفصل اسقف الخندق ومن معه على غير طيبه ثم ان السلطان عز نصره جهاز  
العساكر اولاً واولاً وصار يخرج عسكر ويردغه باخر وفي هذه الايام وردت  
الاخبار بان التطر نزولوا على اربل واخذوها بالسيف ويقال انهم قتلوا في جامعها  
سبعين الف نفس وبقيت القلعة ممتعة عليهم وسيروا الى صاحب الموصل  
واطاعهم صاحبها وحمل اليهم الاتاوه والازواد والاقامات لان بينهم وبينه  
مسافة دون يوم وكانت الاخبار من الشرق والغرب تدل على ان الاحوال  
مضطربة ووفى النيل المبارك في هذه السنة في نهار يوم الخميس الثالث عشر  
من مسرى وهو عيد التجلى بطور تابور وكان \* نيلاً بدرياً وتواترت زيادته  
(ظ) ٣٢٤ وكانت الاسعار رخيصة والاشياء موجودة رخيصة الى الغاية والناس في رخا  
عظيم وخيرات واسعة ثم دخلت سنة اربع وخمسين وتسع مائة والماء يزيد الى  
ان بلغ ثلاثاً وعشرون اصبعاً من تسعة عشر ذراعاً وكان لما بلغ ثمانية عشر اصبعاً  
من تسعة عشر ذراعاً رسم السلطان عز نصره ان لا يرجع ينادى عليه بل ان  
الخواص علموا ذلك من الرقاع التي كانت ترفع الى السلطان في كل يوم  
ووردت الاخبار من دمشق بان الملك الاشرف مات ولم يصح ذلك حتى جاوا  
العزايه وعملت له الصبحة وفشا الامر ثم ان عماد الراهب المشار الذي كان السبب  
في تقدمه البطرك وعاد عدواً له لما ابعده اجتمع مع شخص يقال له الاسعد  
بو الكرم ابن ابن اخت البطرك المتنيح وكان هذا البطرك قد انتخبه وجعله  
صاحب سره وكلما ياخذه على يده وشهد قدام الجماعة مراراً انه راض بقوله  
وان كل ما اخذه على يده وانه قد بقي على البطرك ثلثماية دينار ذهباً والاسعد عالم  
بها فوقع بين البطرك وبينه لامر ما علم فاتفق مع هذا الراهب وعمل اوراقا  
مفصلة باسمه من اخذ منه البطرك شرطونية وغيرها على يده خاصة في مدة  
صحته له الى ان فارقه يشتمل على تسعة الف دينار وميتين واخذها وطلعا بها



الى القلعة وكانت نسخاً فنسخة تسلمها الامير نور الدين بن الامير فخر الدين عثمان استاذ الدار ونسخة تسلمها القاضى الاسعد الفايضى الوزير فسيرا احضرا البطرک بحضور الراهب والاسعد وقابلوا بينهم فاتفق الحال على ان البطرک يقوم بالف دينار لبيت المال المعمور وفيما هو يقوم بها كان رجل صايغ يعرف بدها وهو من اصحاب البطرک وهو الذى كان يخدمه وياوى اليه فى ايام العلمانية وكان له دكان فى الصاغة بالقاهرة فاتفق ان عبدا سرق من القلعة مصاعاً ونزل به الى دكان هذا بها سلمه اليه وتسلم عليه مبلغاً ثم ان هذا الصايغ المذكور تصرف فى بعض المصاغ وسبكه فلما كان فى هذه الايام علم بالعبد انه اخذ العملة فامسك وضرب وقرر فقر على بها المذكور فاخذ ووكل به واحرق به واستعيد منه اكثر المصاغ وغرم كلما يملكه عوضاً عما عدم منه ثم بعد ذلك رجعوا على البطرک بالطلب وقالوا هذا صاحبك وانت علمت به ورضيت وآخر الحال انهم قرروا عليه خمس مائة دينار اخرى وصار مطلوباً بالف وخمسمائة دينار وقام بها واما بها فانه بقى فى الترسيم اياماً حتى يقوم بما طلب منه حتى انه المسكين وصلت \* حاله الى ان طلب من الناس وبعد ذلك لما علم انه لم يبق له شى رضى الجب واما العبد فقطعت يده ثم ان مولانا السلطان خرج من القاهرة طالباً الى دمشق فى يوم الخميس الثامن عشر من بابه فى هذه السنة ووصل اليها ونزل عليها وحاصرها وكان القتال يستجبر عليها من جواً وبراً وكان رسول الخليفة رجلاً يقال له ابن الجوزى فمشى بين السلطان وبين اخيه الذى كان بها وهو الملك الصالح غازى فاصطلحا على ان يعطى الملك مع بصرى قلعتة التى له بعلبك وبلاد اخرى ويسلم السلطان الملك الكامل مدينة دمشق وعبر اليها فى نهار يوم الاربعاء الرابع من كيهك ولم تدخل حمص وحلب فى اليمين وكان المرض ايضا قد فشا فى الناس مثل السنين المتقدمة ومات خلق كثير واقام السلطان بدمشق وعظم امره وعزم على الخروج لاخذ حلب وجهز العساكر لذلك فمرض فى اثنا ذلك وتوفى فى ليلة الخميس الخامس عشر من برمهات الموافق للربيع والعشرين من رجب بالعدد من سنة خمس وثلثين وسماية فكانت مدة مقامه بدمشق مائة يوم ويوماً واحداً وكان الخدام متولين امره ولم يعبر اليه احد من اقاربه ولا خواصه من الامرا ولم يوص بشى فكتموا

امر وفاته وادعوا انه مريض وانه رسم بان تحلف الامرا لولده بان السلطنة له من بعده وهو الولد الاصغر الذى بمصر فحلفوا جميعهم فلما تكاملت ايمانهم افشوا خبر موته فندم بعضهم ومن لم يحلف ما حلف وهو الملك الناصر بن المعظم الذى كان صاحب دمشق الذى كان السلطان قد ركبه فى القاهرة ركوب السلطنة على انه اتابك وولده هذا المحلوف له واركبه فى دمشق بعد فتحها كذلك فعز عليه هذا الامر وكان اهل دمشق يحبونه لولايتهم فى ابيه وما اعنى ذلك شيئاً فاخذ الامرا الكبار والخدم الملك الجواد مظفر الدين بن ممدود بن ابي بكر بن ايوب وهو ابن اخى السلطان المتوفى سلموا له دمشق وجعلوه اتابك الملك العادل صاحب مصر فها وسلموا اليه الخزائن فاعطى وخلع ووهب واقطع وكان كريماً حسن الخلق فاخذ بقلوب الامرا والاجناد واحبه الناس الا ان الغلا كان بدمشق وكان لما ورد الخبر بوفاة السلطان الى مصر واستصححه الناس طلب كل احد الغلة وشحت نفوسهم عليها وتوهموا ان ثم حصاراً يقع وارتفع السعر الى ان بلغ ثلثين درهما الاردب والشعير ثمانية عشر درهما والبقول مثله ومنع بيع الغله اصلاً \* الا للطحانيين على قدر غلاتهم وبقى الناس فى شدة والقمح لا يقدر عليه ولا الخبز وعلى كل دكان زحام حتى لا يقدر احد يعبر عليه وجندارية الولاة على دكاكين الخبازين ولا يباع لاحد خبز الا بالقسط واستمر هذا جمعة من الزمان حتى اطلقت الغلة للناس اشتروها ورخصت وكثر الجلب واهتدى الناس مما هم فيه وكان البطرك قد توجه الى اسكندرية فى اثنا الصوم قبل ورود هذا الخبر بايام وبعد هذا تواصلت العساكر من الشام اولاً واولاً وجات الخزائن مع الخدام بعد ان اخذ منها الملك الجواد ما احتاجه وتكامل العسكر بالديار المصرية ولم يبق بدمشق الا امراء قلائل اختارهم الملك الجواد لمساعدته ومرافقته وكان السلطان الملك العادل قد احضر العربان لياخذ عليهم العهود والايمان وكانوا قد كثروا بالقاهرة حتى صار فيها زهاء الفى فارس وخنشى الناس منهم الى ان وصل العسكر وخلع عليهم وحلفوا وخرجوا وخلع على الامرا الذين وصلوا ووصلوا بالمال والزيارات فى اقطاعاتهم وكان الناس بعد موت السلطان قد تكروهوا الفلوس والمعاملة بها وصار فى البلدين سعران سعر بالفضة وسعر بالفلوس وانتهى حالها الى ان صار كل درهم ورقاً بدرهمين فلوساً والدراهم

النقرة بستة دراهم فلوساً وضرب منهم وشهر وهم لا يرجعون ثم بعد ذلك صاروا يبيعونها بالرطل بدرهم واحد ورقاً ونصف درهم ورقاً كل رطل وحدث في عشية يوم الاربعاء اول بونه مطر عظيم لم يرمثله في مثل هذا الوقت من السنة ودام الى برهة من الليل وكان معه برق ورعد مخوف وكان هذا من جملة الاعاجيب ثم انهم رجعوا شرعوا في تنمة عمل السور على البلدين من ناحية البحر والخليج ورجعوا الزموا الناس كلهم بحفر الاساس من المسلمين والنصارى واليهود وصاروا يمسون القسوس الذين بالقاهرة ومصر الذين هم قسوس الكنائس بها وصار اوليك المساكين يتكلفون ان يصيروا اما حشاراً او نقبا اسطول وياخذوا معهم الجنداريه من عند المشدين ويجبون الى المساكين ارباب الصنایع والمتاعشين يخرجونهم يحفرون من بكره الى الليل ومن كانت له اجره وزن عن نفسه حق البديل لمن يحفر عنه على ما يشارطه عليه من ثلثة دراهم الى حولها وكان رجل من اهل طمبدي وكيلاً للبترك على ريع الاوقاف وكان اشد ما على النصارى هو لانه كان يؤلب عليهم الولاه والمشدين حتى يقطع مصانعة النصارى لانه جعلها معيشه والبترك غايب والناس في شدة وهى واقعة بالضعفا خاصة لان \* الكتاب وارباب الجاه ما كان احد يتعرض (ج) ٣٢٦ اليهم ولا كان فيهم هم من المروه ان يواسوهم ولا من القوة ان يخلصوهم وبقوا على هذه الحال واما اليهود فانهم تعصبوا على جارى عاداتهم وواسى غنيهم فقيرهم وقام كل عن نفسه ببديل ممن لا يقدر على الحفر وانجزوا ما يخصهم وتفرغوا لاشغالهم وكان الشيخ السنى الراهب المقدم ذكره منحرفاً متوجعاً لما يجرى على القسيسين ولا يجد من ينجده ولا من يساعده لانه كان قد انقطع بكنيسة بوسرجه وترك خدم السلطان عن طاهر بك ولو كان متصرفاً لما جرى من هذا شى وكان يضارب بالنيه ثم ان الراهب عماد الاخيمى الذى كان سبباً لتقدمة البترك وهو الذى قرر للسلطان الثلاثة الاف دينار على البطرقيه ما زال يتسبب حتى ينجز كتاب السلطان الملك العادل الى والى الاسكندريه بان يسلم اليه البترك ويعمل فيه ما يقوله الراهب وينجز كتباً من اكابر الدولة الى والى البحيرة بان يسير معه اسقف دمنهور واسقف فوه وكان قصده ان يثبت عليه اشيا يوجب القطع بحضور اسقفين فما مكنه الوالى من ذلك الا انه اخذ معه

قراغلامين<sup>(١)</sup> وجندارين بالكتب التي معه وعبر على فوه ودمهور اخذ الاسقفين معه ودخل الثغر وواصل الكتاب الى الوالى فامر الوالى بان يسلم اليه البطرک واصحابه المعينين فى الكتب وكانت ليلة الاحد والبطرك قد فرغ من الصلاة وخرج الناس من الكنيسة فنقل البطرک الى طبقه كان قد نزل بها واخذ اصحابه اودعهم السجن وقصد ان يعمل مجمعاً بالثغر فما اتفق له ذلك لان اكابر البلد كانوا اصحاب البطرک فاجتمعوا بالوالى وقالوا السلطان ما رسم الا بتسييره تسييره اليه وهو يفصل فيه هناك فاخذه وخرج واخرج اصحابه نخشين وهم الكاتب والتلميذان واحدهما عبده الذى رهبه وكرزه شماساً على دير الشمع ووصل الى القاهرة فى عشية يوم الجمعة فى او اخر بوونه فطلع الراهب الى القلعة واخبر بان البطرک وصل فامر ان يحبس هو واصحابه فى حبس القلعة فباتوا فيه تلك الليلة ثم ان جماعة المستوفين اجتمعوا ثانى يوم وهو يوم السبت واجتمعوا بالامير الصارم لانه كان استاد الدار فى ذلك الزمان ولم يزالوا به حتى اخرجوه من الحبس وانزلوه الى الكنيسة بجارة زويلة بالقاهرة فجا الراهب الى الصارم وقال له موّه على الامير وهذا الرجل مطلوب من السلطان فحمله وقد قعد هو واصحابه ياكلون ويشربون ورحت اليهم فضربوني وعربدوا على فسير الصارم الى والى القاهرة بان ياخذه ويحبسه فجا الراهب \* من عند الوالى بجمع عظيم ورهج واخذ البطرک حافياً راجلا وامسك كل من وجده عنده وركب بغلته والبطرك ماش وهو يفتري عليه فلما وصلوا الى الوالى على تلك الحال وكان رجلا جيذا اعظم الحال واكرم البطرک وخلى طريق اولئك الممسوكين من الناس ما خلا اصحاب البطرک ورسم بان يقعد فى طبقة بالربع الحديد الذى بين القصرين الذى تحته دكاكين الصيارف هو واصحابه ومعه مترسمون من قبله وزجر الراهب وانكر عليه واقام البطرک هناك واما الاسقفان فنزلا بكنيسة ابو سرجه والراهب معهما عند الشيخ السنى الراهب ثم ان الراهب السنى اتفق مع اسقف فوه على اوراق عملوها لياخذوا خط البطرک بها ان ابقوه فى البطرکيه منها امانة القبط وان لا ياخذ رشوه على شرطية احدٍ من رتب الكهنوت وان لا يجعل للمطران فى الشام امرا فى كرسى

(١) اقرأ : « قراغولين » .

انطاكيه بل تقتصر به على غزه وما ولاها من تخوم مصر وان يقطع اولاد النساء الثوانى الذين يقدموا على رتبة الكهنوت وكذلك العبيد الذين قدمهم وان يختصر فى اللباس على ما جرت به عادة القبط ولا يبدل البدلات التى هى من شعار الملكية وان يوفر اجر الاوقاف على المواضع التى هى موقوفه عليها فبدا بعمارة الرباع المذكورة ثم بالكنيسة والفقرا من كهنتها فيما فضل بعد ذلك استجد به وقفاً اخر ولا ياخذ رسوم الاعياد التى ياخذها من ساير الديار المصريه بل يوفرها على مصالح الكنايس التى الاعياد لها ومن له رسم فيها مثل اسقف او والى او غيرهما فيما فضل كان للفقرا والمساكين وكذلك ديارية الديارات التى احدثها وجعلها له فى الديار المصريه ان يوفرها على الديارات لعمارتها والرهبان لضروراتهم وان ياخذ من الدياريه المقررة على البلاد الجارى بها العادة ما يكفيه لنفقته وهو خمسة عشر دينار فى كل شهر ويترك باقيها لمنقطع لا يقدر على جزيته فيزنها عنه ويشترى بها دينه او عادم قوته وملبوسه فيريح نفسه ويسترجسده او كايته تجرى مثل حفر البحر وما يجرى مجراه فيحمل ثقلها عن الصعاليك ويرفع البدلة عن القسوس الذين عادوا ممالك وان يشترى فى كل سنة من مال هذه البيعة مائة اردب قمحاً برسم الرهبانات المقيمت بدير المعلقة ويصون وجوههن من البدله واحوالهن من القلة وان يكون كاتبه شيخاً اسقفياً لا مطعن عليه واشيا مما هذه سبيله وسيرت اليه الاوراق وقريت عليه فما اجاب الى شئ منها وكان الراهب عماد المبدأ بذكره ملازماً لباب السلطان ساعياً فى عمل المجمع على البطرک فما زال المستوفيون يسعون \* فى امره حتى اخذه امير جندار ضربه ضرباً منكراً (ج) ٣٢٧ وطرحه فى الزردخاناه وعمل فى حلقه طوقاً وفى رجله باشه وكان عادماً الخبز فلقى شدة عظيمة حتى انهم منعوا من يفتقده فى الحبس وتسببوا الى ان اخرجوا البطرک من الطبقة وانزلوه الى كنيسة حارة زويله اقام بها ولم يزل الحال كذلك الى الرابع والعشرين من ابيب وكانوا قد اصلحوا اكابر الدولة فتحدثوا فى خلاصه فخلص وكانت ليلة عيد بومرقوره فنزل كما هو الى كنيسته التى بمصر واصبح ابدل على جارى عادته وزفوه فى وسط الكنيسة وطرح له كرسي جلس عليه ومدح وكان يوماً عظيماً مشهوداً واجتمع فيه من الخلق ما لا يحصى وتردد الى الكنايس وجرى على حالته الاولى واما عماد فانه كان قد اخذ خطه

بان يقوم لبيت المال المعمور باربعة الف وثمانى مائة دينار التى ذكر انه يظهرها فى جهة اصحاب البطرك فما زال الشيخ السنى ومن يختص به يسعون حتى تخلص واستعيد<sup>(١)</sup> خطه ثم ان البطرك لم يزل يتوسل حتى عبر الى السلطان واهدى اليه هدية فقبلها وسمع منه ما قوى جنانه وبسط لسانه وتسلط به على النصارى واما ما جرى فى هذه الايام من الكاينات فان الملك الناصر بن المعظم قصد بلاد الساحل ووصل الى غزه واقطع البلاد وجند الجنود وكان قصده كله دمشق وسير الى السلطان الملك العادل يعلمه ان صاحب دمشق معه وانه دعاه الى مطاوعته وان يكونوا معاً يداً واحده وسير كتبه اليه بذلك فبلغ صاحب دمشق ذلك وكان الملك الجواد مظفر الدين بن ممدود وكان قد استخدم جيشاً قوياً كثيراً مع العسكر الذى معه من مصر فخرج اليه فى عدد وعُدد فالتقوا بالقرب من الغور فانكسر الناصر ولم ينج الا بنفسه فمضى الى الكرك واخذت عامة اصحابه واثقاله وازواده ويزكه وغنم العسكر الدمشقى غنماً كثيراً وسيرت اعلامه الى القاهره وطيف بها وكان النيل المبارك قد هجم فى هذه السنة من اولها ثم توقف بعد ذلك ووفى فى يوم السبت اخر النسي وفيه خلق المقياس وكسر الخليج وكان فى هذه السنة عجائب حدثت فى غير وقتها جات زلزلة ظاهرة تبينت لكل احد فى البيت ومطرت فى ايام النسي وقيل انها لا تحدث الا فى سنة شح النيل ثم دخلت سنة خمس وخمسين وتسع مائه وانتهى الماء فيها الى ستة عشر ذراعاً وثمانى اصابع وكان الجسور قد انقطع اكثرها لانها كانت مدبرة فى \* ايام الملك الكامل فلما مات زالت تيك المهابة ووقع الطمع فى قلوب الولاة والمتصرفين فاهملوا امرها فانقطع اكثرها ومنها جسر كان بالجيزه وكان جسراً عظيماً يرد الماء من اراضى البهنسى فانقطع وخرج اليه الامير جمال الدين ابن يعمور مشد الدواوين المعمورة واقام عليه مدة وانفق عليه جملة من المال والعهده ولم يقدر ان يسده واتفق على الناس فى هذه السنة المباركة شحة النيل وبقطع الجسور ونشفت البلاد بسبب العربان لانهم كانوا قد اختلفوا بالصعيد ونهبوا الناس وسبوا اهل بعض البلاد فقلت الاسعار وصار القمح بدينار الاردب

(١) تقرأ : « استبعد » .

والشعير قربا منه وما روى قط الشعير بسعر القمح الا في هذه السنة وغلا كل شئ ورخص الذهب حتى صار صرف الدينار بالنقده اثنا عشر درهما وربع وثمان وبالورق خمسة وثلثين درهما وربع وكان السبب في ذلك كثرة ما اخرج السلطان من الاموال وفرقه على الامرا والاجناد وهو السبب الاكبر في غلا الاسعار لان الناس كثرت معهم الاموال وخصوصا الاجناد واطمانوا على نفوسهم حتى ان النيذ القديم ابيع باربعة دراهم نقره الحرة لكثرة طلب الناس له والفواكه غلت والملبوس والمصاغ والاملاك ايضا وكانت ايام تشبهها الناس لايام الملك العزيز رحمه الله لطيبها ثم ان الاساقفة حضروا من الوجه البحرى وكانت عدتهم اربعة عشر اسقفاً واجتمعوا في كنيسة حارة زويلة وتحذثوا في امر البطرق وذكروا انهم ما يرضون اشياء تاتي منه عددوها وايقنوها في مسطور كتبوه عنه وكتب خطه في طرته بما مثاله فوق البسمله وعلامته بين السطور تكتب الاخوة الاساقفة الرب يبارك عليهم وعلى شعبيهم وكراسيهم بالموافقة على هذا المكتوب وما ثبت فيه من الامانة والسيرة المرضية والعيادة البيعية ومن خرج عنه او حاد عن شروطه كان محروماً مبعداً من فم الثالوث المقدس الاب والابن والروح القدس ومن فم الثلثاية وثمانية عشر المجتمعين بنيقية بطركا كان او اسقفاً انا او اساقفتي وليس له حظ مع المومنين الله يعيدنا من ذلك وكان من شروطه بعد الاعتراف بالامانة المستقيمة المقررة بمجمع نيقية والجمعين المقدسين المجتمعين بقسطنطينة وافسس ثم الاقرار بما اختصت به البيعة يعقوبية مما اخذناه من الاب كيرلس الكبير والابن ساويرس وديسقرس الارتدكسين وهو الايمان بان المسيح الاله المتأنس طبيعة واحدة اقنوم واحد \* مشيئة واحدة فهو الاله الكلمة وهو (ج) ٣٢٨

الانسان المولود من مريم العذراء ولذلك يصح وصفه بكل الاوصاف الالهية والانسانية ثم من بعد الزام ما تضمنته الكتب الالهية والقوانين الرسولية والمجامع المقبولة والاعداد المستقرة في البيعة يعقوبية القبطية التي عليها اعتمادنا في ديانتنا فاما الفصول التي دعا الوقت الى امرها بالذكر طلبا لدوام السلامة الاول لا يقدم اسقف من الان الا من كان عارفاً وعملت له تزكية ورضى به شعبه ولا يوخذ منه شرطونه ولا تباع روح القدس ولا تشتري وكذلك يجرى الامر في مقدمة القسوس والشمامسة وجميع رتب الكهنوت ولا يأخذ احد من

الحكام رشوى له وما يقوم مقامها فى حكم من ساير الاحكام بطرکاً كان او اسقفاً  
اونائباً عنهما او يحابى فى حكم لاجل جاه او شفاعه فمن فعل ذلك كان ممنوعاً .  
الثانى ان يتفق البطرك مع الاساقفة العلما على عمل مختصر قوانين فى المحرمات  
والمباحات فى الزيجات وغيرها وفى المواريث وترتيب طقوس الكهنوت  
وتكتب نسخاً وعليها خط البطرك والاساقفة بالموافقة وتخلد للكراسى واى حكم  
خرج عنها كان باطلا . الثالث ان يجتمع الاساقفة الى القلاية دفعة واحدة فى  
السنة وهى من اول الجمعة الثالثة من الخمسين والى اخر الجمعة الرابعة منه  
وان لا يغير القواعد المستقرة فى البيع القبطية كالتختان قبل التعميد ما لم يقطعه  
ضرورة وكالاتمتناع من تكرير اولاد السرارى والعبيد ما خلا المسبيين من بلاد  
الحبشة والنوبة اذا حسنت سيرتهم وزكوا للكهنوت ومن كان غير مسبى بل  
ابن جارية عاهرة غير مكمله فلا يقدم من الان فى شى من درج الكهنوت  
وكذلك اولاد النسا الرواجع من الان لا يقدمون فى شى درج الكهنوت  
وكذلك اولاد الزوجة الثالثة ولو كانت بكرا لا يقدمون فى شى درج الكهنوت  
ويمنع من تكلل سراً فى البيوت خارجاً عن الكنيسة والقربان ويحرم دخول  
الحايضات الى الكنائس فى وقت حيضهن . وان يكون كاتب القلاية من  
يختاره البطرك اما اسقفاً واما رجلاً معتبراً . وان يطلب خط مطران غزه  
وما والاها بالموافقة على اعتقاد البيعة اليعقوبية المقدم ذكره وموافقة من وافقها  
ويمنع من يمنعه من الجامع ومتى لم يجب الى ذلك قطع وان يكون طقس مطان  
دمياط الحاضر بها الان مستقراً على العادة لمن يقدمه بها . وان لا يكرز  
البطرك ولا الاساقفة على غير كراسيهم بالجملة ولا يطقسوا احدا الا برضى  
اهل كرسية او اكثرهم وبرضى اسقفه الذى قدمه ولا يقبله \* اسقف كرسى  
اخر الا برضى اسقفه الذى هو فى كرسية ولو كان ساكناً عنده واى من انتقل  
من بلده وكنيستته من غير امر ضرورى الى كرسى اخر او كنيسة اخرى  
فليمنع من كليهما ولا يمنع البطرك احداً من شعوب كراسى الاساقفة الا بموجب  
شرعى اذا ثبت عن اسقفه انه لا يمنعه فليسير البطرك بامره بمنعه فان تأبى الاسقف  
لوجه غير مرضى واصر على ذلك يمنعه البطرك وان لا يحل البطرك من منعه  
اسقفه الا اذا ثبت عنه انه منعه بهوى عن غير وجه شرعى ويكاتبه البطرك دفعه



واثنتين بسببه فان اصر الاسقف على ذلك احضرهما كليهما وانفصلا بما يوجبه الشرع . ومن كرز على كرسى من الاساقفة وعمله فلا تنقص عليه منه بلد ومن استقر بيده كرسى بلاده الى يوم تسطيره فلا يخرج عنه . واما الديارية التى توجد من الاساقفة التى للبطرك فلا يوخذ على سبيل القهر الا على قدر كراسيهم وعلى قدر ما يسهل عليهم على سبيل البركة . وان لا يلزم للبطرك الاسقف بان يطقس فى كرسية او يكرز من لا يرضاه اسقف الكرسى او اكثر جماعته ويساوى بين الاساقفة فيما هو مطلق لجميعهم وممنوع . وان لا يتعرض للبطرك الى ما يدخل الكنائس فى اعيادها ورسومها وواقفها بل يكون تحت نظر الاسقف ولا يخرج عن يده الا من كان قد اشترط عليه ذلك قبل تكريزه ان يكون دخل الكنيسة عوضا عن دياريه الكرسى ولا يخرج عن ايديهم شىء . من اديرة كراسيهم الا من كان قد التزم بذلك قبل تكريزه . وان لا يقبل قول الرهبان بعضهم فى بعض الا بعد الفحص الشديد والاخذ بقول الاكثرين المزيكين ولا يزعب الرهبان من اديرتهم من غير ضرورة ظاهره ولا يستتاب فى الحكم بين الرهبان قوم من العلمانيين بل روسا الديره ومن يقوم مقامهم من المومنين المعتبرين العارفين . وان لا يمنع اسقف على الامور الصغار من القلايه ومتى وقع فيما يوجب منعه يكتبه للبطرك دفعه واثنين ويحذره عن ذلك وبعد ذلك يحضر الى القلايه يحاقق عن نفسه قبل منعه ان وجب عليه المنع الاغوسنس رتبته رتبة ارشى بابا القسوس له ان يقول التحليل على القسيس المقدس ويرفع البخور بعده ويتقرب بعده وقبل ساير من دونه من القسوس غير المقدسين واذا حضر مع الاسقف يتناول هو البخور من يد الاسقف ولا يتناول هو البخور لاحد من يده من القسوس وليس له شىء غير ذلك ومن اراد من المومنين ان يمضى الى عيد كنيسته من اى كرسى كان فلا يمنعه اسقفه بهذا السبب وهو مسطور طويل الشرح وهذه زيد معانيه اختصرناها خشية من التطويل وتاريخه فى سادس توت \* من سنة خمس وخمسين وتسع مائه وعمل مختصر (ج) ٣٢٩ القوانين فى الامور الضرورية الواقعة فى الزواج وشروطه والميراث واقسامه وهو بايدى المومنين نسخ عدة وكتب عليه للبطرك والاساقفة ثم خرج الاساقفة الى كراسيهم وقد طابت نفوسهم بذلك ثم ان السلطان سيير امير من اخص

اصحابه واجلايهم الى دمشق الى الملك الجواد بن عمه يدعوه الى الحضور الى مصر وياخذ له اى اقطاع شاء وخيره فى ذلك وينزل عن دمشق وكان ذلك تغبطا ومتوهما انه اذا وصل الى مصر صار الخيار عليه لا له فكاتب الى الملك الصالح صاحب الشرق امد وحصن كيفا وسنجار وغير ذلك مما هو قاطع الفرات يعلمه انه طايح له وانه يعطيه دمشق اذا اعطاه من بلاد الشرق ما تقدم به فحلف له على سنجار وبلاد اخرى معها فلما توثق به سير اليه بان يحضر ويقال انهما اجتمعا فى البرية وتحالفا وعبر الملك الصالح ايوب ابن الملك الكامل الى دمشق وتسلمها وخرج الملك الجواد مظفر الدين الى سنجار وتسلمها واستقر الملك الصالح بدمشق وكان معه عسكر يقال لهم الخوارزميه وكان الناس خايفين منهم لانهم مفسدون فى الارض من جنس التطر الا انهم لم يصلوا معه الى دمشق بل كانوا مقيمين فى البرية صوب بلاد حلب وما والاها وكان قبل دخول الملك الصالح الى دمشق قد قفز على رسول السلطان الملك العادل الذى تقدم ذكره وهو عماد الدين شيخ الشيوخ بن شيخ الشيوخ وقتل بدار السلطان بدمشق وكان بدعة ما سمع بمثلها واول رسول قتل الا انهم ذكروا انه ما قتل الا غيلة عمل عليه صاحب حمص فقتله وبعد ذلك تسلط الخوارزميه على بلاد الشام اخربوها ونزلوا على حمص وحاصروها واعطاهم صاحبها مالا جزيلا حتى رحلوا عنها وسير الملك الصالح الى الساحل اقطعه وكان الغلا فى الشام بلغ القمح فى دمشق مايتى وثلثين درهما الغراره وانجلى اكثر اهل البلاد الى مصر مع انها كانت مرخصه<sup>(١)</sup> الا انها بالنسبة ارفق ورسم بخروج العساكر الى بلييس ونزولهم عليها الى ان يومروا بما يعتمدون عليه وخرج منهم جماعة عين عليهم ونزلوا بها ثم ان قوماً من المسلمين كانوا مقيمين بالمسجد الذى الى جانب الكنيسة المعلقة جاوا الى حايط بينهم وبين الكنيسة تفضى الى مجلس كان البطررك عمله برسم جلوسه تحت قلايته الفوقانية فهدموا منها طاقات وصورة ابواب وادعوا انه من حقوق المسجد وصار فى الكنايس بلبله لان ذلك كان فى نصف الصوم المقدس \* وفى الكنيسة المعلقة بالاكثر وتعطلت من القداس

(٣) ٣٢٩ (ظ)

(١) اقرأ : مبهضة .

والصلاة اياماً كثيرة في الصيام وكان المسلمون يطعمون على سلام الى سطح  
قلاية البطرك العالية ويوذنون ويكبرون ويذكرون ما يذكرونه على ما عهد منهم  
وجرت في ذلك خطوب وسير امير جندار احضر قوما منهم وضربهم اشد ضرب  
وحبس والى مصر منهم جماعة دفعتين ولا يجدى ذلك فيهم وحضر المهندسون  
وكتبوا مشاريع بان هذا الحايط للكنيسة وما للمسجد فيه شئ ولا في المجلس  
الذى يليه ودخل في ذلك صاحب ديوان الاحباس وتحدثوا في ان يضعوا  
نصف نخل من دون الحايط وتسد الحايط على نصف النخل بين الموضوعين  
ولم يجب اصحابنا الى شئ من ذلك ثم تحدثوا في ان يسدوا الحايط المهذوم  
على حده على ما كان عليه وتمهد الطبقة العالية وامتنع اهل الكنيسة من ذلك  
وبقى الامر على ذلك مدة وجا العيد والامر على حاله ودخل شهر رمضان سنة  
ست وثلثين وسمياه وما عدم اصحابنا في هذه المدة غرامة جملة كبيرة وفي هذه  
الايام اخرج صاحب امد من الاعتقال لانه كان في برج بالقلعه وله مدة  
طويله وخلع عليه واعيد اليه كل قماش كان اخذ منه لانه كان محفوظاً مودعاً  
مضبوطاً وجهاز باهله وجماعته ليتوجه في البحر الى انطاكيه الى خدمة قريبه  
ملك الروم صاحب قونيه واقصرا وكانت هذه القضية من المكارم العظام التي  
ابتدعها هذا السلطان ثم ان الغلة انخط سعرها قليلا وكان القمح من ثلثين الى  
اربعة وعشرين درهما الاردب والشعير من ثمانية وعشرين درهما الاردب الى  
دونها والفول بعشرين درهما الاردب وتباشر الناس بالرخص لان الغلال نجحت  
في هذه السنة نجاباً ما سمع بمثله وكانت مطرت مطراً كثيراً لم يجربه العاده في  
مصر وواتها برودة عظيمة الى اخر وقت ولم يكن في المدينتين شئ غالياً خارجا  
عن القياس سوى التبن فانه كان بستة دراهم نقره الشبكه وحمولته والحطب  
فانه بلغ عشره ورقا الجملة والزيت الحار فانه كان بخمسة عشرة درهما العشرة  
ارطال ثم رسم بخروج بعض العساكر الى بلبيس واقامتهم بها فخرج جماعة من  
الامرا يكونون زهاء من ثلاثة الف فارس فكان منهم امير كبير يعرف بنور الدين  
بن فخر الدين عثمان فاتفق ان وقع بينه وبين والى بلبيس واقع فصار يكتب فيه  
الى السلطان ويذكر انه يكتب الملك الصالح وتحميه رسل الملك الصالح وكتبه  
فصار ثم توهم منه فخرج الامر بان يتوجه الى رشيد يتركز بها بمفرده وكان هذا

٣٣٠ (ج) الثغر مما يجرى في حيز الامير المذكور فتوهم ان ارساله الى هناك \* لشيرير اديه وان يمسك ويحبس فتوقف عن الرواح وكاتب اكابر الدولة فاعفى من ذلك وبقى في القلوب ما فيها وكان قد اتفق معه على رايه جماعة من الامراء وهم عز الدين ايبك الكردي وعز الدين ايبك الحمد لله المعروف بقضيب البان وسيف الدين الدنيسرى وسطر الخوارزمي واخوه وعلاء الدين بن الشهاب احمد ونور الدين علي بن الاكثع وعز الدين تلبان المجاهدى والركن عمر الفانرى وايدكين العزيزى وعلم الدين سحرالمنى وكانوا جميعا نزالا في منزلة واحدة ورايهم واحد وكلمتهم واحدة وشاع امرهم وذاع فسير اليهم السلطان الامير فخر الدين بن الشيخ يطيب قلوبهم ويطمئنهم وكتب اليهم كتابا بخطه يذكر فيه انه ليس عنده خبر مما توهموه وانه يحلف لهم على ما يريدونه فطابت قلوبهم بذلك وكتبوا نسخة اليمين وتسلمها الامير فخر الدين بن الشيخ وعاد الى القاهرة ليحلف السلطان عليها بعد ان حلف الامراء المذكورون له انهم في طاعته ما لم يغير عليهم امراً وما لم يبدلهم شيئاً منكراً وحلف السلطان على النسخة وجات مع الامير شجاع الدين بن ابي ذكرى ثم ان احد الامراء المقدم ذكرهم كان متاخراً بالقاهرة وهو تلبان المجاهدى الذى كان والى البهنسى فخرج منها بغير دستور اعنى القاهرة وجاء الى هذه الجماعة نزل عندهم فوقع التخيل ايضا ولم يفد اليهم شيئاً فرجع فخر الدين بن الشيخ خرج الى العسكر وخرج معه الامير بهاء الدين ابن ملكيشوا الذى كان والى القاهرة مرة وتولى دمشق ايضاً مرة واجتمعوا بالامراء وفاوضوهم في هذا الامر وان خروج تلبان المجاهدى بغير دستور ما كان واجباً وانكم رضيتم بهذا وهو قبح الايمان وكان ذلك اليوم الاربعاء الحادى والعشرين من شهر رمضان سنة ست وثلثين وسمائة الموافقة للثانى من بشنس واتفق في ذلك النهار ان جماعة من رجال الحلقة وهم الاتراك اتفقوا على ان يخرجوا ويلحقوا بالامراء المقدم ذكرهم وكانوا زهاء الف فارس فاجتمعوا ولبسوا وخرجوا من القاهرة وكان للامراء طلايع يعرفونهم الاخبار فجاهم فارس يركض واخبرهم بان الحلقة قد خرجت لاخذهم وان الفارس خطبوا مقدمهم وكان الفارس خطبوا المذكور قد خرج الى الجماعة المذكورة ليردهم هو وامير اخر معه يعرف بالصارم المسعودى فاخذوهما وربطوهما معهم

وكان للامرا طلايع فجا فارس ركضا الى بليس الى الخيام اخبرهم ان الحلقة  
قد خرجت للقبض عليهم فقاموا ولبسوا وركبوا فسمع الركن الهجاوى والاكراد  
\* الفيه الاخرى بذلك فركبوا ايضا لابسين السلاح وعدة الحرب وتوقعوا فاندفع  
الامرا المقدم ذكرهم قدام الجماعة التي من حزب السلطان ولم يزالوا كذلك  
يقالبوهم قلبه بقلبه الى وقت المغرب وقد وصلوا الى قريب العباسه وحال  
بينهم الليل وعاد عسكر السلطان الى موضعه وتم الامرا على نوبتهم ولم يصف  
معهم من اصحابهم الا القليل لان اكثرهم رجعوا الى خدمة السلطان لاجل  
بيوتهم واقطاعاتهم وكان قد وقع من جماعة الامرا امير يعرف بابن الاكع  
واخذ اسيرا واصطنعه الامير فخر الدين بن الشيخ والركن الهجاوى ومن معهم  
وذكروا انه فعل ذلك قاصداً لخدمة السلطان واحضر الى القاهرة وخلع عليه  
وابقى على خبره واما الحلقة فانهم لم يلحقوا الامرا ولم يعبروا على بليس بل  
جعلوها على يسارهم واخذوا من شرقها صوب البريه والاميران الاسيران معهم  
فاتفق رايتهم على ان يطلقوا الاميرين المذكورين وان ينفذوا من اكابرهم خمسة  
رجال الى السلطان يستوثقون منه ويستحلفونه ويعودون الى اخبازهم لان الجميع  
ما كان بهم الا خوف على نفوسهم لا غير فجاء الاميران المذكوران والخمسة  
الاكابر وتحدثوا مع السلطان في معنائهم فاجاب الى مطلوبهم وخلع على الخمسة  
وانعم عليهم وجهزهم وسير معهم احد خدامه وهو المسمى بنان فخرجوا الى  
ان وصلوا الى الداروم فلم يجدوهم ولا شك انهم في اثناء ذلك اجتمعوا  
بالامرا فقبلوا روسهم واخذوهم معهم وساروا فعاد الخدام والخمسة ولم  
يصنعوا شيئاً وكانت البلاد فيها قلق واضطراب وخوف واحتياط على موجود  
الامرا وادركهم مرة ثانية لانهم كانوا افرجوا عنهم لما توهموا رجوعهم وبعد ايام  
وصل الملك الناصر بن الملك المعظم الى القاهرة المحروسة في يوم السبت التاسع عشر  
من بشنس الموافق للثامن من شوال سنة ست وثلثين وسماهه وزينت له القاهرة  
ومصر والقلعه ونزل بدار الوزاره ثم انه شفع في الامرا ورجال الحلقة وتقرر انه  
يسير اليهم يطيب قلوبهم ويحضرهم ووصل ابنه بعده بايام يسيرة وما زالت الزينه  
مستمرة بل زيدت الى ان وصل وبعد هذا بلغهم ان الملك الصالح خرج من  
دمشق فجمع السلطان الامرا واحضر الملك الناصر واستحلفهم انهم مطيعون

مخلصون وانهم يقاتلون عنه الى ان يموتوا قدامه وهذه اليمين الرابعة ثم ان قبيلتين من العرب يقال لاحدهما جندام والاخرى ثعلبة وكانتا باعمال الشرقيه وكان بينهما دماً وضغائن قديمة فلما حضر هذا التشويش حسد بعضهم \* على بعض واقتتلوا مرارا وقتل بينهم جماعة كبيرة وكانت ثعلبة في هوى ملك مصر وجندام في هوى ملك الشام فاستنجدت ثعلبة بسنيس فجاوهم من بر العرب واستعانت جندام بمزاته وزناره فجاوهم من البحيرة وكانت ايام خوف وحرب وانقطعت الطرقات وسير السلطان جماعة من الامرا والاجناد لاصلاح ما بينهم فجروا بينهم عصى إلى اجل معلوم بعدما قتل منهم ثم ابتد للناس رجل خادم يقال له شبل الدوله خادم النبي وادعى انه راي نبيهم في النوم وقال له خذ الذمه بتغير حليمهم فانهم قد خرجوا عن حدهم وشرع في ضرب الناس والاخراق بهم من النصرارى واليهود فالنصارى ناخذهم برفع الدوايب وشد الزنانير واليهود بعمل العلامة الصفرا وصار بعض الجماعة بشد الزنار ونرخی الداوبه فانتهى الى ان قطع دوبة القس كاتب الحوايج خاناه لانه كان ارخاها وشد الزنار وكان اذا لم يجد مع واحد زناراً قطع عمامته وشد وسطه بها ونودى على ذلك بالاشهار بالقاهرة ومصر في يوم السبت الخامس عشر من ابيب ووقع الناس من ذلك في شدة وثقل عليهم لانه شى قد بعد عهدهم به منذ عشرين سنة واكثرهم ممن كان يمكنه القعود في بيته لزم داره واما الحكماء الساميون فامر بان لا يتعرض اليهم فبقوا على حالهم ولا بد للخادم المذكور اذا لقيهم من ان يذنب ويعيرهم بالكلام واسلم بهذا السبب رجل من خيار النصرارى يقال له النفه بن الشماس وكان صاحب ديوان الحوايج خاناه والبيوت والاسطبلات وديوان الحاشيه فاجتمع عليه الخدام واخذوه لشد الزنار فشده فاخذوه برفع العدبه فابى فتكاثروا عليه ولزوه فرمى الزنار فقالوا اسلم وشهدوا عليه فاسلم وكان النصرارى في هذا الوقت في ضيق عظيم وهوان اليم واى من لقيهم من العوام والسوقة شتمهم وسبهم ثم ان الامر تحلل في امر العدبه فصار بعض الناس يرخيها لكن بامر استاد الدار وهم ثلاثة انفس الذى رسم لهم بارخاء الدوايه مع شد الزنار ثم انهم اجتمعوا وكتبوا فتاوى واخذوا فيها خطوط الفقهاء في امر الدوايه من العامة فافتوا جميعهم بانه لا يلزم رفعها بل شد الزنار خاصة للتمييز بينهم وبين

المسلمين فكان ممن كتب لهم بذلك الشريف شمس الدين قاضى العسكر وهو  
نقيب الاشراف وبها الدين بن الحميرى خطيب القاهرة وجمال الدين بن  
البورى الذى كان تولى الوزارة فى ايام السلطان الملك الكامل ومبارك المعروف  
باين الطباخ وبعد هذا لم يرخوها \* خوفاً من الخادم ثم ان النيل مد وزاد ووصل  
المفرّد فى يوم السبت العشرين من مسرى وانحطت الاسعار وبيع القمح بعشرين  
درهما الاردب ودونها والشعير بستة عشرة درهما وبقية الحبوب بالنسبة وكان  
السلطان الملك العادل قد خرج الى بلييس بعساكره وجنوده لما بلغه ان اخاه  
الملك الصالح قد تقدم من بلييس واصلا اليه ورحل نزل الى العباسه وكان  
بعض الجماعة قد سعى سعياً نافعاً فى امرارخا الدوابه من العمامة فرسم بارخاها  
بشروط شد الزنار وارخا اكثر الناس ووفى النيل المبارك فى يوم السبت العشرين  
من مسرى وكان السلطان الملك العادل قد دخل المدينة لاجل الخلق فلما كان  
يوم الخلق اتفق ان الخادم المشار اليه كان فى البحر واتفق ان قوما من النصارى  
كانوا فى مركب فى البحر وفيهم من هو مشدود الزنار ومن هو بغير الزنار فعرّفهم  
الخادم والصق اليهم وحملهم الى الامير جمال الدين استاد الدار فسيرهم الى  
المحتسب بمصر فحمل الامر على انهم جميعاً بغير زنار فضربوا واشهبوا مصر  
كلها وكانت قضية شديدة على النصارى وتمكن العوام منهم وكانت بدعة  
عظيمة وكان هذا حكماً من الله تعالى الواحده فى ترك الزنار واخفا المذهب  
واخرى ان الجماعة المذكورة كانوا شامسة والشامسة لا ينبغي لهم ان يشهدوا  
هذه المشاهدة ولا يحضروا مواضع الملاعب ولا المجامع الخارجة عن المذهب  
المسيحى الا انهم صبروا وشكروا وحسب ذلك لهم براً ثم ان السلطان فى حال  
دخوله الى القاهرة بلغه ان العسكر اضطرب عليه وانه صار فرقاً فخرج على  
حاله وامسك ثلثة امراً احدهم فخر الدين بن شيخ الشيوخ وليس فى الامرا  
اكبر منه والاخر فتح الدين سليمان ابن اخى الشهاب احمد وكان اخص من  
عنده هذا السلطان وقد اعطاه الله حملة كبيره والثالث زين الدين غار فاما  
ابن الشيخ فخر الدين فجعل فى برج بالقلعة وهذا البرج الذى كان فيه صاحب  
امد واما الاثنان الاخران فنزل بهما الى الحب الذى بالقلعة وكان الناس فى هذه  
الايام فى وجل وتوقع وشناعات كثيرة وكان القمح والشعير والحبوب قد توسط

سعرها فكان القمح اغلاه بثلاثين درهما الاردب ودونه بعشرين درهما الاردب والشعير والفول بتسعة عشر درهما الاردب والحمص باربعين درهما الاردب الا ان كل شىء غال من المأكول والمشروب والملبوس والعدد والالات العمارة وغيرها وسائر الماكولات غالية السعر والنيذ باربعة دراهم نقره الجره والشمع بثمانية دراهم ونصف الرطل ولم يكون في المدينتين شىء رخيصاً سوى السكر \* فانه كان بدرهم ونصف الرطل وهو رخيص بالنسبة لغيره من الاصناف ثم ان العربان كانوا قد طمعوا وصاروا يغارون على البلاد فيأخذون كل ما فيها ويقتلون ويسبون وفي هذه الايام غاروا على خمسة وعشرين بلدا في الغربية فجرد لهم السلطان اميرا يقال له الفارس خطلبا ومعه الف فارس اقسه وحراريق في البحر فمضوا الى العربان فوجدوهم قد طلوعوا الى البرية وفاتوهم فجاءوا الى البلاد فصاروا يدعون انهم بنون العربان فصاروا ينهبون اموال الناس وياخذون نساهم ودراريهم على انهم اهالى العربان وليس الامر كذلك فخربت البلاد خرابا ثانيا وجاء اهل البلاد وقفوا للسلطان فأمر برد ما اخذ منهم اليهم وبقوا في حيره ممن ياخذون ولمن يطلبون وقد جرى على حرمهم ما لا يعلمونه الا ان النيل زايد والاحوال متمسكة ثم دخلت سنة ست وخمسين وتسعايه والبطريك انبا كيرلس المعروف بدادود بن لقلق وهو الخامس والسبعون والسلطان الملك العادل ابوبكر بن الملك الكامل محمد والقاضى شرف الدين الاسكندري المعروف بابن عين الدولة والغالب على الامور السلطانية بدر الدين يونس امير جندار وكان السلطان قد خرج الى العباسه بالعساكر والجنود وبلغ النيل خمسة عشر اصبعاً من ثمانى عشر ذراعاً ثم ان رجال الحلقة الذين كانوا نافقوا وتوجهوا الى الشام الى خدمة الملك الصالح اخى السلطان كاتبوا السلطان الملك العادل وسيروا نقابهم يعرفونه ان قصة حرب لاختيه اوجبت له ان سير يطلب العسكر الذى على غزه مع عميه مجبر الدين وتقى الدين فانهم امتنعوا من الرواح معهم ويستأذنوه فى الحجىء ويطلبون عسكرا يمضى الى غزه يتسلمها لان اولئك تركوا وذهبوا فخلع السلطان على رسلهم وكانوا منهم واعطاهم الهبات والصلوات فصاروا يتواصلون من خمسة عشر وعشرين وكل من يصل يخلع عليه ويعطى الصلة الى ان تكاملوا وكان الملك الناصر ابن المعظم وهو ابن عم السلطان قد اخذ عسكرا



زها الف فارس وفيهم امرا مقدمون مثل ابن قلع وغيره ومضى الى الكرك  
قلعته وفي اثنا ذلك عمل الملك الصالح اسماعيل الذي هو اخو الكامل الذي كان  
نائب الملك الاشرف في دمشق ولما مات الملك الاشرف خرج الملك الكامل  
الى دمشق اخذها منه واعطاه بعلبك مع بسرى لانها كانت له فعمل على دمشق  
مع روساها لانه كان محبوبا منهم وكان في القلعة ابن الملك الصالح \* ايوب (ظ) ٣٣٢  
بن الكامل وكان الملك الصالح المذكور في نابلس قد رابطها ومكث بها والامراء  
الذين جاوا اليه فسلم روساء دمشق المدينة المذكورة الى الملك الصالح اسماعيل  
الذي كان عندهم أولا وخرج ابن الملك الصالح ايوب وهو ابن ابن اخيه  
من القلعة هاربا وقعد الملك الصالح اسماعيل بدمشق وجاءت البشائر الى العباسه  
الى السلطان الملك العادل بذلك ودقت البشائر في العسكر بذلك وفي القاهرة  
ومصر والقلعة وزينت المدينتان والقلعة مدة ايام كثيرة وانفض العسكر الذي  
كان مع الملك الصالح حتى انه لم يبق معه الا خواصه وحتى كادت العرب  
تهب فاستجار بالملك الناصر صاحب الكرك فاجاره وحمل اليه الازواد والاقامات  
ثم حمله الى الكرك فاقام بها لانه ابن عمه ثم ان الافرنج لما انقضت ايام الهدنه  
اخلوا القدس الشريف حتى لم يبق به سوى فارس واحد وسبعين رجلا يعمروا  
في برج داود ثم ان السلطان جرد زهاء الف فارس من عدة امرا وسيرهم الى غزه  
لحفظ البلاد وكان الافرنج قد خرجوا الى عسقلان ونزلوها وقصدوا عمارتها  
فركبوا وتجمعوا وجاوا الى فربسيا فتواقعوا مع عسكر المسلمين الذي كان على  
غزه فكسروهم من اول النهار الى الظهر ثم تحايا عسكر المسلمين على عادتهم وقد  
تعب راجل الافرنج فكروا عليهم فاسروا منهم جماعة وكان الافرنج ايضا  
قد قتلوا من المسلمين جماعة واسروا جماعة منهم امراء ومقدمون فتكافات  
القيبلتان واما السلطان فعاد ببقية العساكر الى القاهرة ثم خرج الى الصيد بعد  
ان امران يوخذ موجود الامرا الذين نافقوا ونهب دورهم ومن كان لهم عنده  
شى يوخذ منه وصار الناس يكذبون بعضهم على بعض ووقع الناس من ذلك  
في شدة شديدة وطلبوا بما لا عندهم ومنهم من غرم ومنهم من حبس واما  
الاسعار فانها رخصت وانحلت ورجع كل شى الى حده ما خلا الزيت الطيب  
والزيت الحار والسيرج واللحم والدجاج والبيض والحمص والجلبان فانها كانت

الزيت الطيب لاجل انقطاع الطرق بثلاثة دراهم الرطل والزيت الحار بدرهم وربع  
الرطل والسيرج بدرهم ونصف واللحم بدرهم ونصف والدجاج بدرهمين الدجاجة  
والحمص بخمسين درهما الاردب والجلبان بخمسة وعشرين درهما والشمع  
بثمانية دراهم ونصف الرطل والعسل النحل بدرهمين الرطل لان النحل جميعه  
هلك في هذه السنة واما القمح فانه انحط الى خمسة عشر درهما الاردب والشعير  
الى تسعة دراهم الاردب ثم بعد ذلك انحلت الوقعة بين المسلمين \* والافرنج (ج) ٣٣٣  
على ان الكسرة للمسلمين على الافرنج وذلك ان الذين خرجوا مع الافرنج  
كانوا من العرب الذين لا يعرفون مكان البلاد ولا ختال المسلمين في القتال  
ولا حيلهم فسافروا وتفرقوا وامعنوا في البلاد لانهم ساقوا من عسقلان الى  
غزه ولم يصحبهم احد من الساحليه المتدربين بالبلاد بل تركوهم طعمة على جارى  
عادتهم في الخامرة والمواطاه مع عدوهم على اهل مذهبهم وكان المسلمون قد  
اندفعوا قدامهم واستجروهم الى ان طمعوا وتفرقوا واحدقت بهم العربان من  
كل جانب فاخذ منهم كند كبير وزها خمسة عشر فارسا ومن الرجاله ما يناهز  
خمس مائة رجل وقتل اضعافهم ولم يقتل من عسكر المسلمين سوى ابن خاكان  
ومن لا يُعبا به ووصل الاسرى المذكورون الى القاهرة وكان يوم وصولهم يوماً  
مشهوداً وركب الكند والخياله البغال والرجاله الجمال وكان معهم قسيس  
فركب بغلة ايضاً ثم ان السلطان احسن الى الكند فلم يقيده بل تركه في برج  
وحده واطلق له كلما يحتاج اليه واما القسيس والخياله فجعلوا في ارجلهم  
قيوداً بطوق حديد واما الرجاله فقيدوهم واستعملوهم في القلعة ونزل الملك  
الناصر صاحب الكرك الى القدس بعد هذه الكسرة وتسلمه وقتل كل من كان  
بقي فيه من الافرنج وخطب فيه خطبة عظيمة على حكم القرآن وبقي الملك  
الصالح بن الملك الكامل معافا عند ابن عمه هذا الملك الناصر بالكرك وكانت  
الاحوال محتبطة ورجع الخوارزميه عدوا الفرات وجاءوا الى حمص حاصروها  
اياما وخربوا بلادها واخذوا من صاحبها مالا ورجعوا والعربان بالصعيد  
على حالهم في الشقاق والنفاق بحجة ما بين بعضهم البعض ثم ان الغلة رجعت  
تحركت وبلغ القمح ثلثين درهما الاردب العال الغاية والشعير ثلثة عشر درهما  
الاردب ولم يكن في هذه الايام شيء رخيصا لا غله ولا غيرها ولا ملبوس

ولا عدة لان الاجناد كانوا قد امتلأوا من عطايا السلطان وغلوا كل شيء وفسد في هذه السنة اكثر نبيذ الناس حتى انه لا يوجد بيت لم يفسد فيه نبيذ خرا كان او شمسياً ثم ان الراهب عماد المرشاد الذي كان سعى في تقدمه البطرك بالرشى وداس قوانين البيعة وفعل ذلك وحده من غير رأى احد اشترك معه فيه لا اسقف ولا ارخن واوقع الله بينهما العداوة لان القصد كان فاسداً فصار البطرك يضطهده في كل موضع ويمنعه لانه كان قساً وكان هو يتصدى عبرات البطرك ويتتبع نقايصه ويقاومه في كل زمان ويروم \* قطعه كما تقدم من الشرح فجاء (ظ) ٣٣٣ في هذا الوقت وتسبب الى ان استخرج امر السلطان الى امير من الامرا يقال له الصارم المسعودى بان ينظر في أمر البطرك ويعقد له مجلساً مع النصارى بحضور سادة المسلمين وقضايهم وحكامهم وعدولهم فشرع في ذلك وكان البطرك قد طلع الى الكنيسة المعلقة بمصر ليكرز<sup>(١)</sup> راهبه بها وكان له زمن كبير ما طلع اليها منذ خرج منها لما استولى المسلمون على قطر منها بسبب ما جرى بينه وبينهم من التفاقم ولاجل النظرة التي حددها وكانت قد دبرت على ما تقدم من القول فلما ابدل وخرج الى وسط الكنيسة والشمع قدامه والكهنة يمدحونه على جارى عادته وكان هناك رجل منجبل يعرف باسرائيل بن المهندس مقياً في علو الكنيسة فلما سمع بذلك جاء الى موضع يشرف على المكان الذي فيه الجماعة وسبّ وذكر قبائح وقال اخرجوه اخرجوه وعمل ما لا يسوغ عقلاً الا انه عادم العقل فاحتد بعض الجماعة وطلعوا اليه فضربوه وشجوا راسه وجرى دمه على ثيابه فخرج مستغيثا الى والى الصناعة وهو من ممالك السلطان فوافا الراهب عماد عنده قد جآ بامر من عند الامير الصارم يطلب البطرك فطلع البطرك ومعه التوكيل ووكل على ابن اخيه والحازن الذي له ويعرف بابى الفرج بن خلبوصى وجآوا بالبطرك الى دار الامير الصارم ومعه اسقفان انبا يوساب اسقف فوه وانبا بولس اسقف الفيوم فانزلوهم في طبقة بجانب دار الامير المذكور وكان له صاحب نصرانى يعرف بالنجيب كاتب الصلاح فتحدث مع الامير ونقلهم الى داره واقاموا كذلك من يوم الاحد السادس من الصوم المقدس

(١) اقرأ : « يكرس » .

الى يوم الاربعاء من الجمعة السابعة وهو التاسع من برمودة من السنة المذكورة  
فعقد المجلس في اليوم المذكور واحضر جماعة من وجوه النصارى ممن طلب  
وفيمن طلب من لم يحضر منهم لقصد ومنهم لشغل وحضر المجلس المذكور  
الامير الصارم نيابة عن السلطان عز نصره والقاضى الفقيه جمال الدين بن البورى  
الناظر على الدواوين المعمورة بالديار المصرية والقاضى المحي نائبا للحكم العزيز  
بالقاهرة المحروسة والفقيه شرف الدين السبكي المحتسب بها وهو كان المتكلم في  
المجلس واربعة عشر عدلا على ما ذكر من حضر من النفقات من اصحابنا فتقدم  
البطرك وعماد وجلسا قدام صدور المجلس فقالوا من كان له قول او دعوى  
يدعى بها على صاحبه فليقل فتقدم عماد وقال ادعى على هذا داود بانه اعطى  
الرشا على التقدمة واخذها على من قدمه من رتب الكهنوت وهو خارج عن  
شرعنا فقالوا للبطرك ما تقول قال ما اخذت قال عماد ولا امرت من اخذ لك  
قال ولا امرت من اخذ لى قالوا فمن لك يشهد \* بالاخذ يقولون لعماد قال  
هذان الاسقفان فقالا ما تشهد بشيء ولا راينا شيئاً لانهما الاخرين ممن كان  
دفع الرشوة عند تقدمته لانه لم يكن فيمن تقدم من هولاء الاساقفة كلهم الذين  
قدموا في زمان هذا البطرك من لم يعط رشوه سوى اثنان وهما مطران دمياط  
واسقف الخندق لا غير والباقون جميعهم اعطوا معجلاً وموجلاً وكتبوا  
خطوطهم بالمؤجل حتى خرجوا الى كراسيهم حيوه وستروه وكانت رشوتهم  
من مائتي دينار وهم الاكثر الى خمسين دينارا وهم الاقل وذلك خارج عما يدفع  
لابن اخي البطرك وهو حمله لها حسد وعن الهدايا من المتاع والدواب وغير  
ذلك من الاصناف المخصوصة بصقع فقيل لعماد من لك يشهد غير هذين  
فقال هولاء قسوس المعلقة فاستدعى القس ابو المكارم لانه الكبير كان طقساً  
وسناً فقام فقيل له ما تشهد فتلكا واخر الامر قال اخذ للضرورة وخجل فقيل  
اقعد فقعد واستدعى المكنا بصندوق العلم القس ابو المعالى بن السنى رفيقه  
فشهد وقال اشهد ان هذا البطرك اعطى الرشا على الكهنوت واخذها لنفسه  
ممن قدمه ثم قعد ثم بدأوا براهب يعرف بانبا ميخائيل وكان قبل رهبنته يعرف  
بفخر الدولة مرجا وهو كان مساكن هذا البطرك مدة ثلاثة عشر سنة فقام فقالوا  
بماذا تشهد فقال اشهد ان هذا البطرك اخذ الرشى على الشرطونه واعطاها فقال

البطرك هذا راهب مجرد ما يقبل قوله على وقد كان البطرك لما استدعى القسوس للشهادة عليه قال ما يقبل قولهم على قيل له فهم عدول قال عدول الا على لان البطرك لا يقبل فيه الا قول الاساقفة قالوا اكتب لانهم كلما جرى شى سطره على نصه فكتبوا كلما جرى ثم بعد ذلك قال الحكام للبطرك فان شهد عليك الاساقفة قال ان شهد على اسقفان انى اخذت رشوة على من قدمته فى رتبة من رتب الكهنوت او امرت من اخذها كنت مقطوعاً من كهنوتى فقال الراهب تحلف فقال البطرك انا ما يمكنى ان احلف لان البطارقة اذا حلفوا سقطوا من رتبهم قالوا له فان ادعى عليك مدع بما ليس عندك كنت تقر ولا تحلف قال كنت اما اخسر واما احبس ولا احلف فتقررت القاعدة على انه لا يحلف بحال من الاحوال قال فيقسم بنعمة السلطان خلد الله ماكه انه ان شهد عليك اسقفان بانه اخذ رشوة على تقدمة او اذن لمن اخذها كان مقطوعاً من كهنوته فسطروا ذلك ثم قال الحكام لعباد هل من دعوى اخرى قال نعم هذا داود قدم على القدس وبلاد الافرنج مطرانا اخرج القبط عن اعتقاداتهم ومنعهم من الختان وزيجة القراب \* وصارت كتب الافرنج تاتى اليه وكتبه (ظ) ٣٣٤

تمضى اليهم وهذا لم تجربه عادة فقال البطرك انا ما قدمته الا على غزه لا غير فان كان قد تعدى الى غيرها فما امرته بذلك فقليل له فهل فعل هذا من تقدمك قال لهم هناك قسوس قال عماد كانت القسوس لما كان القدس بيد المسلمين وانت عملت هذا مطرانا والقدس بيد الافرنج والمطران غير القسوس وها هنا من يشهد بان هذا المطران تجول الى بلاد الافرنجيه بامرک وقد صار اعتقاده اعتقادهم فقالوا من هو فاستدعى القس الراهب غبريال بن القس مكارم بن كليل فقام وشهد بانه فارقه بعكاً فسطروا ذلك ثم قيل هل من دعوى اخرى فقام عماد وقال نعم اخذ رجلاً مسلماً يعرف بابى الفخر القلا لانه كان يبيع القلى الذى يبيض به الكتان وقربه فانكر البطرك وكان فى الجماعة من يشهد واستمسك فسك ولم يشهد عليه احد بهذه فكتبوا ذلك جميعه على انهم يوقفون عليه السلطان ويستخرجون امره بما يعتمدونه فيه وجرى ذكر اوقاف الكنائس وانه يتسلم ريعها ولا يوصل ارباب الوقف الى شىء منها وزاد الحديث فيها ونقص وكتب الفصل الاخر وانفض المجلس والمسلمون غير شاكرين للنصارى

ولا لمقدمهم اما مقدمهم فكيف لم يكن عنده رياضة الى ان يسوس عقولهم ويولف قلوبهم له واما النصرارى فكيف وصلوا مع مقدمهم الى هذا الحد واما العقلا من النصرارى فما رضوا بهذا المجلس ولا استحسنا ما جرى فيه وقالوا كان من الواجب ان يجتمع الاساقفة والاراخنة ويجتمعون بالبطرك ويعزلوه فيما بينهم على كل ما يكرهونه منه مما يخالف شريعتهم وينافى احكامهم فان رجع عن ذلك فهو المقصود وان اصر عليه كان لهم ان لا يتبعوه ولا يذكروه في قداساتهم بحيث يتفق على ذلك جمهورتهم وجلتهم وبعد ذلك انقطع الحديث ولم يظهر لذلك المسطور اثر ولا وقف له على خبر ورفع الترمم عن البطرك واصحابه ويقال انه غرم في هذه النوبة ثلثماية دينار فاما عماد فانه لما راى انه لم ينعمل له شىء خرج من ساعته من دار الامير الصارم ولحق البطرك الى المواضع الذى كان فيه ولازمه وما كان جرى منه شىء وكان البطرك قد سير الى الاساقفة بان يحضروا لعقد المجلس معتقدا انه يتاخر الى ان يحضروا فوصلوا الى قلوب بعد المجلس فى يوم سبت العازر وكتب البطرك اليهم بان يرجعوا الى كراسيهم وان الله قد اغنى عن ازعاجهم وان الدائرة كانت على من عانده وواقفه فرجعوا لان طلبهم ما كان الا من جهته لا غير \* وكان فيهم على ما ذكر من يريد ان يشهد عليه باخذ الرشى وانما ما وجدوا سبيلا ولا صادقوا محلا وبقي البطرك لا هو طيب مع الجماعة ولا هم طيبون معه لا ظاهراً ولا باطناً ثم ان البطرك مضى فى عيد الزيتونه الى كنيسة بوجرج الحمرا وكان مقميا بها شيخ ارخن يعرف بالصنيعة اخى السنى وهو مستوفى ديوان الخزانة المعمورة الذى الدواوين كلها راجعة اليه وكان قصد البطرك اصلاح قلبه لانه كان رجلاً عالماً عاقلاً نافذ الكلمة خالياً من الهوى فبات عنده ليلة الزيتونه وكتب له خطه بان يسلم الاوقاف التى للكنائس لرجل جيد ممن تختاره الجماعة فان ريعها يصرف اولاً فى مرمتها ثم مرمة الكنائس ووقودها وقرايينها ومهما فضل فرق على المساكين وليس له فى ذلك الا النظر لا غير ولا يتسلم منه درهما وانه يقيم على مصر اسقفاً وكذلك على الخندق وكذلك ساير الكراسى الخالية ممن ترتضيه الجماعة ويشهد بصلاحته وانه يقيم بمصر معلماً وبالقاهرة معلماً ليعلم الناس ما يشذ عنهم ويفسر لهم ما يشكل عليهم ويحرر الكتب والتفاسير بحيث انه لا يقف على من يقرأها منها شىء وانه

اي ديراً اراد اربابه ان يكون تحت نظر اسقف ذلك الكرسي الذى ذلك الدير فيه جعل نظره عليه بشرط ان يحمل ديارية الدير المذكور اليه واشياء من هذا الجنس كثيرة منها انه يجعل معه اسقفين يكونان حاضرين للاحكام والتصرفات كلها ولا يبت امرأ من دونهما فاخذ الشيخ الصنيعة الكتاب المذكور وجاء به الى كنيسة بوسرجه الى الشيخ السنى الراهب لانه كان مقياً بها فوقفه عليه وكان معه جماعة من الكهنة والاراخنة فما رضى به وقال ان قدم اسقفا على مصر فما تكون كنيسة بوسرجه له واريد ان يكتب نسخة هذا الكتاب واخرج نسخة كتاب بخط انبا يوحنا ابن ابى غالب المتنيح وفيه شرح الامانة والبركة من المجمع الرابع وفصول كثيرة فى امر الختان وتربية الشعر وما يجرى مجرى ذلك فقال الشيخ الصنيعة يكتب هذا الكتاب وما فيه شئ ردى قال واريد ان يكتب بانه يصرف الرهبان فى المدن والريف وان لا يرجع يكلل عروساً فى يوم رفاع نينوى ولا الرقاع الكبير لاجل دخول الاصوام عليهم وان يعمر كنيسة المعلقة ودير بومقار واشيا مثل هذه الامور فاخذ بها الشيخ الصنيعة نسخته وضمن انه يفعلها وتوجه وكان هذا فى يوم احد الزيتونة وبعد ذلك خرج الامر بهدم دار الامير نور الدين بن الامير فخر الدين عثمان التى بدار الديباج وهو مقدم الامرا الذين كانوا نافقوا وراحوا الى الشام الى الملك الصالح اسمعيل فى العام الماضى فشرع فى \* هدمها فى العشر الاوسط من برمودة من السنة (ظ) ٣٣٥ المذكورة وهم بهدم دار بن الشيخ الاخرى التى فى درب ملوخييه ولم يفعل ذلك بل ان رخامها وسلاحها قلع وحمل الى القلعة المحروسة ووصلت فى هذه الايام رسل امير المومنين خليفة العصر المقيم ببغداد بالجامع وتقليده الوزارة للسلطان الملك العادل اعز الله نصره ومعهم رسول السلطان المشار اليه الذى كان سيره الى هناك من مدة ولبسها السلطان فى يوم الجمعة وكان يوم الصلבות العظيم الثامن عشر من برمودة من هذه السنة وطلع الى قلعته المحروسة وكان يوم مشهوداً وخرجت الطوايف كلها فى خدمته ، النصارى وبطركهم وغيرهم وفى يوم الاربعاء الثالث والعشرين من برمودة المذكور ركب ولد السلطان المذكور بخلع الخليفة بولايته العهد بعد ابيه وكان طفلاً صغيراً مقدار عمره ثلاث سنين الى ما حولها وكان وراه خادم ركباً واخلع كانت سوداً كلها لان هذا شعار الدولة

العباسية ورنكها وكان يوماً مشهوداً الا انه دون اليوم الاول لان السلطان الكبير ما ركب ولا رسل الديوان بل الامراء يمشون في ركابه وبعد هذا انتبد البطرک رجل قس يعرف بالمكين اى البها من اهل منية عمر وهو كان من اصحاب البطرک وكان يمشى له في جباية الوجه البحرى وكان البطرک قدمه قساً على ثغر الاسكندرية وكان قد حصل له غيظ من البطرک لاجل ما يراه من اقواله واحكامه وتصرفاته فضى إلى الصارم المسعودى الذى تولى الامر أولاً وقال له ان البطرک يقول انك اخذت منه مالا وتركته وان السلطان اذا بلغه هذا لم نامن منه والمجلس ما انفصل الا مقروفاً بحضور الاساقفة وشهادتهم وقد وصلت الاساقفة الى قلوب وردهم البطرک بكتبه واغراه بالبطرک واخرجه الى ان رجع سيراً حضر البطرک ووكل به واقعه في كنيسة حارة زويلة واحضر بن اخيه ابا سعيد ووكله ابا الفرج بن خلبوص وكتبه القس سمعان وحبسهم وسير احضر انبا يوساب اسقف فوه لانهم اخرجوا خطه على البطرک لفصول تحققها في جهته كان كتبها ايام محاصمته معه لما اخذ منه الضيعة المعروفة بدينه فحبس الاخر معهم وسير الصارم كتبه الى الاساقفة بان يحضروا فحضر منهم احدى عشر اسقفاً وفيهم من كتب خطه تسعه وهم انبا يونس اسقف سمند وانبأ مرقس اسقف طلخا وانبأ يونس اسقف بنها وانبأ يونس اسقف لقانه وانبأ ميخائيل اسقف البرمون وانبأ غبريال اسقف سنهور وانبأ ميخائيل اسقف سنشا وانبأ افراهام اسقف نستراو وانبأ مرقس اسقف سنجار \* ومنهم من لاحظته اثنان وهما اسقف فوه واسقف اشمووم وكتبوا جميعهم خطوطهم بان البطرک اخذ الرشى على رتب الكهنوت واعطاها ومنهم من كتب انه دخل تحت المنع لانه كتب خطه بشروطه وخرج عنها ولم يبق من لم يكتب خطه منهم الا مطران دمياط واسقف اشموون فانها لم يوافقا على شىء من ذلك وجرت مفاوضات بين البطرک وبين هذا القس وعدد له اشيا منها انه منع اسقف الخندق على اخذ ستة دنانير في ثمن ترابه بدير الخندق ثم اخذها منه لنفسه وانه حكم على امره بان ترد المهر لما لكها مضاعفاً لما ارادت الرهبنة ثم خالف الحكم في غيرها وانه كرز اولاد العبيد كهنه واشيا يطول شرحها وشرح ذكرها وكان يقول انا ما افعل هذا الا من شان الله ولاجل صلاح كنيسة الله وما زال الحال يتردد والشأن تنأكد



وكتب كاتب البطررك خطه مفصلاً بالاسماء بان الذى وصل الى البطررك من رشى الكهنوت وما يجرى مجراها انها سبعة عشر الف دينار وقيل خمسة عشر الف دينار وكسور ثم ان الشيخ السنى المقدم ذكره كان من المساعدين للقس ابى البها لانه كان يرى ذلك من اسباب البر وانواع الاجر فارسل اليه وطلب منه بان يكتب خطه بنسخه كتاب وجد بخط انبا بولس بن ابى غالب الذى كان قبل هذا البطررك قد كتبه فى اول بطركيته بامانته الارتدكسية ويقطع من ياخذ شيا من الرشى على رتبة من رتب الكهنوت او يعطيها وابوابا من الاحكام والبراه من مجمع خلقدونية فكتب بالجميع بخط كاتبه وكتب خطه عليه بانه صادر عنه وانه قابل بما فيه وقابل له فقال الشيخ المذكور ما يكتب الجميع الا بخطه ويضيف اليه انه لا يقدم اولاد الرواجع ولا يدخل امره الى الكنيسة الا بعد نقاها من الحيض بخمسة ايام فكتب الجميع بخطه وكتب الزيادة التى زادها ثم ان السلطان حضره الامر على الخروج فخرج الى بلبليس وخرج معه الامير الصارم واقفل ذلك المجلس واجتمع الاساقفة بالبطرك واتلوا عذرهم ولم يقل لهم كلمة الا ان خطوطهم بما كانوا كتبوا به قد صارت بايدى الناس نسخا عدة ومن بعد خروج السلطان الملك العادل الى بلبليس اجمع العساكر على امساكه وان يرسلوا الى اخيه الملك الصالح بان ياتى ويتسلم المملكة فاجتمعوا فى ليلة يسفر صباحها عن نهار يوم الجمعة التاسع من ذى القعدة سنة ست وثلثين وستاياه للهلاله الموافق للسابع من بوونه من هذه السنة وكان الذين اجتمعوا رجال الحلقة ومقدموهم ثلاثة من الخدام شمس الخواص مسرور وشبل الدولة كافور والصفى جوهر النوبى والاشرفية وكان مقدمهم مملوكاً يعرف بابيك الاسمر وداروا حول خيمة السلطان ملبسين الزرد والعدد \* من العشا الى بكره فلما (ظ) ٣٣٦ اصبح النهار عبروا اليه اخرجوه وجعلوه فى خركاه فى خيمة لطيفة واكلوا به من رجال الحلقة من يحفظه ليلا ونهارا ثم داروا على وطاقت ساير الامراء من الاكراد والمولدين فنبهوها ونهبت ادر كثيرة فى مدينة بلبليس ونهبت الكتاب والحكما والمغنون والسوقه وكانت نوبة عظيمة الا انها لم يسفك فيها دم ثم عادوا الى اصحاب الملك العادل الخواص فوقعوا الحوطة عليهم وعلى موجودهم وكتبوا الى السلطان الملك الصالح ايوب بان يحضر فوصل رسوهم اليه وهو بالقدس

عازم على العود الى الكرك لانه كان قد عجز عن المقام على غزه لان عسكر مصر قد امه ومن ورايه الافرنج ومعهم صاحب دمشق وكانت نية الملك الناصر بن عمه انهم اذا رجعوا الى الكرك اوقع عليهم الحوطه كما كانت اولاً فجاه الفرج بل الملك من حيث لا يحتسب وركب وجاء الى العسكر ببلييس فوصل يوم الاثنين التاسع عشر من ذى القعدة سنة سبع وثلثين وسماية الموافق للسابيع عشر من بوونه واعطى المقدمين الاموال الجزيلة وخلع عليهم وعبر الى القاهرة المحروسة فى نهار يوم السبت الرابع والعشرين من ذى القعدة المذكورة الموافق للحادى والعشرين من بوونه شق المدينة وطلع الى القلعة المحروسة وعزل الامير جمال الدين بن بعور من الاستاذ داريه وولاه نغر الاسكندريه وعزل بدر الدين يونس من الامير جنداريه وولاه القاهرة المحروسة واستخدم المعين بن الشيخ وزيره وسلم اليه الاشغال وجرى عسكراً الى الصعيد بسبب العربان وقدم عليهم الامير زين الدين بن ابى ذكرى وكان فيهم الامراء والاشراف وعدة امرا وجماعة من الحلقة يزيدون عن الف فارس ثم ان جماعة من النصارى تنجزوا التوقيع على رقعة منهم بان تعاد الكنيسة المعلقة الى ما كانت عليه وجاوا الى الوالى شاوروه فامرهم بذلك فقاموا فى الليل سدوا الابواب التى كان المسلمون فتحوها وعملوا على انهم قد تصرفوا فيه وكان لهم ضد يقال له بن حوله وهو المودن فى المكان فجا الى المواضع التى قد سدت فتحها وردها الى ما كانت عليه وطلع الى الفقيه عباس خطيب القلعة فحمله فى القضية وقال له ان هذا مسجدا وقد تغلب عليه النصارى وازافوه الى كنيتهم فاخذ ذلك معه علم الدين شمايل امير جندار وجا الى الكنيسة وحضر معهم من عوام المسلمين جموع لا تحصى وحضر معهم المهندسون وما قدروا ان يقولوا الحق الذى يعرفونه لاجل الجمع وخرجوا على انهم يعرفون السلطان الذى قد راوه وكان هذا يوم الخميس فلما كان يوم الجمعة وقت الصلاة ووقف فى وسط الجامع وقال يا مسلمين من كان اسلام وحميد فى مذهبه يحضر \* نهار غد الى الكنيسة المعلقة واصبحوا طلغوا اليها وكسروا قناديلها وحجج هياكلها واخذوا كل انية كانت فيها وقيل انهم وجدوا تحت هيكل من الهياكل انية قديمة من الايام المزمنة لم يكن احد يعلم بها من اهل هذا الزمان ولها قيمة كبيرة وجزاوا من

ناحية هيكل ساويرس وصار ذلك الجانب الغربي جميعه في حوزهم وبقيت الكنيسة مغلقة لا يقدر فيها ولا يصلح واما الملك العادل فان اخاه الملك الصالح طلع به الى القلعة وجعله في موضع لا يصلح اليه احد ولا رجح احد يبصره وبقى النصراني مذبذبين بالطلوع الى القلعة والوقوف للسلطان ولم ينعمل لهم شيء ودخلت سنة سبع وخمسين وتسع مائة في يوم الاربعاء التاسع بالعدد من صفر سنة سبع وثلاثين وسماهيه بالعربية والسلطان الملك الصالح ايوب والوزير معين الدين بن الشيخ والقاضي شرف الدين بن عين الدولة الاسكندراني ووالي القاهرة بدر الدين يونس الذي كان قتل امير جندار ووالي مصر عز الدين محمد ابن امراء الشهاب احمد والبطيريك انبا كيرلس المعروف بابن لقلق وانتهت زيادة الماء فيه الى ثلثة وعشرين اصبعاً من سبعة عشر ذراعاً وكان الماء قد توقف زيادته من عيد الصليب وقلق الناس لذلك وبلغ القمح ثلثين درهما الاردب والشعير عشرين والفول سبعة عشر والبرسيم ستين درهما الاردب ورجع زاد اصبعان فانحل السعرقليلاً واطمان الناس وروى اكثر البلاد ووردت الاخبار بان الافرنج قد خرجوا الى نابلس والغور وجاوا الى غزه نزلوها واخذوا القدس الشريف وشرعوا في عمارة عسقلان وان ذلك بموافقة الملك الصالح غازي صاحب دمشق عم السلطان وانه اعطاهم رهانيه على انه موافقهم ومعاضدهم ووجد السلطان زهاء اربعة الاف فارس ليمضوا الى غزه وخرجوا وبرزوا الى بلبليس ثم ان النصراني رجعوا الى ما كانوا عليه من منازعة البطيريك ورفع بعضهم قصة الى السلطان بانه يتعمد ما لا ينبغي ويخرج عن الشرع وان في جهته للسلطان جملة كبيرة اخذها على اسمه وانه ان حضر الاساقفة وعقد له مجلساً تحققت في جهته فرسم باحضار الاساقفة من الوجهين البحري والقبلي ورسم على البطرك وبقى في كنيسة حارة زويله على جاري العادة ثم عقد المجلس بين يدي المعين الوزير وكان المخاطب له الشيخ السني الراهب (و) انبا بطرس واسقف فوه المعروف قبل رهبنته بالفقه يوسف واسقف اسقوط واسقف سمنود وجماعة من الاساقفة \* وجرت بينهم خطوب ومنازعات اخرها انهم قالوا عندنا للسلطان ثلاثة الف دينار ويعمل بطركا عوضه فقال الصاحب لبعض الحاضرين يجوز هذا عندكم قال لا يا مولانا ما يجوز قال وما نعمل ما لا يجوز

الا ان هذا قد اخذ مالا جزيلا للسلطان وما اوصله اليه وانا اريده منه فتحدثوا فيما يروونه وبلغوا الامر الى الف وخمس مائة وعشرة دنانير وكتب بها اولاد اخي البطرك واولاد اخته خطوطهم وخرجوا وقد انفسد قلب البطرك على الاساقفة وقلوب الاساقفة عليه ونزل يهتم في القيام بالمبلغ وخرج الاساقفة الى كراسيهم ثم ان السلطان جرّد عسكريا ليمضى الى اليمن مقداره الف فارس وفيهم اكثر الامراء الكبار المحتشمين وتجهزوا بالجمال والهجن والروايا والقرب وجهز لهم في البحر مراكب حربية زهاء اربعين قطعة عملت في الصناعة بمصر وركبت وحملت على الظهر الى القلزم لتركب هناك وتساfer من تم وقبض رجالها من القاهرة ومصر المحروستين وبلادهما وكانت الجبوس والفنادق بمصر مملوه من رجال الاساطيل وانفق فيهم جملة كبيرة وخلع على الامراء المقدمين خلعاً سنوية وطيب السلطان قلوبهم الى الغاية القصوى وبذل لهم كل جميل ثم ان الملك الجواد مظفر الدين بن مودود وهو الذي كان صاحب دمشق وسلمها للسلطان الملك الصالح وكان قد اعطاه سنجار ولا شك انه غلب عليها بحيلة احتال بها عليه صاحب الموصل فاخذها منه ولم يبق له سوى عانه فباعها للخليفة ووصل ديار مصر على البرية لانه ما قدر على العبور ببلاد الشام لاجل صاحب دمشق وصاحب الكرك فلم يمكن من العبور الى القاهرة بل بقي بالعباسه وكان معه على ما ذكر ابن صاحب حمص الصغير وابن صاحب قلعة جعبر فاخرجت لهم الاقامات والنفقات والكساوى والانعام والخيل والبغال وكل ما يحتاجون اليه ورسم لهم بان يتوجهوا الى الشوبك فتوجهوا الى نحو الشام صوب غزه وما والاها وكان السعر غاليا بلغ القمح اربعين درهما الاردب والشعير نيفا وثلثين درهما الاردب واللحم والدجاج والزيت والسيرج وجميع اصناف الماكول على غلاتها على ما تقدم ذكره ولم يكن في البلاد شىء رخيصاً اصلا ولا صنف من الاصناف واما العمائر فانهما كثرت الى الحد الذى ما عليه مزيد حتى ان النبا صار باربعة دراهم نقره اجره في كل يوم والجبس بدرهم ونصف الوبيه والجير بستة دراهم الاردب القنطار ولا يقدر احد عليه وكانت كثرة العمائر لاجل كثرة الواصلين من الشام والشرق لانه وصل منهم في هذه الايام اعم لا تحصى وبنوا لهم ادر كثيرة برا المدينة \* وفي ساير المواضع والطرق حتى

صارت المدينة بمقدار عشرة مدن وهو السبب في غلا الاصناف واجر الصناعات وكان الغلا بغير مصر اكثر من مصر اضعاف مضاعفة وكان السلطان خلد الله ملكه قد رتب موضعاً وسماه دار العدل ورتب فيه ثلاثة اشخاص جندا تعرف بالافتخار ياقوت الجمالى اليمنى والشريف قاضى العسكر وهو من سادات الناس ورجل اخر يعرف بالفقيه عباس وهو خطيب القلعة وكان الناس يرفعون اليهم ظلاماتهم ويوقعون لهم على الولاة ويكسون موضع العلان اسمهم الثلاثة واستراح السلطان بذلك وصار ملازماً لذته وركوبه وصيده وما هو بصدده ثم ان رسل الافرنج ترددت الى مولانا السلطان في طلب الصلح على ابقاء البلاد التى اعطاهم الملك الناصر بن المعظم اياها بايديهم وان يتسلموا اسراهم الذين اخذوا في هذه الوقعة القريبة على انهم يعيدوهم ايضاً الاسرى المسلمين الذين عندهم وتردد الوزير كمال الدين بن الشيخ شيخ الشيوخ اليهم في هذا المعنى وانبت الحال بينهم على ذلك وحلفوا للسلطان وحلف السلطان لهم واخرج الكند الذى كان اسر والحياله الذين كانوا معه وخلع عليهم اجمعين وشقوا القاهرة راكبين وتوجهوا الى بلادهم فى برمهات من هذه السنة ووردت الاخبار بان قاضى نابلس تسلّم الاسرى المسلمين وانه خلع ايضاً عليهم واحسن اليهم والبلاد التى رجع الفرنج اخذوها وهى القدس الشريف وبيت لحم وعسقلان واعمالها وبيت جبريل واعمالها وعمل غزه غير المدينة وطبرية واعمالها ومجدليانا واعمالها وسجل عامله وصفد وكوكب والطور وتبنين وهونين والشقيقان وعلى الحملة جميع بلاد الساحل لم يخرج عنهم شى سوى نابلس والحليل ومدينة غزه لا غير ويقال ان الصلح انما هو مع العرب والاسناريه لا غير وان الديويه لم يخلفوا وفى هذه الايام رسم السلطان خلد الله ملكه بان تهد جميع الادروما معها وجميع ما بجزيرة مصر وان تعمر قلعة ورسم بشرى الادراتى فيها من اربابها ليهدمها ويعمل الابراج والسور مكانها وشرع فى ذلك وحفر الاساس وترتب العمل فيها وتضاعف ثمن الاصناف واجر الصناعات بهذه الحركة وذكر ان الذى تقرر عمله بدايرها سبعة عشر برجاً وان كل برج يحتاج الى احدى وعشرين خنيره غير الابدان تسمو وتلك ثم يبنى عليها وسير الافرنج الاسرى الى مصر للعمل فى القلعة المذكورة وانزلوهم فى كنيسة ابو مرقورة التى بالساحل لاجل قربها

ووقع النصارى من ذلك فى بليه وهم لان الكنيسة المعلقة جرى فيها ما جرى  
وهذه الكنيسة هذا حالها مع ان الخراب كان قد استولى عليها وكنيسة الجزيرة  
ما ندرى ما يكون \* منها مع هذا السور المحدث فيها وكل هذه كنايس البطرك  
التي انتخبها ومواضع سكنه وراحته وفى هذه الايام اسلم اسقف سندفا وكان  
يقال له ابن السندوبى ودور المحله راكبا على حصان وقد خلع عليه الوالى  
فروه وشربوش وكانت بدعة ما شوهد مثلها وسببه انه كان خرج عن الواجب  
ووقع فى خطية الزنى واراد البطرك منعه ما ممكنه منه الشيخ الصنيعة رئيس  
المستوفيين خوفا مما جرى وكان السبب فى ذلك رجل شماس من كنيسة سندفا  
منعه الاسقف واوقفه عن التصرف فما زال يرقبه حتى عبرت اليه المره الخاطيه  
وكانت مسلمة فضى الى والى المحله اعلمه بذلك لان سندفا جاره من جارات  
المحله ما يفرق بينهما الا البحر وكان اذ ذاك فسير الوالى شاهدين مع الغلمان  
فاحضروا الاسقف مع المره وضرب ضربا اليما اقضى به الى الخروج عن المذهب  
وهذه الكباير هذه نتائجها لانه تبعد عن المسيح بالكلية فتخلى معونته عن راكبيها  
فيقعون فى هذه الفخاخ الصعبة فنسئل الله تعالى ان يكفيننا امرها ولا يخلينا من  
معونته فان ليس لنا غيرها وفى هذه الايام حضرت امراة من الشرق ومعها  
زوجها وهى بلحيه مستديره وشوارب مثل لحا الرجال وذكرت ان لها اولادا  
وانهم فى بلادها وكان الناس كلهم يزورونها ويرونها ولا تمتنع من احد  
لا من الرجال ولا من النساء الا انه ما كان احد يعبر اليها حتى يعطى زوجها  
شيئا وحصل له من هذه الوجه جملة كبيرة وكان العربان الذين حضروا من  
الصعيد الاعلى مع العسكر الذى كان توجه اليهم قد قرروا ثمانين الف دينار  
قطعيه يحملونها الى بيت المال المعمور عن جباية تعديهم وخرجوا الى بلادهم  
ليجبوا المال ويحملوه وكان السلطان اعز الله نصره قد اخرج مالا جزيلا وسلمه  
للفقيه بهاء الدين بن الجمى برسم مرمة المساجد التي بالقاهرة ومصر المحروستين  
وما بينهما واهتم بها وعمرت احسن عمارة وبيضت ونقش على ابوابها اسم المولى  
السلطان الملك الصالح ايوب وتاريخ تجديدها وعمارته وهو سنة ثمان وثلثين  
وسماية وكان السلطان قد رسم بعمارة قنطرة على الخليج فى موضع السد حتى  
يعبر عليها فى ايام النيل الى بستانه المعروف ببستان الحشاب وعملت ونجرت

قبل ايام النيل وعبر عليها وكانت الاسعار فى هذه الايام كلها غالية لا تنحل اصلا القمح لا ينزل عن دينار الاردب واكثر والشعير بثلاثين درهما الاردب ولم يكن شىء اغلا من الزيت الحار فانه كان بدرهمين الرطل ودرهمين وربع الرطل واما الشمع فانه بلغ احد عشر درهما الرطل والحطب عشرة دراهم الحمله وكان الناس فى شدة من هذا ومن \* عمارة قلعة الجزيرة فلما غلت جميع اصناف العمارة (ج) ٣٣٩ وكان السلطان خلد الله ملكه قد اطلع على مخامره من اتبك الاسمر وكافور الفايزى الخادم وكان اتبك فى الاسكندرية وكافور فى بلبس مجردين فسير الى كل منهما اميرا وامسكهما واحتاط على موجودهما وحبس اتبك الاسمر بالثغر وكافور طلع به الى القلعة حبسه بها ثم تتبع كل من توهم منه من المفاريد والاجناد فامسكهم وحبسهم منهم من هو بالاسكندرية ومنهم من هو بالقاهرة ومنهم من هو بالقلعة واكثر هولاء من الذين كانوا عملوا على الملك العادل وخلعوه ثم ان جماعة من الاتراك الذين يقال لهم الاشرفيه كانوا قد تحالفوا على انهم ينهبون الاكراد الذين كانوا مجردين الى اليمن وياخذون موجودهم ويقتلونهم ويروحون لانهم جميعاً كانوا نازلين بالبركة المعروفة ببركة الحب لشعر الاكراد بذلك فسيروا الى السلطان عرفوه فامرهم بالعبور الى القاهرة فجاوا ليلا واصبحت ابواب القاهرة مغلقة وما علم السبب وكان السبب لاختد الاشرفيه فاخذوا من كل مكان وكان بعضهم يتزيا بزى النسا ويخرج فيعلم به ويؤخذ ومنهم من جعل نفسه فى افراد البصل والجزر وما يجرى مجراها ولم يخف لانه كان على كل باب امير باصحابه وجلقته واقامت القاهرة كذلك جمعه ايام وكان اليوم الاول والثانى اشدها وكان هذا فى الجمعة السابعة من الصوم المقدس وهو اواخر برمهاث ثم استمر الحال على القبض على كل من حصل منه وهم وكثر المحاييس من الامرا الكبار والصغار والاجناد وبالاكثر المالك الاتراك وقبض السلطان على بدر الدين يونس الذى كان ولاه القاهرة وعلى الخادمين الاخرين وهما مسرور وجوهر النوبى الكبيران وكانا مجردين بثغر دمياط الحروس واحضرهما الى القلعة حبسهما فيها واحتاط على موجودهما وفى هذه الايام خرج الافرنج من كنيسة بومرقوره لما توجه اكثرهم الى بلاده وهم الذين كانوا اخذوا فى هذه النوبة القرية مع هذا الكند وبقى منهم ناس قلائل نقلوا الى موضع اخر

وجردت العساكر الى غزه والاسكندريه ودمياط وخرجوا اولاً اولاً وبطل  
تجريد اليمن بالكلية ولم يسافر سوى ثلثماية فارس او اربع ميه اترك سيروا الى  
مكة قصداً ابعادهم وقيل انهم لما خرجوا الى البرية اخذوا العرب الذين كان  
معهم ربطوهم وقالوا لهم ان لم ترونا طريق الشام ويخرجون بنا اليهم والا قتلناكم  
وانهم فعلوا لهم ذلك ثم ان السلطان اعز الله نصره جهز العساكر الى الشام وكان  
قصدهم \* نابلس ان ياخذوها من الملك الناصر بن المعظم فخرجوا الى غزه (ظ) ٣٣٩  
وكانوا زهاء ثلاثة الف فارس ومقدميهم كمال الدين بن الشيخ وعلاء الدين  
قراسنقر الساقى ومعهم من الاعراب جماعة كبيرة وكان الملك الجواد مظفر الدين  
بن ممدود الذى كان صاحب دمشق اولاً وسلمها للمولى السلطان الملك الصالح  
ايوب ودفع له عوضها سنجار وباعها للخليفة قد وصل الى العباسه فى خدمة  
مولانا السلطان الملك الصالح وقصد العبور الى القاهرة والاجتماع بمولانا السلطان  
وان ياخذ معه العساكر ويمضى الى دمشق يفتحها فلم يتمكن من العبور الى  
القاهرة ولا اجتمع به المقام السلطانى وكان معه ابن صاحب حمص الصغير  
وابن صاحب قلعة جعبر فاخرج لهم الانعام المال والخلع والحيل والاقامات  
ورسم لهم بالاقامة بموضعهم واتفق خروج العساكر فتوهموا انها طالبة لهم  
لتسكهم فرحلوا ووعروا فى الطريق حتى اجتمعوا بالملك الناصر واتفقوا معه  
على انهم يد واحده مع من والاهم وعلى من عاداهم ثم ان العسكر المصرى  
طمعوا فيمن قدامهم فركبوا بعد ان لبسوا وطلبوا عسكر الملك الناصر وكان  
مقدمه الجواد وكانوا على ما ذكر ثلثماية فارس لا غير وكان قد اخذوا على عسكر  
مصر المضايق وسبقهم الى راس العقبة التى من نواحي القدس التى على طريق  
بيت توبه وطلع شاليش عسكر مصر ومقدمه علم الدين سنجر الفخرى ومعه  
الشجاع الاكثع والامير احرى والمسابك هولاء امرآء واما من اجنادهم فكثير  
فاخذوا باجمعهم بعد ان قتل منهم ما قتل ولما راي ذلك من كان وراهم من  
الاطلاب لم يردونهم بل رجعوا منكسرين ولم يطلعوا العقبة بل تموا منكسرين  
الى غزه ولم يقفوا فى غزه بل خرجوا منها طالبين مصر فلما علم عسكر الملك  
الناصر ذلك تبعوهم وخرج عليهم العربان الذين كانوا معهم وغيرهم ونهبوهم  
فلم يبق لهم شئ والذى سلم منهم رجع برقبته راجلاً ووصل عسكر الشام الى



موضع الخزانة وكان كمال الدين بن الشيخ عندها فاخذت الخزانة عن اخرها  
واخذ كمال الدين اسيراً ومضى به الى الملك الناصر وكانت كسرة ما رأى اعجب  
منها ان ثلثماية كسروا ثلاثة الف او يزيد عنها ووصل عسكر مصر الى بلبس  
واخرجت لهم الاقامات والازواد ورسم بعبورهم الى القاهرة ولم يواخذهم  
السلطان بشيء مما جرى وبقوا على اخبازهم وكذلك الذين فى الاسر بقيت  
اخبازهم عليهم ولم يقطع الا خبز فخر الدين بن جلدك لا غير وقيل انه بسبب  
عسفه بالاجناد مع انكساره من غير قتال وبعد ذلك وقع بين الملك الناصر  
والملك الجواد خلف وتوهم منه \* مخامرة عليه وخافه على نفسه فامر بالقبض  
عليه فقبض عليه واراد توجهه الى الكرك ليحبسه فيه فاشير عليه بان هذا ملكا  
شجاعا ومن اهل بيتهم ومن الواجب ان تخرجه من البلاد وتطرحه فى البرية  
التى تاخذ الى الشرق وبغداد ويمضى برزقه وبخته ان نجا كان وان هلك لم يكن  
فى ذمة الملك الناصر منه شى فامر بذلك ولما توجه الى البرية عمل على عوده الى  
الشام وقيل انه ارغب العربان الذين معه حتى اوصلوه وقيل انهم لما تركوه  
تسبب ومضى الى الشام واجتمع بالملك الصالح عمه صاحب دمشق واتفقوا  
ومشت الرسل بين مولانا السلطان الملك الصالح صاحب مصر وبين الملك الناصر  
واصطلحوا وحلف كل منهما لصاحبه وسير الملك الناصر الاسرى الذين كانوا  
عنده كمال الدين بن الشيخ والامرا الذين كانوا معه بعد ان خلع عليهم واحسن  
اليهم وقد كانوا قبل ذلك فى هوان وتهديد وتحقير ولم يعد منهم الا الشجاع  
الاكتع قيل انه قتله لانه نافق عليه وغدر به مرتين وقيل انه جعله فى الحب  
فى الكرك والله اعلم ثم ان الملك الصالح صاحب دمشق خرج مع من ضامه  
ووافقه من ملوك الاطراف مثل صاحب حمص وصاحب صرخد والملك الجواد  
التى (١) التجا اليه وجاء الى نابلس واستغلها ووقع على شردمة من عسكر الناصر  
فهزمها واسر منها ونهب ووصلوا الى غزة فرحل العسكر المصرى عنها وتاخروا  
وكان الافرنج قد خرجوا معهم لانهم اعطوهم الساحل جميعه ووعدوهم بشيء  
اخر اذا نجح قصدهم ورجع مولانا السلطان اعز الله نصره جهز العساكر واخرج

(١) تقرأ : « الذى » .

خيمته ودهاليزه ضربها على الخندق واهتم بالسفر وخرجت العساكر اولا اولا  
وممنهم من وصل الى العباسه ثم وردت الاخبار بان العسكر الشامي تاخر عن غزه  
ثم وردت الاخبار بانهم رجعوا فتوقفت الحركة الا ان مولانا السلطان صلح  
مع الملك الناصر وفي هذه الايام زاد النيل زيادة جيدة وطلع على العماره التي  
عمرت بالجزيرة وبطل العمل منها ما خلا الادر والمناظر السلطانيه المحدده فان  
العمارة كانت فيها مستمرة وفي هذه الايام نزل رجل من الاجناد وكان من مشدى  
عمارة الجزيرة في القاعة التي كان البطرک عمرها بكنيسة الجزيرة واقام بها اياماً  
وتنكد البطرک بسببها وتحدث للناس بان هذا هو الذى كان يخشى ويحذر لان  
هذه لو كانت على حالها من داخل الكنيسة وهى موضع لا يوبه له ما تعرض  
احد اليها وهو امر يودى \* الى خراب الكنيسة ويطرق الايدى الغربية اليها  
ثم ان المذكور خرج منها وهو المعروف بسيف الدين بورنا السهمى ثم ان النيل  
المبارك وفي ست عشر ذراعاً في نهار يوم الاثنين التاسع عشر من مسرى الموافق  
الثالث من صفر سنة تسع وثلاثين وسمائة الهلالية وقد كان امر بعقد جسر من  
مصر الى الجزيرة فعقد وكان فيه احد وعشرون مركباً وكان عرضه يسع جملين  
محملين احدهما بجائناً والاخر رايحاً ولا يزدحمان ووجد الناس به راحة عظيمة  
ولما قربت ايام النيروز جا مولانا السلطان الى الجزيرة واقام بها هو وخواصه  
وكان على عمل المقياس المقعد الذى اخرجته على العمدة وهو الذى عمله ولم يكن  
قط لانه لم يكن تم قط سوى بسطه والمقعد كان داخلاً منها فعمل هذا السلطان  
هذا المقعد وجاء بدعه حسنه وهو ادام الله ايامه كل ما يعمله ويقترحه ما يجي  
في الدنيا اوقع منه ولا احسن ولا اوزن فجا احد الخدام ويعرف برشيد الصغير  
نزل بالقاعة التي للبطرك التي بكنيسة الجزيرة المقدم ذكرها وكان البطرک قد  
خرج منها ومضى الى دير الشمع وكان من الاتفاقات المقاربة ثم رسم بعقد جسر  
على الماء من الجزيرة الى الجزيرة واهتم به وكان المهتم بجميع العماير الامير جمال الدين  
بن يعمور وخرج الخادم المذكور من القاعة ولم يبيت بها سوى ليلة واحدة ثم  
بطل الجسر المذكور لعدم المراكب التي تصلح له وقيل انه أخر الى ان ينزل  
النيل المبارك فيقل ما يحتاج اليه من المراكب وكان النيل يزيد والسعر يزيد  
والغلاء في كلما في الارض وكانت مصر في تلك ارجح من غيرها واصلح لانه

٣٤٠ (ظ)

ذكر ان القمح بدمشق يسوى ثلثماية درهم نقره الفراه وهى اردبان بالمصرى  
واجرة الطحين ستون درهما نقره لان انهارها جفت وارتحل اكثر الناس من  
التماعشين والصعاليك وغيرهم من الشرق والشام وسائر الامصار الى مصر وصار بها  
من الخلق ما لا يحمد ولا يوصف وهو كان اكبر الاسباب فى الغلاء  
ثم دخلت سنة ثمان وخمسين وتسع مائه والسلطان خلد الله ملكه واعز نصره  
الملك الصالح والوزير معين الدين بن الشيخ والقاضى شرف الدين بن عين الدولة  
الاسكندرى والبطرك انبا كيرلس المعروف بابن لقلق والماء متزيد والاسعار  
متشحطه ووردت الاخبار بكسر عسكر الشام ورجوعهم الى دمشق مخذولين  
كسرهم عسكر الملك الناصر بن المعظم وجات رسل الافرنج يطلب الصلح من  
مولانا السلطان اعز الله نصره وهم رسل الديويه والا المغرب اصحاب عسقلان  
وغيرهم من اكبر الفرنج كونوا صلحاً مع مولانا السلطان \* وهولاء الذين كانوا  
مع صاحب دمشق لما رأوا خذلانهم وانتصار صاحب مصر عليهم رجعوا  
الى الموادة والمسألة وطلب الهدنه على ما فى ايديهم ثم ان مولانا السلطان  
اعز الله نصره اطلع على خيانه من بعض الامراء رد الله كيدهم فى نحرهم فقبض  
على واحد منهم يقال له ابن فلاح وكان من الاشرفيه وكان مولانا السلطان قد  
احسن اليه غاية الاحسان فكافاه بما لعنه ثم قبض على اميرين كبيرين من الاكراد  
وهما بهاء الدين بن ملكيشوا وناصر الدين بن برطاس وصير الثلاثة الى قلعة صدر  
تحت الحوطه بعد حوز جميع مالهم وانتهى النيل المبارك فى هذه السنة الى ثمانى عشرة  
اصبعا من ثمانى عشر ذراعاً وجاء مجيئاً مليحاً وثبت على الاراضى ثباتا مليحاً  
الا ان الاسعار كانت متزايدة فى كل شىء من الماكول وغيره حتى الكسوات  
والعمائر والعالم يكثرون بالديار المصرية من الشام والشرق والعراق لاجل الغلا  
الذى هناك ثم ان مولانا السلطان عز نصره قبض على امير كبير من الاتراك من  
ممالك ابيه يعرف بسنجر اليمنى ويقال انه اخرجه من البلاد وجماعة من المغاريد  
معروفين وغير معروفين وعزل القاضى شرف الدين قاضى القضاة من قضا مصر  
واقترض به على قضا القاهرة والوجه البحرى واستخدم فى قضا مصر مع الصعيد  
رجلا كان قاضى سنجار وهو من اصحاب السلطان عز نصره وكان قد سير اليه  
كتاباً احضره لانه كان خدام السلطان خلد الله ملكه ايام كان بسنجار وبذل الجهد

في خدمته وارتفعت الاسعار حتى ان القمح بلغ خمسين درهما الاردب والشعير  
خمسة وثلثين درهما الاردب وبذر الكتان الفلت ثمانين درهما الاردب والسلجم  
مثله والزيت الحار ثمانية وثمانين درهما القله والجميع من هذه السنة ولم يكن  
في البلاد شيء رخيصا بالجملة الكافية واما اصناف العماير فما يقدر عليها لان  
الناس مع الغلاما كانوا يفترون من العماير مع العماير السلطانية التي ما كان قط  
مثلهما وكسفت الشمس في الساعة التاسعة من نهار يوم الاحد تاسع بابه من هذه  
السنة واستغرقها الكسوف بحيث ان النجوم ظهرت في ذلك الوقت واوقد  
الناس السرج في الدكاكين والحمامات ثم بعد ذلك انجلي الكسوف اولا اولا الى  
ان رجعت الشمس الى حالها وظهر النور كما كان وقيل ان هذا الكسوف  
لم يعقل احد لمثله وقال قوم من المشايخ انه كان مثله في ايام الملك الناصر  
صلاح الدين سنة اخذ القدس من الافرنج ويكون لهذا الحديث اليوم خمس  
وخمسون سنة وارتاع الناس لهذا الامر ارتياحاً عظيماً وقالوا ماذا يكون من  
هذا \* الحادث ووصل رسول الانبرور الى الاسكندرية ومعه اموال عظيمة  
وبضايح جزيلة وتحف كريمة وقيل ان المركب الذي وصل فيه تسع مائة بحار  
وان اسمه نصف الدنيا ، وتاخر وصوله الى القاهرة ثم اذن له في الحجى فاحضر  
في البر وطول به في الطريق ودور به من على الفيوم وجاء الى الاهرام وعدى  
من البحيرة وكان معه زهاء مائة رجل وكان يوم وصوله عظيماً زينت له المدينتان  
وركب العسكر جميعه وتلقاه وخرج الناس اجمعون وكان الرسول المذكور  
ورفيقه لانهما كانا اثنين على فرسين من خيل النوبة التي لمولانا السلطان اعز الله  
نصره وجاوا بهما وانزلوهما في الادر السلطانية التي تحط دار الديباج المعروفة  
بسكن الصحاب بن شكر فالكبير منهما وهو الذي يقال ان على جسمه ثوب  
صوف في الدار الكبيرة والصغير في الدار التي على باب درب الشيخ المعروفة  
بسكن عز الدين ابن الصحاب المقدم ذكره واطلق لهم من الرواتب والضيافات  
والانعام والاطلاقات ما لم يسمع بمثله واقام الرسولان اياما لا يجتمعان بمولانا  
السلطان خلد الله ملكه ثم استدعاهما وسير اليهما خيل النوبة ولاصحابهما ما يركبون  
لانهم كانوا وصلوا في البحر وكان يوم طلوعهما الى القلعة المحروسة مثل يوم  
وصولهما واقاما في البلاد لاجل الشتا في الضيافة والكرامة والدعاوى والفرح

٣٤١ (ظ)

والصيد ورماية البندق ثم ان الاخبار وردت بان العسكر الذى كان مجردا بقوص  
وكانوا اتراكا وكان مقدمهم رجل يقال له ظفر بل الحجاجى الزاهد نافقوا  
وجعلوا هذا ظفر بل سلطانا وقبضوا على والى قوص واستادوا الزكاه والجوالى  
والخراج وتصرفوا فى الحواصل الا انهم لم يتابعهم احد على ذلك من العربان  
لخوفهم من السلطنة فجرد لهم السلطان زها النى فارس ومقدمها الركن الهيجاوى  
فى بر الشرق وسير الاشراف فى بر الغرب فجمعوا من عشائيرهم وقبايلهم ما يزيد  
عن النى فارس وساروا الى ان وصلوا الى منية بنى خصيب فوصل رجل من  
الصعيد زاهد معظم فى المسلمين ويقال ان له كرامات وقد كان وصل الى القاهرة  
وبجل من السلطان والوزير وسائر المسلمين فجاء الآن فى طلب الامان لهذه  
الطائفة المنافقة وسد باب الفتنة وحقق الدماء وكان مسكنه دمامين من الصعيد  
ويعرف بالشيخ مفرج وجاء فى حرقه فى اربعة ايام واجتمع بمولانا السلطان  
واخذ لهم الامان وتوجه على فوره فى حرقته وكان العسكر قد وصل الى حدود  
اخميم فاعطاهم الامان فنزلوا عما كانوا عليه واطاعوا وجاءوا الى خدمة الامير  
الركن الهيجاوى وعادوا جميعاً الى القاهرة المحروسة ولما وصلوا لم يروا \* مولانا (ج) ٣٤٢  
السلطان وجها وبعد ايام رسم بالقبض على جماعة منهم معينين وقيل انهم بقوا  
وقيل بل حبسوا فى بعض المدن واما باقيهم فرسم لهم بان يخرجوا الى الريف  
يسكنون فيه بشرط ان لا يكون لاحد منهم فرس ولا يحمل عده بل يكون  
فلاحاً او تاجراً وان اراد بيته ان يخرجوا له فلا يمنع من ذلك فتفرقوا فى البلاد  
ووهبهم مولانا السلطان ارواحهم لان الفقهاء كانوا قد افتوا بانه قد قتلهم  
لانهم شقوا العصا ونكثوا العهد وغدروا سلطانهم واقاموا الفتنة فعفا لهم عن  
ذلك جميعه ثم انه رسم بخروج العساكر الى الشام وتجهزوا ولم يخرجوا ووردت  
الاخبار بان الملك الجواد بن ممدود اتفق مع الافرنج ونزل معهم وانهم جاوا  
الى غزه واخذوا كلما كان بها وعادوا نزلوا الى قيساريه وبقوا مترددين  
فى الساحل من موضع الى موضع والملك الجواد معهم وبعد رواح الافرنج من  
غزه جاء الملك الناصر بن الملك المعظم نزل بها هو وعسكره وفى هذه الايام كان  
فى بيت المال المعمور رجل ناظر يعرف بشهاب الدين قاضى دارا وكان ناهضاً  
فما يتصرف فيه شديد الجهاد فى خدمة سلطانه فاطلع على انه قد بقى من مبلغ

خط البطرک خمس مائة وعشرة دينار إما بأنه وقف عليه او وثى اليه به فسير طلب ابن اخيه وابن اخته الذين كان الخط باسمهما وطلب منهما المبلغ ورسم عليهما وكان الشيخ الصنيعة الذى يقال له مستوفى المستوفيين هو حل الدولة وربطها وفيه خوف الله وكان من مبغضى البطرک فتسبب الى ان احال بالمبلغ بعض الاجناد التقدمه وتسبب معهم الى ان صالحهم عليها ويقال ان البطرک لم يزن من هذا المبلغ سوى ثلثماية دينار واخذ الوصولات وتخلص اقرباوه الا انه حصل له من الاسف فى هذه النوبة وضيق الصدر وشكوى العدم ما لم يجسر مثله ولا سمع فى وقت الحمل الكبار ونفذ الى حارة زويله اخذ ما بها من شمع وغيره واستعان بقس بها كان يسمى ابا شاكر وكان يخدم فى باب الميسم المفرد فى جامكيه البارداريه وكان موسرا ويقال انه اخذ ثمن طاحون كانت وفقاً على الكنيسة والله اعلم وكتب الى الوجهين القبلى والبحرى بهذا السبب واستعان بالشيخ الصنيعة الارخن المقدم ذكره فى مثل ذلك وكتب له الى النواب والمستخدمين بالمساعدة واما الاسعار فانها ارتفعت جدا بلغ القمح خمسة وسبعين درهما الاردب والشعير اثنى واربعين درهما الاردب والدجاج بدرهم نقرة الدجاجة واللحم بدرهم ونصف وثمان الرطل والسكر بثلاثة دراهم الرطل \* والشمع بدرهم الاوقيه والغسل النحل بثلاثة دراهم الرطل والزيت الطيب بثلاثة دراهم الرطل وجميع ما فى الارض من هذه النسبة وكانت شدة ما روى اعظم منها ولا اعجب لان الماء فى هذه السنة بلغ ثمانية عشر اصبعاً من ثمانية عشر ذراعاً وهذه الاسعار على هذه الحالة وكانت العادة جارية ان الغلة اذا غلت رخص كل شىء مثل الدقيق والدواب والقماش والاثاث وفى هذه الايام كل ما فى الارض غال حتى الات العمائر واجر الصناع واما قلعة الجزيرة فكان العمل مستمراً فيها والاجتهاد واقعاً فى تكملها وهدت كل دار كانت فيها وانتهى الامر الى المواضع التى قدام الكنيسة والجامع فهدت وصار المكان رحبة عظيمة وبهواً وجاء احد اصحاب السلطان وهو المهمندار ويعرف باخى الحاجب على نزل بقاعة البطرک التى بجانب كنيسة الجزيرة ووضع بها قماشه واخذ مفتاحها وجاء البطرک نزل بالطبقة التى اخرجها من جانب الكنيسة وجعلها فى جانب قاعته قصداً منه فى حفظها وان هذا الرجل اذا خرج من هذه القاعة

رجع اليها وحصل له من هذا المكان تعب قلب ونكد سرور واما المقعد الذى كان عمل على بسطة المقياس واستحسنه كل احد فانه هدى وعمل موضعه برج عظيم على راس القمية واما الجانب الغربى فانه تكامل جميعه مناظر لمولانا السلطان بساتين ومقاعد من الكنيسة الى اخر العارة ثم ان السلطان اعز الله نصره جرد عسكرياً الى اليمن عدتهم الفا فارس وفيهم جماعة من الامراء والمقدمين مثل الصارم المسعودى والاشراف وعلم الدين شميل وغيرهم وانفق فى كل طواشى ثلثين دينارا واعطى الامراء على عدة الطواشيه لكل طواشى عشرة دنانير من كان معه خمسون اعطاه خمس مائة دينار خارجاً عما تاخذه الطواشيه لانفسهم ورسم لهم بالتجهز والمسير الى اليمن وشرعوا فى ذلك وصاروا يبيعون الخيل والابقار والجاموس والاغنام ويسرون الجمال والهجن وعدد السقايين واللات سفر الحجاز واليمن ورخصت الخيل الى حد ما عليه مويد<sup>(١)</sup> وغلت الجمال والاكواز والروايا والقرب والدلا وكل ما يجرى هذا الجرى غلواً كبيراً واشترى الرقاق الموصلى بخمسين درهما القنطار وخمسة وخمسين والكعك مثله لانه اتفق فى الايام ان السعر تحرك وبلغ القمح بسبعين درهما الاردب والخبز بربع وثمان درهم الرطل فاشتد الحال وقبض رجال الاسطول برسم مراكب اليمن وقل الواصل وكان الوقت صعبا الى الغاية ثم ان السلطان اعز الله نصره جهز عسكرياً اخر الى غزه فى زها ثلاثة الاف فارس ومقدمه الركن الهيجاوى وفيه جماعة من الامراء وخرجوا ونزلوا غزه اجتمعوا بالملك الجواد مظفر الدين بن مودود وكان القصد اصلاح قلبه والمسير الى دمشق لاختذها \* فاقاموا هناك وعسكر اليمن يتجهزون للخروج وما بقى فيهم الا من هو مصمم على ذلك واذا الاخبار قد وردت بان فخر الدين ابن رسول صاحب اليمن جاء الى مكة اخذها مخامرة من العسكر الذى كان بها فانحل العزم عن تجريد اليمن وبطل وكان السعر قد انحل فى يوم السبت النور وبلغ الى اربعين درهما الاردب والخبز ستة ارطال بدرهم والدقيق بخمسة وستين درهما الحملة واستبشر الناس بذلك استبشارا كبيرا وكان عيدا مباركا وفرح العسكر المجرى الى اليمن بتبطل التجريد الى هناك ورجعوا الى بيع

(١) اقرأ : « مزيد » .

ما كانوا اشتروه واكثر الاصناف ضاعت عليهم مثل الكعك والرقاق والدهن وما جرى مجراها ورجعت الخيل غلت اثمانها لانهم عادوا الى شراها ووردت الاخبار بان الركن الهيجاوى الذى كان مقدم عسكر غزه ترك العسكر وانفصل عنه هو والملك الجواد لامر توهما منه فاما الملك الجواد فانحاز الى الافرنج لانهم حلفاوه واما الركن فانه توجه الى دمشق وقيل انه ما مضى الى هناك الا لمصلحة يرمها واشنان يصلحه وان كان رواجه خوفاً على نفسه والا المخامرة والغدر ونكث الايمان ما عرفت منه قط ثم ان الافرنج صاروا يخرجون من بيت لحم وغيرها ويتعقبون بالناس يقتلونهم فى الطريق ويستبيحون اموالهم فبلغ الملك الناصر بن المعظم وهو صاحب الكرك ونابلس وجبل الخليل وبيسان ذلك فسرى على بيت لحم وقتل كل من بها من فرنجى ونصرانى واخذ الاموال وسبى الدرارى وكانت ايام فتن قلاقل ومخاوف وكان بعض الحجاج الذين توجهوا الى البيت المقدس خرجوا منه الى عكا منهم من مضى فى تجارة ومنهم من مضى الى قرابته هناك فاخذوا فى الطريق وقتل منهم جماعة رجال ونساء واما البطرك فصار اكبر مقامه بدير الشمع لانه لم يبق له موضع يايوه سواه ولما كان فى نهار يوم الجمعة الثانى عشر من بوونه وهو عيد الملاك الجليل ميكايل الموافق للخامس من ذى الحجة سنة تسع وثلثين وستماية الاسلاميه وقف رجل من الصوفيه الذين يسمون القلندريه فى الجامع بمصر بعد صلاة الجمعة وبعد فراغ الخطبة وصاح بأعلى صوته يا مسلمين من اراد منكم الجهاد فى سبيل الله فعليكم بكنيسة المعلقة فخرج من الجامع كل من كان فيه وهم امم لا تحصى وجاءوا الى الكنيسة وكان والى مصر فى الجامع وكان رجلاً خبيراً عالماً ذا تجربه يقال له المجاهد سليمان فسمع التشويش فسير مملوكه وعشرة من المقدمين لحفظ الكنيسة فجاء اليها فوجد من الخلق ما لا يعد وقد طلع بعضهم الى المسجد المجاور لها الذى \* اخذ منها والملح إذا رمى لا يقع على الارض فحمل فى تلك الخلائق بالدبوس والعشرة المقدمين بالمقارع ومهابة السلطنة قائمة عظيمة فافرجوا عن باب الكنيسة فاغلاق الباب الذى عندها الذى هو من ابواب قصر الشمع ويعرف بدرب المعلقة وطلب رووس الفتنة وكانوا قد طلغوا الى المسجد وكانت عدتهم خمسة انفس اوسنة القلندرى ومن وافقه على ذلك وصار يضرب كل واحد منهم نوباً عدة



باصناف الات العقوبات مما لا يذكر مما يجده ثم المقارع والعصى واصناف  
الات الهوان ثم اخذهم بعد ذلك مربوطين في الحبال ومضى بهم الى دار صاحبه  
وكان يسكن بالقرب من حمام الفار فاخذهم الوالى وجدد عليهم العذاب والهوان  
وامر بهم الى الحبس وكان ذلك بهم مثل التجريس عليهم واهتدت المدينة  
وانقمع المفسدون ودعا لهذا الوالى العقلاء من السادة المسلمين وعامة النصارى  
واليهود لانه حسم مواد كادت تتفرع وعض انصار الفساد والعباد كانت تتطلع  
وكان القاضى شرف الدين الاسكندرى المعروف بابن عين الدولة الذى كان  
افرد بقضاء القاهرة وما يليها من الوجه البحرى بعد ان كان قاضيا على الاعمال  
كلها قد توفى وعوض عنه بالقاضى بدر الدين قاضى سنجار الذى كان فى  
قضاء مصر وبقيت مصر اياماً بغير حاكم الى ان فوض الامر فى قضائها الى رجل  
من اهل دمشق يعرف بابن عبد السلام<sup>(١)</sup> وقد كان ولى الخطابة بمصر قبل ذلك  
فاجتمع له الخطابة والقضاء وكان رجلاً جيداً وسمعه سسطانه<sup>(٢)</sup> وكانت الاسعار  
تاخذ وتعطى والقمح الى زيادة اقرب من النقص من خمسين درهما الاردب  
الى ما حولها وكل شىء غال ثم ان القاضى بن عبد السلام المذكور ظهرت منه  
اسباب كانت كامنة فى نفسه فاسقط عليه الشهود وتعقب اثار القاضى المتوفا  
وتطلب ولده محى الدين ورام هدم طبقه كان بناها على مسجد بمصر بخط  
باب القنطرة فصده الصاحب معين الدين عن ذلك وضيق على الناس فى امور  
شتى وتعاسر فى الاحكام واقام الوراقين من الدكاكين وامرهم بان يقعدوا  
بين يديه فى الزيادة التى فى الجامع ثم ان السلطان خلد الله ملكه رسم بان يعمر  
مدرسة بالقاهرة قدام الصاغة فى الموضع الذى كان يسكن فيه البيطرة قدام  
القصر وشرع فى ذلك ونقل البياطره من هناك فتحولوا الى ناحية باب البحر  
الى صوب الركن الحلق وهد ذلك الجانب من القصر وهو ما يلى باب الزهومة  
الى بحرى طول مائة ذراع بالعمل فى مثلها فى العرض واهتم بذلك مع استمرار  
الاهتمام بعمارة قلعة الجزيرة ومناظرها \* وعمائر القلعه بالجبل وعمائر المناظر (ج) ٣٤٤

(١) تقرأ : « عبد السلام » .

(٢) تقرأ : « سمحانة » .

بيستان الخشاب وغيرها من العماير السلطانية فصارت اصناف العماة لا يقدر عليها والصناع لا يصابون البنا بعشرة دراهم كل يوم ودرهم موونته والفاعل باربعة دراهم ونصف وربع درهم موونته والبقية من هذه النسبة والخبز لا يوجد الا باطلاق وبعد هذا الناس يعمرن والعماير تكثر والخراب يعمر واموال الناس تترى مع الغلا وهو من الامور المتضادة وجاء راس السنة المباركة الهلالية وهى سنة اربعين وسماية للهجرة وامر باستخراج الجوالى فاستخرجت استخراجا بعنف عظيم وكان قد تولا بها رجل يقال له بن جراده فعمل ما لا عمله احد وسلط الاوباش على الناس ولم تقتصر على جوالى مصر والقاهرة بل اى من وجدته وزنه وجعل عرفا ارباب الصنایع يحضرون من هوتحت ايديهم من كل صناعة واصحاب الارباع ياخذون من هو ساكن فى حارتهم بالقيام بالجزية وكانت العقوبة مبسوطه على الناس وفى هذه الايام نودى فى مصر بما حكايته رسم الشرع ان يشد النصارى الزنانير فى اوساطهم وقيل ان السبب فيه بن جراده المقدم ذكره لان شكاه الى القاضى ان النصارى ما بقوا يعرفون من المسلمون لانهم ما يشدون الزنانير وان الرسل ربما مسكوا المسلمين لسبب الجوالى فامر بهذا النداء فرجع الناس شدوا الزنانير فى اوساطهم المشايخ منهم ومن يخاف على عرضه وتسلط العوام على جارى عادتهم ثم رسم السلطان بان يخرج العساكر الى صوب الشام لان رسول الخليفة وصل الى تل العجول وتجهزت العساكر وخرجت اولا اولا ونزلوا على ظاهر القاهرة من مسجد التبر الى بركة الحب ووصل رسول الخليفة المسير من بغداد وعبر الى القاهرة وانزل بدار الوزارة وكان السلطان قد خرج تلقاه لانه كان رجلا مميزا ريساً ذا قدر خطير ثم ان قوماً من المسلمين يعرفون بابن حوله وابن صباح وجماعة تعصبوا معهم وهم الذين كانوا قاموا فى قضية الكنيسة المعلقة وفعلوا فيها ما تقدم ذكره انتبدوا لكنيسة بوسرجه بمصر وجاوا الى دارين من ادر وقفها لاصقين بها احدهما من شرقها شارعها على الطريق والاخرى من غربها من داخل الدرب الذى ابواب الكنيسة فيه وادعوا ان كل دار منهما كانت مسجدا وانهم يعرفون ذلك من مدة تنيف على اربعين سنة وكان الشيخ السنى الراهب المعروف بابن الثعبان مقيا بالكنيسة المذكورة وناظرا فى احوالها وقد عمرها وعمر رباعها

واستجد بالرباع مواضع \* عديدة. اضافها الى وقفها وسار فيها سيرة الملائكة ٣٤٤ (ظ)  
فاقام هولاء المدعون المحربون قوما منهم رفعوا الشيخ المذكور الى الشرع الى  
هذا القاضى بن عبد السلم بعد ان اجتمعوا به وقرر معهم ما يعملونه وعرفهم  
الطريق التى يسلكونها فادعى واحد منهم مسلماني يعرف بابي الحسن بن مكين  
القزاز وكان بينه وبين الشيخ السنى مشاحنة لانه كان ساكنا بقاعة من ربع الكنيسة  
ولم يعط عنها اجره وكان الشيخ يطالبه بها لانه ما راي ان يتركها له ولا كان  
لتركها وجه وكان هذا الشخص مذموم الطريقه زائفاً عن الحقيقة فادعى على  
الشيخ بتسليم الدار الواحد البرانيه وما يجب من اجرتها من نيف واربعين سنة  
فانكره فالتمس منه اليمين فقال له القاضى احلف قال نعم قال قل وحق من انزل  
الانجيل على قلب عيسى قال له الشيخ هذا ما هو مذهبي ولا معتقدى ولا يحلف  
الانسان الا على معتقده كما عهدنا من تقدم من القضاء قال له ان لم تحلف على  
ما قلت لك اخرق بك قال مهما شئت افعل ما سمعنا قط من حكم بهذا الحكم  
فاغتاظ عليه واخرق به قدامه وامر به الى الاعتقال كما جرى للرسول الاطهار  
ثم ان المسلمين المتحزبين عملوا محضراً برأى القاضى بان هذا الموضع مسجد من  
مساجد المسلمين وان النصرارى تعدوا عليه وعملوه دار من ايام الغلا فى سنة  
سبع وتسعين وخمسة وادعوا الشيخ من الاعتقال فى اليوم الثالث لان مبتدى  
احضاره كان العصر من نهار الثلث التاسع عشر من مسرى من هذه السنة وجددوا  
الدعوى عليه فانكر فاخرجوا المحضر وقد شهد فيه ثمانية من هذه الطائفة فادوا  
شهادتهم وفيهم من لم يبلغ اربعين سنة وشهادته من نيف واربعين سنة فسمعها  
الحاكم المذكور وزكى منهم اثنين وهما ابن حوله وابن صباح لانهما كان  
شخصين لكن كشيخي سوسنه فاثبت المحضر واعاد الشيخ الى الاعتقال بعد  
ان جرت بينه وبينه مفاوضات وقال له ان كان لك بينه احضرها قال له يا مولاي  
من اين لى بينه وانا فى الاعتقال قال له وكل عنك قال له يا مولاي ما لى وكيل  
يقتى معى الترسيم الى ان احضر بينتى قال له لا سبيل الى ذلك وامر به الى الاعتقال  
فى عشية يوم الجمعة الثانى والعشرين من مسرى وبعد ذلك عملوا المحضر بالدار  
الاخرى التى من داخل الدرب وكان القسيس المعتمد بن القسيس معانى قسيس  
الكنيسة المذكورة ساكنا فى الدار المعينة فدعوه وادعوا عليه بتسليمها وعملوا

٣٤٥ (ج) معه كما عملوا في الدار الاولى فاعترف انه ساكنها من مدة عشرين سنة \* فامرهم  
بخلوها للوقت والساعة ووكل عليه على اجرة عشرين سنة وامر باخلا الدار  
الاخري البرانيه من ساكنها لانها كان بها ساكن فاخليت الدار وصارتا بيد  
الخصوم وانهى اليه ان القسيس المعتمد فقير لا يقدر على شئ فقال نضمنه عليه  
ويعمل محضرا بعلمه فضمنه اهله وخرج يتسبب في المحضر ولما كان في عشية  
يوم الاثنين الخامس والعشرين من مسرى دعا القاضي الشيخ السنى لانه كان  
في كل ثلاثة ايام يدعوه وقال له اى شئ عملت قال له يا مولاي ما الذى اعلم  
وانا في السجن وانا ما لى احد قال ضمن عليك وامض تسبب في نفسك فحضرت  
جماعة وضمنوه ضمان وجه وجآ الى الكنيسة الى القلايه التى له بها وجآ اليه  
الجماعة وبدلوا مجهودهم الا انهم ما كانت لهم حيلة لان اكابر المسلمين وشيوخهم  
وروساهم كانوا متحققين ان هذه الشهادة باطلة وان هذا شئ ما كان قط  
الا انهم ما يمكنهم الشهادة وادواهم<sup>(١)</sup> والمسايير منهم ممن يعلم ذلك يخافون من  
القاضى حتى ان المحضر التى بالدار الاولى الشارعة على الطريق تضمن ان هذا  
المسجد كان له ثلاثة ابواب قصدا منهم في ان ياخذوا فيه دارين اخرتين  
وكانت هاتان الداران شركة مع امراة مسلمة لها الربع والكنيسة النصف والربع  
فجاءت هذه المرأه بكتبتها الى القاضى وشنعت وشعنت وهى امراة مسلمة  
فامر بان لا يعارض الدران اللتان لها فيها الحصن واقتصروا على الدار الواحدة  
التى هى لصيقة بالكنيسة قصداً منهم فى التسلط على الكنيسة واخذ ما يجاور  
الادر المذكورة منها حسب ما يمكنهم كما فعلوا فى المعلقة وكان فى الحارة جيران  
مسلمون ولهم املاك مجاورة الدار البرانيه ومعهم كتب تاريخها منذ تسعين سنة  
تشهد بحدود احدها ينتهى الى هذه الدار وهو يشهد بالدار الوقف على النصارى  
ولو كانت مسجدا كما ذكروا ذكرت واخر نصرانى يعرف بابى اسحق بن الاعمى  
له دار من داخل الدرب مقابلة الدار الاخرى المنازع فيها ومعه كتب عهدتها  
ماية واحدى وثلاثين سنة فشهد بحدود مثل ذلك والحد الذى ينتهى الى هذه  
الدار يذكر فيه انه ينتهى الى الدار الوقف على النصارى سكن الشيخ ابى غالب

(١) تقرأ : «أذناهم» .

واحضرت الكتب المذكورة الى القاضى فوقف عليها وما اصغى اليها وبقى الشيخ المذكور يسعى بالقاهرة ومصر ويتسبب يوم الثلاثاء والاربعاء ولم ينعمل له شيء فلما كان في عشية يوم الخميس الثامن والعشرين من مسرى جاء القاضى الى الكنيسة ومعه جمع من اليهود وغيرهم \* ووالى مصر ودخل الى الدار البرانية واحضر السنى وقال له اى شيء عملت قال له يا مولاي ما عملت شيئاً قال له يا شيخ هذه الدار قد ثبت عندي انها كانت مسجداً من مساجد المسلمين فانت ما جددت ولا غيرت بل ان ابن ابى غالب الذى كان بطريراً وانت فما يلزمك الا مدة الثلاث عشر سنة التى اعترفت انك تصرفت فيها فى هذا المكان يقوم لنا باجرتها قال له يا مولاي هذه الاجرة صرفتها فى جوالى النصرارى وصدقاتها على شرط الوقف قال هذا ما لا يفيد قال يا مولاي ان كان هذا المكان كان على ما قيل مسجداً فمن اين له هذه العماير وهذه الطبقة وهذه الالات التى صار له بها هذه القيمة قال قوموا اجره المكان مسجداً منذ ثلاث عشر سنة وقيمة هذه الاخشاب والاصناف والبنيان الذى به الان فقالوا يفضل للشيخ احد عشر دينارا قال لهم انتم فى حل منها فخرجوا على هذه الصورة وانتقل الى الدار الاخرى ولم يكن بها الا العلو الذى كان القسيس يسكنه لان سفلهما كان مخرباً وكان الشيخ قد سد بابه من ناحية الدرب وفتحها من ناحية الكنيسة جعله مخزناً للحلفا وهو يجاور مستخدمات الكنيسة فعبوا الى الكنيسة ودخل من باب المستخدمين وهو باب المستخدمين والمطلع وجاء الى موضع المراحيض والقنارات فقالوا هذا موضع المحاريب قال ثبت عندي ان هذا ايضا كان مسجداً اطلبوا القسيس الساكن فيه قال له الشيخ يا مولاي ماذا تريد منه على ضمانه قال نريد الاجرة قال له يا مولاي مهما وجب عليه اما ان يثبت عسرته او يقوم به وخرج على هذه الصورة فلما كان يوم الاحد اول النسي سير اليهود والمهندسين وعبروا الى الدار البرانية وقعدوا يقومون واخذوا فى ان يهدوا باباً مشدوداً ظناً منهم انه ينفذ الى الكنيسة فياخذوا به قطعة منها وينتهون من اسفل الى العلو فلم يجدوا وراه الا تراباً من تقادم السنين ثم انتقلوا الى الدار الجوانية وجاوا الى موضع المراحيض وقالوا لنا السفلى والعلو من هذا الموضع اربع ادرع دائرة غير العشرة فى عشرة التى لنا فى المخزن ولم يكونوا فى الاول

ذكروا الا عشرة في عشرة لانهم كانوا قاسوه من برا وكان الشيخ لما جاوا  
يقيسون ويقومون قد مضى الى القاضى قعد عنده فخرجوا وقد اوجبوا على  
المكانين ثلثاية واربعين ديناراً فقبله وقام القاضى وجاء الشيخ الى الكنيسة بغير  
توكيل الا ان الامور محتبطة فلما كان اخر النهار استدعاه وكلمه برفق وطيب  
قلبه وقال لنايبه تقف على هذه الكتب وتعرفنى بما فيها وطلع الى القاهرة فلما كان  
في صبيحة يوم الاثنين سير اليه \* النايب رسولا طالبه فضى اليه ومعه الكتب (ج) ٣٤٦  
المقدم ذكرها فقال هذه قبور لا تفيد شيا وقال له ما الذى عملت قال يا مولاي  
ما عملت شيئاً فوكل به على المبلغ وبيته في التوكيل فلما كان في غد ذلك اليوم  
سير استدعاه فقال انا مريض ما اطيق الحركة فسير وقال يحمل على قفص جمال  
ويحضر فاحضر اليه قفص من اسرة النوم فحمل عليه وجاوا به اليه فقال يا سنى  
اى شىء عملت قال له يا مولاي ما عندى شىء اعمله قال الساعة يعتقلونك  
قال يا مولاي اعمل ما شئت قال يودى الى الاعتقال فضى به الى الاعتقال  
وصار مطلوباً بما يجب على الدارين لاجل ضمانه للقسيس وكان القسيس قد  
استتر ثم دخلت سنة تسع وخمسين وتسع مائة في يوم الجمعة مستهل ربيع الاخر  
سنة اربعين وسماية والسلطان الملك الصالح خلد الله ملكه وقاضى القاهرة  
بدر الدين الذى كان قاضى سنجار وقاضى مصر عز الدين بن عبد السلام  
والبطيريك انا كيرلس المعروف بابن لقلق وانتهى النيل في هذه السنة الى  
ثمانى اصابع من سبع عشر ذراعاً وكانت نهاية زيادته يوم الاثنين الرابع من  
توت وصار يزيد وينقص ولم يزد عن الثمانية من سبعة عشر شيا اخر وتحركت  
الاسعار وغلت وبيع القمح بسبعين درهما الاردب والشعير باربعين درهما الاردب  
واما البرسيم فطلب الى الغاية لاجل شحة الماء وقلة نبات الربيع المباح فبيع  
بتسعين درهما الاردب وغلا الزيت الحار ايضا ولم يكن في البلاد شيئاً رخيصاً  
في هذه المدة وكان البطرك مقياً بدير الشمع لم يدخل مع الناس في شىء مما كانوا  
فيه ولا كان كانه منهم وكان قد حضر في مبدا الحال بات بكنيسة بوجرج  
الحمر ليلة واحدة و اشار عليه بعض الجماعة بالعود الى مكانه فعاد الى دير  
الشمع ولم يعد منه في هذه المدة وكان معذورا لانه كان خائفاً ثم ان القاضى  
بمصر تطلب القسيس المعتمد الى ان وقع به فاودعه الاخر الاعتقال وصار

هو والشيخ السنى فى السجن وكان الجماعة قد كتبوا فتيا الى الفقهاء يستفتونهم فى قوم مسلمين علموا شهادة فى حق من حقوق الله سبحانه من مدة طويلة ثم ودوها الان فهل يكون تاخير الشهادة المذكورة قادحاً فى عدالتهم ام لا فافتوا جميعاً بان عدالتهم ساقطة بتاخير شهادة الحسبة واستثنى منهم من قال الا ان يكون له عذر واضح واحتج عليه من لم يستثنى بان العذر غير مقبول فى بلد فيه سلطان الاسلام قايم والولاه والحكام ولم يفد هذا ايضاً شيئاً ولا عمل به مع انه نص شرعهم وهو صفة الحال ومن بعد هذه كتب الشيخ شمس الرياسة ابن هبلان رقعة الى مولانا السلطان عز نصره عن النصارى يسله<sup>(١)</sup> فيها \* ان يعقد ٣٤٦ (ظ)

لهم مجلس مع خصومهم فى مجلس العدل الشريف وان يحضر الراهب يحاقيق عن نفسه فامر بذلك على لسان امير يقال له بدر الدين اخو الحاجب على فعقد المجلس فى يوم الاثنين صبيحة عيد الصليب وحضر جماعة من الاجلا والروسا وكان صدور المجلس الشريف الارموى قاضى العسكر وبدر الدين قاضى القاهرة والوجه البحرى والفقهاء عباس ووالى مصر ونايب قاضى مصر لانه هو ما حضر وجماعة من الشهود واحضر ابن حوله وابن صباح والشيخ السنى والقسيس من السجن وجاوا بمحاضرهم وكان المتحدث قاضى القاهرة فاستدعى المحاضر وقف عليها وقال لاويلك الشهود ما اخركم عن الشهادة وهى شهادة حسبه لله تعالى مدة خمسين سنة قالوا قلنا بها قال لمن قلموها فذكروا شخصاً ميتاً قال هذه دعوى منكم وامر معدوم وجرت مفاوضات كثيرة اخرها انهم قالوا للسنى لك بينة قال نعم قالوا احضرها قال يا مولاي مع السجن قالوا لا لكن يستاذن عليه القاضى ويضمن عليه ويخرج يتركض فى نفسه فاستاذنوا عليه القاضى فقال لا سبيل الى هذا الا ان كان بغير امرى فاعيد الى السجن هو والقسيس وكان الجماعة قد عملوا محضراً يشهد بهاتين الدارين وقف على النصارى وانها بايديهم من مدة تزيد على خمسين سنة والى الان وكتب لهم فيه رجل شريف معتبر متصدر فى الجامع فعلم به قوم من اصحابه الاشراف اصحاب القاضى فدخلوا عليه بالترهيب والتانيب والتخويف والتثقيب الى ان اشهدوا عليه بالنزول عن

(١) اقرأ : « يسأله » .

شهادته وشهد في المحضر ايضاً رجل من جيرة الحارة شيخ معتبر يعرف بابن ابى الطيب وكان قد ازمى فما بقى يقدر على التعرف فحمل اليه عدلان سمعا قوله واديا عنه الشهادة وبعد هذا مضوا الى الاخر وعنفوه وخوفوه بانك ساكن في مسجد مدة سنين والساعة تخرج منه وتطالب بالاجرة من هذه السنين فاشهدوا على الاخر بالنزول عن الشهادة ثم ان هولاء المعاندون اخذوا البنايين والفعله والحبس وجاوا ليلة من الليالى الى الادر المذكورة فقصدوا ان يبنوا فيها المحاريب فضى بعض الجماعة الى الوالى اعلمه بذلك فسير منهم ومن باكر اجتمعت جماعة كبيرة ووقفوا لمولانا السلطان فامر بان لا يتعرض لهذا المكان حتى يثبت الحكم وكان القسيسان الشيخ القديس السنى ابو المعانى المعروف بابن كمش والشيخ الرضى بن ابى الطيب هما المنشغلان لهذا الامر اللذان صرفا جميع همتهما اليه فكانا في تعب شديد وجهد جهيد لا يفترقان بالنهار ولا يهديان بالليل ويدفعان من اموالهما فالله سبحانه يحسن \* لهما ويجزيهما جزاء امثالهما فحملا الى مجلس العدل شهوداً آخر غير دينك وهم القاضى المعين عبد الحكم بن محمد بن عبد الحكم والقاضى الاسعد بن ميسر والشيخ الحكيم ابو سعيد بن تمام فادوا الشهادة بمجلس العدل على ما تضمنه المحضر وبقوا في قيد التزكية لان الشهود لم يكونوا عدولا وصاروا في المدة الطويلة يحضرون شاهداً للتزكية وهم يريدون اربعة لا اثنين كما فعل اولئك وطالت المدة فسير القاضى احضر الشيخ السنى من الحبس وقال له الى متى تتجلد ، ان لم تقم بالمبلغ والا عاقبتك عقوبة الشرع قال له يا مولاي مهما استعملك الله اعمله قال ما عملت شيئاً قال يا مولاي ما يكون ثم مهله قال يومين وثلاثة قال الشيخ وخمسة وستة وكان قائما فقال يا مولاي ما في اقف قال اقعد فقعد ساعة ثم قال يا مولاي ما اروح الى موضعى فقال رح فعاد الى الاعتقال وبعد ذلك بايام شنع اولئك الرهط في يوم الجمعة ان القاضى يخرج السنى ويجرسه فبلغه ذلك فقلق قلقا عظيما ومضى رجل نصرانى يعرف بابن الحشا الى القلعة فاعلم الجماعة بذلك فاما الحكيم الرشيد المعروف بابى خليفة فانه اجتمع ببدر الدين اخى الحاجب على فسير جندارين من عنده الى والى مصر يقول له اما علمت ان مولانا السلطان عز نصره قد عقد للنصارى مجلساً وانتهى الامر فيه الى الاثبات وقد احضروا



بينهم وهم في تركيتها فالله لا يمكن احدا من هذا الرجل ولا من المواضع  
واما المستوفون حرسهم الله فانهم كتبوا رقعة الى مولانا السلطان عز نصره بصفة  
الحال وسيروها على يد استاذ الدار فخرج امره بان يسير الى الوالى وينكر عليه  
الغفلة عن مثل هذا والحذر ثم الحذر ان يتعرض احد الى هذا الراهب او يحرك  
في هذه المواضع ساكننا فضى جندار اخر عن السلطان بهذا وارادع اهل العناد  
الساعون في الارض بالفساد واما القاضى فانه انكر ان يكون هذا خطر بياله  
او جرى فيه حديث قال له الوالى فتكتب خطك بهذا الى السلطان والا راحت  
روحي فكتب القاضى رقعة يقول فيها ان النصرانى شنعوا عنى ما لم اقله  
ولا نويته وانما هذا الرجل محبوس على حق شرعى وسيرت الى مولانا السلطان  
فقرأها وتركها ولم يجب عنها وقد كان القاضى قبل هذا جرت له قضية مع  
رجل نصرانى سكرى من اهل منية عمر يقال له مكرم بن محاسن وذلك ان ولده  
غبر على مطبخه وكان قايدا بغير زنا وهو يتنابد هو ورجل حلفاوى فشكا اليه  
الحلفاوى ان هذا النصرانى ما يفعل يروح معى الى الشرع ولم يعلم مكرم انه  
ابن القاضى فقال لغلامه اعبر اخرجه فتشابط الغلام مع \* صناع المطبخ  
فعب ابن القاضى الى المطبخ راكبا وضرب الصبيان ووقف مكانه وسير الى  
ابيه فركب بنفسه وجآ الى المطبخ وكان المطبخ الذى عند دار الفاضل مقابل  
صناعة الثمر واخرج هذا المسكين مشحوطا مكشوف الراس مقطوع الثياب  
واجتمع عليه ام لا تحصى ما منهم الا من يضربه ويهينه وهو صابر وبلغ الوالى  
الخبر فحضر وقال يحبس حتى يجي امر السلطان فحبسه وكتب الى مولانا السلطان  
بما جرى فلم يصبر القاضى حتى يجي جواب السلطان بل قال سير لى النصرانى  
حتى اعمل فيه الواجب فسيره اليه وقال له هذا انت تركبه بين هولاء العوام  
وهو يقتل وما تعلم ما ياتى من السلطان فاخذه ولم يركبه بل اشهره ماشيا وهو  
مهان الى ان شق له البلد ومضى به الى مجلس الوالى وهو صابر شاكر وحسب الله  
اجرا وكان ذا يسار وقدره كبير واقام فى الحبس اياما واخرجه الوالى بعد ان كتب  
عليه حجة بانه لا يخرج من بيته الا بزنا ولو كان فى حبس القاضى ربما كان  
عسر خروجه واما ما كان من امر كنيسة بوسرجه فان القاضى لما ابطا عليه الحال  
ايقن ان النصرانى لا ينعمل لهم شى ولا يزكى لهم احد لانه كان قد سك عليهم

الدنيا وائى من سمع انه يشهد او يزكى شاهدا سير هده وتواعده وكانوا  
المساكين فى شدة شديدة ومن اين لهم بمقاومة القاضى لولا معونة البارى  
فسير الى الوالى فى عشية يوم الاربعاء رابع بابه مع رجل من شهوده يقال له  
ابن زيدان وهو يقول له اننى اجتمعت بالسلطان وقد رسم لى بان نعمل فى  
هذين الموضوعين ما اوجبه الشرع وانتهى ان يساعد هؤلاء القوم على ما هم  
بصدده قال له الوالى مهما اردتم افعلوا ومكنهم من كل ما يريدون فبيتوا على  
الفعلة والمساحى والطوارى وصبحوا من الفجر الى الدار الجوانية هدموا واجهتها  
وروشن الطبقة التى كان يسكنها القسيس وطلع اصحابنا بالحية وكانوا فى هذا  
النهار اعنى فى يوم الخميس خامس بابه واتفق انه خامس ربيع الاخر سنة  
اربعين وسمايه الهلاليه قد اخذوا معهم ابن تمام ليوذن لهم لانه كان ابنه كتب  
عنه باذنه لعجزه عن الكتابة لاجل كبره ولم يكن روى وجات هذه القضية  
فكشفت خواطرهم واطلمت ابصارهم حتى من الله تعالى بان السلطان خلد الله  
ملكه ركب فى ذلك اليوم ومضى الى مصر واجتمع به الوالى فقال له ابتداء منه  
كلاماً ما فهم الا ان يفتتحه ان الوالى حضر الى دار العدل واجتمع مع الاكابر  
الذى فيه سراً وقال ابصروا الى ساعياً يروح الساعة الى مصر يمسك الهدم  
ويقول لهم لا تعملوا شيئاً الى ان احضر واستدعى النصارى وقال انجزوا اليوم  
شغلكم فقد رسم السلطان بذلك ثم انه لما لم يجد ساعياً يسيره \* سّير بابه الشريف  
الى مصر ركضاً فبطل الهدم وحضر ابن تمام وودى شهادته وجاء الحكيم ابن  
الزبير زكاه فى المجلس وجا النبيه العدل الاخر وزكى ابن عبد الحكم وقويت الانفس  
وهان الامر وبقيت الحاجة الى شاهدين اخرين يكملان تزكية بيّنة المحضر  
ويثبت فعادوا الى القاهرة بعد ان استاذنوا الجماعة فى ان تكون تتمّة التزكية  
فى دار القاضى بالقاهرة فانهم ما يجتمعون بدار العدل الا يومى الاثنين والجميس  
ويتعذر فى هذين اليومين وجود الشهود ويطول الوقت ويتسوف فاذنوا فى  
ان تكون تتمّة التزكية بدار القاضى بالقاهرة فعبر الى القاضى بالقاهرة فى بكرة  
يوم الجمعة السادس من بابه شاهد طبيب يعرف بجمال الدين الرازى زكى ابن  
عبد الحكم فكمّلت تزكيته بشاهدى عدلٍ وبقي ابن تمام يحتاج الى شاهد اخر  
لا غير ويثبت المحضرو فى وسط نهار يوم الجمعة اشيع بان القاضى بن عبد السلام

عزل وقوم يقولون انه عزل نفسه لاجل قضية النصارى وكون حكمه نقص عليه وفي بكرة يوم السبت السابع من بابه حضر شاهد اخر عدل فاضل يعرف بجمال الدين عبد المعطى وكان خطيب القلعة زمانا وزكى ابن تمام فكمل المحضر وقويت القضية بان قاضى مصر عزل نفسه عن القضاء واشهد عليه بذلك وكتب به رقعة الى مولانا السلطان ولم يخرج لها جواب وكان فى هذه الايام قد حدث تغير عجيب وهوانه لما كان فى ليلة السبت اخر توت جات ريح عظيمة حتى قلعت النخل من اصولها وطرحها الى الارض ووقعت ادر كثيرة ومات تحتها اناس كثيرون وكانت ليلة عظيمة مزعجة وقد كانت الشمس كسفت من ليلة الجمعة المذكورة من اخر الليل وطلعت منكسفة الا انها لم تظهر منكسفة لانها كانت تحت الشفق ولم تكن مثل السنة الخارجة لان ذلك الكسوف كان عظيما مستغرقا وقت العصر كما تقدم شرحه وفى نهار السبت السابع من بابه تحقق ان القاضى بن عبد السلم عزل نفسه من الحكم واشهد عليه بذلك شهودا عدة عدولا وبقيت مصر بلا حاكم ولا نايب لان النواب رفعوا ايديهم بحكم رفع يد مشنبيهم وكان عيد القديس واخس يوم الاحد الثامن من بابه الذى هو يوم شهادته ويوم الثلاثاء العاشر منه عيد القديس بوسرجه وكان هذا الذى جرى اية عجيبة لهذين القديسين فى عيدهما لانه شى ما كان فى قدرة احد من النصارى ان يفعله ولا يقدر عليه وصار كل احد يقول هذا بسبب النصارى ونيتهم وكانت اعجوبة ما روى مثلها ثم ان القسين المقدم ذكرهما جا الى دار العدل فى يوم الخميس الثانى عشر من بابه ومعهما المحضر ونسخته \* التى نقلت (٣٤٨ ظ) منه بامر القاضى لان كان كتب فى المحضر ينقل فجاء الى دار العدل وسالا القاضى ان يكتب فى المحضر بالثبوت ويسجل عليه بمحضر من الجماعة الذين بدار العدل فتوقف عن ذلك وقال محضركم قد ثبت الا ان العجلة ما هى جيدة تمهلوا حتى نبصر ان كان لخصومكم مطعن فى الشهود او حجة يلجون بها فقال بعض الحاضرين ممن له علم ونباهة ياسيدنا هولاء ما لهم خصوم انما اوليك كانوا يقولون ان عندهم شهادة حسبه قالوها وقد ثبت بضد ما قالوا فقال قبيح بالحاكم ان يخرج خطه بشى ثم ينتقض وكان كلامه هذا موجبا (١) ثم التفت

(١) اقرأ : « موجبا » .

الى والى مصر وقال له قل لهؤلاء ان محضر النصارى قد ثبت فان كان عندكم حجة فاتوا بها او مطعن فاظهروه وانفصل المجلس على هذا ثم ان جماعة النصارى اجتمعوا ووقفوا تحت القلعة ثلاثة ايام متوالية اولها يوم السبت الرابع عشر من بابه ينتظرون ركوب مولانا السلطان خلد الله ملكه فلم يركب يوم السبت ولا يوم الاحد بل انهم كانوا فى كل يوم من اليومين يلقون القاضى بدر الدين قاضى القاهرة فيقول لهم حقكم قد ثبت وانا اعرف السلطان بذلك فلما كان يوم الاثنين السادس عشر من بابه ركب السلطان عز نصره وركب القاضى بن عبد السلام واجتمع بالسلطان ويقال انه تضرع واستغفر الله تعالى مما جرى وكان قد تحدث فى حقه بن قاضى نابلس وقبح ان قاضيا مثل قاضى قضاة مصر يعزل فى شهرين فرسم له بالعود الى القضا وشرط عليه شروطا على ما ذكر من سمعها ولم يشبها فعاد القاضى جذلا مسروراً وكذلك اصحابه ونزل فى يوم الثلاثاء صبيحة اليوم المذكور الى مصر وحكم بعد ان بقيت مصر بغير حاكم احد عشر يوماً الا انه ما اعاد ولا ابدى فى امر الادر التى ادعى انها كانت مساجد الا انه ما زال يسير الى شاهد شاهد من شهود محضر النصارى قوماً بالترهيب وقوم بالترغيب حتى استنزل الجميع عن الشهادة واشهد عليهم بذلك الا ان المحضر قد ثبت وكتب قاضى القاهرة عليه بالثبوت فى دار العدل بعد ان توقف عن الكتابة اياماً وكتب من دار العدل مطالعة فى يوم الخميس التاسع عشر من بابه وترجمها جميع الناظرين بدار العدل على جارى العادة وكان مضمونها انه ثبت بمجلس الحكم بمصر ان مسجدين كانا من مساجد المسلمين وقد جعلها النصارى ادرأً للسكن من مدة ثلاث واربعين سنة ثم ثبت محضر تنجزه النصارى بدار العدل العزيزة ان هذين الموضوعين المدعى انها كانت مساجد ادر وفتت على النصارى من مدة تزيد عن خمسين سنة ومقتضى ذلك ترجيح بيعة النصارى ما لم يعارضها تجريح الشهود وبقيت الرقعة مع \* الحاجب اياماً انتظاراً لان يركب السلطان أو يجلس فيعرضها عليه ويتحدث عليها فلم يركب ولم يجلس وطال الامر عليها الى يوم الاثنين الثالث والعشرين من بابه فاجتمع به روسا دار العدل وقالوا ان تاخير عرض هذه الرقعة ضرر علينا وعلى النصارى فانه ربما يبلغ للسلطان ذلك او يكتب اليه الغير فيقول ولأى شىء ما اعلمتموني

فتسيرها الى السلطان في هذه الساعة على رقعة منك واملاوه ما يكتب في الرقعة فكتبها بحضورهم وحملها الى مولانا السلطان على يد بعض الخدام فلم يخرج لها جواب ولازم النصرارى الاجتماع والطلوع الى القلعة يوم الثلاثاء والاربعاء والخميس فلم يركب السلطان وفي نهار يوم الجمعة هو لا يركب واستمر على ذلك ولم يقفوا لمولانا السلطان عز نصره بل ان القاضى بدر الدين قاضى القاهرة كان يقول لهم انا قد قلت لمولانا السلطان ان محضركم قد ثبت ولكن ان قدرتم على زيادة بينة فافعلوا لاجل ان شهودكم قد نزلوا عن الشهادة وصار الجماعة يدابون في تزكية الشاهدين الذين كتبنا لهم في المحضر اللذين لم يزكيا بعد واحدهما كان ادى في مجلس العدل وهو الاسعد بن ميسر والاخر كتب ولم يود وهو الموفق بن النحاس وكانوا يريدون انهم ان لم يقدروا على تزكية الاثنين فعسى ان يكون احدهما وكان الامر قد عسر لان الناس كانوا يخافون من ابن عبد السلم وفي هذه المدة وردت الاخبار بان الافرنج خرجوا من يافا وجاوا الى نابلس وقتلوا كل من كان بها من مسلمين ونصارى وهدموا الجامع الى الارض وحرقوا الاشجار واخربوا الديار وحكى انهم لما احاطوا بالناس وجمعوهم قالوا من كان نصرانيا ينزل حتى نخلصه ففرح النصرارى بذلك وامتازوا من المسلمين فلما صاروا عزله عادوا اليهم فقتلوهم اجمعين واما المسلمون فانهم قتلوا منهم واسروا بعضهم وكان القتل يعم النسوان والولدان والصغار والكبار واقاموا بها ثلاثة ايام ثم عادوا بالسبي والغنائم وكانت فتنة ما روى اشد منها ورسم السلطان خلد الله ملكه بخروج العساكر الى الشام فخرج زهاء الفى فارس مقدمهم مملوك يقال له شمس الدين سرا سنقر الذى كان استاذ الدار ووصلوا الى غزة واجتمعوا مع العسكر الذى كان هناك وكان الملك الناصر معهم وصاروا في عسكر عظيم وتموا ونزلوا على منزلة تسمى العوجا مقابل يافا وراموا حصار يافا فاستعد الافرنج لذلك واقاموا مديده وبعد ذلك سير السلطان اعز الله نصره الى شمس الدين سرا سنقر المقدم ذكره وامره بان ياخذ العسكر الذى خرج معه ويحضر فرموا \* خيامهم وارتحلوا فلما راى الملك الناصر ذلك حمل ما قدر عليه من قماشه واحرق الباقي ورحل ومضى الى الكرك واما العسكر الذى بقى هناك وهم الاشراف والصارم المسعود وشمايل ورجال من الحلقة مقدمهم ريحان

الصاحبى فانهم رجعوا الى غزه واما احوال اصحابنا النصارى فما كانوا فيه فانهم اجرؤا ذكر الشيخ السنى عند مولانا السلطان عز نصره فقال انا اعرفه قولوا للقاضى يخرجك فكتب صاحب يقال له بدر الدين اخو الحاجب على الى القاضى رقعة يعرفه فيها ان مولانا السلطان رسم بخروج السنى الراهب المعروف بابن الثعبان الذى فى اعتقال الشرع وهذا خطى عند سيدنا بذلك ومضى بها اليه جندار وكان يوم الجمعة وكان بمصر فاعتذر وقال حتى اجتمع بمولانا السلطان فكتب اليه رقعة ثانية وهو يقول هذا خطى وعلى العهدة فابى وقال هذا فى حبس الله على حق شرعى ما هو فى حبسى حتى اطلقه ولم يعد احد يعرف السلطان ان القاضى رد قوله وقد كان قبل ذلك قد جرى بين القاضى والوالى مشاحنة بسبب هذه القضية وهو ان القاضى سير شهودا الى الموضوع الجوانى حتى تجدد تحديده وكان قصدهم ان يدخلوا فيه بما لا كان فيه اولا حتى يستضيفوا اليه مواضع اخرى فسير اليهم الوالى مقدم ركابه وقال لهم بامر من عملتم هذا وما هذا التحديد بعد التحديد الاول فجاءوا الى القاضى اعلموه فسير القاضى اخذ المقدم المذكور ضربه وحبسه فسير الوالى أخذ الشاهدين ضربهما وحبسهما وكتب كل منهما الى السلطان وبقيت بينهما مشاحنة ولا شك ان السلطان رجع القاضى فحمن الوالى ومال الى ملاينة القاضى فاخرج الشاهدين واخرج القاضى المقدم الذى كان حبسه وبقي الامر على ما هو عليه والجماعة يسعون فى تزكية شاهدين اخرين وكان فى هذه السنين وهى هذه السنة وما قبلها بسنتين قد ظهر فى القيوم بركة عظيمة وصار فيها من البلطى شى لا يحصى وكان يحمل منه الى مصر فى كل يوم حملة لا يحصى عددها حتى ان بعض الاصحاب ذكر انه توجه يوما من القاهرة الى مصر فلقى فى طريقه فى تيك المسافة ما يزيد عن عشرين حملا هذا خارجا عما يحمل من غير تيك الطريق وما يحمل فى طول النهار وما يباع بمصر والجيزة لانه كان يحمل من القيوم الى الجيزة على الجمال وله سوق بالجيزة يباع به وقد ضمن السلطان ستين دينارا ومن هناك يشتريه الناس ويفرق فى البلاد وكان فيه الكبير واللطيف واللطيف ما كان فيه كان يكون وزن البلطية منه اربعة ارطال وتباع كل عشر بلاطى منهم بتسعة دراهم ودون ذلك واكبر من هذا الوزن بعشرة دراهم العشرة

\* والكبير منه اكبر من هذا الوزن بكثير بخمسة عشر درهما العشرة وكانوا  
يحصروا فيهم ما يقدر وزن كل بلطية عشرة ارطال واكثر تباع بدرهم نقره  
ودون ذلك وتحقت من السماك الذي يبيعه بالجيزه ان الذي كان يصل منه في  
كل يوم مائة حمل ويزيد وينقص وان في اكثر الايام يصل مايه وثلثين  
حمل على كل حمل مايتى بلطيه يكون العده على هذا الحكم ستة وعشرين الف  
بلطية وكان الناس قد وجدوا به رفقا عظيما وما كان معظم الناس بقى له اكل  
سواه ولولاه ما قدر على اللحم لان اللحم في هذه الايام قد غلا غلوا عظيما حتى  
بلغ الرطل درهمن واكثر مع ان الاسعار كانت رخيته وانحط القمح الى ان بلغ  
العال فيه الى خمسين درهما الاردب والى دون ذلك والشعير الى سبعة عشر درهما  
وحولها والفول مثله وبيع الخبز خمسة ارطال بدرهم وثمان ما خلا اللحم فانه غال  
جدا واما البلطى فما كان ينقطع طول السنة ومن كثرته ما صار يباع فى السماكين  
خاصة بل فى ساير الاسواق ولا صار السمك يعدم اصلا لاجل وجود هذا  
البلطى الا انه سيم لكثره واكثر الناس ما كانوا رجعوا ياكلونه بل كانوا  
يتبطرون حتى يقع لهم فرخ او بنيه فياكلون منه ثم تمدى الامر فى امر ادر  
الكنيسة الى اوائل شهر رمضان من هذه السنة فاجتمع القاضى ابن عبد السلام  
بمولانا السلطان اعز الله نصره وقال له ان هذه المواضع التى يدعى بها النصرارى  
انها املاك وقف عليهم قد ثبت عندى انها مساجد والنصارى فلم يثبت لهم  
شئ لان شهودهم نزلوا عن شهادتهم وهؤلاء المسلمون قد اشتهاوا ان يجددوا  
هذه المساجد فى ايام مولانا فقال له مهما ثبت فى الشرع اعمل به فنزل الى  
مصر وسير الى الوالى يقول له قد رسم لى السلطان بان اهد هذه المواضع واعيدها  
كما كانت مساجد واريد مساعدتك وشدك فسير الوالى الى مولانا السلطان عز نصره  
رقعة فى هذا المعنى فلم يخرج لها جواب فجاء القاضى الى المواضع بنفسه  
ورسم بهدها فهدت لانه ما كان يمنع من ذلك الا الوالى فلما لم يجد نفساً من  
السلطنة تخلى وأسار جماعة من الناس بانه ما بقى يفيد الا الوقوف للسلطان  
فاجتمع جماعة من النصرارى القسوس والصعيديين ووقفوا مراراً فوقنا توجد  
رقعتهم ووقتا لا يجاوبون واخر الوقت وكان السلطان بالجيزه جاهم بعض  
الحجاب وقال لهم قال لكم مولانا السلطان لا ترجعون تقفون فاني لا اسمع لكم

كلاماً وكان القاضي بن عبد السلام في ذلك اليوم قد مضى الى تيك المواضع وهو يردد نظره فيها \* بعد هدم البعض فجاء اليه الوالى وقال له ياسيدنا كنت الساعة مع مولانا السلطان عز نصره وقد وقفوا له النصرارى في امر الكنيسة وامر بطردهم فازداد غيظاً وتحزباً وامر بهدم المواضع كلها واستضاف لها مواضع اخرى وامتد في الزقاق فهدم من حايط الكنيسة القبلى الى قمية الزقاق الذى يسلك منه دار القسيس معانى والادر التى هناك ودخل في هذا الحد ثلثة ادر علوا وسفلا من هذا الدار التى من شرق الكنيسة وطبقه الشيخ السنى التى كان عمرها في موضع القرن العتيق وانتهى الى سفلها الذى كان مطلعاً الى علو الكنيسة ومستخدمات واستمر الهدم وبقى زقاق الكنيسة لا يسلك من الهدم والردم والطوب والاختشاب وصار القاضي يتردد كل يوم الى الكنيسة ويقوى بجأش اوليك الجماعة الذين كانوا سبب الفتنة المدعين والشهود والمتعصين وفي اثناء هذه القضية جآء شخص يقال له ابو الحسن بن مكين القزاز مسلمانى وهو من تيك الجماعة المقدم ذكرهم وهو الذى كان ادعى على الشيخ السنى اولاً وعمد الى طاق في طبقة من الطباق الى (١) هدمت وهى في سور الكنيسة وهى من جملة طاقات دايرة في سورها فجاء الى هذه الطاق التى هى الى ناحية القبلة على زعمهم وان كان معها طاقات عديدة في هذا الحد الا انه اختص بهذه فكتب فيها الشهادتين التى لهم بالمغرة وعمل عليها التراب حتى ترى انها عتيقة والصق عليها قطعة بياض من الذى نقص وكانت امرأة من السكان تبصره وبات في المكان يجرسه فلما اصبح مضى الى القاضي وقال له ياسيدنا قد ظهر لنا الحق ووجدنا المحراب فيه الشهادتان مكتوبتان من قديم الزمان فجا القاضي وخلق لا تحصى من المسلمين الى ان كان الملح اذا رمى عليهم لا ينزل الى الارض وراى المكان وعمل بذلك محضراً واشهد فيها جماعة من العدول بانه وجد كذا وكذا وسيره الى مولانا السلطان وحكى ان السلطان عز نصره لما راى ذلك قال هذا الرجل من الاولياء ولا ينبغى ان نراده في شى وما كان في الارض قضيه اعجب من هذه القضية ان يكون محالا وتتميا وتعصباً وكل عاقل وشيخ

(١) اقرأ: «التى» .



من المسلمين يشهد بان هذا محال وشئ ما كان قط وبعد هذا نصر هذه النصره  
وتم فيه ما لم يتم في مثله في زمن من الازمان الا ان هذا كان تخليه من البارى  
سبحانه وعقوبة لاهل هذه الكنيسة التى انا من جملتهم واما الشيخ السنى فان  
هذا كان له زيادة بر ومضاعفة اجر وشهادة وجهاداً وسبكاً<sup>(١)</sup> لانه لم يكن  
يستوجب ما جرى له من المحن الا على هذا النوع لا غير ثم ان القاضى جاء  
الى الكنيسة ودخلها واخذ بيده قادوما وصار يهد بيده وهدوا السور الذى  
كان فيه \* الطاقات الذى ذكروا ان فيه وجدوا المحراب وليس محراب بل  
طاق من جملة طاقات عدة وهم كانوا يشهدوا بان هذا المسجد كان ارضيا  
والبرانى كان معلقاً وهذا المحراب الذى ادعوا به فى طبقة وكان هذا السور ينتهى  
الى اسطوان عرضى فيه ثلاثة هياكل احدهما<sup>(٢)</sup> وهو الصدرانى على اسم القديس  
ابو فكتّر والثانى على اسم يوحنا المعمدانى والثالث على اسم ابينا انبا انطونيوس  
وهذا الموضع كان موضع المغطس العتيق الذى غيره الشيخ السنى وجعله فى  
كنيسة استفانس وكانت الكنيسة المذكورة فى ظهر هذا الاسطوان فهدموا  
الكنيسة الاخرى وهدموا السلم والمطلع والغوا الموضع البرانى بالموضع الجوانى  
ولم يبق فى الكنيسة سوى الاسطوانات الثلاثة لا غير ولم يبق بها فرن ولا مستخدم  
ولا بقى احد يصل الى علوها الذى على الاسطوانين اللذين فى الجانين فاما  
علوتيك المواضع فانه هدم مع سفلها وكان الذى عدم من الكنيسة اربع كنائس  
وسبعة هياكل والقرن والمستخدمات والمطلع وخمسة ادروبق النصرارى فى حزن  
وكأبة لم يروا مثلها من زمان وذلك على العقلا منهم وذوى الدين والتميز وفى  
اثناء هذه الشدة مرض البطرک جمعه من الايام وتوفى فى يوم الثلاثاء الرابع عشر  
من برمهاث من هذه السنة الموافق للثامن عشر بالعدد من شهر رمضان سنة  
اربعين وستماية بدير الشمع وفى الحال جاء بعض النصرارى الذى عليهم اسم  
النصرانية خاصة وهم عماد الراهب المرشاد المقدم ذكره والقس سمعان الذى  
كان كاتب القلاية وجرى منه ما تقدم ذكره وذكر ان معهم انبا يوساب اسقف

(١) اقرأ : « سَبْكَاً » .

(٢) تقرأ : « أحدها » .

فوه واعلموا الصاحب معين الدين بن الشيخ بان البطرك توفى وانه خلف جملة مال فسير احتاط عليه وعلى موجوده جميعه وختم على الجوسق وهو فيه ميت وبات كذلك فلما كان ثانی يوم وهو يوم الاربعاء سير والى الخيزة وكان اميرا يقال له شمس الدين الطنبوعا وكان والى الغربية قبل ذلك مدة طويلة وسير معه وكيل السلطان وهو كمال الدين بن الفقيه نصر فجاء الى الدير ومعهم شهود واخرجوا الميت النصارى بعد ان بات الليلة فى الظلام بغير سراج يقدر<sup>(١)</sup> عليه واثبتوا الموجود ويقال انهم وجدوا له ستة عشر غفارة عنابى وغيره واربعين وزره مثمته واما من الثياب والعمائم والسراويلات والبلايات والعراضى والحجور التى للبدلة التى تكون على الراس فشى كثير الا انى ما تحققت عدته وذكر لى بعض الجماعة ان عدة السراويلات اربعون والعهدة عليه ووجد له على ما ذكرست عشرة علبه حلواء \* وقد زنخت وساس بعضها وست قرواى تمرا عتيقا وغير ذلك مما يجرى مجراه فاحتاطوا على الجميع واثبتوا مع اوانى الكنايس وكساويها التى كانت عنده والكتب التى كانت له وللكنايس وكانت كتبها لها قيمة لانها كانت منتخبة مثمته ثم قالوا لابن اخيه ابى سعيد ولوكيله وخازنه وكان صبيا يعرف بابى الفرغ بن خلبوصى البنا اين المال قال ما نعلم شيا فتشدد الامير عليهما فقال له ابن اخى البطرك انا رجل غريب ما كنت عند القوم هذا الخازن والمتصرف قال له الامير المال والا عصرت اصداغك فى هذه الساعة فدخل الى موضع اخرج منه من تحت بلاطة الف دينار وكسورا وخرج من الدراهم النقره والسواد ما ذكر ان الجميع تناهز الفى دينار فاخذوا المبلغ فى حرمدان حسن الصنعة له قيمة وختموا على المواضع وتوجهوا واخذوا معهم ابن اخى البطرك وابو الفرغ المقدم ذكرهما واما جماعة النصارى فانهم التاموا حوالى البطرك مع الاساقفة الذين كانوا حاضرين وهم انبا يوساب اسقف فوه واسقف بوتيخ والسندونى وولده وانبا بيمين اسقف اطفيح وجماعة من القسوس والشمامسة وجمع كبير من الشعب وجزوه على جارى العادة وقيل ان رايحه تغيرت حتى انهم كانوا يرشون عليه ماء الورد لتزول الرايحة الكريهة

(١) كذا ؛ تقرأ : « يوقد » .

عن الناس ودفن في عشية يوم الاربعاء الخامس عشر من برمهات في القاعة التي كان عمرها بدير الشمع وعاد الناس الى مواضعهم فاما ابن اخي البطرک وابو الفرج الخازن فانهما لما وصلا الى الصاحب معين الدين أمر بتسليمها الى المجاهد سليمان والى مصر وقال له تسلم منى هذين واريد منك عشرين الف دينار مما كان يقال له ومما كان يخشى في اسماعه فاخذهما الوالى وحبسهما وضيق عليهما واما رهبان الدير فان الوالى سیر اليهم احضرهم اليه ووكل عليهم وتركهم عنده وبقى الدير بلا قداس ولا صلاة وباب القاعة التي البطرک مدفون فيها مغلق وكان جماعة يريدون ان يزوروه فلا يجدون سبيلا ثم ان مولانا السلطان اعز الله نصره رسم بان يعقد جسر الى الجزيرة فاخذت المراكب التي كانت على بحر الجزيرة نقلت الى الناحية الاخرى من الغرب وعقد الجسر من الجزيرة الى الجزيرة ومشى الناس عليه وكانت الطريق قد مشت من مصر الى الجزيرة في البر من جانب الجزيرة الاخرى على جارى عاداتها في كل سنة ورسم السلطان عز نصره ان ينتقل من كل سوق قوم الى الجزيرة ويقيموا بها لان قصده ان يعمرها وقيل انه قاس لعمارتها مقدار اسكندريه طولا وعرضا ورسم بأن ينقل الشوانى الى بر الجزيرة وتعمر هناك وان تعمر الامراء لهم هناك ادراً ليكون مقام \* السلطان (ج) ٣٥٢

في قلعة الجزيرة والامراء في الجزيرة ونقل اصناف عمائر المراكب الحربية والنيلية من صناعة مصر الى صناعة اختطها بالجزيرة وكان العمل مستمراً بالجزيرة وطلعت ابراجها الشرقية وشرعوا في الابراج البحرية بحفر الابار وعمل الجنائز والبنية عليها وتسفيرها كما عمل في الابراج والابدان الشرقية وكان قد طلع في بحر الجزيرة جزيرتان كبيرتان فامر بقطعهما ونقل تراهما في المراكب الى بر الجزيرة وردمه هناك لانه كان غرق في ذلك البر مراكب وكان قصده بذلك كله ان يتوكا البحر على الجانب الشرقى فتبقى تحت الجزيرة من الشرق شتاءً وصيفاً وربما يستمر في خليج القاهرة ورسم بابتياح الابقار والاستكثار منها فابتيع واحضر من الابقار ما يناهز الف وخمس مائة راس ورتبت في العمل في بر مصر بالحراريف من دار الملك الى فم الخليج ونقل سوق الغلات والعلافين اصحاب المقاعد الذين كانوا على الساحل وادر الاملاك التي تباع فيها البطيخ والفقوس والخيار وما يجرى مجراها الى الكوم الاحمر قبلى مصر ما خلا دار الاملاك الى الجزيرة لما عزم على

حفر هذه المواضع ثم انه رسم تخلى كنيسة الجزيرة وجامع المقياس ويخرج من بهما وكان بالكنيسة رجل قسيس كبير السن ضعيف البصر يسمى افهام وكان له في الكنيسة المذكور ستين سنة فاخرج منها وسمّر بابها واخرج ابن ابى الرداد من جامع المقياس ولم يعلم السبب في ذلك فقوم قالوا ان السلطان يريد ان يعمل من جانب الكنيسة طريقا الى الابراج التى عملها على المقياس وقوم يقولون انه كره تخطى الناس على باب داره وبقي الحال على هذا وكانت اسعار الغلة قد انحطت وتوطات وكان النصرارى في مصر في ضايقة من قبل القاضى حتى انه كلف الناس انه من كان ثوبه ابيض يحمل زناره ازرق او اسود او لونا يخالف الابيض وان كان ثوبه اسوداً او ازرق فيكون زناره ابيض واخذ جماعة بذلك وكان العوام اشد على الناس من هذه الامور كلها ولم يكن في القاهرة شىء من هذا اصلا وكان قد جرى لليهود في هذه المدة قضية عجيبة لانهم كانوا بلا ريس وكان فيهم قوم متعنفين يعرفون باولاد الفارق في دقته وكانوا يسعون في الرياسة فاتفق ان اثنين منهم وهم الكبار من الاخوة حضروا للكنيس التى لهم في سبت من السبوت فطلعا الى المنبر وقرأء العشر الكلمات التى في التوراة وكان هناك من اليهود من يشناهما فمضى الى والى مصر وقال له ان السلطان خلد الله ملكه رسم ان لا يكون ريس لليهود الا بعد ان يقوم بالف دينار لبيت المال وهو ان اثنان من اولاد الفارق في دقته قد سرقا الرياسة وطلعا الى المنبر وقرأ ما كان يقرأه الريس ولم يزنا شياً \* فسير الوالى احضرهما واخذ عليهما الشهادة فانهما قرأء العشر الكلمات فوكل عليهما وسير أعلم مولانا السلطان فخرج اليه الامر بان يحبسهما حتى يزنا الالف دينار الذى تقرر في الرياسة فحبسهما وكان اسم احدهما ابا البها وهو العالم فيهما والاخر ابا النجم وكان يسافر مع السلطان الملك الكامل ويتخادم لا كابر الدولة فاما ابو البها فانه اسلم وتخلص واما ابو النجم فبقى في الحبس وفي هذه الايام مات اسقف الملكيه الذى بمصر ولم يوجد له ما يكفن به وكانت اياما عجيبة النصرارى القبط بغير بطرك والملكية كذلك لان بطركهم مات قبل انبا كيرلس واليهود بلا ريس واما اصحاب البطريك المحبوسين وهم ابن اخيه وتلميذه وعلامه فانهم عصروا مراراً ولم يقرؤ بشىء وكان العصر بالاكبر لابي الفرج بن خلبوص الذى هو التلميذ والمتصرف كان

في المال فعصر حتى قارب الموت ولم يخرج شيئاً وبقوا محبوسين وفي هذه الايام كان الصاحب معين الدين بن الشيخ قد عمر مناظر على البحر بمصر من جانب باب القنطرة وكان القاضي ابن عبد السلم قاضي مصر قد عبر على هذا المكان في وقت من الاوقات وقال لبعض الوكلاء الوقوف على العمارة لا تعمروا هذا المكان فقد ثبت عندى انه كان مسجداً وفيه اموات فعرفوا الصاحب بذلك فلم يكثر له وكان الى جانب هذا الموضع مسجد وكان ابن القاضي الاسكندري الذي كان قبل هذا القاضي قد عمر عليه طبقة مليحة تائق فيها وغرم عليها جملة وقد كان هذا القاضي قصد هدمها لانه قال الاوقاف لا يجب أن تغير عن صورتها ولا يزداد فيها ولا ينقص فما مكنه الصاحب من ذلك وبقى في نفسه فلما تم له في كنيسة بوسرجه ما تم ظن ان المواضع كلها هكذي فاخذ معه جماعة من الشهود وجمعاً من الهدادين واجتمع معه من المتفرجين والمتفرغين خلق عظيم وطلع الى الطبقة وشرع في هدمها وكان قصده انه بعد هدمها يهدم الموضع الذي اشار الى انه ثبت عنده انه كان مسجداً وقد عمله الصاحب مجازاً الى داره فبلغ الصاحب ذلك وكان بالجزيرة فجاء الى المكان في جمعه وغلمانه واشياعه والوالى معه وسير الى ابن عبد السلم وقال له بامر من فعلت هذا ان كان بامر السلطان خلد الله ملكه فعرفنا على لسان من خرجت لك الرسالة ونحن اولى ان ننفذ امر السلطان وان كان بامرك فما لك هذا فقال بامر الله فقال الصاحب نحن نعلم ان الله تعالى ما اوحى اليك بهذا ونحن نمنعك منه حتى ترى ان كان هذا الامر من الله وكانوا قد هدوا من الطبقة مسقتين من جانب الطريق لا غير فسير الصاحب غلمانه واشياعه فأخرقوا بالشهود اخراقاً عظيماً وضربوهم \* الى حد الموت وضربوا الهدادين وبدوا بهم وانفض ذلك الجمع وهربوا واما القاضي فانه بقي في الطبقة وحده وكانت بغلته على الباب فضربها الغلمان وهجموها وكسروا يد الركاب دار وكان يوماً مشهوداً لم يرا اعجب منه وبعد زمان خرج القاضي يمشى الى برا الباب ونزل في مركب حتى مضى الى بيته وكان قد اراد من الوالى ان يعينه فلم يعينه بشى فحلف انه لا يحكم ولا يتصرف الا ان عزل الوالى وانقطع عن النزول الى مصر وعن الحكم بها الا ان نوابه كانوا باقين على حالهم ومتصرفين ثم ان الامر خرج ببيع

تركة البطرك فاخرجت في مصر وبيعت في يوم الثلثا السادس والعشرين من برمودة وابصر الناس فيها من التحف والاشيا الغريبة ما لم ير مثله حتى انه قيل ان قماش بدنه حفظ<sup>(١)</sup> اربع مائة دينار ولم احقق ذلك الا انه بيع بجملة عالية وكان التوب الصوف المفصل يباع بمائتي درهم والغفارة<sup>(٢)</sup> الجوخه العتيقة بمائة وخمسين درهما واخبرت ان شخصا اشترى قطعة من الحلقة واخرجها الى السوق عرضها فسويت نصف ثمنها وكذلك كل ما بيع لان الحلقة لها سمعة لا سيما مع هيبة السلطنة واما اواني الكنايس مثل الصواني التي للقربان والكاسات والكساوى التي للهياكل وما يجرى مجراها فانهم عزلوا حتى تشاوروا عليها ولما كان في اوائل بشنس خرج بن عبد السلم قاضى مصر الى المصلى الذى بالقرافة وجمع جماعة من اليهود وعزل ولده وولد البها بن حنا الذى هو صهر الاسعد الفايزى وفيما هو فى ذلك سير اليه الوالى ابن اخيه وقال له هذا ما هو موضع الحكم فما هذا الجمع فشمته القاضى واقرى عليه فقال له ابن اخى الوالى انا ما لى معك حديث بل هو لآء اليهود هم يعلمون ما يلقون<sup>(٣)</sup> وكانوا زهآء ثلثين رجلا فانفضوا جميعهم وقاموا فاستعادهم القاضى وقال لهم اشهدوا على بآنى عزلت نفسى من الحكم بمصر واعمالها وصرفت نوابى وانى عزلت الوزير ابن الشيخ من النظر على الشافعى ومن شيوخة الصوفية ومن النظر على تركة اخيه عماد الدين وورثته واسقطته من العدالة فسمعوا ذلك وراح كل منهم الى بيته وخرج القاضى وحده راح الى القاهرة لانه كان يسكن بها وبقي الحال على ذلك الى يوم الجمعة السادس من بشنس وهو عيد الشهيد ابى اسحق بدفرى رسم الشيخ ابى المجد الاخيمى بان يعود الى الخطابة على ما كان عليه اولا وهذه اول خدمة كانت لابن عبد السلم فخطب فى النهار المذكور بجامع مصر وكان له يوماً مشهوداً وتلقاه الناس بالشمع الموقود والمصاحف المنشورة وفرحوا به فرحاً عظيماً وبقي الحكم بغير قاضٍ بمصر والامر موقوف فى ذلك الى ان ركب

(١) اقرأ : « حقق » .

(٢) العبادة .

(٣) يلقنون .

\* السلطان يوما في بر الجزيرة فلحقه ابن عبد السلام وجاء اليه الى المنظره بمنيه ٣٥٣ (ظ)  
 عقبه واستاذن عليه فاعطاه دستوراً بالعبور فعبور اليه فاكرمه وقام له واكل معه  
 واستغفاه من القضاء فاعفاه وما كان يظن ذلك ثم استاذنه في السفر فاذن له  
 فيه الى اى جهة اراد ثم خرج من عنده وقد اثبت<sup>(١)</sup> من الحكم والخطابه  
 واستخدم نوابه جميعهم في مواضعهم على حالهم لكن من قبل السلطنة لا من  
 قبل قاضى مصر على جارى العادة وكان قاضى مصر ايضا من جملة النواب  
 الذين ابقوا على حالهم ولم يتغير احد من النواب سوى قاضى قوص وكان هذا  
 تدبيراً من الله تعالى لانه كان قد ظلم النصارى واسباء عليهم واحداث عليهم  
 حوادث لم يكن حتى انه استسلم كل مملوك لهم ومنع ان يباع شئ من الجلب  
 لاحد من النصارى وقال ان هولاء الجلب جميعهم مسلمون وهم يعبرون  
 على دهلك وعيداب وبلاد المسلمين ويدخلون المساجد ويصلون فيها فلا يجوز  
 ان يباعوا للنصارى واشيا كثيرة من مثل هذا من ان ابن الابن يتبع الجلد اذا  
 كان مسلماً وان كان الابن نصرانيا لانه كان بالغاً في حال اسلام ابيه الذى هو  
 الجلد فصرف دون جماعتهم واقرب ساير النواب على ولاياتهم واهتدى الناس  
 مما كانوا عليه قليلا الا ان كنيسة الجزيرة هدمت الى الارض وغيرها في عمائر  
 القلعة وصارت من جملة ما كان في هذه السنة قد وردت الاخبار أن الخليفة  
 المستنصر بالله قد توفى ببغداد وكان رحمه الله من الخلفا الراشدين الذين اقاموا  
 منار الحق وانصفوا بين الخلق وقربوا المويدين واقصدوا<sup>(٢)</sup> المفسدين فتوفى  
 وقعد بعده ولده المستعصم بالله امير المومنين وكانوا يطلقوا له هذا للنعث لان  
 الخلفا العباسيين قد ناهزوا الاربعين فقد استوعبوا اكثر الاسماء ومن شرطهم  
 الا يسمى خليفة باسم قد سمي به غيره فيقال انهم اقاموا مدة يبحثون حتى  
 وقع لهم هذا الاسم وجاءت رسله الى مولانا الملك الصالح وخطب له وضربت  
 السكة باسمه ثم ان مولانا السلطان عز نصره سير الى اخص الامرا الذين بغزة  
 وهم الامرا الاشراف اولاد تغلب بان يحضروا الى القاهرة لشغل عرض له

(١) تقرأ: « أنبئت » .

(٢) تقرأ: « أقصوا » .

فجاؤا وفي مجيهم كان الافرنج قد جاؤا في امر مركبات الى الواردة نهبوها واخذوا منها جماعة ثم جاؤا الى قطية وفي مجيهم اليها نزل الاشراف بها ولم يعلموا واذا الافرنج قد طلعا من المراكب اول الليل وجاؤا الى السوق ونهبوه وامسكوا كل من وجدوه وربطوهم معهم في السلاسل فلما بلغ الاشراف ركبوا وكانوا في قلة لان اصحابهم تفرقوا وكانوا في الاصل ضعافا لان اجنادهم مقاربة جداً الا انهم ما قصروا بادروهم وقتلوهم من اول الليل الى ان طلعت الشمس وخلصوا منهم المسلمين الذين كانوا اسروهم واخذوا منهم ثلثة انفس بالحياء وقتلوا منهم زها عشرين نفساً جاؤا بشعفهم معهم على الرماح ويقال ان اكثرهم جرحوا ومنهم من مات بعد انفصالهم عنهم وما راحوا الا بشر<sup>(١)</sup> ويقال انهم ما بين ثلثماية قوس وهذه حملة كبيرة بازا هذه الجماعة اليسيرة وشكر الامرا الاشراف من مولانا السلطان ومن كل احدٍ وخلع مولانا السلطان عليهم خلعاً سنية وكانوا ثلاثة امرا اولاد عم وهم حصن الدين وكان اصغرهم سنّاً واكبرهم قدراً وشرف الدين وتقى الدين ثم بعد ذلك تحرك العسكر الشامى مع الافرنج الى ناحية غزة وجات الاخبار بان الملك الناصر بن الملك المعظم صاحب الكرك اتفق معهم فعاد العسكر الذى كان بغزه وطلعا الى فاقوس ورسم مولانا السلطان عز نصره للعساكر بالخروج وانفق فيهم لكل امير على عدد حلقتة عن كل جندى عشرة دنانير ان كان معه مائة جندى اعطاه الف دينار والاجناد لكل جندى عشرين ديناراً فاما رجال الحلقة فللكل واحد اربعين ديناراً ويقال ان الذى أخرج مايتا الف دينار وجات ايام اخذ القاع بالمقياس والمطالعة به وهو الخامس والعشرين من بونه وكان القاع في النهار المذكور اربعة ادرع واربعة عشر اصبعاً وكان في العام الماضى في مثل هذا النهار اربعة ادرع وعشرين اصبعاً النقص بينهما ستة اصابع وكانت الاسعار هاديه القمح من خمسين درهما الارب الى ثلاثين والشعير من اثنين وعشرين درهما الارب الى عشرين والفول مثل ذلك واما اللحم والدجاج وسائر اصناف الموكول وما يجرى مجرى ذلك فعلى حاله في الغلا وكان مولانا السلطان قد امر بنى جماعة من الامراء المعتقلين

(١) تقرأ : بشدة .



فاخذ لهم شوانى وركبوا فيها ومضوا بهم الى بلاد الغرب الى جزيرة فيها قوم يهود يقال لها ظلمشه فتركوهم فيها وكان انسان من اولاد النصارى يعرف بابى المجد بن الموثمن بن ابى البدر وكانت امه ابنة اخت الاب البطرئق ابن زرعه وكان قد جرت له نكبه على سكر من مدة ثمان وعشرين سنة وهو انه تخاصم مع قوم وهو سكران فتلفظ بالاسلام فحفظوا القول عليه ومضوا به الى مدرسة الفقيه الطوسى وبيتوه فى بيت وحده فلما افاق من سكره رى بنفسه من باب ريح الى الطريق من ناحية البحر ومرّ من وقته استتر عند بعض النصارى الى ان قضى شغله وتوجه الى الشرق فاقام هناك هذه المدة وتزوج ورزق اولاداً ومالا ثم انه رى من الزمان بحوادث اذهبت المال وافقدت بعض الاولاد فعاد الى مصر رجاء ان امره نسى وان حاله يمشى وانه يقيم بالبلاد ويتعرف نصرانياً فخوف من ذلك وقيل له ان هذا مالا يمكن وترجع يحدد هموماً قد مضت فاستتر عند اخوته \* وكان له اخ صالح مبارك يسمى الصنيعة ابا البدر يوحنا (ظ) ٣٥٤ وكان مرشحاً للبطيركية وقد تحدث له فيها مرة قبل تقدمه انبا كيرلس فكان يسعى ويبيع ويقترض حتى يحصل له شيئاً ياخذه ويسافر فينما هم كذلك فى السابع عشر من بوونه اذا وجعه فواده ليلة واحدة واصبح ميت فى التاريخ المذكور وكان قد رضى ان يخرج الى دير شهران حتى اذا مات يدفن هناك فما امهله الزمان وبقي اخوه المسكين متحرقاً ومتخوفاً فطلع الى القلعة واعلم الجماعة بذلك فاشاروا عليه بان لا يدفنه الا مسلماً وان هذا الامر فيه خلاص من درك عظيم وليس فيه خطية على ميت ولا حى فاما الميت فما مات الا على ايمانه وما هذا مما ينقله عنه واما الحى فما قصد بهذا التحقير به ولا التقصير فى حقه وانما على سبيل الدوا الذى يستعمل لمنفعته وان كان مرأً فضى الى مستخدمى الموايىث فكتب لهم خطه بما تخلص به منهم واخرجه مسلماً ودفن مع المسلمين وكانت هذه من جملة المحن التى امتحن بها هذا القديس ثم ان الاخبار وردت بان التطر مالوا الى جانب مملكة روم المسلمين وهى نواحى قونيه فاقصرا وسواس وملطيه وهى بلاد عظيمة تمسك عساكر جمّة وهى من اعمال القسطنطينيه العظمى كان قد اخذها بالحيلة رجل تركمانى يقال له قليج رسلان وان ملكها انفق نفقات عظيمة وضرب دنانير ما سمع بمثلها ووصل التجار

من هناك واحضروا معهم شيا منها وكان فيها ما وزنه اربع مائة وخمسون مثقالا ودونها الى خمسين مثقالا وكان ذهباً عالياً جداً حايماً حتى انه بيع بالقاهرة بناقص درهم واحد في كل مثقال عن المصرى لا غير فما كان النقص يفي بحق ضربه بمصر فدل على صيغه وانه يصلح غيره اذا سبك معه وفي هذه الايام وصل الى الاسكندرية من بلاد الافرنج غلال كثيرة وهو من العجائب الغربية حتى ان قمحهم بيع بالاسكندرية بستة وثلثين درهما الاردب وكان قمحاً رضيعاً صحيحاً قوياً وخبزه احسن ما يكون وكان اللز في هذه الايام على خروج العساكر والنفقة مستمرة والحفر في البحر ليدور على الجزيرة والعمارة في قلعة الجزيرة والعمارة ايضاً في المدرسة المستجدة بالقاهرة وفي هذه الايام رسم بعمل قنطرة على الخليج عند باب الخرق واهتم بها وحصل للناس بها فرح عظيم لانها تجي فرحاً لهم ووفاء النيل المبارك ستة عشر ذراعاً في يوم الاحد الثالث والعشرين من مسرى واستبشر الناس بانه نيل مبارك الا ان الاسعار كانت ماسكة نفسها القمح العال بخمسة واربعين درهما الاردب والدون بخمسة وعشرين درهما الاردب والدقيق بخمسة وثمانين درهماً الجملة والخبز اربعة ارطال بدرهم وكل ما في البلاد غال من ماكول ومشروب وملبوس \* ومركوب واصناف العمارة واجر الصناع وكان قد وصل من بلد روم المسلمين مع التجار دنانير منها ما دون الدينار اربع مائة وخمسون مثقالاً وما وزنه مايتى وخمسة مثاقيل ولم ار هذين بل سمعت بهما بل انى رايت دينارا وزنه مائة مثقال ومثقالان ونصف مثقال وعلى الوجه الواحد اعتقاد المسلمين واسم الخليفة وعلى الوجه الاخر اسم ملكهم وهو السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين كيكائوس بن كنعباد وتاريخ ضربه بدار الملك قونية سنة خمس وثلثين وسماية وفي هذه الايام وردت الاخبار بان التطر نزلوا على بلد الروم هذه وكسروهم واخذوا منهم بلاد كثيرة منها سواس وانزعج الناس من هذا انزعاجاً كثيراً لانهم قربوا من الشام وصار بينهم وبين حلب مسافة يسيرة وكان قد توجهت منهم فرقة الى بلاد الانبرور صوب اللمان<sup>(١)</sup> ولم ينالوا طايلاً وقتل من التطر والافرنج خلق عظيم وكان

(١) تقرأ : « الألمان » .

للكسرة على التطر ولم تنج منهم الا نزر يسير لانهم كانوا عدوا البحر وفي هذه الايام وردت الاخبار من الاسكندرية بوصول رسول من جهة الانبرور الى مولانا السلطان الملك الصالح وكان تخير بطسه يسمى نصف الدنيا وكان الناس يتعجبون من عظمتها وقيل ان فيها ثلثماية بحار خاصة خارجاً عن الركاب وكان فيها من البضايح ما لا يحصى كثره من زيت وخمر وجبن وعسل نحل ومتاع وغير ذلك ثم ان الاخبار وردت بان الملك الناصر بن الملك المعظم صاحب الكرك اتفق مع عمه الملك الصالح صاحب دمشق ومع صاحب حمص ومع الملك الجواد الذى هو مع الافرنج واخذ عسكرا فنزل على الشوبك يحاصرها ويرجع العسكر المصرى الذى كان على غزه وبقي الحال على هذا مدة وعتق ابن الملك الناصر الذى كان بالقاهرة بالقلعة واحيط على جميع اصحابه وحبسوا وقطعت رواتبهم واخذت قاي التى كانت اعطيت لابن مليح لانه كان من اصحاب الملك الناصر وهو صاحب قلعة عجلون ثم وردت الاخبار بان الملك الصالح صاحب دمشق وصاحب حمص اتفقا على الملك الجواد وهو عندهما فقبضا عليه وسيره الى دمشق ورحلا طالين دمشق وان الملك الناصر لما بلغه ذلك رحل عن الشوبك بعدما اشرف على اخذها وطلب الكرك ورجع السلطان خلد الله ملكه بجرده عسكراً ثقيلاً ووجهه الى غزه .

تم الجزء الرابع

descended on Aš-Šaûbak<sup>(1)</sup> to besiege it ; and the Egyptian (al-Miṣrî) troops which were at Gaza (al-Ghazzah)<sup>(2)</sup> returned, and conditions remained thus for a period. And the son of Al-Malik an-Nâsir who had been at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) in the Citadel<sup>(3)</sup> was released, but all his companions were surrounded and were imprisoned, and their allowances were cut off. And Ḳâî which had been given to the son of Malîḥ was taken back, because he had been among the Companions of Al-Malik an-Nâsir, and he was the Possessor of the Citadel of 'Aglûn<sup>(4)</sup>. Then the news arrived that Al-Malik aš-Şâlih, Possessor of Damascus (Dimaşḳ)<sup>(5)</sup> and the Possessor of Emesa (Ḥimş)<sup>(6)</sup> had come to an agreement about Al-Malik al-Ġawâd. And he was with them, and they seized him and they sent him to Damascus (Dimaşḳ)<sup>(5)</sup>, and they departed, making for Damascus (Dimaşḳ)<sup>(5)</sup>. And (it was) that, when Al-Malik an-Nâsir was informed of this, he departed from Aš-Saûbak<sup>(1)</sup>, after he had been on the point of its capture, and he went up to the Crac of Moab (al-Karak)<sup>(7)</sup>. And the Sultan — may God empower his kingdom ! — again raised considerable troops and he despatched them to Gaza (Ghazzah)<sup>(2)</sup>.

Finished is the Fourth Part.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* Mons Regalis (Montréal), cf. P.K. HITT, *History of Syria*, pp. 596 and 606, and S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, p. 257.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 170, note 8.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 183, note 9.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, Carte 5.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. page 219, note 10.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, Carte 5.

and they had defeated them, and they had taken from them many cities among which (was) Sebaste (Sûwâs) <sup>(1)</sup>. And the people were troubled <sup>(2)</sup> by this, because they had approached Syria (aş-Şâm), and between them and between Aleppo (Ḥalab) <sup>(3)</sup> there was a short distance. And a detachment of them turned to the lands of the German (Allamân) <sup>(4)</sup> Swabian (Şûab) Emperor <sup>(5)</sup>, and they did not gain anything, and there were killed of the Tartars (at-Taṭar) and the Franks (al-Afranġ) a great number of people <sup>(6)</sup>. And the defeat was for the Tartars (at-Taṭar), and there did not escape of them, except a small part because they had crossed over the river <sup>(7)</sup>. And, in these days, the news came from Alexandria of the arrival of a messenger from the Emperor <sup>(5)</sup> to our Sire, the Sultan Al-Malik aş-Şâlih; and he had chosen a vessel (baṭs) <sup>(8)</sup> named 'Half of the world', and the people were amazed at its size <sup>(9)</sup>, and it was said that there were in it three hundred sailors in particular, apart from the passengers. And there was in it as regards merchandise an abundance which could not be counted, in the way of olive-oil and wine and cheese and bees-honey and goods and other than this. Then it was that the news <sup>(10)</sup> arrived that Al-Malik an-Nâsir [I]bn al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, Possessor of the Crac of Moab (al-Karak) had come to agreement with his paternal uncle Al-Malik aş-Şâlih, the Possessor of Damascus (Dimaşk) <sup>(11)</sup>, and with the Possessor of Emesa (Ḥimş) <sup>(12)</sup> and with Al-Malik al-Ġawâd who was with the Franks (al-Afranġ), and he took troops, and he

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 292, note 2.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'troubled a great trouble'.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. P.K. HITT, *History of Syria*, p. 253.

<sup>(4)</sup> The mediaeval name for German, 'Alman', 'Almain'.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* Frederick II, 1194-1250 A.D. Holy Roman Emperor.

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

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* the Euphrates.

<sup>(8)</sup> A warship or transport ship, cf. A. DE BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, t. I, p. 175.

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

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, pp. 229-230.

<sup>(11)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(12)</sup> Cf. page 219, note 10.

people a great rejoicing, because it brought relief<sup>(1)</sup> for them. And the blessed Nile (an-Nîl) came to its measure of sixteen cubits on Sunday, the twenty-third of (the month of) Misrâ<sup>(2)</sup>. And the people rejoiced that it was a blessed Nile (an-Nîl), only that the prices were maintained; wheat of good<sup>(3)</sup> (quality) at forty-five dirhams the ardab, and the inferior at twenty-five dirhams the ardab, and flour at eighty-five dirhams the measure (al-Ġumlah)<sup>(4)</sup>, and bread (at) four raṭls for one dirham, and all what (was) in the lands (was) expensive in the way of eatables and drinks and clothing \* and riding-animals and building materials, and the wages of the craftsmen. And there arrived from the Land of the Rûm of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn)<sup>(5)</sup> with the merchants dînârs from it which (were) less than the dînâr<sup>(6)</sup>, and (those) of four hundred and fifty mithkâls<sup>(7)</sup> and what weighed two hundred and five mithkâls<sup>(7)</sup>, but I did not see either of these, but I heard about them. However, I saw a dînâr the weight of which (was) a hundred mithkâls<sup>(7)</sup> and two mithkâls<sup>(7)</sup> and a half<sup>(8)</sup>; and on one face (was) the belief of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn)<sup>(9)</sup> and the name of the Calif (al-Khalîfat), and on the other face (was) the name of their king, and he was the greatest Sultan, the succourer of the world and religion, Kaykaûs, son of Kay Kubad (Kinḡabâd)<sup>(10)</sup>. And the date of its striking at the House of the King at Iconium (Ḳûniyah)<sup>(11)</sup> (was) six hundred and thirty-five<sup>(12)</sup>. And, in these days, the news arrived that the Tartars (at-Taṭar) had descended on the land of this Rûm<sup>(13)</sup>,

\* Fol. 355 r°

<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* it facilitated for the people the crossing of the Canal.

<sup>(2)</sup> = August 16th, Julian Style.

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

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 249.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* the Seljuk Sultanate of Rûm, cf. R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant*, p. 596.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* the dînâr of Egypt.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. page 292, note 6.

<sup>(8)</sup> *I.e.* 102½ mithkâls.

<sup>(9)</sup> *I.e.* 'There is no god but God and Muḡammad is the Apostle of God' لا إله إلا الله . الله و محمد رسول الله .

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt*, p. 229.

<sup>(11)</sup> Cf. page 291, note 10.

<sup>(12)</sup> *I.e.* of the Hiḡrah, = 1238 A.D.

<sup>(13)</sup> Cf. page 291, note 9.

Caesarea <sup>(1)</sup>, and Sebaste (Sûwâs) <sup>(2)</sup> and Melitene (Malaḥḥah) <sup>(3)</sup>, and they are important lands possessing numerous troops, and they are of the provinces of the great Constantinople (al-Ḳuṣṭanṭīnah) which a Turkoman (Turkmânî) called Kılığ Arslan (Raslân) <sup>(4)</sup> had taken by a ruse, and that its king had expended great expenditure and had struck dînârs, the like of which had not been heard of. And merchants came from there, and they brought with them some of them <sup>(5)</sup>, and there were among them what weighed four hundred and fifty mithkals <sup>(6)</sup> and below it up to fifty mithkals <sup>(6)</sup>; and they were of gold of very high (percentage), (and) they diminished until (it was) that they were sold at Cairo (al-Ḳâhîrah) at one dirham less for every weight of Egypt (Miṣr), not more. And the debasement did not cover in Egypt (Miṣr) (the cost of) its striking, and it denoted its debasement; but, that it would be better than other, if it were melted with it. And, in these days, there arrived at Alexandria from the lands of the Franks (al-Afranğ) much corn, and it was among the strange wonders, to the extent that their wheat was sold in Alexandria for thirty-six dirhams the ardab. And it was choice, sound (and) strong, and its bread was the best of that which there was. And there was, in these days, concentration on the departure of the troops, and the expenditure (was) continued, and (there was) the digging at the river <sup>(7)</sup> to surround the Island <sup>(8)</sup>, and building at the fortress of the Island <sup>(8)</sup>, and the building of the new collegiate college (al-Madrasah) <sup>(9)</sup> at Cairo (al-Ḳahîrah). And, in these days, there was an order to make a bridge over the Canal <sup>(10)</sup> at the Gate Al-Kharḳ <sup>(11)</sup>, and there was provided for it; and there was for the

<sup>(1)</sup> اقصرآ may be either Ceasarea or Coloneia both of which are in Cappadocia, cf. R. GROUSSET, *op. cit.*, Cartes 1 and 21.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. R. GROUSSET, *op. cit.*, Cartes 1 and 21.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. R. GROUSSET, *op. cit.*, Carte 2.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. P.K. HETTI, *A History of Syria*, p. 574.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* the dinars.

<sup>(6)</sup> a weight for precious metals = 4,68 grammes.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* 'sea'.

<sup>(8)</sup> *I.e.* Rodah.

<sup>(9)</sup> This word also means a collegiate mosque.

<sup>(10)</sup> *I.e.* the Canal of Cairo, cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-280.

<sup>(11)</sup> Cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

blessed upright brother named Aṣ-Ṣanī'ah Abā Badr Yūḥannā, and he was nominated for the patriarchate, and there was discussion with him about it once, before the consecration of Abba (Anbā) Cyril (Kīrullus). He was toiling and selling and borrowing until he obtained something for him <sup>(1)</sup> to take and to travel. And while they (were) thus, on the seventeenth of (the month of) Baṭ'ūnah <sup>(2)</sup>, lo, his <sup>(3)</sup> viscera suffered for one night, and in the morning of the mentioned day he died. And he had agreed to be taken out to the Monastery of Ṣahrān <sup>(4)</sup>, so that, if he died, he would be buried there, but time did not give to him an opportunity, and his wretched brother remained consumed with grief and fear. And he went up to the Citadel <sup>(5)</sup>, and he informed the group about this, and they counselled him that he should not bury him <sup>(6)</sup>, except as a Muslim (Muslim), and that in this way <sup>(7)</sup> (there would be) for him deliverance from a great jeopardy, and there was no sin in it for the dead or for the living. And as a dead man, he did not die except in his faith, and this would not deprive him of it; and as regards a living man, no distinction or contempt is intended thereby, nor negligence of his due, but as a means of a remedy which would be used for his benefit, though it might be bitter. And he went to the officials of the inheritance, and he wrote his signature for them by which he might be released from them; and he bore him out as a Muslim (Muslim), and he was buried with the Muslims (al-Muslimīn), and this was among all the trials with which this saint <sup>(8)</sup> was tried. Then (it was) that the news arrived that the Tartars (at-Taṭar) had turned towards the Rūm Kingdom of the Muslims (al-Muslimīn) <sup>(9)</sup>, and there are the districts of Iconium (Ḳūniah) <sup>(10)</sup> and

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* the Christian man.

<sup>(2)</sup> = June 11th, Julian Style.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the Christian man's.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. B.T.A. EVERTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, pp. 142-143.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. page 183, note 9.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* the Christian man, his brother.

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

<sup>(8)</sup> *I.e.* the brother of the Christian man.

<sup>(9)</sup> *I.e.* the Seljuk Kingdom of Rūm.

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, Carte 21.



And as regards meat and poultry, and all the rest of the sorts of eatables and what was like that, (remained) in its state as regards dearness. And it was (that) our Sire, the Sultan, had ordered to be exiled a group of the confined amîrs, and he took for them galleys, and they sailed in them, and they went with them to the lands of the West, to an island in which (was) a group of Jews (Yahûd), called Ṭalmašah, and they left them in it <sup>(1)</sup>. And there was a man of the Children of the Christians (an-Našârâ) known as Abû'l-Mağd [I]bn al-Mu'taman [I]bn Abû'l-Badr, and his mother was the daughter of the sister of the patriarch Ibn Zara'ah <sup>(2)</sup>. And it was, that there happened to him the mishap of having become drunk twenty-eight years before ; and it was, that he quarrelled with some people, while he was drunk, and he spoke against Al-Islâm, and they retained the words against him. And they went with him to the college of the jurisconsult Aṭ-Ṭûsî, and they compelled him to pass the night in a house alone. And when he recovered from his drunkenness, he cast himself down from the Gate of Rîḥ <sup>(3)</sup> into the street in the direction of the river <sup>(4)</sup>, and he departed thereupon, (and) he hid himself with some Christians (an-Našârâ) until he had completed his affair, and he turned to the east, and he remained there this period <sup>(5)</sup>, and he married and was given children and wealth. Then (it was) that he was cast down through time by events (which) took away his wealth and caused him to lose some of the children. And he returned to Cairo (Miṣr) in the hope that his affair had been forgotten and that his condition would prosper <sup>(6)</sup>, and that he might reside in the lands and carry on his affairs as a Christian (Nuṣrânî). And he was caused to be afraid of this, and it was said to him that 'his was not possible, and 'thou wilt renew the troubles which have passed', and he hid himself with his brethren. \* And he had a

\* Fol. 354 v°

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* the island.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* John VI, 1189-1216 A.D. who preceded Cyril III on the Throne of Alexandria.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

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

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* the period of twenty-eight years.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* ' go on '.

the noble amîrs were thanked by our Sire, the Sultan, and by everyone. And our Sire gave to them magnificent robes of honour; and they were three amîrs, kinsmen<sup>(1)</sup>, and they were Ḥiṣn ad-Dîn, and he was the youngest of them in years and the highest<sup>(2)</sup> of them in rank, and Šaraf ad-Dîn and Taḳî ad-Dîn. Then, after this, the Syrian (aš-Šamî) troops moved with the Franks (al-Afrangġ) towards the neighbourhood of Gaza (Ghazzah)<sup>(3)</sup>. And the news arrived that Al-Malik an-Nâsir [I]bn al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, the Possessor of the Crac (al-Karak)<sup>(4)</sup>, had come to an agreement with them<sup>(5)</sup>, and the troops which were at Gaza (Ghazzah)<sup>(3)</sup> returned to Faḳûs<sup>(6)</sup>. And our Sire, the Sultan — may his victory be empowered! — ordered the troops to go out, and he expended on them for every amîr according to the number of his bodyguard, for every soldier ten dînârs. If there were with him a hundred soldiers, he would give to him a thousand dînârs; and (as for) the soldiers, (he gave) to every soldier twenty dînârs. And as regards the men of the bodyguard, everyone would have forty dînârs. And it was said that what was issued<sup>(7)</sup> was two hundred thousand dînârs. And there came the days, for taking the depth (of the Nile) by the Nilometer (al-Miḳyâs)<sup>(8)</sup> and its reading, and it was the twenty-fifth of (the month of) Ba'û'nah<sup>(9)</sup>, and the depth on that mentioned day (was) four cubits and fourteen fingers, and it was in the past year, on a similar day, four cubits and twenty fingers, the difference<sup>(10)</sup> between them (being) six fingers. And the prices abated, wheat (was) from fifty dirhams the ardab to thirty, barley (was) from twenty-two dirhams the ardab to twenty, and beans (al-Fûl) like this.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ' sons of uncles '.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ' the greatest '.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 170, note 8.

<sup>(4)</sup> Fortress near the Dead Sea.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, p. 230.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 483-484.

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* from the Treasury.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. page 280, note 10.

<sup>(9)</sup> = June 19th, Julian Style.

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

exceeded forty, and they had exhausted the majority of the names, and (it was) one of their stipulations (that) a Calif (Khalīfah) should not be called by a name by which other than he had been called. And it is said that they remained for a time searching until this name occurred to them. And his messengers came to our Sire, Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, and he was proclaimed, and coinage was struck in his name. Then (it was) that our Sire, the Sultan — may his victory be empowered! — despatched to his intimate amīrs who were at Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(1)</sup>, and they were the noble amīrs, Children of Taʿlab, that they should come to Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) to make a review for him. And they came, and during their coming the Franks (al-Afranġ) had come in vessels to Al-Wāridah, (and) they pillaged it, and they took from it a group <sup>(2)</sup>. Then they came to Ḳaṭīfah <sup>(3)</sup>, and during their coming to it the notables descended at it, and they did not know. And, lo, the Franks (al-Afranġ) descended from the ships, at the beginning of the night, and they came to the market, and they pillaged it, and they seized all whom they found, and they bound them with them in chains. And when the news reached the notables, they rode, and they were few, because their companions had dispersed; and they were weak at the beginning, because their soldiers were very close together, only (it was) that they were not remiss. And they (the notables) surprised them (the Franks), and they fought against them from the beginning of the night until the sun rose, and they delivered the Muslims (al-Muslimīn) from them whom they had captured; and they took from them <sup>(4)</sup> three souls alive \* and killed of them <sup>(4)</sup> about twenty souls, (and) they came with their scalps <sup>(5)</sup> with them on spears. And it was said that the majority of them <sup>(4)</sup> were wounded, and some of them died after their separation from them <sup>(4)</sup>. And they did not go, except with difficulty, and it was said that (they were) about three hundred archers, and this (was) a great amount in comparison to this small group, and

\* Fol. 354 r°

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 158, note 7.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* of prisoners.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* the Franks.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 765.

imported merchandise (of slaves) be sold to one of the Christians (an-Naṣārâ). And he said that these imported slaves (were) all Muslims (Muslimûn), and (that) they pass through Dhilk<sup>(1)</sup>, and 'Aidâb<sup>(2)</sup>, and the lands of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), and they enter the prayer-houses (al-Masâğid) and pray in them; and (that) they should not be sold to the Christians (an-Naṣārâ), and many things like this. Among (these was) that the grandson<sup>(3)</sup> should follow the grandfather, if he had been a Muslim (Muslim), even if the son<sup>(4)</sup> had been a Christian (Nuṣrânî), because he was grown up at the time his father, (who) was the grandfather, had adopted Al-Islâm. And he<sup>(5)</sup> was dismissed, apart from their group, and he (the Sultan) confirmed all the representatives in their districts. And the people were appeased a little from what they had endured<sup>(6)</sup>, only (it was) that the church of the Island<sup>(7)</sup> was demolished to the ground, and other things beside it in the buildings of the fortress, and it was among them. And it was in this year (that) the news arrived that the Calif (al-Khalîf) Al-Mustanşir bi'llah had died at Bagdad (Baghdâd), and God had mercy on him among the legitimate califs (al-Khulafâ) who set up the beacon of truth<sup>(8)</sup>, and wrought justice among the people<sup>(9)</sup>, and brought nigh (to them) the upright and repudiated those who sowed dissension; and he died, and his son Al-Musta'sim bi'llah<sup>(10)</sup>, the Commander of the Faithful, ruled<sup>(11)</sup> after him. And they gave to him this title<sup>(12)</sup>, because the 'Abbasid (al-'Abbâsiyîn) Califs (al-Khulafâ) had

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<sup>(1)</sup> The name is written without diacritical points.

<sup>(2)</sup> For 'Aidâb and the Wâdî Dehemit, cf. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, t. VIII, 1909, pp. 135-143.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* 'son of the son'.

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* the son of the grandfather, and hence father of the man.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* the judge of Kûṣ.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* 'what was upon them'.

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* Roḍah.

<sup>(8)</sup> *I.e.* the teachings of the Sunna, as opposed to those of the Shiites.

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

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, p. 255, note 1.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Lit.* 'sat'.

<sup>(12)</sup> *I.e.* «He who takes refuge in God».

thus until Friday, the sixth of (the month of) Bašuns <sup>(1)</sup>, and it was the feast of the martyr Abba (Abû) Isaac (Işhak) of Tiphre (Difrî). And the elder (aş-Şaikh) Abû Mağd al-Akhmîmî was ordered to return to preaching, as his position was at first. And this was the first service of Ibn 'Abd as-Salam, and he preached on the mentioned day at the mosque (al-Ġama') of Cairo (Mişr), and it was for him a remarkable day. And the people received him with lighted candles and elevated Books <sup>(2)</sup>, and they rejoiced greatly <sup>(3)</sup> in him. And the court <sup>(4)</sup> remained without a judge at Cairo (Mişr). And the affair was suspended about this until the Sultan \* rode one day in the district of Giza (al-Ġîzah) <sup>(5)</sup>, and Ibn 'Abd as-Salam overtook him, and he came to him to the belvedere at Miniât 'Ukbah <sup>(6)</sup>, and he asked permission (to go) over to him, and he (the Sultan) gave to him permission to pass, and he passed over to him. And he honoured him, and he rose up for him, and he ate with him. And he (Ibn 'Abd as-Salam) asked permission to be relieved from performing justice, and he (the Sultan) gave to him permission, and this had not been thought of. Then he (Ibn 'Abd as-Salam) asked of him permission to depart, and he gave to him permission (to go) wherever he wished. Then he departed from him (the Sultan), and he was cut off from judging and preaching. And all his representatives were retained in their places as before, but by the authority of the Sultan, not by the authority of the judge of Cairo (Mişr), as was the custom. And the judge of Cairo (Mişr) was also among the group of the representatives who remained as before; and none of the representatives was changed, except the judge of Ķûş <sup>(7)</sup>. And this was an economy of God the Exalted, because he had oppressed the Christians (an-Naşârâ) and had wronged them, and had caused to happen to them things which ought not to have happened, so that every slave (Mamlûk) of theirs adopted Al-Islâm. And he forbade that any of the

\*Fol. 353 v°

<sup>(1)</sup> = May 1st, Julian Style.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* Noble Ķurâns.

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

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

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. page 158, note 7.

<sup>(6)</sup> This is still a village in the Province of Al-Ġîzah.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-400.

was sold for two hundred dirhams, and the mantle of old broad-cloth for one hundred and fifty dirhams. And I was informed that a person bought a piece of the auctioned cloth, and he took it out to the market and he displayed it, and it was worth half of its<sup>(1)</sup> price, and likewise all what was sold, because the auction had a reputation, especially by reason of the awe of the Sultan<sup>(2)</sup>. And as for the vessels of the churches, such as patens for the Eucharist (al-Ḳurbân) and chalices and coverings which belong to the sanctuaries and so on, they were set aside until they consulted about them. And when it was in the beginning of (the month of) Bašuns<sup>(3)</sup>, [I]bn ‘Abd as-Salam, the judge of Cairo (Miṣr) went out to the prayer-house (al-Muṣâlâ) which was in the cemetery, and he gathered a group of witnesses, and he removed his son and the son of Al-Bahâ [I]bn Ḥannâ who was the son-in-law of As‘ad al-Fâzî. And while he was (doing) this, the governor (al-Wâlî) sent to him the son of his brother, and he said to him : «This is not a place of judgment ; what is this gathering?» And the judge insulted him and he calumniated him, and the son of the brother of the governor (al-Wâlî) said to him : «I will not have intercourse with thee ; but these witnesses are instructed in what has been dictated to them», and they were about thirty men. And all of them desisted, and they arose, and the judge recalled them, and he said to them : «Be witnesses for me, that I have withdrawn myself from judgment at Cairo (Miṣr) and its districts, and I have dismissed my representatives, and I have sent away the wazîr Ibn aš-Šaikh from being overseer of the Šâfi‘î<sup>(4)</sup> and the eldership (aš-Šûkhah) of the Sufis (aš-Šûffah)<sup>(5)</sup>, and from being overseer of the inheritance of his brother ‘Imâd ad-Dîn and his heirs ; and I have removed him (from pronouncing) justice. And they heard this, and everyone of them went to his house, and the judge departed alone, (and) he went to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), because he was dwelling at it. And the condition remained

(1) *I.e.* it had been auctioned at a higher price.

(2) *Lit.* ‘Sultanate’.

(3) = April 26th — May 25th, Julian Style.

(4) For this mosque, cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

(5) The Sufis are Islamic mystics and ascetes.

and he said to him : «By the order of whom hast thou done this? If it be by the order of the Sultan — may God perpetuate his kingdom! — let us know by the tongue of whom did the message come to thee, and we (shall be) the first to carry out the order of the Sultan. And if it be by thy order, this <sup>(1)</sup> is not thine (to give). He (Ibn as-Salam) said : «By the command of God». And the Companion said : «We know that God the Exalted has not inspired thee with this, and we forbid thee (to do) it, so that thou mayest see, if this be by the command of God». And it was that they had demolished from the storey two covered parts at the side of the way, not other than them. And the Companion sent his young male slaves and those who were partial to him, and they punished the witnesses with a great punishment, and they beat them \* almost to death. And they beat the demolishers and disgraced them and that assembly dispersed and fled. And as for the judge, he remained in the storey alone, and his she-mule was at the door, and the young male slaves beat it and annoyed it, and they broke the hand of the groom. And it was a remarkable day, there had not been seen more wonderful than it. And after some time, the judge went out walking to the outside of the gate, and he went down into a ship, until he reached his house. And he had desired of the governor (al-Wâli) that he should assist him, and he did not assist him in anything ; and he (the judge) swore that he would not judge nor act, unless he removed the governor (al-Wâli). And he ceased from coming down to Cairo (Miṣr) and from judging at it, only (it was) that his representatives remained in their state and they acted. Then (it was) that the order went out to sell the inheritance of the patriarch, and it was displayed at Cairo (Miṣr) and sold on Tuesday, the twenty-six of (the month of) Baramûdah <sup>(2)</sup>. And the people beheld thereat rare articles and strange things, the like of which had not been seen ; so that it was said that the cloth of his vestments amounted to four hundred dînârs, though I was not assured of this, though (it was) that it was sold for a large sum (of money), and the made-up woolen robe

\* Fol. 353 r°

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* the order.

<sup>(2)</sup> = April 21st, Julian Style.

at the river <sup>(1)</sup> at Cairo (Miṣr) at the side of the Gate of the Bridge <sup>(2)</sup>, and the judge Ibn 'Abd as-Salam, the judge of Cairo (Miṣr) had crossed over to this place at a certain time <sup>(3)</sup>. And he said to some of the agents who were in charge of the building : «Do not build (on) this place. I have been convinced that it was a prayer-house (Masğid) and in it <sup>(4)</sup> (were) corpses». And they made this known to the Companion, but he did not pay heed to him (the judge) ; and there was at the side of this place a prayer-house (Masğid). And it was (that) the son of the judge of Alexandria who had been before this judge, had built at it a beautiful storey which he had made magnificent and had expended on it a large sum. And this judge had purposed to demolish it (the storey), because he said that the inalienable endowments must not be changed from their forms, neither by additions nor by omissions. But the Companion obstructed him (from doing) this, and he (the judge), insisted. And when there was done for him in the church of Abba (Abû) Sergius (Sarğah) <sup>(5)</sup> what was done, he thought that all places (would be) thus. And he took with him a group of witnesses and a multitude of the demolishers, and there assembled with him in the way of onlookers and loafers, a great number of people <sup>(6)</sup>. And he went up to the storey, and he began on its demolition. And it was his purpose that after its demolition he would demolish the place to which he referred that he had been convinced that it had been a prayer-house (Masğid). And the Companion had made it a passage to his house. And news of this reached the Companion, and he was at the Island <sup>(7)</sup>, and he came to the place on a Friday, with <sup>(8)</sup> his young male slaves and those who were partial to him, and the governor (Wâlî) with him. And he sent to Ibn 'Abd as-Salam,

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

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, pp. 129, 145, 166 etc.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* ' at a time '.

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* the place in question.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. page 153, note 2.

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

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* Rođah.

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



Fol. 352 v° had read what the head used to read, and they had not weighed out anything<sup>(1)</sup>, \* and the governor (al-Wālī) caused them to be brought, and he took against them a testimony, and (it was) that they (the two of them) had read the Ten Words<sup>(2)</sup>; and he (the governor) took surety for them, and he sent to inform our Sire, the Sultan. And the order went out to him that he should imprison them until they weighed out the thousand dīnārs which was fixed for the presidency, and he imprisoned them. And the name of one of the two of them was Abū'l-Bahā, and he was the learned man of the two of them, and the other was Abū'n-Nağm, and he used to journey with the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kāmil, and he used to serve the great of the State. And as regards Abū'l-Bahā, (it was) that he embraced Al-Islām, and he was delivered, and as for Abū'n-Nağm, he remained in the prison. And in these days there died the bishop of the Melchites (al-Malakīah)<sup>(3)</sup> who was at Cairo (Miṣr), and there was not found for him what (was required) for his shrouding. And these were days of wonder: the Coptic (al-Ḳibṭ) Christians (an-Naṣārā) (were) without a patriarch and the Melchites (al-Malakīah)<sup>(3)</sup> likewise, because their patriarch<sup>(4)</sup> had died before Abba (Anbā) Cyril (Kīrullus), and the Jews (al-Yahūd) (were) without a head. And as for the companions of the patriarch who were imprisoned, and they were the son of his brother and his disciple and his young male slave, (it was) that they were pressed<sup>(5)</sup>, time and again, but they did not admit to anything. And the pressure<sup>(6)</sup> was greatest on Abū'l-Farağ [I]bn Khalbūṣ who was the disciple and the agent for the money; and he was pressed<sup>(7)</sup> until he was nigh unto death, but nothing resulted, and they remained imprisoned. And in these days, the Companion Mu'ain ad-Dīn [I]bn aš-Šaikh had built belvederes

<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* of the amount of money to be paid for becoming president of the Jewish Community.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the Ten Commandments.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the Greek Orthodox.

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* Nicolas I, 1210-1243 A.D. This statement confirms the date 1243 A.D. as that of the decease of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria, Nicolas I.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* they were tortured.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* torture.

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* he was tortured.

at the church a man, a priest, advanced in age, weak in eyesight, called Ephraem (Afrahâm), and he had been in the mentioned church for sixty years. And he was sent out of it, and its door was nailed up; and Ibn Abû'r-Radâd was sent out of the mosque (Ġama' of the Nilometer (al-Miḳyâs)<sup>(1)</sup>, and the reason for this was not known. Some people said that the Sultan desired to make from the side of the church a way to the towers which he had made at the Nilometer (al-Miḳyâs)<sup>(1)</sup>; and some people said that he detested the passing-by of the people by the door of his mansion. And the condition remained thus, and the prices of corn descended and became low. And the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) (who) were in Cairo (Miṣr) were in straits by reason of the judge, because he imposed on the people that he whose robe was white should wear a blue or black girdle (ζωνάριον), or a colour different from white, and if his robe were black or blue, his girdle (ζωνάριον) should be white, and a group (of people) accepted this. And the common people were more severe on the people than all these things, and nothing of this was in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) at all. And there had happened to the Jews (al-Yahûd) in this period a strange affair, because they were without a head. And some people of them were violent, known as the «Children of the divided beard», and they endeavoured (to be) heads. And it happened that two of them, and they were senior among the brethren, came to the synagogue which was theirs on one of the Sabbaths<sup>(2)</sup>, and they went up on the ambon (minbar), and they read the Ten Words<sup>(3)</sup> which are in the Law (Tûrah). And there was among the Jews (Yahûd) he who hated the two of them, and he went to the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr), and he said to him that the Sultan — may God perpetuate his kingdom! — ordered that there should not be a head for the Jews (al-Yahûd), except that he pay a thousand dînârs to the Treasury<sup>(4)</sup>. And it was that two of the «Children of the divided beard» had taken illegally the presidency, and they had gone up on the ambon (minbar) and they

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 280, note 10.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ' a Sabbath of the Sabbaths '.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the Ten Commandments.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* ' the House of Money '.

had planned at Gizah (al-Ġīzah)<sup>(1)</sup>. And work continued at the Island<sup>(2)</sup>, and its eastern towers rose up, and they began on the northern towers by digging the wells and making the openings and the constructions over them and their loop-holes, as was done in the eastern towers and curtains. And there had risen in the river<sup>(3)</sup> of the Island<sup>(2)</sup> two large islands. And he (the Sultan) commanded their removal<sup>(4)</sup>, and to transfer their earth in boats to the bank of Gizah (al-Ġīzah)<sup>(1)</sup> and to fill it up there, because there were at that bank ships which had sunk; and his whole intention thereby was to make the river<sup>(3)</sup> incline to the eastern side, and to remain below the Island<sup>(2)</sup> on the east, winter and summer, and, may be, to remain in the Canal of Cairo<sup>(5)</sup>. And he ordered to purchase cows and to multiply them; and there was purchased and brought of these cows what was above one thousand and five hundred head. And they were used to work on the bank of Cairo (Miṣr), at the embankment<sup>(6)</sup> from the House of the King to the Fūm al-Khalīḡ<sup>(7)</sup>. And (he ordered) to transfer the market for corn and the dealers in corn, possessors of the sites who were at the shore, and the dwellings of the houses in which were melons (al-Baṭīkh) and squirting-cucumbers<sup>(8)</sup> and cucumbers and what was like them to Kūm al-Aḥmar, south of Cairo (Miṣr), except the dwellings towards Gizah (al-Ġīzah)<sup>(1)</sup>, when he purposed to dig these places. Then (it was), that he (the Sultan) ordered the vacating of the church of the Island<sup>(9)</sup> and the mosque (Ġamaʿ) of the Nilometer (al-Miḡyās)<sup>(10)</sup>, and (that) those<sup>(11)</sup> at them should go out. And there was

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 158, note 7.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* Roḡah.

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

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* 'cutting-off'.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. Stanley LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, p. 40.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 187.

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* the mouth of the Canal.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 273.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. page 158, note 2.

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

<sup>(11)</sup> *I.e.* the people.

me these two, and I desire of thee twenty thousand dīnārs of what he<sup>(1)</sup> had and of what he<sup>(1)</sup> feared might be heard of». And the governor (al-Wālī) took them both, and he imprisoned them and he straitened them. And as for the monks of the Monastery<sup>(2)</sup>, the governor (al-Wālī) sent for them, and he brought them to him, and he took surety for them, and he left them with him, and the Monastery<sup>(2)</sup> remained without either the Divine Liturgy or the Prayers<sup>(3)</sup>. And the door of the chamber in which the patriarch was buried was closed, and a group wished to visit him, and they did not find a way. Then (it was) that our Sire, the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — ordered that a bridge should be made to Gizah (al-Ġīzah)<sup>(4)</sup>, and the boats which were on the river<sup>(5)</sup> of the Island<sup>(6)</sup> were transferred to the other side on the west, and the bridge<sup>(7)</sup> was made from the Island<sup>(6)</sup> to Gizah (al-Ġīzah)<sup>(4)</sup>, and the people walked on it; and the way had gone (before) from Cairo (Miṣr) to the Island<sup>(6)</sup> by the bank on the other side of the Island<sup>(6)</sup>, according to the<sup>(8)</sup> custom every year. And the Sultan — may his victory be empowered! — ordered that some people should transfer from every market to Gizah (al-Ġīzah)<sup>(4)</sup>, and should dwell in it, because his intention (was) to rebuild it; and it was said that he had measured for its rebuilding the extent of Alexandria in length and in breadth. And he ordered that the store-houses should be transferred to the district<sup>(9)</sup> of Gizah (al-Ġīzah)<sup>(4)</sup>, and be constructed there, and that the amīrs should build for themselves houses there, that the residence \* of the Sultan might be in the castle of the Island<sup>(6)</sup>, and the amīrs in Gizah (al-Ġīzah)<sup>(4)</sup>, and the various dockyards of the warships and the Nile ships should be transferred from the workshops at Cairo (Miṣr) to the workshops which he

\* Fol. 352 r°

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

(2) *I.e.* the Monastery of the Beacon.

(3) *I.e.* The Evening and Morning Office of Incense and the Canonical Hours.

(4) Cf. page 158, note 7.

(5) *Lit.* ' sea '.

(6) *I.e.* Roḍah.

(7) *I.e.* a bridge of boats.

(8) *Lit.* ' its '.

(9) *Lit.* ' land '.

He said : « We know nothing ». And the amîr was severe on them, and the son of the brother of the patriarch said to him : « I am a stranger, I was not with these <sup>(1)</sup> people, this treasurer and this dealer ». And the amîr said to him : « The money, or I shall squeeze thy temples <sup>(2)</sup> in this hour ». And he <sup>(3)</sup> went into a place, and he brought out from under a tile a thousand dînârs and some fractions (of it) ; and he brought out in the way of silver and black dirhams, what was reported that the total (was) over two thousand dînârs ; and they took the sum in a leather bag <sup>(4)</sup> well-made (and) of value. And they sealed the places and they left ; and they took with them the son of the brother of the patriarch and Abû'l-Farağ, the aforementioned. And as regards the Christian (an-Naṣârâ), group, they assembled around the patriarch with the bishops who were present. And they were Abba (Anbâ) Joseph (Yûsâb), bishop of Fûah <sup>(5)</sup>, and the bishop of Abû Tiğ <sup>(6)</sup>, and As-Sandûnî and his son, and Abba (Anbâ) Poemen (Bimîn), bishop of Aṭfîh <sup>(7)</sup>, and a group of the priests and the deacons and a large group of the people, and they made a funeral for him according to the custom. And it was said that his smell was changed to such an extent that they were sprinkling over him rose-water in order to remove the loathsome smell from the people. And he was buried in the evening of Wednesday, the fifteenth of (the month of) Baramhât <sup>(8)</sup>, in the chamber which he had constructed at the Monastery of the Beacon <sup>(9)</sup>, and the people returned to their places. And as regards the son of the brother of the patriarch and Abû'l-Farağ the treasurer, (it was) that, when they reached the Companion (aṣ-Ṣâhib) Mu'ain ad-Dîn, he ordered them to be delivered up to Al-Muğâhid Sulaimân, the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr), and he said to him : « Take from

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

<sup>(2)</sup> A form of torture.

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

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 279.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. page 168, note 6.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

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

<sup>(8)</sup> = March 11th, Julian Style.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. page 232, note 5.

it was the second day, and it was a Wednesday, the governor (Wālī) of Giza (al-Ġīzah) <sup>(1)</sup> — and he was an amīr called Aš-Šams ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭanbūʿā, and he had been the governor (Wālī) of Al-Gharbīyah <sup>(2)</sup> before this for a long period — despatched with him the agent of the Sultan, and he was Kamāl ad-Dīn [I]bn al-Faḫīyah Naṣr. And both came to the Monastery <sup>(3)</sup>, and with them witnesses; and the Christians (an-Naṣārā) brought out the corpse, after it had passed that night in the darkness without a lamp to burn over it <sup>(4)</sup>. And they recorded the belongings, and it was said that they found with him sixteen mantles (Ghaḫfārah) <sup>(5)</sup> of wine-colour and other than them, and forty precious veils; and as regards clothing and turbans and baggy-trousers and palliums (al-Balārīāt) <sup>(6)</sup> and amices (al-ʿArādī) <sup>(7)</sup> and hypogonation (al-Ḥaḡūr) <sup>(8)</sup> which (belong) to the vestments; and of those which (were) for the head there (were) many, but I am not certain of their number. And some of the group related to me that the number of baggy trousers was forty, and the responsibility is theirs; and they found with him, according to what was mentioned, sixteen boxes of sweets, \* and they were spoilt, and some of them were decayed, and six pots of old dried dates, and other than that which was like them. And they put guards over all, and they recorded it with the vessels of the churches and their vestments which he had, and the books which he had, and (those of the) churches, and they were books (which) had value because they were choice and valuable <sup>(9)</sup>. Then they said to the son of his <sup>(10)</sup> brother, Abū Saʿīd, and to his <sup>(10)</sup> agent and treasurer, and he was a youth known as Abū'l-Faraḡ [I]bn Khalbūṣ al-Banā : « Where is the money? »

\* Fol. 351 v°

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 158, note 7.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-187.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the Monastery of the Beacon.

<sup>(4)</sup> It is a rule to have a light burning before a dead person.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. G. GRAF, *Verzeichnis Arabischer Kirchlicher Termini*, Louvain, 1954, p. 82.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. G. GRAF, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. G. GRAF, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. G. GRAF, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>(9)</sup> This may point to the existence of a library at the patriarchate.

<sup>(10)</sup> *I.e.* the patriarch's.

arcades, nothing else. And no bakehouse<sup>(1)</sup> remained at it nor an annex, and there did not remain for anyone (a means) to reach up to its summit which was above the two arcades which (were) at the two sides. And as regards the summit of the places, it was demolished together with its base. And that which was destroyed of the Church<sup>(2)</sup> was four churches and seven sanctuaries and the bakehouse<sup>(1)</sup> and the annexes and the ramps and five dwellings. And the Christians (an-Naṣārā) remained in grief and sadness, the like of which they had not seen for a (long) time, and this was for the wise among them and those of religion and discerning. And during this affliction the patriarch was sick for a week<sup>(3)</sup>, and he died on Tuesday, the fourteenth of (the month of) Baramhât<sup>(4)</sup> of this year which corresponded to the eighteenth exactly of the month of Ramaḍân (in) the year six hundred and forty<sup>(5)</sup> at the Monastery of the Beacon<sup>(6)</sup>. And, thereupon, some of the Christians (an-Naṣārā) came, who (were) in name Christians<sup>(7)</sup>, in particular, and they (were) ʿImâd ar-Râhib al-Miršâd, the aforementioned, and the priest Simeon (Samaʿan) who was the scribe of the Cell (κελλίον)<sup>(8)</sup>, and there happened from him what was mentioned before; and it was mentioned that with them (was) Abba (Anbâ) Joseph (Yûsâb), bishop of Fûah<sup>(9)</sup>. And they informed the Companion (aṣ-Ṣâhib) Muʿain ad-Dîn [I]bn aš-Šaikh that the patriarch had died, and that he had left an amount of money; and he sent to guard it and all his<sup>(10)</sup> belongings, and he sealed the Keep<sup>(11)</sup> in which he (the patriarch) was (lying) dead, and he (the patriarch) passed the night thus. And when

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ‘oven’.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the Coptic Church.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* ‘a week of days’.

<sup>(4)</sup> = March 10th, Julian Style.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* 640 A.H. = 1242-1243 A.D.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. B.T.A. EVERTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, pp. 192-196.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* ‘on whom (was) the name of Christianity (an-Naṣārāniah)’.

<sup>(8)</sup> *I.e.* the Patriarchate.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 197.

<sup>(10)</sup> *I.e.* the patriarch's.

<sup>(11)</sup> الجوسق is the most important building in a monastery, normally, the Keep. The Keep of this Monastery is mentioned by B.T.A. EVERTS, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

man is of the holy ones, and it does not behove that we reason with him about anything», and there was not on earth a case more wonderful than this case, that there should be (such) impossibility and unreasonableness and bigotry. And every intelligent person and elder (aš-Šaikh) of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) testified that this was impossible and something which had never existed, and after this, shall we persist in this persistence. And there was fulfilled in it the like of which had not been fulfilled in any time <sup>(1)</sup>, only that this was a forsaking of the Creator — praised be He! — and a chastening for the people of this church, of the number of whom I am. And as regards the elder (aš-Šaikh) As-Sanî, (it was) that this was for him an increase of righteousness and a doubling of recompense and a testimony and a combat and precedence, because he did not deserve what befell him in the way of trials, but for this matter, not other than it. Then (it was) that the judge came to the church <sup>(2)</sup>, and he entered it, and he took in his hand an adze, and he began to demolish with his hand. And they demolished the wall in which were the apertures, \* in which they stated that they had found the niche, and it was not the niche, but it was an aperture of a number of apertures; and they testified that this prayer-house (al-Masğid) was on the ground-floor, and the outer house remained suspended with this niche which they claimed on the storey. And this wall led to a wide arcade in which were three sanctuaries, one of them, and (it was) the principal one (was dedicated) to the name of the Saint Abba (Abû) Victor (Fuktur), and the second, to the name of John (Yûhannâ) the Baptist, and the third, to the name of our father Abba (Anbâ) Antony (Anṭînîûs); and this place was the place of the ancient baptistry which the elder (aš-Šaikh) As-Sanî had changed and made it in the church of Stephen (Istâfanus), and the mentioned church was at the back of this arcade; and they demolished the latter church <sup>(3)</sup>, and they demolished the steps and the ramp, and they replaced the outer place for the inner, and nothing remained in the church except the three

\* Fol. 351 r°

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* 'in a time of the times'.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the Church Al-Mu'allakah.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the church of Saint Stephen.



at its <sup>(1)</sup> base which looked to the height of the church and the annexes ; and the demolition continued, and the lane of the church remained impassable by reason of the demolition and the rubble and the bricks and the timber. And the judge began to visit every day the church, and to strengthen the hearts of that group who were the cause of the troubles, the claimants and the witnesses and the bigoted. And during this affair there came a person called Abū 'l-Ḥasan [I]bn Makīn al-Ḳazzāz Muslimanī, and he was of that group mentioned before, and it was he who had claimed against the elder (aš-Šāikh) As-Sanī at first. And he repaired to an aperture in one of the storeys <sup>(2)</sup> which had been demolished, and it was in the wall of the church, and it was one of the groups of apertures around its wall. And he came to this aperture which was on the southern side, according to their claim ; and though there were with it numerous apertures in this limit, (it was) only this (one) which he singled out, and he wrote on it the two professions <sup>(3)</sup> with red ochre, and he rubbed <sup>(4)</sup> on it dirt so that it might appear that it was old, and he stuck on it a piece of whiting from what had been demolished ; and there was a woman of the Christian (an-Naṣārā) inhabitants (who) saw him, and he passed the night in the place to guard it. And when it was morning, he went to the judge and he said to him : « O our master, the truth has appeared to us, and we have found the prayer-niche and in it the two professions <sup>(3)</sup> are written from old time. And the judge came and people <sup>(5)</sup> of the Muslims (al-Muslimīn) beyond counting, to the extent that, if salt were cast upon them, it would not descend to the ground. And he saw the place, and he made a written-report about it, and he caused a group of just witnesses to testify in it that it was found so and so, and he despatched it to our Sire, the Sultan. And he (the judge) related that, when the Sultan — may his victory be empowered ! — saw this, he said : « This

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* the storey's base.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ' a story of the storeys '.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the profession of the Islamic Faith : لا إله إلا الله ومحمد رسول الله , « There is no god except God, and Muḥammed is the Prophet of God ».

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

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

victory be empowered! — a report <sup>(1)</sup> with the purport, and no answer came forth for it. And the judge came to the places himself, and he ordered their demolition, and they were demolished, because no one could prevent that except the governor (al-Wāli). And when he (the governor) did not find support from the Sultan, he desisted, and he suggested to a group of people that no help remained, except to stand before the Sultan. And a group of the Christians (an-Naṣārā), the priests and the Ṣaʿīdians <sup>(2)</sup>, assembled and they stood (before the Sultan) several times, and sometimes their report <sup>(1)</sup> was found <sup>(3)</sup>, and sometimes they did not receive an answer, and the last time, as the Sultan was at Rodah (Rauḍah) <sup>(4)</sup>, some of the chamberlains came to them, and they said to them (the group). « Our Sire, the Sultan, said to you, do not stand anymore (before me), because I shall not listen to any words from you ». And the judge [I]bn ʿAbd as-Salām, had gone on that day to those places, and he was looking repeatedly at them \*, after the demolition of some. And the governor (al-Wāli) came and he said to him : « O our master, I was just <sup>(5)</sup> with our Sire, the Sultan, — may his victory be empowered! — and the Christians (an-Naṣārā) had stood before him concerning the matter of the church, and he ordered them to be driven away, and he increased in anger and fury, and he commanded to demolish all the places. And he (the judge) added to them other places, and he went further into the lane, and he demolished (part) of the southern wall of the Church up to the top of the lane which leads from it to the house of the priest Maʿānī and the houses which (are) there. And he took into this limit three houses upwards and downwards from this house which was on the east of the Church, and the storey of the elder (aṣ-Ṣāikh) as-Sanī which he had built in the place of the old bakehouse <sup>(6)</sup>, and he ended

\* Fol. 350 v°

<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ' a paper '.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the inhabitants of Upper Egypt.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* after it had been mislaid.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. D. RUSSELL, *Medieval Cairo and the Monasteries of the Wādī Natrīn*, pp. 107-109.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* ' (at) the hour '.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* ' over '. *I.e.* the bakehouse attached to a Coptic Church in which the Eucharistic Loaves are baked.

majority of the people there remained nothing for them to eat except it; and had it not been for them (the fish), meat would not have been possible, because meat in these days (had become) expensive to an extreme, so that the raṭl reached two dirhams and more, although prices were reasonable. And the wheat went down until the best <sup>(1)</sup> (quality) reached to fifty dirhams the ardab and downwards, and the barley, to seventeen dirhams and about it, and the beans (al-Fūl) the same, and bread was sold at five raṭls a dirham and an eighth, only meat (was) very expensive. And as for the bulti <sup>(2)</sup>, there was no lack (of them) all the year, and by reason of their abundance they used to be sold not only at the fishmongers', but in the rest of the markets. And fish used not to lack at all on account of the finding of these bulti <sup>(2)</sup>, but (it was) distasteful by reason of its abundance. And the majority of the people used not to eat it anymore, but they used to regard it of no account, expecting to chance on a chicken or barbel <sup>(3)</sup> to eat. Then the matter concerning the affair of the church was drawn out till the beginning of the month of Ramaḍān of this year. And the judge Ibn 'Abd as-Salām assembled with our Sire, the Sultan, — may God empower his victory! — and he (the judge) said to him that these places which the Christians (an-Naṣārā) claimed that they were inalienable endowments for them, have been proved to me that they were prayer-houses (Masāğid); and (for) the Christians (an-Naṣārā) nothing has been proved for them, because their witnesses renounced their testimonies. And the Muslims (al-Muslimīn) have desired to renew these prayer-houses (Masāğid) in the days of our Sire. And he (the Sultan) said to him: «Whatever has been proved according to the religious law, do it». And he (the judge) went down to Cairo (Miṣr), and he sent to the governor (al-Wālī) saying to him: «The Sultan has ordered me that I should demolish these places, and that I should make them again as the prayer-houses (Masāğid) as they had been, and I desire thy help and thy support». And the governor (al-Wālī) sent to our Sire, the Sultan, — may his

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

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 271.

<sup>(3)</sup> A freshwater fish, the *Cyprinus bynni*.

leader whom he had imprisoned and the affair remained as it was. And the group was endeavouring to vindicate two other witnesses. And it was in these years, namely, this year and the two years which preceded it, (that) there appeared in the Fayum (al-Fayûm) <sup>(1)</sup> a great lake, and there was in it, in the way of bulti <sup>(2)</sup>, something not to be counted, and they (the fish) were borne from it to Cairo (Miṣr) every day a load, the number of which was not to be counted, so that (it was) that a certain one of the companions mentioned that he betook himself one day from Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) to Cairo (Miṣr), and (that) he met on the way along that distance what surpassed twenty loads, over and above what was borne by that way, and (beyond) what was borne during all the day; and what was sold in Cairo (Miṣr) and Gizah (al-Ġizah) <sup>(3)</sup>, because it <sup>(4)</sup> used to be borne from the Fayum (al-Fayûm) <sup>(1)</sup> to Gizah (al-Ġizah) <sup>(3)</sup> on camels, and there was a market at Gizah (al-Ġizah) <sup>(3)</sup> for selling it <sup>(4)</sup>, and the Sultan was assured of sixty dînârs. And from there the people used to buy it <sup>(4)</sup>, and it was distributed to the districts. And among them (the fish) there were the big and the medium, and the medium contained among them what weighed four raṭls the bulti <sup>(2)</sup>, and every ten bulti <sup>(2)</sup> were sold for nine dirhams and below this, and bigger than this weight, for ten dirhams the ten, \* and the big which were much bigger than this weight, at fifteen dirhams the ten. And they used to bring among them what was estimated to weigh each bulti <sup>(2)</sup> ten raṭls; and more than (that) was sold at a silver dirham and downwards. And I <sup>(5)</sup> made sure from the fishmonger who was selling them at Gizah (al-Ġizah) <sup>(3)</sup> that what used to reach of them every day was a hundred loads, (which) might increase and decrease. And (it was) that on most days there could reach (the market) one hundred and thirty loads, and for every load two hundred bulti <sup>(2)</sup>, and the number according to this estimation was twenty-six thousand bulti <sup>(2)</sup>. And the people found in it great relief, and for the

\* Fol. 350 r°

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(1) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-340.

(2) The fresh-water fish known as *Tilapia nilotica*.

(3) Cf. page 158, note 7.

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

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

Badr ad-Dîn, brother of the chamberlain 'Alî, wrote to the judge a report <sup>(1)</sup> in which he informed him that our Sire, the Sultan, had ordered the setting-free of As-Sanî, the monk, known as Ibn ath-Tha'bán, who was imprisoned on legal grounds, and this is my <sup>(2)</sup> signature in the presence of our master about this. And a bodyguard went with it to him <sup>(3)</sup>; and it was Friday, and he was in Cairo (Mişr), and he excused himself, and he said : « (Wait) until I assemble with our Sire, the Sultan ». And he (the chamberlain) wrote a second report <sup>(4)</sup> to him, and he said : « This (is) my signature, and the responsibility (is) on me », but he refused, and he said : « This (one is) in the prison of God <sup>(4)</sup> for a legal right, and he is not in my prison so that I may release him ». And no one informed anymore the Sultan that the judge had given his answer. And it happened <sup>(5)</sup> (that) before this, a dispute had occurred between the judge and the governor (Wâlî) on account of this affair ; and it was that the judge had sent witnesses to the inner place <sup>(6)</sup>, so that he might make a new delimitation <sup>(7)</sup>, and it was their intention to adjoin to it what was not in it before, so that they might add to it other places. And the governor (al-Wâlî) had sent to them the leader of his bodyguard and had said to them : « By whose order have ye done this delimitation after the first delimitation ? » And they came to the judge, (and) they informed (him), and the judge took the mentioned leader, and he beat him and he imprisoned him ; and the governor (al-Wâlî) sent and took the two witnesses, and he beat them and he imprisoned them. And each of them <sup>(8)</sup> wrote to the Sultan ; and there remained between the two of them enmity, and there was no doubt that the Sultan preferred the judge. And the governor (al-Wâlî) reflected, and he inclined towards kindness to the judge, and he released the two witnesses ; and the judge released the

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

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* chamberlain's.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the judge.

<sup>(4)</sup> For offences against the religious law.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* ' it was '.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* the two houses.

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* the extent of the two houses.

<sup>(8)</sup> *I.e.* the governor and the judge.

for the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), (it was) that they (the Franks) killed some of them and made prisoner some of them, and the slaughter was general for women and children, small and great, and they (the Franks) stayed in it<sup>(1)</sup> for three days. Then they returned with the captives and the booty. And there was a sedition, the severity of which had not been related. And the Sultan — may God perpetuate his kingdom! — ordered the departure of the troops to Syria (aš-Šâm); and about two thousand horsemen went out, their leader (being) a mamluk (Mamlûk) called Šams ad-Dîn Sirâ Siŋar, who was equerry of the House. And they arrived at Gaza (Ghazzah)<sup>(2)</sup>, and they assembled with the troops which were there, and Al-Malik an-Nâšir was with them. And they became an immense troop, and they were completed, and they descended at the camp<sup>(3)</sup> named Al-ʿAûğâ, opposite to Jaffa (Yâfâ)<sup>(4)</sup>, and they wished to besiege Jaffa (Yâfâ)<sup>(4)</sup>, and the Franks (al-Afranġ) made ready for this, and they remained for a long time. And, after that, the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — sent to Šams ad-Dîn Sirâ Siŋar, the aforementioned, and he commanded him that he should take the troops which had gone out with him, and (that) he should come; and they struck \* their tents and they departed. And when Al-Malik an-Nâšir saw this, he bore away what he was able in the way of his cloths, and he burnt the rest, and he departed, and he went to the Crac des Chevaliers (al-Karak)<sup>(5)</sup>. And as for the troops which remained there, and they were the notables and Aš-Šârim al-Masʿûd and Šamâʿîl and men from the bodyguards of whom their leader was Riĥân aš-Šaĥibî, (it was) that they returned to Gaza (Ghazzah)<sup>(2)</sup>. And as for the conditions of our friends, the Christians (an-Našârâ), in which they were, (it was) that they made mention of the elder (aš-Šaĥkh) As-Sanî to our Sire, the Sultan — may his victory be empowered! — and he said: «I know him. Say to the judge that he should set him free». And a chamberlain called

\* Fol. 349 v<sup>o</sup>

(1) *I.e.* Sichem.

(2) Cf. page 170, note 8.

(3) *Lit.* 'dwelling'.

(4) Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-69.

(5) Cf. page 194, note 5.

in the report <sup>(1)</sup>, and he wrote it in their presence; and he caused it to be borne to our Sire, the Sultan, by the hand of some of the ministers, and no answer was issued to it. And the Christians (an-Naṣārā) continued to assemble and to go up to the Citadel <sup>(2)</sup> on Tuesday and Wednesday and Thursday; and the Sultan did not ride out, and, in the daytime of Friday, he did not ride out, and he continued thus. And they did not stand before our Sire, the Sultan — may his victory be empowered! — but (it was) that the judge Badr ad-Dīn judge of Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) used to say to them: «I have said to our Sire, the Sultan, that your written-report has been confirmed, but if ye are able to add a witness, do it, because (it is) that your witnesses have withdrawn from (their) evidence. And the group persevered in vindicating the two witnesses who had written for them in the written-report of those who had not yet been vindicated. And one of them had given (his evidence) in the Council of Justice, and he was Al-As'ad [I]bn Maīser, and the other wrote, but he did not testify, and he was Al-Muwaffaḳ [I]bn an-Naḥḥās. And they wished that, if they were unable to vindicate the two of them, perhaps, they might (vindicate) one of them; and the affair became difficult, because the people feared Ibn 'Abd as-Salam. And in this period the news arrived that the Franks (al-Afrangġ) had departed from Jaffa (Yafâ) <sup>(3)</sup>, and had come to Sichem (al-Nāblus) <sup>(4)</sup>, and they had killed all who were in it from among the Muslims (al-Muslimīn) and the Christians (an-Naṣārā), and they had demolished the mosque (al-Ġama'c) down to the ground, and they had burnt the trees and they had ruined the houses. And it was recounted that when they (the Franks) had encircled the people and had gathered them together, they said: «He who is a Christian (Nuṣṣrāniah), let him stand apart, so that we may save him». And the Christians (an-Naṣārā) rejoiced at that, and they had an advantage over the Muslims (al-Muslimīn), and when they had separated themselves, they (the Franks) returned to them and killed them all. And as

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

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 183, note 9.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-69.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 470-473.

that he caused all to renounce their testimony. And he caused witness to be taken against them thereby, although the written-report had been confirmed, and the judge of Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) had written a confirmation of it in the House of Justice, after he had refrained from writing for some days. And he wrote from the House of Justice an official communication on Thursday, the nineteenth of (the month of) Bābah<sup>(1)</sup>, and all the overseers interpreted it at the House of Justice according to their<sup>(2)</sup> custom. And its contents were that it was confirmed in the Council of Judgment at Cairo (Miṣr) that the two prayer-houses (Masġidaīn) were of the prayer-houses (Masāġid) of the Muslims (al-Muslimīn), and (that) the Christians (an-Naṣārā) had made them houses for dwelling since a period of forty-three years. Then a written-report (which) the Christians (an-Naṣārā) had drawn up at the honoured House of Justice was confirmed (which said) that these two places claimed to be prayer-houses (Masāġid) had been an inalienable endowment for the Christians (an-Naṣārā) from a period more than fifty years : and by virtue of this, the testimony of the Christians (an-Naṣārā) was of more weight, unless it were contradicted by the evidence of the witnesses. And the report<sup>(3)</sup> remained with \* the chamberlain for some days, (who) was waiting that the Sultan should ride out or should be unoccupied<sup>(4)</sup>, to submit it to him and to talk it over, but he did not ride out, nor was he unoccupied<sup>(4)</sup>, and the matter concerning it was prolonged until Monday, the twenty-third of (the month of) Bābah<sup>(5)</sup>. And there assembled with him (the chamberlain) the chiefs of the House of Justice, and they said (that) the delaying of the submitting of this report<sup>(6)</sup> (is) prejudicial to us and to the Christians (an-Naṣārā), and (that) if this should reach the Sultan, or someone should write to him, he would say : « For what reason did ye not inform me ? » And (that) we should send it to the Sultan in this hour in a report<sup>(6)</sup> from thee. And they dictated to him what he should write

\* Fol. 349 r<sup>o</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> = October 16th, Julian Style.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ' the ', *i.e.* their usual manner in such matters.

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

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

<sup>(5)</sup> = October 20th, Julian Style.

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



definite. Then he turned to the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr), and he said to him : «Tell these that the written report of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) has been confirmed, and if ye have a protest, bring it, or a refutation, produce <sup>(1)</sup> it», and upon this the Council separated. Then (it was) that the group of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) assembled and stood below the Citadel <sup>(2)</sup> for three consecutive days, the first of which was Saturday, the fourteenth of (the month of) Bâbah <sup>(3)</sup>, waiting for the riding out of our Sire, the Sultan — may God perpetuate his kingdom! — and he did not ride out on Saturday nor on Sunday, but they used to meet every day the judge Badr ad-Dîn, the judge of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah); and he used to say to them : «Your right has been confirmed, and I shall make this known to the Sultan». And when it was Monday, the sixteenth of (the month of) Bâbah <sup>(4)</sup>, the Sultan — may his victory be empowered! — rode out, and there rode out the judge [I]bn ‘Abd as-Salâm, and he assembled with the Sultan; and it was said that he supplicated and asked forgiveness from God the Exalted for what had happened. And it was that the son of the judge of Sichem (Nâblus) <sup>(5)</sup> had spoken against him, and he had disapproved that a judge like the supreme judge <sup>(6)</sup> of Cairo (Miṣr) should be dismissed in two months. And he was reinstated in the judicature, and there were laid upon him stipulations, according to what he who heard mentioned, but he did not record them. And the judge returned joyful and glad, and likewise (were) his companions. And he descended on Tuesday, in the morning of the mentioned day, at Cairo (Miṣr), and he resumed his judging, after Cairo (Miṣr) had remained without a judge for eleven days; except that he did not return to and begin (again) the affair of the houses which he had claimed that they had been prayer-houses (Masâğid); but he did not cease to go from witness to witness of the witnesses to the written-report of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ). (To) some with threats and to some with persuasion, so

<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ‘manifest’.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 183, note 9.

<sup>(3)</sup> = October 11th, Julian Style.

<sup>(4)</sup> = October 13th, Julian Style.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 470-473.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* Chief Justice.

effect a number of just witnesses. And Cairo (Miṣr) remained without a judge or a delegate, because the delegates had resigned <sup>(1)</sup> on account of the resignation <sup>(2)</sup> of their chief. And it was the Feast of Saint Bacchus (Wākhus), Sunday, the eighth of (the month of) Bâbah <sup>(3)</sup> which is the day of his martyrdom; and Tuesday, the tenth of it <sup>(4)</sup> (is) the Feast of Saint Sergius ([A]bû Sarġah). And that which happened was a wonderful sign of these two Saints on their feasts, because it was something not in the power of anyone of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) to do it, and he would have been unable to do it. And everyone began to say (that) this (was) for the sake of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) and their uprightness; and it was a miracle the like of which had not been related. Then (it was) that the two priests mentioned before came to the House of Justice on Thursday, the twelfth of (the month of) Bâbah <sup>(5)</sup>, and with the two of them (was) the written report and a copy of it \* which had been transcribed from it by the order of the judge, because he had written in the written report to copy (it). And they came to the House of Justice, and they besought the judge that he should write in the written report an affirmation, and (that) it should be registered with a written report of the group who (were) at the House of Justice. And he (the judge) refrained from this, and he said : «Your written report has been confirmed, only haste is not good; wait until we see if your opponents have an objection against the witnesses or a plea to which to have recourse». And some of those present from among those who had knowledge and sagacity said : «O our master, these have not opponents, but those <sup>(6)</sup> were wont to say that they had a testimony of a right of religion, (as) they said, and the contrary of what they said was proved». And he (the judge) said : «It is disgraceful for a judge that his signature should be apposed to something, and then to be cancelled», and this speech was

\* Fol. 348 v°

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ' had raised their hands '.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ' the raising of the hand '.

<sup>(3)</sup> = October 5th, Julian Style.

<sup>(4)</sup> = October 7th, Julian Style.

<sup>(5)</sup> = October 9th, Julian Style.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* the opponents.

that the judge [I]bn 'Abd as-Salam had been dismissed, and some people said (that) he himself had resigned on account of the affair of the Christians (an-Naṣārā), and (that) his judgment had been invalidated. And in the early morning of Saturday, the seventh of (the month of) Bābah<sup>(1)</sup>, another witness, an arbitrator<sup>(2)</sup> known as Ġamāl ad-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'īṭ, and he was a preacher of the Citadel<sup>(3)</sup> for a time, vindicated Ibn Tammām, and the written report was completed. And the news<sup>(4)</sup> was confirmed that the judge of Cairo (Miṣr) had resigned from the office of judicature, and it was testified against him to this effect; and there was written on account of it a document to our Sire, the Sultan, and an answer was not given to it<sup>(5)</sup>. And it was in these days (that) a wonderful change<sup>(6)</sup> occurred, and it was that, when it was on the eve of Saturday<sup>(7)</sup>, the end of (the month of) Tūt<sup>(8)</sup>, there came a mighty wind, so that it rooted up the palm-trees by their roots and cast them down on the ground, and many houses fell down, and there died beneath them many people. And it was a disturbing night, and the sun was eclipsed from the eve of the mentioned Friday<sup>(9)</sup>, from the end of the eve, and it rose eclipsed, except that it did not appear eclipsed, because it was under the aurora. And it was not like (that of) the Tax Year, because that eclipse was greatly terrifying at the time of the afternoon, as has been explained before. And in the daytime of Saturday, the seventh of (the month of) Bābah<sup>(10)</sup>, it was verified that the judge [I]bn 'Abd as-Salām<sup>(11)</sup> had resigned from the judicature, and there testified against him to this

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<sup>(1)</sup> = October 4th, Julian Style.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 103.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 183, note 9.

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

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

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* a change in the weather.

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* Friday night.

<sup>(8)</sup> The last day of the month of Tūt is September 27th, Julian Style.

<sup>(9)</sup> *I.e.* Thursday evening.

<sup>(10)</sup> = October 4th, Julian Style.

<sup>(11)</sup> The name is here spelled السلام.

the Sultan — may God perpetuate his kingdom! — rode on that day and went to Cairo (Miṣr). And the governor (al-Wālī) assembled with him, and he (the Sultan) said to him, at the very beginning, words not to be understood, except that they indicated that the governor (al-Wālī) had gone to the House of Justice and had assembled secretly with the notables who (were) at it and had said : « Find for me a messenger to go immediately to Cairo (Miṣr) to prevent the demolition, and to say to them : « Do not do anything, until I come ». And he called the Christians (an-Naṣārā) and said : « Carry out your work to-day, for the Sultan has ordered this ». Then (it was) that when he did not find a messenger to send, \* he sent his son Aš-Šarīf to Cairo (Miṣr) with haste, and he stopped the demolition. Andt here came Ibn Tamām and he produced his testimony, and Al-Ḥakīm Ibn az-Zubair came, (and) he confirmed him in the council. And the Public Prosecutor for the other side came, and he confirmed Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam. And the people <sup>(1)</sup> took courage, and the matter became easier, and there remained the need for two other witnesses to complete the vindication of the evidence of the written report, and it would be confirmed. And they returned to Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah), after they had asked permission of the group, to the effect that the vindication should be completed in the house of the judge at Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah), since they could not assemble at the House of Justice, except on a Monday and a Thursday, and it would be difficult on these two days to find witnesses, and time would be lacking and drawn out; and they gave permission that the vindication should be completed in the house of the judge at Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah). And a witness, a physician, known as Ġamāl ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, went over to the judge at Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah), early in the morning of Friday, the sixth of (the month of) Bābah <sup>(2)</sup>, and he vindicated Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, and the vindication of him was completed by two just witnesses, and there remained Ibn Tamām (who) was in need of another witness not more, and the written report would be confirmed. And in the middle of the day-time of Friday it was rumoured

\* Fol. 348 r°

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ‘souls’.

<sup>(2)</sup> = October 3rd, Julian Style.

nothing would be done for the Christians (an-Naṣārâ) and that no one would be approved, because he had closed the ears of everyone for them<sup>(1)</sup>; and whomsoever he heard that he would witness or approve of a witness, he would send to threaten him and to menace him. And the wretched ones<sup>(2)</sup> were in severe affliction, and how could they withstand the judge, except with the aid of the Creator. And he (the judge) sent to the governor (al-Wâli) in the evening of Wednesday, the fourth of (the month of) Bâbah<sup>(3)</sup>, (a message) with a man from his witnesses, called Ibn Zidân, and he said to him (the governor) : « I have met with the Sultan, and he ordered me, that we should do about these two places<sup>(4)</sup>, according to what is required by the religious law ». And it resulted that he helped these people<sup>(5)</sup> in the subject under discussion. And the governor (al-Wâli) said to him : « Whatsoever thou desirest, do (it) ». And he (the judge) enabled them (to do) all what they wished. And they arranged by night with the workers and the surveyors and for pick-axes (τῶρι). And when it was morning, at dawn, (they went) to the internal house, and they demolished its facade and the balcony of the storey on which the priest used to dwell. And it resulted in frustration for our companions<sup>(6)</sup>, and they were (there) on this day, namely on Thursday, the fifth of (the month of) Bâbah<sup>(7)</sup>, and it corresponded to the fifth of (the month of) Rabî' al-Akhar (in the) year six hundred and forty of the Lunar (Year)<sup>(8)</sup>. And they had taken with them Ibn Tammâm to call for prayer for them, because his son had written on his behalf, with his permission, his inability to write on account of his great (age), and (that) he did not understand (the matter). And after this affair (which) occurred, it displayed their mind and darkened their sight, until God the Exalted vouchsafed that

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(1) *Lit.* ' he closed the world against them '.

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

(3) = October 1st, Julian Style.

(4) *I.e.* the two houses.

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

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

(7) = October 2nd, Julian Style.

(8) = 1242 A.D.

that he (the boy) was the son of the judge. And he <sup>(1)</sup> had said to his young male slave : «Go over and take him (Makram) away». And the young male slave struggled with \* the kitchen-workers, and the son of the judge went over to the kitchen, riding, and he beat the lads, and he stood at this <sup>(2)</sup> place. And he sent to his father, and he (his father) rode himself, and he came to the kitchen which (was) at the Dar al-Fâḍil opposite to the date-factory. And he took out this wretched man dragging him on the ground, bareheaded, his garments torn ; and there gathered against him people <sup>(3)</sup> beyond count, none of whom but did beat and revile him, and he was patient. And the news reached the governor (al-Wâlî), and he came and he said : «Let him be imprisoned until the command of the Sultan comes». And he (the governor) imprisoned him, and he wrote to our Sire, the Sultan, concerning what had occurred. And the judge did not wait patiently until the answer of the Sultan came ; but he (the governor) said : «Send to me the Christian (an-Naṣrânî), so that I may do with him what is necessary», and he sent him to him. And he (the governor) said to him (the judge) : «Wilt thou cause this one to ride among these crowds, and (he may be) killed, and thou dost not know what (answer) will come from the Sultan?» And he took him (the Christian) and he did not cause him to ride, but he treated him ignominiously by walking, he being reviled until he passed through the city, and he brought him to the prison of the governor (al-Wâlî), he being patient, thankful and committed to God. And he was wealthy, and he was of high esteem, and he remained in the prison for some days. And the governor (al-Wâlî) took him out, after he had written as regards himself a declaration that he would not go out from his house, except with a girdle (ζωνάριον). And if he had been in the prison of the judge, perhaps, it would have been difficult for him to go out. And as to what was concerning the affair of the Church Abba ([A]bû) Sergius (Sarḡah) <sup>(4)</sup>, since the case was delayed for the judge, he was assured that

\* Fol. 347 v°

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* the son of the judge.

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

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

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. page 153, note 2.

nor against the places». And as for the revenue officers <sup>(1)</sup> — may God preserve them! — they wrote a document to our Sire, the Sultan — may his victory be empowered! — about the matter of the case, and they sent it by the hand of the chamberlain. And his (the Sultan's) order went out that he (the chamberlain) should go to the governor (al-Wâlî), and should disapprove of his negligence in such (a matter) as this; and beware and beware lest anyone oppose this monk or disturb the peace <sup>(2)</sup> in these places. And another of the bodyguard from the Sultan went concerning this, and the people of obstinacy who endeavoured (to make) disorder in the world <sup>(3)</sup> were repelled. And as for the judge, he denied that this (thought) had come to his mind or (that) a conversation about this had taken place. And the governor (al-Wâlî) said to him : «Then write thy signature to this (effect) to the Sultan, otherwise, I shall lose my life» <sup>(4)</sup>. And the judge wrote a document, saying in it : «the Christians (an-Naşârâ) have grossly defamed me with regard to what I have not said nor intended; however this man (As-Sanî) is imprisoned on account of a right of the religious law». And it was despatched to our Sire, the Sultan, and he read it, and he left it, and he did not answer it. And there had occurred to this judge before this a case with a man, a Christian (Naşrânî), a drunkard, of the inhabitants of Minîat Ghamr, called Makram [I]bn Maḥâsin. And this (was) that his (the judge's) son had raised a dust over his (Makram's) kitchen, and he (Makram) was standing without a girdle (ζωνάριον) <sup>(5)</sup>, and he was quarrelling, he and a man, a seller of esparto-grass <sup>(6)</sup>. And the seller of esparto-grass <sup>(6)</sup> made a complaint to him (the judge) that this Christian (Naşrânî) would not go with him <sup>(7)</sup> to the court <sup>(8)</sup>. And Makram did not know

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 827.

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

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

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* 'my spirit will repose (die)'.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. page 229.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. page 244.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* 'me'.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Lit.* 'religious legislation'.

[I]bn Tammâm, and they gave the testimony at the Council of Justice, according to what was contained in the written report, and they remained on the roll of those who approved, because the witnesses were not just. And during the long period they used to bring a witness of these who approved, but they wished for four, not two as those<sup>(1)</sup> had done, and the period was prolonged, and the judge sent to bring the elder (aş-Şaikh) As-Sanî from the prison. And he said to him : «Until when wilt thou endure? If thou dost not pay the amount, then I shall punish thee with a punishment of the religious law». He said to him (the judge) : «O my sire, whatsoever God hath directed thee, do it». He (the judge) said : «Didst thou do nothing?» He said : «O my sire, is there not then any delay?» He (the judge) said : «Two or three days». The elder (aş-Şaikh) said : «Five or six», and he was standing. And he said : «O my sire, I cannot stand». He (the judge) said : «Sit down», and he sat down for a while. Then he said : «O my sire, I will not go to my place!» He (the judge) said : «Go!», and he returned to the confinement. Some days after that, those crowds spread a false report on Friday that the judge used to bring out As-Sanî and to parade him publicly with ignominy<sup>(2)</sup>, and this (report) reached him (the judge), and he was greatly troubled<sup>(3)</sup>. And a man, a Christian (Naşrânî) known as Ibn al-Ḥaşâ went to the Citadel<sup>(4)</sup>, and he informed the group concerning this. And as for Al-Ḥakîm ar-Rašîd known as Abû Khalîfah, he assembled with Badr ad-Dîn, brother of the chamberlain ‘Alî, and he sent two of the bodyguard from him to the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Mişr), saying to him : «Hast thou not learned that our Sire, the Sultan — may his victory be empowered! — has held for the Christians (an-Naşârâ) a council, and the affair concerning it concluded in confirming (their rights). And they brought their evidences, and they (were) those who approved it. And God<sup>(5)</sup> does not empower anyone (to act) against this man, (As-Sanî)

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* the other party.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 186.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* ‘he was troubled a great troubling’.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. page 183 note 9.

<sup>(5)</sup> The *MS.* repeats ‘God’ through dittography.



they brought witnesses against him (to say that) he renounced his testimony. And there had testified also a man from the neighbouring lane, an esteemed elder (aš-Šaikh) known as Ibn Abû't-Ṭayib, and he had become aged, and he had not the power to act. And two upright witnesses were charged (to go) to him, who had heard his words, and they testified on his behalf. And after this, they went to the latter <sup>(1)</sup>, and they chided him and they intimidated him, (saying) : «Thou hast been dwelling in a prayer-house (Masğid) for a period of years, and go out from it immediately, and thou wilt be required (to pay) the rent for these years». And they caused witnesses to testify against the other <sup>(2)</sup>, that he had renounced the testimony. Then (it was) that these opposers took builders and workmen and plaster, and they came one night <sup>(3)</sup> to the mentioned houses, and they purposed to build in them prayer-niches <sup>(4)</sup>; and some of the group went to the governor (al-Wâlî) and they informed him about this, and he sent (and) he forbade (it). And on the morrow, there assembled a large group, and they stood before our Sire, the Sultan. And he commanded that there should be no opposition to this place until judgment had been established. And the two priests, the elder (aš-Šaikh), the saintly As-Sanî Abû'l-Ma'ânî known as Ibn Kamš, and the elder (aš-Šaikh) Ar-Rađî [I]bn Abû't-Ṭayib, both occupied themselves with this affair, (and) who paid all attention to it; and they were in great toil and strenuous efforts, (and) they did not separate by day nor rest by night, and they would pay from their money; and may God — praised be He! — do good to them both \* and reward them both with a like reward. And they <sup>(5)</sup> brought to the Council of Justice witnesses, other than those, and they (were) the judge Al-Mu'aîn 'Abd al-Ḥakam [I]bn Muḥammad [I]bn 'Abd al-Ḥakam and the judge Al-As'ad [I]bn Maîsar and the elder (aš-Šaikh) Al-Ḥakîm Abû Sa'id

\* Fol. 347 r°

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* the priest Al-Mu'tamad, cf. page 256.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the aged man.

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

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* the miḥrâb or kiblah which indicates the direction of Mecca to which a Muslim must turn, when praying.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* As-Sanî and the other priest.

of the chamberlain 'Alî. And the council was held on Monday, on the morning of the Feast of the Cross <sup>(1)</sup>. And there was present a group of the notables and the chiefs, and the presidents of the Council were Aš-Šarîf al-Armawî, judge of the troops, and Badr ad-Dîn, the judge of Cairo (al-Ķâhirah) and Lower Egypt (al-Wağh al-Baĥarî), and the juriconsult 'Abbâs, and the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Mişr), and the representative of the judge of Cairo (Mişr), because he was not present, and there was a group of witnesses. And there were brought Ibn Ĥaûlah and Ibn Şabâĥ, and the elder (aš-Şaikh) As-Sanî and the priest from the prison, and they came with their written reports. And the speaker was the judge of Cairo (al-Ķâhirah), and he called for the written reports, and he read and understood them. And he said to those witnesses : « What delayed you with regard to the testimony, and it is a testimony of the rights of God the Exalted, for the period of fifty years? » They said : « We have said it ». He (the judge) said : « To whom did ye say it? » They mentioned a dead person. He (the judge) said : « This is a pretence of yours and a non-existing matter ». And many discussions occurred, the last of which (was) that they said to As-Sanî ; « Hast thou an evidence? » He said : « Yea ». They said : « Produce it ». He said : « O my sire, (and I am) in prison? » They said : « No, but permission may be asked for him from the judge and a surety for him, and he should go out (from the prison) and bestir himself ». And they asked permission for him of the judge. And he said. « There is no way for this, unless it be without my command ». And he (As-Sanî) was returned to the prison, he and the priest. And the group had made a written report testifying that these two houses (were) an inalienable endowment for the Christians (an-Naşârâ), and had been in their hands for a period of more than fifty years up till now. And an honourable man, esteemed, a leader in the mosque (al-Ķama'), wrote for them in it <sup>(2)</sup>. And a body of his honourable companions, companions of the judge, learned of it <sup>(2)</sup>, (and) they came upon him with threats and reproaches and intimidations and impulsion, until

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<sup>(1)</sup> 17th Tût = 14th September, Julian Style, 27th September, Gregorian Style.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the written report.

the people in the way of their affairs <sup>(1)</sup>, and he was, as if he were not one of them. And he had come at the outset, and he had passed one night at the Church of Saint (Abû) George (Ġurġ) of Al-Ĥamrâ <sup>(2)</sup>, and some of the group had advised him to return to his place, and he returned to the Monastery of the Beacon <sup>(3)</sup>, and he did not come back from it during this period; and he was to be excused, because he was fearful. Then (it was) that the judge at Cairo (Miṣr) sought for the priest Al-Muṭamad until he found him, and he committed him to confinement, and it was (that) he and the elder (aš-Šaiḵh) As-Sanî were in the prison. And the group had written the legal decision to the jurisconsults, that they might ask their legal opinion concerning the Muslim (al-Muslimîn) people, (and) they signed the testimony against a right of the rights of God — praised be He! — from a long period. Then they took it at once <sup>(4)</sup>, (asking) if the delay of the mentioned testimony would be harmful for the justice of their case <sup>(5)</sup> or not. And they all gave their legal decision that their case <sup>(5)</sup> was invalidated by reason of the delay of the testimony of the petition. And some of them were excepted, those who said that they had a valid excuse, and those against whom it was protested that they had made it clear that the excuse was unacceptable in a land in which the rule of Al-Islâm was established, and governors (al-Wulât) and judges. This also availed nothing, and it was not approved, though it was a rule of their religious law and was the practice of that time. And after this, the elder (aš-Šaiḵh) Šams ar-Riâsat Ibn Hiblân wrote a document to our Sire the Sultan — may his victory be empowered! — concerning the Christians (an-Naṣârâ), entreating him therein \* that he should convoke a council with their opponents <sup>(6)</sup> in the Council of Noble Justice, and that the monk should be present to defend himself. And he (the Sultan) commanded this by the tongue of an amîr called Badr ad-Dîn, brother

\* Fol. 346 v°

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* 'of what was in it'.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 87.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 232, note 5.

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

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* 'justice', 'right'.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* those who testified against them with regard to the two houses.

said : «Let him be borne in a cage of a camel-driver and be brought». And there was brought to him a cage (made) from sleeping-beds <sup>(1)</sup>, and he was borne in it, and they brought him to him. And he (the messenger) said : «O Sanî, what thing hast thou done?» He said : «O my sire, there is nothing that I can do». He (the messenger) said : «They shall bind thee immediately». He said : «O my sire, do as thou wishest». He (the messenger) said : «Let him be led to confinement», and he (the messenger) went with him to the confinement. And he became indebted for what was necessary for the two houses, on account of his guarantee for the priest, and the priest had concealed himself. Then there entered the year nine hundred and fifty-nine <sup>(2)</sup> on Friday, at the beginning of Rabî' al-Akhar (in the) year six hundred and forty <sup>(3)</sup>. And the Sultan — may God perpetuate his kingdom! — (was) Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ, and the judge of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) (was) Badr ad-Dîn who had been judge of Singâr <sup>(4)</sup>, and the judge of Cairo (Miṣr) (was) 'Izz ad-Dîn [I]bn 'Abd as-Salâm, and the patriarch (was) Abba (Anbâ) Cyril (Kîrullus), known as [I]bn Laḳlaḳ. And the Nile (an-Nîl) came up in this year to eight fingers above seventeen cubits, and the completion of its increase (was) on Monday, the fourth of (the month of) Tût <sup>(5)</sup>. And it began increasing and decreasing, but it did not increase anything more beyond the eight above seventeen. And the prices fluctuated, and they rose, and wheat was sold at seventy dirhams the ardab, and barley, at forty dirhams the ardab. And as for clover (al-Birsîm), (it was) sought to the last degree on account of the scarcity of water and the few crops which are reserved for Spring, and it (clover) was sold at ninety dirhams the ardab, and linseed oil rose in price also, and there was not anything cheap in the lands at this period. And the patriarch was abiding at the Monastery of the Beacon <sup>(6)</sup>, and he did not have anything to do with

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* a bed made from the split branches of the palm-tree.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* A.M. = 1242 A.D.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* A.H. = 1242 A.D.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. page 156 note 6.

<sup>(5)</sup> = September 1st., Julian Style.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. page 232 note 5.

he (the judge) went out on this wise. And when it was Sunday, the first of (the month of) An-Nasî<sup>(1)</sup>, he (the judge) sent the witnesses and the architects, and they went over to the external house, and they set about to evaluate (it), and they began with demolishing the closed door, thinking thereby that it led to the church, and to take by it a part of it (the Church). And they finished (the demolishing) from the bottom to the top, but they did not find behind it, except earth from ancient years. Then they betook themselves to the internal house, and they came to the place of the latrines, and they said to us : «The bottom and the top of this place (are) four cubits in circumference, apart from the ten by ten (cubits) which we have in the store». And they had not mentioned at first, except the ten by ten (cubits), because they had measured it from the outside. And it was, (that) the elder (aš-Šaikh), while they were measuring and evaluating, had gone to the judge, and had sat with him. And they went out and they fixed for the two places (the sum of) three hundred and forty dīnārs, and he (the judge) accepted it. And the judge arose, and the elder (aš-Šaikh) came to the church without procuration, only affairs (were) confused. And when it was the end of the daytime, he (the judge) summoned him (As-Sanî), and he spoke with him kindly, and he appeased his heart and he said to his representative : «Read and understand these documents, and inform me of what is in them». And he (the judge) went up to Cairo (al-Kāhirah), and when it was in the morning of Monday, \* the representative sent to him (As-Sanî) a messenger whom he had sought, and he went to him (As-Sanî) and with him the aforementioned documents. And he (the messenger) said to him : «These (are) useless tombs»<sup>(2)</sup>. And he said to him (As-Sanî) : «What is it that thou hast done?» He (As-Sanî) said : «O my sire, I have done nothing»; and he (the messenger) appointed for him a guarantor for the sum, and he caused him to pass the night under watch. And when it was on the morrow of that day, he (the messenger) sent (and) he summoned him. And he (As-Sanî) said : «I am sick, I am not able to move». He (the messenger) sent and he

\* Fol. 346 r°

<sup>(1)</sup> = August 24th, Julian Style.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the documents are without value.

but it was Ibn Abû Ghâlib <sup>(1)</sup> who was patriarch (who did this). And as for thee, there will not be charged to thee, except for the period of the thirteen years which thou hast acknowledged that thou hast made use of it in this place, its rent being incumbent on thee». He said : «O my sire, this rent I have spent for the taxes of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) and on its <sup>(2)</sup> alms, as a condition of the inalienable endowment. He (the judge) said : «This is of no use». He said to him : «O my sire, if this place had been according to what was said, a prayer-house (Masğid), whence are these buildings for it and this storey, and these objects which have given to it this value?» He (the judge) said : «Evaluate the rent of the place (as) a prayer-house (Masğid) from a period of thirteen years, and the value of these timbers and the objects and the buildings which (are) at it now». And they said : «There will remain to the elder (aš-Šaikh) eleven dînârs». And he (As-Sanî) said to them : «Ye are dispensed from them», and they departed on this wise. And he (the judge) moved to the other house, and there was not in it except the higher (storey) in which the priest was dwelling, because its lower (storey) was a store. And the elder (aš-Šaikh) had closed up its door on the side of the lane, and he had opened it on the side of the church, (and) he had made it a store for esparto-grass <sup>(3)</sup>. And it was neighbouring to the offices of the Church, and he (the judge) passed over to the church, and he entered from the door of the offices, and it was the door of the offices and the stairway, and he came to the place of the latrines and the lamps (Φανάριον), and they said : «This is the place of the prayer-niches (al-Mağârib)». He (the judge) said : «It has been proved to me that this also was a prayer-house (Masğid). Seek the priest who dwells in it». The elder (aš-Šaikh) <sup>(4)</sup> said to him : «O my sire, what dost thou desire of him? I am his guarantor». He (the judge) said : «We desire the rent». He said to him : «O my sire, whatever is incumbent on him (we shall pay). Either he should prove his indigence, or he should pay». And

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<sup>(1)</sup> John VI, 74th, Patriarch of Alexandria, 1189-1216 A.D.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the church's.

<sup>(3)</sup> Ĥalfâ-grass which is used for making mats, etc.

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* As-Sanî.

neighbours, and they had property neighbouring to the external house, and (there were) with them the documents, the date of which (was) from ninety years, which testified that the limits of one of them <sup>(1)</sup> reached as far as this house, and they <sup>(2)</sup> testified that the house was an inalienable endowment for the Christians (an-Naṣârâ). And if it <sup>(3)</sup> had been a prayer-house (Masğid), as they mentioned, it would have been mentioned. And another, a Christian (Naṣrânî), known as Abû Isaac (Ishaq) [I]bn al-Â'mâ, had a house within the lane opposite to the other house about which was the dispute; and with him (were) documents of its date, one hundred and thirty-one years, and he testified to the limits likewise, and the limit which reached to this house mentioned in it <sup>(4)</sup> that it reached to the house (which was) an inalienable endowment to the Christians (an-Naṣârâ), the dwelling-place of the elder (aş-Şaikh) Abû Ghâlib. And the mentioned documents were brought to the judge, and he read and understood them, but he did not pay heed to them. And the mentioned elder (aş-Şaikh) continued making endeavours at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr), and seeking proofs, on Tuesday and Wednesday, and nothing was done for him. And when it was the eve of Thursday <sup>(5)</sup>, the twenty-eighth of (the month of) Misrâ <sup>(6)</sup>, the judge came to the church <sup>(7)</sup>, and with him a group of witnesses, and others than they, \* and the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr), and he entered into the external house, and he caused As-Sanî to be brought, and he said to him: «What thing hast thou done?» He said to him: «O my sire, I have done nothing». He (the judge) said to him: «O elder (Şaikh), this house has been proved to me to have been one of the prayer-houses (Masğid) <sup>(8)</sup> of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), and thou hast not renovated (it) and hast not changed (it),

\* Fol. 345 v°

<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* the houses.

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

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the house.

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* the documents.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* Wednesday evening.

<sup>(6)</sup> = August 21st, Julian Style.

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* the Church of Saint Sergius.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Lit.* 'a prayer-house of the prayer-houses'.

he (the judge) was informed that the priest Al-Mu'tamud was poor and was not able (to pay) anything. And he (the judge) said : « We shall set up for him a guarantor, and there shall be made a written report about his indigence »; (and) his people guaranteed him, and he went out on account of the written report. And when it was the eve of Monday<sup>(1)</sup>, the twenty-fifth of (the month of) Misrâ<sup>(2)</sup>, the judge summoned the elder (aš-Šaikh) As-Sanî, because he used to summon him every three days, and he said to him : « What hast there done? » He said to him : « O my sire, what (is it) that I (can) do, being in prison, and I have no one? » He said to him : « Find a guarantor for thee, and go and see to it for thyself ». And a group came, and they guaranteed his person. And he came to the church<sup>(3)</sup>, to the cell (κελλίον) which belonged to him; and the group came to him, and they made efforts, except that they had no power, because the notables of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) and their elders (Šiyûkh) and their chiefs were certain that this testimony was false, and that this matter had never been, only they were not able to testify, and their satellites and the followers of them who know this, were afraid of the judge. However, the written report which (concerned) the first house near to the lane, contained (the statement) that this prayer-house (al-Masğid) had three doors, (and) their intention thereby (was) that they should take in its place two other houses. And these two houses were shared with a Muslim woman (Muslimah) who had a quarter (share), and the church had three-quarters. And this woman came with her documents to the judge, and she made an uproar and she shouted, and she was a Muslim woman (Muslimah). And he (the judge) ordered that there should be no interference in the two houses in which the woman had a share. And they confined themselves to the one house which was adjoining the Church, to the intent to dominate the church, and to take what was neighbouring to its mentioned houses, in the measure that they were able, as they had done concerning (the Church) Al-Mu'allakah<sup>(4)</sup>. And there were in the lane Muslims (al-Muslimîn)

<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* Sunday evening.

<sup>(2)</sup> = August 18th, Julian Style.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the Church of Saint Sergius.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. page 150, note 2.



Tuesday, the nineteenth of (the month of) Misrâ<sup>(1)</sup> of this year, and they renewed the case against him, and he denied (it). And they produced the written report, and eight of this group witnessed to it, and they testified; and among them (was) one who had not reached to forty years, and his witnessing (was) to more than forty years. And the mentioned judge accepted<sup>(2)</sup> it, and he sanctioned two of them, and they were Ibn Ḥaūlah and Ibn Ṣabāḥ, because they were two personalities, but (they were) as the two elders (Ṣaīkhaīn) of Susanna (Sūsannah)<sup>(3)</sup>. And he confirmed the written report, and he returned the elder (aš-Ṣaīkh) to imprisonment, after the discussion had taken place between himself and him (the elder). And he said to him: «If thou hast a proof, bring it». He said to him (the judge): «O my sire, whence have I a proof, being in imprisonment?» And he (the judge) said to him: «Charge one for thee». He said to him (the judge): «O my sire, I have not an agent; leave the order with me until I bring my proof». He (the judge) said to him: «This is not allowed», and he commanded him (to be taken) into prison, on the eve of Friday<sup>(4)</sup>, the twenty-second of (the month of) Misrâ<sup>(5)</sup>. And after that, they made a written report about the other house which (was) inside the lane. And the priest al-Mu'tamud [I]bn al-Ḳasī Ma'ānī, priest of the mentioned church<sup>(6)</sup>, was dwelling in the house concerned; and they summoned him, and they claimed against him that he should deliver it up. And they did with him, as they had done about the first house, and he made known that he had inhabited it for a period of twenty years. \* And he (the judge) commanded him to evacuate it immediately, in that hour, and a guarantor was appointed for him for the rent of the twenty years, and he commanded the other external house to be evacuated of its dwellers, because there were dwellers in it, and they (the houses) fell<sup>(7)</sup> into the hands of the adversaries. And

\* Fol. 345 r°

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<sup>(1)</sup> = August 12th, Julian Style.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'he heard'.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. *Daniel*, XIII (Story of Susanna).

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* Thursday evening.

<sup>(5)</sup> = August 15th, Julian Style.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* the Church of Saint Sergius.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* 'became'.

they should do, and had made known to them the way they should take. And one of them, a Muslim (Muslim), known as Abû'l-Ḥasan [I]bn Makîn al-Ḳazzâz, made a claim against (the elder), and there was between him and <sup>(1)</sup> the elder (aš-Šaikh) As-Sanî a dispute, because he had lodged in a chamber of the buildings of the church, and he did not pay rent for it. And the elder (aš-Šaikh) used to demand it from him, because he did not consider that he should leave it to him, and there was not a reason for leaving it. And this person was blameworthy in his way(s), deviating from the truth. And he (the Muslim) claimed against the elder (aš-Šaikh) that he should deliver up the single external house and what was due from its rent for more than forty years. And he (the elder) denied it, and he (the Muslim) demanded of him an oath, and the judge said to him : «Swear», and he (the elder) said : «Yea». And he (the judge) said : «Say : ‘ By the truth of Him Who caused to descend the Gospel on the heart of Jesus (‘Isâ) ’ » <sup>(2)</sup>. The elder said to him : «This is not my belief nor my religious conviction, and a man does not swear, except according to his religious conviction, even as those who were before of the judges accustomed us». And he (the judge) said to him : «If thou dost not swear according to what I have said to thee, I shall punish thee», He (the elder) said : « Whatsoever thou wilt, do. We have never heard of a judgment of this kind». And he (the judge) was wroth with him, and he punished him in front of him, and he ordered him to be imprisoned, as it happened to the pure Apostles. Then (it was), that the partial Muslims (al-Muslimîn) made a written report with the opinion of the judge, that this place (had been) one of the prayer-houses (Masâğid) <sup>(3)</sup> of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), and that the Christians (an-Naṣārâ) had encroached upon it, and had made it a house from the days of the dearth in the year five hundred and ninety-seven <sup>(4)</sup>. And they summoned the elder (aš-Šaikh) from (his) imprisonment on the third day, because the beginning of his being brought <sup>(5)</sup> was the afternoon of the daytime of

<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ and between ’.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. *The Noble Qurân*, Surat of the Iron, 27.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ a prayer-house of the prayer-houses ’.

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* of the Hижrah, = 1200 A.D.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* before the judge.

arrived at Tall al-ʿAğūl<sup>(1)</sup>; and the troops were equipped, and they departed successively, and they descended at the outskirts of Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah), from the prayer-house of At-Tīb to the Lake Al-Ḥubb<sup>(2)</sup>. And there arrived the messenger of the Calif (al-Khalifah) who had been sent from Bagdad (Baghdad)<sup>(3)</sup>, and he crossed over to Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah), and he descended at the House of the Wizārah, and the Sūltan had gone out to receive him, because he was a distinguished man, a chief, of rank and dignity. Then (it was) that a body of the Muslims (al-Muslimīn) known as Ibn Ḥaṭlah and Ibn Ṣabbāḥ, and a group which took their part — and it was they who rose up in the affair of the Church Al-Muʿallaḳah<sup>(4)</sup>, and (who) did in it what was mentioned before — came against the Church of Saint (Abū) Sergius (Sarḡah)<sup>(5)</sup> in Cairo (Miṣr), and they came to two houses of the houses of its inalienable endowments, which were adjoining to it (the church). One of the two of them (was) at the east of it, its street (being) at the highway, and the other on the west of it, inside the lane in which are the gates of the church. And they claimed that each of the two houses had been a prayer-house (Masḡid), and that they knew it, since a period passing forty years. And the elder (aš-Šaikh) As-Sanī, the monk, known as Ibn al-Thaʿbān, was staying at the mentioned Church<sup>(6)</sup>, and (he was) an overseer of its affairs. And he had (re-)built it, and had built its dwelling-places, and he had renewed a number of places in place of the dwelling-places \* which he added to its alienable endowments, and he acted therein after the manner<sup>(7)</sup> of the angels. And these mischievous claimants raised up some people from among those who brought an action against the mentioned elder (aš-Šaikh) before the religious law, before this judge [I]bn ʿAbd as-Salām, after they had met him, and he had arranged with them what

\* Fol. 344 v°

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(1) Cf. P.K. HIRTH, *History of Syria*, map facing page 9.

(2) Cf. page 225, note 8.

(3) Cf. page 156, note 8.

(4) Cf. page 150, note 2.

(5) Cf. page 153, note 2.

(6) *I.e.* the Church of Saint Sergius.

(7) *Lit.* 'life'.

craftsmen were not to be obtained : the builder, (except) at ten dirhams every day and a dirham for his food, and the labourer, at four dirhams and three-quarters, (and) a dirham for his food, and the rest in this proportion. And bread was not found, except with ration ; nevertheless, people used to build, and buildings multiplied and ramshackled houses were (re-)built, and the wealth of the people was increasing, in spite of the dearness, and it was in contradiction. And the beginning <sup>(1)</sup> of the blessed Lunar Year came, and it was the year six hundred and forty of the *Ḥiġġah* <sup>(2)</sup>, and he (the Sultan) ordered the extraction of the taxes, and they were extracted with an extraction of great harshness. And a man had been appointed for them (who) was called [I]bn Ġarâdah, and he did what none had done, and he incited the mobs against the people ; and he did not confine himself to the taxes of Cairo (*Miṣr*) and Cairo (*al-Kâhirah*), but whatsoever he found, he weighed out, and he made the heads of the master-craftsmen bring those who were under their hands of every craft, and the owners of the quarters would take those who were dwelling in their district for collecting the tax. And in these days it was proclaimed in Cairo (*Miṣr*) that which said, (that) the religious law ordered that the Christians (*an-Naṣârâ*) should bind the girdles, (*ζωνόριον*) on their waists <sup>(3)</sup>. And it was said, that the cause for this (was) from [I]bn Ġarâdah, the aforementioned, because he had insinuated to the judge that the Christians (*an-Naṣârâ*) were no longer distinguished from the Muslims (*al-Muslimîn*), because they did not bind on the girdles (*ζωνόριον*), and that the tax-collectors <sup>(4)</sup>, perhaps, seized the Muslims (*al-Muslimîn*) for the tax. So he (Ibn Ġarâdah) ordered this proclamation, and the people began to bind the girdles (*ζωνόριον*) on their waists : the elders (*aš-Šaikh*) among them, and those who feared for their honour ; and the mobs showed effrontery according to their custom. Then the Sultan ordered that the troops should depart towards Syria (*aš-Šâm*), because the messenger of the Calif (*al-Khalifah*) had

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

<sup>(2)</sup> = July 1st., 1242 A.D.

<sup>(3)</sup> A distinguishing mark frequently imposed on Christians.

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

and he wished to demolish a storey (which) he <sup>(1)</sup> had built over a prayer-house (Masğid) in Cairo (Mişr) in the quarter of the Bâb al-Ḳanṭarah <sup>(2)</sup>, and Aş-Şâhib Mu'aîn ad-Dîn withstood him as regards this. And he straitened the people in divers matters, and he was severe in judgments, and he summoned the copyists from the shops <sup>(3)</sup>, and he ordered them to sit before him <sup>(4)</sup> in the portal which (was) at the mosque (al-Ğama'). Then (it was), that the Sultan — may God perpetuate his kingdom! — ordered that a college (Madrasah) should be built at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) in front of the Goldsmiths' (Bazaar) <sup>(5)</sup>, in the place in which were dwelling the farriers, in front of the Palace (Ḳaşr) <sup>(6)</sup>, and he (the Sultan) began on this, and he transferred the farriers from there. And they were removed to the neighbourhood of the Bâb al-Baḥr <sup>(7)</sup>, in the direction of the Rukn al-Muḥalağ, and he demolished that side of the Palace (Ḳaşr) <sup>(6)</sup>, and it was that which comes after the Bâb az-Zuhûmah <sup>(8)</sup>, towards the north, for a length of a hundred cubits, doing the same in width. And he (the Sultan) provided for this, continuing (also) his solicitude for the building of the fortress of the Island <sup>(9)</sup> and its belvederes \* and the building of the Fortress at the Mountain <sup>(10)</sup>, and the building of the belvederes at the Bustân al-Khaşşâb and others than them of the buildings of the Sultan <sup>(11)</sup>. And building-materials became unobtainable and

\* Fol. 344 r°

<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* the deceased judge.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, map, p. 165.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the shops which sold books which were copied there.

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

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

<sup>(6)</sup> This would have been what remained at this time of the Fatimid 'Western Palace'.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

<sup>(8)</sup> *I.e.* 'of bad smells'. This gate was near the kitchen wing of the 'Western Palace', cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

<sup>(9)</sup> *I.e.* Rodah.

<sup>(10)</sup> This would most probably have been the Ḳal'at al-Ḳabş, 'Castle of the Ram', built at this period, cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, p. 90, note 1 and the illustration on p. 177.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Lit.* 'Sultanic'.

there was not mentioned what he found, then (with) staves and rods and various instruments of degradation. Then he took them, after this, bound with ropes, and he went with them to the house of his companion, and he was dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Ḥammân al-Fâr. And the governor (al-Wâlî) took them, and he renewed for them chastisement and degradation, and he ordered them (to be sent) to the prison, and this was for them an ignominy to them. And the city calmed down, and the insurgents were repressed. And the wise of the nobles of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) and the whole of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) and the Jews (al-Yahûd) invoked (blessings) upon this governor (al-Wâlî), because he had put an end to matters which were about to ramify, and he hit the leaders of the sedition, while the people were looking on. And the judge Šaraf ad-Dîn of Alexandria known as Ibn ‘Aîn ad-Daûlah who had been appointed specifically for judging Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and what comes after it of Lower Egypt (al-Wağh al-Baḥarî) died, after he had been a judge of all the districts, and he was replaced by the judge Badr ad-Dîn, judge of Singâr <sup>(1)</sup>, who had been a judge of Cairo (Mişr). And Cairo (Mişr) remained for some days without a judge, until the affair of judging was entrusted to a man from the inhabitants of Damascus (Dimaşq) <sup>(2)</sup>, known as [I]bn ‘Abd as-Salâm. And he was chief of the preaching in Cairo (Mişr) before that; and preaching and judging were combined for him, and he was a good man, of good reputation (and) magnanimous. And the prices were fluctuating <sup>(3)</sup>, and wheat (was) on the increase rather than on the decrease, from fifty dirhams the ardab and thereabout, and everything (was) expensive. Then (it was), that some factors concealed in <sup>(4)</sup> the judge [I]bn ‘Abd as-Salâm, the mentioned, were made manifest, and he rejected the witnesses brought against him, and he pursued the traces of the deceased judge. And he summoned his <sup>(5)</sup> son, Muḥî ad-Dîn,

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 156, note 6.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* ‘taking and giving’.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* ‘hidden in his soul’.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* the son of the deceased judge.

man of the Ṣufis (aṣ-Ṣūfiyah) who were named Calendars (al-Ḳalandariyah) <sup>(1)</sup> in the mosque (al-Ġamaʿ) at Cairo (Miṣr), after the prayer of Friday, and after the end of the sermon, and he cried out at the top of his voice : « O Muslims (Muslimîn), he among you who desires the holy war (al-Ġihâd) for the sake of God, the Church Al-Muʿallaḳah <sup>(2)</sup> is your concern ». And all who were in it went out from the mosque (al-Ġamaʿ), and they (were) people not to be counted, and they came to the church. And the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr) was in the mosque (al-Ġamaʿ), and he was a man well-informed, learned, and having experience, (and) he was called Al-Muġâhid Sulaîmân. And he heard the tumult, and he despatched his slave (Mamlûk) and ten of the captains to protect the church. And he (the Mamlûk) came to it, and he found (there) people <sup>(3)</sup> which (were) not to be counted. And some of them had gone up to the prayer-house (al-Masġid) adjoining it which \* had been taken from it ; and if salt had been thrown, it would not have fallen on the ground <sup>(4)</sup>. And he (the Mamlûk) bore down upon these people <sup>(3)</sup> with an iron-headed club <sup>(5)</sup>, and the ten captains with staves, and great fear of the Sultan <sup>(6)</sup> arose, (and) they were dispersed from the door of the church, and the door which was at it was closed, and it was one of the doors of the Fortress of Babylon (Ḳaṣr aš-Šamaʿ) <sup>(7)</sup>, and it was known as the Lane of the Muʿallaḳah <sup>(2)</sup>. And he (the Mamlûk) called for the heads of the sedition, and they had gone up to the prayer-house (al-Masġid), and their number was five or six souls, the Calendar (al-Ḳalandrî) and those who agreed with him on this. And he began to beat everyone of them in turn a number of times with various instruments of chastisement of which

\* Fol. 343 v°

<sup>(1)</sup> There is also the spelling قرندلية (Ḳarandaliyah). A monastic order founded by the Šaiḫ Ḳarandal, cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 340.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 150, note 2.

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

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* the people were so densely packed together.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 423.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* 'the Sultanate'.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, illustration on p. 51, and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 14-15, and A.J. BUTLER, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, vol. I, pp. 155-249.

he turned to Damascus (Dimaşk) <sup>(1)</sup>. And it was said, that he did not go there, except to arrange an affair and to settle a dispute, though his departure was out of fear for his life <sup>(2)</sup>, but deceit and treachery and breach of faith were not known to him at all. Then (it was), that the Franks (al-Afranğ) began to sally out from Bethlehem (Baît Laḥm) and other (places) than it, and they pursued people to kill them on the way and to confiscate their wealth. And news reached Al-Malik an-Nāşir [I]bn al-Mu'azzam, and he was the Possessor of the Karak (al-Karak) <sup>(3)</sup> and Sichem (Nâblus) <sup>(4)</sup> and the Mountain of the Friend (Hebron) <sup>(5)</sup> and Beisan (Bisân) <sup>(6)</sup> about this, and he marched against Bethlehem (Baît Laḥm), and he killed all who (were) at it of the Franks (Faranğî) and the Christians (Naşrânî), and he took their possessions, and he took captive the guards <sup>(7)</sup>, and they were days of trials, troubles and fears. And some of the pilgrims who had gone to Jerusalem <sup>(8)</sup>, departed from it to Acre (ʿAkkâ) <sup>(9)</sup>; among them (were) some who went on business, and among them (were) some who went to their relatives there; and they were seized on the way, and a group of them were killed, men and women. And as for the patriarch, his principal place (of residence) was at the Monastery of the Beacon (Daîr aş-Şamaʿ) <sup>(10)</sup>, because there did not remain for him a place to reside in, except it. And when it was in the daytime of Friday, the twelfth of (the month of) Baʿûnah <sup>(11)</sup>, and it was the Feast of the glorious angel Michael (Mikhâyîl), which corresponded to the fifth of (the month of) Dhû'l-Ḥiğğah (in the) year six hundred and thirty-nine of the Islamic (Year) <sup>(12)</sup>, there stood up a

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

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

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 194, note 5.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. page 194, note 10.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-362.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 620-624.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 474.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Lit.* 'the Holy House'.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 631-635.

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. page 232, note 5.

<sup>(11)</sup> = June 6th, Julian Style.

<sup>(12)</sup> *I.e.* 1241 A.D.



about three thousand horsemen, and their leader was Ar-Rukn al-Hiġāwī, and among them was a group of the amīrs ; and they departed, and they descended at Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(1)</sup>. They assembled with Al-Malik al-Ġawād \* Fol. 343 r° Muzzafar ad-Dīn [I]bn Maūdūd, and the intention was \* to reconcile him <sup>(2)</sup> and to journey to Damascus (Dimašq) <sup>(3)</sup> to take it. And they remained there <sup>(4)</sup>, and the troops for the Yemen (al-Yaman) were preparing for departure, and there did not remain among them except those who resolved on this. And, lo, news arrived that Fakhr ad-Dīn, son of the messenger of the Possessor of the Yemen (al-Yaman) had come to Mecca (Makkah) <sup>(5)</sup>, (and) had taken it by ruse from the troops which were in it ; and the resolution to occupy the Yemen (al-Yaman) weakened and came to an end. And barley went down on Holy Saturday <sup>(6)</sup>, and it reached to forty dirhams the ardab, and bread (was) at six raṭls a dirham, and flour, at sixty-five dirhams the measure <sup>(7)</sup> ; and the people rejoiced at this exceedingly <sup>(8)</sup>, and it was a blessed Feast <sup>(9)</sup>. And the troops levied for the Yemen (al-Yaman) rejoiced at the cancelling of the resolution (to go) there. And they sold again what they had bought, and the greater part of the provisions was lost for them. Such as the ring biscuits (al-Ka'k) and the thin unleavened bread and the fat and what was like it ; and the prices for horses again became expensive, because they returned to buy them. And the news arrived that Ar-Rukn al-Hiġāwī who was the leader of the troops of Gaza (Ghazzah) had left the troops, and had separated himself from them, he and Al-Malik al-Ġawād, for a matter which they both suspected. And as regards Al-Malik al-Ġawād, he joined the Franks (al-Afranġ), because they were in alliance with him ; and as for Ar-Rukn,

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 170, note 8.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'reconcile his heart'.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* at Gaza.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. page 227, note 3.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* 'the Saturday of Light'. The next day, Easter Sunday, the Paschal Light is lit.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* 'load'.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Lit.* 'a great rejoicing'.

<sup>(9)</sup> *I.e.* Easter Sunday.

(al-Miḳyās) which everyone approved of, it was demolished and there was built in its place a great tower (πύργος) at the head of the apex (of the Nilometer). And as for the western side, all of it was completed (as) a belvedere for our Sire, the Sultan, gardens and reception rooms, from the church to the end of the building. Then (it was), that the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — levied troops for the Yemen (al-Yaman), their number (being) two thousand horsemen, and among them a company of the amīrs and the leaders, such as Aṣ-Ṣārim al-Masʿūdī, and the nobles and ʿAlam ad-Dīn Ṣamāʿil and others besides them. And he spent for every eunuch thirty dīnārs, and he gave to the amīrs according to the number of the eunuchs, for every eunuch, ten dīnārs. To him who had with him fifty, he gave five hundred dīnārs apart from what the eunuchs took for themselves; and he ordered them to equip and to journey to the Yemen (al-Yaman), and they started on this. And they began to sell the horses and the cows and the water-buffaloes (al-Ġamūs) and the sheep. And they journeyed with the camels and the dromaderies and the equipment of the water-carriers and the objects for travelling to the Higaz (al-Ḥiġāz) and the Yemen (al-Yaman). And horses became cheap to an excessive degree, and camels became very expensive<sup>(1)</sup>, as well as<sup>(2)</sup> the pots and the large water-skins<sup>(3)</sup> and the water-skins<sup>(4)</sup>, and buckets and all things of this kind. And Mosol (Maūṣilī) thin unleavened bread was bought at fifty dirhams the ḳanṭār and at fifty-five, and ring biscuits (al-Kaʿk) the same, because it happened in (these) days that the price fluctuated, and wheat reached to seventy dirhams the ardab, and bread (was) at a quarter and an eighth of a dirham the raṭl. And the condition was serious, and the crews of the fleet were seized by command of the ships for the Yemen (al-Yaman); and importation was little, and the times were hard to an extreme. Then (it was), that the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — levied other troops for Gaza (Ghazzah)<sup>(5)</sup> of

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ a great expensiveness ’.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ and ’.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 574.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 323.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. page 170, note 8.

Fol. 342 v° at one dirham and a half and an eight the raṭl, and sugar, at three dirhams the raṭl \* and wax, at a dirham the aṭkfaḥ <sup>(1)</sup>, and honey from bees, at three dirhams the raṭl, and olive-oil <sup>(2)</sup>, at three dirhams the raṭl, and all what (was) in the land was in this proportion. And there was affliction, no greater and no stranger than which had been related, because the water (of the Nile) in this year reached to eighteen fingers out of eighteen cubits, and these prices (were) in this manner. And it was the usual custom that, if the crops were productive every thing was cheap, such as flour and live-stock and cloth and furniture. And in these days all what (was) in the land (was) expensive, even building-tools and the wages of craftsmen. And as for the fortress of the Island <sup>(3)</sup>, the work on it was continuous, and (there was) effort and perseverance to complete it. And every house (which) was in it was demolished, and the building <sup>(4)</sup> reached to the places which were before the church and the mosque (al-Ġamaʿ), and they were demolished, and the place became a great square <sup>(5)</sup> and an open space. And one of the companions of the Sultan came, and he was Master of the Ceremonies (al-Mihmandâr) <sup>(6)</sup>, and he was known as Akh̄ Al-Ḥaġib ʿAlî, (and) he descended at the hall of the patriarch which was at the side of the church of the Island <sup>(3)</sup>, and he placed in it his baggage <sup>(7)</sup>, and he took the key of it. And the patriarch came, (and) he descended at the room which he had built out from the side of the church, (and) he had made it at the side of this hall <sup>(8)</sup>, intending thereby to protect it (the hall). And (it was), that, when this man went out from this hall <sup>(8)</sup>, he (the patriarch) returned to it, and there befell him through this place soreness of heart and evil trouble. And as regards the pavilion which was constructed on the platform of the Nilometer

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<sup>(1)</sup> = 1,321 ounces.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'good oil'.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* Roḡah.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* 'the affair'.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 516.

<sup>(6)</sup> For this title, cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, p. 224.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 405.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 419.

had been reported to him. And he sent to summon the son of his (the patriarch's) brother and the son of his sister in whose names was the signature, and he demanded from both of them the amount, and he enjoined on them (the payment). And the elder (aš-Šaikh) Aṣ-Ṣanī'ah who was called chief surveyor of state accounts <sup>(1)</sup> was he who had full authority <sup>(2)</sup>, and in him (was) the fear of God. And he was from among those who detested the patriarch; but he contrived to charge some senior soldiers (with collecting) this amount, and he succeeded with them to reconcile them about it; and it was said, that the patriarch did not weigh out of this sum beyond three hundred dīnārs. And he (the patriarch) took the receipts and his relatives were saved. Only (it was) that there occurred for him (the patriarch) affliction on this occasion and straitening of breast and complaint of the lack (of money), the like of which had not occurred, and had not been heard of in the time of the great imposed tax. And he (the patriarch) went to the Ḥārat Zuwailah <sup>(3)</sup>, (and) he took what (was) at it in the way of wax and other things beside it, and he asked help from a priest at it, and he was named Abū Šākir, and he used to serve at the single Gate (Bāb) al-Māsim for civil and military appointments (Ġāmkīat al-Bārdāriat). And he was prosperous, and it was said that he had taken the price of a mill which was inalienably endowed to the church <sup>(4)</sup>, and God knows (best). And he (Abū Šākir) wrote to Upper and Lower Egypt (al-Waġhaīn al-Ḳibli wa'l-Baḥarī) for this reason, and he asked help from the elder (aš-Šaikh) Aṣ-Ṣanī'ah, the aforementioned archon (ἀρχων), to the same effect. And he (Aṣ-Ṣanī'ah) wrote for him (Abū Šākir) to the representatives <sup>(5)</sup> and the employés for help. And as regards the prices, they rose greatly: wheat reached to seventy-five dirhams the ardab, and barley, (to) forty-two dirhams the ardab, and poultry (was) at one silver dirham the hen, and meat,

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* 'Surveyor of the surveyors', cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 827.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'the loosing and the binding of the State'.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 175, note 1.

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* the Church at the Ḥārat Zuwailah.

<sup>(5)</sup> 'to the representatives' repeated by dittography.

(free), and it was said, on the contrary, that they were imprisoned in some cities. And as for the remainder, he ordered them to go out to the Rif<sup>(1)</sup> to dwell in it, on condition that none of them should have a mare nor bear arms, but should be a husbandman or a merchant, and, if he wished for his family<sup>(2)</sup>, they should go out to him, and this was not forbidden to him. And they dispersed in the lands, and our master the Sultan, spared their lives<sup>(3)</sup>, although the jurisconsults had given the decision that the killing of them was licit because they had revolted, and had broken their oath, and had proved themselves treacherous to their Sultan and had raised a sedition, and he pardoned them for all this. Then (it was), that he (the Sultan) ordered the departure of the troops to Syria (aš-Šâm), and they equipped themselves, but they did not depart. And the news arrived that Al-Malik al-Ġawâd [I]bn Mamdûd had come to terms with the Franks (al-Afranġ), and had descended with them, and that they had come to Gaza (Ghazzah)<sup>(4)</sup> and had taken all what was in it. And they returned (and) descended at Caesarea (Kašsâriah)<sup>(5)</sup>, and they remained unsettled in the Littoral<sup>(6)</sup>, (going) from place to place, and Al-Malik al-Ġawâd (was) with them. And after the departure of the Franks (al-Afranġ) from Gaza (Ghazzah)<sup>(4)</sup>, there came Al-Malik an-Nâsir [I]bn al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, and he descended at it, he and his troops. And, in these days, there was at the prosperous Treasury a man, an overseer, known as Šihâb ad-Dîn, judge of Dârâû<sup>(7)</sup>, and he was prompt in what he dealt with, (and) very assiduous in the service of the Sultan, and he discovered that there remained of the sum (with) the signature of the patriarch<sup>(8)</sup> five hundred and ten dînârs; either (it was) that he had come to know of it by himself, or (that) it

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

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'his household'.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* 'he granted to them their spirits'.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. page 170, note 8.

<sup>(5)</sup> B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 429-430.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. page 222, note 3.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 162.

<sup>(8)</sup> *I.e.* acknowledging his debt.

levied at Kōṣ (KŪṣ) <sup>(1)</sup>, and they were Turks (al-Atrāk), and their leader (was) a man called Ṭafarbal al-Ḥaġāfi az-Zāhid, had revolted <sup>(2)</sup>, and they made this Ṭafarbal a sultan, and they seized the governor (Wālī) of Kōṣ (KŪṣ) <sup>(1)</sup>, and they exacted the import duties, the capitation taxes and the tribute, and they made free us of the stores. Only none of the Bedouins (al-Urbān) followed them in this through fear of the Sultan. And he (the Sultan) levied about two thousand horsemen against them, and their leader (was) Ar-Rukn al-Ḥiġāwī on the eastern bank, and he (the Sultan) sent the notables on the western bank, and they gathered from their clans and their tribes what exceeded two thousand horsemen, and they journeyed until they arrived at Miniāt Banī Khaṣīb <sup>(3)</sup>. And there arrived a man from Upper Egypt (aṣ-Ṣa'īd), continent, (and) extolled among the Muslims (al-Muslimīn), and it was said, that he possessed prestige. And he had arrived at Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah), and he was honoured by the Sultan and the wazīr and the rest of the Muslims (al-Muslimīn). And he came now to seek security for this dissembling group and to close the door of sedition, and to spare blood-shed. And his dwelling (was at) Damāmīn <sup>(4)</sup> of Upper Egypt (aṣ-Ṣa'īd), and he was known as Aṣ-Ṣaikh Mufraġ, and he came in a fire-ship in four days, and he came together with <sup>(5)</sup> our Sire, the Sultan, and he obtained security for them <sup>(6)</sup>, and he returned at once in his fire-ship. And the troops had reached to the boundaries of Akhmīm <sup>(7)</sup>, and he gave to them security. And they desisted from what they had been, and they obeyed, and they entered the service of the amir Ar-Rukn al-Ḥiġāwī, and all returned to Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) the Protected. And when they arrived, they did not see \* the face of our master, the Sultan. And, after some days, he ordered \* Fol. 342 r° to be seized a certain group of them; and it was said that they remained

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-400.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 704.

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

<sup>(4)</sup> Read, perhaps, Damāmīl (دامل), cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 160. It is at distance of 1 hour and a half from KŪṣ.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* he met.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* the troops which had mutinied.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-22.

(the messenger's) arrival at Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) was postponed. Then it was permitted to him to come, and he was brought by land, and he was delayed on the way, and he was made to go round by the Fayûm (al-Fayûm) <sup>(1)</sup>, and he came to the Pyramids, and he crossed over (the river) from Gizah (al-Gîzah) <sup>(2)</sup>. And he had with him about one hundred men, and the day of his arrival was a great (day), and the two cities <sup>(3)</sup> were decorated for him. And all the troops rode (out), and they received him, and all the people went out. And the mentioned messenger and his companion were both on mares from the horses of Nubia (an-Nûbah) which belonged to our Sire, the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — And they came with both of them, and they caused both of them to lodge at the Sultan's Palace which (is) in the vicinity of the House ad-Dîbâġ <sup>(4)</sup> known as the dwelling of Aṣ-Ṣāhib [I]bn Šukr. And the elder of the two of them, on whose body, it was said, (was) a robe of wool, in the Large Palace, and the younger, in the Palace which is at the Gate (al-Bâb) of the Darb aš-Šaikh, known as the dwelling of 'Izz ad-Dîn Ibn aṣ-Ṣāhib the aforementioned. And he (the Sultan) bestowed on them in the way of grants, and gifts of hospitality and liberalities and benefits, the like of which had not been heard of. And the two messengers remained for some days without meeting with our Sire the Sultan — may God perpetuate his kingdom! — Then he (the Sultan) summoned both of them, and he sent to both of them horses of Nubia (an-Nûbah), but to their companions (he did not send, because) they were not riding, for they had arrived by river <sup>(5)</sup>. And the day of their going up to the protected Citadel <sup>(6)</sup> was as the day of their arrival. And they remained in the country on account of the winter, with hospitality and honour and invitations and joy and hunting and the shooting of the arbalest. Then (it was), that the news arrived, that the troops which had been

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 200, note 2.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 158, note 7.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr).

<sup>(4)</sup> Merchants of coloured silk stuffs, cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 241.

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

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. page 183, note 9.

been judge at Singâr<sup>(1)</sup>, and he was of the companions of the Sultan — may his victory be empowered! — and he had sent to him a letter to bring him, because he had served the Sultan — may God perpetuate his kingdom! — in the days, (when) he was at Singâr<sup>(1)</sup>, and he had expended effort in his service. And prices rose until wheat reached to fifty dirhams the ardab, and barley, (to) thirty-five dirhams the ardab, inferior linseed, (to) eighty dirhams the ardab, and turnips like it, and linseed oil, (to) eighty-eight dirhams the jar, and all in this proportion; in general, there was nothing in the lands really cheap, and also any kinds of buildings, they were impossible for them (the people). Though the people, even with the dearness, did not cease from (erecting) buildings, together with the buildings of the Sultan, the like of which had never been. And the sun was eclipsed at the ninth hour of the daytime of Sunday, the ninth of Babâh<sup>(2)</sup> of this year, and the eclipse hid it to such an extent that the stars appeared at that time, and the people lighted lamps in the shops and the baths. Then, after that, the eclipse cleared away gradually, until the sun returned to its condition, and the light appeared as it had been. And it was said, that (as regards) this eclipse, no one could recall the like of it; and some of the aged people said that the like of it had occurred in the days of Al-Malik an-Nâsir Şalâh ad-Dîn, (in the) year (when) Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds) was taken from the Franks (al-Afranġ)<sup>(3)</sup>; and for this event fifty-five years had passed<sup>(4)</sup>, and the people were greatly awed<sup>(5)</sup> by this event of to-day, and they said: «What will result<sup>(6)</sup> from this event?» \* And the messenger of the Emperor<sup>(7)</sup> arrived at Alexandria, and with him a great (sum of) money and considerable merchandise and precious gifts. And it was said, that the ship in which he arrived held a hundred sailors, and that its name (was) ‘Half the world’, and his

\* Fol. 341 v°

(1) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 375-376.

(2) = October 6th, Julian Style.

(3) *I.e.* October 2nd, 1187 A.D.

(4) *I.e.* from 1187-1242 A.D.

(5) *Lit.* ‘were awed a great awe’.

(6) *Lit.* ‘will be’.

(7) *I.e.* Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, 1194-1250 A.D.



\* Fol. 341 r° others besides them from the notables of the Franks (al-Afranġ). They made a truce with our Sire, the Sultan, \* and those who were with the Possessor of Damascus (Dimasġ) <sup>(1)</sup>, when they saw their defeat and the victory of the Possessor of Egypt (Mişr) over them, (and) they returned to submission and peacefulness, and a truce was sought with regard to what (was) in their hands. Then (it was), that our Sire, the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — discovered treason on the part of some of the amîrs — may God thrust their plot in their throats! — and he seized one of them called Ibn Falâh, and he was of the nobles. And our Sire, the Sultan, had shewn extreme goodness <sup>(2)</sup>, but he had repaid him with what was evil. Then he seized two senior amîrs of the Kurds (al-Akrâd), and they (were) Bahâ ad-Dîn [I]bn Malkîşû and Nâşir ad-Dîn [I]bn Burîâs, and he caused the three to be sent to the Fortress of Şadr under guard, after he had taken possession of all their wealth. And the blessed Nile (an-Nîl) reached in this year to eighteen fingers above eighteen cubits, and it came (up) very well <sup>(3)</sup>, and it was stabilized on the lands with good stability, only that prices were increasing for every thing in the way of eatables and other (things) than them, even clothing and buildings. And people were multiplying in the Egyptian (al-Mişrî) lands from Syria (aş-Şâm) and the East and the Irak (‘Irâġ) on account of the dearth which (was) there. Then (it was), that our Sire, the Sultan — may his victory be empowered! — seized a senior amîr of the Turks (al-Atrak) of the mamluks (Mamâlîk) of his father, known as Singâr al-Yamanî, and it was said, that he exiled him from the lands, and a group of the bodyguard <sup>(4)</sup> known and unknown, and he dismissed Al-Ķâdî Şarîf ad-Dîn, the judge of the judges, from the jurisdiction of Cairo (Mişr), and he restricted him to the jurisdiction of Cairo (al-Ķâhirah) and Lower Egypt (al-Waġh al-Baġarî), and he employed for the jurisdiction of Cairo (Mişr) together with Upper Egypt (aş-Şa‘id) a man (who) had

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ a limit of goodness ’.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ a good coming ’.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 251.

(an-Nîl) decreased, and what would be needed for it in the way of boats would (then) be less. And the Nile (an-Nîl) was increasing, and price(s) were increasing, and (there was) dearness for all (what was) on earth <sup>(4)</sup>. And Egypt (Mişr), as regards scarcity, suffered less than (countries) other than it, and it was better, because it was mentioned that wheat at Damascus (Dimaşk) <sup>(2)</sup> cost three hundred silver <sup>(3)</sup> dirhams a bag <sup>(4)</sup>, and it (the bags) (was) of two Egyptian (al-Mişrî) ardabs, and the cost of the grinding (was) sixty silver <sup>(3)</sup> dirhams, because its <sup>(5)</sup> rivers had dried up. And the majority of the people from among the wage-earners and the wretched and others than them of the East and Syria (aş-Şâm) and the rest of the confines had left for Egypt (Mişr); and there was in it, in the way of people <sup>(6)</sup>, what was not to be counted and not to be described, and this was the chief reason for the dearness. Then there entered the year nine hundred and fifty-eight <sup>(7)</sup>, and (at that time) the Sultan — may God perpetuate his kingdom and empower his victory! — (was) Al-Malik aş-Şâlih, and the wazîr, Mu'ain ad-Dîn [I]bn aş-Şaikh, and the judge, Şaraf ad-Dîn [I]bn 'Ain ad-Daûlah al-Iskandarî, and the patriarch, Abba (Anbâ) Cyril (Kîrullus) known as Ibn Laqlaq. And the water (of the Nile) increased, and the prices were soaring, and the news arrived (that) the troops of Syria (aş-Şâm) had been overcome, and (that) they had returned <sup>(8)</sup> to Damascus (Dimaşk) <sup>(2)</sup> defeated, (and) the troops of Al-Malik an-Nâşir [I]bn al-Mu'azzam had overcome them. And messengers of the Franks (al-Afranġ) came to seek a truce from our Sire, the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — and they were the messengers of the Templars <sup>(9)</sup>, apart from the Westerns, the possessors of Ascalon ('Asqalân) <sup>(10)</sup>, and

<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* the part of the world known to the writer.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 710.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 250.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* Syria's.

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

<sup>(7)</sup> = 1242 A.D.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Lit.* 'their return (was)'.

<sup>(9)</sup> *I.e.* the Knights Templar, a military order.

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. page 195, note 9.

the nineteenth of (the month of) Misrâ<sup>(1)</sup> which corresponds to the third of (the month of) Safar (in the) year six hundred and thirty nine of the Lunar (Year)<sup>(2)</sup>. And there was an order to construct a bridge from Cairo (Miṣr) to the Island<sup>(3)</sup>, and it was constructed, and there were in it twenty-one boats; and its width was large enough for two loaded camels, one of them coming and the other going, and they would not press together, and the people found in this great facility. And when the days of the new year (an-Naîrûz)<sup>(4)</sup> drew nigh, our Sire the Sultan, came to the Island<sup>(3)</sup>, and he stayed at it, he and his attendants. And there was above the building of the Nilometer a chamber which was borne beyond it on columns, and it was he who made it, and it was not before, because there was not there (anything) except a upper court, and the chamber was within it. And this Sultan made this chamber, and it turned out a fine innovation, and of all what he — may God perpetuate his days! — was wont to do or to suggest nothing could turn out in the world more successful than it, or finer or more balanced. And one of the ministers, known as Rašîd aṣ-Ṣaghîr, lodged in the hall which belonged to the patriarch, which was at the church of the Island<sup>(3)</sup> mentioned before; and the patriarch had departed from it, and had gone to the Monastery of the Beacon<sup>(5)</sup>, and it was a chance coincidence. Then he (the Sultan) ordered to construct a bridge on the water from the Island<sup>(3)</sup> to Al-Gîzah<sup>(6)</sup> and he provided for it. And he who was in charge of all the constructions<sup>(7)</sup> (was) the amîr Ġamâl ad-Dîn [I]bn Yaghmûr. And the mentioned minister departed from the hall, and he did not pass in it except one night. Then the mentioned bridge was cancelled through lack of boats which were suitable for it; and it was said, that it was delayed until the blessed Nile

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<sup>(1)</sup> = August 12th, Julian Style.

<sup>(2)</sup> = 1241 A.D.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 158, note 2.

<sup>(4)</sup> This is the name given to the first day of the Coptic year. It is August 29th, Julian Style and September 11th, Gregorian Style. It is one day later in Leap Years.

<sup>(5)</sup> For this monastery, cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, pp. 192-196.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-191.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 171.

Sultan — may God empower his victory! — began again to equip the troops, and he took out his tent and his audience-tent<sup>(1)</sup>, and he set them up at Al-Khandaq<sup>(2)</sup>, and he provided for the journey, and the troops went out singly, and some of them arrived at Al-'Abbasah<sup>(3)</sup>. Then (it was), that the news came that the Syrian (aš-Šamī) troops had delayed (from departing) from Gaza (Ghazzah)<sup>(4)</sup>. Then the news arrived that they had returned and had stopped their march<sup>(5)</sup>, and that our Sire, the Sultan, had become reconciled with Al-Malik an-Nāṣir. And in these days the Nile (an-Nīl) increased greatly, and it went up to the building which was constructed at the Island<sup>(6)</sup>, and the work at it ceased, except for the house and the new apartments of the Sultan, and the building of them continued. And, in these days, a man from the soldiers, and he was an inspector of works of the Island<sup>(6)</sup>, lodged in the hall which the patriarch had built at the church of the Island<sup>(6)</sup>, and he remained at it for some days. And the patriarch was pained on account of it, and he spoke with the people, (saying), that this was what he feared and had taken precautions against, because, if this (hall) had been, as it should have been, in the interior of the church<sup>(7)</sup>, it would have been a place to which no attention would have been paid to it, and no one (would) have been opposed to it. And (now) it was a matter (which) would lead to \* the destruction of the church, and pave the way to other<sup>(8)</sup> hands to it. \* Fol. 340 v° Then (it was), that the mentioned man departed from it (the hall), and he was known as Saif ad-Dīn Būrnā as-Sahmī. Then (it was) that the blessed Nile (an-Nīl) reached to sixteen cubits in the daytime of Monday,

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(1) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 467.

(2) Cf. page 206, note 5.

(3) Cf. page 227, note 8.

(4) Cf. page 170, note 8.

(5) *Lit.* 'the movement'.

(6) *I.e.* Roḍah.

(7) If this hall had been within the enclosure of the church, it would not have been considered a new building, and, consequently, have been allowed. A case of this is recorded by B.T.A. EVERTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 106.

(8) *Lit.* 'foreign'.

(thither). And it is said that, when they left him, he was released, and he went to Syria (aš-Šām), and he met Al-Malik aš-Šāliḥ, his paternal uncle, the Possessor of Damascus (Dimašḳ) <sup>(1)</sup>, and they came to an agreement. And messengers travelled between our Sire, the Sultan Al-Malik aš-Šāliḥ, Possessor of Egypt (Miṣr) and <sup>(2)</sup> Al-Malik an-Nāṣir <sup>(3)</sup>, and they were reconciled, and each of them swore to his companion. And Al-Malik an-Nāṣir sent the captives who were with him, Kamāl ad-Dīn [I]bn aš-Šāikh and the amīrs who were with him, after he had bestowed on them robes of honour and had treated them well. And before this, they had been in disgrace and intimidation and abasement; and there was not put to death of them except the courageous al-Akta<sup>c</sup> <sup>(4)</sup>. It was said that he killed him because he had acted hypocritically towards him and had played him false twice. And it was said that he placed him in a dungeon in Al-Karak <sup>(5)</sup>, and God knows (best). Then (it was) that Al-Malik aš-Šāliḥ, the Possessor of Damascus (Dimašḳ) <sup>(1)</sup> went out with him who was his host, and he came to an agreement with the kings of the parties, such as the Possessor of Emesa (Ḥimṣ) <sup>(6)</sup> and the Possessor of Ṣarkhad <sup>(7)</sup> and Al-Malik al-Ġawād who had sought refuge with him, and he came to Sichem (Nāblus) <sup>(8)</sup>. And he provisioned himself there, and he fell upon a band of the troops of An-Nāṣir, and he overcame them, and he took captives from them, and he pillaged. And they arrived at Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(9)</sup>, and the Egyptian (al-Miṣrī) troops decamped from it, but they delayed. And the Franks (al-Afranġ) departed with them, because they had given to them all the Littoral <sup>(10)</sup>, and had promised to them something else, if their purpose succeeded. And our Sire, the

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'and between'.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* Al-Malik an-Nāṣir Ibn al-Mu'azzam.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. page 228.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. page 194, note 5.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. page 219, note 10.

<sup>(7)</sup> Or 'Ṣarkhad', cf. P.K. HIRTI, *History of Syria*, p. 599.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. page 194, note 10.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. page 170, note 8.

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. page 222, note 3.

Bedouins (al-ʿUrbân) who had been with them and others than they, came out upon them, and they pillaged them, and nothing was left to them; and he who saved himself from them returned headlong<sup>(1)</sup> on foot. And the troops of Syria (aš-Šâm) reached to the place of the treasury, and Kamâl ad-Dîn [I]bn aš-Šaikh was at it, and the treasury was taken in its entirety, and Kamâl ad-Dîn was taken prisoner, and he was led to Al-Malik an-Nâsir, and it was a defeat, the marvel of which had not been seen, that three hundred defeated three thousand or more. And the troops of Egypt (Miṣr) reached to Bilbaïs<sup>(2)</sup>, and there was sent out to them rations and provisions. And it was ordered that they should cross over to Cairo (al-Ḳahirah), and the Sultan did not blame them for anything of what had happened, and they retained their bread-supply, and likewise for those who were captives, their bread-supply was retained for them, and there was not cut off, except the bread of Fakhr ad-Dîn [I]bn Ğaldak, and of none other. And it was said that it was on account of injustice towards the soldiers together with his flight without fighting. And, after that, there occurred between Al-Malik an-Nâsir and Al-Malik al-Ġawâd a difference, and he suspected him \* of a plot against him, and he was afraid of him for himself. And he commanded him (al-Ġawâd) to be arrested, and he was arrested. And he (Al-Malik an-Nâsir) wished to turn to Al-Karak<sup>(3)</sup> to imprison him (al-Ġawâd) in it, and he was counselled that this one was a courageous king and of the family of their house, and that it was necessary that he should exile him from the lands and drive him into the desert which goes towards the East and Bagdad (Baghdad)<sup>(4)</sup>, and that he should go with his goods and his luck. If he were saved, it was to be, if he perished, Al-Malik an-Nâsir would not be blamed for it in anyway, and he commanded this. And when he (al-Ġawâd) went towards the desert, he directed his return towards Syria (aš-Šâm), and it is said that he (al-Ġawâd) supplicated the Bedouins (al-ʿUrbân) who were with him, until they conducted him

\* Fol. 340 r°

(1) *Lit.* 'with his neck'.

(2) Cf. page 182, note 4.

(3) Cf. page 194, note 5.

(4) Al-ʿIrâk.

of the Possessor of the Fortress of Ġa'bar <sup>(1)</sup>. And he (the Sultan) caused to be sent out to them cattle, money, robes of honour, horses and provisions, and he ordered them to stay in their place. And it coincided with the going out of the troops, and they (the troops) suspected that (it was) with the object to seize them. And they decamped, and they progressed with difficulty on the way until they met with Al-Malik an-Nāşir; and they agreed with him that they were of one accord <sup>(2)</sup> with those who were friendly to them and against those who were hostile to them. Then (it was) that the Egyptian (al-Mişrî) troops were emboldened against those who (were) in front of them, and they rode, after they had put on their cuirass <sup>(3)</sup>, and they sought the troops of Al-Malik an-Nāşir, and their leader was Al-Ġawād, and they were, according to what was mentioned, three hundred horsemen, not less. And they had taken the route <sup>(4)</sup> of the troops of Egypt (Mişr) which was difficult. And they (the Egyptian troops) preceded them to Râs al-'Aķabah <sup>(5)</sup> which is in the districts of Jerusalem (al-Ķuds), which was on the way to Baġt Tūbah. And the skirmishers <sup>(6)</sup> came up to the troops of Egypt (Mişr), and their leader (was) 'Alam ad-Dīn Sinġâr al-Fakhrî and with him (was) the courageous al-Akta' and the amīr Aġrî and Al-Masâ Bak, and these (were) amīrs. And as regards those of their soldiers, they were many, and they (the Syrian troops) captured all of them, after the slaying of those who were slain. And when this was seen by those who were behind them, of those who were seeking (them), they did not resist them, but they turned back in rout, and they did not go up to Al-'Aķabah <sup>(5)</sup>, but they continued in (their) rout up to Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(7)</sup>, and they did not remain in Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(7)</sup>, but they went out from it, making for Egypt (Mişr). And when the troops of Al-Malik an-Nāşir learned of this, they pursued them. And the

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 219, note 11.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'one hand'.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 512.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 12.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* Al-'Aķaba, a port on the Red Sea.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 782.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. page 170, note 8.

to another place. And troops were despatched to Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(1)</sup> and Alexandria and Damietta (Dumyât) <sup>(2)</sup>, and they departed one by one, and the detachment for the Yemen (al-Yaman) was disbanded completely. And there did not journey, except three or four hundred horsemen of the Turks (al-Atrâk) whom they sent to Mecca (Makkah) <sup>(3)</sup>, with the intention to isolate them. And it was said that, when they departed to the desert, they seized the Arabs (al-ʿArab) who were with them, (and) they bound them, and they said to them : « If ye do not show to us the way to Syria (aš-Šâm) and depart with us to them <sup>(4)</sup>, then we shall kill you », and (it was) that they did this. Then (it was) that the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — prepared the troops for Syria (aš-Šâm), and it was their intention, \* (as regards) Sichem (Nâblus) <sup>(5)</sup>, to take it from Al-Malik an-Nâşir [I]bn al-Muʿazzam. And they departed to Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(1)</sup>, and they were about three thousand horsemen, and their leaders (were) Kamâl ad-Dîn [I]bn Šaikh and ʿAlâ ʿd-Dîn Karâsanġar as-Sâġî, and with them was a large group of the Arabs (al-ʿArab). And Al-Malik al-Ġawâd Muzẓafar ad-Dîn [I]bn Mamdûd who had been at first Possessor of Damascus (Dimašġ) <sup>(6)</sup>, and had delivered it up to the Sire, the Sultan Al-Malik aš-Šâlih Aiyûb, (who) gave to him in exchange Singâr <sup>(7)</sup> and he sold it to the Calif (al-Khalifat), had reached to Al-ʿAbbâsah <sup>(8)</sup>, in the service of our Sire, the Sultan Al-Malik aš-Šâlih, and he purposed crossing over to Cairo (al-Ġâhirah), and to meet with our Sire, the Sultan, and to take with him troops and to go Damascus (Dimašġ) <sup>(6)</sup> to conquer it. And he was not able to cross over to Cairo (al-Ġâhirah), and he did not meet the sultanate dignity. And there was with him his young son, the Possessor of Emesa (Ĥims) <sup>(9)</sup>, and the son

\* Fol. 339 v°

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 170, note 8.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 226, note 6.

<sup>(3)</sup> Saʿûdî ʿArabî.

<sup>(4)</sup> I.e. the Turks.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. page 194, note 10.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *Saladin*, p. 165.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. OMAR TOUSSOUN, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Arabe*, t. I, p. 58.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. page 219, note 10.



Kurds (al-Akrād) were warned of this, and they sent to the Sultan to inform him, and he commanded them to cross over to Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah), and they came at night. And when it was morning, the gates of Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) were closed, and the reason was not known, but the reason was to seize «The Most Nobles», and they were seized everywhere <sup>(1)</sup>. And some of them were dressed with the dress of women, and when he went out, he was recognized and seized. And among them (were) those who placed themselves in sacks of oignons and carrots and what was like to them, (and) they were not afraid, because there was at every gate an amīr with his companions and his large sacks <sup>(2)</sup>. And Cairo remained thus for some time <sup>(3)</sup>, and the first day and the second was the most severe of them; and this was in the seventh week of the Holy Lent <sup>(4)</sup>, and it was at the very end (of the month) of Baramhāt <sup>(5)</sup>. Then the case of seizing everyone who was suspected continued. And the prisoners of the amīrs, great and small, and the soldiers multiplied, and, for the most part, (they were) Turkish (al-Atrāk) mamluks (al-Mamālīk). And the Sultan seized Badr ad-Dīn Yūnis whom he had made governor of Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah), and the other two great ministers, and they were Masrūr and Ġaūhar the Nubian (an-Nubī). And they were unarmed at the Port of Damietta (Dumyāt) <sup>(6)</sup> the Protected, and he brought them both to the Citadel <sup>(7)</sup>, and he imprisoned them in it, and he placed a guard over the possessions of both of them. And in these days the Franks (al-Afrang) departed from the Church of Saint Mercurius ([A]bū Markūrah) <sup>(8)</sup>, when the majority of them went to their lands, and they were those who had been taken in this recent time with the Count (al-Kunt); a few people of them remained, (and) they were transferred

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* 'from every place'.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 209.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* 'a week of days'.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* 'the Holy Fast'.

<sup>(5)</sup> = 27th March-25th April, Julian Style.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. page 183, note 9.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. page 222, note 11.

inundation) of the Nile (an-Nîl), and he (the Sultan) passed over it. And the prices were in all these days high, (and) they did not diminish at all. Wheat did not go down more than a dînâr the ardab, and barley (was) for thirty dînârs the ardab, and nothing was more expensive than linseed-oil, and it was for two dirhams the raṭl and two dirhams and a quarter the raṭl. And as for wax, (it was) that it reached eleven dirhams the raṭl, and fuel (was) for ten dirhams the load <sup>(1)</sup>, and the people were in affliction on account of this and on account of \* the building of the fortress of the Island <sup>(2)</sup>, when all kinds of building became expensive. And the Sultan — may God perpetuate his kingdom! — had learned of a conspiracy by Atabak al-Asmar and Kâfûr al-Fâizî the minister, and Atabak was at Alexandria and Kâfûr (was) in Bilbaïs <sup>(3)</sup> unarmed; and he sent to each of them an amîr, and he seized both of them, and he placed a guard over the possessions of both of them. And he imprisoned Atabak al-Asmar at the Port <sup>(4)</sup>, and (as for) Kâfûr, he went up with him to the Citadel <sup>(5)</sup>, (and) he imprisoned him in it. Then he (the Sultan) pursued everyone whom he suspected of the bodyguards <sup>(6)</sup> and the soldiers, and he seized them and he imprisoned them. Among them were those at Alexandria, and among them were those at Cairo (al-Kâhirah), and among them were those at the Citadel <sup>(5)</sup>, and the majority of these were of those who had conspired <sup>(7)</sup> against Al-Malik al-Âdil and had removed him. Then (it was) that a body of the Turks (al-Atrâk) who were called «The Most Noble», bound themselves on oath that they would pillage the Kurds (al-Akrâd) who had been levied for the Yemen (al-Yaman), and would take their possessions and would kill them and would decamp, because they (the Kurds) were staying altogether at the Pool (Birkat) known as the Birkat al-Ḥubb <sup>(8)</sup>. And the

\* Fol. 339 r°

<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* a camel-load.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* Roḡah.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 182, note 4.

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* Alexandria.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. page 183, note 9.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 251.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* 'worked'.

<sup>(8)</sup> the *MS.* reads thus. Cf. page 97, note 8.

And (as for) these crimes, these (are) their results, because they alienate from Christ entirely, and assistance is removed from those who commit them, and they fall into these difficult traps; and we ask God the Exalted that He may guard us against such things, and not to withdraw from us His assistance, for we have nothing beyond it. And, in these days, there came a woman from the East, and with her her husband, and she had a round beard and a moustache, like the beards of men, and she mentioned that she had children, and that they were in her country. And all the people used to visit her and see her, and she did not refuse (to be seen) by any, either men or women, except (it was), that no one was able to enter to her until he had given to her husband something, and he obtained in this way a great sum. And the Bedouins (al-‘Urbân) who had come from the Upper Şa‘îd (aş-Şa‘îd al-A‘lâ) <sup>(1)</sup> with the troops which had gone to them, fixed eighty thousand dînars as a ransom <sup>(2)</sup> which they would bear to the Prosperous Treasury for the crime of their transgression; and they departed to their lands, that they might collect the money and bear it. And the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — had exacted a considerable sum of money, and he had delivered it to juriconsult Bahâ ad-Dîn [I]bn al-Ġumaîzî for the purpose of repairing the prayer-houses (al-Masâġîd) at Cairo (al-Ķâhirah) and Cairo (Mişr) the Protected and what (was) between them. And he (the juriconsult) occupied himself with them, and they were well repaired <sup>(3)</sup>, and they were whitewashed, and there was engraved over their doors the name of the Sire, the Sultan, Al-Malik aş-Şâlih Aîyûb, and the date of their renewal and their (re-)building, and it was the year six hundred and thirty-eight <sup>(4)</sup>. And the Sultan had ordered to build a bridge over the Canal <sup>(5)</sup> in place of the dam, so that he might pass over it in the days (of the inundation) of the Nile (an-Nîl) to his garden known as the Bustân al-Khaşşâb. And it was made and finished before the days (of the

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* from the southern part of Upper Egypt.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 373.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ were repaired with the best repairing ’.

<sup>(4)</sup> = 1240 A.D.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* the Canal of Cairo, cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, pp. 145-146.

Naṣārâ), on account of this, fell into affliction and cares, and they were, because there had happened (to) the Church Al-Muʿallaḡah <sup>(1)</sup> what had happened; and this Church <sup>(2)</sup> (was) in this state, although ruin had fallen upon it. And (as for) the Church of the Island <sup>(3)</sup>, we did not learn what became \* of it with this new wall in it. And all these churches (belonged) to the patriarch which he had chosen, and (they were) the places of his dwelling and rest. And, in these days, the bishop of Sandafâ <sup>(4)</sup> embraced Al-Islâm, and he was called Ibn as-Sandûbî, and he was taken round Al-Maḡallah, riding on a horse. And the governor (al-Wâlî) vested him with a fur-mantle (Farût) and a triangular cap (Šurbûš) <sup>(5)</sup>, and (it was) something new, the like of which had not been witnessed; and the reason of it was that he had departed from what was obligatory, and he had fallen into the sin of fornication. And the patriarch wished to interdict him, (but) the elder (aš-Šaikh) Aṣ-Šanîʿah, the chief of the State accountants, did not allow him (to do this), for fear of what had happened. And the cause for this was (that) a man, a deacon of the church of Sandafâ <sup>(4)</sup>, had been interdicted by the bishop, and he had been prevented from acting (as deacon). And he did not cease to watch him (the bishop), until the sinful woman, and she was a Muslim (Muslimah) entered to him. And he went to the governor (Wâlî) of Al-Maḡallah, (and) he informed him of this, because Sandafâ <sup>(4)</sup> was in the neighbourhood <sup>(6)</sup> of Al-Maḡallah, nothing separated them except the river <sup>(7)</sup>. And it was then (that) the governor (al-Wâlî) sent two witnesses with male slaves, and they brought the bishop with the woman, and he was beaten very severely <sup>(8)</sup>, until it resulted that he departed from his <sup>(9)</sup> belief.

\* Fol. 338 v°

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

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the church Al-Muʿallaḡah.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* of Roḡah.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 485.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 742. The distinctive headdress of amîrs.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* 'a quarter of the quarters'.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* 'sea'.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Lit.* 'a severe beating'.

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

and Toron (Tibnîn) <sup>(1)</sup>, and Chateau-Neuf (Hûnîn) <sup>(2)</sup>, and Aš-Šakîkân. And, in general, all the lands of the Littoral <sup>(3)</sup>, (and) of these <sup>(4)</sup> nothing was taken away from them (the Franks), except Sichem (Nâblus) <sup>(5)</sup> and Hebron (Al-Khalîl) <sup>(6)</sup>, and the city of Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(7)</sup>, and nothing else. And it was said, that the treaty was only between the Arabs (al-‘Arab) and the Asnârîah, nothing else, and that the Templars <sup>(8)</sup> did not swear. And in those days, the Sultan — may God perpetuate his kingdom! — ordered that all the houses and what was with them and all what (was) on the Island of Cairo (Miṣr) <sup>(9)</sup> should be demolished, and that a fortress should be built; and he ordered to be bought from their owners the houses which were in it, and to be demolished, and to be built in their place towers and a wall. And he began on this, and he caused the foundation to be dug, and the work was arranged with regard to it, and the price of materials and the wages of the workers doubled for this reason. And it was recorded that, what was decided on to do with regard to these buildings, (was) seventeen towers, and every tower needed twenty-one piles <sup>(10)</sup> besides shafts to be nailed and to be rammed down (and) afterwards built upon. And the Frankish (al-Afranğ) captives were sent to Egypt (Miṣr) to work on the mentioned fortress, and they caused them to lodge in the Church of Saint Mercurius (Abû Markûrah) <sup>(11)</sup> which is on the bank <sup>(12)</sup>, because it was near. And the Christians (an-

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. R. GROUSSET, *op. cit.*, Carte 9.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. R. GROUSSET, *op. cit.*, Carte 6.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the Plain of Palestine, cf. R. GROUSSET, *op. cit.*, Carte 9.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. R. GROUSSET, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. page 194, note 10.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-362.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. page 170, note 8.

<sup>(8)</sup> *I.e.* the Knights Templar, a military order.

<sup>(9)</sup> *I.e.* Roḡah.

<sup>(10)</sup> This is possibly what is meant here by the word خنزیر. According to A. DE BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, p. 813, the name خنزیر was also applied to a ‘battering ram’.

<sup>(11)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 40-48.

<sup>(12)</sup> Since this period the Nile has retreated some 600 metres, cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

and his rides and his hunting and what was related to it. Then (it was) that the messengers of the Franks (al-Afranġ) came frequently to our Sire, the Sultan, to seek for a treaty for keeping the lands which Al-Malik an-Nâsir [I]bn al-Mu'azzam had given into their hands, and that they<sup>(1)</sup> should deliver up their captives whom they had taken in the recent conflict, on condition that they<sup>(2)</sup> should return to them also the Muslim (al-Muslimîn) captives who (were) with them. And the wazîr Kâmal ad-Dîn [I]bn aš-Šaikh, the elder of the elders, went frequently to them (the Franks) for this purpose, and the affair was decided between them concerning this. And they swore to the Sultan and the Sultan swore to them, and he released the Count (Kunt) who had been taken captive and the knights (horsemen) who were with him<sup>(3)</sup>, and he gave to them all robes of honour, and they passed through Cairo (al-Ķâhirah) riding, and they returned to their lands in (the month of) Baramhât<sup>(4)</sup> of this year. And the news arrived that the judge of Sichem (Nâblus)<sup>(5)</sup> had received the Muslim (al-Muslimîn) captives and that robes of honour were also bestowed on them, and they were treated well. And the lands which the Franks (al-Faranġ) had retaken were the Noble Jerusalem (al-Ķuds), and Bethlehem (Baît Laĥm), and Ascalon ('Asġalân)<sup>(6)</sup> and its districts, and Eleutheropolis (Baît Ġibrîl)<sup>(7)</sup>, and its districts, and the district of Gaza (Ghazzah)<sup>(8)</sup> except for the city, and Tiberias (Ṭabarîah)<sup>(9)</sup> and its districts, and Magdala (Maġdaliânâ)<sup>(10)</sup>, and its districts, and Mount 'Âmalah, and Şafad<sup>(11)</sup>, and Beauvoir (Kaŭkab)<sup>(12)</sup>, and Tor (aṭ-Ṭur),

<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* the Muslims.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the Christians.

<sup>(3)</sup> The reference is, it seems, to the captives taken in the campaign of Thibaut IV, cf. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, pp. 345-347.

<sup>(4)</sup> = 27th March-25th April, Julian Style.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. page 194, note 10.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-55.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. P.K. HITTI, *History of Syria*, p. 253.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. page 170, note 8.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 535-540.

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 542-544.

<sup>(11)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 559-561.

<sup>(12)</sup> Cf. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, Cartes 5 and 6.

provisions <sup>(1)</sup> and money and clothing and live-stock and horses and mules, and all what they were in need of. And he (Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ) ordered them to go to Montreal (Ṣaūbak) <sup>(2)</sup>, and they went towards Syria (aṣ-Ṣām) in the direction of Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(3)</sup> and its surroundings. And prices were high, and wheat reached to forty dirhams the ardab, and barley exceeded thirty dirhams the ardab, and meat and poultry and oil and sesame oil and all kinds of eatables (were) expensive, as was mentioned before, and nothing in the lands was cheap at all of any kind. And as for buildings, they multiplied to a limit which allowed of no increase, until the wages of the builder were for four silver dirhams every day, and plaster (was) at a dirham and a half the waībah, and lime at six dirhams the ḵanṭār-ardab, and no one was able (to obtain) it. And the multitude of buildings was on account of the many comers from Syria (aṣ-Ṣām) and the East; because there came from them in these days <sup>(4)</sup> people <sup>(5)</sup> not to be counted, and they built for them many dwellings outside the city, \* and in all places and ways, so that the city became as regards capacity like ten cities, and this <sup>(6)</sup> was the reason for the dearness of things and the wages of the workers. And the dearness, outside Cairo (Miṣr), was more than double the double that of Cairo (Miṣr). And the Sultan — may God perpetuate his kingdom! — had set up a place, and he called it the House of Justice, and he appointed in it three persons of the army, known as Al-Iftakharīā Kūt al-Ġamālī al-Yamanī, and the noble judge of the troops, and he was of the chief of the people, and another man known as the jurisconsult ‘Abbās, and he was the preacher at the Citadel <sup>(7)</sup>. And the people used to submit to them their wrongs, and they signed for them for the governors (al-Wulāt), and the place of the signing was for the names of the three of them, and by this the Sultan was relieved. And he gave himself up to his pleasures

\* Fol. 338 r°

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 427.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, Carte 8.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 170, note 8.

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* at the time in question.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* ‘nations’.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* ‘it’.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. page 183, note 9.

dromedaries and banners and water-skins. And he (the Sultan) provided for them on the sea warships about forty units<sup>(1)</sup> made in the shipyards<sup>(2)</sup> at Cairo (Miṣr), and they were mounted and carried on the backs (of camels) up to Al-Ḳalzam<sup>(3)</sup> to be assembled there, and they journeyed from there. And their crews<sup>(4)</sup> were taken from Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr) the Protected and their regions. And the prisons and the hostels at Cairo (Miṣr) were full of men of the fleet, and a great sum of money was spent on them, and he (the Sultan) gave magnificent robes of honour to the leading amīrs, and the Sultan comforted their hearts to an extreme degree, and he bestowed on them every good thing. Then (it was) that Al-Malik al-Ġawād Muẓaffar ad-Dīn [I]bn Maūdūd — and it was he who was the Possessor of Damascus (Dimāṣḡ)<sup>(5)</sup>, and had delivered it up to the Sultan Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḡ, and he<sup>(6)</sup> had given to him Singār<sup>(7)</sup>, and there is no doubt that, with regard to it, he was overcome by a ruse which the Possessor of Mosul (Maṭṣul) had planned against him, and had taken it from him, and there did not remain to him except ‘Anah, and he had sold it to the Calif (Al-Khalīfat) — reached the dwellings of Egypt (Miṣr) through the desert, because he was not able to pass through the lands of Syria (aṣ-Ṣām) on account of the Possessor of Damascus (Dimāṣḡ)<sup>(5)</sup>, and the Possessor of Karak (al-Ḳarak)<sup>(8)</sup>. And he was not able to cross over to Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah), but he remained at Al-‘Abbāsah<sup>(9)</sup>, and there was with him, according to what was reported the young son of the Possessor of Emesa (Ḥims)<sup>(10)</sup>, and the son of the Possessor of the Fortress of Ġa‘abar<sup>(11)</sup>. And they were provided with

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(1) *Lit.* ‘pieces’.

(2) *Lit.* ‘workshops’.

(3) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-229.

(4) *Lit.* ‘men’.

(5) Cf. page 154, note 6.

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

(7) Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *Saladin*, p. 165.

(8) Cf. page 194, note 5.

(9) Cf. OMAR TOUSSOUN, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Arabe*, t. I, p. 58.

(10) Cf. P.K. HETTI, *History of Syria*, pp. 307-308.

(11) Cf. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, Carte 3.



and he sent an order to the patriarch, and he<sup>(1)</sup> was staying at the Church of the Ḥārat Zuwaīlah<sup>(2)</sup> according to the usual custom. Then the Council was held before<sup>(3)</sup> Al-Muʿaīn, the wazīr, and those who addressed him were the elder (aš-Šāikh) As-Sanī, the monk, (and) Abba (Anbā) Peter (Buṭrus) and the bishop of Fūa (Fūah)<sup>(4)</sup> who was known before his monasticism as the continent Joseph (Yūsif), and the bishop of Asyūt<sup>(5)</sup>, and the bishop of Samannūd<sup>(6)</sup>, and a body of the bishops. \* And there occurred between them serious troubles and disputes, the last of which (was) that they said : « We have for the Sultan three thousand dīnārs, and he shall make a patriarch in place of him<sup>(7)</sup> ». Then the wazīr<sup>(8)</sup> said to certain of those who were present : « Is this permitted with you ? » (One) said : « No, O our sire, it is not permitted ». He (the wazīr) said : « But we shall not do what is not permitted, only (it is), that this one (the patriarch) has taken a considerable amount of money (which is due) to the Sultan, and he has not conveyed it to him, and I desire it of him ». And they discussed about what they should do, and they reached to the amount of one thousand, five hundred and ten dīnārs, and the sons of the brother of the patriarch and the sons of his sister wrote their signatures for it. And they departed, and the heart of the patriarch was embittered<sup>(9)</sup> against the bishops, and the hearts of the bishops against him. And he (the patriarch) began to occupy himself with raising the sum of money, and the bishops departed to their sees. Then (it was) that the Sultan levied troops to go to the Yemen (al-Yaman), and their strength (was) one thousand horsemen, and among them (was) the majority of the important (and) notable amīrs, and they provided themselves with camels and

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* the patriarch.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 209, note 8.

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

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. page 209, note 11.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 464-466.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. page 210, note 2.

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* Ibn Laḳlaḳ.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 819 which records the meaning ' wazīr ' for صاحب .

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

this. And wheat reached to thirty dirhams the ardab, and barley, to twenty, and beans (al-Fûl), to seventeen, and clover (Birsîm), to sixty dirhams the ardab. And the rise regained to two fingers, and price(s) lessened a little, and the people were reassured, and most of the lands were watered. And the news arrived that the Franks (al-Afranġ) had gone out to Sichem <sup>(1)</sup> (Nâblûs) and Ghor (al-Ghûrr) <sup>(2)</sup>, and they had come to Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(3)</sup>, (and) they had besieged it, and they had taken the Noble Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds) <sup>(4)</sup>, and they had begun on the building of Ascalon (ʿAsḳalân) <sup>(5)</sup>, and that this (was) with the approval of Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ghâzî, the Possessor of Damascus (Dimaṣḳ) <sup>(6)</sup>, paternal uncle of the Sultan. And (it was) that he had given to them (the Franks) a pledge to the effect that he would be in agreement with, and would aid them. And the Sultan levied about four thousand horsemen to go to Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(3)</sup>, and they departed, and they were seen at Bilbaîs <sup>(7)</sup>. Then (it was) that the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) returned to what they had been (before), with regard to the dispute about the patriarch. And some of them submitted an account to the Sultan, that he (the patriarch) intended (to do) what was not becoming to him and to depart from the religious law, and (it was) that he was in debt to the Sultan for a large sum (of money) which he had taken in his name; and that if he <sup>(8)</sup> brought the bishops and held a Council with regard to him <sup>(9)</sup>, he would be assured about (this) report. And he (the Sultan) ordered that the bishops should be brought from the Lower (al-Baḥarî) and the Upper (al-Kiblî) Lands <sup>(10)</sup>,

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *Guide de Terre Sainte*, pp. 470-473.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 619.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-52.

<sup>(4)</sup> Jerusalem had been in the possession of the Franks from 1229 A.D. by reason of the treaty signed by the Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen and Al-Malik al-Kamil, cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, pp. 226-227.

<sup>(5)</sup> This relates to the Crusade of Thibaut IV, cf. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, pp. 260-261.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. page 182, note 4.

<sup>(8)</sup> *I.e.* the Sultan.

<sup>(9)</sup> *I.e.* the patriarch.

<sup>(10)</sup> *I.e.* Upper and Lower Egypt.

ancient vessels from the days of old, of which none of the people of this <sup>(1)</sup> time had (any) knowledge, and they had great value. And they passed beyond in the direction of the sanctuary of Severus (Sâwirus), and all that western side was in their possession. And the Church remained closed, and neither was the Divine Liturgy celebrated in it, nor were the Prayers <sup>(2)</sup> (recited). And as for Al-Malik al-‘Âdil, his brother Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ went up with him to the Citadel <sup>(3)</sup>, and he placed him in a place, where no one could reach him, and no one saw him again. And the Christians (an-Nâṣarâ) remained undecided about going up to the Citadel <sup>(3)</sup> or standing before the Sultan, and nothing was done for them. And there entered the year nine hundred and fifty-seven <sup>(4)</sup> on the day of Wednesday, the ninth of the reckoning of (the month of) Ṣafar, (in the) year six hundred and thirty-seven of the Arabs <sup>(5)</sup>. And the Sultan (was) Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Aṭyûb, and the wazîr (was) Mu‘aîn ad-Dîn [I]bn aṣ-Ṣaikh, and the kâdî (was) Ṣaraf ad-Dîn [I]bn ‘Ain ad-Daûlah of Alexandria, and the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (al-Kâhirah) (was) Badr ad-Dîn Yûnis who had killed the military amîr, and the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr) (was) ‘Izz ad-Dîn Muḥammad, son of the wife of Aṣ-Ṣihâb Aḥmad, and the patriarch (was) Abba (Anbâ) Cyril (Kîrullus) known as Ibn Laḳlaḳ. And the rise of the water <sup>(6)</sup> in it <sup>(7)</sup> reached to twenty-three fingers above seventeen cubits. And the water had ceased rising from the Feast of the Cross <sup>(8)</sup>, and the people were troubled at

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to the altar. Here it seems that we must understand the meaning ‘altar’, and that the vessels in question were concealed in the cavity which is found in many ancient Coptic altars, cf. O.H.E.KHS-BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, p. 22.

<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* at the time when this history was composed.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the Canonical Hours and the Service of the Evening and Morning Offering of Incense.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 183, note 9.

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* 1241 A.D.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* of the Hiġrah.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* the Nile.

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* this year.

<sup>(8)</sup> *I.e.* September 27th, Gregorian Style.

Al-Mu'allakah<sup>(1)</sup> should return to what it was (before), and they came to the governor (al-Wāli) to consult him, and he commanded them (to do) this. And they arose at night, (and) they closed up the doors which the Muslims (al-Muslimīn) had opened, and they acted as though they were the occupiers of it<sup>(2)</sup>. And they had an enemy called [I]bn Ḥaūlah, and he was a mu'ezzin (al-Mu'adhdhin) in the locality, and he came to the places which had been closed up, and he opened them, and he restored them to what they were (before). And he went up to the juriconsult 'Abbās, the preacher at the Citadel<sup>(3)</sup>, and he charged him with the case, and he said to him : « This (is) a prayer-house (Maṣḡid), and the Christians (an-Naṣārā) have taken possession of it, and they have annexed it to their Church ». And he<sup>(4)</sup> took with him 'Alam ad-Dīn Šamā'il, amīr of the bodyguard, and he came to the church ; and there came with them of the mob of the Muslims (al-Muslimīn), multitudes not to be counted, and there came with them the architects, and they were not able to say the truth which they knew, on account of the multitude. And they departed on the assumption that they would inform the Sultan of what they had seen, and this (was) Thursday. And when it was Friday, at the time of the Prayer<sup>(5)</sup>, and they stood in the middle of the mosque (al-Ġama'), he<sup>(6)</sup> said : « O Muslims (Muslimīn), he who (is) of Islām and (who is) fervent in his belief, let him come \* (on) the morning of the morrow to the Church Al-Mu'allakah »<sup>(1)</sup>. And when it was morning, they went up to it, and they broke its sanctuary lamps and the screens of its sanctuaries<sup>(7)</sup>, and they took all the vessels (which) were in it. And it is said that they found under one of the altars<sup>(8)</sup>

\* Fol. 337 r°

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 150, note 2.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the place.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 183, note 9.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* ' that (one) '.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* the general reunion for prayer in the mosque on Fridays.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* the preacher of the Citadel, 'Abbās.

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* the wooden screen which separates the sanctuary from the nave. For examples, cf. the plates in O.H.E.KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*.

<sup>(8)</sup> The word ' haikal ' is strictly applied to the sanctuary, but, sometimes, also

him, and behind him (were) the Franks (al-Afranġ), and with them the Possessor <sup>(1)</sup> of Damascus <sup>(2)</sup>. And the intention of Al-Malik an-Nāṣir, the son of his uncle, (was) that, if they returned to Al-Karak <sup>(3)</sup>, he would place a guard over them, as it was at first, and there came to him relief, or rather a kingdom from where it was not expected. And he rode, and he came to the troops at Bilbaīs <sup>(4)</sup>, and he reached (them) on Monday, the nineteenth of (the month of) Dhū'l-Ķa'adah (in the) year six hundred and thirty-seven <sup>(5)</sup> which corresponds to the seventeenth of (the month of) Baū'ūnah <sup>(6)</sup>. And he gave to the leaders considerable wealth and he vested them with robes of honour, and he crossed over to Cairo (al-Ķāhirah) the Protected in the daytime of Saturday, the twenty-fourth of the mentioned (month of) Dhū'l-Ķa'adah which corresponds to the twenty-first of (the month of) Baū'ūnah <sup>(7)</sup>. He passed through the city, and he went up to the protected Citadel <sup>(8)</sup>. And he removed the amīr Ġamāl ad-Dīn [I]bn Ba'ūr <sup>(9)</sup> from the office of equerry, and he made him governor (Wālī) of the Port of Alexandria, and he removed Badr ad-Dīn Yūnis from the military amīrs, and he made him governor (Wālī) of Cairo (al-Ķāhirah) the Protected, and he employed Al-Mu'aīn [I]bn aš-Šaikh (as) his wazīr, and he delivered to him (the Ministry) of Finance. And he levied troops for Upper Egypt (aš-Ša'id) on account of the Bedouins (al-'Urbān), and he set over them the amīr Zaīn ad-Dīn [I]bn Abū Dhikrī. And there were among them amīrs and notables, and a number of amīrs and a company of the bodyguard which exceeded a thousand horsemen. Then (it was) that a group of Christians (an-Naṣārā) hastened to appose their signature to a document of theirs, that the Church

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* Aš-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 194, note 5.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. page 182, note 4.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* of the Hiġrah, = 1239 A.D.

<sup>(6)</sup> June 23rd, Julian Style.

<sup>(7)</sup> June 27th, Julian Style.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. page 183, note 9.

<sup>(9)</sup> The first letter of this name is without diacritical points.

on seizing him, and that they should send to his brother Al-Malik as-Şâliḥ, that he should come and take possession of the kingdom <sup>(1)</sup>. And they assembled in the night, the dawn of which started <sup>(2)</sup> the day of Friday, the ninth of (the month of) Dhû'l-Ķa'adah (in) the year six hundred and thirty-six of the Lunar (Year) <sup>(3)</sup> which corresponds to the seventh of (the month of) Baû'ûnah <sup>(4)</sup> of this year. And those who assembled were men of the guards, and their leaders (were) three of the ministers Şams al-Ḥawâş Masrûr and Şibl ad-Daûlah Kâfûr and Aş-Şafî Ğahar the Nubian (an-Nûbî) and the notables, and their leader was the mamlûk known as Atabak al-Asmar. And they marched round the tent of the Sultan, dressed in chain-mail (and with) arms, \* from the evening until the morning. And when it was the morning of the day, they entered to him, and they took him out, and they placed him in a pavilion <sup>(5)</sup>, a fine tent, and they entrusted him to men of the guards to protect him night and day. Then they went round the camp of all the amîrs of the Kurds (al-Akrâd) and those of mixed race, and they pillaged it, and there were pillaged many dwellings in the city of Bilbaâs <sup>(6)</sup>. And the scribes and the judges and the jurisconsults and the masses were pillaged, and it was a great calamity, except that no blood was shed in it. Then they turned to the intimate companions of Al-Malik al-Âdil, and they put a guard over them and over their possessions. And they wrote to the Sultan Al-Malik as-Şâliḥ Aiyûb <sup>(7)</sup> that he should come, and their messenger reached him, and he was at Jerusalem (al-Ķuds), (and) was resolved on returning to Al-Karak <sup>(8)</sup>, because he was too weak to remain at Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(9)</sup>, since the troops of Egypt (Mişr) (were) in front of

\* Fol. 336 v°

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, p. 230.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'caused to shine'.

<sup>(3)</sup> = 1239 A.D.

<sup>(4)</sup> June 13th, Julian Style.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 366 and S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, pp. 249-250.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. page 182, note 4.

<sup>(7)</sup> 1239-1249 A.D.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. page 194, note 5.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. page 170, note 8.

And he sent to him and he requested of him that he should write his signature on a copy of a document found with the signature of Abba (Anbá) John (Yūannis) [I]bn Ghālib who had been before this patriarch <sup>(1)</sup>. He <sup>(2)</sup> had written it at the beginning of his patriarchate in his (declaration) of the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Faith, and he excommunicated him who takes anything in the way of gifts for any order of the orders <sup>(3)</sup> of the priesthood <sup>(4)</sup> or (who) gives it; and the chapters of the sentences (judgments), and the repudiation of the Council of Chalcedon (Khalkidūniāh) <sup>(5)</sup>, and he wrote all in the handwriting of his scribe, and he wrote his signature to it, and that it was issued from him <sup>(6)</sup>, and that he accepted what was in it, and that he agreed to it. And the mentioned elder (As-Sanī) said that he (the patriarch) should not write anything at all, except with his <sup>(7)</sup> signature, and (that) we should add to it that the children of second marriages <sup>(8)</sup> should not be ordained <sup>(9)</sup>, and (that) a woman shall not enter the church, except five days after her purification from menstruation; and he wrote all with his signature, and he wrote the additions which he had added. Then (it was) that an affair constrained the Sultan to go out, and he went out to Bilbaīs <sup>(10)</sup>, and the amīr Aṣ-Ṣārim went out with him, and he terminated that Council. And the bishops assembled with the patriarch, and they expressed <sup>(11)</sup> their excuses, but he (the patriarch) did not speak to them a word, only (it was) that their signatures to what they had written were in the hands of the people, (in) a number of copies. And after the departure of the Sultan Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil to Bilbaīs <sup>(10)</sup>, the troops agreed

<sup>(1)</sup> Patriarch of Alexandria from 1189-1216 A.D.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* Abba John.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* 'an order of the orders'.

<sup>(4)</sup> كهنوت signifies holy orders in general.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* the Fourth ŌEcumenical Council.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* the patriarch.

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

<sup>(8)</sup> For ordination in the Coptic Church the candidates must be children of a first marriage only.

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

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-335.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Lit.* 'recited'.

signature, except the Metropolitan (Muṭrân) of Damietta (Dumyât) <sup>(1)</sup>, and the bishop of Ašmûn <sup>(2)</sup>. And (it was) that they did not agree to anything of this, and there occurred disputes between the patriarch and <sup>(3)</sup> this priest. And he (the priest) enumerated to him things among which (was) that he had excommunicated the bishop of Al-Khandak <sup>(4)</sup> for having taken six dînârs as the price of a tomb at the Monastery of Al-Khandak <sup>(5)</sup>, (and) afterwards he took it from him for himself. And that he had given judgment against a woman, that she should restore the bridemoney (al-Mahr) <sup>(6)</sup> to its owner in double, if she wished (to become) a nun <sup>(7)</sup>, (and) afterwards he contradicted the judgment for others than her; and (that) he had ordained the sons of slaves priests, and things, the explanation of which and the explanation of their meaning would be long. And he (the patriarch) would say: «I did not do this, except for the sake of God and in the interest of the Church of God». And the affair did not cease to vacillate and hatred was confirmed. And the scribe of the patriarch wrote his signature giving in detail the names, (and) that which reached the patriarch in the way of gifts (to obtain) holy orders <sup>(8)</sup>, and such like things, (and) that it <sup>(9)</sup> (was) seventeen thousand dînârs, and it was said fifteen thousand dînârs and fractions. Then (it was) that the elder As-Sanî, the aforementioned, was among those who supported the priest Abû'l-Bahâ, because he considered (that) this was among the causes of righteousness and divers recompenses.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 210, note 12.

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

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-221, and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, p. 87. The new Cathedral of Saint Mark, the Church of Saints Peter and Paul, the Church of Anbâ Rûwâis, the Coptic Patriarchate, the Coptic Orthodox Theological College, the Coptic Institute and the Society for Coptic Archaeology are all built on this site which was formerly a cemetery.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 271.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, p. 131.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* 'monasticism'.

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

<sup>(9)</sup> *I.e.* the amount of money received.



because they had produced his signature against the patriarch for acts which were proved true with regard to him. He had written it in the days of his quarrel with him, when he (the patriarch) took from him the hamlet known as the D----<sup>(1)</sup>; and he confined the latter with them. And Aṣ-Ṣārīm sent his letters to the bishops that they should be present, and eleven of them, the bishops, came, and among them (were) nine who had written their signature. And they (were): Abba (Anbâ) John (Yûannis), bishop of Samannûd<sup>(2)</sup>, and Abba (Anbâ) Mark (Marḳus), bishop of Talkhâ<sup>(3)</sup>, and Abba (Anbâ) John (Yûannis), bishop of Banâ<sup>(4)</sup>, and Abba (Anbâ) John (Yûannis), bishop of Laḳân<sup>(5)</sup>, and Abba (Anbâ) Michael (Mîkhâyil), bishop of Al-Baramûn<sup>(6)</sup>, and Abba (Anbâ) Gabriel (Ghabriyâl), bishop of Sanhûr<sup>(7)</sup>, and Abba (Anbâ) Michael (Mîkhâyil), bishop of Sanša<sup>(8)</sup>, and Abba (Anbâ) Ephraem (Afrahâm), bishop of Nastarâû<sup>(9)</sup>, and Abba (Anbâ) Mark (Marḳus), bishop of Singâr<sup>(10)</sup>.

\* Fol. 336 r° \* And among them (were) two (who) had observed (this), and they were the bishop of Fûa (Fûah)<sup>(11)</sup> and the bishop of Ašmûn<sup>(12)</sup>. And all of them had written their signatures that the patriarch had taken gifts for the orders of the priesthood<sup>(13)</sup>, and had given them. And among them (was) he who had written that he had come<sup>(14)</sup> under excommunication, because he had written his signature to stipulations, but had departed from them. And there did not remain among them of those who had not written their

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(1) The word following 'known as' is written without the diacritical points.

(2) Cf. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 411-412.

(3) Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 515.

(4) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

(5) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

(6) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

(7) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 415-417.

(8) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 373-374.

(9) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-276.

(10) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

(11) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-333.

(12) Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 41. There is also the spelling Ašmûn.

(13) The Arabic word كهنوت can also mean Holy Orders in general.

(14) *Lit.* 'entered'.

‘Abbâsîd State and its banner<sup>(1)</sup>. And it was a remarkable day, except that it was inferior to the first day, because the Great Sultan did not ride, neither (did) the messengers of the Dîwân, but the amîrs were walking in his train. And, after this, the patriarch discarded a man, a priest, known as Al-Makîn, namely Al-Bahâ from the inhabitants of Minâat ‘Umar<sup>(2)</sup>, and he was of the companions of the patriarch, and he used to go for him to collect (the contributions) of Lower Egypt (Al-Wağh al-Baharî). And the patriarch had ordained him priest for the port of Alexandria, and he had become angered with the patriarch on account of what he used to see of his sayings, his judgments and his conduct. And he went to Aş-Şârim al-Mas‘ûdî who had been charged with the affair at first. And he said to him, that the patriarch says that thou tookest from him money, and (now) thou abandonest him, and that, if this news reaches the Sultan, we shall not be safe from him<sup>(3)</sup>. And the Council did not separate, except disgusted at the coming of the bishops and their testimony. And the bishops had arrived at Kalâtûb<sup>(4)</sup>, and the patriarch sent them back with his letters. And he<sup>(5)</sup> stirred him<sup>(6)</sup> up against the patriarch, and he dismissed him<sup>(5)</sup> until he had caused the patriarch to be brought again, and he appointed a guarantor for him (the patriarch), and he caused him<sup>(7)</sup> to reside in the Church of the Hîrat Zuwallah<sup>(8)</sup>. And he<sup>(5)</sup> caused to be brought the son of his<sup>(6)</sup> brother, Abû Sa‘îd and his<sup>(9)</sup> agent Abû’l-Farağ [I]bn Khalbûs, and his<sup>(10)</sup> scribe, the priest Simeon (Sama’an), and he confined them. And he sent and he caused to be brought Abba (Anbâ) Joseph (Yûsâb), bishop of Fûa (Fûah)<sup>(11)</sup>,

(1) Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, p. 103.

(2) Unidentified.

(3) *I.e.* the patriarch.

(4) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391.

(5) *I.e.* the priest Al-Makîn.

(6) *I.e.* Aş-Şârim al-Mas‘ûdî.

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

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

(9) *I.e.* Aş-Şârim al-Mas‘ûdî.

(10) *I.e.* the patriarch’s.

(11) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-333.

the mansion of the amîr Nûr ad-Dîn [I]bn al-amîr Fakhr ad-Dîn ʿUthmân, which (was) at the mansion of Ad-Dîbâğ. And he was the chief of the amîrs who had acted hypocritically, and had gone to Syria (aş-Şâm) to Al-Malak aş-Şâlih Ismaʿîl in the preceding year. And a start was made on \* its demolition in the middle decade of (the month of) Baramûdah <sup>(1)</sup> of the mentioned year, and they were on the point of demolishing the other mansion of [I]bn aş-Şaikh which was in the Lane Mulûkhîah, and they did not do this, but (it was) that its marble and weapons were stripped off and borne to the protected Citadel <sup>(2)</sup>. And in these days there arrived the messengers of the Commander of the Faithful, the Calif (Khalîfat) of he period, who resided at Bagdad (Baghdâd) at the Mosque (al-Ġamaʿ), and the investiture of the ministry for the Sultan Al-Malak al-ʿÂdil — may God empower his victory! — and with them (was) the messenger of the Sultan referred to, whom he had sent thither sometime before. And the Sultan wore them <sup>(4)</sup> on Friday, and it was Good Friday <sup>(4)</sup>, the eighteenth of (the month of) Baramûdah <sup>(5)</sup> of this year <sup>(6)</sup>. And he went up to his protected Citadel <sup>(2)</sup>, and it was a remarkable day, and all the denominations went out in his honour <sup>(7)</sup>, the Christians (an-Naşârâ) and their patriarch, and others beside them. And on Wednesday, the twenty-third of the mentioned (month of) Baramûdah <sup>(8)</sup>, there rode out the son of the mentioned Sultan with the robe of honour of the Calif (Khalîfah), the heir-apparent after his father, and he was a young child of three years of age, to the surroundings of it (the Citadel), and there was a servant riding behind him. And the robes of honour were all black, because this was the distinctive mark of the

\* Fol. 335 v°

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* April 6th-April 15th, Julian Style.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 183, note 9.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the robes of investiture.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* ' the great day of the Crucifixion '.

<sup>(5)</sup> April 13th, Julian Style.

<sup>(6)</sup> Probably 1240 A.D.

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

<sup>(8)</sup> April 18th, Julian Style.

the archons (ἄρχων), and he (As-Sanī) did not assent to it, and he said : « If he (the patriarch) consecrate <sup>(1)</sup> a bishop for Cairo (Miṣr), the Church of Abba (Abû) Sergius (Sarġah) <sup>(2)</sup> shall not be his, and I desire that he (the patriarch) write a copy of this document ». And he brought out a copy of a document with the signature of Abba (Anbâ) John (Yûhannâ) Ibn Abû Ghâlib, the deceased <sup>(3)</sup>, — and in it (there was) an exposition of the Faith and the blessing of the Fourth Council <sup>(4)</sup>, and many chapters about the matter circumcision and the arrangement of the hair and such like things. And the elder (aš-Šaiḵh) Aṣ-Šanī'ah said : « Let us write this document, for (there is) nothing wrong in it ». He (As-Sanī) said : « And I desire that he (the patriarch) should write that he will send away the monks in the towns and the Rif <sup>(5)</sup>, and that he should discontinue to marry <sup>(6)</sup> a bride on the Carnival (ar-Rifâ') of (the Fast of) Nineveh (Nīnawâ) <sup>(7)</sup>, and not on the Carnival (ar-Rifâ') of Lent <sup>(8)</sup> on account of the beginning <sup>(9)</sup> of the fast for them ; and that he should (re-)build the Church al-Mu'allakah <sup>(10)</sup> and the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr) <sup>(11)</sup>, and things resembling these matters ». And the elder (aš-Šaiḵh) Aṣ-Šanī'ah took a copy of these (things), and he guaranteed that he would do them, and he departed, and this was on the Sunday of Olives <sup>(12)</sup>. And after this, an order was issued to demolish

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

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 206, note 8.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the preceding patriarch.

<sup>(4)</sup> This is the Council held at Ephesus in 449 A.D. and known among the non-Monophysites as the Latrocinium.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, 'The Rif of Egypt', in *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, fasc. 1-2, pp. 96-119.

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

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* Septuagesima Sunday.

<sup>(8)</sup> *I.e.* Sexagesima Sunday.

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

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. page 150, note 2.

<sup>(11)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n-Naṣrân*, pp. 28-40.

<sup>(12)</sup> *I.e.* Palm Sunday.

their<sup>(1)</sup> revenue should be spent first on their<sup>(2)</sup> repair, then on the repair of the churches and their combustibles<sup>(3)</sup> and their oblations (Ḳarâbîn)<sup>(4)</sup>, and what remained over from them should be distributed to the poor, and (that) he (the patriarch) had nothing (to do) in this, except the supervision and nothing else, and he should not receive from them a dirham. And that he should establish for Cairo (Miṣr) a bishop, and likewise for Al-Khandak<sup>(5)</sup>, and likewise for all the vacant sees, from among those to whom the congregation should consent and witness to his being upright. And that he should establish at Cairo (Miṣr) a teacher, and at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) a teacher, who should instruct the people in what escapes their understanding<sup>(6)</sup>, and should explain to them what is complicated for them, and should write the books and the commentaries, so that nothing in them should cause him who reads them to pause. And that any monastery, the chiefs of which desire that it should be under the supervision of the bishop of that see in which is that monastery, should be placed (under) his supervision on the condition that he (the bishop) should bear the contributions (Diyârât)<sup>(7)</sup> of the mentioned monastery to him (the patriarch). And (there were) many things of this kind (γένος) among which that he (the patriarch) should appoint with him two bishops to be present with him for all judgements and decisions, and (that) no order should be issued without them. And the elder (aš-Šaikh) Aṣ-Šan'ah took the mentioned document, and he came with it to the Church of Abba (Abû) Sergius (Sarġah)<sup>(8)</sup> to the elder (aš-Šaikh) As-Sanî, the monk, because he was residing at it. And he informed him of it, and there was with him a group of the priests and

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* that of the inalienable endowments.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the buildings belonging to the inalienable endowments.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* oil, candles and charcoal.

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* the bread and wine for the Holy Eucharist.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-221.

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

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. page 179, note 2.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 18-23.

this occasion of three hundred dīnārs. And as for ʿImād, (it was) that, when he saw that nothing would be done for him, he departed immediately from the house of the amīr Aṣ-Ṣārim, and he followed the patriarch to the places in which he was, and he kept close to him, but nothing occurred from him. And the patriarch had sent to the bishops that they should come to hold a Council, thinking that he might delay till they came. And they reached Ḳalīṭb<sup>(1)</sup> after the Council, on the Saturday of Lazarus<sup>(2)</sup>. And the patriarch wrote to them that they should return to their sees, and that God had dispensed them from their trouble, and that it was the turn of him who had stirred up trouble for him and had opposed him. And they returned, because he had sought them for something which concerned him and nothing else. \* And there were \* Fol. 335 r<sup>o</sup> among them, as was mentioned, those who wished to witness against him that he had taken bribes. However, they did not find a way, and they did not meet with an opportunity. And the patriarch remained neither well-disposed to the assembly, nor were they well-disposed to him, either outwardly or inwardly. Then (it was) that the patriarch went at the Feast of Olives<sup>(3)</sup> to the church of Saint ([A]bū) George (Ġirġ) of Al-Ḥamrā<sup>(4)</sup>, and there was staying at it an elder, an archon (ἄρχων) known as Aṣ-Ṣanīʿah, brother of As-Sanī, and he was an accountant of the Dīwān of the prosperous Treasury, to whom all the dīwāns had recourse. And it was the intention of the patriarch to appease his heart, because he was a learned man, intelligent, influential and free from caprice, and he passed the night with him, the night of the Olives<sup>(5)</sup>. And he wrote for him (Aṣ-Ṣanīʿah) his signature that he would deliver up the inalienable endowments which belonged to the churches to a good man from among those whom the assembly should select, and that

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the Saturday before Palm Sunday. So called in both the Greek and the Coptic Churches from the fact that on this day there is made commemoration of the raising of Lazarus, cf. *Jh.* xi, vv. 17-44.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* Palm Sunday.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 104.

<sup>(5)</sup> This would be the night of the Saturday preceding Palm Sunday.

metropolitan) at Acre ('Akkâ) <sup>(1)</sup>, and this was written down. Then there was said : «Is there another plaint?» And 'Imâd arose and he said : «Yea, he <sup>(2)</sup> took a Muslim (Muslim) man known as Abû'l-Fakhr al-Kalâ, since he was selling fuller's-earth with which linen is bleached, and he gave to him the Holy Communion». And the patriarch denied (this), and there was one among the group to witness, and he was restrained, and he forbore, and no one witnessed against him (the patriarch) concerning this. And they wrote all this in order that they might inform the Sultan about it and extract his injunction on which they could rely. And mention was made of the inalienable endowments of the churches, and that he (the patriarch) receives their revenue, and (that) he does not deliver to the owners of the inalienable endowments anything of them. And the talk concerning it increased and decreased, and the final decision was written down, and the Council broke up, and the Muslims (al-Muslimûn) had no praise for the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) nor for their chief. As for their chief, how was it that he had not sufficient control that he might dominate their minds and endear their hearts to him. And as for the Christians (an-Naṣârâ), how (was it that) they conducted themselves with their chief to this extent. And as for the intelligent Christians (an-Naṣârâ), they did not consent to this Council nor did they approve of what occurred at it, and they said : «It was requisite to gather together the bishops and the archons (ἄρχων), and that they should assemble with the patriarch and should reprove him among themselves with regard to all what they abhorred in him in the way of what was contrary to their religious law and disagreed with their judgments. And if he desist from this, it will be the goal, but if he persist in it, it will be for them not to follow him nor mention him in their Liturgies, on the condition that all of them are agreed on this, or most of them. And after this the talk was stopped, and of the document about this no trace appeared and no information was known about it. And the order against the patriarch and his companions was lifted, and it was said that he was mulcted on

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 631-635.

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

God perpetuate his kingdom! — that, if two bishops witness against him <sup>(1)</sup> that he has taken a bribe for a consecration <sup>(2)</sup>, or (that) he permitted anyone to take it (for him), he should be cut off from his holy orders <sup>(3)</sup>, and they wrote this down. Then the judges said to 'Imâd : «Is there another accusation?» He ('Imâd) said : «Yea. This David (Dâûd) consecrated <sup>(4)</sup> for Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds) and the lands of the Franks (al-Afranġ) <sup>(5)</sup> a metropolitan (al-Muṭrân) (who) has hindered the Copts (al-Ḳibt) from (observing) their religious practices and has prevented them from circumcision and the marriage of near relatives <sup>(6)</sup>, \* and letters of the Franks (al-Afranġ) have begun to come to him, and his letters to go to them, and this is not according to custom». The patriarch said : «I did not consecrate <sup>(7)</sup> him, except for Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(8)</sup>, and not other than it, and if he (the metropolitan) has encroached on other than it, I have not ordered him (to do) this». And it was said to him (the patriarch) : «Did those who preceded thee do this?» He said : «They had there priests». 'Imâd said : «There were priests when Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds) was in the hands of the Muslims (al-Muslimûn), but thou didst make the metropolitan (Muṭrân) while Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds) (was) in the hands of the Franks (al-Afranġ), and the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân) (is) other than the priests. And here (is) one who will witness that this metropolitan (al-Muṭrân) used to go about in the Frankish (al-Afranġiâh) lands <sup>(9)</sup> by thy command, and his belief has become their belief». And they said : «And who is he?» And there was summoned the priest, the monk, Gabriel (Ghabryâl), the son of the priest Makârim [I]bn Kalîl. And he arose and he witnessed that he had separated from him (the

\* Fol. 334v°

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<sup>(1)</sup> The *MS.* reads ' thee '.

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

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

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

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* the Littoral of Palestine.

<sup>(6)</sup> Marriage between first cousins is allowed and is also frequent.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* ' advance '.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. page 170, note 8.

<sup>(9)</sup> *I.e.* the Littoral, cf. page 182, note 2.



and it was said (to him) : «Sit down», and he sat down. And there was summoned the surnamed «Coffer of learning», the priest Abû'l-Ma'âlf [I]bn as-Sanî, his companion. And he witnessed and he said : «I testify that this patriarch gave bribes for the priesthood, and he took them himself from those whom he consecrated<sup>(1)</sup>; then he sat down. Then they began with a monk known as the father Michael (Mikhâyil), and he was known before his monasticism as Fakhr ad-Daûlah Marġâ, and he was dwelling with this patriarch for thirteen years. And he arose, and they said : «What will thou witness?» He said : «I testify that this patriarch took bribes for ordination (χειροτονία) and gave them». And the patriarch said : «This is a single monk : his word against me is not to be accepted». And the patriarch, when the priests were summoned to witness against him, had said : «Their word against me is not to be accepted». It was said to him : «They (are) just (witnesses)». He said : «Just (witnesses), except against me, because for the patriarch there is not accepted, except the words of the bishops». They said : «Write (this)», because all what occurred they wrote in due form, and they wrote all what occurred. Then, after this, the judges said to the patriarch : «And if the bishops witness against thee?» He said : «If two bishops were to witness against me that I have taken a bribe from him whom I consecrated<sup>(2)</sup> to one of the ranks of holy orders<sup>(3)</sup>, or (that) I ordered anyone to take it (for me), I should be excommunicated from holy orders»<sup>(3)</sup>. And the monk said : «Wilt thou swear?» The patriarch said : «I am not able to swear, because, if patriarchs were to swear, they would be deprived of their rank». They (the judges) said to him : «If an accuser were to accuse thee of what thou hast not (done), wouldst thou remain quiet and not swear?» He said : «I would suffer loss or be imprisoned, but I would not swear, and the rule is established that he (the patriarch) should not swear under any circumstance». He (the president) said : «Let him (the patriarch) swear by the munificence of the Sultan — may

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

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'I advanced'.

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

bribes for the consecration<sup>(1)</sup>, and he has taken them from him whom he has consecrated<sup>(2)</sup> from the ranks of the priesthood, and it is contrary to our religious law. And they said to the patriarch : « What dost thou say? » He said : « I did not take (bribes) ». 'Imâd said : « And didst thou not order anyone to take (bribes) for thee? » He (the patriarch) said : « I did not order anyone to take (bribes) for me ». They said : « And who will witness for thee \* to the taking (of bribes)? », speaking to 'Imâd. He said : « These two bishops ». And they both said : « We shall not witness to anything, and we have not seen anything », for the two latter (were) of those who had given the bribe at his consecration<sup>(1)</sup>; because there was not anyone of all these bishops who had been consecrated<sup>(3)</sup> in the time of this patriarch, who had not given a bribe, except two, and they (were) the metropolitan (Muṭrân) of Damietta (Dumyât)<sup>(4)</sup>, and the bishop of Al-Khandak<sup>(5)</sup>, and none other. And all the rest of them had given (the bribe) in advance, and had written their signatures for a deferment until they had departed to their sees, and they greeted him and they screened him. And their bribe was from two hundred dînârs — and they were the majority — down to fifty dînârs, and they (were) the minority, and this was beside what used to be paid to the son of the brother of the patriarch, and it (was) a fixed amount and (was) beside the gifts in the way of goods and beasts of burden and other than these, of kinds particular to the various districts. And it was said to 'Imâd : « Whom hast thou to witness beyond these two? » And he said : « These priests of the Mu'allakah (Church) »<sup>(6)</sup>. And there was summoned the priest Abû'l-Makârim, because he was the senior in rank and age. And he arose, and it was said to him : « What wilt thou witness? », and he hesitated and he was dilatory in the matter, (and) he said : « He (the patriarch) took (a bribe) out of necessity », and he was disconcerted,

\* Fol. 334 r°

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(1) *Lit.* ' advancement '.

(2) *Lit.* ' he has advanced '.

(3) *Lit.* ' has been advanced '.

(4) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

(5) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-221.

(6) Cf. page 182, note 5.

house of the amîr Aṣ-Ṣârim, and with him (were) two bishops, Abba (Anbâ) Joseph (Yûsâb), bishop of Fûa (Fûah) <sup>(1)</sup> and Abba (Anbâ) Paul (Bûlus), bishop of the Fayum (al-Fayûm) <sup>(2)</sup>, and they caused them to descend in a chamber <sup>(3)</sup> at the side of the house of the mentioned amîr. And he (the amîr) had a Christian (an-Naṣrânî) friend known as An-Nağîb, a scribe of Aṣ-Ṣalâḥ, and he conversed with the amîr and he (An-Nağîb) transferred them to his house, and they remained thus from the sixth Sunday of Lent <sup>(4)</sup> until the Wednesday of the seventh week <sup>(5)</sup>, and this was the ninth of (the month of) Baramûdah <sup>(6)</sup> of the mentioned year <sup>(7)</sup>. And the Council was held on the mentioned day, and there was present a group of the notables of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) of those who were summoned, and among those who were summoned not one of them was present by intention, and some, on account of work. And there was present at the mentioned Council Aṣ-Ṣârim as representative of the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — and the judge, the jurisconsult Gamâl ad-Dîn [I]bn al-Bûrî, administrator of the prosperous Egyptian (al-Miṣrîyah) dîwâns, and the judge Al-Muḥrî, representative of the honorable judge at Cairo (al-Kâhirah) the protected, and the jurisconsult Šaraf ad-Dîn as-Sabkî, the inspector of weights and measures <sup>(8)</sup> at it. And he was the spokesman at the Council, and fourteen assessors <sup>(9)</sup> according to what was reported by those who were present of the trustworthy ones of our friends. And the patriarch and 'Imâd came forward and they sat in front of the presidents of the Council. And they (the presidents) said : «He who has a word (to say) or a plaint to bring against his companion, let him speak». And 'Imâd came forward and he said : «I bring a plaint against this David (Dâûd) that he gave

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-245.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-340.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 25.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* 'the Holy Fast'.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* Holy Week.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* April 4th, Julian Style.

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* 1238 A.D.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 285.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 103.

endeavours until an order of the Sultan was issued to one of the amîrs <sup>(1)</sup> called Aş-Şârim al-Mas'ûdî, that he should see into the affair of the patriarch and hold a Council for him with the Christians (an-Naşârâ) in the presence of prominent Muslims (al-Muslimîn) and their judges and their governors and their reliable witnesses, and this was begun. And the patriarch had gone up to the Church Al-Mu'allakah <sup>(2)</sup> at Cairo (Mişr) to consecrate a nun at it. And it was a long time (that) he had not gone up to it, since he had departed from it, when the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) had taken possession of a part of it, on account of what had happened between him and <sup>(3)</sup> them in the way of strained relations and on account of the belvedere <sup>(4)</sup> of which he had determined the limits, and it had been arranged according to what was said before. And when he was vested and had gone out into the middle of the church, with candles before him and priests chanting eulogies for him according to the custom, there was there an insane man known as Israel (Isrâyîl) [I]bn al-Muhandis, dwelling at the top of the church. And when he heard about this, he came to a place overlooking the place in which (was) the multitude; and he insulted and he uttered obscenities, and he said : « Take him away ! Take him away ! » and he did what did not befit a sane man, but he was deprived of reason. And some of the multitude became furious, and they went up to him, and they beat him, and they broke open his head, and his blood flowed upon his garment. And he went out to the Minister of Works seeking shelter, and he (the Minister) was from among the mamluks (Mamâlîk) of the Sultan. And the monk 'Imâd had come to him (the minister), and he had come with an order of the amîr Aş-Şârim to seek the patriarch. And the patriarch went out, and with him (was) the warrant, and he delegated (his affairs) to the son of his brother and to the treasurer whom he had, and he was known as Abû'l-Farağ [I]bn Khalbûş. And they came with the patriarch to the

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ' an amîr of the amîrs '.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 182, note 5.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* ' between him and between them '.

<sup>(4)</sup> A large room, generally on the upper storey of a house, in which the master of the house sits during the daytime and receives guests.

according to the direction of the Coran (al-Ḳurʿān). And Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, son of Al-Malik al-Kāmil, remained under the protection of the son of his paternal uncle, this Al-Malik an-Nāṣir, at the Crac of Moab (al-Karak) <sup>(1)</sup>. And the conditions were unsettled, and the Khwārizmians (al-Khawārizmīah) returned, and they crossed over the Euphrates (al-Furāt), and they came to Emesa (Ḥimṣ) <sup>(2)</sup>, (and) they besieged it for some days, and they devastated its lands, and they took from its Possessor money, and they returned. And the Bedouins (al-ʿUrbān) in Upper Egypt (aṣ-Ṣaʿīd) (were) as before, as regards discord and dissimulation, on the plea of what (was) between the one and the other. Then (it was) that corn again fluctuated (in price), and wheat of excellent quality reached to thirty dirhams the ardab, and barley, to thirteen dirhams the ardab. And there was not in these days anything cheap, neither corn nor other than it, nor clothing nor implements, because the soldiers had been enriched by the gifts of the Sultan, and they caused everything to be expensive. And in this year most of the wine of the people spoiled, so that there was not found a house in which there was not spoiled fermented-wine or (that) sun-exposed. Then (it was) that the monk ʿImād al-Miršād who had made endeavours for the consecration <sup>(3)</sup> of the patriarch by a gift <sup>(4)</sup>, and had trampled on the Canons (κανόν) of the Church, and had done that alone, without (that) the opinion of anyone participated with him in it, either bishop or archon (ἀρχων), God caused enmity between them <sup>(5)</sup>, because the intention was corrupt. And the patriarch began to persecute him (the monk) in every place, and he interdicted him, because he was a priest, and he used to oppose the declarations of the patriarch; and he (the monk) used to follow up his <sup>(6)</sup> faults and to oppose him at every time, and he wished \* to excommunicate him, as has been explained before. And he (the priest) came at this time and he made

\* Fol. 333 v°

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 195, note 6.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 157, note 5.

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

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* a bribe.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* the monk and the patriarch.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* the patriarch's.

because they pushed forward from Ascalon (‘Asḩalân) <sup>(1)</sup> towards Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(2)</sup>. And no one of the inhabitants of the Littoral <sup>(3)</sup> who were accustomed to the lands accompanied them, but they <sup>(4)</sup> left them as food, according to their custom of treason and collusion with their enemies to the people of their faith. And the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) had rushed on before them and had drawn them into an ambush, until they became bold and they dispersed. And the Bedouins (al-Urbân) surrounded them (the Franks) on all sides, and a great Count (Kund) of theirs was taken from them, and about fifteen knights, and of the infantry what was over five hundred men, and the double of them was killed. And there was not killed of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) troops, except Ibn Khalkân and those of no importance. And the mentioned captives arrived at Cairo (al-ḩâhirah), and the day of their arrival was a notable day <sup>(5)</sup>. And the Count (al-Kund) and the horsemen rode on mules, and the infantry on camels, and there was with them a priest, and he rode a mule also. Then (it was) that the Sultan showed kindness to the Count (al-Kund), and he did not fetter him, but he left him in a tower alone, and he allowed to him all what he needed. And as regards the priest and the horsemen, they fastened on their legs fetters (attached) to iron balls <sup>(6)</sup>. And as for the infantry, they fettered them, and they employed them at the Citadel <sup>(7)</sup>. And Al-Malik an-Nâṣir, the Possessor of the Crac of Moab (al-Karak), descended to Jerusalem (al-ḩuds) after this defeat, and he took it, and he slew all who were remaining in it of the Franks (al-Afranġ) <sup>(8)</sup>. And he preached in it a magnificent sermon

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 195, note 9.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 170, note 8.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 182, note 2.

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* the Arabs.

<sup>(5)</sup> This was an incident in the Crusade of Thibaut IV, Count of Champagne, cf. R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant*, pp. 260-261 and *L'Épopée des Croisades*, pp. 345-346.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 65.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. page 183, note 9.

<sup>(8)</sup> This occurred about three years later, on August 23rd, 1244 A.D. Cf. R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant*, p. 261, *L'Épopée des Croisades*, p. 348, and S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt*, p. 231.

them from the beginning of the day until noon. Then the troops of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) revived according to their custom. And the infantry of the Franks (al-Afranġ) became weary, and they (the Muslims) charged at them again, and they took captive a group of them. And the Franks (al-Afranġ) had also killed a group of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), and they had taken captive a group among whom (were) amîrs and leaders. And the two parties <sup>(1)</sup> became equal. And as for the Sultan, he returned with the remainder of the troops to Cairo (al-Ķahirah). Then he went out hunting, after he had commanded that the possessions of the amîrs who had been dissimulators should be taken and their houses pillaged; and he who had anything belonging to them it should be taken from him. And the people began to lie to one another, and the people on account of this fell into severe calamity, and they demanded what they did not have, and some of them were mulcted and some of them were imprisoned. And as for prices, they became cheap and they decreased, and everything returned to its limit, with the exception of olive-oil and linseed-olive and sesame-oil and meat and poultry and eggs and chick-peas and rambling-vetch. And olive-oil, because of the cutting off of the ways, was at three dirhams the raṭl, and linseed-oil at a dirham and a quarter the raṭl, and sesame-oil at a dirham and a half, and meat at one dirham and a half, and poultry at two dirhams for a chicken, and chick-peas for fifty dirhams the ardab, and rambling-vetch for twenty-five dirhams, and wax at eight dirhams and a half the raṭl, and bees-honey at two dirhams the raṭl, because all the bees had perished in this year. And as for wheat, it decreased to fifteen dirhams the ardab, and barley to nine dirhams the ardab. Then after that, the conflict between the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) \* and the Franks (al-Afranġ) came to a close by reason of the overcoming of the Franks (al-Afranġ) by the Muslims (al-Muslimîn). And this (was) that those who went out with the Franks (al-Afranġ) were from the Arabs (al-ʿArab) who did not know the locality of the land nor the ruse of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) in fighting nor their stratagems. They (the Franks) set out and they separated and they went deep into the lands,

\* Fol. 333 r°

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(1) *Lit.* 'tribes'. *I.e.* the Franks and the Muslims.

Damascus (Dimaşk) <sup>(1)</sup> delivered up the mentioned city to Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ismâ'îl who had been with them at first. And the son of Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Al-yûb, and he was the son of the son of his brother, departed from the Citadel <sup>(2)</sup> in flight. And Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ismâ'îl remained at Damascus (Dimaşk) <sup>(1)</sup>, and the good news came to Al-'Abbâsah <sup>(3)</sup> to the Sultan, Al-Malik al-'Âdil, about this. And the good news about this was proclaimed <sup>(4)</sup> among the troops, and in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr) and at the Citadel <sup>(2)</sup>, and the two cities <sup>(5)</sup> were decorated for many days. And the troops which were with Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ disbanded until there did not remain with him except his confidants, and until the Arabs (al-'Arab) were on the point of plundering him. And he sought protection with Al-Malik an-Nâṣir, the Possessor of the Crac of Moab (al-Karak) <sup>(6)</sup>, and he protected him, and he caused to be borne to him provisions and rations. Then he caused him to be borne to the Crac of Moab (al-Karak) <sup>(6)</sup>, and he remained at it, because he was the son of his uncle. Then (it was) that the Franks (al-Afranġ), when the days of the truce were accomplished, evacuated the Noble Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds), so that there did not remain at it except one knight and seventy foot-men (who) dwelt in the Tower of David (Dâûd) <sup>(7)</sup>. Then (it was) that the Sultan collected about two thousand horsemen from a number of amîrs, and he despatched them to Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(8)</sup> to guard the lands. And the Franks (al-Afranġ) had departed to Ascalon ('Asḳalân) <sup>(9)</sup> and had descended upon it (and) they had intended to rebuild it. And they rode, and they assembled, and they came to Furbîâ <sup>(10)</sup>, and they fought with the troops of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) who were at Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(8)</sup>, and they prevailed against

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 183, note 9.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 187, note 1.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* 'beaten out (with drums)'.  
<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr).

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. page 194, note 5.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-175.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. page 170, note 8.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-56.

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. R. GROSSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, Carte 9.



Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, and they sent their chiefs informing him that the reason of the war against his brother necessitated for him to send to seek for the troops which were at Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(1)</sup> with his two uncles Muğbar ad-Dīn and Taḳī ad-Dīn, but they <sup>(2)</sup> refused to go with them <sup>(3)</sup>, and they implored him to come. And they (the chiefs) sought troops to go to Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(4)</sup> to take possession of it, because those <sup>(4)</sup> had left and had gone away. And the Sultan gave robes of honour to their messengers who were from them, and he gave a grant to them and gifts; and they began to arrive from fifteen to twenty, and everyone who arrived was given a robe of honour and a grant, until they were completed. And Al-Malik an-Nāṣir Ibn al-Muʿazzam, and he was the son of the uncle of the Sultan, had taken troops, about a thousand horsemen, and among them amīrs, leaders such as Ibn Ḳalḥ and others than he. And he (Al-Malik an-Nāṣir) went to Karak <sup>(5)</sup>, his fortress, and in the meanwhile, Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl who (was) the brother of Al-Kāmil (and) who was representative of Al-Malik al-Ašraf, governed in Damascus (Dimašḳ) <sup>(6)</sup>. And when Al-Malik al-Ašraf died, Al-Malik al-Kāmil departed to Damascus (Dimašḳ) <sup>(6)</sup>, and he took it from him (Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl), and he gave to him Baʿalbek (Baʿalabak) <sup>(7)</sup> with Bosra (Busrā) <sup>(8)</sup>, because it had belonged to him. And he governed with its chiefs at Damascus (Dimašḳ) <sup>(6)</sup> because he was beloved of them. And there was in the Citadel <sup>(9)</sup> the son of Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ \* Aḳyūb Ibn al-Kāmil, and the mentioned Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ was at Sichem (Nāblus) <sup>(10)</sup>, and he was stationed at it, and he sojourned at it, and the amīrs who had come to him and the chiefs of

\* Fol. 332 v°

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 170, note 8.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the two uncles.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the troops.

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* the first troops.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* the Crac of Moab, cf. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, Carte 5 and B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. P.K. HITT, *History of Syria*, pp. 310-316.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. P.K. HITT, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. page 183, note 9.

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 470-473.

towns in the (Province of) al-Gharbīah<sup>(1)</sup>. And the Sultan caused an amīr called the cavalier Khaṭūlbā to set out for them, and with him a thousand merciless horsemen and fire-ships on the river<sup>(2)</sup>. And they set out for the Bedouins (al-ʿUrbān), and they found that they had already departed to the desert, and had anticipated them. And they<sup>(3)</sup> came to the towns, and they began to pretend that (they were) the Children of the Bedouins (al-ʿUrbān), and they began to pillage the property of the people and to take their women and their off-spring, as if they were people of the Bedouins (al-ʿUrbān), and the matter was not thus, and the lands were ruined<sup>(4)</sup> a second time. And the inhabitants of the lands came, (and) they stood before the Sultan, and he commanded the restitution to them of what had been taken from them. And they remained in uncertainty from whom they should take and to whom they should apply, and what happened to their womenfolk they do not know; however, the Nile (an-Nīl) was increasing and conditions were in a good state. Then the year nine hundred and fifty-six<sup>(5)</sup> entered, and the patriarch (was) Abba (Anbā) Cyril (Kīrullus), known as David (Dāūd) Ibn Laḳlaḳ, and he was the seventy-fifth<sup>(6)</sup>. And the Sultan (was) Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr<sup>(7)</sup>, son of Al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad, and the judge (was) Šaraf ad-Dīn al-Iskandarī, known as Ibn ʿAin ad-Daūlah, and the master of the affairs of the Sultan (was) Badr ad-Dīn Yūnis amīr Ğandār. And the Sultan had gone out to Al-ʿAbbāsah<sup>(8)</sup> with the troops and the soldiers. And the Nile (an-Nīl) reached to fifteen fingers above eighteen cubits. Then (it was) that the men of the bodyguard who had been dissemblers, turned towards Syria (aš-Šām) to the service of Al-Malik aš-Šāliḥ, brother of the Sultan. They wrote to the Sultan

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 152, note 6.

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

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the thousand horsemen.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* 'were ruined a ruining'.

<sup>(5)</sup> = 1239 A.D.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* of the number of the patriarchs of Alexandria.

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* Al-ʿĀdil II.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. page 187, note 1.

deacons to witness this spectacle, and they should not be present at places of diversion, nor at assemblies outside the Christian (al-Masīḥī) Faith; except that they were enduring, and they gave thanks, and this was counted unto them for righteousness. Then (it was) that the Sultan, on the occasion of his entry into Cairo (al-Kāhirah), received news that the troops were agitating against him, and that they had become a faction. And he went out at once, and he caused to be seized three amīrs, one of them (was) Fakhr ad-Dīn [I]bn Šāikh aš-Šiyūkh, and there was not among the amīrs greater than he, and the other (was) Faṭḥ ad-Dīn Sulaimān, son of the brother of Aš-Šahāb Aḥmad, and he was the most intimate in the household of this Sultan, and God had given to him a great charge; and the third (was) Zaīn ad-Dīn Ghār. And as for Ibn aš-Šāikh Fakhr ad-Dīn, he was placed in a tower at the Citadel <sup>(1)</sup>, and this tower (was) that in which was the Possessor of Amid (Amid) <sup>(2)</sup>; and as for the two others, he caused them to be lowered into the dungeon which (is) at the Citadel <sup>(1)</sup>. And the people were in these days in fear and expectancy and many vile things. And wheat and barley and grains were at their medium price, and (as for) wheat, its highest price was at thirty dirhams the ardab, and its lowest (was) at twenty dirhams the ardab, and barley and beans (al-Fūl) (were) at nineteen dirhams the ardab, and chick-peas at forty dirhams the ardab, only that everything in the way of food and drink was expensive; and (as for) clothing and implements and building tools and other things beside them, they and all eatables were high in price. And wine (was) at four silver dirhams the jar, and wax for eight dirhams and a half the raṭl, and nothing in the two cities <sup>(3)</sup> was cheap except sugar, \* and it was at a dirham and a half the raṭl and it was cheap compared to other foods <sup>(4)</sup>. Then (it was) that the Bedouins (al-'Urbān) were emboldened, and they began to devastate the lands, and they would take all what (was) in them, and they would kill and take captives. And in these days they devastated twenty-five

\*Fol. 332 r°

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-210.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 181, note 2.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* Miṣr and al-Kāhirah.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 849.

twentieth of (the month of) Misrâ<sup>(1)</sup>, and prices diminished, and wheat was sold at twenty dirhams the ardab and less than this<sup>(2)</sup>, and barley, at sixteen dirhams, and the rest of the cereals in proportion. And the Sultan Al-Malik al-Âdil had gone out to Bilbaïs<sup>(3)</sup> with his troops and his soldiers, when news came to him (that) his brother, Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ had advanced from Bilbaïs<sup>(3)</sup> (and) he reached him. And he (Al-Malik al-Âdil) departed (and) he descended at Al-Abbâsah<sup>(4)</sup>. And some of the group undertook an advantageous course with regard to the matter of lowering the fringes of the turban; and it was ordered to lower them on the condition that the girdle was bound on; and the majority of the people lowered (them). And the blessed Nile (an-Nîl) came up (to its measure) on Saturday, the twentieth of (the month of) Misrâ<sup>(1)</sup>; and the Sultan Al-Malik al-Âdil had entered the city on account of the level. And when it was the day of the level (of the Nile), it happened that the servant referred to was at the river<sup>(5)</sup>, and it happened that some people of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) were in a boat on the river, and among them were those who were bound with the girdle, and those who (were) without the girdle. And the servant recognized them, and he cleaved to them, and he bore them to the amîr Ġamâl ad-Dîn, the Equerry of the House. And he sent them to the Commander-in-chief<sup>(6)</sup> at Cairo (Miṣr), and the accusation against them (was) that they were all without a girdle; and they were beaten, and they were led ignominiously<sup>(7)</sup>, through all Cairo (Miṣr). And it was a distressing affair for the Christians (an-Naṣârâ), and the common people overpowered them, and there was a great tumult. And this (was) a judgment from God the Exalted, first, in leaving off the girdle and concealing (their) religion, and the other, that the mentioned group was deacons, and it does not behove

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<sup>(1)</sup> = August 13th, Julian Style.

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

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 182, note 4.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. page 187, note 1.

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

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 285.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 795.

officials, it was commanded not to apply it to them, and they remained in their condition. And without fail, the mentioned servant, if he met them, would follow them and dishonour them with words; and there adopted Al-Islâm for this reason a man of the best Christians (an-Naṣârâ), called An-Nifah [I]bn aš-Šamâs, and he was possessor of the dîwân of the Merchandise of the Inns (Khânâh) and of the houses and the stables, and the Dîwân of the Suite. And there gathered against him the servants, and they constrained him to bind on the girdle, and he bound it, and they constrained him to remove the fringes (of his turban) and he refused; and they multiplied against him, and they pressed him, and he threw away the girdle. And they said: «Adopt Al-Islâm», and they testified against him, and he adopted Al-Islâm. And the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) were at this time in great tribulation and distressing contempt; and whosoever met them of the common people and the low classes insulted them and reviled them. Then (it was) that the order was revoked concerning the matter of fringes (of the turbans), and some people began to lower them; however, by the order of the Equerry of the House, there were (only) three persons <sup>(1)</sup> who were ordered to lower the fringes and to bind on the girdle. Then (it was) that they assembled and wrote for a decision, and they took for it the signatures of the jurisconsults concerning the matter of the fringes of the turbans. And all of them gave a legal opinion that it was not necessary to remove them, but to bind on the girdle, especially for distinguishing between them (the Christians) and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn). And among those who wrote for them <sup>(2)</sup> thus were: Aš-Šarîf Šams ad-Dîn, judge of the troops, and he was the chief of the notables, and Bahâ ad-Dîn Ibn al-Ḥumâirî, the orator of Cairo (al-Ķâhirah), and Ğâmâl ad-Dîn [I]bn al-Bûrî who had been appointed wazîr in the days of the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil, and Mubârak known as Ibn aṭ-Ṭabbakh; and after this, they did not lower them (the fringes) \* for fear of the servant. Then (it was) that the Nile (an-Nîl) rose and increased, and it reached the full measure on Saturday, the

\* Fol. 331 v°

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

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the Christians.

blood-feud and hatred between them. When this trouble occurred there was envy between the one \* and the other, and from time to time they fought, and a great number among them was killed. And the Tha'labah were in favour of the King of Egypt (Miṣr) and the Ġudhâm, in favour of the King of Syria (aš-Šâm). And the Tha'labah sought assistance from Sinbus, and he came to them from the land of the Arabs (al-'Arab), and the Ġudhâm sought assistance from Mazâtah and Zunârah, and they came from (the Province of) Al-Buḥairah <sup>(1)</sup>; and they were days of fear and war, and the roads were cut off. And the Sultan despatched a group from the amîrs and the soldiers to settle what (was) between them, and they made use of staves between them for a certain time, after there had been killing among them. Then a man, a servant, called Šibl ad-Da'ûlah, a servant of the Prophet, and he separated himself from the people, and he pretended that he had seen their Prophet in a dream, and he (the Prophet) had said to him : «Take the Dhimi <sup>(2)</sup>, change their adornments, for they have overpassed their limits». And he began beating the people and he dishonoured them from among the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) and the Jews (al-Yahûd). And (as for) the Christians (an-Naṣârâ), (he said) : «We shall take them, (and) shall remove the fringes (of the turbans), and bind (on them) girdles, and (as for) the Jews (al-Yahûd), make a yellow sign (on them)». And a certain group began to bind themselves with a girdle and to remove the fringes. And it ended that he cut off the fringe of a priest, a scribe of the Merchandise of the Inns (Khânâh), because he had let it (the fringe) down and had bound on the girdle. And it was (that), if he did not find with anyone a girdle, he would cut off his turban and bind his waist with it. And it was proclaimed thus publicly at Cairo (al-Kâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr), on Saturday, the fifteenth of (the month of) Abîb <sup>(3)</sup>; and there befell the people affliction on account of this, and (it was) a burden upon them, because (it was) something (which was) twenty years distant from their time. And the majority of them who were able to remain in their houses, kept at home. And as for the high

\* Fol. 331 r°

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 168, note 4.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the Christian and Jewish minorities enjoying protection in an Islamic State.

<sup>(3)</sup> = July 9th, Julian Style.

Ad-Dârûm <sup>(1)</sup>, but they did not find them (the two amîrs); but there was not a doubt that, in they meantime, they met the amîrs, and they became reconciled to them <sup>(2)</sup>, and they took them with them, and they journeyed, and the servants and the five returned, and they did not do anything. And there was in the lands trouble and agitation and fear, and a guard was set over the wealth of the amîrs and their houses a second time, because they had released them, when they imagined that they (the amîrs) would return. And, after some days, there arrived at Cairo (al-Ķâhirah) the Protected, Al-Malik an-Nâsir, son of Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, on Saturday, the nineteenth of (the month of) Bašuns <sup>(3)</sup> which corresponds to the eighth of (the month of) Šawwâl (in the) year six hundred and thirty-six <sup>(4)</sup>. And Cairo (al-Ķâhirah) and Cairo (Mišr) and the Citadel <sup>(5)</sup> were decorated for him, and he descended at the Government House (Dâr al-Wizârah). Then (it was) that he interceded for the amîrs and the men of the chain-mailed (soldiers), and it was arranged that he should journey to them, and that he should appease their hearts, and should bring them back. And his son arrived after a few days, and the decorations continued to be hung, but they were increased before he arrived. And after this, information reached them that Al-Malik aš-Šâliḥ had gone out from Damascus (Dimašk) <sup>(6)</sup>. And the Sultan gathered together the amîrs, and he caused to be brought Al-Malik an-Nâsir, and he caused them to swear that they would be submissive (and) staunch, and that they would fight for him until they died before him, and the oath was the fourth. Then (it was) that two tribes of the Bedouins (al-'Urbân), one of the two of them named Ğudhâm and the other, Tha'labah, and they were in the districts of (the Province of) Aš-Šaḳāḥ <sup>(7)</sup>, and there was an ancient

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 46 and S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, p. 159.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* 'they kissed their heads'. This is a common practice indicative of sincere friendship.

<sup>(3)</sup> = May 14th, Julian Style.

<sup>(4)</sup> = 1238 A.D.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. page 183, note 9.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 135.

wavering one side and the other, until the hour of sunset, and they had reached up to the neighbourhood of Al-‘Abbāṣah<sup>(1)</sup>, and night came<sup>(2)</sup> between them. And the troops of the Sultan returned to their position, and the amīrs remained on guard, and there did not join them of their companions except a few, because the majority of them had returned to the service of the Sultan, on account of their houses and their fiefs. And it was (that) an amīr of the group of the amīrs, known as Ibn al-Akta‘, fell, and he was taken captive. And the amīr Fakhr ad-Dīn [I]bn aš-Šaīkh and Ar-Rukn al-Hiġāwī and those who (were) with them had won him over, and they mentioned that he had done this intentionally for the service of the Sultan. And he was brought to Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah), and he was clothed with a robe of honour, and he was confirmed in his rank of informer<sup>(3)</sup>. And as for the chain-mailed (soldiers), they did not overtake the amīrs, and they did not pass by Bilbaīs<sup>(4)</sup>, but they left<sup>(5)</sup> it on their left, and they took (the direction) on its east leading to the desert, and the two captive amīrs (were) with them. And they (the chain-mailed soldiers) agreed<sup>(6)</sup> to release the two mentioned amīrs; and they despatched from among their notables five men to the Sultan, that they might be reassured by him and cause him to swear, and (that) they should be returned to their fiefs, because for all there was nothing except fear for themselves and nothing else. And the two mentioned amīrs came, and the five notables, and they discussed with the Sultan concerning what related to them, and he acceded to their supplication, and he bestowed robes of honour on the five, and he conferred favours on them, and he equipped them. And he sent with them one of his servants, and he was named Banān<sup>(7)</sup>, and they went out until they reached to

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 2, and S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, p. 76.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* intervened.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 347.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. page 182, note 4.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* ‘put’.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* ‘their opinion was agreed’.

<sup>(7)</sup> This name is written without diacritical dots.



(and) he descended at them, and the suspicion persisted also, and the oath did not avail anything. And Fakhr ad-Dîn [I]bn aš-Šaikh returned, (and) he went out to the troops, and there went out with him the amîr Bahâ ad-Dîn Ibn Malkîšû who had been once the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (al-Kâhirah) and had also been appointed once governor (Wâlî) of Damascus (Dimašk) <sup>(1)</sup>. And they assembled with the amîrs, and they talked much about this matter, and that the departure of Tilbân al-Muğâhidî without permission was not correct, and that «Ye agreed to this, and it was a breach of faith». And that day was Wednesday, the twenty-first of the month of Ramaḍân (in the) year six hundred and thirty-six <sup>(2)</sup> which corresponds to the second of (the month of) Bašuns <sup>(3)</sup>. And it occurred on that day that a company of the men of the chain-mailed (soldiers), and they were Turks (al-Atrâk), agreed that they should go out and encounter the aforementioned amîrs, and they were about two thousand horsemen, and they assembled, and they dressed, and they departed from Cairo (al-Kâhirah). And the amîrs had scouts to inform them of the news, and a horseman came to them galloping, and he informed them that the chain-mailed (soldiers) had come out to seize them, and that the cavalier Khaṭulbah (was) their leader. And the mentioned cavalier Khaṭulbah had gone out to the mentioned group to bring them back himself, and another amîr (was) with him, known as Aš-Šârim al-Mas'ûdî, and they (the amîrs) seized both of them and they bound both of them with them. And the amîrs had scouts and a horseman came galloping to Bilbaïs <sup>(4)</sup> to the tents, (and) he informed that the chain-mailed (soldiers) had gone out to seize them (the amîrs); and they arose and they dressed and they rode. And Ar-Rukn al-Hiğâwî and the Kurds (al-Akrâd), \* another group, heard about this, and they rode also, dressed in armour and with the equipment of war, and they attacked, and the aforementioned amîrs were driven back before the group which was on the side of the Sultan, and they continued thus

\* Fol. 330 v°

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* of the Hiğrah = 1230-1231 A.D.

<sup>(3)</sup> = May 26th-June 24th, Julian Style.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. page 182, note 4.

was issued that he should go to Rosetta (Rašîd) <sup>(1)</sup>, and should be stationed at it alone. And this port <sup>(2)</sup> was among what was in the bounds of the mentioned amîr, and he suspected that his despatch thither \* was because he wished to harm him, and that he would be seized and imprisoned. And he refrained from going, and he corresponded with the notables of the State, and he was dispensed from this, and there remained in the hearts what was in them. And a group of the amîrs was in agreement with his opinion, and they (were) : ‘Izz ad-Dîn Aîbak the Kurd (al-Kurdî), and ‘Izz ad-Dîn Aîbak al-Hamdu’l-illah known as Kaḏîb al-Bân, and Saîf ad-Dîn ad-Dînîsrî, and Saḡr al-Khawârizmî and his brother, and ‘Alâ’ ad-Dîn [I]bn aš-Šihâb Aḡmad, and Nûr ad-Dîn ‘Alî [I]bn al-Aktâ’, and ‘Izz ad-Dîn Tilbân al-Muḡâhidî, and Al-Rukn ‘Umar al-Fânirî, and Iîdkîn al-‘Azîzî, and ‘Alam ad-Dîn Saḡr al-Yamanî. And they were dwelling all together in one dwelling, and their opinion (was) one and their word (was) one, and their affair was noised abroad and was divulged, and the Sultan sent to them the amîr Fakhr ad-Dîn Ibn aš-Šaîkh to appease their hearts and to assure them. And he wrote to them a letter in his hand-writing mentioning in it that he had no information of what they imagined about him, and that he would swear to them for all what they wished. And their hearts were appeased thereby, and they wrote a copy of the oath, and the amîr Fakhr ad-Dîn [I]bn aš-Šaîkh received it; and he returned to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), so that the Sultan might swear to it, after the mentioned amîrs had sworn to him, that they were in obedience to him, unless he should change anything against them, and unless he displayed anything unfavourable towards them. And the Sultan swore on the copy, and it came with the amîr Šuḡâ’ ad-Dîn [I]bn Abû Dhikrî. Then (it was) that one of the mentioned amîrs was detained at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and he was Tilbân al-Muḡâhidî who was the governor (Wâlî) of Al-Bahnasâ <sup>(3)</sup>. And he departed from it, namely Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) without permission, and he came to this group,

\* Fol. 330 r°

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 404-405.

<sup>(2)</sup> The port of Damietta at this period stood further to the north than the present town.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-93.

returned to him all the cloths (which) had been taken from him, because they had been kept, deposited in security. And he was equipped together with his family and his company, so that he might go by sea to Antioch (Anṭakīah) <sup>(1)</sup> to the service of his relative the King of the Rûm <sup>(2)</sup>, the Possessor of Iconium (Kûnīah) <sup>(3)</sup> and Coloneia (Aḳṣarâ) <sup>(4)</sup>, and this decision was among the great noble actions which this Sultan initiated. Then (it was) that corn decreased a little in its price, and wheat was from thirty to twenty-four dirhams the ardab, and barley from twenty-eight dirhams the ardab downwards, and beans (al-Fûl) at twenty dirhams the ardab, and the people were contented by this decrease of prices, because corn yielded in this year a yielding, the like of which had not been heard of. And there was much rain <sup>(5)</sup>, not as the custom is in Egypt (Miṣr) <sup>(6)</sup>, and a great cold followed for a long time, and nothing in the two cities <sup>(7)</sup> was expensive, apart from cloth, except chopped-straw, and it was for six silver dirhams the loaded <sup>(8)</sup> rope-net, and fire-wood reached to ten silver pieces the load, and linseed oil was for fifteen dirhams the ten raṭls. Then he (the Sultan) ordered the departure of some troops to Bilbaïs <sup>(9)</sup> and their stationing at it, and a group of the amîrs. They were about three thousand horsemen, and among them was a senior amîr known as Nûr ad-Dîn [I]bn Fakhr ad-Dîn 'Uthmân. And it happened that there occurred an incidence between him and <sup>(10)</sup> the governor (Wâlî) of Bilbaïs <sup>(9)</sup>. And he began to write about him (the amîr) to the Sultan, and he mentioned that he was corresponding with Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ, and (that) the messengers of Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ and his scribes were coming (to him), and there arose then suspicion of him, and the order

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. P.K. HIRTI, *History of Syria*, pp. 302-307.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the Seljuk Sultanate, cf. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, p. 596.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, Carte 1.

<sup>(4)</sup> أقصرا can also be Caesarea, cf. R. GROUSSET, *op. cit.*, Cartes 1 and 21.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* 'it rained much rain'.

<sup>(6)</sup> 'Miṣr' can also be read as 'Miṣr (Cairo)'.

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* Miṣr (Cairo) and Al-Ḳâhirah (Cairo).

<sup>(8)</sup> *I.e.* the amount that a camel can carry.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. page 182, note 4.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Lit.* 'and between'.

used to mount by the steps to the terrace of the upper Cell (κελλίον) of the patriarch, and they called for prayer and they cried «Allah Akbar»<sup>(1)</sup>, and they used to mention what they mention, according to what is accustomed to them. And thereby there occurred serious matters, and an amir of the bodyguards was sent. He caused to be brought some people of them, and he beat them with a severe beating and the governor (Wālī) of Cairo (Miṣr) imprisoned twice a group of them, but this had no effect upon them. And the architects came, and they wrote a report that this wall belonged to the church and had nothing to do with the prayer-house (al-Masğid) nor with the reception-room which was contiguous to it. And the Possessor of the Dîwân of the Aḥbâs<sup>(2)</sup> entered into this (affair), and they discussed about placing half of a date-palm one side of the wall, and that the wall should be separated by (the other) half of the date-palm between the two places<sup>(3)</sup>, but our friends<sup>(4)</sup> did not agree with anything of this. Then they discussed about filling up the wall which had been demolished at its extremity, according to what it had been before, and (that) the upper layer should be demolished. And the people of the Church refused this, and the affair remained for that period, and the Feast<sup>(5)</sup> came<sup>(6)</sup>, and the affair (was) as before. And there entered the month of Ramaḍân of the year six hundred and thirty-six<sup>(7)</sup>, and our friends<sup>(4)</sup> did not suffer in this period a fine of great amount. And in these days, the Possessor of Amid (Amid)<sup>(8)</sup> was brought out from confinement, because he had been in the Citadel<sup>(9)</sup>, and he had been a long time (there), and he was given a robe of honour and there was

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* 'God is greater'. Cf. A. DE BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, vol. IV, p. 6.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. A. DE BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 468. The Office for the control of buildings, the revenues of which are destined for a religious use.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the Church Al-Mu'allakah and the prayer-house.

<sup>(4)</sup> Probably, an ironical term.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* the Feast of Easter.

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

<sup>(7)</sup> = 1238 A.D.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. page 181, note 2.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-210.

(he was) the first messenger to be killed, only that they mentioned that he was not killed, except through guile (which) the Possessor of Emesa (Ḥimṣ) <sup>(1)</sup> wrought against him, and he killed him. And after that the Khawarizms (al-Khawārizmīn) lorded over the lands of Syria (aš-Šām) and they ruined them. And they descended on Emesa (Ḥimṣ) <sup>(1)</sup> and they besieged it, and the Possessor of it gave to them much money, so that they departed from it. And Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ sent to the Littoral <sup>(2)</sup> (and) he apportioned it in fiefs. And there was a dearth in Syria (aš-Šām); wheat reached to two hundred and thirty dirhams the measure <sup>(3)</sup>, and the majority of the inhabitants of the lands departed to Egypt (Miṣr), although (prices) were high (there); yet they were less in proportion. And he (Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil) ordered the departure of the troops to Bilbaīs <sup>(4)</sup> and their remaining at it until they were commanded (to do) what they were intended (to do); and a group of them went out to spy on them, and they remained at it (Bilbaīs). Then (it was) that some people of the Muslims (al-Muslimīn) (who) were staying at the prayer-house (al-Masġid) which (was) at the side of the Church Al-Muʿallaḡah <sup>(5)</sup>, came to a wall between them and <sup>(6)</sup> the church, (and it led) to a reception-room which the patriarch had made for his receptions beneath his upper Cell (κελλιον), and they destroyed of it (the room), the windows and the panels of the doors, and they claimed that it was a right of the prayer-house (al-Masġid); and there was agitation in the churches, because this was in the middle of Holy Lent <sup>(7)</sup>, \* and it the Church Al-Muʿallaḡah <sup>(5)</sup> most of all, and it was deprived of the Divine Liturgy (al-Ḳuddās) and the Prayers <sup>(8)</sup> for many days in Lent <sup>(9)</sup>. And the Muslims (al-Muslimīn)

\* Fol. 329 v°

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. P.K. HETTI, *op. cit.*, pp. 307-308.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, Carte 9.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 204.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-335.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 23-31.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* 'and between'.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* 'the Holy Fast'.

<sup>(8)</sup> *I.e.* the Evening and Morning Offering of Incense and the Canonical Hours.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Lit.* 'the Fast'.

summoning him to come to Egypt (Miṣr) and to take for himself whatsoever fief he wished, and he gave to him a choice in this, and (that) he should relinquish Damascus (Dimašḳ) <sup>(1)</sup>. And this was pleasing to him, but he was suspicious that, if he reached Egypt (Miṣr), the choice would be against him and not for him. And he (Al-Malik al-Ġawād) wrote to Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, the Possessor of the East, Amid (Amid) <sup>(2)</sup>, and the fortress of Kaifā <sup>(3)</sup> and Singār <sup>(4)</sup> and other than these of what is beyond the Euphrates (al-Furāt), to inform him that he was submissive to him, and that he would give to him Damascus (Dimašḳ) <sup>(1)</sup>, if he gave to him (parts) of the lands of the East which he proposed to him. And he swore to him with regard to Singār <sup>(4)</sup> and other lands with it. And when he had made sure of him, he sent to him that he should come. And it was said that both of them met in the desert, and they swore an alliance, and Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Aṭyūb, son of Al-Malik al-Kāmil, passed over to Damascus (Dimašḳ) <sup>(1)</sup>, and he received it. And Al-Malik al-Ġawād Muẓẓafar ad-Dīn departed to Singār <sup>(4)</sup>, and he received it. And Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ was established at Damascus (Dimašḳ) <sup>(1)</sup>, and there were with him troops called the Khawarizms (al-Khawārizmīn). And the people were afraid of them, because they are corrupt upon the earth, of the race (γένος) of the Tartars (at-Taṭar); only (it was) that they did not come with him to Damascus (Dimašḳ) <sup>(1)</sup>, but they were staying in the desert in the direction of the lands of Aleppo (Ḥalab) <sup>(5)</sup> and what is after it. And it was (that), before the entry of Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ into Damascus (Dimašḳ) <sup>(1)</sup>, he sprang upon the messenger of the Sultan Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil <sup>(6)</sup>, who has been mentioned before, and he was ʿImād ad-Dīn, elder (Šāikh) of the elders (aš-Šiyūkh), son of the elder (Šāikh) of the elders (aš-Šiyūkh), and he was killed at the House of the Sultan at Damascus (Dimašḳ) <sup>(1)</sup>. And it was an innovation, the like of which had not been heard; and

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, p. 201.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 123, note 8.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. page 156, note 6.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. P.K. HITT, *History of Syria*, p. 564.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* Al-ʿĀdil II.

for trifling causes by the Cell <sup>(1)</sup>, and when he commits that which is necessary for interdiction, the patriarch shall write to him once and twice, and he shall warn him about this, and after this he shall cause him to come to the Cell <sup>(1)</sup>, and he (the bishop) shall justify himself before his interdiction, if the interdiction be necessary for him. The hegoumenos (ἡγούμενος) — his rank (is) the rank of archpriest (ἀρχιεπίσκοπος) of the priests — shall have (the right) to say the Absolution over the celebrating priest <sup>(2)</sup> and to offer incense after him, and he shall communicate after him and before the rest of the priests below him (in rank) who are not celebrating. And if he be present with the bishop, it shall be he who receives incensing from the hand of the bishop, and none of the priests shall receive incensing from his hand; and he shall not have (the right to do) anything other than this. And he of the Faithful who wishes to go to a festival of a church of any see whatsoever, his bishop shall not interdict him for this reason. And it was a document of lengthy explanation, and this is the essence of its contents, and we have abridged them for fear of prolixity. And its date (was) on the sixth of (the month of) Tût \* of the year nine hundred and fifty-five <sup>(3)</sup>. And an abridgment of the Canons was made with regard to indispensable matters which occur in marriage, and their conditions, and inheritance and its divisions; and it is in the hands of the Faithful in a number of copies; and the patriarch and the bishops signed <sup>(4)</sup>; then the bishops departed to their sees and they were contented <sup>(5)</sup> thereby. Then (it was) that the Sultan <sup>(6)</sup> despatched an amîr of his intimate friends, and he sent him <sup>(7)</sup> away to Damascus (Dimašq) <sup>(8)</sup> to Al-Malik al-Ġawâd, son of his paternal uncle,

\* Fol. 329 r°

<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* the patriarchate.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. JOHN, MARQUESS OF BUTE, *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day*, pp. 45-46, and 'ABD AL-MASÎH ŞALÎB, *Pi Jôm ente Pi Eukhologion ethouab*, Cairo, 1902, pp. 128-137.

<sup>(3)</sup> = September 3rd, 1239 A.D., Julian Style.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* 'wrote on it'.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* 'their souls were rested'.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* Al-Malik al-Âdil II.

<sup>(7)</sup> The *MS.* reads 'them', *sic.*

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

except if it has been established concerning him that he (the bishop) interdicted him out of caprice and without a legal reason. And the patriarch shall write to him once and twice on account of him; if the bishop persists in this, he (the patriarch) shall summon both of them, and both of them shall be judged according to what the law requires. And he who has been consecrated to a see of the bishops and its district, there shall not be taken away from him of it (any) town; and he who is established in a see with its towns up to the day of writing this <sup>(1)</sup>, he shall not be removed from it. And as for the diyāriyat <sup>(2)</sup> which is exacted by the bishops, which is for the patriarch, it shall not be exacted by means of compulsion nor (otherwise than) according to the ability of their sees and according to what is easy for them by way of a blessing. And that the patriarch shall not oblige the bishop to bestow a rank (τάξις) in his see or to ordain him to whom the bishop of the see or the majority of his congregation does not consent. And he (the patriarch) shall be impartial among the bishops with regard to what is free and forbidden to all of them. And that the patriarch shall not interfere with the income of the churches on their feast-days and their dues and their inalienable endowments, but they shall be under the supervision of the bishop and they shall not go out of his hands, unless it had been made a condition for him before his consecration that the income of the church should be in exchange for the diyārīah <sup>(2)</sup> of the see. And nothing shall go out from their hands from the monasteries of their (the bishops') sees, unless any (of them) undertook (to do) this before his consecration. And that the complaints of monks, one against another, shall not be accepted, except after a strict investigation and the taking (into consideration) of the report of the upright majority. Monks shall not be expelled from their monasteries without evident necessity; and people of the laity shall not be delegated to judge between the monks, but the heads of the monasteries and those who take their place among those who are esteemed (and) learned of the Faithful. A bishop shall not be interdicted

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

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the contributions of sees and monasteries to the Patriarchate.



he shall be excluded who has been crowned <sup>(1)</sup> secretly in houses, outside the church, and without the Eucharist (al-Ḳurbân); and entrance of menstruous women into the churches shall be forbidden at the time of their menstruation. And that the scribe of the Cell (κελλίον) <sup>(2)</sup> shall be he whom the patriarch shall choose, be he a bishop or a man of esteem. And that the signature of the Metropolitan (Muṭrân) of Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(3)</sup>, and what is contiguous to it (shall be required) for conformity to the aforementioned belief of the Jacobite (al-Yaḳûbiyah), Church, and for (his) conformity with him who conforms to it, and (that) he rejects those whom the Councils reject, and that, if he does not conform to this, let him be excommunicated. And that the rank (τάξις) of the Metropolitan (Muṭrân) of Damietta (Dumyât) <sup>(4)</sup> who now occupies it, shall be established according to the custom of those who preceded him at it. And that neither the patriarch nor the bishops shall ordain in other than their sees at all, nor shall they confer a rank (τάξις) <sup>(5)</sup> on anyone, except with the consent of the inhabitants of his see or of the majority of them, and with the consent of his bishop who ordained <sup>(6)</sup> him. And the bishop of another see shall not accept him, \* except with the consent of the <sup>(7)</sup> bishop who is in his see, even if he were living with him. And anyone who has transferred from his town and his church without a necessary reason to another see or to another church, let him be excluded from them both. The patriarch shall not interdict anyone of the people of the sees of the bishops, except for a legal reason, if it has been established by his bishop that he has not interdicted him. And the patriarch shall send to order him to interdict him, and if the bishop refuse for a reason which is not, and he persists in this, the patriarch shall interdict him. And that the patriarch shall not absolve him whom his bishop has interdicted,

\* Fol. 328 v°

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* married.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the patriarchal residence.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 173, note 4.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* of Holy Orders.

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

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

accept a bribe or what is equivalent to it in any judgment of all the judgments, be he patriarch or bishop or a deputy of either of them, nor show partiality in judgment on account of respect or mediation, and he who does this shall be suspended. Secondly, that the patriarch shall agree with the learned bishops to compile an epitome of the canons (*κανόν*) concerning what is unlawful and what is lawful with regard to marriages and other things besides them, and concerning inheritances and the orders of the ranks (*τάξις*) of the priesthood<sup>(1)</sup>. And copies (of it) shall be written, and in them the signatures of the patriarch and the bishops with (their) approval, and they (the copies) shall be preserved in the sees; and any judgment which deviates from them (the rules) shall be null and void. Thirdly, (that) the bishops shall assemble at the cell (*κελλίον*)<sup>(2)</sup> once in the year, and it shall be from the beginning of the third week of Paschaltide (al-Khamasîn) and up to the end of the fourth week of it. And that rules established in the Coptic (al-Ḳibṭah) churches shall not be changed, such as circumcision before baptism, unless necessity prevents it, and such as the exclusion from ordination of children of concubines and slaves, with the exception of captives from the lands of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah) and Nubia (an-Nūbah), if their manner of life be good and they are fit for the priesthood. And he who is not a captive, but a son of a prostitute slave girl who has not been crowned<sup>(3)</sup>, shall not be ordained<sup>(4)</sup> to any of the degrees of Holy Orders<sup>(5)</sup>, and likewise the children of women who have gone back to their families<sup>(6)</sup>, from henceforth, shall not be ordained<sup>(4)</sup> to any degree of Holy Orders<sup>(5)</sup>, and likewise the children by a third marriage, even if she (the woman) was a virgin, shall not be ordained<sup>(4)</sup> to any of the degrees of Holy Orders<sup>(5)</sup>. And

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, 'The Canons of Cyril III Ibn Laqlaq, 75 Patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 1235-1250', in *BSAC* vol. XII, pp. 81-136 and vol. XIV, pp. 113-150.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the patriarchal residence.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* unmarried.

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

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

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* women whose husbands have died.

of the Holy Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by the mouth of the three hundred and eighteen (Fathers) assembled at Nicaea (Nīkīah) <sup>(1)</sup>, be he patriarch or bishop, I or my bishops, and he shall have no lot with the Faithful — may God preserve us from this !» And among its conditions were (as follows) : after the Confession of the Orthodox Faith which was established at the Council of Nicaea <sup>(1)</sup> and at the two holy Councils which assembled at Constantinople (Kus-tantinīah) <sup>(2)</sup> and Ephesus (Aufsis) <sup>(3)</sup>, then the confession which is proper to the Jacobite (al-Ya'kūbīah) Church, in the way of what we received from the father Cyril (Kīrullus) the Great and the two Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Fathers Severus (Sāwirus) <sup>(4)</sup> and Dioscorus (Dīskurus) <sup>(5)</sup>; and it is the belief that Christ, God made man, (is of) One Nature, One Hypostasis, \* One Will, and (that) He is God the Word, and (that) He is man born of Mary (Marīam) the Virgin, and (that) thus it is right to predicate of Him all attributes divine and human. Then, after that, there is binding what is contained in the Divine Scriptures and the Canons (κανόν) of the Apostles, and the accepted Councils and the customs which are established in the Jacobite (al-Ya'kūbīah) Coptic (al-Kibīṭīah) Church upon which (is) our reliance in our religion. And as for the sections which time has called for the mention of them with the object of preserving the peace of the Church, the first (is) : a bishop shall not be consecrated <sup>(6)</sup> from henceforth, except he who is educated, and a psephisma (Tazkīah) has been made for him, and his people have agreed to him. And simony (χειροτονία) shall not be taken from him, nor shall the Holy Spirit be sold nor bought. And, likewise, this <sup>(7)</sup> injunction shall be executed with regard to the ordination <sup>(8)</sup> of priests and deacons and of all the ranks of the priesthood. And none of the judges shall

\* Fol. 328 r°

<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* the First Oecumenical Council in 325 A.D.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the Second Oecumenical Council in 381 A.D.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the Third Oecumenical Council in 431 A.D.

<sup>(4)</sup> Patriarch of Antioch, 512-538 A.D.

<sup>(5)</sup> Patriarch of Alexandria, 516-527 A.D.

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

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

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

and a breaking of the causeways. And the lands were sucked dry on account of the Bedouins (al-‘Urbân), because they frequented Upper Egypt (aṣ-Ṣa‘id), and they plundered the people, and they took captive the inhabitants of some of the lands. And the prices became low, and wheat was sold for a dīnār the ardab, and barley near to it, and it was never related (that) barley was at the rate of wheat, except in this year. And everything rose in price, and gold went down in price so that the exchange of the dīnār into a silver (dirham) (was) twelve dirhams and a quarter and an eighth, and into paper, thirty-five dirhams and a quarter. And the cause for this was the abundance of what the Sultan had issued in the way of money, and had distributed among the amīrs and the soldiers; and it was the major cause for the rise of prices, because the people had an abundance of money, and especially the soldiers. And they felt confident, so that (it was) that old wine was sold at four silver dirhams the jar on account of the great demand of the people for it; and fruit became dear, and clothing and jewelry and property also. And they were days (which) the people likened to the days of Al-Malik al-‘Azīz — may God have mercy upon him! — in their goodness. Then (it was) that the bishops came from Lower Egypt (al-Wagh al-Baḥarī), and their number was fourteen bishops, and they assembled in the Church of the Ḥārat Zuwaīlah<sup>(1)</sup>, and they discussed about the affair of the patriarch, and they mentioned that they did not approve of the things (which) resulted from him, and they enumerated them, and they confirmed them in a script (which) they wrote in his stead, and his signature was written at the head of it in the manner of what is above the «In the Name»<sup>(2)</sup>, and his mark between the initial lines. «The brethren, the bishops — may the Lord bless them and their people and their sees! — write their agreement to this document and what is confirmed in it of the Faith, approved conduct and Church customs. And he who departs from it or deviates from its conditions is anathematized and rejected by the mouth

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

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* «In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God».

and An-Nāṣir was defeated, and none escaped except himself, and he went to the Crac (al-Karak) <sup>(1)</sup>. And there were taken all his companions and his baggage and his provisions and his sentinels. And he (Al-Malik Ġawād) took as great booty the troops of Damascus (Dimašqī) <sup>(2)</sup>, and his (An-Nāṣir's) flags were sent to Cairo (al-Kāhirah) and they went around with them. And the blessed Nile (an-Nīl) flowed impetuously in this year from the beginning of it <sup>(3)</sup>. Then it stopped after that, and it came up on Saturday, the end of (the month of) An-Naṣī <sup>(4)</sup>, and on it the measure was completed and the Canal was cut <sup>(5)</sup>. And in this year there happened wonders out of their time <sup>(6)</sup>. An evident earthquake occurred (which) was felt by everyone in (his) house; and it rained during the days of (the month of) An-Naṣī <sup>(7)</sup>, and it was said that it did not occur except in a year of insufficiency of the Nile (an-Nīl). Then there entered the year nine hundred and fifty-five <sup>(8)</sup>, and in it the water reached to sixteen cubits and eight fingers. And most of the causeways were broken, because they had been cared for in \* the days of Al-Malik al-Kāmil, but when he died, that fear (of him) ceased, and avarice entered the hearts of the governors (al-Wulāt) and the administrators, and their neglected their state, and the majority of them was broken, and among them the causeway (which) was at Al-Ġīzah <sup>(9)</sup>. And there was a large causeway (which) retained the water from the lands of Al-Bahnasā <sup>(10)</sup>, and it was broken. And the amīr Ġamāl ad-Dīn [I]bn Yaghmur, the head of the prosperous dīwāns, went out to it, and he stayed at it for a period, and he spent on it a sum of money and material, but he was not able to dam it. And there befell the people in this blessed year an insufficiency of the Nile (an-Nīl)

\* Fol. 327 v°

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 157, note 8.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the coming of the flood waters.

<sup>(4)</sup> = August 24th-29th (30th), Julian Style.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, pp. 145-146.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* unexpected.

<sup>(7)</sup> = August 24th-29th (30th), Julian Style.

<sup>(8)</sup> = 1239 A.D.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-191.

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-93.

of the church, and they set a throne for him, and he sat on it, and he was acclaimed, and it was a great, noteworthy day, and there assembled on it people <sup>(1)</sup> not to be counted. And he (the patriarch) frequently visited the churches, and he acted according to his former practice. And as for 'Imâd, (it was) that he had taken his (the patriarch's) signature to pay to the prosperous Treasury four thousand, eight hundred dînârs which he mentioned that he would reveal them with the companions of the patriarch. And the elder (aš-Šaikh) as-Sanî and those who were associated with him did not cease to make endeavours until he was released and his signature was removed. Then (it was) that the patriarch did not cease to entreat until he passed over to the Sultan, and he presented to him a present, and he (the Sultan) accepted it; and he (the patriarch) heard from him that which strengthened his heart and released <sup>(2)</sup> his tongue, and he prevailed thereby over the Christians (an-Našârâ). And as regards what occurred in these days in the way of calamities (was) that Al-Malik an-Nâsir [I]bn al-Mu'azzam repaired to the lands of the Littoral <sup>(3)</sup>, and he reached to Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(4)</sup>, and he allotted as fiefs the lands, and he levied soldiers, and all his intention was Damascus (Dimašq) <sup>(5)</sup>. And he sent to the Sultan Al-Malik al-Âdil to inform him that the Possessor of Damascus (Dimašq) <sup>(5)</sup> (was) with him <sup>(6)</sup>, and that he had summoned him to his obedience, and that they should be together (as) one body <sup>(7)</sup>, and he despatched his letters to him about this; and news of this reached the Possessor of Damascus (Dimašq) <sup>(5)</sup>. And Al-Malik al-Ġawâd Muẓẓafar ad-Dîn [I]bn Mamdûd had taken into his service a numerous, powerful army together with the troops which were with him from Egypt (Mišr), and he went out to him in number and equipment, and they met in the neighbourhood of Ghorr (Al-Ghurr) <sup>(8)</sup>,

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

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

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, pp. 206-208.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. page 170, note 8.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(6)</sup> *I.e.* on his side.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* 'hand'.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 544 and 619.

should defrock the priests who had become again slaves (mamalik), and that he should buy every year from the money of this church <sup>(1)</sup> a hundred ardab of wheat for the use of the nuns who resided at the Convent Al-Mu'allakah <sup>(2)</sup>, and that he should preserve their persons from apostasy <sup>(3)</sup> and their condition from penury, and that his (the patriarch's) scribe should be an elder (Šaikh), a bishop without blame or affairs of this kind. The documents <sup>(4)</sup> were despatched to him (the patriarch), and they were read to him, and he did not answer to anything of them. And the monk 'Imād, who was mentioned before, was remaining at the Gate of the Sultan, endeavouring to form an assembly against the patriarch. And the collectors <sup>(5)</sup> did not cease to aid in \* his (the patriarch's) affair until the amīr Ġandār took him (the patriarch) (and) beat him atrociously <sup>(6)</sup> and threw him into the special prison <sup>(7)</sup>, and he made a collar for his throat and a fetter for his leg, and he was deprived of bread, and he encountered great affliction, to such an extent that they prevented him who would come into contact with him in the prison, and they sought for pretexts until they brought out the patriarch from the chamber. And they caused him to descend at the Church of the Ḥārat Zuwaīlah <sup>(8)</sup> at which he resided, and the condition did not cease to be thus until the twenty-fourth of (the month of) Abīb <sup>(9)</sup>; and the notables of the State became mediators, and they discussed concerning his (the patriarch's) deliverance, and he was delivered. And it was the eve of the Feast of Abba ([A]bū) Mercurius (Marḡūrah), and he descended as he was to his church which (was) at Cairo (Miṣr). And in the morning, he vested according to his custom, and they took him in procession in the middle

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* the Church of Saint Sergius, cf. page 153, note 2.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 322.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 58.

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

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 827.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* 'an atrocious beating'.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 585.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 68-73.

<sup>(9)</sup> = July 18th, Julian Style.

should excommunicate the children of a second wife <sup>(1)</sup> whom he had ordained to the rank of the priesthood, and likewise the slave whom he had ordained <sup>(2)</sup>, and that he should restrict (himself) as regards dress according to what was the custom of the Copts (al-Ḳibṭ), and that he should not wear dresses which are the emblem of royalty, and that he should devote the rents of the inalienable endowments to the places to which they were endowed, and that he should begin with the erection of the mentioned buildings, then with the church and the poor of its priests. And from what was left over after that to make another new inalienable endowment, and that he should not take the contributions of the feasts <sup>(3)</sup> which he receives from all the lands of Egypt (al-Miṣriyat), but he shall devote them to the upkeep of the churches which have the feasts and to him who has a share in them, such as a bishop or a head or other than these two, (and) what was left over should be for the poor and the wretched; and likewise the contributions (Diyâriat) of the monasteries which he had created and made for himself in the lands of Egypt (al-Miṣriyat), he should devote them to the monasteries for their edifice(s), and to the monks for their needs. And that he should take from the contributions (Diyâriat) for the tax on the lands, according to the custom, what was sufficient for his expenses, and it (should be) fifteen dînârs every month, and that he should leave the remainder of it to him who was needy, not able (to pay) his tax, and that he should weigh it out for him, and that he should purchase therewith his religion <sup>(4)</sup>; or (as regards) him who is deprived of his strength <sup>(5)</sup> and his clothing, let him (the patriarch) relieve him and clothe his body, or if a calamity occur such as an infiltration of the river <sup>(6)</sup> and what is like it, let him (the patriarch) remove the burden of it from the paupers. And that he

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<sup>(1)</sup> According to Coptic custom children by the wife of a second marriage are excluded from ordination to the priesthood.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 155.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the patronal feasts of churches.

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* to prevent him from apostatizing.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* who is an invalid.

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



\*Fol. 326 v° him. And the monk (‘Imâd al-Akhmîmî) came \* from the governor (al-Wâlî) with a great multitude and tumult, and he took the patriarch barefooted, and he seized all whom he found with him. And he (the monk) rode his mule, and the patriarch was walking, and they calumniated him. And when they reached to the governor (al-Wâlî) on this wise, — and he was a very good man — this was too much (for him), and he honoured the patriarch, and he set free those who had been seized of the people, except the companions of the patriarch. And he ordered that he (the patriarch) should stay in a storey at the new building which (was at) the Baîn al-Ḳaşraîn <sup>(1)</sup>, under which were the counters of the changers, he and his companions, and with him guards <sup>(2)</sup> (sent) from him, and he rebuked the monk and he disapproved of him. And the patriarch remained there, and as for the two bishops <sup>(3)</sup>, they descended at the Church of Abba (Abû) Sergius (Sarġah) <sup>(4)</sup> and the monk with the two of them at (the cell of) the elder (aş-Šāikh) as-Sanî the monk. Then (it was) that the monk As-Sanî agreed with the bishop of Fûah <sup>(5)</sup> about the documents <sup>(6)</sup> which they had prepared for obtaining the signature of the patriarch to them, if they kept him in the patriarchate <sup>(7)</sup>. Among them the belief of the Copts (al-Ḳibṭ), and that he (the patriarch) should not take a gift for ordination (χειροτονία) to any of the orders of the priesthood, and that he should not give authority to the Metropolitan (al-Muṭrân) in Syria (aş-Šam) in the See of Antioch (Antakîah), but that it (the authority) should be confined to Gaza (Ghazzah) <sup>(8)</sup> and what (is) in its neighbourhood of the districts of Egypt (Miṣr), and that he

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144, especially 163 and S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, pp. 126, 128, etc.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 528.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. page 153, note 2.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 18-23.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 197.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Lit.* ‘papers’.

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* as patriarch.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-52.

city were friends of the patriarch. And they assembled with the governor (al-Wâlî), and they said : «The Sultan did not order, except with regard to his (the patriarch's) sending, (that) he should be sent to him, and he (the Sultan) will decide about him there». And he (the governor) took him (the patriarch), and he departed, and he caused to be taken out his (the patriarch's) companions in wooden fetters <sup>(1)</sup>, and they were the scribe and the two disciples, and one of the two of them (had been) his slave whom he had made a monk and had ordained him a deacon at the Monastery of the Beacon (aš-Šama') <sup>(2)</sup>. And he (the governor) arrived at Cairo (al-Ķâhirah) in the evening of Friday, towards the end of (the month of) Baû'ûnah <sup>(3)</sup>. And the monk (ʿImâd al-Akhmîmî) went up to the Citadel <sup>(4)</sup>, and he announced that the patriarch had arrived. And he (the Sultan) ordered that he should be imprisoned, he and his companions, in the prison of the Citadel <sup>(4)</sup>, and they passed that night in it. Then (it was) that a group of the controllers gathered on the next day, and it was Saturday, and they assembled with the amîr Aş-Şârim, because he was the equerry of the House at that time; and they did not rest <sup>(5)</sup> until they caused him (the patriarch) to be brought out from the prison, and they caused him to descend at the Church in the Ĥârat Zuwaïlah <sup>(6)</sup> at Cairo (al-Ķâhirah). And the monk (ʿImâd al-Akhmîmî) came to Aş-Şârim, and he said to him : «The amîr has been deceived, and this man (the patriarch) is sought for by the Sultan, bear him (to him)» <sup>(7)</sup>. And he (the patriarch) sat, he and his companions, eating and drinking, and I went <sup>(8)</sup> to them, and they (the guardians) beat me and they vilified me. And Aş-Şârim sent to the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (al-Ķâhirah) that he should take him (the patriarch) and should imprison

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 372.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. Part 1, page 60, note 5.

<sup>(3)</sup> = May 26th-June 24th, Julian Style.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. page 157, note 12.

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

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 68-73.

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* to the Sultan.

<sup>(8)</sup> *I.e.* the writer of this part of the biography.

happened, and he would have carried out (his) intention. Then (it was) that the monk 'Imād al-Akhmîmî<sup>(1)</sup> who was the cause for the consecration<sup>(2)</sup> of the patriarch, and it was he who had arranged with the Sultan<sup>(3)</sup> for the three thousand dînârs (to be paid) by the patriarchate, did not cease to seek pretexts, so that he might carry out the letter of the Sultan Al-Malik al-'Ādil to the governor (Wālî) of Alexandria to deliver up to him the patriarch, and to do with regard to him what the monk had said. And he carried out the letters from the notables of the State to the governor (Wālî) of Al-Buḥārah<sup>(4)</sup>, that he should despatch with him the bishop of Damanhûr<sup>(5)</sup> and the bishop of Fûah<sup>(6)</sup>. And it was his purpose to prove against him (the patriarch) things (which) would necessitate excommunication with the presence of the two bishops. And the governor (al-Wālî) did not permit him (to do) this, only that he should take with him mounted two sentries<sup>(7)</sup> and two bodyguards with the letters which were with him, and he passed over to Fûah<sup>(6)</sup> and Damanhûr<sup>(5)</sup>. He took the two bishops with him, and he entered the port (of Alexandria), and he delivered the letter to the governor (al-Wālî), and the governor (al-Wālî) commanded that the patriarch and his companions mentioned in the letters should be delivered up to him. And it was the night of Sunday<sup>(8)</sup>, and the patriarch had finished the Prayer<sup>(9)</sup>, and the people went out from the church, and the patriarch was borne to a storey at which he had descended<sup>(10)</sup>. And he (the monk) took his companions (and) he committed them to the prison, and he purposed to make an assembly at the port (Alexandria), but he did not manage this, because the notables of the

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(1) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-22.

(2) *Lit.* ' advancement '.

(3) *Lit.* ' Sultanate '.

(4) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

(5) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-116.

(6) Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 197.

(7) Cf. A. DE BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, Le Caire, 1875, vol. III, p. 913.

(8) *I.e.* Saturday night.

(9) *I.e.* the Canonical Hours and the Service of the Evening Offering of Incense.

(10) *I.e.* he lodged.

Muslims (al-Muslimîn) and the Christians (an-Naṣārâ) and the Jews (al-Yahûd). And they began to seize the priests who (were) in Cairo (al-Kâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr), those who (were) priests of the churches in it. And these wretched ones undertook to be either overseers or chiefs (of crews) of the fleet. And they used to take with them bodyguards from the overseers, and they used to come to the wretched owners of handicraftsmen and workers, and they caused them to go out to dig from early morning till night, and he who had a wage weighed out for himself (a sum of money) for the right of a substitute for the person who would dig for him according to what was stipulated for him, from three dirhams upwards. And there was a man, from the inhabitants of Ṭambadî<sup>(1)</sup>, and he was an agent of the patriarch for the buildings of the inalienable endowments, and what was the worst for the Christians (an-Naṣārâ) was because he excited the governors (al-Wulât) and the superintendents<sup>(2)</sup> against them, so that he might cut off good relations with the Christians (an-Naṣārâ), because he made it a livelihood. And the patriarch was absent, and the people (were) in affliction, and it fell on the lowly especially, because (as regards) \* the scribes and the notables<sup>(3)</sup>, no one gainsaid them, and among them there was not he who had courage to help them (the lowly), nor he who had the power to deliver them, and they remained in this condition. And as for the Jews (al-Yahûd) they formed a league, according to their custom, and their rich helped their poor, and he who was unable to dig provided a substitute for himself, and they achieved what was assigned to them and they devoted themselves to their works. And the elder (aṣ-Ṣaikh) as-Sanî ar-Râhib, the aforementioned, was dismayed and pained by what had befallen the priests, and he did not find him who would support him nor him who would assist him, because he secluded himself at the Church of Abba (Abû) Sergius (Sargah)<sup>(4)</sup>, and had left the services of the Sultan on account of Ṭâhir Bey (Bek). And had he been employed, nothing of this would have

\* Fol. 326 r°

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 479-480.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 736.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Lit.* 'lords of prestige'.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. page 153, note 2.

had taken from them what he needed. And the troops were completed in the lands of Egypt (al-Miṣriyah), and there did not remain at Damascus (Dimašq) <sup>(1)</sup> except a few amîrs whom Al-Malik al-Gawâd had chosen for his assistance and his attendance. And the Sultan Al-Âdil had caused to be brought the Bedouins (al-Urbân), in order to take from them oaths and fealty; and they had multiplied at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) to such an extent that they were in it about two thousand horsemen, and the people were in dread of them until the troops arrived. And he (Al-Âdil) gave to them robes of honour and they swore and they departed. And he gave robes of honour to the amîrs who arrived, and they arrived with the wealth, and engines of war <sup>(2)</sup> in their divisions. And the people, after the death of the Sultan, detested the money and transactions with it, and in the two cities <sup>(3)</sup> there were two rates, a rate for the silver (dirhams) and a rate for the (paper) money, and this <sup>(4)</sup> condition ended, that every paper dirham (was) at two dirhams (in) coinage, and the silver dirham (was) at six dirhams (in) coinage. And (some) of them (the people) were beaten and paraded ignominiously, but they did not desist. Then, after this, they began to sell them (the dirhams) by the raṭl at one paper dirham and a half paper dirham every raṭl. And there occurred in the evening of Wednesday, the first of (the month of) Baû'ûnah <sup>(5)</sup>, a great rain, the like of it had not been seen at such a time of the year, and it continued for a period of the night, and there was with it lightning and fearful thunder, and this was among all its <sup>(6)</sup> wonders. Then (it was) that they returned to begin completing the construction of the wall at the two cities <sup>(3)</sup> from the side of the river <sup>(7)</sup> and the Canal <sup>(8)</sup>, and they returned to force all the people to dig the foundations, from among the

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 163, note 5.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 618.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr).

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

<sup>(5)</sup> = May 26th, Julian Style.

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

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* 'sea'.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-280.

its conquest, likewise; and this affair was painful for him<sup>(1)</sup>. And the inhabitants of Damascus (Dimašq)<sup>(2)</sup> loved him out of their loyalty to his father, but this did not avail anything. And the senior amîrs and the ministers took Al-Malik al-Gawâd Muẓẓafar ad-Dîn [I]bn Mamdûd [I]bn Abî Bakr [I]bn Aîyûb, and he was the son of the brother of the deceased Sultan, and they delivered up to him Damascus (Dimašq)<sup>(2)</sup>, and they made him a commander (Atâbak) of Al-Malik al-Âdil, Possessor of Egypt (Mişr), in it<sup>(3)</sup>. And they delivered up to him the treasures, and he gave both robes of honour and gifts, and he allotted fiefs. And he was generous (and) of good character, and he gained the hearts of the amîrs and the soldiers, and the people loved him, only there was dearness at Damascus (Dimašq)<sup>(2)</sup>. And it was (that), when the news of the death of the Sultan reached Egypt (Mişr), and the people were assured of it, everyone sought corn, and he was sparing of it, and they imagined that afterwards there would occur a siege. And prices rose, until the ardab (of corn) reached thirty dirhams, and barley, eighteen dirhams, and beans (al-Fûl) like it. And the sale of corn was completely forbidden, \* except to the millers, according to the quantity of their grain. \* Fol. 325 v° And the people remained in affliction, and wheat was not obtainable nor bread, and at every shop there was a crowd, so that no one was able to pass to it. And the bodyguards of the governors (al-Wulât) (were) at the shops of the bakers, and bread was not sold to anyone, except by ration, and this continued for the space of a week<sup>(4)</sup>, until the corn was released for the people, (and) they bought it, and it became cheap; and imported merchandise multiplied, and the people were tranquillized from what they had been. And the patriarch had turned to Alexandria during Lent<sup>(5)</sup>, some days before the arrival of this news. And after this, the troops from Syria (aš-Şâm) arrived in succession, one after the other, and the treasures came with the ministers, after that Malik al-Gawâd

(1) *I.e.* Al-Malik an-Nâsir.

(2) *Cf.* page 163, note 5.

(3) *I.e.* Damascus.

(4) *Lit.* ' a week of time '.

(5) *Lit.* ' the Fast '.

Kihak<sup>(1)</sup>, and Emesa (Ḥimṣ)<sup>(2)</sup> and Aleppo (Ḥalab)<sup>(3)</sup> did not enter into the oath. And sickness again spread among the people, as in previous years, and many people<sup>(4)</sup> died. And the Sultan resided at Damascus (Dimaşk)<sup>(5)</sup>, and his power<sup>(6)</sup> became great, and he resolved to go out to take Aleppo (Ḥalab)<sup>(3)</sup>, and he equipped the troops for this, and he fell sick in the meanwhile, and he died on the eve of Thursday<sup>(7)</sup>, the fifteenth of (the month of) Baramhât<sup>(8)</sup> which corresponded to the twenty-fourth of (the month of) Rağab exactly<sup>(9)</sup> of the year six hundred and thirty-five<sup>(10)</sup>. And the period of his sojourn at Damascus (Dimaşk)<sup>(5)</sup> was one hundred and one days. And the ministers were in charge of his affair and not one of his kinsfolk nor his associates of the amîrs passed to him, and he did not bequeath anything. And they kept secret the matter of his death, and they feigned that he was sick, and that he had ordered that the amîrs should swear allegiance to his son, and that the Sultanate (should be) for him after him. And he was the youngest son<sup>(11)</sup> who (was) in Egypt (Mişr), and they all swore. And when their (swearing) allegiance was finished, they divulged the news of his death, and some of them repented. And he who did not swear allegiance, did not swear allegiance, and he was Al-Malik an-Nâşir Ibn al-Mu‘azzam who had been Possessor of Damascus (Dimaşk)<sup>(5)</sup>, whom the sultan had caused to ride in Cairo (al-Kâhirah) (in) the retinue of the Sultanate, (as) a commander (Atâbak). And this (was) his son to whom allegiance had been given, and whom he (Al-Malik al-Kâmil) had caused to ride in Damascus (Dimaşk)<sup>(5)</sup> after

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(1) = November 30th, Julian Style.

(2) Cf. page 157, note 5.

(3) Cf. P.K. HIRTI, *History of Syria*, pp. 564-566.

(4) *Lit.* ‘creatures’.

(5) Cf. page 163, note 5.

(6) *Lit.* ‘affair’.

(7) *I.e.* Wednesday night.

(8) = April 10th, Julian Style.

(9) *Lit.* ‘at the number’.

(10) *I.e.* of the Hiğrah = 1237-1238 A.D.

(11) *I.e.* Al-Âdil II, 1238-1240 A.D.

of it. Then, after that, they returned to the patriarch with the demand <sup>(1)</sup>, and they said : « This <sup>(2)</sup> (was) thy companion and thou knewest of that <sup>(3)</sup> and didst approve (of it) ». And the end of the matter (was) that they imposed on him five hundred dînârs more. And it resulted <sup>(4)</sup> (that) there was claimed from him one thousand, five hundred dînârs, and he paid them off. And as for Bahâ, he remained under arrest for some days, until he should pay off what was claimed from him, so that (it was) that he, the wretched man reached \* the condition that he sought (money) from the people. And after that, when it was known that there did not remain to him anything, he was cast into the dungeon ; and as for the slave, his hand was cut off. Then (it was) that our Sire, the Sultan, departed from Cairo (al-Kâhirah), going towards Damascus (Dimasq) <sup>(5)</sup>, on Thursday, the eighteenth of (the month of) Bâbah <sup>(6)</sup> in this year, and he reached it, and he descended at it, and he besieged it, and the fighting was fierce for it from within and from without for some days. And the messenger of the Calif (al-Khalîfat) was a man called Ibn al-Gûzî, and he mediated between the Sultan and <sup>(7)</sup> his brother who was in it <sup>(8)</sup>, and he was Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ghâzî. And they became reconciled on the condition that he (the Sultan) should give to Al-Malik (aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ghâzî) together with Buṣrâ <sup>(9)</sup>, his fortress which he had at Ba'albek (Ba'alabakk) <sup>(10)</sup>, and other lands. And he delivered up to the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil the city of Damascus (Dimasq) <sup>(5)</sup> and he passed over to it in the daytime of Wednesday, the fourth of (the month of)

\* Fol. 325 r°

<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* for the thousand dînârs.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* Bahâ.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the theft.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* ' it happened '.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 578-597.

<sup>(6)</sup> = October 15th, Julian Style.

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

<sup>(8)</sup> *I.e.* Damascus.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. P.K. HITT, *History of Syria*, pp. 598-599.

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. P.K. HITT, *History of Syria*, pp. 310-316 and S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, p. 229.



remained owing by the patriarch three hundred gold dīnārs. And Al-Asa'd was informed of this and a quarrel occurred between<sup>(1)</sup> the patriarch and him on account of a matter (which is) not known. And he agreed with this monk<sup>(2)</sup>, and he made detailed lists, with the names of those from whom the patriarch had taken simony (*χειροτονία*) and other than it through his (Al-Asa'd's) own hand during the period of his companionship with him up till he separated from him; (and) they (the lists) included (a statement of) nine thousand and two hundred dīnārs. And both of them took them (the lists), and they went up with them to the Citadel<sup>(3)</sup>, and there were copies (of them). And the amīr Nūr ad-Dīn [I]bn al-Amīr Fakhr ad-Dīn Uthmān, the equerry of the House, received a copy and the judge Al-Asa'd al-Fā'izī, the wazīr, received a copy. And both of them sent to bring the patriarch into the presence of Ar-Rāhib and Al-Asa'd, and they set them face to face. And the matter was agreed on that the patriarch should arrange (to pay) a thousand dīnārs to the prosperous Treasury. And while he was arranging (to pay) it, (it happened that) there was a man, a goldsmith, known as Bahā, and he was of the companions of the patriarch, and he (it was) who used to serve him and give hospitality to him in the days when he was a layman; and he had a shop in the Bazaar of the Goldsmiths<sup>(4)</sup> in Cairo (al-Kāhirah). And it happened that a slave stole from the Citadel<sup>(3)</sup> gold, and he went down with it to the shop of this Bahā, and he delivered it to him, and he received for it a sum (of money). Then (it was) that this mentioned goldsmith dealt with some of the gold and melted it down. And when it was known in these days about the slave that he had received the money, he was seized and he was beaten and he was put to the torture, and he confessed with regard to the mentioned Bahā. And he (Bahā) was taken, and he was put under surety, and he was dishonoured thereby, and the greater part of the gold was recovered from him; and he lost all what he had possessed, as a compensation for what was missing

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(1) *Lit.* 'between the patriarch and between him'.

(2) *Lit.* 'papers'.

(3) Cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-210.

(4) Cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

measure, in this year, in the daytime of Thursday, the thirteenth of (the month of) Misrâ<sup>(1)</sup>, and it was the Feast of the Transfiguration on Mount Thabor (Ṭûr Thâbûr)<sup>(2)</sup>. And it was \* an early Nile (an-Nîl), and its increase came in succession, and prices were cheap and things were to be found and (they were) cheap to an extreme, and the people (were) in great prosperity with abundant good things. Then the year nine hundred and fifty-four<sup>(3)</sup> entered, and the water increased until it reached twenty-three fingers above nineteen cubits. And it was, when it reached eighteen fingers above nineteen cubits, (that) the Sultan — may his victory be empowered! — ordered that it (the news) should not be proclaimed, but individuals knew this from the reports<sup>(4)</sup> which were sent to the Sultan every day. And the news arrived from Damascus (Dimaşk)<sup>(5)</sup> that Al-Malik al-Ašraf had died<sup>(6)</sup>, but this was not authenticated until they came to offer condolence for him, and there was made for him a repast in his memory, and the affair was noised abroad. Then (it was) that ‘Imâd ar-Râhib al-Miršâd who was the cause for the consecration<sup>(7)</sup> of the patriarch<sup>(8)</sup> and had become an enemy to him, when he dismissed him, assembled with a person called Al-Asa‘d [A]bû ‘l-Karam, the grandson<sup>(9)</sup> of the sister of the late patriarch<sup>(10)</sup>. And this patriarch<sup>(11)</sup> had chosen him, and had made him his confidant, and all what he<sup>(12)</sup> used to receive (was) through his<sup>(12)</sup> hand, and he acknowledged before the assembly several times that (he was) satisfied with his<sup>(12)</sup> words, and that all what he had received (was) through his<sup>(12)</sup> hand, and that there

\* Fol. 324 v°

<sup>(1)</sup> = August 6th, Julian Style.

<sup>(2)</sup> The traditional site of the Transfiguration of Our Lord, cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *Guide de Terre Sainte*, pp. 510-518.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* 954 A.M. = 1237 A.D.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ papers ’.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, p. 229.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ advancement ’.

<sup>(8)</sup> *I.e.* Cyril III.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Lit.* ‘ the son of the son ’.

<sup>(10)</sup> *I.e.* John VI, 1189-1216 A.D.

<sup>(11)</sup> *I.e.* Cyril III.

<sup>(12)</sup> *I.e.* Al-Asa‘d Abû ‘l-Karam.

Abba (Anbâ) Cyril (Kîrullus), (is) my brother, but this devil <sup>(1)</sup> hath cast (dissension) between us and he hath divided the Church, and he hath nothing to do with me», meaning the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân). And they departed from him, and he sent to them, and he asked them to lodge with him. And the bishop refused, and he said : «I am staying with the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân), and I am unable to depart from him, except with his permission». And the Patriarch of the Syrians (as-Suryân) was angered at this, and he returned the gift, and he interdicted the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân), and he did not see the bishop again face to face. And as for the metropolitan (al-Muṭrân), (it was) that he sought help from the Franks (al-Afranġ), and he made friends with a group of them, and he ministered in the churches of the Copts (al-Ḳibṭ), he and his people. And it was said that the Franks (al-Afranġ) obtained his signature that his confession (was) their confession and his creed (was) their creed, and that this was a custom for them, that no one of the races (γένος) should minister except after this. And the Bishop of Al-Khandak <sup>(2)</sup> and those who were with him separated themselves (from him) on bad terms. Then (it was) that the Sultan — may his victory be empowered ! — equipped the troops in succession, and he began to send out troops and to follow them with others. And, in these days, news arrived that the Tartars (at-Taṭar) had descended upon Arbela (Irbil) <sup>(3)</sup> and had taken it by the sword ; and it is said that they slew in its mosque (Ġâmaʿ) seventy thousand souls, but the fortress remained impregnable for them. And they marched to the Possessor of Mosul (al-Maûṣil) <sup>(4)</sup>, and its possessor yielded to them, and he bore to them the ransom and supplies and provisions, because between them <sup>(5)</sup> there was a distance of not less than a day. And the news from the East and the West indicated that conditions were confused. And the blessed Nile (an-Nîl), came up to its

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* the metropolitan consecrated by the patriarch Cyril III.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. page 159, note 11.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. P.K. HITT, *History of Syria*, p. 234 and R. GROSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, Carte 20.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. R. GROSSET, *op. cit.*, Carte 20.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* ' between them and between him '.

Jerusalem<sup>(1)</sup> and the Littoral<sup>(2)</sup> and Syria (aš-Šâm) up to the districts of the Euphrates (al-Furât), and he despatched him thither. And some of the archons (ἄρχων) resented this, and they said : «This is what is not licit, because these lands belong to the Throne of Antioch (Antâkîah), and the two Sees<sup>(3)</sup> (are) one, and there will occur through this a division and it will not conform to custom». And the patriarch did not pay heed, but he consecrated<sup>(4)</sup> him, and he gave to him jurisdiction in all those lands, even in the lands of the Franks (al-Afranġ)<sup>(5)</sup>, and he sent him. And when it was the Feast of the Holy Resurrection<sup>(6)</sup>, Abba (Anbâ) Ignatius (Aghnâîus), Patriarch of the Syrians (as-Suryân)<sup>(7)</sup>, arrived at Jerusalem<sup>(1)</sup> and the Catholicos<sup>(8)</sup>, Patriarch of the Armenians (al-Arman). And when this news arrived, the patriarch<sup>(9)</sup> prepared for the Patriarch of the Syrians (as-Suryân) a gift<sup>(10)</sup> of Egypt (Miṣr), and he sent with it the Bishop of Al-Khandaḡ<sup>(11)</sup> and one of the priests<sup>(12)</sup> of Egypt (Miṣr). And when they reached Jerusalem<sup>(1)</sup>, the news came to the Patriarch of their arrival and he went out to meet them with gospels and censers and crosses, and he received them with him. And the Bishop of Al-Khandaḡ<sup>(11)</sup> went to the Patriarch of the Syrians (as-Suryân), (and) he assembled with him and he greeted him, and he gave to him the letter of the father, the patriarch<sup>(9)</sup>, and his present. And it was aloe-wood incense and two hand-towels (μανδηλιον) and an ebony staff. And he kissed them, and he drew nigh to them<sup>(13)</sup>, and he said to them : «The father, the patriarch

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

(2) Cf. R. GROSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, pp. 206-208.

(3) *I.e.* the Monophysite Sees of Antioch and Jerusalem.

(4) *Lit.* ' advanced '.

(5) Cf. page 109.

(6) *I.e.* Easter.

(7) *I.e.* Ignatius II, Patriarch of Antioch, 1222-1253 A.D.

(8) The Arabic reads الكناغيطس (*sic*) which probably stands for ' Catholicos '.

(9) *I.e.* the Patriarch Cyril III.

(10) *Lit.* ' a gift of the gifts '.

(11) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-221.

(12) *Lit.* ' a priest of the priests '.

(13) *I.e.* the bishop of Al-Khandaḡ and the priest.

a tower and two or three curtains, and among them (were) those who took two towers according to their ability, and they decorated them with their equipment and their banners and their weapons and wonderful pictures and strange machines. And everyone was wishing to excel the other, and it was an admirable, wonderful affair. And as for the Citadel <sup>(1)</sup>, no one decorated it, except the Sultan and his attendants and his servants who were dwelling (there). And the enclosure of the church of the Island <sup>(2)</sup> had fallen down, and the river <sup>(3)</sup> had taken away the garden which it had and some of the chapels <sup>(4)</sup> of the upper part, and there was fear for the mosque (al-Ġamaʿ) which was at it, and it is the Nilometer (al-Miḳyās) <sup>(5)</sup>. And the order of the Sultan went out to the governor (al-Wāli) of Cairo (Miṣr) that he should authorize the patriarch to build them. And he descended at them and he provided for them and (re-)built them. And it was said that he spent on them a thousand dīnārs, and their building (was) by his (the patriarch's) order; (and) a hall at the river <sup>(3)</sup> with windows, and (it was made) with great eagerness, (and) we shall not see \* better than it. And he (the patriarch) celebrated the Divine Liturgy at it (the church), and he sat on the synthronus (σύνθρονος), and there was read on it the Prologus (πρόλογος) <sup>(6)</sup>, and he took it (the church) from the bishop of Gizah (al-Ġizah) <sup>(7)</sup>, and it became the patriarchate, and he resided at it. And, likewise, the monasteries in all the lands of Egypt (al-Miṣriyat), he made them all patriarchal, and he did not give to a bishop jurisdiction, except in the churches of the cities alone. Then (it was) that he consecrated <sup>(8)</sup> a metropolitan (Muṭrān) for

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-210.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the Island of Roḍah.

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

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

<sup>(5)</sup> For the Mosque of the Nilometer on the Island of Roḍah, cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, p. 253.

<sup>(6)</sup> For the term Prologus, cf. O.H.S. KHS-BURMESTER, *The Rite of Consecration of the Patriarch of Alexandria*, Cairo, 1960, pp. 80 and 89.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-191.

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

they reached Caesarea (Kaṣarīah) <sup>(1)</sup>, and it is the seat <sup>(2)</sup> of the kingdom of the Rûm <sup>(3)</sup> for the Muslims (al-Muslimīn). And it happened on their arrival, that the mentioned King of the Rûm (ar-Rûm) <sup>(4)</sup> died, and they did not assemble with him, and there sat on his throne his son, and he set free the captives who were with him of the troops of Egypt (Miṣr) and Syria (aš-Šām) whom his father had taken captive at the mentioned time. Then (it was) that our Sire, the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — released the captives who were with him, all of whom he had taken from the fortresses which he had taken back from the Rûm (ar-Rûm) <sup>(3)</sup>. And the news was confirmed about the opposition of Al-Malik al-Ašraf to our Sire, the Sultan, and there agreed with him on this the Possessor of Emesa (Ḥimṣ) <sup>(5)</sup> and the Possessor of Hamah (Ḥamâh) <sup>(6)</sup> and the majority of the kings of the East to the extent that he (Al-Malik al-Ašraf) expelled his (the Sultan's) representatives who were at Damascus (Dimašq) <sup>(7)</sup>, and he took his stores which were in it and the stores of the son of his brother Al-Malik an-Nāṣir, the Possessor of Le Crac de Moab (al-Karak) <sup>(8)</sup>, because he was under obedience to the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kāmil; and he (the nephew) came to serve him in Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) the protected on Friday, the second of (the month of) Abīb <sup>(9)</sup> of this year. And the day of his passing through was a remarkable day, because the two cities <sup>(10)</sup> were decorated, and the walls from the Bāb an-Naṣr <sup>(11)</sup> up to the Citadel the protected <sup>(12)</sup>. And every amīr took

<sup>(1)</sup> In Cappadocia.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I.e.* the capital.

<sup>(3)</sup> This would be Kay-Ḳubād, Seljuk Sultan of Rûm (Asia Minor), cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, p. 229.

<sup>(4)</sup> *I.e.* the Seljuk Sultan of Rûm (Asia Minor).

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. P.K. HITT, *History of Syria*, pp. 307-308.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, Carte 1.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, Carte 5.

<sup>(9)</sup> = June 26th, Julian Style.

<sup>(10)</sup> *I.e.* Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr).

<sup>(11)</sup> Cf. D. RUSSELL, *Medieval Cairo and the Monasteries of the Wādi 'n-Naṣrān*, pp. 171-172.

<sup>(12)</sup> Cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-210.

\* Fol. 323 v° did not write the letters, and he did not do anything. Then sickness befell the people and death, as in the Tax (year)<sup>(1)</sup>, \* and more severe, and this continued, and many people died, and the patriarch became seriously sick and he drew nigh in it (the sickness) unto death, and God granted to him health. Then (it was) that the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — returned from his journey to Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) the protected on the twenty-second of (the month of) Ḳihak<sup>(2)</sup>, triumphantly supported, and he went out to the port of Damietta (Dumyât)<sup>(3)</sup> the protected on the twentieth of (the month of) Amšîr<sup>(4)</sup>, at which he stayed for a time. Then he transferred to the port of Alexandria, and he remained at it for a while, and it was his purpose to remain at it for a long time, because it is nice in summer, (and) he had arranged in it a house, the like of which not one of the kings had seen; but an affair occurred, and it compelled him to depart from it and to come to Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) the protected. And it was that his brother Al-Malik al-Ašraf, Possessor of Damascus (Dimašk)<sup>(5)</sup> and Singar (Singâr)<sup>(6)</sup>, changed his heart (towards him) and hatred occurred between them<sup>(7)</sup>, and he (Al-Malik al-Kâmil) returned to arrange this affair. And a messenger of the Calif (al-Khalifat) had arrived from Baghdad (Baghdâd)<sup>(8)</sup>, and he was a jurisconsult of its notables, and he came to the Sultan to Damietta (Dumyât)<sup>(3)</sup>. And he assembled with him with the object of making peace with the King of the Rûm<sup>(9)</sup> between both of whom there was warfare. And the Sultan sent with him a messenger on his behalf, and they both journeyed until

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. P. CASANOVA, 'Maḳrîzî : Description Historique et Topographique de l'Égypte, chapter entitled « Concordance de l'Année Kharâdjî (Fiscale) des Coptes avec l'Année Hilâlî (Lunaire) des Arabes », in *Mém. Inst. Franç. Arch. Orient. du Caire*, t. III, pp. 66-101.

<sup>(2)</sup> = December 18th, Julian Style.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

<sup>(4)</sup> = February 14th, Julian Style.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. page 154, note 6.

<sup>(6)</sup> For Singar, cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *Saladin*, p. 165.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, p. 229.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. P.K. HITTI, *History of Syria*, p. 536.

<sup>(9)</sup> This would be Kay-Ḳubâd, Seljuk Sultan of Rûm (Asia Minor), cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, p. 229.

They said to him : «Thy taking simony (*χειροτονία*) for the priesthood». And he said : «We have to acquit the money of the Sultan». And they said to him : «And what compelled thee to be under obligation for the money to the Sultan?» He said : «(It was) ye who decided the money for the king». They said : «It was not specified for thee to incur it <sup>(1)</sup>, nor what the patriarchate forced upon thee, but thou didst exert thyself for it, and thou didst solicit it, and up to to-day thou hast striven for it twenty years, and thou hast ruined our Church». He said : «I have not ruined your Church, but I have built it up; and there did not remain in it a bishop, and there are in it to-day fifty bishops, and of priests, their number is not to be counted». And the conversation increased and decreased between them, (and) the end of the affair (was) that he (the patriarch) swore that the sum which (was due) to the Sultan had not been paid off till now, and that there remained of it up to that hour three hundred dinars. They said to him : «And other bishops take simony (*χειροτονία*)». He said : «And who approves of this for the bishops? By God, it has not reached me that any bishop <sup>(2)</sup> has taken simony (*χειροτονία*), and these my letters go through the land to this (effect)». They said <sup>(3)</sup> : «And thou ordainest the children of a second (marriage)» <sup>(4)</sup>. He said : «Show me a canon (*κανών*) in which they are excluded from the priesthood». They said : «(It is) the custom of our church and what is followed by the tradition of our fathers». He said : «I am in agreement with you about this, that it is a custom for you, not a divine law or a legislation». They said : «And we desire letters (to be sent) to the two districts, the southern and the northern <sup>(5)</sup> to forbid simony (*χειροτονία*) and to stop the ordination of children of a wife of a second husband». He said : «I will write them and will send them to you». And the council separated without anything (having been done), and he (the patriarch)

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* ' enter into it '.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lit.* ' a bishop of the bishops '.

<sup>(3)</sup> The *MS.* reads by error «He said».

<sup>(4)</sup> In the Coptic Church the children of a second marriage are excluded from ordination.

<sup>(5)</sup> *I.e.* Upper and Lower Egypt.



nor an enemy, but he remained aside, except that he multiplied visits to the church of Abba (Abû) Sergius (Sarġah) <sup>(1)</sup> and to meetings with the elder (aš-Šaīkh) As-Sanî, the monk. And the patriarch had forbidden that a monk should reside in a city or in the Rîf <sup>(2)</sup>, except during the days of harvesting, not otherwise; and the conditions continued thus. Then the news arrived that the troops of the Rûm (ar-Rûm) <sup>(3)</sup> had gone out and had come to Harran (Ḥarrân) <sup>(4)</sup> and (that) they had burned the hostel which (was) on its outskirts, and (that) they had taken captives and had pillaged; and (that) they had returned and had descended at Amid <sup>(5)</sup> (and) had besieged it. And the blessed water (of the Nile) increased, and the people were assured thereby. And the command of the Sultan came to bring out the troops, and there were not present of them, except a few of the soldiers and some amîrs, since all were in the service of the Sultan at Damascus (Dimaşk) <sup>(6)</sup>. And they were equipped, and they went out marching in succession in tens and fifteens, and more or less, and they were weak, (and) they had nothing (to eat) through the deficiency of their bakeries. And the price of cereals diminished, and the situation continued thus. And there entered the year nine hundred and fifty-three <sup>(7)</sup>, and the blessed Nile (an-Nîl) reached to eighteen cubits and eight fingers, and the prices decreased and good things were found in abundance. Then (it was) that a group of the archons (ἀρχων) assembled, and they went up to the father, the patriarch, at the Church Al-Muʿallaġah <sup>(8)</sup>, and they said to him: «Until when wilt thou do these things by which thou hast made us an opprobrium among the nations and the peoples?» <sup>(9)</sup>. He said to them: «What are these (things)?»

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. page 153, note 2.

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

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the Seljuk Sultanate of Rûm in Asia Minor.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. P.K. HITT, *History of Syria*, map ou page 165.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, Carte 7.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *Guide de Terre Sainte*, pp. 578-597.

<sup>(7)</sup> *I.e.* 953 A.M. = 1237 A.D.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. page 150, note 2.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. *Ezekiel*, V, 14.

them <sup>(1)</sup> at the Church of Abba (Abû) Sergius (Sarġah) <sup>(2)</sup> in Cairo (Miṣr), and he used not to obey the patriarch nor to assemble with him nor to agree to anything of his works. And the patriarch used not to come to the mentioned church, and there was nothing in it for him, except the mention of his name in the Divine Liturgies and the Prayers and nothing else. And he (As-Sanî) used to say : «If it were not for the order of the Sultan, I would forbid him who mentions his name in this church (to do so), because this one is not a patriarch, but he is a lessee of the patriarchate from the Sultan, and the Sultan is not to be opposed», and he used to mention things by which he criticized adversely and menaced (the patriarch). And in these days, he (the Sultan) ordered to be dug the side of the river <sup>(3)</sup>, at the bank, that he might lay in it the foundations of the wall which he had ordered to be built at Cairo (Miṣr) and Cairo (al-Kâhirah) <sup>(4)</sup>. And he sent to the patriarch, and he ordered him that he should bring his companions and dig with the people. And he set apart for him a place amounting in length to one hundred cubits for the depth of the foundations. And all the people had come, the amîrs and the notables and the governors (al-Wulât) and the rest of the people ; and (as regards) the Jews (al-Yahûd), they brought them out with the bringing out of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ). And the people became ashamed, and they came from every place, and they dug, and they remained thus nearly a month ; then they finished the work and they rested. And the patriarch used to provide for them with regard to what they ate and they drank ; and he ceased taking simony (χειροτονία), or it was little and rarely. And the prices decreased and things were to be found, and safety was general in the lands. And as for the elder (aš-Šaiḫ) Niš al-Khilâfat Abû (Abâ) 'l-Fatûḥ, (it was) that the patriarch had gone to his dwelling at night and had passed the night \* with him, and this had made an impression on him, and he became neither a friend

\* Fol. 323 r°

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* the group which was opposed to the patriarch Cyril III.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 18-23.

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

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, p. 230.

Benjamin (Banyâmîn) <sup>(1)</sup>. But the monks became enraged at this, and they came with the crutches <sup>(2)</sup> and they broke some of the lamps (*καυδήλιον*) of the church, but the patriarch did not pay any attention to them, and he completed his work, and he went out to his cell (*κελλίον*) in which he passed the night. And when it was morning, he prayed in it (the cell) the Prayer of the First Hour of Good Friday <sup>(3)</sup>. And when the monks had assembled and had come to him, they made an obeisance (*μετάνοια*) to him, and they besought that he should forgive to them their error, and they submitted to every condition (he might lay) upon them, and they had habits from which he removed them. And he came to the church, and he rejoiced, and he accomplished the Feast <sup>(4)</sup>, and he ordained him who wished to be ordained, only the ordination (fee) was a necessity <sup>(5)</sup> on account of what remained of the sum owing to the Sultan. Then he (the patriarch) turned to the port of Alexandria, and he stayed at it for a time, and there occurred for him in it what had occurred in the Monastery with its priests. Then they returned to obedience and to what was agreed on by the group. And this patriarch had strength of soul and patience and forbearance, and he did not pay attention to anything of what occurred. Then he returned to Cairo (Miṣr), after he had passed through the towns of (the Province of) Al-Gharbîah <sup>(6)</sup>, and most of Lower Egypt (al-Wağh al-Baḥarî), and had visited its churches. And the Sultan — may his victory be empowered! — was staying in Syria (aš-Šâm). And the elder (aš-Šaikh) As-Sanî, the monk, (was) with

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<sup>(1)</sup> For the Sanctuary of Benjamin at the Monastery of Saint Macarius, cf. H.G. EVELYN WHITE, *The Monasteries of the Wâdî 'n-Naṭrûn*, vol. II, pp. 300-301 and vol. III, pp. 41-45, and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, pp. 220-234.

<sup>(2)</sup> These are placed under the arm by the monks to obtain support during the long hours of the Office.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, 'Le Lectionnaire de la Semaine Sainte', in *Patrologia Orientalis*, t. XXV, fasc. 2, pp. 328 [280]-348 [300].

<sup>(4)</sup> I.e. Easter.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. Part 1, page 144.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Copte*, pp. 186-187.

and no one should oppose another — these are subject(s) of the Sultan and ye know (it), and if this prayer-house (al-Masğid) is poor, I will support it, only violation by anyone of another's rights is not permitted». And the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) went away and they gathered among them something<sup>(1)</sup>, and they whitened the prayer-house (al-Masğid), and they made at it a stone-bench (Maştabah) and they whitened it, and nothing happened from them except good. And the Christians (an-Naşârâ), during all this period, were (living) with the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) in great equity and considerable respect and common good-feeling, and may God — praised be He! — preserve their days and make victorious their Sultan, and he in our Sultan, and their Imâm, and he is our shepherd. And after this, the father, the patriarch turned to the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Mağâr)<sup>(2)</sup> in the sixth week of the Holy Lent<sup>(3)</sup>, and with him \* a body of the bishops of Lower Egypt \* Fol. 322 v° (al-Wağh al-Bağarî), and of the priests and of the deacons, and a great multitude. And he (the patriarch) had obtained release by the Sultan Al-Malik al-Âdil, of some of the ointment of balsam<sup>(4)</sup>, and he (the Sultan) commanded it for him. And he (the patriarch) took it with him, and he went to the Monastery<sup>(2)</sup>, and he celebrated the Divine Liturgy on Maundy Thursday<sup>(5)</sup> according to the rule and the custom. And there was with him a great company of the priests of Cairo (al-Ķâhirah) and Cairo (Mişr), and the districts. And he wished to appease their hearts by consecrating<sup>(6)</sup> them (the Holy Oils) in the Sanctuary of

(1) *I.e.* some money.

(2) Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 160-210 and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n-Nağrân*, pp. 28-40.

(3) *Lit.* 'Fast'.

(4) For the balsam-trees which once grew at Al-Matarîah (Cairo), cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *In the Steps of the Holy Family*, Cairo, 1963, pp. 8 and 32-35. Balsam is one of the essential ingredients in the preparation of the Chrism, cf. ARN. VAN LANTSCHOOT, 'Le MS. Vatican Copte 44 et le Livre du Chrême (*ms.* Paris arabe 100)', in *Le Muséon*, t. XLV, pp. 181-234.

(5) *Lit.* 'the Great Thursday'.

(6) Cf. G. GRAF, *Verzeichnis Arabischer Kirchlicher Termini*, Louvain, 1954, p. 70.

imprisoned him; and intercession came from some of the notables of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) to the patriarch on his account, but he (the patriarch) refused to have him brought out. And the muezzins (al-Mu'adhhdhinîn) of the old mosque (al-Ġama') at Cairo (Miṣr) banded together and they (were) a great multitude. And they began to gather in groups and to come to the mentioned prayer-house (al-Masġid, and they called to prayer altogether, so that the quarter was troubled by them, and complaint of their action was made to the judge Ġamâl ad-Dîn [I]bn al-Mathlî, the possessor of the Dîwân of Imprisonment (al-Aḥbâs). And he ordered that no (one) should call to prayer in the prayer-house (al-Masġid), except one muezzin (Mu'adhhdhin), and the affair resulted in the closing of the mentioned prayer-house (al-Masġid). And the common Muslims (al-Muslimîn) gathered together, and they came in an innumerable crowd to the door of the prayer-house (al-Masġid), and they broke the locks which were on it, and they ascended to the minaret, and they shouted for assistance<sup>(1)</sup> and they jabbered; and there assembled at the door of the Church Al-Mu'allakah<sup>(2)</sup> a crowd not to be counted, and the souls of the faithful were afraid. And it was the first Sunday of Lent<sup>(3)</sup>, and the patriarch was vested, and he was at the Divine Liturgy (al-Ḳuddâs), and he celebrated the Liturgy (Ḳuddâs) of Cyril (Ḳîrullus)<sup>(4)</sup>, and the governor came, and he sent away the people, and the affair ended well. And the majority of the crowd went to the Amîr Ġamâl ad-Dîn [I]bn Yaghmûr, the representative of the Sultan, and they complained to him and they said: «O our Sire, the prayer-houses (al-Masâġid) are closed, and the churches are open!» And he said: «This conversation is not to be heard, but all must be open; and he who desires the prayer-house (al-Masġid), let him go up to it, and he who desires the church, let him go up to it, only none should be harmed

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<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e.* from God.

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

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

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. E.F. BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, pp. 144-188. This Liturgy, though extremely rarely celebrated nowadays, is used especially in Lent.

And there was among the rights of the mentioned storey a terrace \* at the side of the prayer-house (al-Masğid), and it was exposed to the prayer-house (al-Masğid). And the patriarch wished to make a covering over it, and the mentioned muezzin (al-Mû'adhdhin) forbade him. And when it (the covering) was made, he (the muezzin) went up (and) he demolished it and he removed (it), and they did not remain on good terms <sup>(1)</sup>. And it happened that the patriarch went out to Miniât Şurâd <sup>(2)</sup> to celebrate at it the feast of the Mistress <sup>(3)</sup> on the twenty-first day of (the month of) Ṭûbah <sup>(4)</sup>. And the mentioned storey was unoccupied, and, in the morning, he who had with him the keys of the cell (κελλίον), went up to it, and he found the doors were locked from the outside (and) secure, but the upper door had been broken, and another place had been broken through, and the door of the wardrobe was deprived of its panel, and there was there much raiment. And the patriarch came and he did not find missing (anything), save a silver paten and a silver cross in which was a piece of the True Cross <sup>(5)</sup>; and all the raiment was safe, and it had value. And the door-keepers came, and they testified that this breaking through <sup>(6)</sup> was not made, except from the side of the prayer-house (al-Masğid), and they informed the governor (al-Wâlî) about this. And he (the governor) took the muezzin (al-Mû'adhdhin) and he

[\* Fol. 321v°]

\* Fol. 322 r°

<sup>(1)</sup> *Lit.* 'and their souls remained without goodness'.

<sup>(2)</sup> This place was in the district of Cairo and had a celebrated church dedicated to the All-Holy Virgin Mary. It is mentioned by Al-Mağrîzî, cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 345. This may be the modern town Musturud مسطرد which is 3 km. west of Al-Matarîah, where there is a celebrated church dedicated to the All-Holy Virgin, cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, 1st ed., pp. 176-177.

<sup>(3)</sup> *I.e.* the All-Holy Virgin Mary.

<sup>(4)</sup> = January 16th, Julian Style. This day is the Feast of the Falling-asleep of the All-Holy Virgin, and it is distinct from the Feast of her Assumption on Masrî 16th = August 9th, Julian Style.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Lit.* 'Cross of the Crucifixion'.

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

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M. ANNE BOUTROUX  
VOLUME I  
CIVILIZATION  
(1898-1900)

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ACCORDING TO

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VOLUME IV. PART II

CYRIL III, IBN LAḲLAḲ

(1216-1243 A.D.)

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

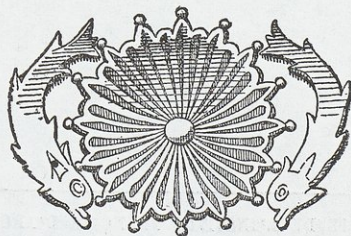
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ANTOINE KHATER

LL. D., PARIS

O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER

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1974



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مطبوعات جمعية الآثار القبطية

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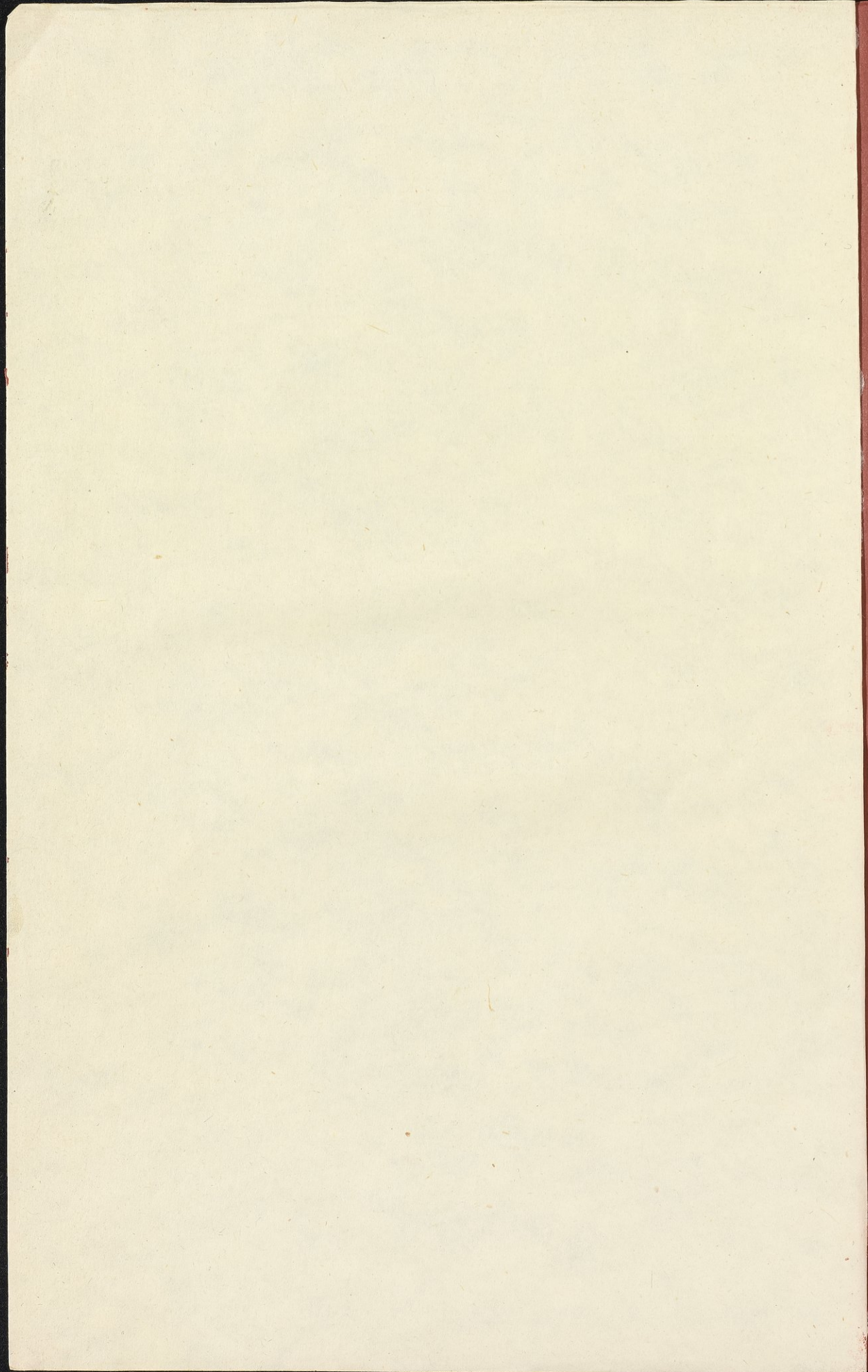
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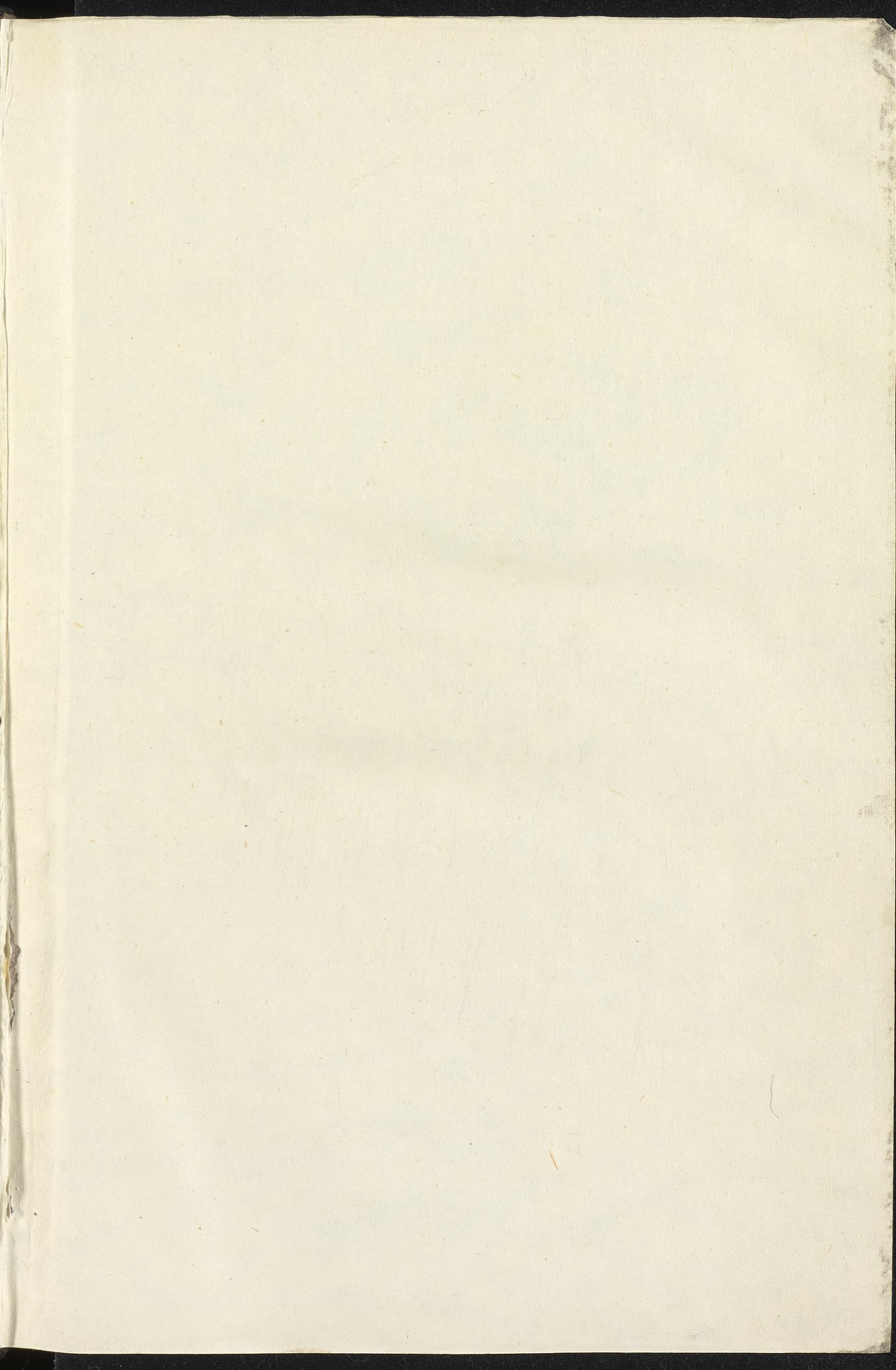
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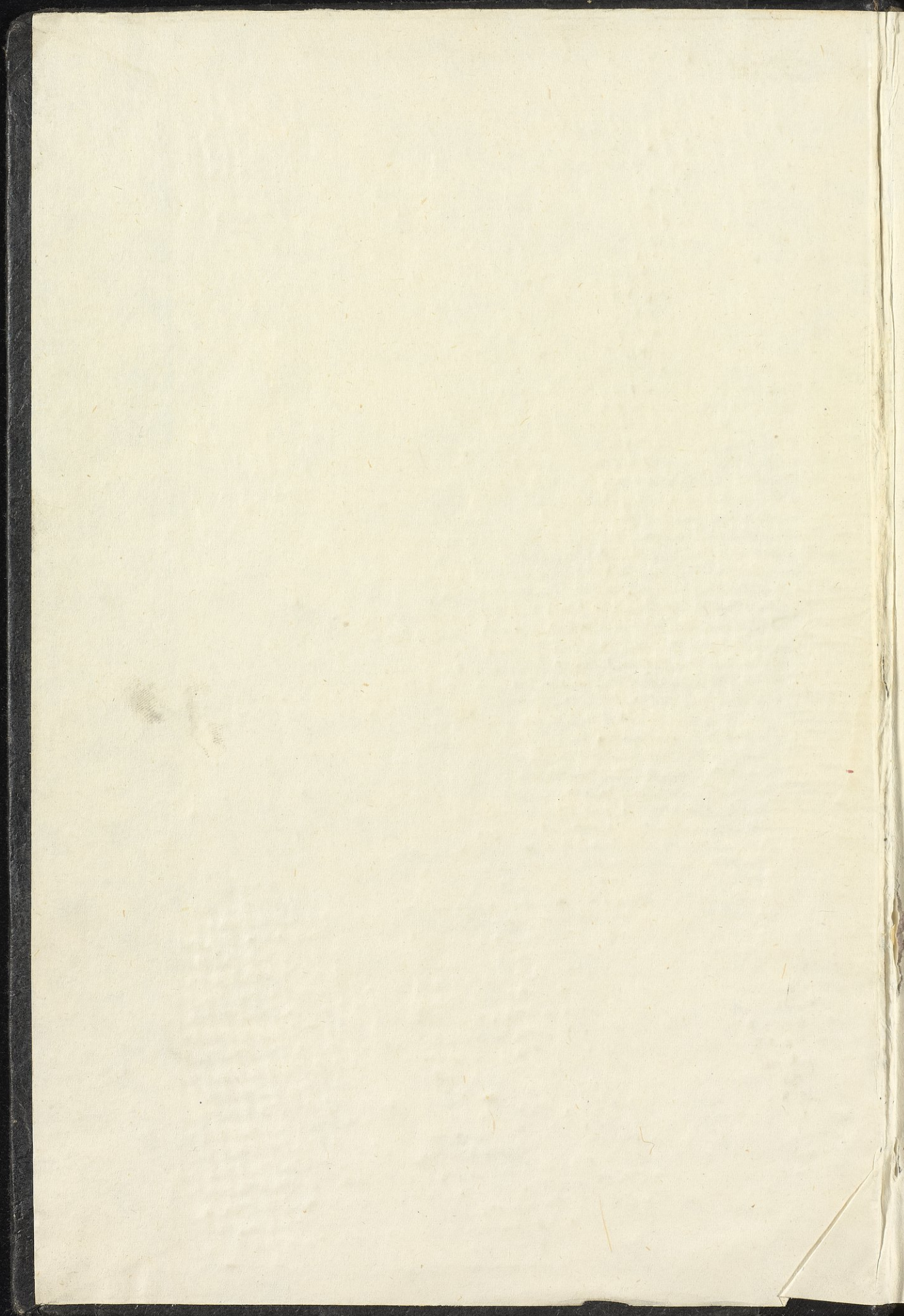


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