

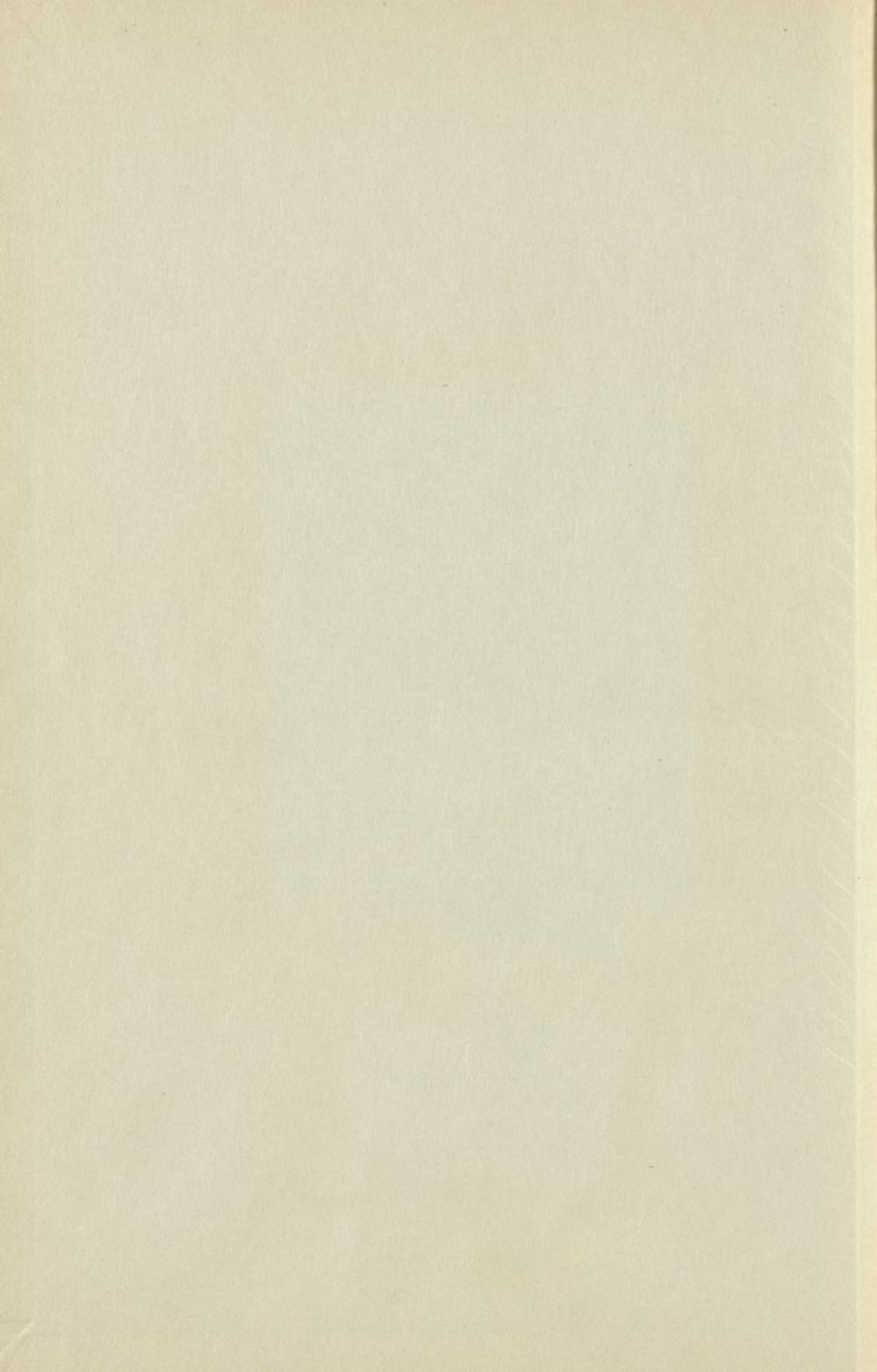


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تاريخ بطاركة الكنيسة المصرية

المعروف بسير البيعة المقدسة

لساويرس ابن المقفع أسقف الأشمونين

مطبوعات جمعية الآثار القبطية

قسم النصوص والوثائق

تاريخ بطاركة الكنيسة المصرية

المعروف بسير البيعة المقدسة

لساويرس بن المقفع أسقف الأشمونين

المجلد الثاني

الجزء الثاني

من البطريرك خايل الثالث الى البطريرك شنودة الثاني

(٨٨٠ — ١٠٦٦ م)

قام على نشره

عزيز سوربال عطية

أستاذ تاريخ العصور الوسطى

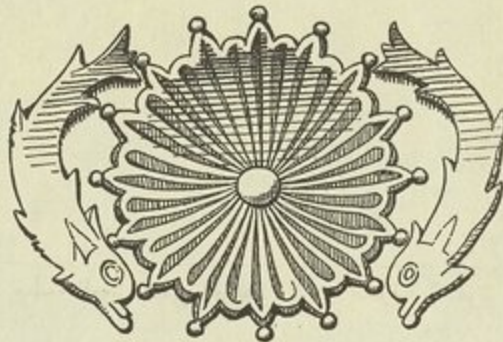
بجامعة فاروق الأول بالأسكندرية

بسي عبد المسح

أمين مكتبة المتحف القبطي

أولدر برمستر

مدرس أول للغات القديمة بجامعة فاروق الأول بالأسكندرية



القاهرة — ١٩٤٨

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تصدير

يحوى هذا الجزء سير عشرة بطاركة ، من خيال الثالث (ميخائيل الأول) البطريرك السادس والخمسين إلى شنوده الثانى البطريرك الخامس والستين ، ارتقوا الكرسى المرقسى من سنة ٨٨٠ إلى ١٠٦٦ ميلادية .

وقد أخذ النص عن مخطوطة المتحف القبطى رقم ١ تاريخ جزء ثانٍ (الرموز لها بحرف م) ، ثم استعين فى سد ما بها من غموض أو نقص ، سواء أكان من خطأ النسخ أو التجليد ، بمخطوطة مكتبة البطريركية بالاسكندرية رقم ٣ تاريخ (الرموز لها بحرف ا) ، ودون فى الحواشى على المتن ما تيسر من الفروق اللفظية .

* * *

وقد اتبعنا فى نشر هذا الجزء نفس الطريقة التى سرنا عليها فى الجزء الأول ، فلم نتصرف فى النص اللهم إلا فى إرجاع حرفى ت ، د إلى أصلهما ث ، ذ . سبق وصف الجزء الأول من المخطوطة م فى تصدير الجزء الأول من المجلد الحالى ، وأما الجزء الثانى فهو تكملة الأول ويبدأ من الورقة ١٣٣ (ظ) — وهذه الورقة بالجزء الأول لصق عليها ورق شفاف وأعيدت كتابتها فى صدر الجزء الثانى بمعرفة المغفور له مرقس سميكة باشا — وينتهى بالورقة ٢٨٢ (ظ) ، وبه أوراق مرممة يرجع تاريخ الترميم إلى أوائل القرن التاسع عشر فى أثناء بطريركية الأنبا بطرس السابع البطريرك المائة والتاسع (١٨٠٩ — ١٨٥٣ م) ، وذلك بدليل ما جاء فى عبارة وارده بالورقة ٢٠٣ (ظ) ونصها كالاتى :

« اذكر يارب عبدك الحقير الذليل المسكين شنوده بالاسم قمص خادم دير القديس العظيم البار انبا بولا الكبير أول السواح الذي رم هذه السير يرجوا بذلك العفو والمساحة بغفران خطاياہ بشفاعۃ من ذکرة اسمہم فیہا وكان ترمیم ذالك یومیذ بالقلايہ العامرة بالمحروسة فی ایام ریاسة السید الاب الجلیل المغبوط الطوبانی ریس الرووسا وسید السادات الاب المکرم بكل نوع انبا بطرس البطریرک التاسع والمایہ من عدد الابا البطارکة ادام الله تعالیٰ علینا ریاسته سنینا عدیده وازمنه متصله سالمه هادیه مدیده بالعمر الطویل والحیاه السعیده امین . »

وعدد السطور فی کل صفحۃ ۲۶ سطرأ ، والصفحات الأخریة بنخط المغفور له مرقس سمیکه باشا الذی أشار فی أول صفحاته إلى أنه نقلها من النسخة المخطوطة بالدار البطریرکیة سنة ۱۸۹۸^(۱) وتراوح عدد سطورها بین ۱۸ — ۲۰ سطرأ . ویلاحظ مع شدید الأسف أنه عند تجلید هذه المخطوطة قصت حوافها فترتب علی ذلک ان ضاعت بعض النصوص المتطرفة الموجودة علی هوامشه وصعوبة قراءة هذا القسم تزداد شدة وتعقیداً بکثرة الأجزاء المتسخة أو المتآکلة من صفحاتها ولكن استعین بها فی استعادة الأجزاء التي قطعت فی التجلید وایضاح السطور المتآکلة بمقابلتها مع مخطوطة الاسکندریة .

أما مخطوطة الاسکندریة فهي كاملة وفی حالة جیسة جداً ، تتكون من ۲۱۴ ورقة ، مقاسها ۲۶,۵ × ۱۶,۵ سم ، ومقاس الجزء المکتاب ۱۴ × ۲۲ سم ، يتراوح عدد الأسطر فی کل صفحۃ بین ۲۱ — ۲۷ وهي مکتوبة بالخط النسخ الکبیر فی الأوراق الستة الأولى وبالنسخ المتوسط فی بقية الکتاب والنص محرر بالمداد الأسود ، ورؤوس الموضوعات بالمداد الأحمر ، وهي بقلم واحد علی ورق الکتان اللامع ، یبیل الی الصفرة وفی أوراقه بعض ترمیم وعلیها بعض الهوامش بالمداد الأسود والأحمر ،

(۱) هي مخطوطة رقم ۱۵ تاریخ بالبطریرکیة انظر فهرس المخطوطات المحفوظة بمکتبة الدار البطریرکیة تألیف مرقس سمیکه باشا ویسی عبد المسیح ، ۱۹۴۲ م ، رقم ۶۷۵ ص ۳۰۹ .

وهي مجلدة تجليداً حديثاً وتنتهى المخطوطة بسيرة انبا يونس السادس البطريك الرابع والسبعين (١١٨٩ — ١٢١٦ م) يؤيد ذلك الفقرة الآتية بالورقة ٢٠٧ (ج) «الاب القديس انبا يونس البطريك الثانى من الدور الثانى وهو من عدد الابا البطاركة الرابع والسبعون» وبداية المخطوطة كما يلى : —

«بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد له المجد . كتاب سير الابا البطاركة رزقنا الله صلواتهم امين . خلفا الاب البشرى مارى مرقس الانجيلى المبشر بالانجيل المقدس وبشرى السيد المسيح بالمدينه العظما الاسكندريه واقليم مصر والحبشه والنوبيه والخمس مدن بالغرب وهى افريقيه وما معها» (ورقة ٢ ج) .

ونهايتها كما يأتى : —

«قد اعلمناكم ايها الاخوة انار الله عقولكم وقلوبكم لفهم ما تقروه من اسرار كعبه المقدسه وشريعته الطاهره وعجايبه الباهره واياته الظاهره فى قديسيه كما قال النبى داوود فى الزمور ١٤١ (١٥) «هو اظهر لقديسيه عجايبه فى ارضه وجعل (فيهم) جميع مسرته» له المجد دائما الى الابد امين . كل هذا الكتاب المبارك فى اليوم الخميس التاسع والعشرين من بؤونه ط ٢٠٨ (١٤٠٨) (١٦٩٢ م) للشهدا الاطهار شفاعتهم معنا امين» (٢٠٤ ج) .

[بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس

اله واحد له المجد الدائم الى الابد امين^(١)]

* نبتدى بعون الله وحسن توفيقه بنسخ الجزء الثالث من سير الابا البطاركة ١٣٣ (ظ)
الاخيار الاطهار خلفا الاب البشير مارى مرقس الانجيلي صلواته وصلواتهم تحفظنا امين
وهم بطاركة القبط بارض مصر المومنين الارتدكسيين الذين جاهدوا وصبروا على كل
الم ومشقة ونصب وتعب من المناصبين والمراطقه واعدا البيعة ، ولم يصددهم ذلك عن
حب المسيح سيدهم والاعتراف الحسن والاقرار بالامانة المقدسة واقامة منار الدين ،
وثبتوا على الامانة المستقيمة التى ورثوها عن ابايهم القديسين الصائرة اليهم من الابا
الحواريين تلاميذ السيد المسيح الذين راو وشاهدوا وصنعوا العجايب كما كان سيدهم
يصنع واعطاهم السلطان على ذلك وعلى مقاومة الملوك والسلاطين بتأييد الروح القدس
الناطق على السنتم كما وعدهم السيد المسيح له المجد الى الابد امين .

السيرة الثالثة والعشرين من سير البيعة المقدسة

قال الاب الفاضل انبا ميخائيل اسقف مدينة تيس ان من الواجب يا احباى
لاجل المحبة المسيحية ان نسطر ما اخر تسيطره مما كان فى البيعة الارتدكسيه الذى
شاهده وعرفه اوليك الرعاة فى كل جيل ، وكانوا خداما للكلمة وطلبت من الله سبحانه
اعانة ضعفى انا البائس الخاطى لابتدى واجعل لسانى الناقص قلم سريع الكتابه لكها
يتحرك بموهبة الروح القدس ، فاكب ما سمعته وعرفته من الصادقين الذى يقبل قولهم ،

(١) العبارة غير موجودة فى م

ونسلك منهاج من تقدمنا الذين نالوا النعمة ، لان هذا الامر كان خطر ببالى ان اكمله ،
وتشبهت بالامراة الارملة التى القت فى الحزانة الفلسين الحقيرين ولم يكن لها غيرهما قبلهما
الرب فاحص القلوب منها ، ووجدت الذى تضمنته السير الذى رتبها الابا القديسين بقوة
الروح القدس هو ما جرت عليه البيعة من زمان الاب القديس الانجيلي مارى مرقص
البكر الطاهر الشهيد ، والى زمان الابنا سانوتيوس ، وهو الخامس والخمسين المرسوم
بطريركا بعد ابنا قسما ، وهذا الاب سانوتيوس هو الذى لحقه شدايد عظيمة حسب ما
تضمنته سيرته ومن بعده الى زمان ابنا سانوتيوس الخامس والستون الذى وسمى انا
الغير مستحق قسا لم يكذب شى من السير ، فكبت انا البائس مينخاييل ذلك بمعونة الله
سبحنه لى .

ابنا خاييل البطريرك وهو من العدد السادس والخمسون

لما توفى سانوتيوس البطريرك الذى بنى هيكل مارى مرقص بالاسكندرية ،
وثبت هذا الهيكل مائة وخمسة عشر سنة اقم من بعده ابنا خايال ، وكان ذو خصال
ثلاثة جميلة تشبه الذهب المسبوك فى النار لاجل التجارب التى لحقته وصبر عليها . وذلك
انه كان على كرسى سخا اسقف شرير ، وكان من جملة كرسيه الضيعة المعروفة بدنوشر ،
وكان فيها بيعة على اسم الشهيد طلماوس تحتاج الى تكريز ، فاجتمع روسا الناحية الى
الاب البطرك ابنا خايال والابا الاساقفة الذين حضروا معه التكريز وسالوهم الحضور
الى البيعة لينالوا بركهم فحضروا جميعا واجتمع شعب عظيم ، وحضروا وقت القداس ،
وكان اسقف سخا المذكور غائب عن البيعة مهتم بعمل طعام لهم ، وتصرم النهار* وجاز
وقت القداس ، فانفذوا الى الاسقف فلم يحضر لانه مشتغل بما ذكرنا . فسالوا
الاساقفة والجماعة الاب البطرك ان يحمل القربان على الهيكل لتبتدى الكهنة بقراءة
الكتاب وتفسيرها على حال رفق ومهلة الى ان يحضر الاسقف ، ففعل ذلك . ومن

بعد هذا حضر الاسقف فوجدهم قد بدوا قبل حضوره ، فغضب وقال للبطرك بضجر من جعل لك ان تفعل هذا في كرسيي بغير امرى ولا حضورى . ثم تقدم الى الهيكل واخذ الدورن الذى حمل عليه كسره ورماه وخرج مغضبا ، فصعب ذلك على الاب البطرك وعلى جميع الحاضرين ، ثم اخذوا ظورن اخر حملوه على الهيكل وكاوا القداس وقربوا الناس . فلما كان بالغداة جلس الاب البطرك واجتمع اليه الاساقفة وقطعوا ذلك الاسقف وقدموا غيره . فلما علم ذلك داخله الشيطان ، وتسلط عليه الغضب ، فمضى الى الامير المتولى بفسطاط مصر من قبل الخليفة وهو احمد ابن طولون النايب عن خليفة بغداد ، وكان محب لجمع المال ، فشكا له البطرك واغراه عليه ، وقال له ان معه مال عظيم وكان ابن طولون مهمم بتجريد عسكر الشام ففرح بقول الاسقف لياخذ من البطرك ما ينفقه فى العسكر فانفذ واحضر الاب البطرك وخاطبه قايلا انت تعلم ما نحتاج اليه من الاموال برسم الحمل الى الخليفة ببغداد لانه صاحب هذه الارض ، وبخاصة لما عليه من الحروب وانتم يا مقدمى النصرى تحت سلامه ، وما تحتاجوا الى ذهب ولا فضة الا خبز تاكلوه وثوب تلبسوه ، وقد عرفت ان لك مال كثير وانية لا تحصى ذهب وفضة وديباج وانواع الحرير للبيع ، وانا احبك واوقر شيخوختك ، وقد احضرتك بغير اجحاف ولا عنف ، لانك يجب ان تكرم ولا تهان فادفع لى ما عندك لاحمله الى الخليفة فتجد به عنده وعندى نعمة . فسكت البطرك ولم يدرى ماذا يجيبه ، ثم قال له بسكينة وتواضع ان مملكتكم ليس فيها ظلم ، وانتم قوم تعرفون الحق وانا انسان ضعيف لا املك ذهبا ولا فضة ولا شيا مما سعى به اليك ، وعظمتك تعلم انا قوم مامورين ان لانكزكوزا على الارض ولا نهتم بغد ، والان فانا بين يديك افعل ما تريد ، فسلطانك على جسدى ، وروحي بيد خالقها . فلما سمع احمد ابن طولون ذلك غضب وقال حقا ان اكرامى لك اوجب انكارك على بمالك ، وكلمن هو خارج عن ديننا اذا اكرم لا يعرف الاكرام . ثم امر بحبسه ، وكان فى الحبس الذى اعتقل فيه انسانا ريبس يعرف بابن المدبر ، وكان رجلا مامون يجب

الصدقة كثير المال ، فكان يخدم البطرك ويصوم معه ويفطر معه على خبز وملح وبقلا^(١) مصلوق وما يجرى مجراه . وكان ذلك الرئيس لا يأكل شيا مما يحمل اليه من داره فاقام معه في الحبس سنة ، وكان الحبس مملوا جدا وبعد انقضا السنة دفع البطرك للسجان شيا حتى عمل له بيت ما طوب وطين طوله ذراعين في ذراعين ليلا يكون يريق الما قدام المعتقلين لانه ظن ان مدة حبسه تطول الى يوم وفاته . وفي اليوم الذى فرغ البنا من بيت الما فيه افرج الله عنه . وذلك انه كان لاحمد ابن طولون* كاتبين اخوين (ظ) ١٣٤ احدهما يسمى بسوس والاخر ابرام ولدى موسى ، وكان يجيها وكانا قد اكثرا الطلبة اليه ان يضمه لهما وياخذه من الحبس الى منزلهما فلم يفعل . وكان احمد ابن الماردانى^(٢) وزير ابن طولون له كاتب يسمى يونس ، فسأل هذا الكاتب صاحبه الوزير ان يسال الامير فى البطرك ، ثم مضى الى ام احمد ابن طولون وكانت امراة ورعة فى دينها عارفة به ، وقال لها قد علمت طول حبس البطرك ، وقد مات جماعة من الاساقفة باقليم مصر ولم يقام عوضهم ، والحاجة داعية الى اقامة عوضهم . فقالت له الم تعلم ان يوحنا وابراهيم ابنا موسى وهما كاتبيه وخاصته قد اجتهدا ان ينقلاه من حبسه الى منزلهما فما قدرا ، فكيف يسمع منك انت . فقال لها انا افعل ما قد جعله الله فى قلبى والامر لله جلت قدرته . فشجعته على ذلك ، فمضى واخذ معه ولدا له يسا مقاره ، وقاما فى الغلس الى دار احمد ابن على الماردانى ، وكان له عادة اذا خرج بالغداة لا يجاوب احدا ولا يسمع منه كلاما حتى يمضى الى الجامع ويركع فيه خمس ركعات ثم يعود الى داره وموضع جلوسه ، فلما عاد من الجامع والشمعة بين يديه وجد يوحنا وولده جالسين على باب داره حتى انهما فرشا اغشية سروجهما وجلسا عليها ، فلما اذن لهما فى الدخول معه سألها عن سبب بكورهما بخلاف العادة ، فسقعا^(٣) بين يديه وقالوا يا سيدنا الوزير نهى اليك ان ليس لنا صلاة فى كنايسنا ولا من يحكم فى أمورنا ، وقد طال حبس

(١) وبقلا [١٣٢١ (ج) : وبقلا (٢) الماردانى وردت فيما بعد الماردانى وربما كان صوابها الماردانى (٣) فسقعا [١٣٢١ (ج) فسقما

بطرکنا ونحن نسالک مساعدتنا نحن وجميع شعب النصارى ، وتسال الامير فيه ، فقال لهما اما تعلمنا موضع ابني موسى عنده ومكانها منه ، وقد سالاه دفعات كثير فلم يجيب سواهم ، غير اني اصرف اهتامي في ذلك . وحلف لهما ، ثم مضى الى الامير كعادته ، وانهى اليه امور دولته ، وذكر له حال البطرک . فقال له الامير انا اقتله فانه تجالد على . قال له ما في قتله فايده ، لكن نجهد في ان نحصل منه شيا ليبت المال اصوب من قتله . فقال له لعله انفذ يسلك^(١) في هذا الامر . فحلف له وقال انه من يوم اعتقاله ما قرأت منه رقعة ، ولا خاطبني فيه احد الى هذه الغاية التي جاني يوحنا الكاتب وولده وبكيا ، فحلفت لهما انني اخاطبك بسببه . وامر باحضار يوحنا الكاتب وولده ، فلما حضرا كذب لهما رقعة الى متولى الاعتقال بتسليم البطرک لهما يمضيا به الى حيث يريدان ، ويقرران امره على ما يستقر . فحينئذ اخرج من الحبس الى دار الوزير ، ولم يدخل بيت الما الذي بنى له في الحبس بالجملة . وكان قد انفق عليه ثلثايه دينار ، لانه ساعة كاله فرج الله عنه وخرج من الحبس ، وصار في موضع مفروش مزين كما يجب بجوار الوزير . واستاذن يوحنا الوزير في ان يحمل اليه ما يوكل كل يوم ، فقال الوزير من داري يحمل اليه ، فان اردت انت تحمل اليه شئ اخر فلا امر اليك . فكان يحمل اليه في كل يوم من الطعام والشراب شيا كثير . ثم استقر حاله بعد سوالات كثير وخطوب^(٢) على عشرين الف دينار ، منها عشرة الف الى شهر ، والبقية وهي النصف الى اربعة شهور . فطابت نفس ابن طولون بذلك ، وكان متوجه الى الشام ، فامر ان يكذب على يوحنا وولده مقاره بما استقر ، ويشهد عليهما ان المال في جهتهما ، ففعلا ذلك . وحينئذ تساما البطرک واجتهدا ان يمضيا به الى منزلهما ، فلم يفعل بل مضى الى كنيسة الست السيدة بقصر الشمع* ، بزقاق ابو حصين التي صارت الان (ج) ١٣٥ ملكية ، واقام بها عشرين يوما والاراخنه يحضروا عنده ويتحدثوا معه ، وياكلوا

(١) يسلك كذا اقرأ يسالك (٢) وخطوب [كذا والمقصود بذلك مخاطبات

ويشربوا عنده ، ويتباركوا منه . وكان لكل واحد منهم يحمل اليه فيه ما يحتاج اليه ، فلما قرب فراغ الشهر ولم يحصل له شيا من العشرة الف دينار ، ولا كان مع البطرك شيا بالجملة ، قلقوا لذلك واحصوا الكراسى الخالية من الاساقفة فوجدوها عشرة فاقاموا لها عشرة اساقفة ، فقدموهم اليه بعد ان قرروا عليهم مالا يقوموا به في مدة عشرة ايام ، ورسمهم اساقفة . واحضر يوحنا وولده الفى دينار ، ودفع لهم الوزير الف دينار من ماله قرضة ، ومضوا الى كتاب مسلمين اقترضوا منهم سبعة الف دينار ، فحملوا العشرة الف الى الامير عند انقضا الشهر ، وحلفوا له ان ليس للبطرك فيها دينار ولا درهم ، ولا وجدوا له شيا ، وان جميعها قرضا عليه . فاخذ المال ودفع لهم الخط وخزقوه وكتب يوحنا وولده غيره بالباقي وهو عشرة الف دينار اخرى وكتبوا فيه تلميذه انبا نجوم اسقف طحا وتلميذ اخر حتى صاروا اربعة ضمنوا المال الى اربعة شهور . فلما عاد الى البطرك حسه وسكن روعه ، اجتمع اليه السنودس وتشاوروا في حال المال المقترض والذي بقي للامير ، فاستقر رأيهم على ان ينفذوا الى كراسيم ، وياخذوا من كل انسان قيراط ذهب ، ونقضوا بفعلهم هذا قانون الابا الحواريون . ومعلى البيعة القديسين القبايين ان لا يواخذ عن موهبة الله وهى الكهنوت لا ذهب ولا فضة اعنى الشرطونية ، فاخذوا من العشرة اساقفة الذى صيروهم على الكراسى ما استقر عليهم . ثم مضى الاب البطرك الى وادى هيب ، فباع الرمامم التى هى موضع وقوف الرهبان فى البيعة للصلاة ، واخذ من كل راهب عن موضع وقوفه دينار واحد . ثم مضى الى الاسكندرية ، وسال الكهنة ان يمكوه ان ياخذ ما فى الكنايس يبيعه ويحمل ثمنه للسلطان ، فلم يطيعوه وجرى بينهم خطوط كثير الى ان تقرر معهم ان يبيع ربايع الكنايس ويحمل ثمنها ، واشروطوا عليه ان يعطيهم فى كل سنة الف دينار ، ويكون هذا رسما عليه مستقر فى كل سنة ، وعلى من يجلس بعده على كرسى مرقص الانجيلي . واخذوا خطه بذلك وخطوط اساقفته . حينئذ باعوا ربايع الكنايس بالاسكندرية ، وسلموا اليه ثمنها ، فاجتمع له من هذا كله مع صدقات حملت اليه عشرة الف دينار ، بمقدار ما اقترضه ،

وبقى عليه عشرة الف دينار للامير لا يعرف لها وجه . وصار هذا البطرک القديس اذا كُتب كتاب عن نفسه لا يقول من ميخائيل بل من خايا وتفسيره الاخير اى انه اخر من ولدته امه التى هى الكيسه ، اذ صار حسنها الى كآبة مما جرى من اخذ المال من الاساقفة على الشرطونية . وفى تلك الايام جرى بين الروم والمساكين غزاه فسبوا المساكين الروم من بلادهم ، وجابوا الى مصر منهم شئ كثير جداً ، وكذلك الروم استاسروا من المساكين خلق كثير . فكُتب الملكان لاون والاكسندرس^(١) الى احمد ابن طولون كُتبا يلتمسا الصلح ، وان يخلى كل واحد منهما ما حصل فى يده من الماسورين نفس بنفس . فكُتب ابن طولون الى الملكين يشتمهما ويهددهما مثل انسان ضعيف هارب وهو يشتم الذى يطرده . فكُتبا اليه كُتبا هذه نسخته من لاون والاكسندرس^(١) الملكان الضابطان من قبل السيد يسوع المسيح على بلاد الروم * يكتابا احمد ابن طولون . ١٣٥ (ظ)

« السلام عليك بمقدار استحقاقك . وصلت الينا كُتبتك جوابا عما كُتبتنا به عن الماسورين . فوجدنا فيها كلام ينقض بعضه بعض . اول ذلك تدعوا لنا مثل صديق ، ثم بعد ذلك تخوفنا مثل عدو ، وخايف فلم يتبين لنا منك ما نعتمد عليه ليكن جوابنا لك بحسبه ، بل شتمت مذهبنا وهذا ما لا يجب لك ان تكُتب به بما لا تعرف تاويله ، ولا يجوز ان تشتم مذهبنا ما لم يظهر فيه عيبا . وقد تاملنا ما وصل الينا من غيرك منذ ظهور دينكم والى الان فما وجدنا فيها شيا مثلما واجهتنا به من الشتم للذهب . فعلمنا ان متقدميكم اجل منكم وانت لم تلحقهم فى فن من الفنون . وجدفت على اعتقادنا فى ابن الله ، وزعمت انك لا تعرف ولدا الا من نطفة . وهذا بعيد من المسلك الجيد . لكن العقل يشهد لنا ان الهنا دائم لم يزل حيا ناطقا ، فسميت كلمته ابنا وحياته روح قدس ، ونحن وانتم معا على ان الله خلق الكل بغير اداة عمل ، بل بقوله كن فكان . وبقية الكتاب فيه كلام ريكك لم يكُتب بمثله احد من تقدمك » فاما الاب ابنا خيال

(١) والاكسندرس [١٣٣١ (ج) : والاكسندرس

فانه اقام تحت ضيق صدر بسبب العشرة الف دينار الباقية عليه . ثم انه استخار الله تعالى وانحدر الى مدينة تنيس لياخذ منها شيا من صدقات النصارى المحبين لله ، ثم يطوف في تلك البلاد ليحصل شيا آخر منها ، فلما اقام في تنيس يوم واحد حضروا جماعة ليتباركوا منه ويسالوا عن اخباره وما انتهت اليه حاله ، واذا راهب مستور الوجه نحيف الجسم زرى المنظر عليه تراج خلق دخل الى البطرك وسط الجمع واخذ بركه ، فلم يقول له احد اجلس بجلس الى جانب التلاميذ وقال لاحدهم لماذا ابونا البطرك قلق بسبب ما هو مطلوب به وما يتوقعه من المطالبة ، امضى اليه ويقول^(١) له بعد اربعين يوم يمزق الرب عنه الحط ولا يطلب منه مال بل يترك له . فتقدم التلميذ واعلم البطرك بذلك فامر التلميذ باحضاره اليه فلم يجده ، وفتشوا عليه مدينة تنيس فما عرفوا له خبر حتى كان الارض بلعته او السما اخفته ، فانفذوا الى دمياط والى المواضع القريبة منهم يطلبوه ، فلم يجده . ومن بعد ثلثة ايام خرج احمد ابن طولون من مصر ساير الى دمشق لاجل ما وصل اليه من الاخبار التي اقلقتة ، فانفق في العسكر ثلثماية الف دينار ، واقام تسعة وعشرين يوما ساير ولم يستريح في مكان ، وكانت هذه عقوبة سماوية حلت به من عند الله لاجل ظلمه ، وفي تمام الاربعين يوم التي اخبر بها الراهب مات احمد ابن طولون بعد عودته موت سو ، وجلس ابنه خمارويه موضعه . فعند ذلك اخرج احمد ابن على المادرائى^(٢) الوزير الحط بالضمآن وسلمه ليوحنا المليجى كاتبه ، وانفذ احضر الاب البطرك من تنيس ، فلما وصل نزل في بيعة السيدة بقصر الشمع حيث كان اولاً ، واحضر الاراخنة عنده ، واحضروا الحط فخرقه بيده ، وعاد الى قلايته يمجده الله حزينا على ما انحل من قانون البيعة وعلى ما ياتي بعده على كرسيه من حال الشرطونية وما يجرى بينه وبين الاسكندرانيين .

(١) ويقول [١ : ١٣٣ (ظ) وقول ، ويستقيم بها الكلام (٢) الماذرائى انظر ص ٧٢

ثم اقام بطركا سبعة وعشرين سنة ، وتنيح في الحادى والعشرين من امشير في ايام
خمارويه ابن احمد ابن طولون .

وكان خمارويه^(١) المذكور بنا جامع خارجا عن مصر وهو الجامع المعروف به
الى الان ، ثم ان خمارويه سمع بنجر وادى هيب ، فسار اليه ودخل الى بيعة
القديس ابو مقار ونظر جسده المقدس وسال عنه* ، فقيل له هذا جسد صاحب ١٣٦ (ج)
هذه البيعة . فامر بحله من كفنه ، فسك شعر لحيته ، ففتح عينيه في وجهه ، فوقع على
ظهره ، واقام ساعة مغشياً عليه لا ينطق ، فحملوه الى خيمته ، واخذوا من زيت قنديل
ابو مقار فمسحوا به جبينه ، ثم ظهر له اية اخرى في هذه البيعة ، وهو انه جاز بباب
الاسكنا من بحريه بجانب القوصرة ، فابصر صورة الشهيد وهى تنظر الى الغرب ،
وقالوا انها صورة القديس تادرس . وكان فى يد خمارويه حزمة ريحان فرما بها الى
الصورة ، وقال خذها يا فارس يا شجاع ، فخرجت يد من الصورة واخذت الحزمة
الريحان ، واقامت الحزمة الريحان فى يده حتى ابصرها كل احد ، فخاف خمارويه ابن
احمد ابن طولون جدا وبهت من هذه العجايب ، ثم امر ان تعمل علامة فى تلك
الصورة لتكن ظاهرة الى كل جيل ، فصوروا فى يده صليب اخر ، وذلك الصليب
فى يد تلك الصورة الى الان . ومن ذلك اليوم صار يراعى النصارى لاسيما الاساقفة
والرهبان .

وكان انبا بنجوم اسقف طحا قد كتب اسمه فى الضمان عن الاب البطريك له اخوين
اساقفة ايضا ، وكان له عوامل وغللمان نحو من ثلثائه ، وكانوا فى كرسية يحفظوا البلاد ،
وقد تعلم بعضهم رمى النشاب لان البربر كانوا يغزوه من الغرب ، ولاجل ذلك كان
الامير يحبه وعول عليه فى تفقد تلك البلاد لحوفه من ملك الغرب الذى هو من
جنس مجد ويسمى الفاطمى . وكان هذا الاسقف قد اقام معادى بجانب الغرب يوصلوا

(١) على الهامش « وكان خار[وبه] . . . » والباقي مقطوع من التجليد والاسم المذكور
فى النص كاملا فى ١٣٣١ (ظ)

اليه الاخبار في كل وقت . فلما تنيح ابا خيال اقاموا زمانا لم يرسموا بطركا ، فرسموا الملكيه بطركا لهم وبجحوا على الارتدكسيين وتكبروا كثير فلما اتصل الخبر بابا بنجوم الاسقف صعب عليه هذا الامر ، فنهض للوقت واخذ من بلاده هدايا كثير وفواكه كثير غريبه في غير وقتها وحملها الى الامير ففرح به وساله عن اخبار الغرب ، فقال ليس الا الخير والسلامة بسعادتك . واقام عنده ايام وعاد بعد ان اوصاه بان لا يخفى عنه شيئا مما يتصل به من اخبار الغرب . ثم غاب خمسة ايام وعاد ، فلما راه خاف وظن انه وقد وصل اليه خبر ، فقال له الاسقف لا تخاف يا مولاي الامير فليس الا الخير ، وانما انا لا يجوز لي ان اخفي عنك شي مما يكون فيه ربح لهذه المملكة ، وذلك بانى فارقت حضرتك فاتصل بي ان الملكية المخالفين لنا الذين هم من الروم قد اقاموا لهم بطركا ، نخفت ان يكون عيننا لملك الروم هاهنا ، فياتي في المراكب الى الاسكندرية ، ولهذا رايت ان اعلمك ذلك ، فكب قاطاتيك الى والى الاسكندرية بان يسمع منه ما يامر به . فلما اخذ الامر انحدر الى الاسكندرية وامر ان يقبض على بطرك الملكية الغير بطرك ، وان يقطع اصبعيه التي يصلب بهما من يده اليمنى ، ووجد عنده ستة اساقفة من ملته المخالفة ، فخرق عليهم ثيابهم مع بطركهم ، ثم جمع سنودس من الاساقفة الارتدكسيين^(١) ومضوا الى وادى هيبب بمعونة الله جل اسمه وامر سماوى .

الاب غبريال البطرك وهو من العدد السابع والخمسون

واوسوا غبريال بطركا ، وكان شابا من اهل المه ، ودخل الى البريه وترهب بدير ابو مقار في منشوبيه هناك تعرف بضور تاوس^(٢) ، الذى هو ابوكا اخو يوحنا فى ١٣٦ (ظ) الرهبنة . وكانت طريقته حسنة فى المنشوبيه ، وكان كلمن فيها* ، حميد الطريقة ، وكان

(١) سنودس من الاساقفة الارتدكسيين [١٤٣١ (ج) : سينودس من اساقفة الاسكندرية .

(٢) بضورتاوس [فيما بعد : دورتاوس

في هذه المنشوييه قس شيخ كبير يسما مكسيموس يقول ان العادة جارية في هذه المنشوييه ان لا يتقدم احد منهم يقول الليلوييا الا من حفظ المزامير كلها ظاهر من غير كتاب ، وكان ذلك سببا لمعرفة الرهبان جميع المزامير ظاهرا . وكان لتقدمته نبوة من شيخ كبير يسمى دروتاوس^(١) ، وذلك ان الاخوة حضروا عنده دفعة لياخذوا بركه ، وحضر هذا غبريال معهم فجلسوا يسمعون كلامه كلهم الا غبريال ، فانه اخذ بركه وخرج لانه كان يحب التفرد ولا يخالط احد ، فمد الشيخ يده ومسك يد غبريال وجذبه اليه وهو متمسم تبسم روحاني ، وقال له تهرب مني ايها الاخ ولا تجلس عندي لحبتك الوحدة ، اقول لك يا ولدي انك لا بد تجلس في وسط جمع كبير رجال ونسا معا . فلما مسكوه غصبا ليحعلوه بطركا ذكر كلام هذا الشيخ القديس . ولما مضى الى الاسكندرية ليكرزوه قال له اهل الاسكندرية كما جرى عادتهم اكتب لنا خطك بالامانة ، فقال لهم كلمة عجيبية ، اتونا بنجار يعمل لهولاي القوم امانة جديدة ، ما الحاجة الى الخط ، نحن مقيمين على الامانة المستقيمة التي رسمها الابا الثلاثية وثمينة عشر بمدينة نيقية ، لا نزيد عليها ولا ننقص منها . فلما كرزوه طابوه اهل الاسكندرية بالالف دينار الذي قرر انبا خيال المتنيح عوضا مما اخذه من رباغ الكنيسة ، فلم تصل قدرته الى شئ ، فاقضى الحال ان مشى في الكرسي ، وحل القوانين ، وصار كلام الله متجر يباع بالدنانير لمن يطلب ان يقسم كاهنا واستقرت الديار به في جميع كراسى مصر على كل نسمة من الرجال والنسا قيراط ذهب في السنة وصار الاساقفة ياخذوا ذلك فيقتاتوا به ومنه يدفعوا الديار به للبطرك في كل سنة ، وهي جملة دنانير على كل واحد على قدر كرسيه ، فيدفع منه لاهل الاسكندرية المستقر لهم ، ويصرف الباقي في صدقات رعيته . وقيل عن هذا القديس انبا غبريال البطرك انه اقام مدة بطركيته كلها في وادي هيب لم يفارقه ولم يسكن الريف ولا مصر ولا الاسكندرية . وكان اذا خرج من

(١) دروتاوس] ا : صورتاوس انظر عليه

هناك في امرهم يكون مثل الغريب الى ان يرجع الى الوادى المذكور . وذكر عنه ايضا ان شهوة الخطية كانت تعذبه ، وانه لاجل ذلك كان يصوم مدة لا يفطر ، فلم يجد لذلك راحة لانه كان في بدايته وشبابه قد اذل نفسه واتعبها ، فلما صار بطركا ووجد الراحة هاج عليه هذا الامر ، فلما اتعب نفسه بالصوم ولم يجد راحة شكا لذلك للشيخ^(١) الرهبان ، فاشاروا عليه وقالوا له ان هذه النفس لا يذلها الا التواضع والهوان . فعند ذلك عمل مجرفة حديد لنفسه ، وصار يقوم في الليل بعد الصلاة ويلبس تراج بلاكم ، يطوف على قلاىى الرهبان من برا ، وينظف بيوت ما هم من غير ما يعلم به احد ، فاقام كذلك سنين الى ان زال عنه ذلك ، واقام احد عشر سنة بطركا ، وتنيح في الحادى عشر من امشير ودفن في دير ابو مقار بوادى هيبب .

قسما البطرك وهو من العدد الثامن واخمسون

وقسم بعده قسما بطركا وظهر في ايامه امر عظيم عجيب ، وذلك انه رسم مطرانا من الرهبان على بلاد الحبشة وهى كورة واسعة التى هى مملكة سابا وهى التى كانت ملكة ١٣٧ (ج) التيمن جات منها الى سليمان ابن داوود الملك* واذا اراد ملكها يطوفها يقيم سنة كاملة يطوف سوى ايام الاحاد الى ان يعود الى مكانه . وهى كورة مجاورة للهند وما يليه ، وهى داخلة في كرسى مارى مرقص الانجيلى الى يومنا هذا . فلما انفذ المطران المذكور الى هناك ، وكان اسمه بطرس ، فقبله ملكها المبارك باجتاج . فلما قربت وفاة ملكها احضر المطران وسلم اليه تاج المملكة وولديه وقال له انت خليفة الملك المسيح الاله العظيم الذى كل ممالك العالم بامرته وهوذا قد سلمت اليك مملكتي وولدى وجعلتهم في يديك لتدبرهم بارادة الرب ، ومن رايته منهم مستحقا وديعا خيرا اجعل

(١) للشيخ [: ١٣٤١ (ظ) الشيخ في النص ومصححه بالهامش « للشيخ » .

عليه تاج المملكة ، ثم تنيح الملك ، وكان المطران رجلا عاقل ، فرأى الولد الصغير اوقافا من الكبير ، فجعل عليه التاج واجلسه ملكا واذا براهب من دير انبا اندونه يدور البلاد ويحوب الارض ومعه رفيق له يدور معه ، وكان اسمه بقطر ، فمضيا الى بلاد الحبشة وحضرا عند المطران وطلبا منه ان يعطيها ذنانير ويبرهما بشئ من ماله ، فلم يدفع لهما شيا . فعلمهما الشيطان ان لبس احدهما ثياب الاساقفة والاخر عمل تلميذه ، وكسبوا كلب مزورة عن البطرك يقولوا فيها « بلغنا ان جا الى عندكم انسان ضال اسمه بطرس وحكى عنا انا انفذناه اليكم مطرانا ، وليس هو صحيح ولا الكتب الذى معه من عندنا ولا نحن رسمناه بل زور عنا ما وصل اليكم على يده . والذى انفذناه صحيحا وهو المطران الواصل اليكم بكتبتنا على يديه ، فعند وقوفكم عليا ابعدوا بطرس عنكم ، واجلسوا هذا مينا على الكرسي . وبلغنا ايضا انه اجلس ابن الملك الصغير فى المملكة ورفض الكبير ، وهذا ظلم لان الكبير احق بالملك من الصغير . ومضيا بالكتب الى ابن الملك الكبير ، وكان منفرد فى موضع وحده وكان قد تبعه يسير من الناس ، فلما وقف على الكلب المزورة فرح جدا وجمع اليه الجيش وعرفهم بالكتب وما فيها ووجد بها السبيل الى محاربة اخيه ، وانظم^(١) اليه الجيش فغلبه وقبض عليه ونفاه ، ونفا المطران ايضا ، واجلس ذلك الراهب مينا عوضه . ومن بعد ايام سيرة وقع الخلف بين هذين الراهبين المزورين ، فنهب بقطر قلاية المطرنة واخذ جميع ما فيها ، وانهمزم هاربا الى ديار...^(٢) واسلم واتلف جميع ما وصل صحبته فيها لا يرضى الله ، فلما بلغ البطرك خبر مينا وما فعله حتى نفا المطران وجلس عوضه حزن جدا وكسب كتب احرمه وقطعه ، فلما سمع الملك ذلك اخذ مينا الراهب المزور فقتله ، ولم يعد البطرك يقسم لهم مطرانا بقية ايام بطركيته ، ولا البطرك الذى جلس بعده الى تمام خمسة بطاركة وهو فيلاتاوس .

(١) كذا اقرأ : والنضم

(٢) على هامش م « الى ... » وبقية مقطوع من التجليد وفى ١٣٥١ (ج) : « الى ديار

بعدها بياض

والسيرة توضح لنا ذلك عند ما نحتاج الى معرفته اذا بلغنا اليه بمعونة الله لانه لا يجوز لنا ان نذكر بقية هذا الخبر قبل ان نصل اليه ، ثم ان الملك انفذ الى بطرس المطران ليعيده الى كرسية ، فوجده قد توفي في النفي وبقي تلميذه فطلب ان يسير الى مصر فلم يمكنه الملك وقال له تجلس عوضا من معلمك . فسأل الملك ان يمكنه من السير الى مصر ليرسمه البطررك مطرانا ويعود ، فلم يفعل بل لبسه الثياب بغير اختياره ، واجلسه بغير قسمة ، ومكث الى زمان الاب فيلاتاوس البطررك حتى شاخ وكبر جدا ، وكان يفعل افعال* الاساقفة . ثم ان الاب قبا تنيح ، وكانت مدته في البطرركية اثني عشر سنة ، وتنيح في اليوم الثالث من برمات صلاته معنا امين .

ابنا مقاره البطررك وهو من العدد التاسع والخمسون

وقسم عوضه مقاره الراهب من دير ابو مقار ، من ضيعة بالريف تسمى شبرا قريب من اسكندرية ، فلما كرز في الاسكندرية ودير ابو مقار ومصر على العادة . فلما نجز شغله من مصر ، انحدر الى الاسكندرية لانه لم يكن احد من البطاركة مقيم بالاسكندرية بعد ابنا خيال البطررك الذي اباع ربا الكايس . وعند انحدره عول على العبور على والدته ليسلم عليها ويسرها بما صار اليه من الموهبة العالية ، وكانت قد كبرت جدا ، فلما وصل الى الضيعة ومعه شعب كبير من الاساقفة وغيرهم ليودعوه ، قيل لوالدته وهي جالسة تغزل في منزلها ، هوذا ابنك مقاره قد صار بطركا ووصل الى ها هنا لكي يفتقدك ، فلم تجاوب الذي قال لها ذلك بكلمة واحدة ، ولا تحركت من موضعها ، ولا خرجت للقاية ، بل كانت تلك العجوز العارفة جالسة في شغلها تبكي بكاء عظيما . فلما دخل من باب منزلها لم تقم للقاية ، بل بقيت جالسة تبكي . وكان مسرورا بما اعطيه من الموهبة ، فلما راها على هذه القضية احتشم جدا من الذين كانوا معه ، لانها اهانتهم قدامهم ، اذ لم تتلقاه وتفرح به ، بل كانت باكية وهو قايم ، فقال

لها يا كبيرة لعلك لم تعرفيني انا ولدك مقاره قد اعطاني الرب هذا المجد العظيم فما تفرحى انتى الان معى وانا فى هذا اللباس الذى هو لباس ومجد الملوك . فاجابته بفهم وقالت له اما انا فعارفة بك يا ولدى ، واما انت فما تعرف ما صرت اليه ، وانت مسرور بما نلته وانا حزينة عليك ، فليت لو اتونى بك محمولا على نعش ميتا ولا تدخل على^(١) بهذا المجد الفارغ ، لا تنظر يا ولدى الى ما نلته وتفرح بل ابكى واحزن لان هذا الشعب كله الذى يمجذك انت مطلوب بخطاياهم . فلم يفهم ما قالته له بالجملة من الحشمة والحجل والحيا من الناس الذين معه ، وخرج من عندها وهو حزين باكى لاهانتها له وكلامها له بحضرة شعبه ، فمكث على الكرسي عشرين سنة وتنيح فى الرابع والعشرين من برمهات .

(٢) تاوفانيس البطرك وهو من العدد الستين

واقسموا عوضه تاوفانوس ، وكان من اهل الاسكندرية وقد كبر ، وحدث فيه ضيق صدر لكبر سنه وشيخوخته . وكان يدفع للاسكندرانيين الالف دينار المستقرة لهم فى كل سنة ، فضايق به فى بعض السنين وسالهم ان يساحوه منها بشى ، فلم يفعلوا وتخاصوا معه وضيقوا عليه ، وقالوا له ما نغلى لك من الالف دينار درهم واحد . ثم قالوا له انما انت اجل منا بهذه الثياب والاسكيم ، ونحن البسناك اياها وهى لنا ، فاما ان توفينا ما هو مستقر لنا عليك وعلى من كان قبلك والا فاعطينا ثيابنا . فغلب عليه الضجر . فززع الثياب والاسكيم من عليه ورماهم فى وجوههم ، وقال لهم ان كانوا لكم نخذوهم فما لى بهم حاجة . فلما نزعه عنهم ورماهم لهم نزل عليه روح نجس فحبطه حتى صار مكبل بالحديد بقيسة ايام حياته . ثم اخفوه حتى لا يراه احد ، فاجتمع

(١) على [١٣٥١ (ظ) : لى

(٢) على هامش م بالمداد الأحمر وعلى هامش ١٣٥١ (ظ) بالمداد الاسود « هذا الذى املمته

نعمة الله فتجنن »

الاساقفة وحملوه الى مصر ليظبوه ، فحملوه في مركب واقلعوا به ، ولم تدعهم الحشمة ان يجعلوه فوق سطح المركب* بل جعلوه في الخن ، فصرخ وجحدف وقال ما يقولوه المخالفين ، فقيل ان واحد من تلاميذ الاساقفة الذين معه نزل في الليل الى الخن وبل مخدة وجعلها على وجهه وهو نائم ، وجلس عليها حتى مات . وقيل انه سقى شيا حتى مات خوفا من الفضيحة . وكانت مدة بطريركيته اربع سنين وستة اشهر .

مينا البطريرك وهو من العدد الحادى والستون^(١)

وقسم عوضه انسان من صدلا^(٢) ولدا لراهب قديس من دير ابو مقار بوادى هيب من قلاية تعرف بدربنا ، وكان هذا الرجل مختار . وسبب رهبانيته ان ابواه الزماه بالزبيحة في صبايه بغير اختياره وكان طايعا لهما جدا ، وكأوا كلما يحتاج اليه العرس ، وهو يرى ذلك كأنه خيال او منام ، فلما دخلوا به مجلته مع زوجته واخلوه معها ، وكانت من اهله وقبيلته ، جلس وقال لها يا اختى ماذا نرج في هذا العالم ، نقول الان قد اجتمعنا وكلنا شهوة اجسادنا ورزقنا الاولاد اناث وذكور ، ما الفايده في ذلك ، وماذا نرج فيه اليس نموت اخر ذلك والقبر نهايته ولا بد منها كما هو مكتوب ان العالم يزول وكل شهواته والذي يفعل الخير يدوم الى الابد . فلما طيب قلب الامراة بهذا الكلام ومثله من الكنب المقدسة لحفظ طهارة اجسادهم اقام على ذلك ثلثة ايام حتى قوى امانتها ، ثم قال لها يا اختى قد طاب قلبنا بعضنا مع بعض ، فاجلسى انتى الان في بيتك ، وامضى انا الى وادى هيب اترهب ، بل احفظى هذا السر ولا

(١) بالمداد الاحمر على هامش كل من م ومن ا ١٣٦ (ج) «جلس هذا الاب على كرسى البطريركية في ولاية كافور الاخشيد على مصر في مملكة خليفة بغداد (ا ببغداد) في سنة ستايه ثلثة وسبعين (م : وتسعين) للشهدا وبعد ثلثة سنين من جلوسه وصل جوهر من الغرب وفتح مصر وسلمها للمعز وبنا القاهرة [في سنة]

(٢) صدلا [١٣٦ (ج) : صدلا ، وربما كان الصواب صدلا

تعلّمى به احد ، فقالت له نعم . فحينئذ نهض فى اليوم الرابع غلّسا ولم يعلم به احدا ، فمضى الى الوادى المذكور وسكن فى القلاية المذكورة التى هى دربنا عند شيخ قديس وهو اب القلاية ، فعلمه مخافة الله ، ولما عرفه السر البسه ثياب الرهينة ، واخفا امره ثلث سنين لم يعلم به احد من يعرفه فلما كان ثانى يوم من مسيره من بيته سالوا عنه اهله ليخرج اليهم كعادته فلم يجدوه ، فسالوا عنه زوجته فقالت لهم خرج من عندى من وقت كبير من الليل فطلبوه طلبا حثيثا فلم يجدوه ، وصار ذلك العرس حزن وكآبة . فلما انقضت ايام صنعهم الحزن عقيب الفرح والعرس اراد اهل الامراة ان ياخذوها عندهم ليزوجوها لرجلا اخر ، فلم تجيب الى ذلك ولا قبلت رايمهم ، وقالت لهم الذى قضى على به الرب انا اقيم فى بيتى هذا حزينه على زوجى الى يوم وفاتى . فلما اقام مينا المذكور ثلثة سنين فى الدير وامره مخفى عن ابيه واهله ، ثم عرفوا بعد ذلك خبره وانه حى وقد تهرب فى دير ابو مقار فاسرعوا اهله ومضوا اليه حتى راوه هناك حى خادما لله تعالى ممجدا له وحفظت الامراة العهد المستقر بيننا وبينه ولم تنقضه ، واقام هذا بوادى هيب زمانا طويلا ثم صار سايحا ، فلما تنيح الاب انا تاوفانيوس البطرک ، اجتمعوا الاساقفة والاراخنة ليقموا عوضه ، بلغهم خبر هذا الاب الشيخ القديس اب القلاية وتعبده فى الديارات وان لديه علم ، فمضوا اليه ولا حلقوه ولا كدوه بما لا يريدوه ولم يزججوه لاجل قدسه ، بل خاطبوه بسكينة ووقار قايلين قد اتيناك يا ابانا القديس ندعوك الى امر الالهى لتكون لنا اب على الكرسي الرسولى وجميعنا نصنع لك مطانوات لاجل الله* ، لا تردنا خايبين بل تتكلف وتقبل سعينا من جهة الرب وسجد جميعهم له . فلما فعلوا ذلك ورأى انه مغلوب معهم ، قال لهم ارفعوا رءوسكم ما اخالفكم فلما رفعوا رءوسهم وهموا ان يضعوا ايديهم عليه ويقسموه ، قال لهم بامر من الله اسمعوا منى ما اقوله لكم ، هو ذا ترونى شيخ كبير ، وما بقى فى حركة لهذا الامر لانه امر عظيم ، وانتم عارفين قوانين البيعة وما يجب فيها ، وانه ينبغي ان يكون من يقدم الى هذه الرتبة وسط السن لا شيخا فانى ولا شاب ليلا تعذبه شهوة الجسد ولا زايد فى

(ظ) ١٣٨

الكبر ليلا يثقل عليه جسده ولا يقدر على فعل ما يازمه . فقالوا له ما تتركك بالجماه
الا ان تعرفنا من يصلح لهذه الرتبة ، فلما علم انهم لا يتركوه الا ان يدهم على غيره ،
فقال لهم ولدى مينا يصلح لهذا الامر وانا اشهد له بذلك وبجسن طريقته الالهية وانه
عالم وسنه متوسط فصاحوا جميعهم مستحق مستحق مستحق ، وقاموا اليه واخذوه قهراً
وقيدوه بالحديد في رجليه وحملوه الى الاسكندرية فاقسموه فيها بطركا وعادوا معه
الاساقفة والشيوخ فاجتاز بضيعته المذكورة ، فقال اليها ليسلم على اهله ، فلما اتصل بهم
خبره خرجوا للقائه بالجمار والصلبان ، وطلعوا به المنزل يستريح فلما جلس والجمع معه
حضر انسان شرير من اهل الضيعة فقال لاحد الاساقفة اليس انتم تقولون انه لا يجوز
لمن تزوج ان يصير بطركا ، قال له نعم ، فقال هذا قد تزوج وزوجته باقية الى الان
عندنا في الضيعة . فلما سمع ذلك الاسقف هذا القول حزن واخبر بقية الاساقفة الذين
معه ، وقال لهم يا اخوه اعلموا اننا قد اصابتنا مصيبة عظيمة وفضيحة وصرنا عارا عند
كل احد وعرفهم الخبر فسكتوا وصاروا سكارى بغير خمر من الحزن والكتابة . فلما
راهم مينا البطرك يتشاوروا علم انهم لاجله ، فقال لهم يا اخوه ما بالكم تتشاوروا ،
فقالوا له قد عرفونا انك متزوج وقد فعلنا معك ما لا يجوز وما هو مخالف القانون
فاصدقنا عن نفسك . فقال لهم الامر صحيح لكن احضروا الامراة ، فاحضروها ،
فقال لها البطرك عرفهم السر الذي بينى وبينك ، فاخبرتهم بذلك ، فلما سمعوا قولها
مجدوا الله عند معرفتهم بصحة الخبر من الامراة ومن جميع اهلهما . وكانت تلك السنة
التي جعل فيها هذا الاب مينا بطركا سنة ستمائة وثلاثة وسبعون للشهدا ، وكانت مصر
يومئذ خليفة بغداد وكان الولى عليها من قبله انسان يعرف بالخشيد ، اقام ثلاثة سنين
قبل ان يجعل هذا الاب بطركا ، ثم سار الى فلسطين ومات هناك ، وخلف ولدين
احدهما ابو القاسم والاخر ابو الحسن ، فتوليا الولاية عوض ابئهما ، وثار عليهما ثاير من
الغرب اسمه حنابنا ، فهربا من قدامه الى فلسطين ، وملك هو مصر فلما علموا ان
عساكره بمصر فقط عادوا الى قتاله فهزموه ، وكانا صبيين وكان معهما استاذ لابئهما ،

وكان اسمه كافور ، وكان جنسه نوبى سبوه من بلاد النوبة وسلمه مولاه من صغره لمن علمه الخط والادب وكلما يحتاج اليه ، فلما كبر وراه ناجب عارف سلم اليه مملكته وولديه ، وهذا كان مثل يوسف بمصر . فلما انقضا للولدين سبع سنين ماتا جميعا ، وتولا الاستاذ كافور بعدهما ، ثم مات فاخذوه مقدمى الدولة وصبروه واجلسوه على كرسى عال فى قصره ولبسوه ثوب باكام طوال* جدا حتى تصل الى باب المجلس الذى هو ١٣٩ (ج)

فيه . واقاموا خدام بين يديه ، وكلمن جا يسلم عليه يمنعه من الدخول اليه ، ويقولوا سيدنا يامر ان تقبل كمة وتسلم عليه من برا لانه ضعيف لا يحتمل احد يدخل اليه ، وكانوا جعلوا خلف الكرسى الذى اجلسوا [وه عليه]^(١) من اذا سلم عليه الناس حرك راسه وكمه كأنه يرد عليهم . ولم يعلم احد من اهل قصره بذلك الا الاستاذين الخواص وسراريه وابو الين قرمان ابن مينا ، فاقام هكذى ثلثة سنين ووزيره يحيى الخراج ويدبر الامور الى ان عرفوا قوم الخبر ، فكتبوا الى ملك الغرب واسمه معد ابو تميم المعز لدين الله ، فلما عرف ذلك انفذ قايد من قواده اسمه جوهر ، وكان شجاع مقاتل ومعه عسكر كبير ، فلما سمع الاخشيدية بخبره ، خرجوا لقتاله ، ومنعوا المراكب ان تعدى . وكانت تلك السنة قليلة الما ، فعرف قوم موضعه المحاذية قبالة شطونف ، فلما علم مقدم الاخشيدية وهو الاستاذ وكان اسمه فاتك وكان شجاع مقاتل وعسكره رجال مقاتلة ولم يكن فيهم من يعرف يرمى بالنشاب الا يسيرا منهم فاما الواصلين من المغرب فكان اكثر عسكرهم رجالة عراة ملتفين باكسية صوف ، وكانوا اذا قاتلوا يجعلوا اكسيتم على ايديهم ، ويقاتلوا بالسيوف والنشاب وفضلات حراب لطاف يزرقوا بها الاخشيدية ، فقتلوهم وكانت مطاردهم خرق مصبوغة عجيبية ملونة على قصب فضة علامة للقلبة ، فاذا ابصروهم ينشروه يقووا للحرب ، وكانوا الاخشيدية اذا حطوا المطارد السود الذى معهم قد انهزم عسكرهم ، فلما نظر الاستاذ فاتك تلك المطارد قد

(١) اجلسوا [وه عليه] على الهامش مقطوعه وفى ١٣٧١ (ج) كامله

حظها حاملوها وهموا بالهرب عدا اليهم بغضب فقتلهم وانهمزم هو وعسكره . ولم تزل
الغاربة يتبعوهم ويقتلوهم الى بلبس ، واسروا من مقدميهم جماعة فكلهم جوهر بالحديد
وانفذهم الى الغرب الى مولاه المعز لدين الله . وملك جوهر ارض مصر ، وكان وصوله
اليها في سنة ٤٤٦ لله للشهدا فاما ابو الين قزمان ابن مينا وزير كافور فانه وجد نعمة
قدام جوهر فابقاه على حاله ناظر في كورة مصر ولما هو مشهور به من الثقة والامانة
التي عرفت منه وشهد له بها ثقات مصر . وبنا جوهر مدينة على القصر ، وسماها القاهرة
المعزية ، وكان من جملة الاخشيدية استاذ امير اسمه تير وكان والى البشور وهو الذي
بنا المسجد بظاهر القاهرة ، فمنع جميع البشارة ان يدفوا جوالى ، وحملهم على ان لا
يطيعوا جوهر ، وقال لهم ساعدوني وانا احمى بلادكم واوفر عليكم الخراج ، فتابه جمع
كبير فلما بلغ الملك المعز خبره عند وصوله الى مصر انفذ اليه عسكر ، فلما راو البشارة
العسكر تشاوروا فيما بينهم وقالوا كيف نفسد نحن الملك ولا نامن ما يكون منه ، ثم
انهم تفرقوا كل واحد منهم الى موضعه ، فهرب ذلك الباشا تير الى دمياط وتبعه العسكر
فركب مركب وهرب الى فلسطين ، ودخل يافا فقبضوه هناك ، واقام شهر يسقا سيرج
حتى ارتفع جلده عن لحمه ، وسلخ جلده وخرج مثل الزرق فملوه تب ، وصلبوه على
خشبة ، وكان اهل تنيس في ضيق عظيم في ذلك الزمان من شباب شجعان كانوا فيها
قد تغلبوا عليها ، ونهبوا مال جماعة من الاغنيا الذين فيها ، وقطعوا على اهلها مال
اخذوه منهم ، وكانوا مجتمعين ياكلوا ويشربوا ، وكان كل واحد منهم يفعل ما يريد
حتى انهم اخذوا البنات الابكار من والديهم غصبا* وكذلك النسوة ، وما كان
احد يحسر يخاطبهم ، وكان في تنيس قوما من النصارى يعرفوا باولاد قشلام ، وانما
سموا بهذا الاسم لسبب فعله ابوهم ، وذلك ان ابوهم كان رجلا حكما ولما راى ظلم
تلك الشجعان قد كثر وعلا كذب الى الملك المعز يطلب منه معونة ، وقال في كتابه
ان في مملكك مدينة تسمى تنيس فيها الف غلام مسلمين يفعلوا كذا وكذا ، وشرح
له جميع افعالهم ، والان فيجب ان ينفذ الامير احد من عنده ليكون واليا ، ويكون

معه عسكر جيد ، فاذا وصل الينا فانا اساعده فبا يحتاج اليه . فانفذ المعز اليها رجلا كسامي اسمه مشعلة ومعه رجال كثيرة فلما وصل اغلقوا ابواب المدينة في وجهه تلك المفسدين ، وقتلوه ثلثة شهور حتى ضجت المدينة من العطش ، لان ما هم من البحيرة التي تحلوا ثلثة شهور سنة النيل العال ، فيملوا منها صهاريجهم ، ثم تملح تسعة شهور فتحمل اليهم المراكب الما الحلو من بحر النيل من مسيرة يوم فلما ضجوا اجتمع قشلام مع رواسهم وكان عددهم مائة رجل وقال لهم وهم على الصور الى متى نضيق على هذه المدينة ونبقى هكذي . فان اطعنوني كت سفير بينكم وبين هذا الامير مشعلة واخذت منه لكل واحد منكم عشرة دنانير وخلعة حسنة ويوليكم هذه المدينة من قبله ، فليس لكم بمقاومة السلطان طاقة ، فاستصوبوا قوله وقالوا له انت تكون الواسطة في هذا الامر ومهما رسمته لنا ما نخالفك . ثم تفرقوا جماعة اوليك الاحداث ، ومضى كل واحد منهم الى موضعه ، ولم يبق الا الماية المقدمين ، فامرهم قشلام بفتح الباب وخرج منه واغلق الباب وخرج معه شيوخ المسلمين بالناحية الذي كان وافقهم على هذا الراى فمضوا الى مشعلة ، فلما دخلوا عليه اعلمه قشلام بجميع ما قرره وما فعله ، واخذ منه الف دينار ومائة خلعة طائلة وكب خطه انه لا يظلمهم فاطمنوا لذلك وعادوا الى المدينة ، ودفنوا لكل واحد منهم عشرة دنانير وخلعة ، واوقفهم على الخط الذي كبه ففرحوا وطابت قلوبهم ، وفتحوا ابواب المدينة ودخلها مشعلة بمجد عظيم ، وعمل لهم سماط عظيم ودعاهم جميعهم وذلك شى كان قرره قشلام معه ان ينصب لهم تقدم لهم طعام كثير وشراب وحلف عليهم براس الملك المعز ان لا يمضى احد منهم الى منزله ثلثة ايام بل تقيموا عندى تاكوا وتشربوا معي . ومن بعد الثالثة ايام سكروا من الشراب . فاغلق عليهم الباب وامر اجناده يذبجوهم جميعهم فذبجوا وصلبهم على صور المدينة قبل الصبح ، فلما كان بالغداة ابصرهم اهل المدينة وخافوا^(١) خوفا عظيما ثم انه امر [بهدم] اكثر السور فهدم وبقى مهدوم

(١) وخافوا [ساقطة من م وواردة في ١٣٧١ (ظ)]

الى الان . وفي اول سنة ملكوا هولاء المغاربة ارض مصر تشرقت الارض ولم [تروى] فبدا الغلا وفي السنة الثانية اوفى النيل وزرعوا الناس وافلح زرعهم ، فلما نددت نزل عليه فيران كثيره فهلك الزرع . وفي السنة الثالثة لحق الزرع ريح اهلكه . وفي السنة الرابعة نزل على الزرع جراد عظيم فاكله ، ولم يزل الغلا الى تمام سبعة سنين متواليه ، وكان غلا عظيم في جميع ارض مصر حتى ان كورة مصر خلت من الناس لكثرة الموت والجوع الذى كان . وفي السنة السابعة بلغ القمح نصف ويبة وربيع ويبة بدينار . وخربت عدة من كراسى الاساقفة لخلوها من الناس ، ولم يقام لها اساقفة بل اضيفت الى الكراسى العامرة* المجاورة لها وهى ترنوط اوراط نستروه انحوا اصطف حريوط ابوشوا^(١) ابورسا^(٢) دقله نقيوس واماكن كثيرة ما يسع الزمان ذكر جميعها . وكان الاب انبا مينا البطرك في هذا كله مقبلا بالريف ، فلما اشتد الغلا انتقل وسكن في ضيعة من اعمال تيدا تعرف بمحلة دانيال حتى ان امراة رييسة من اهل بلقونه غنية خائفة من الله اسمها دينا اقامت بقية ايام الغلا تقوم بالبطرك وتلاميذه ومن يخصه ، واقام سنة لم يدخل الى الاسكندرية ولا الى وادى هيب ليرفع الميرون حينئذ بنا مذبح لطيف في محلة دانيال على اسم القديس ماري مرقص وحمل عليه الميرون ، فلما انقضت سنى الغلا السبعة وانعم الله على الخلق بالرخا وعادوا اهل الغربية الى اماكنهم فلم يحدوا قمح يزرعوه حتى نقلوا لهم التجار من الشام . ثم توفى الاب البطريك انبا مينا بعد ان اقام ثمانية عشر سنة ، وكان في اخر ايامه رخا عظيم حتى ابيع القمح اثنا عشر اردبا بدينار وكان يرمى على الناس بامر السلطان .

(١) ابو شوا [١٣٧١ (ظ) : ابشوا (٢) ابو رسا [١٣٧١ (ظ) : ابو رسا

السيرة الرابعة والعشرين من سير البيعة المقدسة
انبا افرهام السرياني وهو من العدد الثاني والستون
المعروف بابن زرعة^(١)

لما تنيح انبا مينا البطرك وبقى الكرسي خال اجتمع اساقفة كورة مصر من الريف والصعيدين وكتاب مصر وكهنة الاسكندرية ومكثوا عدة ايام فلم يجدوا من يرتضوه للتقدمة وكان بمصر انسان تاجر سرياني اسمه ابراهيم ابن زرعه وكان له صدقات على الارامل والمساكين والمستورين والضعفاء وكان شيخ لحيته نازلة على صدره مثل ابونا ابراهيم الاول ، وكان بينه وبين الملك المعز ورجال دولته جميل عظيم لاجل بضايعه وامتعته التي كانت تتواصل وكان يعاملهم فيها وكان جميع اراخنة مصر يحبوه ويكرمونه ، وكان الشعب مجتمعين في بيعة الشهداء سرجيوس وواخس بمصر بقصر الشمع التي هي القتاليكي والاساقفة والكهنة والاراخنة مجتمعين لاجل العيد ، فدخل ابراهيم ابن زرعه ليصلي في البيعة فامى احد الاراخنة الى احد الاساقفة قايلا انتم تطالبوا من يصلح للبطركية وهوذا الذي يستحقها قد بعثه الله لنا . فسمع جماعة من الحاضرين فارضاهم [قوا] له ولم يظهروا ذلك ، ثم دعاه احد اصدقائه الاراخنة كانه يريد يخاطبه في شئ فلما تقدم وصار في صحبتهم صاحوا جميعهم هذا هو الذي اختاره الرب وقبضوه للوقت وقيده بالحديد ، فصرخ وبكا وقال ما استحق هذا الامر فحملوه للوقت وساروا به الى الاسكندرية وقسموه هناك بطركا فابطل الشرطونية التي كانت البطاركة ياخذوها وياخذوا الدنانير

(١) بالمداد الاحمر على هامش م وفي ١٣٨١ (ج) كاملة «جلس هذا الاب على كرسي البطركية في مملكة المعز وهو اول خلفا [ا خنفا (كذا)] الدولة الفاطمية وفي ايامه كان امر بان النصراني (كذا) وقضية الجبل المشروحة في هذه السيرة اعظم الله قدره واشاع قدسه وطهره وما صنعه الله له في جميع اقطار الدنيا» وفي العبارة نقص وغموض

قرضا عليها وصدق بجميع ما كان له ، وكان له مال عظيم [و] عظم ذكره أكثر من تقدمه
وكان المعز يحضره اليه في كل وقت وياخذ رايه فإيا يعن له ويتبارك به ، وساله ان
يسكن بمصر ولما رأى جماعة من الاراخنة يتسروا بالسرارى ويولدوا منهم الاولاد
فاحرم [من يفع]له^(١) فاطاعوه كلهم الا ارخن واحد جليل من اصحاب الدواوين
كان عنده سرارى عدة فلم يخرجهم وخالف البطرك ، فضرب له الاب انبا فرهام
١٤٠ (ظ) البطرك عدة مطانوات فلم يطيعه ، وبقي على سو فعله* ، كالافعا التي لا تسمع صوت
الحاوى ولا دوا يصنعه الحكيم ، حينئذ ركب البطرك ومضى الى داره يخاطبه
وقال في نفسه لعل اذا سمعت اليه يحتشم منى فلما اعلموه ان البطرك جأى اليه اغلق
باب داره ، فلما وصل البطرك الباب وقف ودقه ساعتين فلم يجيبه احد بكلمة ،
فاحرمه ونفض قدميه على العتبة وكانت حجر صوان فانقسمت بين اثنين وظهرت هذه
الاية للناس وخاف كل من في مصر من البطرك . وبعد ايام سيرة هلك ذلك الارخن
وكلما له ، وكان وزير الملك المعز رجل يهودى اسمه بو يعقوب بن كلس وصل
معه من الغرب واسلم على يده ، وكان للوزير صديق يهودى اسمه موسى قد رزق
من المعز حظ وافر لاجل صداقته لوزيره ، فلما رأى محبة الملك للبطرك وتقدمته عنده
حسده وعمل عليه مشورة وقال للمعز انا اريد تحضر بطرك النصارى اجادله بين يديك
ليظهر لك دينه ، فلم يواجه المعز البطرك بذلك ولا عرضه لمجادلة اليهودى ، لكن قال
له ان رايت ان تحضر احد اولادك الاساقفة يجادل اليهودى فافعل ، فقررروا بينهم
يوما معلوم يكون فيه اجتماعهم ، وكان من جملة الاساقفة حاضر اسقف قديس فاضل
على كرسى الاشمونين يسمى سويرس ويعرف بابن المققع ، وكان كاتباً ثم صار اسقفنا ،
واعطاه الرب نعمة وقوة في اللسان العربى الى ان كُتب كُتبه كثيرة وميامر ومجادلات ،
ومن قرأ كُتبه عرف فضله وصحة علمه ، ودفعات كثيرة جادل قضاة من شيوخ المسلمين

(١) من يفع[له] ا : كامله

بامر الملك المعز فغلهم بقوة الله ونعمته . واتفق انه كان جالس عند قاضى القضاة اذ عبر عليهم كلب ، وكان يوم الجمعة ، وكان هناك جماعة من الشهود ، فقال له قاضى القضاة ما تقول يا سويرس فى هذا الكلب هو نصرانى او مسلم ، فقال له اساله فهو يجيبك عن نفسه ، فقال له القاضى هل الكلب يتكلم ، وانما زريك انت تقول لنا ، قال نعم يجب ان نجرب هذا الكلب وذلك ان اليوم يوم الجمعة والنصارى يصوموا ولا ياكلوا فيه لحم فاذا افطروا عشية يشربوا النبيذ والمسلمين ما يصوموه ولا يشربوا فيه النبيذ وياكلوا فيه اللحم ، فخطوا قدامه لحم ونبيذ فان اكل اللحم فهو مسلم وان لم ياكله وشرب النبيذ فهو نصرانى . فلما سمعوا كلامه تعجبوا من حكمته وقوة جوابه وتركوه . فاخذ البطرك انبا افرهام هذا الاسقف فى اليوم الذى استقر فيه حضوره بحضور الملك المعز ومضى معه الى القصر ، وحضر موسى اليهودى والوزير ابن كلس فجلسوا زمان طويل وهم سكوت ، فقال لهم الملك المعز تكلموا فيها اجتمعتم فيه ، ثم قال تكلم يا بطرك وقول لنا بريك يقول ما عنده ، فقال البطرك للاسقف تكلم يا ولدى فان الله يوقفك ، فقال الاسقف للملك المعز ما يجوز خطاب رجل يهودى بحضرة امير المؤمنين ، فقال له اليهودى انت تعينى وتقول بحضرة امير المؤمنين ووزيره انى جاهل ، قال له الاسقف انبا سويرس اذا ظهر الحق لامير المؤمنين ما يكون فيه غضب ، قال الملك المعز ما يجوز ان يغضب احد فى المجادلة بل ينبغى للمجادلين ان يقول كل واحد منهم ما عنده ويوضح حجته كيف شا ، قال الاسقف ما انا شهدت عليك يا يهودى* بالجهل ١٤١ (ج)

بل نبى كبير جليل عند الله شهد عليك بذلك قال له اليهودى ومن هو النبى ، قال له هو اشعيا الذى قال فى اول كتابه عن الله عرف الثور قانيه والحمار عرف مذود سيده واسراييل لم يعرفنى ، فقال الملك المعز لموسى اليس هذا صحيح قال نعم هذا هو مكسوب ، قال الاسقف اليس قد قال الله ان البهايم افهم منكم وما يجوز لى ان اخاطب فى مجلس امير المؤمنين دام عزه من تكون البهايم اعقل منه وقد وصفه الله بالجهل ، فاعجب الملك المعز ذلك وامرهم بالانصراف واستحسنت

العداوة بين الفريقين وقوى غضب الوزير وصار يطالب عثرة على البطرک لاجل انه فضح اليهود بين يدي الملك المعز ، والسيد المسيح يحفظ مختاربه وعبيده ، فلما كان في بعض الايام وجد السبيل الى ان قال للمعز مكتوب في انجيل النصارى من كان فيه ايمان مثل حبة خردل فانه يقول للجبل انتقل واسقط في البحر فيفعل ، فيرى امير المؤمنين رايه في مطالبهم بتصحيح هذا القول ليعلم انهم على محال وكذب ، فان هم لم يفعلوا وجب ان يفعل بهم ما يستحقوه على كذبهم ، فوافق هذا الكلام وانفذ الملك المعز طلب انبا ابرهام البطرک وقال له ماذا تقول في هذا الكلام هو في انجيلكم ام لا ، قال البطرک نعم هو فيه ، قال له فهوذا انتم نصارى الوفاء وربوات في هذه البلاد واريد ان تحضروا لى واحد منهم تظهر هذه الاية على يديه وانت يا مقدمهم يجب ان يكون فيك هذا الفعل والا فانيتم بالسيف ، حينئذ بهت البطرک وناله خوف عظيم ولم يدري ما يجيبه به ، فالفهم الله تعالى ان قال له امهلنى ثلثة ايام حتى ابحث واطلب من الرب جل اسمه ان يطيب قلب امير المؤمنين على عبيده ، فامهله وعاد الى منزله بمصر واحضر الكهنة والاراضنة بمصر وجميع الشعب الارثوذكسى وعرفهم الامر وهو يبكى ، وكان بمصر جماعة من رهبان وادى هبيب فجعل على جميعهم قانون ان لا يمضى احد منهم الى منزله في الثلثة ايام وان يجتمعوا لمداومة الصلاة في البيعة الليل والنهار ، ففعلوا ذلك الثلثة ايام ولياليا ، فاما البطرک فلم يفطر فيها بالجملة ، وبعضهم كان يفطر من الليل الى الليل على خبز وملح وما يسير ، ولم يزل انبا ابرهام البطرک قائم يبكى بين يدي الله عنه في تلك الايام ولياليا حتى لم يبق فيه حركة ، وكان هذا الاجتماع المبارك في كنيسة السيدة بقصر الشمع المعروفة بالمعلقة ، ولما كان صباح اليوم الثالث سقط البطرک القديس على الارض من حزن قلبه وصيامه وتعبه وغفى وغفى بغيره فماتت السيدة الطاهرة مرميها وهي تقول له بوجه فرح ما الذى اصابك ، فقال لها ما تنظري حزني يا سيدتى فان ملك هذه الارض قال لى ان لم تظهر لى في هذا اليوم اية في الجبل والا قتلت جميع اهل النصرانية بديار مصر وابتدتها من مملكتى بالسيف ، فقالت له

السيدة لا تخاف فاني ما اغفل عن الدموع التي سكبته في بيعتي هذه قوم الان وانزل من ها هنا واخرج من باب درب الحديد الذي يودى الى السوق الكبير فقها انت خارج تجد انسان على كفه جرة مملوءة ما ومن علامته انه بعين واحدة فامسكه فهو الذي تظهر هذه الاية على يديه ، فاستيقظ البطرك للوقت وهو مرعوب وكان غلس ونهض بسرعة ولم يدع احد يعلم به حتى وصل الى الباب فوجده مغلقا ، فشكل في قلبه وقال اظن ان الشيطان لعب بي ، ثم دعا البواب ففتح له فاول من دخل من الباب الرجل الذي قيل له عنه فمسكه وقال له * بمطانوه من جهة الرب ارحم هذا (١٤١ ظ) الشعب ، ثم اخبره السبب في اجتماعهم ، فقال له الرجل اغفر لي يا ابي فاني خاطى ولم ابليغ الى هذا الحد ، فعند ذلك اخبره البطرك بما قالت له السيدة الطاهرة عند ظهورها له ، ثم قال له ما صناعتك ، فاراد ان يخفيه امره ، فجعل عليه الصليب وربطه بالحرم ان لا يخفيه شيئا من امره فقال له يا ابي انا اخبرك بحالى على ان تكفمه ، انا رجل دباع وهذه عيني التي تراها انا قلعته لاجل وصية الرب عند ما نظرت ما ليس لي نظر شهوة ورايت اني ماض^(١) الى الجحيم بسببها ففكرت وقلت الاصلح لي ان امضى الى الحياة بفرد عين كما قال السيد المسيح اخير من ان امضى الى الجحيم بعينين ، وانا في هذا الموضع اجير لرجل دباع ما افضل مما اعلم به في كل يوم الا خبزنا اكله والباقي للمستورين المنتقطعين من الاخوة نسا ورجال وهذا الما اسقيه لهم كل يوم قبل ان امضى الى شغلي وامضى به الى قوم فقرا منهم من لا قدرة لهم على شراء من السقا فتبارى كله اعلم في المدبغة وليلي قايم اصلي وهذه قضية حالي وانا اسلك^(٢) يا ابي لا تظهرني لاحد فليس لي قدرة ان احتمل مجسد الناس بل الذي اقوله لك افعله اخزج انت وكهننتك وشعبك كله الى الجبل الذي يقول لك الملك عنه ومعكم الاناجيل والصلبان والحجارم والشمع الكبير وليقف الملك وعسكره وجماعته في جانب وانت وشعبك في جانب

(١) ١٣٩١ (ظ) : ماضى (٢) اسلك [اقرأ : اسالك

وانا خلفك قائم في وسط الشعب بحيث لا يعرفني احد واقرا انت وكهنتك وصيحوا^(١) قائلين يا رب ارحم ساعة طويلة ثم امرهم بالسكوت والهتادوا وتسجدوا ويسجدون كلهم معك وانا اسجد معكم من غير ان يعرفني احد وافعل هكذا ثلث مرات وكل دفعة تسجد وتقف ثم تصلب على الجبل فسترى مجد الله ، فلما قال هذا القول طاب قلب البطرک بما سمعه منه ثم نهض وجميع الشعب معه وصعدوا الى الملك وقالوا له اخرج الى الجبل ، فامر جميع عساكره وخواصه ووجوه دولته بالخروج وضربت البوقات وخرج الملك المعز ووزيره معه وتقدم بخروج ذلك الكافر موسى ، ففعل الاب البطرک كما قال له ذلك القديس ووقف الملك المعز واصحابه في جانب ، وجميع النصارى والبطرك في جانب اخر ، ووقف الرجل خلف البطرک ولم يكن في الجمع من يعرفه الا البطرک وحده ، وصرخوا يا رب ارحم دفعات كثيرة ثم امرهم بالسكوت وسجدوا على الارض وسجدوا جميعهم معه ثلث دفعات ، وكل دفعة يرفع وجهه ويصلب يرتفع الجبل عن الارض فاذا سجدوا نزل الجبل الى حده ، فخاف الملك المعز خوفا عظيما وصاح الملك والمسلمين الله اكبر لا اله غيرك ، ثم قال الملك المعز للبطرك بعد ثالث دفعة حسبك يا بطرك قد عرفت صحة دينكم ، فلما اهدتوا الناس النفث البطرک يطالب الرجل القديس فلم يجده ثم قال الملك للبطرك انبا افرهام تمنى على شى افعله لك ، فقال له ما اتنا لا ان يثبت الله دولتك ويعطيك النصر على اعدائك ، فقال له تمنا يا بطرك فاعاد عليه القول ثلثة دفعات ، فقال له الملك المعز لا بد ان تمنا على شى ، قال له البطرک اذا كان ولا بد فانا اسال مولانا ان يامر ان امكن من بنا بيعة ابو مرقوره بمصر لانها كانت لما هدموها لم يكموهم من عمارتها وجعلت شونه للقصب وكذلك المعلقة بمصر بقصر الشمع فانها انهدم من حيطانها شى كثير واعتل بعضها فسال الاذن في عمارتها ايضا ، فامر للوقت ان يكب له سجل بتمكينه من ذلك ، واطلق له من بيت المال ١٤٢ (ج) ما يصرفه في العمارة* فاخذ السجل واعاد المال ، وقال للملك المعز الرب يثبت ملكك

(١) وصيحوا [١٣٩١ (ظ) : وصيحوا

وبيت المال احق بهذا المال ، فلما قرى السجل عند بيعة ابو مرقوره فاجتمعوا الباعة الذين هناك واوباش الناس وقالوا لو قتلنا اجمعين بسيف واحد ما مكنا احد يجعل حجر على حجر في هذه البيعة ، فعاد البطرك الى الملك المعز بالخبر فغضب لذلك وركب من ساعته وجميع عساكره حتى اتى الى المكان فوقف وامر بحفر الاساس ، فحفر بسرعة وجمع له عدة كثير من البنائين وحملت اليه الحجارة من كل مكان بامر الملك المعز وبنوا فيه لوقته ، فلم يحسر احد ينطق بكلمة الا شيخ واحد كان يصلى باوليك الباعة في المسجد الذى هناك وهو الذى كان يجمع الجموع ويوليهم ، فرمى نفسه في الاساس وقال اريد اليوم اموت على اسم الله ولا ادع احد يبني هذه البيعة ، فعلم الملك المعز بذلك فامر ان ترمى عليه الحجارة ويبنا فوقه ، فلما رمى عليه الجير والحجارة اراد ان يقوم فلم يمكنه الاعاون لان المعز امر بدفنه في الاساس الذى طرح نفسه فيه ، فلما راي البطرك ذلك نزل عن دابته وتطارح بين يدي المعز وساله فيه الى ان امر باصعاده من الاساس ، فما صدق ان ينفلت منه سالما بعد ان اشرف على الموت ، وعاد الملك المعز الى قصره فلم يحسر احد بعد هذا ينطق بحرف واحد الى ان كملت عمارة البيعة ، وكذلك بيعة المعلقة بقصر الشمع ، وبنوا كل البيع التى تحتاج الى العمارة ولم يعترضه احد في شيا من ذلك . وكذلك البيع بالاسكندرية بنا فيها مواضع كثيرة كانت قد وهت^(١) وانفق في ذلك مالا عظيما فلم يمكنه ان يوفى الاسكندرانيين الالف دينار المستقرة لهم لنفقة بيعهم ، وبعد سوال كثير استقر ان يعطيهم في كل سنة خمس مائة دينار . وكان مدة مقام هذا البطرك انبا افروهام على الكرسي ثلث سنين وستة اشهر ، وتبيح مع ابايه القديسين ، ويقال ان انسان من الاراخنة يعرف بابى السرور الكبير كان له وجاهة في الدولة وكان له سرارى كثير فامرهم باخراجهم فلم يفعل فاحرمه ومنعه من القربان فتحميل حتى سقاه سقيسة قتله ومضى الى الرب بسلام وبكا عليه الناس ، وكان في تقدمته نبوة وذلك انه لما كان علمانى مضى الى دير ابو مقار بوادى

(١) : ا : وهنت

هيب ليصلى هناك ومضى الى المغاير ليتبارك من السواح فاجتمع بواحد منهم وكان معه اثنين من اصحابه فبارك عليه ذلك القديس السايح واخذ بيده ومال به الى ناحية وقال يا اخي هوذا انظر الى صخرة عظيمة فوقك معلقة وهى نازلة عليك فلم يعلم معنى قوله فى ذلك اليوم وانه عنى له بذلك عظم جلاله البطريكية التى استحقتها من الله .

ولما صارت مملكة مصر للعز كما قلنا انفا كان انبا مينا البطرک فى بعض ايامه فى ولاية جوهر وانبا افهام بعده ، وكان المعز كلما اراد ان يعمل شى كعادته فى الغرب يمنعه منه جوهر بلطف وسياسة ويقول ان اهل مصر قوم فيهم مكر وفطنة لا يخف عنهم شيا فكانهم يعلموا الغيب ، فقال له يوم يا جوهر ان كان ما يقال عن فطنة المصريين صحيح فانا اريد اجرهم ثم امر ان يؤخذ درج كبير وورق كمثل السجل ويطوى بلا كتابه ويختتم ، فلما اوتى به دفعه للكاتب فعنونه باسم الملك المعز وامر بضرب البوق قدامه وان ينادى منادى فى الناس ان يحضروا لسماع سجل الملك وامر دوايسيس يمشوا خلفه ويسمعوا ما يقوله اهل مصر ، ففعل ذلك فسمعوا بعض الناس يقولوا امضوا بنا نسمع سجل الملك ، وبعضهم يقول لا تستعبوا ما فيه شى هو فارغ* ، فعادوا واعلموه فتعجب من ذلك جداً .

وفى بداية قسمة انبا افهام بطرکا كان الوزير بمصر ابو الين قزمان ابن مينا المقدم ذكره ، وكان رجل دين بتول لم يتزوج قط ولم يسمع عنه ان له صبه ويفعل الخير مع كل الناس ومشكور من كل احد ورزق نعمة ومحبة من المعز بحسن سيرته ونيته وقوة امانته ، وكان يقبل قوله ومشورته وجعله متولى استخراج مال مصر ، ولم يزال هكذى الى ان صار انبا افهام بطرکا ، فلما راي يعقوب ابن كلس الوزير تقدمه ابو الين عند المعز حسده وخاف ان يجعله وزيراً عوضه فاشار على المعز وقال له قزمان ابن مينا يصلح ان تنفذه الى اعمال فلسطين ليدبرها لانه رجل مامون ، وكان غرضه ابعاده عن المعز فانفذه الى فلسطين ، فلما وصل اليها ونظر فيها استخراج منها ومن اعمالها مايقى الف دينار ، ثم قام خارجى من ديار الشرق يعرف بالقرمطى

فملك بلاد الشام حتى وصل الى اعمال فلسطين ، فلما بلغ قزمان ابن مينا خبره اخذ المال الذى حصاه ومضى به الى دير فوق جبل تابور وسلمه لمقدم الدير وجعله وداعة عنده ليحفظه وعاد الى عمله ، فلما وصل اليه القرمطى قال له لا تخف فما يلحقك منى شر وانا اجعلك بصحبتى كما كنت مع المعز وعاهده على ذلك ، فكذبوا اصحاب الترتيب الى المعز بذلك ان ابو الين قزمان ابن مينا قد وافق القرمطى وصالحه ، فلما علم الوزير بذلك وجد السبيل الى ذكره بالردى وقال للمعز هذا قزمان ابن مينا الذى تقول انه ثقة مامون قد صالح عدوك ودفع له المائتى الف دينار التى استخرجها من بلادك ليقويه بها عليك ، فغضب المعز وانفذ قبض على جميع اهله ونهب ما لهم واعتقلهم ، فلما وصل القرمطى الى مصر خرج المعز لمحاربتة فهزمه وقتله وكب قزمان ابن مينا الى المعز اعلمه بما جرى له مع القرمطى وكيف تلافاه الى ان تخلص منه وخلص المائتى الف دينار ، فنتقم المعز على الوزير ابن كلس وقبض عليه وقتله وانفذ احضر قزمان ابن مينا الدين الفاضل ، فوصل والمال صحبته فاخلع عليه واكرمه بعد ان افرج عن جميع ماله واهله واعاد اليهم جميع ما لهم الماخوذ ، وكان قزمان ابن مينا قد حصل قبل مسيره الى فلسطين تسعين الف دينار فلما اراد المسير دفعها للاب انبا افرهام البطرك وقال له اذا سمعت اننى توفيت فاصرفها فى خلاص نفسى للبيوع والمستورين والمنقطعين والاسارى وان انا عدت فانا اخذ مالى ، فلما عاد الى مصر وانصلحت حاله مع المعز طلب من البطرك التسعين الف دينار فقال له سمعت ما جرى عليك فى الشام فظننت انك لا تعود الى هاهنا مما جرى على اهلك وخفت ان يبلغ المعز خبر المال فياخذه ولا يحصل لك منه شى ولا منفعة فى الاخرة فاصرفته فيها امرتنى به ، فلم يقول له كلمة ولا فى اى شى صرفت مالى ، بل قال له يا ابى قد احسنت الى وفعلت معى جميلا ورحمة اذ فرقت مالى على اهل الحاجة ولم تبقه للملك ، ولما تنيح انبا افرهام بعد ان اقام ثلث سنين ونصف ولم يبق معه شى من التسعين الف دينار ولا من المال الكثير الذى كان معه

لنفسه قبل بطريسته درهم واحد بل اصرف جميع ذلك في بنا بيعة والصدقات وما
يرضى الله سبحانه ، وصار مثل الاب ابرهيم الاول في اعماله المرضية وحسب مع
الابرار في ملكوت الله ، الرب يرحمنا بصلاته وصلاة كل من ارضاه باعماله ، والمجد
لله دائما ابدا سرمدًا .

فيلاتاوس البطرک وهو من العدد الثالث والستون

واقام كرسى الاسكندرية ستة شهور خال بلا بطرك ، فاجتمع السنودس الى
مصر كما جرت العادة وذكروا انسان راهب يسمى يوحنا بدير ابو مقار في منشوبية
تعرف بذكر قفرى ، فانفذوا اليه احضروه الى مصر ومعه تلميذ بصحبته اسمه
فيلاتاوس ، فلما وصل يوحنا راوه شيخا كبير جدا قد طعن في السن ولا يصلح لهذا
الامر ، ونظروا ولده فيلاتاوس فاذا هو تام القامة فجعلوه بطركا فاعتمد* اخذ المال (ج) ١٤٣
على قسمة الاساقفة وكان على البيع سلامة عظيمة في ايام الملك المعز الى ان مات ،
وكذلك ايام ولده الذى ملك بعده وهو نزار ابى المنصور العزيز بالله وكان في ايام
هذا الملك جماعة كتاب نصارى مقدمين منهم قوم يعرفوا ببني المطيع قرروا
مع الاب البطرک ان لا يقسم اسقف الا برايمه لانه كان ياخذ المال ويقسم من
لا يستحق ، وكان بنوف العليا اسقف اسمه مقاره وكان كاتب السنودس وكان
اخوه اسقف طانه واسمه مينا مقيم بدمروا^(١) وكان البطرک بمحلة دانيال ساكن
فتنيح انبا مينا الاسقف في تلك الايام ، فقال اخوه انبا مقاره اسقف منوف
للبطرك انبا فيلاتاوس ان انت سمعت منى اشرت عليك بمشورة جيدة ، قال له
وما هى ، قال له هذا الكرسى الذى كان لاخى هو كرسى جيد وهو موضع ولدك

(١) يلاحظ هنا أن الألف في «دمرو» زائدة واعتاد كتاب القبط اضافتها على الكلمات
المنتهية بواو الى عهد قريب

ولاخى فيه مسكن جيد بدمروا فخذ الان احد اخوتك الرهبان الذى فى قلايتك
واوسمه عليه اسقفا واسكن مسكته بدمروا ويصير الكرسى برايك ، فاستصوب رايه
واخذ اباه الراهب الشيخ الذى كان عليه للبطريكة المسما يوحنا فجعله اسقف فبلغ الخبر
للاراخنة بمصر فاشتكوه للوزير فقبض عليه وطرحه فى السجن الى ان اخذ منه ثلاثة
الف دينار ليبت المال . وجرى فى ايامه امر عجيب لا يجب أن نغفل عن ذكره .
"من هاهنا قصة الواضح ابن ابو الرجا الشهيد من اهل مصر" . وهو ان
شابا من المسلمين الشهود المعدلين بمصر الذين يحضرون مجلس قاضى الحكم بها
وابوه رجلا شاهد يعرف بابن رجا ، وكان الشاب قد تعلم ناموس المسلمين وحفظ
القران فعبر فى بعض الايام على ساحل البحر الموضع الذى يباع فيه الحطب والبوص
ويعرف ببركة رميس بمصر فوجد انسانا كان مسلم وتنصر وقد تعلق به جند
الملك وهم يمسكوه ، وقد اعدوا له بركة رميس بالحطب والبوص ليحرقوه ، وقد
اجتمع عليه جمع كبير من الناس وهم متراحمين لينظروه ، وكان هذا الشاب ابن
رجا ابوه غيور جدا فى دينه كما كان بولص فى ذلك الزمان الذى فيه نودى من
السماء وقيل له شاوول شاوول لم تطاردنى ، وذلك القايل له هو الذى دعا هذا
الشاب ليشهد ذلك الشهيد ، فلما حضر مثل بولص تقدم الى ذلك الشهيد وهو
فى وسط الجند وقال له يا انسان ما الذى حملك على هلاك نفسك بسبب دين
تكفر فيه بالله تعالى وتشرك به اخر فتستعجل بهذه النار فى الدنيا وفى الآخرة
نار جهنم لانك تجعل الله ثالث ثلاثة وهو واحد لا يشبهه شى وتقول ان الله ولد ،
والان فاسمع منى ودع عنك هذا الكفر وعود الى دينك وانا اجعلك لى اخ
ويكرمك كل احد ، فقال له لا تنسبني الى الكفر والشرك بالله تعالى وانى نجعله
ثلاثة ونحن النصارى انما نعبد اله واحد هو الاب والابن والروح القدس وليس

(١-١) هذه العبارة مقطوعة من «م» وواردة بالمداد الأحمر فى ١٤١١ (ج)

الابن غريب من الله الاب الذي هو كلمته وكذلك روحه وسر ديننا عجيب
مخفى عنكم لان عقولكم لا تحمله وانت الان يا هذا قلبك مظلم لم تضي فيه نور
الامانة وانا ارى انك بعد قليل يدنوا منك النور ويضي قلبك بنور المسيح
وتجاهد عن الذي انا اجاهد عنه وعلى اسمه ابذل نفسى وجسدى للالم^(١) والموت
وستقبل انت ايضا هذه الالام التي انا فيها ، فلما سمع الشاب قوله حنق عليه وقال
اسمعوا ما يقول هذا الظال الكافر اترى اننى اكون ظال^(٢) كافر مثلك ثم قلع قدمه
من رجله ولطمه به على فمه ووجهه وراسه والمه باللطم جدا ، وقال له لا يكون
هذا ابدا ان اكون مثلك ايها المرذول ، فقال سوف تذكر كلامى وتعرف صحة قولى
ثم انهم ضربوا عنقه وطرخوا عليه حطب وبوص كثير حتى صار مثل القصر العال
واطلقوا فيه النار* ، فلما راو الناس عظم تلك النار التي تلهب ظنونا ان جسده قد صار
رمادا وبقيت النار عليه ثلاثة ايام والجنند يحرسوه نهارا وليلا ، ومن بعد ذلك كشفوا
عنه نار الحريق فوجدوا جسده مثل الذهب لم يحترق منه شيا ، فاعلموا المعز بذلك
فامر بدفنه ومضى ابن رجا الشاهد الذي ذكرناه الى منزله وبات تلك الليلة وهو
وجع القلب لاجل ما خاطب به شهيد المسيح ، فلم ياكل ولم يشرب تلك الليلة
بل كان جالس باهت فاجتمع اليه ابوه واخوته وقالوا له ما الذى حل بك ، فاعلمهم
ما قاله الشهيد فعند ذلك عزوه وقالوا له لا تجعل في قلبك شى من كلام ذلك الضال ،
فلم ينسى ما بقلبه ومن بعد تلك الايام ابصر الشاب المذكور جماعة من اهل مصر
معوولين على الحجاز ليحجوا ، فقال لابوه اريد اجمع مع الناس ففرح ابوه بذلك ودفع له
ماية دينار وسلمه لصديق له من المسافرين الى مكة ، وقال له هذا ولدى قد سلمته
اليك تراعيه مثل ولدك الى ان تعيده معك ويكون في صحبتك بمشية الله وابتاع له
كلما يحتاج اليه ، فلما ساروا ابصر الشاب منام في بعض الليالى وكان شيخ راهب منير

(١) فى م : للام [و صوابه فى ١٤١١ (ج)] (٢) كذا فى ا . وفى م : ضال .

جدا وقف به وقال له اتبعنى تريح نفسك ، فلما استيقظ قص المنام على صديق والده الذى سار معه ، فقال له يا ولدى يوفقك الله فان الراهب هو الشيطان يريد يحربك فلا تجعل فكرك عنده ، ثم ظهر له ليلة اخرى وقال له كما قال اول ليلة بلا زيادة ولا نقص ، وثالث ليلة ايضا قال هكذا ، فلما قضوا حجهم وعادوا مشوا ستة أيام أو سبعة وهم عابدين فنزلوا عن جمالهم ليلا ليريقوا الماء ثم ركب الرجل صديق والده جملة وتاخر هو فانقطع عنه ولم يرى احد فسعى يحرق حتى تعب فلم يلحقهم وبقى وحده تايه فى البرية يجلس وهو خائف من وحوش البرية لا^(١) ياكلوه ، واذا شاب راكب فرس بلباس مجمل متمنطق بمنطقة ذهب وقف قدمه فلما راه قال له من انت وكيف تهت فى هذه البرية وحدك ، فقال له الشاب نزلت عن جملى اريق الماء فانقطعت عن رقتى ، فقال له اركب خلفى الفرس فلما ركب طار به الفرس فى الجوف فلم يدرى انه فى سما ولا فى ارض حتى صار بسرعة فى كنيسة الشهيد ابو مرقوره بمصر فانفتح له الباب وحده من غير ان يفتحه احد ودخل معه وهو راكب الفرس الى باب الاراديون فانزله هناك ولم يرجع يبصره ، فبقى باهت كانه فى منام للعجب الذى شاهده ، ثم فكر فى نفسه وقال هذا الذى حل بى اترى هذه بيعة النصارى والتفت فراى القناديل موقودة والصور ، فقال اليس الساعة كت فى البرية فوقف داخل الاراديون الى ان اصبح الصبح فدخل امنوت البيعة وظن انه لص واراد ان يصيح ، فاشار اليه بيده ليسكت ويتقدم اليه فلما دنا منه قال له الشاب ما هذا الموضع ، قال له كنيسة ابو مرقوره بمصر ، قال له هذه مدينة مصر ، قال له نعم وهوذا اراك كأنك طائش العقل فعرفتى خبرك وما حالك ، فحينئذ اهتدى الشاب وقال له كيف لا يضل عقلى وانا فى هذه الليلة كت فى الموضع الفلانى وما عرفت كيف وصلت الى ها هنا الله هو العالم بذلك ، فلما سمع الامنوت بذكر المكان الذى كان فيه قال له

(١) كذا فى م وفى ا ولعل المقصود : لثلا

الم اقول لك انك طائش العقل ساهى لا تدري ما تقول بينك وبين الموضوع الذى ذكرته مسافة شهر واثني عشر يوما وعلى ما ارى ما انت الا لص وقوة الشهيد خلتك تحتج بهذه الحججة البطالة ليتبين ما انت عليه فى دخولك الى بيعته ، فقال له الشاب ومن صاحب هذه البيعة ، قال له هو القديس ابو مرقوره الجليل قال ابو مرقوره ١٤٤ (ج) نبي قال له القيم لا * ، ولكنه الشهيد الجليل القوي لانه ترك مجد هذا العالم وطلب الاخرة ومات على اسم المسيح لاجل ايمانه به واطهاره اسمه قدام الملوك الكفرة ولقى منهم عذاب كثير لاجل اسم المسيح وعوقب باصناف العذاب والوان العقوبات الى ان اخذه الله اليه وقبله فى ملكوته السامية الدائمة وبنيت هذه البيعة وغيرها على اسمه فى مواضع كثير لتمجيد الله سبحانه فيها وله عند الله شفاعة مقبولة يشفع فى الناس فيشفع فيهم ويظهر الله العجايب منه وبشفاعته ، قال له الشاب فكيف صفته وصورته قال له هو يشبهك وفى سنك ثم اخذه ومضى به الى موضع صورته الجليلة فلما راها قال حق هذه صورة الذى ظهر لى ورايته فى البرية وحملنى على ظهر فرسه هذه الى ها هنا وهذه المنطقة الذهب التى رايتها فى وسطه كهيتها^(١) والان فانا اعلمك اننى رجلا مسلم من اهل هذه المدينة وقد رضيت لاجل هذه الاعجوبة ان اصير نصرانى ، واخبر القيم بجميع ما جرى له وقال له انا ابن رجا الشاهد وما اقدر اظهر ليلا احرق بالنار وتحرق البيعة بسببى لكن اريد ان تصنع معى جميلا وتاخذ الاجرة من السيد المسيح وتخفىنى فى موضع حتى لا يرانى فيه احد حتى ادبر ما افعل واتينى بكاهن خادم لله تعالى تتقى فاضل فيهم عالم يعلمنى قوانين النصرارى ومذهبهم وفرايض شريعتهم ويثبتنى فى الامانه فان قلبى قد مال الى هذا الدين ، فاجابه القيم الى ذلك واخفاه عنده فى موضع مخفى فى البيعة ومضى الى شيخ قس عالم تتقى فاضل فاعلمه قضية الحال ، فنهض معه وهو مسرور به فلما اجتمعا اجابه القس عن كلما سايله^(٢) عنه وابانه

(١) كذا فى ا والقصود كهيتها (٢) سايله اى سآله

له وفهمه حقيقة الامر فيه ، فسأله الشاب ان ياتيه بالانجيل وكب البيعة العتيقة والحديثة^(١) ويفسر له القبطى باللسان العربى ، وقال له اريد اقراها وافهمها واعرفها ليثبت عندى صحة الامانة باساس قوى لان هذه الالام والاوجاع لا تحتمل باطلا ، فاحضر له القس الانجيل وكب الانبيا وجميع كتب العتيقة والحديثة^(٢) الدالة على حقيقة الامانة الارثوذكسية ووحداية السيد المسيح احدى الثلاثة اقانيم الاب والابن والروح القدس وان الله لاهوت واحد وسبب تجسده وموته المحي وقيامته من الموتى وطلوعه الى السما وحلول الروح القدس البارقليط على الرسل ورجوع الناس من الضلالة^(٣) الى صحة الامانة ، فقال الشاب مبارك هو الذى سلك هذه الطريقة الذى هو شاوول المسمى بولص الذى سمع صوت الرب يقول له شاوول شاوول مالك تناصبنى ثم اصطفاه من ضلالته^(٤) هكذا اسله^(٤) ان يهدينى وينعم على بالاصطفا لاطهر اسمه بين الامم ، وتام هذا الكلام ياتى فى موضعه من هذه السيرة ، واقام اياما يبحث فى كتب العتيقة والحديثة حتى اثار الله قلبه ووقف على سراير المذهب وصحة الامانة كما قال الرسول ان الانسان اذا عاد الى الرب زالت الغشاوة عن قلبه وعرف ما كان فيه من الضلالة التى افنى فيها عمره وثبت اساسه على الصخرة الذى هو المسيح ، وقال ما قاله بولص ما الذى يفرقنى من محبة المسيح ضيق ام سبى ام جوع ام نار ام سجن وبقية الفصل لا يقدر شياً من هذا يفرقنى من حب المسيح ، فلما قوى قلب ذلك الشاب فى الامانة المستقيمة سال الشيخ الكاهن ان يعمده فخاف ليلا تكون ضربة من الشيطان فاشار على الشاب المذكور بان يمضى الى وادى هيب ، فمن كربة شهوته سأل سؤالا عظيماً بمطانوات كثيرة وقال له ربما لا اعيش حتى اصل الى هناك والزمه بكربة تضرعه له* ، وبكاه حتى عمدته وسماه بولص ، فلما لبس نور حلة المعمودية التمس ١٤٤ (ظ)

(١) العهدان القديم والجديد (٢) فى ١٤٢١ (ج) : الضلالة . ووردت بكلا الوضعين ، راجع ما تقدم (٣) فى ١ : ضلالته . انظر الحاشية السابقة (٤) كذا فى ١ ، م والمقصود : أسأله .

لتغيير زيه وسخنته من كثرة صومه وصلاته واجتهاده وانتصابه لقراءة^(١) السكب الذى كانت قراتها^(٢) عنده كالشهد ، واما الحجاج فانهم وصلوا الى مصر وكانت العادة جارية بان ينفذوا اذا قربوا من مصر من يخبر بوصولهم فخرج اهل الحجاج مسافة يومين يستقبلوهم من بعيد ، فلما خرجوا اخوته من جملة الناس للقايه وطافوا عليه وسالوا عنه فلم يعرفوا خبره ، فلما وجدوا صديق ابوهم هناك مالوا اليه وسالوا عنه فبكا وعرفهم ان اخاهم تاه فى البرية ليلا ، وقال لهم وقفت طويلا انتظره فلم يحمى وحننى السير فلحقت اعقاب القافلة فسرت بغير اختيارى وحال الليل بينى وبينه وظننت انه ربما كان تقدمنى فى اول القافلة فلما اصبحت طفت يومى كله عليه فى القافلة من اولها الى اخرها وسالت كلمن فيها عنه فما عرفت له خبر فعلمت انه قد انقطع من القافلة فى ذلك الموضع واكلوه الوحوش فلما سمعوا هذه منه شقوا ثيابهم وعادوا الى ابيهم فاخبروه بذلك فاقام عليه مناحة وجنازة عظيمة ، فلما انقضت ايام الجنازة كان شاب من اصدقاء ساكن بجوار بيعة الشهيد ابو مرقوره بمصر فابصره يوم قد خرج من البيعة وعاد اليها وعليه ثياب صوف وعليه زنار صوف فقال بالحقيقة ان الناس يتشابهوا ولو لم يكن ابن رجا قد مات لقلت انه هذا ، ثم لقي ابوه واخوته فقال لهم اردت اليوم ان امسك انسان نصرانى عند كنيسة ابو مرقوره وقلت انه ولدكم لولا علمى بموته لقلت انه هولانه يشبه فى كل شمائله حتى مشيته وما شككت فيه الا بلباسه الصوف والزنار ، فلما سمعوا هذا تجدد عليهم الحزن والبكا . ثم ان اخوته اشتبا ان ينظرا ذلك الشخص الذى قيل انه يشبه اخوهما فهضا للعشا وهم متنكرين بلباس زرى واختفيا فى ركن عند باب البيعة ينظرا من يخرج ومن يدخل وقت صلاة الغروب ، فلما انقضت الصلاة وخرجوا النصرارى خرج الشاب فى وسطهم فتاملوه فعرفوه وتبعوه الى الساحل فلما صاروا فى موضع منقطع عن الناس مسكاه وبكيا وضربا وجوههما وقالوا

(١) اقرأ : لقراءة (٢) اقرأ : قراتها

له ما هذا الذى فعلته بنا يا اخونا فقال لهما الذى بي ما تعرفاه ، فقال احدهما للاخر ما هذا موضع خطاب ليلا يكون قد داخله شيطان ففتضح بين الناس ، ولازمه الى ان مضيا به الى البيت برفق فجدد اهله الجنازة لما راوه على تلك الحالة ، فخطبه ابوه وامه وقالوا لاجوته لا تخاطبوه انتم حتى تكشف نحن عن حاله ليلا نصير فضيحة ، ثم اغلقوا الابواب ودخلوا به الى موضع منفرد فلما تحققوا حاله قالوا له ما انت ولدنا قال لهم انا بولس يعنى الاسم الذى سموه به وقت المعمودية ، قال له ابوه فضحتنى يا ولدى وفضحت شيخوختى بين القضاة والشهود ولعلك فعلت هذا لانى لم ازوجك وقد كنت معتقد اننى ازوجك اذا رجعت من الحج لاجل من فى مصر وانفق فى عرسك مالا كثير ، ومكثوا يسالوه ويقولوا له لا تفضحنا فى وسط الناس ولا تخزينا فى هذه المدينة ولم يزالوا معه الى نصف الليل وهو يقول لهم ما اعرف ما تقولوا ، فلما لم يجدوا فيه حيلة جعلوه فى بيت مظلم ثلاثة ايام بلا طعام بلا شراب فلم يقدروا عليه ، ولعظم بكا امه وحزنها لم تظفر ايضا ، فاخرجوه وقدموا له طعام فلم ياكل منه شى ، وكان كانه قد خرج من صنيع او وليمة غير محتاج الى طعام* ولا الى شراب كما (ج) ١٤٥

قال اشعيا النبى ان الذين عقولهم عند الرب تبدل قواهم ولا يجوعوا ولا يعطشوا ، فلما اعياهم امره تشاوروا على قتله ليلا يفتضحوا به ثم انهم رقت قلوبهم عليه واخرجوه سرا ومضوا به الى الجيزة وقالوا له ابعده عنا نستريح من فضيحتك ، فمضى الى وادى هيب واقام هناك عند راهب فعلمه طرق الله ورهبه ، فلما اقام اياما قليلا قال له بعض من لا يفهم من الرهبان ان الرب لا يقبل نصرانيتك الا ان تمضى الى مصر وتشتهر بحيث تعرف ، فسمع منه وعاد الى مصر طاعة لهم ومضى الى منزل ابوه وقد وطن نفسه على القتل على اسم المسيح ، فلما راه ابوه بزى الرهبان ضج واغتاض^(١) منه وقال له ما هذه الفضيحة مضيت وعدت الى بطرطور صوف يعنى القلنسوة المقدسة التى هى

(١) اغتاض = اغتاض

بيضة الخلاص ، ثم اخذه وحبسه في مطمورة مظلمة يطرح فيها كساسة التراب والرماد ووسخ الدار واطبق عليه طابقتها واقمم على كلمن في الدار لا يعطوه خبز ولا ما ومتى دفع له احد شى من ذلك عاقبه وامر غلماناه وجواره ان يرموا عليه كلما يكنسوه من تراب ورماد ووسخ الدار وغسالة القدور ، واقام كذلك ستة ايام وامه باكية لا تفتر من البكا بسببه وهى حزينة عليه جدا ، وكانت تدلى له الخبز والماء بجبل فلا يذوق منه شى فلما كان بعد الستة ايام ضعفت قوته وكان ملازم الصوم والصلاة ليله ونهاره ، وظهر له في اليوم السابع الراهب الذى كان ظهر له اولاً في طريق مكة وفي يده خبز نقى فظن انه خيال فلم ياكل منه شىا حتى عرف انه امرأ ظهر له من عند الله ، فقال له الراهب تعرفنى ، قال له نعم انت الذى رايتك في المنام ثلث دفعات في طريق مكة ، قال له نعم انا ذاك وانا مقاره اب وادى هيب والآن فقد ارسلت اليك لاعزيك فتقوى واصبر فان لك مجازاة عظيمة ، ثم غاب عنه فاخذ ذلك الخبز واكل بعد ان صلب عليه فقويت نفسه ، ثم ان ابوه اخرجته من ذلك الموضع وتعجب من بقاءه بلا طعام ولا شراب هذه المدة ولم يتغير وجهه ، فخاطبه في الرجوع عما هو عليه وتعب معه فلم يقدر عليه بوجه من الوجوه وكان له قدماً سرية قد رزق منها ولداً قبل مضيه الى مكة فتقدم ابوه الى اخوه الكبير بان يحضرها ، فلما حضرت امره ان يجامعها قدامه ففعل ذلك ووهبها له وولده الطفل يتعلم العوم فقال لابوه المومن القديس ان انت لم تطيعنى وترجع عما انت عليه والا غرقت ابنك قدامك هذا الذى انت تحبه ، فقال نعم انا احبسه وهو ولدى غير انى احب الرب اكثر منه ، فاحضر العوام الذى يعومه سرا ودفع له دينارين وقال له اذا نزل الصبى معك عشية لتعلمه العوم غرقه وانا احضر لانتظره واعرف بانه هو ، فاجابه العوام الى ذلك فلما كان عشية اخذ ابن رجا الشاهد ولده الراهب ابو الصبى ومضى به معه الى البحر ونزل بالصبى مع معلمه الى البحر ليعومه فلما صار فى وسط البحر غرقه وابوه الراهب ينظر اليه ، ثم ان اباه اعاده الى داره وحبسه فى موضع اخر منها وكتب فيه رقعة للسلطان ، وكان الخليفة

في ذلك الزمان الحاكم بامر الله كما قال الرب في الانجيل يسلم الاب ابنه الى الموت ،
فامر الخليفة بحضوره مع ابيه عند قاضى القضاة والشهود وينظروه فان وجب عليه
شيا يقتل واذا لم يجب عليه شيا فيطلق سبيله ، فلما اجتمعوا لذلك بحضور واسطة
خير اقامه الحاكم بامر الله ولم يثبت لابوه عليه حجة كما قال السيد المسيح انى اعطيكم
نطق وحكمة لا يقدر احد يقاومها* ، فانصرفوا خائبين خجلين ولم يرجع احد يخاطبه (ظ) ١٤٥
فامر الحاكم باطلاقه يمضى الى حيث شا ، فمضى الى راس الخليج وشرع فى عمارة بيعة
هناك ما بين بركة الحبس وبني وايل على اسم الملاك الجليل مخايل وبنهاها ، وكان بمصر
قوم من الرمادية فمضوا ليلا وسرقوا الخشب من هذه البيعة ، فلما اصبح هذا القديس
ابن رجا ابصر بعضهم فى تلك الناحية فقال لهم قد عرفت انكم البارحة اخذتم الخشب
وعرفت الموضع الذى خبئتموه فيه فعيدهوه الى موضعه والا شكوتكم لوالى القاهرة ،
فانكروا ذلك وقالوا ما اخذنا شى ، قال لهم انا امضى الى الحاكم بامر الله وهو ان
شا الله يتقدم باخذ الخشب من حيث جعلتموه فيه وتتادوا منه ، خافوا واعادوا
الخشب الى البيعة على تمامه وكان هذا القديس ابن رجا قد سمي نفسه الواضح وصار
صديقا للرجل العالم الفاضل انبا ساويرس اسقف الاشموين المعروف بابن المقفع الذى
ذكرناه انفا وهو الذى صنف عشرون [مقالة] سوى^(١) ميامر وتفاسير واجوبة ومسايل
لابى البشر ابن جارود الكاتب المصرى ، وهذه اسما العشرين كتابا : كتاب التوحيد ،
كتاب الاتحاد ، كتاب الباهر رد على اليهود ، كتاب الشرح والتفصيل رد على النسطورية ،
كتاب فى الدين كعبه الوزير قزمان ابن مينا ، كتاب نظم الجوهر ، كتاب المجالس ،
كتاب طب الغم وشفا الحزن ، كتاب الجامع ، كتاب تفسير الامانة ، كتاب التبليغ رد
على اليهود ، كتاب الرد على سعيد ابن بطريق ، كتاب فى معنى اطفال المومنين والكفار
وكيف تقوم النفسين ، كتاب الاستيضاح وهو مصباح النفس ، كتاب السير ،

(١) ساقطة من م وواردة فى ا

كتاب الاستبصار ، كتاب ترتيب الكهنوت الاثني عشر طقوس البيعة ، كتاب اختلاف الفرق ، كتاب الاحكام ، كتاب ايضاح الاتحاد . وهذه الكتب قد سمي بعضها بخلاف ما ذكرناه ، وربما كان للكتاب اسمين ، وكان ساويرس الاسقف المذكور والواضح ابن رجا القديسين يتذكرا اكثر اوقاتهما ويفتشان كتب الله لنور عقولهما وجوهرهما حتى انهما فسرا الكتب الروحانية ، ثم ان الواضح ابن رجا فسر كتابين باللغة العربية احدهما سماه الواضح وهو الاعتراف واطهر فيه اعوار المخالفين وخصمهم^(١) من كتابهم ، والكتاب الاخر سماه نواذر المفسرين ، واحرق المخالفين بهذين الكتابين وخصمهم من دينهم كما فعل صمصوم الجبار لما جعل السرج في اذنان الثعالب واطلقها في زرع اعدائه فاحرقه ، وكتب فيها شرح حاله في نفسه وقال فيها ان الاسقف انبا ساويرس ابن المقفع حكى له انه كان ببغداد انسان مقدم ابن ملك يعرف بالهاشمي وانه لم يهتم قط بشئ من امور المملكة ولا كسوة ولا جمال سوى انه كان يركب في كل يوم ومعه جنده ويرصد بيع النصارى في وقت القداس فيدخلها راكب ويامر باخذ القربان من على الهيكل ويكسروه ويخلطوه بالتراب ويقلب الكاس ، وكلما فعل ذلك في بيعة مضى الى اخرى وفعل فيها مثل ذلك حتى كادت بغداد تخلوا بيعها من القداسات وامتنع اكثر الكهنة من القداس خوفا من هذا وكأنت معونة الله تجذبه ولا يدري ، فلما كان في بعض الايام دخل الى بيعة من البيع كعادته ففتح الله عينيه فابصر في صينية القربان طفلا جميلا نبيلاً وفي وقت القسمة ابصر الكاهن وقد ذبحه وصفى دمه في الكاس وفصل لحمه قطعة قطعة في الصينية ، فبهت الهاشمي ولم يستطيع الحركة* ، ثم خرج الكاهن يقرب الشعب باللحم وكذلك الشماس بكاس الدم وهو ينظرهما^(٢) فتعجب وقال لجنده الاتروا هذا الفاعل الصانع يعنى الكاهن ، قالوا له نحن نراه ، قال لهم نصبر لهذا ياخذ طفلا يذبحه ويقسم لحمه على هذا الجمع العظيم ويسقيهم من دمه ، فقالوا له الله

(١) أى خصمهم بمعنى ساجلهم (٢) ينظرهما [١٤٤١ (ج) : ينظرهما

يوفقك يا سيدنا ما نرى نحن الا خبز وخمر فزاد خوفه وتعجبه وبقوا الشعب متعجبين لوقوفه باهت ولم يفعل بالتقربان ما جرت به عادته ، فلما فرغ الكاهن وخرجوا الناس استدعى الكاهن وقال له ما راه ، فقال له يا سيدنا اعيذك بالله ما هو الا خبز وخمر ، فلما علم ان هذا السر ما ظهر الا له فقط فقال له اريد تعرفني سر هذا التقربان وبدايته ، فعرفه الكاهن كيف كان السيد المسيح اخذ الخبز والشراب قسم ذلك على تلاميذه وقال لهم خذوا وكلاوا هذا هو جسدى واشربوا هذا دمي اشربوا منه كلكم غفرانا لخطايكم ، وعلونا التلاميذ صلاة نقولها على الخبز والخمر اذا جعلناهما على المذبح فيتحول الخبز يصير لحم ويصير الخمر دما سرا كما اراك الله اليوم وهما في الظاهر خبز وخمر لانه ما يقدر احد في العالم ياخذ لهما نيا ولا يشرب دما غبيطا وانما الله اظهر لك هذا السر الخفي الحقيقي المقدس خلاص لنفسك ، ثم انه قرى عليه كُتب الكيسة وبين له سراير المذهب المسيحي حتى طاب قلبه بالدخول فيه ، وعرف شرفه وحقيقته ، وتحقق علومه وصحته ، فامر اصحابه بالانصراف وبات هناك مع الكاهن وعمده بالليل وصار نصرانيا ، فلما كان بالغداة اتاه اصحابه بالدابة طردهم ولم يكلمهم ، فلما علموا الخبر مضوا الى ابوه واعلموه فصار في حزنا شديدا وانفذ احضره بغير اختياره وخاطبه باللين والصعب وتعب معه بكل فن واجتهد به واكثر من السؤال له في وقت والتخويف في وقت فلم يقدر منه على شئ ولا يرجع عن رايه ، فعند ذلك اسلمه للعذاب فعذب عذابا شديدا فلم يرجع عن امانته ، فقطعت راسه بالسيف على اسم السيد المسيح وتمت شهادته بركاته تحل علينا وشفاعته تكون معنا ، فاما جسده المقدس فاكرموه وعظموه النصرارى ببغداد وبنوا عليه بيعة وهي الان تعرف بكيسة الهاشمى . ولما كمل القديس بولص ابن رجا عمارة الكيسة التي لميكايل في راس الخليج عاد^(١) الى وادى هيب واقام هناك سنتين ، فلما رات الرهبان ما هو عليه من العبادة والعلم والمعرفة مسكوه قهرا

(١) عاد [مكررة في م

وقسموه قسا في اسكنا بنيامين المقدسة ، فطالبوه تلاميذ البطرك بدنانير كعادتهم فصعب ذلك عليه جدا ولم يكن معه شئ فراهم بعض الاراخنة يطالبوه وقد ازعجوه بالطلب فدفع لهم عنه ما طلبوه ، فلما بلغ خبره لابه انه قد صار قسيسا لم يصبر عليه قلبه بل انفذ دنائير الى عند بعض العربان الذين في تلك البرية ليقتلوه ، فلما سمع بعض الرهبان اعلامه وقالوا له قد فعلت ما يجب واظهرت اسم المسيح في الموضع الذي لا يجب اظهاره والان فلا تسلم نفسك للوت لكن امضى الى الريف فكن فيه مخفيا ، فاطاعهم وخرج الى سندفا فاقام فيها سنتين وصار قيم في كيسة الشهيد تادرس ملازما لخدمتها ليلا ونهارا ، فدخل الشيطان في قلب قوما منهم فاذاعوا خبره في سندفا والحلة وتحذثوا بقضية حاله ، فكان ذلك قبل وفاته بيومين ، واتفق حضور شماس من اهل منوف اسمه تيدر ابن مينا وكان يومئذ كاتب السنوديقا بكرسى ماري مرقص البشير وهو الذي* اخذت انا (ظ) ١٤٦ الحقير ميخائيل ناظم هذه السيرة خدمته بعد وفاته ، فلما دخل البيعة المذكورة بسندفا فوجد القديس بولس ابن رجا وهو مريض بحما شديدة فقال له بولس المذكور مطانوه لا تفارقني حتى تواريني التراب وتأخذ البركة فما بقي لي في العالم الا يومين فاذا انا قبضت فبادر بدفني قبل ان يعلموا المسلمين فياخذوا جسدي فيحرقوه بالنار ، وكان قوله روح نبوة تكلمت فيه ، فلما كان بعد يومين تنيح كما قال فاذاع الشيطان خزاه الله خبره في الحلة وسندفا ، فعدوا اهل الحلة الى سندفا واجتمعوا اهل المدينتين في اقل من ساعة وحاطوا بالبيعة التي تنيح فيها ، فتحير الشماس تيدر المقدم ذكره ولم يدري ما يعمل بجسده ، وفيها هو حائر يمشي في البيعة نزلت رجله تحت العتبه فتامل الموضع فوجده مطمورة حسنة نظيفة مخفية ، فانزل جسد القديس بولس فيها واردم التراب واعاد البلاطة كما كانت عليه واصلح الموضع كما يجب ، ثم فتح الباب فدخل اوليك المجتمعين وطلبوا جسده فلم يجدوه ، فطافوا البيعة كلها فلم يجدوه فخرجوا مخزيين وهذا الشماس تيدر هو الذي شرح لي حال هذا القديس بولس ابن رجا من اوله الى اخره عن حكايته له من فمه الصادق فكُتبت ما قاله ، وحكى عنه انه قال كلما جرى

على من العذاب وما حل بي من الهوان لم يقلقني غير ثلاثة اشيا وهي بجامعة اخي لسريتي قدامى وتفريق ولدى منها قدامى وانا انظره واعظم منهما كون البطرك يبصرني وتلاميذه يطالبوني بالدنانير على قسمته لى قسيسا وهو ساكت لا يمنعمهم ولا يردعهم .

وكان الاب فيلاتاوس^(١) البطرك مستمر على جمع المال والاكل والشرب ، وقيل انه بنا حمام في داره وكان يدخلها كل يوم واذا خرج ينجر بجنور طاييل جدا ثم يجلس يحكم ويامر وينهى الى اربعة ساعات من النهار ثم يقوم ، واذا كانت سادس ساعة يهيا له من الطعام والشراب ما يحتاج اليه وفواكه ويقوم يدخل داره ويحضر عنده قوم عادتهم جارية ان يجالسوه وينادموه من اهل دمروا ومن اهله واقاربه فياكل معهم ويشرب ولا يصل اليه احد بقية يومه الى ثاني يوم ، ودفعات كثيرة يجلس للاكل والشرب من بكرة او ثالث ساعة من النهار ما خلا الايام التي يجب فيها الصوم ، فلما استمر على ذلك ادبه الله بضربه لامرصادفه ، وذلك انه في بعض الايام في الحمام ومعه تلميذه يخدمه فخرج ياخذ دلوك وعاد فوجده مطروحا لايعي ولا يفيق ، فحمله واخرجه منها واحضروا له الاطبا وتعبوا في مداواته فلم يقدروا له على حيلة لان يد الرب ضربته وبقى هكذي الى يوم وفاته ، وكان الملك العزيز لله ابن المعز لدين الله قد رزق ولدا من سرية له رومية وجلس في الملك بعده ولقب بالحاكم بامر الله ، وكان للسرية المذكورة التي هي ام الحاكم اخ اسمه ارساني فجعلته بطركا للملكيه بعنايتها لان السلطان كان لها قفوى على بيعنا بفسطاط مصر ، وكان لنا بقصر الشمع بيعتين على اسم الست السيدة الطاهرة احدهما المعلقة والاخرى بزقاق ابو حصين ، فاراد ان ياخذ المعلقة فحرت لمقدمينا معه خطوط كثيرة وخصايم الى ان اخذ كيسة السيدة بزقاق ابو حصين وبقيت المعلقة لنا . وفي ايامه انفذ ملك الحبشة الى ملك النوبة كتابا واسمه جرجس وعرفه ما ادبه الرب به هو واهل كورته ، وهو ان امرأة ملكة على بني

(١) فيلاتاوس [١٤٤١ (ظ) : فيلاتاوس

١٤٧ (ج) الهموية ثارت عليه وعلى كورته* وسبت منها خلق كثير واحرقت مدن كثير واخربت البيع وطردته من مكان الى مكان وان هذا الذي لحقه جزى^(١) عما كان الملك الذي قبله فعله مع المطران في ايام الاب انبا قزما مما قد شرحناه اولاً من تزويره وكذبه ، وقال له في الكتاب الذي انفذه له احب ان تساعدني وتشاركني في التعب منجل^(٢) الله ومن اجل اتفاق الامانة وتكذب كتاب من جهتك الى الاب البطرك بمصر تسله ان يحللنا ويحلل بلادنا ويصلي علينا ليزيل الله عنا وعن ارضنا هذا البلا وينعم لنا بان يقسم لنا مطران كما جرت عادة ابائنا ويدعى لنا بان يزيل الله غضبه عنا ، وذكرت لك ايها الاخ ذلك خوفاً من ان ينقرض ويبطل دين النصرانية من عندنا لان هوذا ستة بطاركة قد جلسوا ولم يلتفتوا الى بلادنا بل هي سايبه بلا راعي ، وقد ماتوا اسأفتنا وكهنتنا ، وقد خربت البيع وعلنا انه بحكم حق نزل علينا هذا البلا عوضاً مما فعلناه بالمطران ، فلما وصلت الكتب الى جرجس ملك النوبة ووقف عليها انفذ من جهته كتباً ورسلاً الى البطرك فيلاتاوس وشرح له فيها جميع ما ذكره ملك الحبشة وساله ان يتراف على شعبة فاجاب سؤاله ورسم لهم راهبا من دير ابو مقار اسمه دانيال وانفذه لهم مطرانا قبلوه بفرح وازال الله عنهم الغضب وابطل امر الامراة التي قامت عليهم .

وفي ايام هذا الاب ظهرت عجائب كثيرة شهد بها الثقات الصادقين ، منها ان الشمس اظلمت من ثالث ساعة من النهار الى الساعة السادسة وكانت الظلمة مثل الليل وظهرت النجوم في السما وبكوا الناس وحزنوا وظنوا انه امر لا ينقضى ، ومن بعد ذلك ترحم الله وظهرت الشمس . وحكى سرور ابن جرجه ارشي دياقن الاسكندرية انه حضر يوماً في بيعة ماري مرقص الانجيلي بالاسكندرية وفيها انبا فيلاتاوس البطرك ومعه جماعة من الاساقفة منهم انبا مرقص اسقف البهنسي وانبا سويرس اسقف ابو صير وان

(١) جزى = جزاء (٢) منجل = من اجل

البطرك طلع الى هيكل مارى مرقص ووقف على البلاطه السودا وقدس فلما رفع الضورون اسكت فلم يقدر ينطق بكلمة فلقنوه الاسقفان المذكوران الكلام فلم يقدر ينطق بكلمة واحدة فجلس وطلع انبا مرقس اسقف البهنسى فكل القداس والتفصيل وقرب الشعب وحمل البطرك الى دار ابو مليح ابن قوطين عامل الاسكندرية وهو والد ابو الفرج وعبيد ، ولم يزال الاب البطرك ساكنا الى تسع ساعات من النهار واستقوه طين ابيض وماورد فلما افاق سالوه الجماعة ان يعلمهم السبب فها ناله فامتنع ، فالحوا عليه بالسؤال ، فقال يا اولادى لما رفعت الضورون ومن قبل ان اصلب عليه رايت الشاق قد انشق وخرجت منه يد من راس الحنيه الى اسفل فصلبت اليد على الضورون فانشق فى يدى واسكت للوقت ، فلما قال هذا جف منه عضو وبقي جاف وكانت مدة بطركيته اربعة وعشرين سنة وثمانية شهور ، وتنيح فى اليوم الثانى عشر من هاتور ، وقيل عن اهله انهم وجدوا له مالا عظيما من جملة ما جمعه فى بطركيته وقسموه فها بينهم وكانوا اربعة اخوة ونفذ المال منهم ورايت انا ميخائيل منهم انسان فى زمان غلا وهو يتسول . وفى ايامه مات العزيز ملك مصر وجلس ولده الحاكم وكان صغيرا جدا وكانت له امور عجيبه وسنذكر شيا منها بمعونة الله الذى له المجد والقدرة الى ابد الابدين امين .

* السيرة الخامسة والعشرين من سير البيعة المقدسة

ابنا زخارياس البطرك وهو من العدد الرابع والستون^(١)

فلما كان في مملكة الحاكم بامر الله المسمى الامام المنصور وكان كرسى الاسكندرية خال اجتمع السنودس ليقدموا بطركا ، وفيها هم يتشاوروا كان بالاسكندرية رجلا موسرا اسمه ابراهيم ابن بشر وكان له كرامة عند الولاة وكل من في البلد يسمع منه ويطيعه ، وكان تاجر مكث في بلاد مصر ، وكان يهادى ويكرم مقدمى مصر ، وكانوا لا يخالفوه فيها يريد ، فسأل وطلب البطريكية الى ان كتب له سجل وانفذوا صحبته الى الاسكندرية استاذين يساعده فيها يريد ويلزموا الاسكندرانيين بتقديمه بطركا عوضا من فيلاتاوس البطرك المتنيح لان النوبة كانت للاسكندرانيين في هذه الدفعة في اقامة البطرك . وكان المجمع بالاسكندرية وقد طابت قلوب^(٢) جماعة من اهلها ببطريسته وكتبوا الى مصر بذلك ، فلما علموا الاساقفة بذلك لم يوافقوهم على هذا الراى وصعب عليهم الامر لان القانون كما قالوا لا يجوز لهم ذلك وعولوا على ايقاف الامر ويمضى كل واحد منهم الى كرسيه ، وبينما هم مجتمعين في بيعة ماري مرقس الانجيلي القمحا وكان بالاسكندرية في بيعة ميخائيل^(٣) ريس الملايكة قس شيخ اسمه زخاريا^(٤) وكان قيم جميع بيع الاسكندرية وكانوا الاساقفة نازلين عنده في البيعة وكان يخدمهم مدة مقامهم بالاسكندرية ولم يكن له في نفوسهم موقع ولا كان له قدر عند كهنة الاسكندرية ، وكان كل واحد يستخدمه فيها يعن له ، لكن الله صانع العجايب وحده الذى اصطفا داوود من مرعى الغنم ليرعى

(١) حاشيه بالمداد الاحمر على هامش م ، وبالمداد الاحمر والاسود كاملة على هامش ١٤٥١ (ظ) كالاتى : «جلس هذا الاب المجاهد القوى الغالب [بالمسيح] في مملكة الحاكم وقاسا شدايد عظيمة [وبصاواته] خالص شعبه وغلب ، وجميع ذلك مشروح في هذه [السيرة] .
(٢) قلوب مكرره (٣) ١ : ميخائيل (٤) ١٤٥١ «ظ» : زخاريا

اسراييل ميرائه ، الذى يرفع الفقير من الارض والمسكين من المزبلة ويجلسه على كرسى
المجد هو الذى اصطفاه هذا الانسان المتواضع الغير معدود ، وذلك انه صعد يوما الى
علو البيعة لينزل بجرة خل للطباخ الذى يعمل ما ياكلوه الاساقفة ، وفيها هو نازل من
السلم زلق وقع والجرة معه لم تنكسر ولا انهرق منها شيا ، فقالوا الاساقفة وجميع
الحاضرين لما ابصروا هذه العجوبة هذا هو الذى يستحق هذا الامر الذى نحن مجتمعين
بسببه ، فعند ذلك قال جميعهم بفرح من فم واحد هذا بالحقيقة رجل الله ثم سالوا
عنه اهل الاسكندرية وعن طريقته فقالوا كلهم ما سمعنا عنه قط كلمة سو بل هو فقير
بايس وهو طاهر ، فقالوا حسن وجيد ان يقدم هذا الذى هو هكذى اجود ممن يحينا
بيد قوية وامر سلطاني ويكون زماننا كله عنده كالعبيد ، فاتفقوا مع الاسكندرانيين
على قسمته واخذوه واقسموه بطركا وفي عشية ذلك اليوم الذى قسموه فيه وصل ابراهيم ابن
بشر بالسجل والاستاذين صحبته ، فلما صار في ظاهر المدينة اجتمع به احد معارفه وقال له
قد قم بطرك ، فقال له ومن هو ، فقال زخاريا^(١) القس الذى في كنيسة ميكايل^(٢)
التوبة ، فلما سمع ذلك لحقته رعدة عظيمة في عظامه ولم تفارقه بقية ايام حياته ، ومضى
الى بيته بركب عظيم من شدة الرعدة واعتل لذلك ، وبلغ الخبر الى الاساقفة فتعجبوا ،
ثم انهم خافوا من السلطان وقالوا ما ندرى ما يجرى علينا فاشاروا على الاب بطرك انبا
زخارياس ان يطيب قلبه بالاسقفية ليامنوا غضب السلطان بسببه ، وقالوا لابراهيم ابن
بشر هذا امر قد كان من الله سبحانه والان فاول كرسى^(٣) ان يخلوا من اسقفه في هذا
الاقليم وتعلم انه يصلح لك تصير عليه اسقفا ، ثم قسموه اغومنس والبسوه السواد ، فلما
خلا كرسى منوف العليا جعلوه عليه ، واقام انبا زخارياس بعد بطركيته سبع سنين
والبيعة هاديه تحت السلامة . ومن بعد ذلك لم يصبر الرب على افعال الرعاة* الذين^(ج) ١٤٨

(١) ١٤٥١ (ظ) : زخاريا (٢) ١ : ميخايل (٣) كرسى [ساقطه من ا

صاروا مثل الولاة المسلمين على الكهنة ويختلقوا حجج لجمع المال بكل وجه ويتجروا في بيعة الله لحبة الفضة والذهب ويبيعوا موهبة الله بالمال فيخسروا ولا يرجحوا واذا زادهم انسان في ديارية بيعة من البيع دينار واحد فسخوا على القيم الاول المهم بامور البيعة كما يجب ، فيطردوه منها ويسلموها بسبب الدينار الزايد لمن لا يصلح لخدمتها ولا يقوم بامورها ، ولقد شهد على قيم انه يشرب الخمر الصافي ويخلط المعكر بالما ويصفيه ويقدمه للكهنة يرفعه للهيكل وان الكهنة يرفعوا على الهيكل قربانا يكفى طول الجمعة حتى يفضل منه شيا كثير غرضا في ان لا يتعبوا فيقدسوا ويبقا القربان في الكايس الى ان يعفن لان الاساقفة كانوا يوسموا للكهنوت من لا يصلح ولا يفهم . وحدثني انسان مامون ان ابنا مينا اسقف طانة الذي قد كئا بديننا بذكره في هذه السيرة وقلنا ان فيلاتاوس البطرك سكن في داره بدمروا بعد موته كان عند وفاته اقسم ما جمعه من المال على اربعة اجزا ودفنه في اربع مواضع ، وكان له في الكرسي عدة سنين حتى شاخ ، وكان له اخ اسمه مقاره اسقف منوف العليا كاتب السنودس فانفذ الى اخيه رسول ياتي اليه بسرعة ، وكان مترقب وصوله وعينه ناظرة الى الطريق ، فتاخر عنه يومين لم ياتيه وكسب اربع رقايع وذكر فيها الاربع مواضع التي فيها المال وجعلها في يده الى ساعة وصول اخيه اليه يدفعها له ، فلما تاخر عنه ولحقه قلق الموت والزراع قال لتلميذه انظر لعل اخي قد وصل ، فخرج التلميذ وعاد اليه وقال له لم يصل ، فقلق ورمى احد الرقايع الاربعة في فمه ومضغها ورمها ثم قال للتلميذ اترى جا اخي ، فخرج ايضا وعاد وقال له ما وصل فمضغ الرقعة الثانية ورمها ، وكذلك فعل بالثالثة وبقى في يده واحدة ، فقال للتلميذ انظر ان كان اخي وصل فخرج ليبصره فابطى عليه وحس بصعوبة الم الموت فرمى الرقعة الرابعة في فمه ومن قبل ان يمضغها دخل اليه التلميذ مسرعا وقال له هو ذا اخوك قد وصل ، فاخرج الرقعة من فمه فلما دخل اخوه دفعها له وقال له الرب لا يواخذك ويغفر لك فقد ضيعت ما ثبت في ثلثة رقايع اخرى لاجل غيبتك عنى ، ولما قال هذا خرجت روحه فكفنه ودفنه ثم قرى الرقعة فوجد في المكان

عشرة الف دينار ، وكان مقاره اخوه رجلا جيد فاخذ المال وبنا به اسكنا على اسم ابو مقار بوادى هيبب وهو الهيكل الحسن قبلى هيكل بنيامين فانفق عليه ثلثة الف دينار وصدق بجملة كبيرة وبنا بيع كثير في ريف مصر ، ولما حضرت وفاته سالوه ان كان معه شى يوصى به بما يفعلوه فيه ، فقال الرب شاهد على اننى وجدت لاختى عشرة الف دينار وتحصل لى فى الكرسى وفيها اخذته فى كتابه السنودس فى كل سنة شيا كثير وقد انفقت جميع ذلك والرب يشهد على اننى لم يبق معى غير دينار واحد ورباعى وهو ذا انا منتقل من هذا العالم وانا اقسم عليكم ان تدفعوه للكهنة الذين يقرون على . وهذا الاسقف مينا الذى خلف هذا المال الكثير لم يقنعه ذلك حتى انه اعمر كوم بين كرسية وكرسى سمنود وصار فيه عشرة بيوت مسكونة ، فبنوا هناك كيسة صغيرة طولها خمسة اذرع او ستة طوب طين ، وكان الكوم بين بشيش^(١) وشبرادمانه ، فلما سمع اسقف سمنود انا لها وبنا فيها مذبح لطيف وكرزه ومضى لان شبرادمانه له وهى من حقوق كرسية ، فلما سمع انبا مينا الاسقف المقدم ذكره بذلك جا الى الكيسة* المذكورة وهدم المذبح الذى بناه اسقف سمنود وبنا غيره ، فلما سمع^(١٤٨) (ظ) اسقف سمنود بذلك صعب عليه جدا وجا الى هناك ومعه جماعة وانبا مينا الاسقف هناك فاجتمعوا وتخاصموا ووقع بينهم قتال ولم يفرقوا حتى سفكت بينهم الدما ، فانظروا الان الى ذلك الاسقف الذى جمع المال الكثير كيف قاتل على شى هذا مقداره حتى انزل الله غضبه على ذلك الكوم واخرها الى الان ، واسم الكوم سندجرا وفى ايامهم اعنى الرعاة انقطع التعليم ايضا ولم يردع احدا احد ولا يقول له اخرج القذا من عينك ليلا يقول له اخرج انت الحشبة اولا من عينك ، وكانوا رووسا البيعة فها تقدم يطلبوا امر فيه علم ومعرفة ليجعلوه كاهنا اذا شهد له جماعة ثقات بالعفاف والعلم من صغره ، وانقلبت الامور وصار الفهيم العالم غير معدود لا سها ان كان فقيرا والجاهل

(١) بشيش [١٤٦١ (ج) بشيش والغالب أن هذا هو الصواب .

الغير فهم مكرما عندهم مبعجلا لا سها ان كان موسرا ليقدموه للطقس العالى من طقوس الكهنة فمبعجل^(١) ذلك نزلت يد الرب عليهم وحل غضبه على البيعة لعلمه باننا لا نستحق ندخل من بابها كالزمان الذى انزل فيه غضبه على يروشليم^(٢) حتى خربت وسبى اهلها وبنيم وبناتهم . وكان راهبا اسمه يونس قس فى اسكنا ابو مقار ساكن فى بيعة القديس ابو نفر فى الاسكنا الذى هو بحرى بيعة ابو مقار فرأى جماعة يشتروا الاسقفية بالمال فالقى الشيطان فى قلبه نار حجة الاسقفية ولم يكن معه شيا يدفعه عنها فحضر عند انبا زخارياس البطرك وقال اريد تلبسنى ثياب الاسقفية فقط واجعلنى على كرسى خراب مثل دبقوا ولو انه لا يكون فيه الا ثلث منا فانى لا اقدر اصبر عن ذلك مما قد غلب على من الفكر لمشاهدتى هولاء الذى تقسمهم بالمال وليس هم مستحقين وانا مدحوض لاجل انى فقير وليس معى شيا وانت تعرفنى ، وكان البطرك المذكور عفيف جدا مثل الخروف الوديع ولم يكن يفعل شيا مما ذكرناه برايه حتى الحبز الذى ياكله اذا خلوه لا يطعموه لا يطلبه وكذلك الما الذى يشربه ، وكان كالاخرس وكانوا اهلهم وتلاميذه حاكمين عليه وهم يدبرونه وهم الذين ياخذون المال ممن يقدموه له ليحمله فبا يريدوا ، ولو اراد ان يطعم انسان خبز فما قدر الا باحسانهم ، واذا التمس منه انسان شيا ارسله اليهم ، ومن التمس منه كهنة انفذه اليهم ليفصلوا معه والا فما يمكنه يقسمه ، فلما اتاه هذا الراهب الذى ذكرناه انفذه اليهم كالعادة ، فمضى اليهم وخاطبهم مثلما خاطب البطرك فشمته احدهم وهو خيال اسقف سخا وهو ابن اخو البطرك لما علم منه انه يريد الاسقفية بلا شى وقال له بعد الشتم انك ان ذكرت من فمك شى على هذه القضية جعلت التلاميذ يمينوك ، فاستحكم فيه الغضب ونهض ومضى الى مصر وشكى حاله للسلطان وكب عدة رقاع فى البطرك ليرفع للملك الحاكم بامر الله ، فلما علموا الاراخنة بمصر بذلك منعوه ان يفعله وكبوا له كب الى البطرك وكان يومئذ بوادى هيب ، فلما

(١) فنجل : فن اجل (٢) يروشليم [١٤٦١ (ظ) : يروشليم

وصلت اليه الكلب دفعها لابن اخيه المقدم ذكره ، فلما وقف عليها فغمز على الراهب واحضر العرب الذى هم خفرا الديارة وسلم الراهب اليهم فاخذوه ورموه فى بئر ورجموه بالحجارة ليقتلوه ، فوجد فى البئر موضع خرق فدخل فيه واختفى ولم يلحقه ولا حجر واحد ، فلما سمع البطرك الخبر حمل التراب على راسه وبتف شعر لحيته واحرم ابن اخيه على ما فعله بالراهب وانفذ تلاميذه الى البئر فاصعدوه منه وعزوه وسالوه ان يتسلى ، واوعده البطرك ان يجعله اسقف على كرسى مما يخلوا فصر حتى خلى كرسين فلم يجعله فى واحد منهما* بل كان اهله وتلاميذه يخاطبوه بما يوجع قلبه فحينئذ امتلا (ج) ١٤٩ حنقا بمنعهم له من الاسقفية الذى دخل فى قلبه محبته ، وهذا هو اول وجع لحق الشيطان اغنى الكبرى لانه مكسوب اذا حبلت الشهوة ولدت الخطية واذا نمت^(١) الخطية ولدت الموت ، فمضى يونس الراهب الى مصر ليشتكى ومن ها هنا نقطع الكلام لان فيها فعله الى ان نذكره فى موضعه .

فاما الملك الذى ذكرناه انفا وانه تقلد امر المملكة وهو صبي صغير جدا وانه نشا وكبر وصار كالاسد يزير^(٢) ويطلب فريسة وصار محب لسفك الدماء اكثر من الاسد الضارى حتى ان جماعة احصوا من قتل بامرته فكان عدتهم ثمانية عشر الف انسان ، اول ما ابتدى قتل اكبر دولته وكتابه ، وقطع ايدى قوما ، واول من قتل الاستاذ برجوان الذى رباه لانه كان يسميه فى صغره الوزغة فانفذ اليه استاذ من يديه وقال له قول له الوزغة الصغيرة قد صار تيننا عظيما وهو يدعوك ، فمضى اليه الاستاذ وقال له ما امره به فجا اليه وهو يرتعد فامر به قطعت راسه ، وكذلك امير كبير يسا القايد فضل كان بينه وبينه جميل عظيم فدخل يوما الى القصر كعادته فوجد الملك المذكور جالسا وبين يديه صبي مليح قد ابتاعه بمائة دينار فى يده سكين وقد ذبحه بها وقد اخرج كبده

(١) كذا فى الأصل . وصوابه « تمت » حسب نص الرسول يعقوب ا : ١٥ « والشهوة اذا حبلت نسلت الخطية والخطية اذا كملت (xωκ βρολ) تلد الموت » (النص حسب النسخ القبطية)

(٢) يزير : يزأر

ومصارينه وهو يقطعهم ، نخرج وهو خائف مرتعدا الى منزله واعلم اهله وكذب وصيته ، وبعد ساعة انفذ اليه من قطع راسه . وكان اذا اراد ان يقتل انسان انعم عليه بالمال والخلع ، وبعد هذا ينفذ من يقطع راسه ويأتيه بها ، ولم يزل يفعل هذا حتى افنا خواصه ومقدمى جيشه ، ثم عاد الاراخنة والكتاب فاخذ منهم عشرة من مقدميهم ابو نجاح الكبير وكان نصرانيا ارتدكسيا فاحضره اليه وقال له اريد ان نتخلا عن دينك وتعود الى ديني واجعلك وزيرى وتدبر امور مملكتى ، فقال له امهلنى الى اغدا^(١) حتى اشاور روى ، فامهله وخلاه فمضى الى منزله واحضر اصدقاءه وعرفهم ما جرى له معه ، وقال لهم انا مستعد ان اموت على اسم السيد المسيح وما كان غرضى فى امهالى الى غدا مشورة روى وانما قلت هذا حتى اجتمع بكم وباهلى واودعكم واودعهم واوصيكم واوصيهم ، والان يا اخوتى لا تطلبوا هذا المجد الفانى فتضيعوا مجد السيد المسيح الدائم الباقى فقد اشبع نفوسنا من خيرات الارض وهوذا برحمته قد دعانا الى ملكوت السموات فقوموا قلوبكم ، وانه قوى قلوبهم اجمعين بكلامه وثبتهم على ان يموتوا على اسم السيد المسيح وصنع لهم فى ذلك اليوم وليمة عظيمة واقاموا عنده الى عشية ومضوا الى منازلهم ، فلما كان بالغداة مضى الى الحاكم بامر الله ، فقال له يا نجاح خبرنى^(٢) هل طابت نفسك قال له نعم ، قال على اى قضية قال بقاى على دينى ، فاجتهد الحاكم بكل نوع من الترغيب والترهيب ان ينقله عن دينه فلم يفعل ولم يقدر يميل نيته عن مذهبه ، فامر ان تنزع ثيابه عنه وان يشد فى الهنبازين ويضرب فضربوه خمس مائة سوط على ذلك الجسم الناعم حتى تقطع لحمه وسال دمه مثل الما ، وكانت السياط من عروق البقر ما يحتمل الجبار منها سوط لا سيما ذلك الرجل الترف المنعم ، ثم امر بان^(٣) يضرب تمام الالف سوط فلما ضرب ثلثاية اخرى قال انا عطشان فبطلوا عنه الضرب واعلموا

(١) كذا فى الأصل والمقصود «غد»^(٢) نقلا عن ١٤٧ (ج) : وهو الصواب ،

وفى م «حوى» غير منقوطة^(٣) بان [ا : ان

الحاكم بذلك ، فقال اسقوه بعد ان تقولوا له يرجع لدينا ، فلما جاوا^(١) اليه بالما وقالوا له ما امرهم به الملك ، قال لهم عيدوا له ماه فاني غير محتاج اليه لان سيدى يسوع المسيح قد اسقانى ، وشهد قوم من الاعوان وغيرهم ممن كان هناك انهم ابصروا الما سقط من لحيته ولما قال* هذا اسلم نفسه^(٢) فاعلموا الملك القاسى القلب بوفاته فامر ١٤٩ (ظ) ان يضرب تمام الالف سوط وهو ميت وهكذى تمت ، شهادته بركاته تكون معنا ، ومنهم اخر يعرف بالرئيس فهد ابن ابرهيم وكان قدمه على جميع الكتاب واصحاب الدواوين فاحضره بين يديه وقال له انت تعلم اننى اصطفيتك وقدمتك على كل من فى دولتى فاسمع منى وكن معى فى دينى فارفعك اكثر مما انت فيه وتكون لى مثل اخ ، فلم يجيب الى قوله ، فامر بضرب عنقه واحرق جسده بالنار ، فاقام النار توقد ثلاثة ايام عليه ولم يحترق وبقيت يده اليمنى كان النار لم تدن منها البتة ، وكانت هذه اية من الله سبحانه لانه كان رجل دين فيه رحمة عظيمة ولم يرد قط من يطلب منه شى حتى انه كان يجتاز فى الشوارع راكبا فيلقاه من يطالب منه الصدقة فيمد يده الى كفه ويظن ان ليس فيه شى فيجد ما يدفعه للسائل ، ولذلك ظهرت هذه الاية فى يده اليمنى الذى كان يمدها للصدقة فى كل وقت ، فكان له فى الله افعال جميلة جدا ، رزقنا الله بركة صلواتهم اجمعين . فاما بقية هولاء العشرة قضاة المقدمين^(٣) لما طالبهم بترك دينهم والانتقال عنه فلم يفعلوا ذلك ولا طاعوه فامر بعذابهم فضربوا بالسياط ، فلما تزايد عليهم الضرب اسلم منهم اربعة ، اما احد هولاء الاربعة فانه مات فى ليلته بعينها ، واما الثلاثة الاخر فانه الى اتقضا زمان الميخ اعادوا الى مذهب النصرانية . واما بقية العشرة ماتوا تحت العذاب ونالوا الحياة الدائمة . وفعل هذا الملك افعال لم يسمع بان احد من الملوك الذى قبله فعل مثلها ، ولم يثبت على راي واحد ولا اعتقاد واحد ، وكان منظره مثل الاسد وعيناه واسعة شهل ، واذا نظر الى انسان يرتعد منه لعظم هيئته ، وكان صوته

(١) جاو = جاوا (٢) مقطوعة بالأصل فى م ، ومذكورة فى ١٤٧١ (ظ)

(٣) قضاة المقدمين [مقطوعة على هامش م وواردة فى ١٤٧١ (ظ)]

جهر مخوف ، وكان ينظر الى النجوم والحكمة البرانية وكان يخدم النجم المسمى زحل على زعمه ويداوم التطواف في الجبل الشرقى بمصر ليلا ومعه ثلاثة من الركابية ويتشبه له الشيطان بشبه ذلك النجم فيخاطبه بامور كثيرة ويذبح له قرابين وترك لباس الملوك لاجل هذا ولبس ثوب صوف اسود وربما شعره حتى نزل على اكفائه وترك ركوب العماريات والحيل السبق المسومة والبغال المطرقة وركب حمار اسود ، وكان يمشى وحده في كل موضع وربما اخذ معه فرد ركابي ، وكان يمشى بالليل في الشوارع ايضا ويتسمع على الناس في بيوتهم ما يقولوه عنه ، وكان له جواسيس كثير ونخبرين يطوفون ليلا ونهارا^(١) ويرفعون له الاخبار ولا يخفى عنه شيئا مما يجري في بلاد مصر جميعها ويظنوا الناس ان قوة الله حالة عليه لاجل الملك الذى فوضه اليه ، وكان له انسان يسمى الهادى ومعه اثني عشر رجلا يتلمذون له ويدعون الناس اليه ويسمعون ، وكان يقول للذين يجتمعون اليه ان الحاكم هو المسيح واقوال كثير لا يجوز ذكرها ، وكان الحاكم يخرج في اوقات كثيرة من قصره في الليل محمول في محفة على اكفاف اربعة من الفراشين . وامر ان لا تخرج امرأة من بيتها بالجملة لا الى حمام ولا الى غيرها^(٢) . واذا ظفر بامرأة قد خرجت في ليل ام نهار سلمها لتولى الشرطة ادبها ادبا يقضى بهلاكها ، وامر بان لا توكل ملوخية ، وكان يطاع في الظاهر لا في الباطن ، وامر بان^(٣) لا يشرب احد النبيذ وكب بذلك سجلات الى سائر البلاد وكسرت الاوعية التى فيها النبيذ في كل مكان ، ثم انه اجتاز يوما قفز قدامه كلب فجفل الحمار الذى تحته فامر بقتل كل كلب في مصر وذكر ان كلب صاح خارج المدينة صيحة عظيمة فاجتمع اليه كلاب كثير وصعدوا الى الجبل الشرقى ومضوا ، وامر ايضا بقتل الخنازير الذى في كورة مصر* ، فقتلوهم جميعهم ، وكان فيها خنازير كثير لا سيما في البشمور ، ثم امر ان لا يضرب ناقوس في بلاد مصر ، وبعد قليل امر بان تعلق الصلبان الذى على قبب الكنايس وان تمحى

(١) ليلا ونهارا [١ : ليل ونهار (٢) غيرها] ١٤٧١ (ظ) : غيره (٣) بان [١ : ان

الصلبان الذى على ايدى الناس ، ثم امر ان تشد النصارى الزنار فى اوساطهم ويلبسوا على رووسهم عمام سود ويركبوا بركب^(١) خشب ولا يركب احد منهم بركب^(٢) حديد وان يحملوا صلبان طول شبر ، ورجع عمله ذراع ونصف ، وان يصنع اليهود اطراف عمامهم ويلبسوا الزناير ويعملوا كبة خشب شبه راس العجل الذى عبده فى البرية ، ولا يدخل احد من الدمة^(٣) حمام مع المسلمين ، وافرد لهم حمامات ، وجعل على^(٤) باب حمام النصارى صليب خشب ، وعلى باب حمام اليهود قرمة خشب ، ثم امر ان يحرق الزبيب فاحصى ما احرق منه فى مصر واعمالها والشام فكان ستمائة الف ساطره ، وكذلك الذى ظفر به بمصر ، والعسل كسره وطرحه فى البحر ، وان احد التجار خسر جملة مال ثمن عسل وزبيب وانه حاكم مولانا الحاكم عند قاضى القضاة ابن النعمان وقال له انه وصل الى مصر ببضاعته وهى زبيب وعسل للاكل وعمل الحلاوة وانه اكسر وحرق ورما^(٥) البحر فساوهما^(٥) القاضى فى الجلوس والمحاكمة فالتمس التاجر من الحاكم ماله وقيمة ثمن بضاعته الف دينار ، فقال له الحاكم انت جلبت هذه البضاعة لعمل المنكر والا فاحلف انك جلبتها لعمل الحلاوة والاكل وخذ ثمنها ، فالتمس التاجر احضار المال قبل ان يحلف فامر الحاكم باحضار المال ، فحلف التاجر وتسلم ماله وكسب عليه انه قبضه واستوفاه والتمس ان يكتب له سجل برعايته وحفظه ففعل له ذلك ، فلما انفصل الحكم فيما بينهما^(٦) وقف القاضى بين يدى الحاكم وحياه تحية الخلافة فازداد القاضى عنده جلاله وحمل اليه كرامات عظيمة ، وكان يمشى فى الليل فيجد فى بعض الاوقات الشوايين يحمو التناير ليشووا فيما فيرمى بعضهم فى التناير فيحترقوا ، ووجد فى بعض الليالى انسان يقلى لحم فى طاجن فامر بان تقطع يديه وترمى فى الطاجن ، فقال له ذلك الرجل متى تعلم امير المومنين القلى فانما كما نعرفه شوا متى صار قلا فضحك منه وامر بتخليته ،

(١) بركب = بركاب (٢) الدمة = [أهل] الدمة (٣) على [ساقطه من م ، وارده فى ا
(٤) ورما] ١٤٨١ (ظ) : ورى (٥) فساوهما = فساوهما (٦) بينهما] ١٤٨١ (ج) : بينهم

واحضر اليه دفعة انسان صدر فضة خطفه في السوق من يد صاحبه ، فلما اوقفوه بين يديه والصدر الفضة معه في يده قال له اريد ان تجرى قدامى وتوريني كيف جريت لما خطفته من يد صاحبه ، ففعل ذلك ومضى يجرى ولم يحسر احد يتبعه . واجتاز بعض الاوقات بشون فيها قرط وحطب وبوص فامر باحراقها فاحرقت وهو راكب ينظر اشتعال النار فيما الى ان احترقت جميعها وضاعت اثمانها على اربابها ، ولقيه في بعض الليالى عشرة رجال مستعدين بالسلاح فسالوه ان يعطيهم مال فقال لهم اقتسموا فرقين وتحاربوا قدامى فمن غلب دفعت له المال لانه يستحق ان ياخذ الكرامة ففعلوا ذلك وتحاربوا حتى مات منهم تسعة وبقي واحد فقال له قد استحققت الان ان تاخذ الكرامة ورما له دنائير كثير من كمه فتطاطا لياخذها من الارض فاوما الى ركابية كانوا معه فوثبوا عليه وقتلوه وجمعوا تلك الدنائير فعادها الى كمه . وعمل له في قصره بحر مرخم يستقا له الماء بالساقية ويجرى اليه بقناة وعلى خارج البحر حصير رخام وجعل عليه ساير الاطيار وامر بان يجعل في الحايط سهم خشب رقيق بارز ويكون طرفه خارج منها الى البحر الرخام معتدل مع حافته وهو* عال جدا في اعلا الحايط كما حكى من شاهده ثم امر منادى ينادى ان من مشى على هذا السهم وقفز في البحر ووقع في الماء دفع له ستماية درهم ، واطمع جماعة بذلك فمن محبة الدرهم مشى عليه جماعة من الناس وقفزوا فوقعوا على البلاط فماتوا . ثم امر ان تكون صلبان النصرارى الخشب وزن كل صليب خمسة ارطال مصرى مختوم بخاتم رصاص عليه اسم الملك ويعلقوه في رقابهم بحبال ليف ، وكذلك اليهود تكون عيار الكبكه التي في رقابهم خمسة ارطال ومن يوجد منهم بغير ختم يهون به ويفرم الجنايه فجحد^(١) كثير من النصرارى واليهود من روسايم وادانهم لاجل هذا ولم يصبروا على هذا الهوان والعذاب ، وذكر ان النساء المصريات لما منعهم الحاكم الخروج بالنهار عملوا مثالات نسا من قراطيس وخبز فجل^(٢) (كذا) واوقفوهم له في طريقه التي

(١) فجحد [١٤٨١ (ظ) فججز (٢) خبز فجل] كذا في الأصل بكل من : «م» و «ا»

يسلكها خارج مصر في ايديهم رقاع مكسوبة يشتموه فيها ويسبون اخته وكان يامر باخذ الرقاع منهم فيقرأها فيجدها على هذه القضية ، هذا فعلوه عدة دفعات ولاجل ذلك امر باحراق مصر ونهبها ، ولم يكون يتنعم مثل الملوك لكنه كان سايج في الجبال والبرارى ليلا ونهارا ، وسفك في ايامه دما كثير .

ونعود الان الى تمام ما فعله يونس الراهب المقدم ذكره من القبايح في ايام هذا الملك ، وذلك انه لما تحقق انه لا يوسم اسقفا مضى الى مصر وكسب رقعة وذكر فيها البطرك بكل سو وخرج الى الجبل ووقف للحاكم وقال له انت خليفة الله في ارضه فعينى لوجه الله وناوله الرقعة فاخذها منه وكان فيها مكسوب انت ملك الارض لكن للنصارى ملك لا يرضا^(١) بك لكثرة ما قد كسز من الاموال الجزيلة لانه يبيع الاسقفية بالمال ولا يفعل ما يرضى الله تعالى وذكره في الرقعة بقبايح كثيرة مثل هذا فلما وقف الحاكم على الرقعة امر بان تغلق ابواب البيع واحضار البطرك ، وكان قد شاخ وطعن في السن فلما حضر اعتقله ثلثة شهور وكان اعتقاله في اليوم الثانى عشر من هاتور سنة سبع وعشرين وسبعماية للشهدا ، ثم امر بان يطرح للسباع تاكله فلما رمى لها نقل الله طبعها له وحماه منها ومنعها منه وضبطها عنه فلم تاكله ، فنقم الحاكم على سايسها وقال له انت تبرطلت من النصارى واطعمت السباع كثير واشبعتها ولم تجوعها ، وامر بان تجوع السباع ثانية فاذا اشتد جوعها تذبج شاه ويعرا^(٢) البطرك ثيابه ويلطخ جسمه بدمها وتطلق السباع عليه ، ففعلوا به ذلك فلم توذيه بالجملة ، وكان يونس الراهب المذكور يمضى في اكثر اوقاته الى البطرك وهو في الاعتقال على سبيل الشماتة به ، وكان ثانى يوم اعتقاله

ولا يستقيم بها المعنى ، والغالب أنها خطأ من النساخ ، وربما كانت في الأصل « جريد نخل » ثم تأكل النقطة والحرفان الأخيران من الكلمة الأولى فقرأها الناسخ على الوجه الموجود في النص ، والمقصود اقامة جريد النخل واحاطته بقراطيس الورق على النحو المعروف في قرى مصر الآن وهو « خيال المقات » لطرد الطيور ومنعها من العبت بالفاكهة

(١) برضا [١٤٨١ ظ : يعنا (٢) ويعرا] ا : ويعرى

قد امر الحاكم بكعب سبجلى الى والى بيت المقدس بان تهدم القيامة ، فكعب الكاتب الى
الوالى كتاب هذه نسخته « خرج امر الامامة اليك بهدم قمامة ، فاجعل سمايا ارضا
وطولها عرضا » وكان كاتب السبجلى نصرانى نسطورى يعرف بابن شيرين ، فلما انفذ
السبجلى الذى كعبه صار المذكور مثل السكران الذى صحا من سكره وفكر فى نفسه فبا
قد فعله ، وقال كعبت يدي بان تهدم القيامة فلماذا لم اصبر على الموت قبل ان افعل هذا ،
ولماذا لم اصبر على قطع يدي اليمنى ولا اكعب بذلك ، فلو امتنعت من كعبه ما الذى كان
يفعله بي اكثر من ضرب العنق وما كنت اريد شهادة اعظم من هذه ، وكان يقول هذا
ومثله ويردد هذا على قلبه ليلا ونهارا فمن شدة حزنه اعتل ولزم فراش المرض ، ويقول
يا يدي اليمنى كيف جسرقتى وفعلتى هذا الامر الفضيع^(١) انا ايضا افعل* بك ما تستحقه
ولا ازال اعذبك ، وجعل يرفع يده ويضرب بها الارض ولم يزل كذلك طول
ايام علته حتى تقطعت اصابعه ومات . ومن بعد ايام انفذ الحاكم سبجلات الى ساير
اعمال مملكته بان تهدم البيع وان يحمل ما فيها من الاتية الذهب والفضة الى قصره
وان يطالب الاساقفة فى كل الاماكن وان لا يبايعوا النصارى ولا يشاروا فى موضع
من المواضع ، فجدد جماعة منهم اديانهم لاجل هذا واكثر النصارى المصريين نزعوا
عنهم الغيار والصليب والزنار والركب الحشب وتشبهوا بالمسلمين فلم يكشف احد عليهم
ويظن من يراهم قد اسلموا ، وكان اشماس^(٢) اسمه بغيره فترك الخدمة فى الديوان
الذى كان له وحمل صليبه ومضى الى القصر وصاح على بابيه المسيح ابن الله ، فلما سمع
الحاكم صوته امر باحضاره واجتهد به ان ينكر دينه ويعترف بالاسلام فلم يفعل ، وكان
كالصخرة القوية التى لا تضطرب وكان كلما خاطبه زاد صياحه وقال المسيح ابن الله
فامر ان يطرح فى حلقه طوق وسلسلة حديد ويرمى فى حبس الدم ، وشهد لى انسان
ثقة مضى اليه ليفتقده فى الاعتقال لمودة كانت بينه وبينه فوجده على تلك الحال وهو

(١) الفضيع = الفضيع (٢) اشماس [١٤٩١ (ج) : شماس

كانه^(١) مشدود الى وتد كبير مضروب في الارض وهو قائم يصلى ويبيده دفتر صغير ووجهه الى الشرق يقرى ويصلى مع ثقل ذلك الحديد الذى هو مغلول به ، فلما راه^(٢) ابتهج به كأنه في عرس وقال لى هذا الرجل لما افتقدته وارتد الانفصال منه قلت له ماذا توصينى لمنزلك واهلك ، قال امضى اليهم وقول لهم انا بقية اليوم عندكم قبل مغيب الشمس فلا تحزنوا ، وكان هذا الانسان الذى حدثنى بهذا مهندس ريس على النشارين اسمه مينا وهو خالى اخو والدتى وبصنعتة وجد السبيل الى افتقاد بقيره المذكور وهو الذى ربانى واقسم لى قايلانا انى ما وصلت الى منزلى وقمت متوجه الى منزل بقيره كما قال لى حتى انفذ الحاكم واخرجه من الاعتقال وكب له سجل بان لا يعترض احد بقيره الرشيدى فى بيع ولا شرى ولا فى امر من الامور ، فلما اخذ السجل نزل الى مصر وطاف على النصارى الخافين وطمنهم وحلف لهم ان بعد ثلاثة ايام يزول عنهم كلما هم فيه من الضر ، وكان يبتاع لهم كلما يحتاجوه من خبز وما وطعام وينفذه اليهم مع غلمانة ففعل هذا ثلاثة ايام وفى صباح اليوم الرابع خرج امر الحاكم بان تباع النصارى ويشاروا كما جرت عادتهم وكب سجل بانه من اراد من النصارى يمضى الى بلاد الروم او بلاد الحبشة والنوبة وغيرهم لا يمنهم احدا . وكانوا قبل ذلك ممنوعين منه ، ولما بطل بقيره من الديوان الذى كان فيه افرغ نفسه لافتقاد المحبين ويحمل ما يحتاجوه اليهم ، ويفتقد حبوس الجوالى ومن وجد^(٣) مطلوبا بما لا يقدر عليه ضمنه واخرجه من الاعتقال ، ويمضى الى الرووسا والاغنيا فياخذ منهم ما يقوم به عنمن يضمه ويخلصه ، وتوكل على السيد المسيح بجهده من كل قلبه ، وكذلك من عرف انه يعوزه القوت من الاخوة المومنين اعطاهم كفافهم فى كل يوم وفعل افعالا جميلة حسنة كثيرة جدا لم نذكرها واقتصرنا على اليسير منها . ومن اول ما جرى هذا الامر فى تلك الايام لم يفطر فيها نهارا والايام التى يتقرب فيها لا يفطر فيها الى الليل ، وهذا كله عرفته منه

(١) كأنه [ساقطة من ا (٢) راه] ا : راه (٣) وجد] ا : وجده

لمودة كانت بيني وبينه ، وفي اكثر الاوقات كنت انام عنده فيحضر لى بعض الكتب
 اقرا فيها بعض الليل ثم انام يسيراً ، واما هو فيقف الى الصباح فاذا اصبح مضى الى الشغل
 الذى يختاره لنفسه ، وصار له * مثل صنعة وتصرف ، وكان القمح وجميع الطعام ماسا^(١) ،
 فلما كان يوم من الايام اشترى الخبز وفرقه على عاداته على المستورين والفقرا^(٢) حتى
 انه^(٣) لم يبق عنده الا رغيف واحد يفطر عليه ، فجعله على المائدة وصلى وجلس ليفطر^(٤)
 فشكر ومد يده لياكل ، فسمع الباب يدق فقال لغلامه ابصر الباب فخرج الغلام فوجد
 انسان مستور فقال له قل للشيخ بغيره نسي^(٥) اليوم وما عندى ما افطر عليه ، فدخل
 الغلام اليه واعلمه ما قاله الرجل فدفع له الرغيف وبات طاويا الى الليل ثانى يوم ،
 وكان ايضا انسانا جليل القدر فى قومه غنيا جدا وافقر ونفذ ماله حتى لم يبق له شيا
 فاحتاج ولم تدعه الحشمة يبذل وجهه^(٦) ويتسول لاحد فباع كل ما فى بيته حتى لم يبق
 له الا الثياب التى عليه تستره ولو كان له غيرها يمضى بها الى البيعة لباعها ، فما ادري
 كيف علم به بغيره الخادم للسيد يسوع المسيح فاخذ عشرة تلاليس فيها عشرة ارادب
 قمح انفذها اليه مع غلامه فلم يحده فى ذلك الوقت فى منزله فافرغ القمح فى بيته عند
 زوجته وقال لها عرفى صاحب البيت وقولى له ان فلان انفذ لك هذه البركة ، ومضى
 الى صاحبه فعرفه ذلك ، ولما جا الرجل الى منزله ابصر القمح سال زوجته عنه
 فاعلمته انها بركة انفذها الرب لنا لتعيش بها ، فقال لها من الذى اتى بها ، فقالت له
 من عند بغيره الرشيدى الكاتب ، فلما سمع ذلك ضاق صدره وقال حى هو الرب اننى
 اجلس فى منزلى الى ان يقبض الله روحى ولا اخذ صدقة من احد ولا افضح نفسى ،
 وبدا يبكى ويلطم وجهه ، فقالت له زوجته المومنه قد رزقنا الله قوتنا اليوم فقم الان
 اغسل وجهك ويديك ورجليك وصلى واسجد للرب واشكر رحمته لك وافطر واذا

(١) ماسا [١٤٩١ (ج) : ماشا (٢) : الفقرا والمستورين (٣) انه] : ساقطة من ا
 (٤) ليعطر [١٤٩١ (ظ) : يفطر (٥) نسي [ا : نسي (٦) وجهه] : نفسه

كان بالغدأة رد القمح الى صاحبه ، فغسلي بكلامها وطاب قلبه واكل طعامه وتهد ، فلما نام تلك الليلة راي في منامه كان^(١) السيد المسيح قائم امامه ، فقال له لماذا انت وجع القلب ، فقال له يا سيد كيف لا يوجعني قلبي وانا من بعد ذلك الغنى والرحمة التي كانت لي ولا باى قد انتهى بي الامر الى هذا الفقر حتى صرت اتصدق ، والاصحح لى ان اموت بالجوع افضل من هذا ، فقال له لا تحزن فان هذا القمح ما هو لاحد بل هو لى وانا انفذته لك على يد ويكلى ، قال له يا سيدى ما جاني لك ويكيل بل بغيره الرشيدى انفذه الى ، فقال له الرب كانك^(٢) ما علمت الى الان ان بغيره ويكلى ؛ فلما سمع هذا استيقظ واعلم زوجته بالمنام وطاب قلبها بان لا يعيدا القمح بل يعيشان به .

واما انبا زخارياس فانه اقام معتقل ثلثة شهور وهم يخوفوه فى كل يوم بجريق النار والرعى للسباع ان لم يدخل فى دين الاسلام ، ويقولوا له ان اجبت الى ذلك نلت مجدا عظيما ويجعلك الحاكم قاضى القضاة وهو لا يلتفت اليهم ولا يلوى عليهم ، وكان معه فى الاعتقال انسان مسلم شرير فقال له يا شيخ السو ما تسلم حتى يخلوك وتنال منهم الكرامة الكبيرة ، فقال له البطرك اعتمادى على الله الذى له القدرة وهو يعينى^(٣) ، فلما تم الخطاب دخل اليه احد الاتراك فضربه على فاه بدبوس فقال له البطرك اما الجسد فلکم عليه السلطان تهلكوه كما تريدوا واما النفس فانها بيد الرب ، وكان رجلا من العرب مقدم القريتين اسمه ماضى ابن مقرب وهو مقدم جماعته ، وكان جليل عند الحاكم وكان قد استقر معه ان يقضى له كل يوم حاجة اى شى كانت ، وكان له صديق نصرانى عامل قد انكسر عليه للديوان ثلثة الف دينار ولم يكن له حال* يقوم بها فاعتقل عند الاب ١٥٢ (ج) البطرك انبا زخارياس ، فلما بلغ ماضى القرى خبره اتاه ليعلم خبره على الحقيقة وقال لماذا اعتقلوك ، فقال بقى للديوان عندى ثلثة الف دينار وما معى شى اقوم به ، فقال له انا اجعل اليوم حاجتى عند الحاكم خلاصك ، فقال له ذلك الرجل النصرانى الدين

(١) كان = كأنه (٢) كانك = كأنك (٣) وهو يعينى] ا : ويعينى

ما اقدر اخرج واخلى هذا الاب الشيخ البطرك ، قال له ماضى ما جريرة هذا البطرك حتى
اعتقلوه^(١) [فعرفه السبب]^(٢) تخاف ماضى لا يكون الكلام فى امره شيا لا يوافق السلطان
فلا يفرج عنه ، فقال انا ادبر فى امر هذا شى وهو ان اجعل حاجتى عنده اليوم السوال
فى اطلاق كلمن فى هذه الخزانة ، فاذا امر بذلك تخلصت انت وهو من جملة المطلقين ،
ثم خرج ماضى واجتمع بالحاكم وساله فى الجميع فاطلقهم ، ولما تخلص البطرك ونزل الى
مصر فرحوا جماعة النصارى فرحا عظيما و اشاروا عليه بان يسير الى البرية الى وادى^(٣)
هييب خوفا ان يكون اطلاقه سهو من الحاكم او يكون نسي انه فى ذلك المكان الذى
اطلق منه ماضى القرى ، فقبل مشورتهم وسار لوقته الى وادى هييب فاقام فيه تسع سنين
لان البيع التى هناك كانت سالمة من الهدم ، وذلك ان الحاكم كان انفذ امير من مصر
وصحبته فعلة ومساحى وطور فى المراكب ليهدموا جميع البيع التى فى البرية ، فلما وصلوا
الى ترنوط^(٤) فقالوا نحن نخاف من العرب الذين فى هذا الجبل لكثرتهم وبهذا ابطل الله
موامرتهم ، وبامر ظهر لهم من الله وحفظ جميع كبايس البرية ، وذكر ان الشهيد جرجس^(٥)
ظهر لهم وردهم وخوفهم حتى عادوا كما هو مكتوب فى روىا يوحنا ابن زبدي
ان الامراة التى ولدت الولد الذكر اسكب التنين خلفها^(٦) بجر ما فاعطاها الرب
النجاة منه الى الموضع الذى قامت فيه ، كذلك البيع التى فى هذا الجبل وجدت راحة
كما ان الارض فتحت فاها وابتلعت الما كذلك كان خلاص هذه البيع من الهيبج .
وفى ذلك الزمان ظفر امير تركى براس الاب البشير مارى مرقص الانجيلى ، فقيل له
ان النصارى يدفعوا لك فيما كلما تريده فحمله الى مصر فلما علم بغيره الرشيدى حامل
الصليب بذلك اخذ منه الراس بثلاثماية دينار ، وحمله الى الاب البطرك وهو يومئذ

(١) اعتقلوه [١٤٩١ (ظ) : اعتقله]^(٢) [فعرفه السبب] على هامش م مقطوعة ، وهى
كاملة بالنص فى ١٥٠١ (ج) (٣) الى وادى [١ : بوادى]^(٤) ترنوط [١٥٠١ (ج)
بربوط]^(٥) الشهيد جرجس [١ : الشهيد مارى جرجس]^(٦) خلفها [١ : خلفا . راجع
الرؤيا ص ١٢ ، ٤-٦

بدير ابو مقار ، وكان اكثر الاساقفة مقيم معه هناك لحوفهم من الالهانة والتعب ، وكان اكثر النصارى ايضا يدخلوا البرية دفعتين في السنة وهما عيد الغطاس وعيد القيامة الذى هو الفصح ، وكانوا يشتهوا القربان كما يشتهى الطفل اللبن من ثدي امه ، وكان على النصارى في هذه التسع سنين ضيق عظيم وطرد وشم ولعن من المسلمين ويبصقوا في وجوههم وكان اكثر ذلك بمدينة تيس واعمالها ، واذا جاز نصرانى عليهم يشتموه ويقولوا له اكسر هذا الصليب وادخل في الدين الواسع ، وان نسي نصرانى صليبه ومشى بلا صليب لقي هوان كثير ، واعلمكم عجوبة^(١) اخرى اعلمنى بها ابى الجسدانى وكانت صناعته بنا^(٢) وكان فيه دين ومحبة لاني انا الباس ميخائيل كت طفلًا في زمان هذا الضيق فاخذنى معه يوما وهو متوجه الى ضيعة يبني فيها وكنت اتعلم منه صنعة التجارة لانه كان بنا^(٣) ونجار فوقف باهتا ودق يد على يد ، فقلت له يا ابى عرفنى ما نالك بجلس وعيناه تهطل دموعا وقال لى يا ولدى اجلس اسمع ما جرى فان لى ثلثة شهور منذ خرجت من مصر وانزل الله على سهو وعرق لسانى لكى لا اعلمكم بذلك الا في هذه الساعة فان الله تعالى اتار فهمى واطلق لسانى لاذكر ذلك* وهو اننى كت اعمل بمصر ١٥٢ (ظ)

فلحقنى مرض نخفت ان يشتد بى الوجع وليس عندى من يخدمنى فخرجت امشى قليلا قليلا الى الساحل فوجدت مركبا منحدر الى المحلة فركبت فيه وكان موقرا (كذا) بالناس وهم فيه مزدحمين جدا وليس فيه نصرانى الا اسقف وتلميذه في مقدم المراكب في فاره^(٣) خشب وانا في وسط الناس مطروح وجع والناس يزاحمون ويلكمونى ويقولون لى يا كلب يا مردول يا نصرانى تخنا عنا ويبصقوا على ويهينونى بكل فن من فنون العذاب وينسبوا الى ما يفعلوه من القبيح كذبا فلما زاد امرهم على رفعت عينى الى السما وقلت يا سيدى يسوع المسيح ان لم تظهر لى شى يطيب به قلبى واعلم ان لى فيها نالنى من هولاء^(٣) اجر والا انكرت دينك ، الرب يشهد على انه لم يفرغ الفكر من قلبى ولا الكلام من

(١) اعجوبة (٢) بنا = بناء (٣) هولاء : ا : هولاء

فمى حتى صرت كائنى قد نقلت من هذا العالم وغاب عنى جميعه وكاننى فى عالم اخر
وصرت فى موضع عال مضى^(١) لا اقدر اصف حسنه وبهجته بلسانى^(٢) ولا فى هذا العالم
شيا مثله ولا يشبهه ورايت السيد المسيح له المجد فلم افهم حقيقة صفته ولم اقدر اميزه
من كثره النور الذى عليه ، فقال لى لما صرت قليل الامانة هذا هو موضع النصارى
الذين يصبرون على التجارب من اجل اسمى فهل طاب قلبك ، فمن شدة الوجع والفرح
يا ابنى ميخائيل والهبة التى رايتها صحت قايلًا اشكرك يا رب فقد طاب قلبى فسمعى
كلمن فى المركب اذ قلت هذا وما كنت كائنى فى مركب ، وبعد ذلك قمت من نومى
ونظرت المركب والناس وانا بينهم على حالى وغاب عنى ما رايته ، فقال لى الذين فى
المركب والى (كذا) ما الذى اصابك انت مجنون بك روح شيطان ، قلت ما بى روح
شيطان لكن الله عارف بما نالنى ، ثم انى رايت ذلك دفعه ثانية كهيته^(٣) والسيد المسيح
يقول لى هل قوى قلبك ، فصرخت وقلت قولى الاول حتى تعجب كلمن فى المركب
ثم رايته ايضا ثالث دفعه فحينئذ قوى قلبى فلما سمعى الذى فى المركب اقول ذلك القول
ثلاثة دفعات قال بعضهم لبعض لعله رآى ما لا^(٤) يجوز له ان يقوله لنا لكن نمضى به^(٥)
فمضوا بى اليه^(٥) واعلموه ما كان منى قبلنى وقوى قلبى ولطف بى قبل ان اقول له ما
رايت وما حل بى وكان يكلمنى بالقبطى واوليك المسلمين لا يعرفوا ما يقول لى ، فلما
فتحت فآى لاحدته صرت يشهد الرب على مثل من ربط لسانه ولم اقدر اقول كلمة
واحدة مما رايته فضربت له المطانوه^(٦) وقلت له اجعلنى فى حل فما اقدر اقول شيا ،
ولما وصلت الى البيت اردت ان احدثكم انت اوخوتك فارتبط لسانى ولم ينطق بذكره
الا فى هذه الساعة ، فانا امشى معه وقد ذكرت الان هذا العجب لمحببتكم لانه امر من
الله وللمؤمنين بساعه منفعة وقوة قلب فى الامانة ، ولست اشك فى قول ابى رحمه الله ،

(١) مضى = مضى (٢) بلسانى [ساقطة من ١٥٠١ (ظ) (٣) = كهيته (٤) لا [ساقطة من ١٥٠١ (ظ) (٥) اى الى الاسقف (٦) ال التعريف مخدوفة من «ا»

وهذه التسع سنين التي كان فيها الادب من الرب منها ثلثة سنين لم يقدر احد يعمل فيها طورون^(١) في بلاد مصر الا في الديارات فقط ، ولم تصبر المومنين الاختيار على البعد من السراير المقدسة وكانوا يسالوا الولاة ويبرطلوهم بالدنانير الكثیر والهدايا حتى يفسحوا لهم ان يتقربوا في الليل سرا في الكنايس المهذومة الشاسعة ويبيتوا فيها في ليالى الاعياد الكبار ليصلوا ويتقربوا في الليل ، وكانت الكسوة والالات الكنايسية مخبية^(٢) في بيوتهم وكانت الكب قد احرقت ، وبعدها بثلثة سنين اخر بدوا يعمروا الكنايس في البيوت ويكرزونها سرا ويصلون فيها ويتقربون ، وكان صاحب الترتيب يكب للسultan الذي هو الحاكم بان النصارى قد بنوا بيع بمصر والريف سرا ويتقربوا فيها* وهو يتغافل عنهم ، وبعد ذلك ١٥٣ (ج)

وقف له جماعة من النصارى الذين اسلموا فقال لهم ماذا تريدون^(٣) ، قالوا له تعيدنا الى ديننا ، فقال لكل واحد منهم ابن زنارك وصليبك وغيارك فاخرجوهم له من تحت ثيابهم فامرهم بلباسهم بين يديه وانفذ مع كل واحد ركابي يكب له سجّل يكون بيده بان لا يعترض ، فعادوا كثير من اسلم الى دينهم ، وكان من جملة من اسلم راهب اسمه يمين عاد الى دينه وسال الحاكم ان يمكّنه من عمارة دير خارج مصر على اسم شهيد المسيح مارى مرقوريس وهو دير شهران فبناه وسكّنه مع اخوة له رهبان ، وكان الحاكم يمضى الى عندهم دفعات كثيرة ويقم هناك وياكل من طعامهم الحقير وكان كلمن له حاجة عند الحاكم يمضى الى يمين الراهب يخاطبه عليها وقت حضوره عنده فيقضيا له ، فلما علم يمين انه قد صار له عنده قولاً مقبول اذكره^(٤) بحال اثنا زخارياس البطرک وساله الاذن في بنا البيع فوعده بذلك ، فانفذ احضر البطرک من دير ابو مقار واخفاه عنده في دير مرقوريس بشهران ، فلما اتاه الحاكم كما جرت العادة اخرج له البطرک فسلم عليه بسلام الملوك وبارك عليه ودعا له ، فقال الحاكم ليمين الراهب من هذا قال هو ابونا البطرک

(١) ١ : ١٥٠ (ظ) ضورون وبين السطور بالقبطية $\alpha\omega\pi\omega\kappa$ (٢) مخبية = مخبأة

(٣) ماذا تريدون [١ : ما تريدوا (٤) اذكره] ١٥١ (ج) : ذكره

انفذت احضرته كما امرت فاوما باصبعه اليه وسلم عليه وكان معه جماعة من الاساقفة فقال من هولاء^(١) فقال له بين الراهب هولاء خلفاء في البلاد وهم الاساقفة فتامله الحاكم وتعجب منه لانه كان حقيرا في العين مهايا في النفس وكان قصير القامة كويج ذميم الحلقة وراى الاساقفة الذين معه شيوخ ذوى مناظر حسنة وشخص بهية وقامات تامة فقال لهم هذا مقدمكم كلكم ، قالوا له نعم يا مولانا الرب ينبت ملكك ، فتعجب وقال لهم الى اين ينتهى حكمه ، فقالوا له ينفذ حكمه في ديار مصر والحبشة والنوبة والخمس مدن الغربية افريقية وغيرها ، فازداد تعجبه وقال كيف يطيعونه هولاء كلهم بلا عساكر ولا مال ينفقه فيهم ، قالوا له بصليب واحد تطيعه هذه القبائل كلهم ، قال لهم وايش هو هذا الصليب ، قالوا^(٢) له مثال الذى صلب عليه المسيح فمهما اراد منهم كتب اليهم وجعله بين سطور الكتاب موضع علامة الملك ويقول لهم افعلوا كذا وكذا والا عليكم الصليب فيطيعوا قوله ويفعلوا ما يامرهم به بلا عساكر ولا حرب ، فقال بالحقيقة ليس في العالم دين ثابت مثل دين النصارى هوذا نحن نسفك الدماء وننفق الاموال ونخرج الجيوش وما نطاع وهذا الرجل الشيخ الحقير المنظر الذميم الحلقة تطيعه اهل هذه البلاد كلها بكلمة لا غير ، ثم قال له وللأساقفة اقيموا هاهنا حتى اقضى لكم حوائجكم ، وخرج من عندهم وهم مسرورين بما سمعوه منه ، ثم ان يونس الراهب الذى كان رفع على البطرك عرف مكانهم بخا اليهم مسرعا كالطير ولما يعلموا به حتى دخل وصار بينهم وقال للبطرك هوذا قد اعاد الرب لك طقسك واريد ان تجعلنى اسقفا ، فقال له البطرك اذا اراد الرب فانا اجعلك ، وكان ابن اخيه الذى هو خاييل اسقف سخا حاضر هناك وهو خصم يونس الراهب فخاطبه ايضا بما اغاضه^(٣) حتى طلع فوق سور^(٤) الدير وصاح انا بالله وبالحاكم انا مظلوم انا مظلوم خذلى حتى ، فخافت الاساقفة وجرى بينهم وبين خاييل^(٥)

(١) هولاء] ا : هولاء (٢) قالوا] ١٥١١ (ج) : فقالوا (٣) أفاظه (٤) سور] ا
١٥١ (ج) : صور (٥) خاييل] ا : خاييل

الاسقف خصومة عظيمة وقالوا له انت سبب هذا البلا كاه وكلما نالنا من هدم البيع
 ولباس الغيار والهوان وغيره انت اصله وتريد ايضا* تجدد شيا اخر حتى يكون الاخر ١٥٣ (ظ)
 اشهر من الاول ، ولم يزلوا حتى سكن غضب يونس الراهب والزموا البطرك ان جعله
 اغومنس والبسه القلنسوة السودا ووعده بجميل ، ثم ان الملك الحاكم جا اليهم ومعه
 سجل عظيم بفتح الكنايس كلها التي في مملكته وعمارتها وان تعاد اليهم الاخشاب والعمد
 والطوب الماخوذ منها والاراضى والبساتين التي كانت لها في كل كورة مصر . وكان
 هدم الكنايس في سنة سبع مائة سبعة وعشرين للشهدا وفتحت واطلق عمارتها في سنة
 سبع مائة وستة^(١) وثلثين للشهدا ، وفي هذا السجل اعفاهم من لباس الغيار وحمل الصليب
 وان يضربوا النواقيس في كل الكنايس بكل موضع كما جرت عادتهم فياله من فرح
 كان في ذلك اليوم لجميع النصرارى الذى في كورة مصر . وفي السنة التي كان فيها الخلاص
 واطلاق العماير في الكنايس ظهر امرا عجيب وذلك ان الحاكم كان يطوف بالجبال التي
 بظاهر مصر في الليل والنهار ومعه ثلاثة ركابية او ركاب واحد فلما كان في ليلة من
 الليالى بلغ الى حلوان ومعه ركابي واحد فزل عن دابته وقال للركابي عرقب هذا الحمار
 ففعل ما امر به ، فقال له امضى الى القصر ودعنى انا هاهنا فمضى كما امره ، فلما اصبح اهل
 القصر ولم يجدوه فطلب في كل موضع فلم يوجد ولا عرف له خبر ، وكان له ولد
 صغير واخت^(٢) فضبطت الملك ستين الى ان كبر ولده الطفل فاجلسوه ملكا واسموه
 الظاهر لاعزاز دين الله واسمه الذى يعرف به على وكنيته ابو الحسن فلم يتعرض الى
 شيا من اعمال ابيه ، وكان في ايامه هدو وسلامة عظيمة واقام ستة عشر سنة ملكا ،
 وكان دين النصرارى مستقيم واهله مكرمين ، وبنيت البيع في ايامه حتى اعيدت لما كانت
 عليه وافضل ، ولم يزل البنا فيها والعمارة متصلة الى السنة التي كتبت فيها هذه السيرة وهى
 سنة سبع مائة سبعة وستين للشهدا ، ولم تزل الناس مذغيبة^(٣) الحاكم والى انقضى مدة

(١) سنة ١ : ا : سبعة (٢) واخت [١٥١١ (ظ) : وله اخت (٣) مذغيبة] ا : مدعية

ولده يقولون انه بالحياة وكثير كانوا يتزاوا بزيه ويقول كل واحد منهم انا الحاكم يتزاوا للناس في الجبال حتى ياخذوا منهم الدنانير ، وكان انسان من شبراكلسا^(١) يسا شروط نصراني ثم اسلم وتعلم السحر وصار حاذقا به وكان قوم يشهدوا انه كان يمشی معهم ولوقته يغيب عنهم ، وكان يشبه الحاكم حتى كلامه لكفه اطول منه قليل وسمى نفسه ابو العرب وتبعه قوم يمشوا معه ويتلمذوا له وكان ينفذهم الى الاغنيا بكببه ياخذوا له منهم المال ويقول لهم انا اعيد لكم العوض عند رجوعى الى مملكتى ، ومن لقيه وقال له انت سيدنا الملك ضربه وقال له ما تحفظ راسك ، واقام بمصر هكذا عشرين سنة وهو متستر^(٢) حتى ظن اكثر الناس بمصر انه الحاكم وانه يخفى نفسه لامر مكوم لا يعرفه الا هو ولم يزال كذلك الى ايام معد المستنصر بالله فخرج الى الجيرة ونزل عند رجل بدوى من بني قره يعرف بمفرج ابن تمام فضرب له البدوى خيمة واقام عنده سنتين وهو يتظاهر بافعال الانبيا كذبا^(٣) وعليه ثياب زرية كالزهاد ، وكان يدفع للبدوى ثيابا طائلة وسلاحا حسنا ، فاذا قال له البدوى لماذا لا تلبس من هذا الثياب الفاخرة فيقول له حتى يجوز عنى القطع الذى اخافه ، وبهذا الكلام كان يدخل عليهم ويلهوا بهم يعنى بمفرج ابن تمام القرى وجماعته وغيرهم من الناس* وكانوا يدخلوا اليه ويصقعوا له ويسلموا عليه كما يسلم الناس على الملوك الخلفا ففهم عن ذلك وتوهم انه يريد كتمان امره الى الوقت الذى يريد اظهاره فانتشر خبره في ديار مصر كلها حتى ضجت المملكة واضطربت تخاف هذا شروط على نفسه وهرب من عند البدوى واختفى في موضع لم يعرفه احد واقام مختفى الى ايام الاب انبا شنوده البطرك فكب اليه وتلاها به حتى انفذ اليه مالا ، فاما الاب انبا زخارياس البطرك فانه اقام بعد اجتماعه بالحاكم في هدو وسلامة

(١) م : شبراكلنا ؛ ١ : شبراكلبا ؛ والصواب شبراكلسا ، وردت كذلك في « كتاب قوانين الدواوين » للاسعد بن متمام المتوفى سنة ٦٦٠ هـ ، ١٢٠٩ م (نشره عزيز سوريال عطيه بالقاهرة سنة ١٩٤٣) أنظر ص ١٣٥ س ٣ ، ص ١٥٤ س ٧ ، ص ٢١٠ س ١٥ (٢) وهو متستر [كذبا] ساقطة من ١٥١١ (ظ)

بقية ايامه وكانت مدة بطريركيته ثمانية وعشرين سنة منها قبل زمان الاضطهاد سبع سنين وبعد بنا البيع اثني عشر سنة وتنيح في سنة سبع مائة وثمانية واربعين للشهدا ودفن في كيسة السيدة بنى وايل المعروفه بكيسة الدرج ، ثم هاج على كيسة السريان المواقين لنا في الامانة المستقيمة في المشرق بلا^(١) عظيم حتى ان بطركهم نفى من كرسيه ومات في النفى وذلك انه كان على كرسى انطاكية السريان اليعاقبة اخوتنا ابا قديس يسمى يوحنا ابن عبدون حتى انه ضاها الابا القديسون الاولين وعمل ماسنذكره ، وذلك^(٢) ان ابانا^(٣) البطاركة السريان لم يكونوا يتمكنوا من السكن في مدينة انطاكية منذ زمان الاب ساويرس خوفا من الروم ولا يدنوا بالجملة من اعمالها ، وكان هذا القديس ساكن في دير قريب ملطيه وكان بداية امره انه كان سايج في الجبل الاسود وكان حسن السمعة عند كل احد كما هو مكوب في الانجيل المقدس ليس تخفى مدينة وهي مبنية على جبل وكان بجواره راهب يتعبد ايضا هناك اسمه يوحنا فلما تنيح اثناسيوس بطرك انطاكيه في زمان انا فيلا ثاوس بطريك الاسكندرية^(٤) وكانت افعاله مثل افعال سمييه اثناسيوس الكبير بالحقيقة وقال عند نياحته ان هذا القديس يوحنا ابن عبدون يجلس بعده على كرسى انطاكيه فلما تنيح طافوا عليه ومن قبل وصولهم بيوم عرف صديقه الراهب الذى كان بجواره ما اظهره له الروح القدس وقال له في غد يجونا قوم ياخذوا واحد منا يجعلوه بطرك الكرسى فترا^(٥) ان نقوم نمضى من هاهنا ليلا يجدوننا قال له الراهب يوحنا لماذا نهرب ان كان الرب قد دعا احدنا لهذا^(٦) الامر فالى اين نهرب من بين يديه ، قال له ذلك الاب القديس اما انا فما اطيق هذا الامر ولا اصلح له فان كت انت تقدر عليه فابقا مكانك وامضى انا اختفى الى ان يجوز عنا هذا الغضب الذى

(١) بلا = بلاه (٢) وذلك [ساقطة من ا (٣) ابانا = آباءنا (٤) الجملة في ١٥٢ ا (ج) : فلما تنيح اثناسيوس بطرك الاسكندرية (كذا) (٥) فترا [١٥٢ ا (ج) : فترى (٦) احدنا لهذا] ١٥٢ ا (ج) باحدنا الى هذا

قد جانا ليخرج احدنا من هذا الانفراد الطوباني الذي انا اوتره ومضى هاربا من هناك
وبقى يوحنا الراهب موضعه ، فلما كان بالغداة وصل الى الدير من يطلب يوحنا القديس
فطافوا عليه في الجبل فما وجدوه ، فلما انتوا الى الموضع الذي ذلك الراهب فيه مقيم
وجدوه لانه كان مشتهى لذلك فاخذوه وفيها هم نازلين من الجبل ماضيين به الى حيث
الجماعة راوا في طريقهم شجرة فمالوا اليها يستظلوا تحتها فضرب عود من الشجرة عين يوحنا
الراهب^(١) فقلعها فصار اعور من ساعته ، فتعجبوا واستعلموا منه قضية حاله فاعترف لهم بما
جرى بينه وبين القديس يوحنا ابن عبدون وانه اشتى هذا الامر وذاك زهد فيه ،
فلما عرفوا صفه الحال تركوه ومضوا الى الجماعة واعلموهم بذلك* فقوى عزمهم على طلب
ذلك القديس ابن ما كان ، فلم يزالوا يطوفوا ويبحثوا عنه الى ان وجدوه بمشية الله
بعد ان تعبوا ، فامتنع عن المضي معهم فاخذوه غصبا واوسموه بطركا واجلسوه على
الكرسى فلم يتغير في مدة بطريكته عن تواضعه وعبادته وكانت الاموال تحمل اليه برسم
الصدقات ولا يبقى منها الا قوت يومه ويدفع الباقي للمستورين والفقرا فاتت اليه امراة
ذات يوم ومعها دنانير كثير في صرة كبيرة فجعلتها عند قدميه وقالت له يا ابي السيد
هذه الدنانير بركة احضرتها فانعم على بقبولها وبارك على واصرفها في لوازمك والمستورين ،
فاجابها^(٢) بصوت خفى وقال لها الرب يقبل ذلك منك يا ابنتي ، فوقفت منتظرة له ان
يقول لها شيئا اخر اكثر من هذا مما يدعوا لها من الدعا والكرامة كما جرت العادة لغيره
من يجمع المال ويرغب فيه حتى لو اتاهم انسان بفلس واحد يجلوه ويكرموه لا سيما هذا
المال الكثير ، فلما طال وقوفها ولم تسمع غير ما قال لها فخرجت متقممة فعاد التلميذ الذي
خرج ليغلق الباب وقال للبطرك يا ابي هذا مال كثير جاءت^(٣) به هذه الامراة فما
كانت تستحق ان تدعوا لها دعا كثير وتطيب قلبها حتى مضت وهي متقممة علينا وقالت

(١) الراهب] ساقطة من ا (٢) العبارة « فجعلتها فأجابها » ساقطة من ا (٣) جاءت =

لعل الاب ما علم ما جيت به ، فقال له امضى ردها ، فمضى وردها اليه وقال للتلميذ اتيني بميزان فاحضره له فاخذ قطعة رقعه وكب فيها الرب يقبلهم منك كمثل ما دعا لها بفمه اولا وجعل الرقعة في كفة الميزان وجعل المال في الكفة الاخرى وقال للتلميذ ارفع الميزان فرفعه فرجت الرقعة اكثر من المال وطلعت الكفة التي فيها المال ونزلت الكفة التي فيها الرقعة الى اسفل ، فقال البطرك للامراة يا ابنتي خذي منهم ما اردتي فالقت نفسها بين يديه وبكت وقالت اغفر لي يا ابي فانك تعتقد ما عند الله وانا اعتقد ما عند الناس ، ثم اخذت تلك الرقعة وجعلتها لها قوة ، وكان ايضا قد خرج الى البحر لبنا^(١) قنطرة كانت الناس تعبر عليها فانهدمت فسالوه قوما اخيار ان يقف عليها عند الابتدا في بناها حتى تنالها بركته فاذا راه الناس هناك اجتمعوا وتساعدوا على بنائها ، ففعل ذلك واجتمع جمعا كبير واقاموا ثلاثة ايام يبناها فيها ويعملوا بفرح لنظرهم للبطرك ، فلما كملت في اليوم الثالث تراحم الجمع في عبورهم عليها فسقط شاب في البحر وقد كان عرض ذلك البحر تقدير عشرين ذراعا وكان تياره قوى جدا فتقدم الاب بان ينزل يشيله ممن^(٢) له معرفة بالعموم ، فزرع جماعة من الحاضرين ثيابهم ونزلوا يطلبوه فلم يجدوه فلم يزالوا يغطسوا ويقتشوا من الساعة السادسة من النهار الى الساعة التاسعة حتى تعبوا وضجروا ، وبلغ خبره الى امه فخرجت صارخة باكية مثل ارملة مدينة ناين فوجدوه بعد عشرة ساعات واصعدوه وهو ميت فحملوه الى خيمة الاب انبا يوحنا البطرك وتركوه قد امه ومضوا ، فقام القديس وصلى وسال الله فيه ففتح الشاب عينيه وقام وخرج من الخيمة حيا والجمع قيام برا فبادروا اليه وازدحموا عليه لينظروا هذه الاية العجيبة ولم يقدر يتخلص منهم ويمضى الى بيته الا بعد تعب وجهد عظيم . واشتهرت عنه^(٣) هذه الاية العظيمة في جميع بلاد سورية وغيرها حتى وصل خبرها الى بلاد مصر وصار نجر الارتدكسيين وحزنا للخالفين ، وكانت ملطيه قريبة من الدير الذي سكن

(١) لبنا = لبناء . (٢) ممن [١٥٢١ (ظ) : فن (٣) عنه] : ١ : عنده

١٥٥ (ج) فيه هذا الاب* القديس وليس كان في كرسيه اعظم منها ولا اكثر نصارى وكان فيها ستة وخمسين كنيسة عامرة بالكهنة والشعب الكثير السريان الارتدكسيين وكان عددهم ستين الف نصرانى يحملوا السلاح اذا ارادوا واحتاجوا الى ذلك سوى النساء ، ولما وصلت انا الباييس ميخائيل وانا^(١) غبريال اسقف صا الى هذا البطرك القديس بالرسالة السنوديقا من جهة انبا اخرسطودولس عند جلوسه على كرسي الاسكندرية واعمالها راينا منه قدس عظيم ، ولما انفصلنا عنه اكرمنا وانفذ ابن اخيه معنا لننظر المدينة والخلق الذى فيها فقال لنا ليس عندى مثلها ، وراينا فيها نفرا من الملكية الخلقدونيين ولهم مطران فيها ، وكان اليعاقبة الارتدكسيين الذين هم فى المدينة من كثرة محبتهم لهذا القديس البطرك يمضوا اليه فى كل وقت الى الدير ويسلوه^(٢) الحضور عندهم فى الاعياد الكبار وفى ايام الاحاد ليتباركوا منه ويتقربوا من يده ، وكان اذا اتاهم بلقوه بالاناجيل والصلبان والجامر والقراءة^(٣) بين يديه من باب المدينة الى الكنيسة بفرح عظيم ومحبة يفعلوا ذلك كل دفعة ياتى اليهم ويذكروا فضايله لكل احد ويتحدثوا بالايات التى فعلها الله سبحانه على يده ، فوجد الشيطان له معين فى اذية البطرك المذكور اسقف مخالف ممن يقول بطبيعتين فاقام عليه تجربة عظيمة كما قال الرسول ان كل من يريد ان يحيا بالامانة المستقيمة فانه يضطهد من اناس ارديا مبغضين للحق ، ففانصبه هذا الاسقف حسدا بغير حشمة لانه كان يرى اجلال الناس لهذا الاب القديس وخدمتهم له لقوة امانتهم فيه وينظر الى دخوله الى مدينته باحسن زى واجماله ، وكان الاسقف المذكور يدخل ويخرج ولا يلتفت احد اليه ولا يسال عنه فتفتت قلبه من الحسد والغيرة المتولدة فيه والحنق عليه ، فمضى الى القسطنطينية ورفع على هذا الاب القديس انبا يوحنا عند الملك وقال له ان فى مملكك رجل بطرك قد تناول والناس يطيعوه اكثر منك وهم

(١) كذا فى الأصول ، ولعل المقصود « ابا » او « انبا » واخطأ الناسخ فى نقلها (٢) ويسلوه [اقرأ : ويسألوه (٣) والقراه = والقراءة

يعاقبة ويتعبدوا لهذا المخالف يعقوبي وهو ايضا يدعوا للملوك غيرك اكثر منك وقد صار له اسم كاذبا انه يقيم الموت^(١) ولاجل هذا مالت اليه قلوب الجمع فتطرده الان من ملكك وتحضره الى هاهنا ويحكم قدسك بيني وبينه ، فارسل الملك ليحضره وجلس الاسقف في مدينة البطرك عند بطركها وكانوا مجتمعين يدبروا ما يفعلوا بالقديس فوجدوه الرسل في ملطيه ، فلما علموا المومنين بالخبر اجتمعوا كلهم وقالوا نحن نموت كلنا ولا يؤخذ منا بل نبذل نفوسنا وكلما نملكه دونك ، فمنعهم من ذلك وقال لهم كلاما لنا ان من يقاوم الملك فهو يخطى وهو كالمقاوم لامر الله ما عسا الملك يقدر ان يعمل غير قتل جسدى فان فعل لى هذا فهو الكليل مستعد لى وان كلمنى من اجل الامانة فهو جهاد لى وكرامة وكيف لى ان اتشبه بسيدى الذى شتم وقتل ، وبهذا وما يشبهه كان يخاطبهم الى ان تركوه فسار مع الرسل ومعه اربعة اساقفة وثلاثة رهبان تلاميذا له الى ان وصلوا به الى دار الملك بالقسطنطينية فجعلوه فى الاعتقال ايام الى ان اعلموا الملك بوصوله ثم ان بطرك الملكية جعل له يوم فرغه^(٢) هو واساقفته واسقف ملطيه الذى رفع على البطرك يوحنا وتزينوا بقساوة قلب ولبسوا ثياب ديباج وجلسوا على كراسى مجملية وامروا* ١٥٥ (ظ)

باحضار القديس يوحنا عليهم وتشاغلوا عنهم بالقرأة وهم قيام حينما حتى ضاقت صدورهم ، وعند ذلك تكلم يوحنا القديس بلسان عذب سريانى وقال اى قانون من قوانين البيعة امركم ان تجلسوا على كراسيكم وتوقفونا بين ايديكم مثل الاعوان ، فقالوا له انت مخالف وجماعتك وما يجب ان تجلسوا معنا كالاساقفة الارتدكسيين ، فقال لهم ان كنا مخالفين كما تقولوا انتم فنجلس معكم ونتكلم على الامانة والذى يعطيه الله الغلبة فهو يظفر ان وجدنا من يحكم بيننا بالحق لا بسطان المملكة ، وكان اسقف ملطيه قد قرر مع بطرك الملكية واساقفته ان لا يجادلوه ولا اساقفته وقال لهم انهم علما^(٣) جدا وان جادلوهم

(١) الموتى [١٥٣١ (ج) : الموتى (٢) كذا فى ا ، م (٣) علما = علماء

افتضحوا قدامهم بل تسلطوا عليهم بالكلام بعز المملكة ، فحينئذ^(١) شتموهم وقالوا لهم انتم هراطقة ما^(٢) ينبغي لنا^(٣) نخاطبكم وقالوا للخدام خذوهم للغد ، فلما كان بالغداة احضر الملك جميعهم واقفهم بين يديه وجعل ترجمانا بينه وبينهم وقال الملك للترجمان قل للبطرك قد عرفوني انك قديس الله والان ما احب منك الا ان تعترف بمجمع خلقدونيه وتطيب نفسى فافرعك واكرمك واعطيك السلطان على جميع البلاد القريبة منك ، فقال له يا سيدنا الملك الرب يحفظ مملكك وسلطانك وهو يعلم اننى ما اترك الصلاة والدعا لمملكك الضابطة كما امرتنا الكتب المقدسة حتى تكون حياتنا فى دعة وسلامة وليس يجوز لسultanك ان يلزم احد بان يترك دينه كما ان لنا ملكين وهما ملك الحبشة وملك النوبة وما يلزموا احد من اهل ملتكم المقيمين عندهم ان ينتقلوا عن امانتهم والان فانا اسال السيد المسيح ان يثبت ملكك بلا اضطراب ويحفظ كل منا بما قد تبينه له ، ففسر الترجمان جميع ما قاله له الا الملكين الحبشى والنوبى فانه زاد فى ذلك وقال لنا ملكين اعظم منك ، وذلك ان اسقف ملطيه كان برطل الترجمان بمال وقرر معه ان يحرف القول عنه بما يحقق الملك عليه ولو بكلمة واحدة ، فلما سمع الملك اشتد غضبه وحنقه ولعنه ولعن مذهبه وجمعه وقال حقا انكم مخالفين وامر ان يعاد الى الاعتقال ، وكان احد تلاميذ القديس يوحنا يفهم اللغة وهو ترجمانه فلما خرجوا اعلمه بما فعله الترجمان من تحريف القول عنه ، فلما كان بالغداة احضر الملك بطركه وجمعه واستشارهم فبا يفعله ، فاشاروا عليه بان ينفية الى الجزاير القريبة منه هو ومن معه الى ان يعترفوا بامانتهم وحينئذ^(١) يطلق سبيلهم ، وكان منهم شيخين مطرانين فلما علما بذلك اعترفا بمجمع خلقدونيه وظنا انهما يبقيا فى طقسهما الاول فلم يتركهما بطرك المللكيه فيه بل جعلهما ابودياقين ، واما الاثنى الاخر فانهما تمسكا بامانتها ولم يحيبا الى ما اراده الملك واجتهد الملك فما قدر يصدهما عن امانتهما الارتدكسيه ، فاحضر الملك ابا يوحنا البطرك ووعده بكرامة كثيرة

(١) فحينئذ [١ : فحينئذ (٢) ما [١ : وما (٣) لنا [١ : لنا ان

وتقدمة ، فقال له هوذا انا قايم بين يديك وتحت حكمك وسلطانك فهو على جسدى فافعل فيه ما ترى وكما تريد فاقتلنى فاننى لا اتخلا عن امانتى المستقيمة الى الابد ، فامر بنفيه الى دير فى جزيرة قريبة من القسطنطينية بينه وبينها مسافة يوم واحد ولم يدع معه الا تلميذ واحد يخدمه ، وكان به وجع النقرس فى رجله فاقام هناك سنتين* وكان فى ١٥٦ (ج) تلك الجزيرة حبيس من الملكية فامر الرهبان الذين معه ان يمضوا كل يوم الى البطرک القديس يوحنا ويلعنوه ويبصقوا فى وجهه وجعل عليهم حرم ان لم يفعلوا ذلك كل يوم وكانوا يفعلوا به هذا مدة مقامه هناك ، وكان فى الدير صبي خادم وكان يزيد فى شتم البطرک وكان التلميذ اذا اصلح ما^(١) حار لرجل البطرک ليجد به راحه يرمى ذلك الصبي فيه الرماد ، وكان التلميذ يبكى والبطرک يعزيه ويقول له يا ولدى الله ما ينسانا ، وكان الصبي قد لج فى هذا الفعل فوثب عليه روح شيطان فخنقه وخبطه وعذبه فقدموه الى الشيخ^(٢) انبا يوحنا وهو يزيد ويضرب براسه ويصر باسانه فاقام ثلاثة ايام والشيطان يعذبه ثم مات موتا ردى ، وكان بالقسطنطينية انسان يجب انبا يوحنا فخا^(٣) الى هناك ليفتقده فلم يقدر يصل اليه فكب له رقعة ومضى الى^(٤) قرية قريبة من الدير اجتمع فيها بانسان يعرفه وقال له انا اشهى تاخذ هذه الرقعة توصلها للبطرک سرا من غير ان يعلم بك احد ودفع له دينار والرقعة ولم يكن فيها شيا^(٥) الا السؤال عنه^(٦) والاعتذار اليه بانه لا يمكن من الوصول اليه ليفتقده والتمس منه بركة يجعلها فى منزله ، فاخذ الرقعة ومضى بها الى المقدم كما فعل يودس ، فارسل قوما الى صاحب الرقعة فضر به وحبسوه فسمع الاب البطرک بكاه وكلامه بالسريانى فصاح لتلميذه واستعلم منه الخبر فاعلمه بكما جرى فتعجب البطرک وانغم وانفذ اليه يعزيه وقال له لا تضيق صدرك بعد ثلاثة ايام يزيل الرب هذا كله ، فاستقصى التلميذ عن معنى القول فقال له سرا بعد ثلاثة ايام ياخذنى

(١) ما = ماء (٢) الى الشيخ [١٥٣١ (ظ): للشيخ (٣) فخا = فخا (٤) الى [ساقطة من «م» وواردة فى «ا» (٥) شيا] ا : شى (٦) عنه] ا : عنده

الله اليه فلا تدفنى في مدفن الهراطقة بل اجعلنى في موضع وحدى لان اليوم الذى انام فيه ينفذ الملك ليخرجنى فيجدنى قد خرجت من هذا الجسد فيمضى بك وبالرجل الاخر الى الملك فيفرج عنكما وانا اوصيك ان تقول للشعب لا يدع الذى يأتى بعدى يسكن في بلاد الروم بل يسكن في امد او مدينه الرها ، وكان تلميذه مفكر كيف يقدر يخلص جسده بعد موته^(١) من المخالفين ليلا يفعلوا به ما يريدوا ثم قال في نفسه بل تكون مشية الله ، فعلم البطرك بالروح فكره وقال له لماذا تشك لاجل جسدى او من ان الله قادر على كل شى ، ومن بعد ثلثة ايام تنبح كما قال ، فلما علموا الرهبان بذلك اجتمعوا ليدفنوه ، وكان رئيس الدير برا فارسى الملك يطلب البطرك فوجده ميتا فتخاصموا الرسل مع الرهبان الذين ارادوا دفنه ومنعوه ان يدفنوه هناك وقالوا امضوا بهذا الهراطيقى من وسط الارتكسيين فاخذوه ومضوا به الى موضع صخره فحفروا ودفنوه بعيد عنهم ، فاما رسل الملك فانهم^(٢) اخذوا التلميذ والرجل الذى جا^(٣) من القسطنطينية لافتقاد البطرك وكتب اليه الرقعة وعادوا الى الملك واخبروه بوفاته فاطلقهما لانه كان قد قاسا عذابا في منامه في تلك الليلة لاجل البطرك القديس ، وكانت نياحته في النفى في سنة سبع مائة سبعة واربعين للشهدا الابرار ، وما كان الله جل ثناوه وتعالى يخفى عنه شيا مما يريد معرفته لقدسه وطهارته ، وكان من قبل اشخاصه الى بلاد الروم قد هرب اليه انبا افرهام اسقف دمياط لاجل ما جرى عليه من شعبه وما بلغه عن قدسه فمضى ودخل ديره وعليه لباس زرى بزى الرهبان وقلنسوة بيضا ليخفى امره ووقف في زاوية من البيعة في وسط* جماعة الرهبان وكان يوم الاحد والاب انبا يوحنا داخل الاراديون فقال لتلميذه امضى الى الموضع الفلانى من البيعة تجد هناك اسقفا من ديار مصر قائما مع الرهبان بزى راهب فاتينى به ، وهذا عجب يشبه ما جرى للقديس باسيلوس المعلم الكبير اسقف قيساريه قبادوقيه مع القديس مارى افرام السريانى ، فمضى

(١) بعد موته [ساقطة من ١٥٤١ ج] (٢) فانهم [ساقطة من ١] (٣) جا [ساقطة من ١]

التلميذ الى هناك فلم يعرفه لاجل تغييره^(١) لباسه ، فعاد الى الاب وقال له ما وجدته ، فقال له^(٢) بلا هو قايم هناك ومعه راهبين غريبيين ، فرجع التلميذ الى الموضع وقال للثلاثة من منكم الاسقف ، فقال واحد من الراهبين هو هذا فقال له الاب يدعوك ، فاتي معه اليه ولما دخل له سجد بين يديه فاقامه البطرك وقال له لماذا هربت من النعمة التي دفعها لك السيد المسيح ، فقال له ما انا هارب وانما جيت لاشاهدك واخذ بركتك ، فقال له بلا انت هارب من كثرة الكلام والتعب الذي نالك وخاطبه بكلام طيب قلبه واقام عنده مدة واعاده الى كرسيه مكرما . وجلس على كرسي انطاكيه بعد هذا القديس يوحنا ابن اخيه واسموه يوحنا بطركا رزقنا الله شفاعتها وبركهما جميعا ، وتلميذه اخبرني انا ميخائيل كاتب هذه السيرة بذلك لما مضيت الى كرسي انطاكيه بعد ان صرت اسقفا على كرسى مدينة تنيس واعمالها ومعى انا غريال اسقف صبا بالرسالة السنوديقا التي كتبها انا اخرسطودولوس بطريك الاسكندرية الى ابا يوحنا المقدم ذكره في سنة سبع مائة خمسة وستون للشهدا لاننى سالت هذا التلميذ وقلت له نعم اقام الاب ابا يوحنا الميت احقا هو فشرح لى جميع ما ذكرته فى هذه السيرة . فاما خبره مع انا افرهام اسقف دمياط فانى سمعته من فمه فى السنة التى توفى فيها الاب انا زخارياس بمصر ، وهذين البطركين لقايا تعباً عظيماً ومشقة واخذوا اكليلا جليلا بصبرهما واعترافهما بالامانة الارثوذكسية قدام المخالفين ، اما انا يوحنا ققدام^(٣) ملك الروم وبطركهم وطايفته ، واما ابا زخارياس ققدام الحاكم ملك المسلمين واهل مملكته ، وقال انا افرهام اسقف دمياط المقدم ذكره شاهدت من الاب القديس يوحنا البطرك عند كونى عنده عجائب عظيمة ، فمنها اننى رايت تلميذ من تلاميذه فقيل لى انه كان اعما وان ابا يوحنا فتح عينيه ، فسالت التلميذ بمطانوه ان يشرح لى خبره ، فقال لى كنت اعما وكنت اجلس فى البيعة عند حوض الما الذى تغطى الناس قربانهم منه وكنت امسك ثياب الذين اعرف

(١) تغييره [ا : تغيره (٢) له ساقطة من م وواردة فى ١٥٤ (ج) : (٣) ققدام [ا
١٥٤ (ظ) : قدام

كلامهم ليصدقوا على بشى من ما لهم فجذبت يوم ثوب واحد من الاخوة فمضى وشكافى للاب وكان قد فرغ من تقريب الشعب واعطاهم السلامة وغسل يديه فخرج الى عندى وقال لى يا ولدى ما بالك توذى الناس وتخزق ثيابهم ، نقلت يا ابى انا اعمى وضعيف وهم يبصروا اطلب منهم ان يعطونى شيا صدقة فما يفعلوا ، قال لى فان فتح السيد المسيح عينيك فايش تعمل ، نقلت اخدمك الى يوم وفاتى ، فاخذ بيده من ذلك الحوض ما وقال السيد المسيح الذى جبل طينا بتفلته من الارض وطفى به عيني الاعما المطموس وقال له امضى اغسلهما فى عين سلوان يفتحا هو يفتح عينيك^(١) هاتين ورش الما على عيني فانفتحا كما ترى نخدمته الى الان واخدمه ايضا الى ان اموت تحت رجليه . وعرفنى الثقات المامونين عن الاب انبا زخارياس عجائب كثيرة منها ان انبا مرقوره اسقف تلباناه كان جسمه قد تلمع بالبرص وظهر عليه بياض فاحش فحضر عند الاب انبا زخارياس بدمروا فى يوم احد فقال له الاب المذكور بتواضع * وسكينة ووجع قلب يا اخى ابا مرقوره انا مساهمك فيها انت فيه وانت تعرف ان الله قال لموسى لا تاخذ بوجه احد فى الحكم وما يصح كهنوة^(٢) الا بعد ان يقلع السيد المسيح عنك هذا الوضع لانه نجس كما سماه الكتاب ، فبكا وقال عيني بصلاتك يا ابى القديس وخرج من عنده ومضى الى كيسة فى كرسيه على اسم السيدة الطاهرة مرتريم العذرى والدة الاله الكلمة وتلك البيعة فى ضيعة تسمى تمى^(٣) فدخلها غداة يوم الاثنين وكان فيها شيخ قسيس^(٤) اسمه فرح وقال لتلميذه اذا كان نهار الاربعاء عشية افتقدنى ها هنا فان^(٥) وجدتنى توفيت ساعد هذا القس على دفنى ها هنا وان^(٥) وجدتنى حى خاطبتك ، فمضى عنه التلميذ ووقف هو بين يدى صورة السيدة بايكا متضرعا يوم الاثنين وليلة الثلاثاء ويومه وليلة الاربعاء ويومه وهو يتشفع بها ضارعا لها فى كشف ذلك الوضع وازالته عنه ، فلما كانت الساعة

(١) عينيك [ا : عيناك (٢) كهنوة [ا : كهنوت (٣) تمى [ا : نمى (٤) قسيس [ا : قس (٥-٥) العبارة ساقطة من ا

التاسعة من نهار يوم الاربعاء خدر من الصوم والتعب فاسند بالحايط الذى فيه الصورة وهو ناعس فرأى يد الصورة كأنها قد مسحت جسمه فاستيقظ وقد عوفى من مرضه ، فاستدعى القس واعلمه بالخبر وساله ان ينظر جسمه فاستيقظ وقد صار نقيا سالما من الوضح ففرح وشكر السيد المخلص وعظم بكاه ، ثم جاء التلميذ اخر النهار فقال له يا ولدى قد تفضل السيد المسيح بشفاعته السيدة الطاهرة والدته بالعافية ويجب ان اقيم في هذا الموضع ثلاثة ايام اخر شكرا للسيد على ما انعم على به واثنين بالدابة يوم السبت ، ثم انه^(١) استعمل يسيرا من خبز وما واقام هناك ثلاثة ايام كما قال واتاه التلميذ عشية يوم السبت فتوجه الى دمروا ودخل الى الاب زخارياس^(٢) غداة يوم الاحد وهو في البيعة وعرفه بالخبر وقال يا ابي هذا بصلواتك ، فقال له بل بامانتك وصلاتك وجعله تصرف وقدس^(٣) ذلك اليوم ، وقال له حقا انك احق منى بالقداس لناخذ بركتك عقيب هذه النعمة الجليلة التى نالتك ، ومجد جميع الحاضرين الله صانع العجايب . وكان انسان شماس من اهل منيتى مليح معروف مشهور فتخاصم مع زوجته وكانت طاهرة دينة فخرج من عندها وقد امتلا غيضا^(٤) شيطانيا فمضى جامع رجل مونث ووقع معه في الخطية ثم عاد الى منزله فصالحته زوجته ، فلما كان الليل جلس على فراشه وتعرى من ثيابه لينضجع فرأت زوجته جسمه وقد^(٥) وضع جميعه بالبرص ، فقامت وقد امتلت خوفا وقالت له ما الذى فعلت حتى تبرصت انظر الى جسمك ، فتامل جسمه وبكا بحرقة وقال لها يا اختى لما تخاصمت معك اليوم ولعب بى الشيطان ففعلت كذا وكذا ثم لطم وجهه ونتف شعر لحيته وزاد فى البكا ، فقالت له زوجته الخيرة الدينة وهى بايكة عليه قد اخطات يا اختى وغلطت فبادر الى الاب انبا زخارياس^(٦) القديس وامسك قدميه والزمهما حتى يسأل الله فيك فتبرا ، فنهض باكرا وركب دابته ومضى الى دمروا وطرح نفسه بين يدي

(١) انه] ساقطة من ا (٢) زخارياس] ١٥٥١ (ج) : زاخارياس (٣) أى يتصرف ويقدم

(٤) غيضا = غيظا (٥) وقد] ا : قد

البطرك^(١) واكثر البكا والتضرع وتعلق بقدميه واعترف له بما جرى عليه فقال له يا ولدى فيك ان تثبت على التعب بين يدي السيد المسيح، فقال له يا ابي احكم على بما شيت فاني فاعله بمعونة الله لى وبركة صلاتك ، فدخل به الى بيت مظلم عنده وتركه قائم في ساطرة طرفا بشبه البتية بعد ان جعل فيها نصفها ملح وجعل وجهه الى الشرق وقال له يا ولدى واصل الصلاة والتضرع والبكا وتوب ان لا تعود الى خطية ، وكان بعد ثلاثة ايام وثلثة ليال يطعمه خبز يسير بالميزان ويسقيه الما ايضا بميزان الى تمام خمسة عشر يوم^(٢) وجا اليه افتقده وصلى عليه والى تمام ثلثة اسابيع افتقده ايضا وصلى عليه* والى تمام الشهر جا اليه وكشف جسمه فوجد الوضح قد تناقص عنه فطيب نفسه ثم بشره بذلك ثم الى تمام اربعين يوما اتاه وتامله فوجده قد طهر ولم يبق في جسمه شيا من الوضح ففرح به وحمه بما حار^(٣) ودهنه وصلى عليه وقال له يا ولدى قد عوفيت فاعرف ما ندرته على نفسك ولا تعود الى خطية ولا تظن اننى صومتك ثلثة ايام ثم بعدها ثلثة ايام^(٤) وافطرت انا بل حى هو اسم المسيح ما تغذيت في هذه الاربعين يوما^(٥) الا بمثل ما غذيتك به ولا كئت افطر الا فى الوقت الذى كئت افطرك^(٦) فيه بمثل الخبز والمال الذى كئت اغذيك به سوا^(٧) ثم بارك عليه وامره بالانصراف الى منزله فعاد الى زوجته المباركة فرحا^(٨) مسرورا ، وذكر الشيخ علم الكفاه ابو يحيى اصطفن ابن مينا التوريحى^(٩) الكاتب انه مضى مع عما^(١٠) له اسمه زكير الى دمروا وسلموا على الاب انبا زخارياس^(١١) البطرك رزقنا الله بركة صلاته فخرج الاب ماشيا بلا دابة الى طمباره^(١٢) حتى سلم على انسان نوبى^(١٣) راهب اسمه ششيه واخذ بركته قبل ان يبارك عليه واكرمه

(١) البطرك [١٥٥ ا (ج) الأب البطرك (٢) يوم ١ : يوماً (٣) أى حماء (فاستحم)
بماء دافئ (٤) ثم بعدها ثلثة أيام [ساقطة من ا (٥) يوماً [ساقطة من ا (٦) افطرك
ساقطة من ا (٧) سوا [ا : سوى (٨) فرحا [ساقطة من ا (٩) التوريحى [كذا فى ا ،
والنقط ناقص فى م (١٠) عما = عم (١١) زخارياس [١٥٥ ا (ج) : زاخارياس
(١٢) طمباره [ا : طمباره (١٣) نوبى [ا : نوبى

كرامة كبيرة وخضع له وبجله ، فلما خرج من عنده سالوه الذين كانوا معه وقالوا له ما السبب في تعظيمك لسان هذا وخضوعك له وتقديمه عليك في البركة وانت بطرك الاقليم ، فقال لهم هذا كان الحاكم طرحه معى للسباع بعد تجويعها فكانت السباع تخضع له وتلحس رجليه قبلي .

سانوتيوس^(١) البطرك وهو من العدد الخامس والستون

فلما تنيح انبا زخارياس^(٢) البطرك طلب قوم البطريكية وطمعوا ان ينالوها بيد السلطان وان يلزموا الاساقفة بتقديمهم ، فلما علم بذلك بغيره الكاتب الرشيدي صاحب الصليب الذى فيه الغيرة لله تعالى جمع قوما اخيار ومضى الى الوزير على ابن احمد وخطابه في ذلك ، وكان رجل يفهم ويجب النصارى فقال لبقيره ومن معه يجب لبيت المال المعمور على من يقسم بطركا ثلاثة الف دينار وقد تركاها كرامة^(٣) لكم وما تفعلوا بعد هذا ما يرضى الله سبحانه^(٤) كما يفعل^(٥) عندنا ببغداد وذلك انهم اذا ارادوا يقدموا انسان للبطريكية اجتمعوا في البيعة واختاروا ممن في الديارات مائة رجل ومن المائة خمسين ومن الخمسين خمسة وعشرين ومن الخمسة وعشرين عشرة ومن العشرة ثلاثة ويكتبوا اسماؤهم^(٦) الثلاثة في ثلاثة رقايع والرابعة يكتبوا فيها اسم الرب وتشمع بنادق وتجعل على الهيكل ويصلوا ويقدموا وبعد الصلاة والقداس يجيبوا طفل صغير من اولادهم ما عليه خطية فيمد يده وياخذ احدتهن^(٧) فان كان فيها اسم من الثلاثة اوسموه بطركا وان كان فيها اسم الرب علموا ان ما في الثلاثة من يصلح فيكتبوا اسما ثلاثة اخر ولم يزالوا كذلك الى

(١) فوقها بالمسداد الاحمر في ا : ١٥٥ (ج) يعنى شنوده (٢) زخارياس [١٥٥ ا (ج) : زخارياس (٣) كرامة [ساقطة من ١٥٥ ا (ظ) (٤) سبحانه [ا : سبحانه (٥) يفعل ا : يفعل (٦) اسماؤهم [: ١٥٥ ا (ج) : اسماؤهم (٧) احدتهن [كذا في ا والمقصود احداهن

ان يصطفى الله^(١) سبحانه من يختاره فيطلع اسمه فيوسموه بطركا وهكذى يجب ان تفعلوا انتم ها هنا ، فتعجبوا من حكمته وفهمه وشكروه ودعوا له ومضوا ، فاجتمع الاساقفة ومعهم روسا^(٢) وادى هيب فلم يفعلوا كما قال لهم الوزير بل جلسوا يفكرون في قوم يختاروهم ليوسموا منهم واحد فذكر انسان كان قد ترهب وعمره اربعة عشر سنة اسمه شنوده وقد صار قسيسا في اسكنا ابو مقار عارفا بالكب المقدسة وهو من اهل تلبانة عدى وترهب في منشوية تعرف بدحاه^(٣) وكان بعض الاساقفة يخبره^(٤) لعلمه وكان شيخ فبقوا حارين في من يقسموه هو او غيره فرأى احد الاساقفة قايلا يقول له في منامه اول من يدخل اغدا^(٥) من باب البيعة ويقبل الاجساد خذوه فهو البطرك فانتبه لوقته واعلم الاخوه الاساقفة بذلك ، فلما* اصبحوا دخل شنوده فاخذوه للوقت وكان قبل هذا في ليلة اليوم المذكور قد رأى في منامه بطرس الرسول ويوحنا الانجيلي وكانها قد دفعا له مفاتيح ، فلما انتبه قال لراهب كان معه فقال رايت في منامى كذا وكذا ، فقال له الراهب البطركية تصير لك^(٦) ، وقيل ان شنوده هذا كان مشتى لهذا وكان قد التمس اسقفية مصر ولم يكن معه شيا يدفعه عن ذلك فطرده وجعلوا فيلاتاوس^(٧) اسقفا على كرسى مصر وانهم قبل ان يلبسوه ثوب البطركية استقر بينه وبين الاساقفة ان يقسم لهم يونس الراهب الذى سعى بالاب زخارياس^(٨) الى الحاكم اسقفا للفرما لخوفهم من لسانه ومضوا به الى قلايته وضرب له مطانوه ان يساعده على كل شى ويجعله عنده مثل اخ ، فقال له ان اردتني اساعدك فاكب لى خطك تعطيني في كل سنة ثلثون دينارا اعيش بها لان كرسى الفرما الذى تجعلني عليه ما فيه شى وتقسم اخى في كرسى اخر ، فكب خطه بذلك واقاموا الاساقفة بعد هذا ايام مجتمعين ولم يتفق رايهم على قسمته ، وكان كل واحد منهم يذكر واحد من قرايبه او صديق له ليصير

(١) الله [ساقطة من ا (٢) روسا] ا : روسا (٣) ١٥٥ ا (ظ) « بدحاه » بدون
نقط الحرف الثالث (٤) يخبره [في م النقط ساقطة ، وفي ١٥٥ ا (ظ) : يخبره (٥) اغدا
= غدا (٦) لك] ا : اليك (٧) فيلاتاوس] ا : فيلاتاوس (٨) زخارياس] ا : زخارياس

بطركا^(١) الى بعد اسبوع ، فقال لهم يونس الراهب المقدم ذكره جلوسكم هذا الى متى وكل واحد منكم يطلب شهوة نفسه وما يصلح لكم غير شئوده رجل قديس عالم قد قرى الكتب وفهم (كذا) ووصفه واطنب في وصفه وساعده الاساقفة فانفذوا احضروا شئوده وجعلوه اغومنس وساروا به الى الاسكندرية ، واجتمع الاسكندرايين ليقرروا شيا يتعلق بهم فاخذوا خطه بخمس مائة دينار في كل سنة يصرفوها في مصالح كبايسهم واخذوا خطه بان لا ياخذ من احد شرطونية ولا يطلب عن موهبة المسيح دينار ولا درهم ولا اكثر من ذلك والزموه قبل قسمته عن رسوم جرت عادتهم بها للوالى مائة دينار ، فلما قسموه ولم يكن معه ما يدفعه للوالى ولا له ايضا فقال له قوم منهم انت اخير من ابايك الذين كانوا ياخذون الشرطونية ويدفعونها في هذا وغيره فواقفه ذلك ، وكان كرسى بنا خال وكان هناك انسان اسمه يستس^(٢) وله ابن اخت اسمه رفاييل^(٣) فقرر معه عن الكرسى ستماية دينار ولم يكن معه شئ غير نصف وربع دينار ، فمضى الى قوم مسلمين واقترض ذلك منهم بالربا وكب على نفسه حجة بان يدفع لهم بذلك لوز من سعر اردب وثلاث بدينار ، وحينئذ قسمه فاقام سنتين على كرسيه ومات ، ودفع البترك المال للاسكندرايين ، وفسخ ما كان استقر معه من انه لا ياخذ شرطونية ، واحب المال وجمع منه شئ كثير ووهبه^(٤) لاهله ، وكان محب لمجد هذا العالم . ولما خرج من الاسكندرية واتوا به الى مصر ليكرزوه نزل في كنيسة ميكايل المختارة التى فى جزيرة مصر ، ومضى اليه جماعة الكهنة والاراخنة ليتباركوا منه وكان معهم الشماس بقره الرشيدى صاحب الصليب ، فلما سلموا عليه واخذوا بركته وجلسوا قال لبقيره ملك الرب فلتزجر الشعوب ، قال له بقره ما معنى هذا الكلام يا ابونا ، فقال له انا طلبت اسقفية مصر ما رضيت بى وطلبت فيلاتاوس^(٥) وهوذا الرب قد جعلنى ملك

(١) بطركا [١ : بطريكا (٢) هناك تحريف فى النقط بكلا الأصلين «م» و «ا» والاسم مشهور بالقبطية ioyctoc (٣) رفاييل [١٥٦١ (ج) : رفاييل (٤) ووهبه [١ : ودفعه (٥) وطلبت فيلاتاوس [١ : فطلبت فيلوتاوس

بغير اختيارك فاغتاضوا^(١) الاراخنة منه ونظر بعضهم الى بعض وهموا بالقيام ، فقال له بغيره هذا الكلام قاله داوود النبي في الزمور عن السيد المسيح وحده لانه ملك على اليهود من غير ان يشتموه ان يكون عليهم ملكا لانه جا لخلاص العالم وهوذا انت الان شئت نفسك بالرب* وشبهتنا باليود ، وقاموا خرجوا مغضبين قايلين ليس في مملكتك^(٢) خلاص ، وبالْحَقِيقَةُ لَيْسَ كَانَ فِيهَا خِلاصٌ لَأنه اول من قسم اسقفاً بنا الذي تقدم ذكره واخذ منه ستمائة دينار ، واقسم بعده بدير ارشى بابا اسيوط اسقف واخذ منه مالا كثير فمنعوه اهل اسيوط من الدخول اليهم ثلثة سنين لاجل المال الذي دفعه لانهم تمسكوا بالقوانين وقالوا لا يجوز لمقدم ولا كاهن الذي ياهل نفسه لله ان يدفع على ذلك مال ولا ياخذ ممن يقسمه لخدمة الله شيئا كقول المسيح من فاه المعظم لتلاميذه لما امرهم ان يعمدوا الامم ويبشروهم بالانجيل لخلاصهم ، قال لهم الوصية المشهورة في الانجيل وقال لهم في اخرها مجانا اخذتم مجانا اعطوا ، اى انكم قد اخذتم هذه النعمة بلا ثمن فلا تطلبوا ممن تدفعوها له ثمن ، ولم تزل^(٣) بطاركة القبط وابهاتهم عاملين بهذه الوصية الى زمان الضغط من ولاية^(٤) امور المسلمين من احمد ابن طولون الى ايام الحاكم وغير ذلك مما لو شرحناه لطال شرحه ، دعتهم الضرورات الى ما فعلوه من ذلك لاجل ما طلب منهم من المال وما كلفوه من الاثقال ، فلنعود الان الى ذكر قضية اسقف اسيوط انهم لما منعوه من الدخول اليهم عاد الى البطررك انبا شنوده وطلب منه المال او يثبت له الاسقفية ، فلم يقدر يفعل له شيئا ولا عاد له المال الذي اخذه منه ، واقول انا الباييس ميخاييل يشهد الرب على لقد رايتهُ يوما يخاطبه في هذا الامر فلم يخاطبه بكلمة واحدة ، فبكا ولطم خديه وقلع ثياب الاسقفية رماها ووقع مرتعدا كمثل الميت او كمن به شيطان فاقمناه ورفقنا به الى ان اهتدا^(٥) وعاد اليه عقله وكتبنا له كتاب

(١) فاغتاضوا = فاغتاضوا (٢) مملكتك [ا : ملكنا (٣) ولم تزل] ا : فلم تزل هذه
(٤) ولاية [١٥٦١ (ظ) : ولاية (٥) اهتدا [١٥٦١ (ظ) : اهتدا

الى اسقفين مجاورين كرسية بان يكرزوه في احد ضياع كرسية ، وتوفا^(١) اسقف اخر اسمه ايليا في بلد تسما بشنانه فانفذ اخذ داره وكلما له ، فحضر اخوه وساله وتضرع اليه ان يعطيه الدار خالية وياخذ كلما فيها فلم يلتفت له واحوجه الى ان اسلم واخذ الدار وجميع ما فيها ، وكان من شجره وافعاله مالا يجوز نسطرها ولما طالبوه اهل الاسكندرية بالخمس مائة دينار ثانی^(٢) سنة انكرهم ، فمضوا واشتكوه للوالی ، فمضى هو^(٣) وتطرح على قوم من الاراخنة حتى اخذوا الخط الذى بالخمس مائة دينار من الاسكندرانيين وكب لهم غيره بثلاثمائة وخمسون دينار ، وحضر هذا التقرير بغيره الشماس صاحب الصليب وصالح البطرك وقال له اسمع الان ما ا قوله لك فهو يرضى الله تعالى والناس ويفرحوا به ، فقال له مهما اشرت به فعلته ولا اخالفه ، قال له يجب ان تترك هذه الشرطونية التى تاخذها ولا تبسح موهبة الله بالمال ، فقال له من اين لى ما انفقته على نفسى وتلاميذى وما احتاجه من المون^(٤) واللوازم وما اعطيه للاسكندرانيين وما اقوم به عن خراج الاراضى التى على ، قال له نحن نحسب كلما عليك وجميع ما تحتاجه ونحسب كلما تاخذه من الاساقفة عن الديارية فى كل سنة فان عجزت شيا قسطناه علينا وحملناه لك وتستريح من هذا الاسم السو الذى يكرهه الله والناس ، فاطهر انه قد طاب قلبه وهو فى الباطن لا يورثه ، فقال له اكتب خطك بالرضا بهذا فكب بذلك خطه فاخذه بغيره وانصرف ، وكنت انا الباس ميخاييل الغير مستحق ان ادعا اسقف تنيس حاضرا وانا يوميدا^(٥) شماس ففرحت بهذا الامر وساعدت عليه وكان جعلنى كاتبه لان قوما من اصحابه وصفونى له فاخذنى اكتب له ، ثم انه انفذ احضر الاساقفة ليطيب قلبهم بهذا ، فدخل اليه انسان منهم وقال له ما الحاجة الى ما* دعوتنا اليه ولماذا تركت الشرطونية ١٥٩ (ج) وزعمت انك لا تاخذ شيا من تصيره اسقف اى شى فعلت بنفسك اذ سمعت من

(١) وتوفا] ا : وتوفى (٢) ثانی] ا : وثانى (٣) هو] ساقطة من ا (٤) المون = المؤمن

(٥) يوميدا] ا : يوميد

لا يريد لك خير فاقبل عقله من ساعته وثبت في نفسه مخالفة بغيره وقال ان لم اخذ الشرطونية فقد مضت منى البطريكية ، فلما سمع بغيره بان الاساقفة قد حضروا جا اليه واخذ بركته كالعادة وقال له يا ابونا قد حضروا الاساقفة فاجعل عندهم ان هذا الامر انت فعلته من ذاتك من غير ان يشير احدا عليك به فيكون هذا حسنا قدام الله والجمع ، فقال له هكذي افعل لكن احضر لى الخط الذى كتبت له لا وقفهم عليه اذا اجتمعوا ، فدفعه له فلما صار فى يده مزقه قطعة قطعة ، فتعجبوا الحاضرين من فعله وقالوا هذا بيت مبنى على غير اساس ولا صخرة ، واتصل الخبر بالاساقفة فغضبوا وقالوا كانه انما يتلاهى^(١) بنا واحضرنا لامر ورجع فسخره نحن لا نزل عن هذا بالجملة ، وكانوا مجتمعين فى ابو مرقوره بمصر وكان ابنا شنوده البطرك فى كيسة ميكايل^(٢) المختارة فانفذوا اليه بعض الاراخنة قائلين ما يمكنك تفسخ هذا الامر الذى جمعنا بسببه فى معنى ترك الشرطونية الى ان يستقر ما يجب ، فلما راي انهم لا ينزلوا عن هذا الامر اجتمع معهم وجلسوا يخاطبوه من باكر الى الليل وبغيره معهم فما قدروا على مقاومته ، ثم دخل^(٣) اليه احد تلاميذه برقعة من عند رجل من حزب ابليس خزاه الله ، فلما وقف عليها قال للشهاس بغيره وانت ايش لك فى الكلام فى هذا الجمع ، ثم اوما^(٤) الى تلاميذه فوثبوا اليه وضربوه ضربا عظيما وقام البطرك خرج وانقل^(٥) المجلس ومضى كل منهم الى موضعه ، واما يونس الراهب الذى صار اسقفا على الفرما فكتب له بان يعطيه ثلثين دينار فى كل سنة ويجعل اخوه اسقفا وانه لما طالبه بذلك لم يدفع له شيا ، فخرج من عنده وهو يهدده ويتواعده بان يفعل به كما فعل بانبا زخارياس^(٦) البطرك القديس ، فلما علم منه ذلك اظهر كتاب حرم عجيب لم يسمع بمثله كان كتبه عليه بيده من يوم جعله اسقف فانفذه حينئذ^(٧) الى كورة مصر ومقدمى النصرى والاساقفة بان لا يقبلوه

(١) يتلاهى [١٥٦ ا (ظ) يتلاها (٢) ميكايل] ا : ميخايل (٣) ثم دخل [ا : ودخل
(٤) اوما] ا : اومى (٥) وانقل [كذا فى م ، وفى ا : وانقل (٦) زخارياس] ١٥٧ ا (ج)
زخارياس (٧) حينئذ] ا : حينئذا

ولا يطعموه خبز ولا يدفعوا له شيا ، وكانوا في اول سنة اقسام دفع له كل واحد من الاساقفة دينارين ، فلما جرا^(١) هذا اظهر هذا الحرم وفيه مكسوب من العتيقة^(٢) الحرم المكتوبة في الناموس الثانى والمكتوبة في المزمور المائة وثمانية لداوود النبى على يهوذا الاسخريوطى ، وكان البطرك المذكور يكتب الحرم بيده ، وفي هذه الايام كان الملك الظاهر لاعزاز دين الله واسمه ابو الحسن والوزير يوميد^(٣) على ابن احمد الجرجانى والناظر في الريف على ابن حديد وكان له صيت^(٤) عظيم وملا الحبوس من الناس رجال ونسا حتى ان النسا الحبالا ولدوا في الحبوس وظهر في تلك الايام بارض فلسطين عجوبة^(٥) وهو ان جبلين في اعمال بانياس التقيا وخرج من بينهما نار عند التقائهما احرقت اشجار كثيرة ونشف من البحر قطعة كبيرة حتى كانوا الناس ياخذوا السمك من على الارض التى انكشفت ووجدوا فيها رصاص وحديد واشيا كثيرة ثم ان البحر عاد لما كان عليه ، وفي سنة سبع مائة اربعة وخمسين للشهدا اشرق الريف ولم يزرع فيه الا اليسير ، وفي زمان الحصاد ظهر فار كثير مثل الجراد في الريف واكل مزارع كثيرة وكروم وكانوا عند تدرية الاجران ياخذوا بايديهم الزناجر والقطين ينقروا به على الفيران ويحرسوا الغلة منهم ولا يطيقوا حراسها . وذكروا ان واحد من المزارعين اقلب جرن فيه ستة عشر اردب وقعد يحرسه من الفيران الى بكرة ، فلما اصبح وجد فيه ستة ارادب ، وكان لانسان كرم فدفع فيه ثلثة عشر دينار ، فقال ما اخذ الا اربعة عشر دينار* فاصبح ثانى يوم فلم يجد فيه شى يساوى درهما واحدا . ولم يقدر احد في تلك ١٥٩ (ظ)

السنة يخبز كعك خوفا ان تنعجن الفيران فيه حتى انهم كانوا يقرضوا الفخار ، وكان الشراقي والفيران نخط من الله تعالى ، وكانوا الناس يبتهلوا الى الله سبحانه ويضرعوا اليه جل اسمه في ازالة ذلك عنهم برافته وفضله فزال في هتور ، وذكر انسان ان قصره نحاس

(١) جرا] ا : جرى (٢) اى من العهد القديم (٣) يوميد] ا : يوميدا (٤) صيت] ا : سيط (٥) عجوبة = اعجوبة

كان فيها ما الى مقدار نصفها نسوها مكشوفه بالليل فلما اصبحوا وجدوا فيها اربعين فارغقوا فيها وماتوا ، وذكر اخر انه جلس في الظلام وبيده عصا يضرب بها الارض ليترد الفيران عن قفة فيها^(١) قمح فلما اصبح وجد مائة وخمسين فار قد ماتوا بعصاته . وبعد هذا نزل على انبا شنوده ضربان في راسه وتمسح بهاره وليله بدهن بنفسج فلا يجد له راحة من شدة الضربان والسعال ، وكان يحس النار كأنها تلهب في راسه ، ولحقه ايضا وجع في اذنه واقام الوجع ثلاثة سنين الى ان افتقده الرب جل اسمه فتنيح في يومين^(٢) من هتور في سنة سبع مائة ثلاثة وثلثين للشهدا وهو يشتهي الدنيا ، وكانت مدة بطريركته خمسة عشر سنة ونصف وتنيح وانا عنده جالس وغمضت عينيه بيدي ، واجتمعنا للصلاة عليه ودفناه في الكنيسة الكبرى بدمروا الذي كان بناها انبا زخارياس^(٣) البطريرك وكلها هذا الاب انبا شنوده رزقنا الله بركة صلواته وانفق فيها مالا كثيرا لانه كان انذر ذلك قبل ان يصير بطركا .

وفي ذلك الزمان مات الظاهر لاعزاز دين الله وجلس بعده ولده بعد ابو تميم المستنصر بالله امير المؤمنين ، وفي ذلك الزمان احرقت بيعة اليعاقبة السريان بانطاكية لخصومة جرت بين الكهنة والاراخنة بسبب مال البيعة المذكورة فمضى الارخن المقدم ذكره الى بطرك الملكية ودفع له مال حتى بعث ختم باب البيعة ، واخذ الكهنة وطرحهم الاعتقال وعذبوا منه ستة ايام الى ان انفذوا اليه وبدلوا انهم ينكروا امانتهم ويعترفوا بامانته ويصبروا معه على ان يبقمهم في طقسهم وياخذ لهم حقهم من ذلك الارخن الذي ظلمهم ، فلما سمع الارخن بذلك سبقهم ومضى الى بطرك الملكية وصار ملكيا خوفا من ان يطالب^(٤) بمال البيعة ، وصارت الكهنة ايضا ملكية وخرجوا من الاعتقاد ومضوا الى البيعة المذكورة ونهبوها وهدموا الهيكل واخذوا قربان كان فيها

(١) فيها [ساقطة من ا (٢) في يومين] مقطوعة من هامش م . واردة في ا
١٥٧ (ج) (٣) زخارياس] ا : زاخارياس (٤) يطالب] ١٥٧١ (ظ) يطالب

فرومه في البحر وهدموا البيعة وتسلطوا على الشعب وعذبوا اكثرهم حتى صاروا ملكية ، وحكى ان الذين صاروا ملكية من السريان اليعاقبة في تلك النوبة احدى عشر الف انسان وهو الذي رايتنه وسمعتنه وكتبته لاختوتك انا الباييس ميخاييل الدرماوى الذى قسمنى الاب انا زخارياس^(١) شماساً وجعلنى انا شنوده قسا وصيرنى انا اخرسطودلوس اسقفا على مدينة تيس واعمالها بغير استحقاق منى لهذه الرتبة الجليلة . وكنت هذه السيرة في اليوم الخامس والعشرين من بشنس سنة سبع مائة سبعة^(٢) وستين للشهدا الابرار بقدر ما وصلت معرفتى اليه ليكون تذكاري عند من يقراه ، والمجد للاب والابن والروح القدس الان وكل اوان والى دهر الدهرين امين^(٣) .

قال موهوب ابن منصور ابن مفرج الاسكندراني الشماس انه لما كان من تقدم من السلف الاخيار رزقنا الله بركهم قد اهتم وكتب سيرة البيعة ورتبها وشرح امور البطاركة على كرسي البشير ماري مرقص^(٤) الانجيلي بالاسكندرية وما جرى لهم ، وما اظهره الله سبحانه^(٥) على يديهم من العجايب ، وايدهم به من الصبر والجهاد وقوة الامانة وارشادهم لرعيتهم وهدايتهم اياهم الى الامانة المستقيمة وتعليمهم الوصايا الانجيلية كما امرهم الرب جل اسمه ، اشتيت انا الخاطي الباييس ان اجمع سيرهم واكتبهم* ليكون ذلك رجاء لي ١٦٠ (ج) ولمن يقرأها بعدى ، فاستعنت بالله تعالى ذكره ، وصرت^(٦) الى دير القديس ابو مقار بوادي هبيب المقدس ، فوجدت الشماس ابا حبيب ميخاييل ابن^(٧) بدير الدمهورى ، وكان هناك الاب انا كيرلص ومعه ثلاثة اساقفة وهم انا غبريال اسقف البحيرة وانا ابرهام

(١) زخارياس [١ : زخارياس (٢) سبعة] ١ : سبع (٣) حاشيه بالمداد الاحمر على الهامش في م ، ١٥٧١ (ظ) كامله «كملت سيرة انا شنوده الب[طرك] ويتلو ذلك [انا اخرسطودلوس]» (٤) مرقص [١ : مرقص (٥) سبحانه] ١ : سبحانه (٦) ابن بدير [١ : ابن (كذا) (٧) وصرت [اقرأ : وسرت

اسقف دبقوا وانبأ خيال اسقف نوسا الذي من بوره ، وذلك في برمهات سنة ثمان مائة واربعة للشهدا ، الموافقة لسنة اربع مائة ستة وسبعين الخراجية ، وهو المحرم من سنة ثمانين واربع مائة الهلالية ، وهي السنة العاشرة من بطركيته ، وفي البرية المذكورة يومئذ تقدير سبع مائة راهب ، منها في دير ابو مقار اربع مائة ، وفي دير ابو يحنس مائة خمسة وستين ، وفي دير ابو كما خمسة وعشرين ، وفي دير برموس عشرين^(١) ، وفي دير ابو بشيه^(٢) اربعين ، وفي دير السريان ستين ، وفي مغارة ابو موسى راهبين سرياني وقبطي سوا^(٣) السواح الذي لم نراهم ولم نعرفهم . وكان يومئذ^(٤) ملك مصر الامام المستنصر بالله ، وجلس في الملك احد وخمسين سنة خراجية ، لانه ولد يوم الثلاثاء السادس عشر من جمادى الاخر سنة اربع مائة وعشرين الهلالية ، وجلس في المملكة وعمره سبع سنين في يوم الاحد النصف من شعبان سنة اربع مائة سبعة وعشرين الهلالية ، الموافق لبرموده سنة اربع مائة خمسة وعشرين الخراجية^(٥) ، ومتولى الامر والوزارة والنظر في المملكة يومئذ السيد الاجل امير الجيوش سيف الاسلام بدر الجمالي ، وهي السنة الرابعة عشر منذ دخوله الى مملكة ديار مصر من عكا ، لانه كان واليا ومنها جا الى القاهرة في العشر الاول من طوبه ، وهي حفرة^(٦) امير الجيوش التي تعرف بديار مصر الى الان ولا تعرف بغيرها ، وتحدث^(٧) مع الشمس ابو حبيب الدمهورى المقدم ذكره فيما عولت عليه من جمع سير البطاركة ، فاتفق رايها على البحث عنها وطلبها حيث ما كانت ، فوجدنا في دير السيدة بنيا منها سيرة اثنين واربعين بطرك من مارى مرقس الانجيلي الى سيمون ، ووجدنا في دير الشهيد الجليل تادرس على المنهى بابلاج سيرة اربعة^(٨) بطاركة من الاكسندروس^(٩) الى خيال وهو تمام ستة واربعين بطرك ،

(١) وفي دير برموس عشرين [العبارة ساقطة من ا (٢) انبا بشوى (٣) سوا] ا :
سوى (٤) يومئذ] ا : يومئذ (٥) الخراجية [ساقطة من ا ١٥٨ (ج) (٦) في الاصل
غير منقوط وصخرة بمعنى حصن (راجع الحاشية بالترجمة) (٧) وتحدث [اقرأ : وتحدثت
(٨) اربعة] ا : مكرر (٩) الاكسندروس] ا : الاسكندروس

ووجدنا في دير نهبيا ايضا سيرة تسعة بطاركة من انبا مينا الى شنوده وهو تمام خمسة وخمسون بطركا ، ووجدنا في دير ابو مقار سيرة عشرة بطاركة من خيال السادس والخمسون الى سانوتيوس الخامس والستون ، كتبها انبا ميخائيل اسقف تيس وهي بخط لقوط الراهب ولده ، فلما كملت لى هذه السير ونسختها بخطى وصارت عندى بالاسكندرية ، وجب الان ان ابدي واشرح ما يتلوا ذلك ، وهي سيرة الاب القديس ابا^(١) اخرسطودولس البطرک ومن جلس بعده ، وجعلتها بمقتضى سياقة^(٢) عدد السنين التي قبلها .

(١) ابا [ا : انبا (٢) سياقة] ا : بسياقه

to Šenouti (Šanûdah)⁽¹⁾ who completes the fifty-fifth patriarch, and we found in the monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) the biographies of ten patriarchs from Khaël (Khâyl), the fifty-sixth, to Šenouti (Sanûtîûs),⁽²⁾ the sixty-fifth, which Abba Michael (Anbâ Mikhâyîl), bishop of Tinnîs⁽³⁾, wrote, and they are in the handwriting of Luḳûl the monk, his son⁽⁴⁾.

Since I have these biographies complete⁽⁵⁾, and I have transcribed them in my handwriting and have them with me at Alexandria, it is now necessary for me to begin to describe what follows that (the biography of Šenouti), namely, the biography of the saintly father Abba Christodoulos (Anbâ Ikhrisṭûdûlus) the patriarch, and (the biographies) of those who sat (on the Throne) after him, and I have made it in accordance with the number of the years which precede it”.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. B. T. A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, t. I, fasc. 5, pp. [474]-[661] and pages of the present work.

⁽²⁾ Cf. the present work, pp. 103-241.

⁽³⁾ Cf. AMÉLINEAU, p. 507.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. note added at end of biography of Patriarch Simon in *P. O.*, t. V, fasc. 1, p. [301].

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* Since these biographies became complete for me.

was in charge (mutawallî) of the affairs and the wazirate (wazârah) and the supervision (naẓar) of the kingdom at that time (was) the lord, the honoured amîr al-Ġuyûš, Saif Al-Islâm⁽¹⁾, Badr al-Ġamâlî, and it was the fourteenth year since his entry into the kingdom of the land of Mišr⁽²⁾ from Acre ('Akkâ), because he was its wâlî, and from it he came to Cairo (al-Ķâhirah) in the first decade of (the month of) Tûbah⁽³⁾, and it is the Rock⁽⁴⁾ of the amîr al-Ġuyûš which is known in the land of Mišr⁽²⁾ till now, and it is not known (by a name) other than it.

I conferred with the aforementioned deacon Abba (Abû) Ḥabîb of Damanhûr (ad-Damanhûrî)⁽⁵⁾ concerning my resolution⁽⁶⁾ to collect the biographies of the patriarchs. We agreed on our opinion⁽⁷⁾ to search for them and to seek them out, wherever they might be. We found in the monastery of the Mistress at Nahyâ⁽⁸⁾ the biographies of forty-two patriarchs from my lord Mark (Mârî Marķus) the Evangelist to Simon (Simûn), and we found in the monastery of the venerable Martyr Theodore (Tâdrus) at al-Manhâ at Iblâġ the biographies of four patriarchs from Alexander (Alâksandrûs) to Khaël (Khâyâl)⁽⁹⁾ who completes forty-six patriarchs. We found also in the monastery of Nahyâ⁽¹⁰⁾ the biographies of nine patriarchs from Abba Menas (Anbâ Minâ)

⁽¹⁾ Lord of the Armies, Sword of Al-Islâm. Cf. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151.

⁽²⁾ Egypt.

⁽³⁾ *i. e.* January-February.

⁽⁴⁾ *i. e.* fortress. 'Akkâ' in Western sources is termed 'Saint Jean d'Acre', in which there may be a connection with the Greek word *ἀκρον*, mountain height, fortified place.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. p. 241, n. 5.

⁽⁶⁾ *Lit.* what I resolved on.

⁽⁷⁾ *Lit.* our opinions were in agreement on the search for them and the seeking them out.

⁽⁸⁾ A. S. ΑΤΥΑ, *Some Egyptian Monasteries according to the Unpublished MS. of 'Kitab al-Diyârât' by al-Shabushti*, in *Bull. de la Soc. d'Arch. copte*, vol. V, 1939, pp. 17-19.

⁽⁹⁾ Cf. B. T. A. EVETTS, *History of the Patriarchs*, in *P. O.*, t. I, fasc. 2 et 4 and t. V, fasc. 1, pp. [37]-[302].

⁽¹⁰⁾ Cf. B. T. A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, t. V, fasc. 1, pp. [302]-[469].

who was of Bûrah⁽¹⁾. This was in Baramhât⁽²⁾ (in) the year eight hundred and four of the Martyrs⁽³⁾ which corresponds to the year four hundred and seventy-six of the tax-year which is the (month of) Muḥarram of the year four hundred and eighty of the lunar (year) which is the tenth year of his (Cyril's) patriarchate.

In the aforesaid desert (there were) at that time about seven hundred monks of whom (there were) four hundred in the monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr), one hundred and sixty-five in the monastery of Abba John (Abû Yuḥannis)⁽⁴⁾, twenty-five in the monastery of Abba Kamê (Abû Kamâ)⁽⁵⁾, twenty in the monastery of Baramûs⁽⁶⁾, forty in the monastery of Abba Pšoi (Abû Bišaih), sixty in the monastery of the Syrians (as-Suryân)⁽⁷⁾, and two monks in the Cave of Abba Moses (Abû Mûsâ)⁽⁸⁾—a Syrian (suryânî) and a Copt (ḳibtî)—besides the anchorites whom we did not see and did not know.

At that time, the king of Mişr⁽⁹⁾ was the Imâm al-Mustanşir bi'llah who reigned⁽¹⁰⁾ over the kingdom fifty-one tax-years⁽¹¹⁾, for he was born on Tuesday, the sixteenth of (the month of) Ğumâdâ al-Akhirah⁽¹²⁾ (in the) lunar (year)⁽¹³⁾ four hundred and twenty. He reigned⁽¹⁰⁾ over the kingdom when he was seven years old, (and that was) on a Sunday in the middle of (the month of) Şa'abân (in the) lunar (year)⁽¹³⁾ four hundred and twenty-seven, which corresponds to (the month of) Baramûdah in the tax-year four hundred and twenty-five. He who

⁽¹⁾ Unidentified.

⁽²⁾ *i. e.* March-April.

⁽³⁾ *i. e.* A. D. 1088.

⁽⁴⁾ *i. e.* St. John the Little.

⁽⁵⁾ *i. e.* St. John Khamê.

⁽⁶⁾ *i. e.* 'of our Roman Fathers, Maximus and Domitius', otherwise called 'of Our Lady', commonly known as the Monastery of al-Baramûs.

⁽⁷⁾ *i. e.* 'of the Syrians'.

⁽⁸⁾ *i. e.* St. Moses the Black.

⁽⁹⁾ Egypt.

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Lit. sat.*

⁽¹¹⁾ A. D. 1036-1094.

⁽¹²⁾ *i. e.* Ğumâdâ II.

⁽¹³⁾ *i. e.* of the Hiġirah.

Christodoulos (Anbâ Ikhrisṭūdulūs) made bishop over the city of Tinnis⁽¹⁾ and its districts, (who) am unworthy of this venerable rank.

I completed this biography on the twenty-fifth day of Bašans (in) the year seven hundred and sixty-seven of the Righteous Martyrs⁽²⁾, as far as my knowledge of it reached, that it may be a memorial to me for whomsoever reads it.

Glory (be) to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and always and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

Mawhūb ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Mufarriḡ the Alexandrian, the deacon, said : “Since those who have gone before (us) from among the righteous predecessors—may God grant to us the acceptance of their blessing!—have occupied themselves with and written the biographies⁽³⁾ (of the patriarchs) of the Church and arranged them⁽⁴⁾, and explained the affairs of the patriarchs of the Throne of the preacher, my lord Mark (Mārī Marḡuṣ) the Evangelist at Alexandria, and what befell them, and what God—praised be He!—manifested at their hands in the way of miracles, and (how) He fortified them with patience and zeal and power of faith to guide their flocks and to lead them to the Orthodox Faith and to teach them the Evangelic commandments, as the Lord—Whose Name be magnified!—ordered them; I, the sinner (and) the wretched (one), yearned to collect their (the patriarchs’) biographies and to write them down * so that this might be of profit to me and to him who shall read them after me. Then I asked help of God— may His remembrance be exalted!—and I journeyed to the monastery of Saint Abba Macarius (Abū Maḡār) in the holy Wādī Habīb⁽⁵⁾. I found (there) the deacon Abba (ĀḤḤz) Ḥabīb Michael (Mikhāyil) ibn Badīr (Apatēr) of Damanhūr (ad-Damanhūrī)⁽⁶⁾, and there was there the father, Abba Cyril (Anbâ Kīrulluṣ)⁽⁷⁾ and with him three bishops, namely, Abba Gabriel (Anbâ Ghabryāl), bishop of al-Buḡairah⁽⁸⁾, and Abba Abraham (Anbâ Ibrahām), bishop of Dibḡwā⁽⁹⁾, and Abba Khaēl (Anbâ Khāyāl), bishop of Nūsā,

* fol. 160 r°

⁽¹⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 507. — ⁽²⁾ *i. e.* A. D. 1051. — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* biography. — ⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* ‘it’. — ⁽⁵⁾ Cf. p. 109, n. 3. — ⁽⁶⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 113. — ⁽⁷⁾ The 67th patriarch. — ⁽⁸⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 90. — ⁽⁹⁾ Cf. *Guide to the Coptic Museum*, vol. II, pp. 237 et 270.

At that time, there was burnt down a church of the Jacobite (Yâ'qibah) Syrians (Suryân) at Antioch (Anṭâkiah) on account of a quarrel (which) occurred between the priests and the archons (ἄρχων) with regard to the money of the aforementioned church. The aforementioned archon (ἄρχων)⁽¹⁾ went to the patriarch of the Melkites (Malakiah) and gave to him money so that he sent to seal the door of the church, and he took the priests and put⁽²⁾ them under arrest, and they were afflicted by him for six days until they sent to him (saying) that they had changed their religion⁽³⁾ and that they would deny their Faith and acknowledge his Faith and be (one) with him on the condition that he should leave them in their ranks (τάξις) and that he should obtain for them their rights from that archon (ἄρχων) who had deprived them of them. When the archon (ἄρχων) heard of this, he anticipated them, and went to the patriarch of the Melkites (Malakiah) and became a Melkite (Malakîâ) for fear lest he (the patriarch) should demand (from him) the money of the church. The priests also became Melkites (Malakiah), and they left (their) belief, and they went to the aforementioned church and plundered it and demolished the sanctuary (haikal), and they took the Offering (ḳurbân)⁽⁴⁾ which was in it and cast it into the river⁽⁵⁾, and they demolished the church and dominated over the people and afflicted the majority of them until they became Melkites (Malakiah). It is said that those who became Melkites (Malakiah) from among the Syrian (Suryân) Jacobites (Yâ'qibah) on that occasion (numbered) eleven thousand men. (This) is what I saw and heard, and I have written it to thy brethren, I, the wretched Michael (Mikhâyîl) of Damrû (Damrâwî)⁽⁶⁾, whom the father, Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhârîyâs) ordained deacon, and Abba Šenouti (Anbâ Sanûdah) made priest, and Abba

⁽¹⁾ *Sic.*, read, perhaps, one of the aforementioned archons.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* cast.

⁽³⁾ Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 58.

⁽⁴⁾ If Ḳurbân here means the consecrated Elements, then we have an example of the Reserved Sacrament in the Syrian Jacobite Church, otherwise the meaning is Eucharistic loaves.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* sea.

⁽⁶⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 505.

it was removed in Hatûr⁽¹⁾. A man related that there was a copper pot in which (was) water up to the half of it, and they left it uncovered at night, and when it was morning, they found in it forty mice drowned in it and dead. Another related that he sat in the darkness and in his hand was a stick, and he was striking the ground with it so as to chase away the mice from a basket (ḳuffah) in which there was wheat. When it was morning, he found one hundred and fifty mice (which) had been killed by his stick.

After this, there came upon Abba Šenouti (Anbâ Šanûdah) a throbbing in his head, and he was anointed day and night with violet ointment, but he did not find rest from the violent throbbing and a cough. He used to feel a fire, as it were, burning in his head. He also suffered from⁽²⁾ a pain in his ear, and the pain lasted for three years until the Lord, Whose Name is great, visited him. He went to his rest on the second day⁽³⁾ of Hatûr in the year seven hundred and thirty-three of the Martyrs⁽⁴⁾, being (still) desirous of the world. The duration of his patriarchate was fifteen years and a half. He went to his rest, and I was sitting with him and I closed his eyes with my hands. We assembled to pray over him, and we buried him in the great church at Damrû⁽⁵⁾ which Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs) the patriarch had built, and which this father, Abba Šenouti (Anbâ Šanûdah) completed—God grant to us acceptance of the blessing of his prayers—and he spent on it much money, because he had vowed (to do) this before he became patriarch.

At that time there died Az-Zâhir l-'Izâzi dîni'llah, and there sat (on the throne) after him his son Ma'ad Abû Tamîm al-Mustanşir bi'llah, Commander of the Faithful⁽⁶⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *i. e.* November-December.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* there overtook him.

⁽³⁾ This was written on the margin of the MS., but has been cut off when the MS. was bound. Text supplied from MS. A.

⁽⁴⁾ *i. e.* A. D. 1016, a date which, of course, is quite incorrect.

⁽⁵⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 505.

⁽⁶⁾ A. D. 1036-1094.

wonder (which) was that two mountains in the district of Paneas (Bányâs)⁽¹⁾ met together and fire came out from between them at their meeting together, and many trees were burnt, and a large part of the sea dried up so that men took up fish from the land which was uncovered, and they found in it (the land) lead and iron and many things. Then the sea returned to what it was before⁽²⁾.

In the year seven hundred and fifty-four of the Martyrs⁽³⁾ the Rif(ar-Rif)⁽⁴⁾ lacked water⁽⁵⁾, and there was no sowing in it, except (in) a small (part)⁽⁶⁾. At the time of the harvest there appeared many mice like locusts in the Rif(ar-Rif)⁽⁴⁾, and they devoured many sown fields and vineyards. At the winnowing of the heap (of grain) they used to take in their hands chains (zanâgîr) and gourds⁽⁷⁾ wherewith to strike against the mice and to protect the grain from them, but they were not able to protect them. They mentioned that one of the sowers turned over the heap in which (were) sixteen ardab (ЄРТΩЄ), and he sat down to protect it from the mice until morning. When it was morning, there was found in it (the heap) six ardab (ЄРТΩЄ). A man had a vineyard and he paid for it thirteen dînârs, and he said : "I will not take (for it) less than fourteen dînârs". * When the morning of the next day came, he did not find in it anything worth a dirham. No one was able in that year to bake biscuits (ka⁶k)⁽⁸⁾, for fear lest the mice should be kneaded in them, for they used even to gnaw the earthenware pots. There was a drought, and the mice came from God the Exalted. The people used to supplicate God—praised be He!—and they beseeched Him Whose Name is great, to remove this from them, out of His compassion and His kindness, and

* fol. 159 v°

⁽¹⁾ *i. e.* Caesarea Paneas or Caesarea Philippi.

⁽²⁾ Cf. E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Chronography of Gregory Abû V-Farag (Barhebraeus)*, London, 1932, vol. 1, p. 194.

⁽³⁾ A. D. 1037-1038.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 117, n. 6.

⁽⁵⁾ *i. e.* the Coptic ΩΑΡΚЄ.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. A. K. BEDEVIAN, *Illustrated Polyglottic Dictionary of Plant Names*, Cairo, 1936, No. 1270.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 474.

As for John (Yû'annis), the monk, who became bishop of al-Faramâ⁽¹⁾, he wrote to him (Šenouti) that he should give to him thirty dīnārs every year and make his brother a bishop, and when he (himself) demanded this of him (Šenouti), he would not give anything to him. Then he went out from his presence menacing him and threatening him that he would do to him as he had done to Abba Zacharias (Anbā Zakhāryās) the saintly patriarch. When he (Šenouti) learned this from him, he produced a writing of an astonishing anathema the like of which had never been heard of. He had written it against him (John) with his hand on the day he had made him bishop, and he sent it thereupon to the land (χώρα) of Mišr⁽²⁾ and to the chiefs of the Christians (Našārā) and to the bishops that they should not receive him nor give to him bread to eat nor give to him anything. In the first year (in which) he⁽³⁾ was consecrated (patriarch), each of the bishops paid to him two dīnārs. When this happened, he (Šenouti) produced this anathema, and in it there were written from the Old (Testament) the anathemas written in the Second Law (νόμος)⁽⁴⁾ and (those) written in the Psalm one hundred and eight of David (Dāwūd) the Prophet against Judas (Yahūdhā) Iscariot (Iskharyūṭī), and the aforesaid patriarch wrote the anathema with his hand.

In these days, there was the king Aḡ-Zāhir l' 'Izāzi dīni' llah and his name was Abū'l-Ḥasan⁽⁵⁾, and the wazīr at that time (was) 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Ġarġānī⁽⁶⁾, and the administrator (nāzir) in the Rif (ar-Rif)⁽⁷⁾ (was) 'Alī ibn Ḥadīd, and he was of great ill-repute. He filled the prisons with people, men and women, so that pregnant women brought forth in the prisons.

There appeared in those days, in the land of Palestine (Filasṭīn) a

⁽¹⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 317.

⁽²⁾ Egypt.

⁽³⁾ i. e. Šenouti.

⁽⁴⁾ i. e. Deuteronomy, cf. *Deut.* 28, 16-44.

⁽⁵⁾ A. D. 1021-1036.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 136, where, however, this wazīr is called al-Gargarai.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. p. 117, n. 6.

be good before God and the multitudes". He (Šenouti) said to him : "Thus will I do, but bring to me the document⁽¹⁾ which I wrote for thee to acquaint them (the bishops) with it, when they are assembled". He (Buḳairah) gave it to him. When it was in his (Šenouti's) hands, he tore it into little pieces⁽²⁾. Those who were present marvelled at his deed, and they said : "This is a house built without foundations or rock". The news reached the bishops and they were angry, and they said : "It is as if he makes mock of us and causes us to be brought for a matter, and (then) turns back and cancels it, but we shall not give it up at all". They (the bishops) were assembling in (the Church of) Abba Mercurius (Abû Marḳûrah)⁽³⁾ at Misr⁽⁴⁾, and Abba Šenouti (Anbâ Šanûdah) the patriarch was in the Church of Michael (Mikâyîl) the elect⁽⁵⁾. They sent to him certain of the archons (ἄρχων) saying : "It is not possible for thee to cancel this matter on account of which thou hast brought us together concerning the renunciation of simony (χειροτονία) until what is requisite has been settled". When he saw that they would not give up this matter, he met together with them, and they sat conversing with him from morning till night, and Buḳairah (was) with them, and they were not able to stand up against him (Šenouti). Then one of his (Šenouti's) disciples entered in unto him with a piece of paper with him from a man of the party of the Devil (Iblîs)—may God confound him! When he (Šenouti) had learned its contents, he said to the deacon Buḳairah : "What hast thou to do with the discussion⁽⁶⁾ in this assembly?" Then he (Šenouti) made a sign to his disciples, and they leapt upon him (Buḳairah) and they beat him severely⁽⁷⁾. The patriarch rose up and went out, and the council broke up and every-one of them went to his place.

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* writing.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* a piece (and) a piece.

⁽³⁾ Cf. A. J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-154.

⁽⁴⁾ Cairo.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. B. T. A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123.

⁽⁶⁾ *Lit.* speech.

⁽⁷⁾ *Lit.* a great beating.

and that thou shouldst not sell the gift of God for money". He (Šenouti) said to him : "From whence shall I have wherewith to spend on myself ⁽¹⁾ and my disciples and on what I need in the way of provisions and necessaries, and for what I (have to) give to the Alexandrians and for what I (have to) pay on account of the tax on the lands which I owe?". He (Buḳairah) said to him : "We will reckon up all thy debts and all what thou needest, and we will reckon up all what thou receivest from the bishops from the Diyāriāh ⁽²⁾ every year, and if there is any deficiency, we will pay it by instalments, and we will bring it to thee and thou shalt find rest from this evil name which God and the people abhor". He (Šenouti) manifested that he was agreeable (to this) ⁽³⁾, whilst in secret he did not feel (so). He (Buḳairah) said to him : "Write thy signature consenting to this". He wrote his signature to this and Buḳairah took it and went away.

I, the wretched Michael (Mikhāyil), unworthy to be called bishop of Tinnis ⁽⁴⁾, was present, and I was at that time a deacon. I rejoiced over this matter and assisted at it. He (Šenouti) made me his scribe, because some of his friends gave an account of me to him, and he took me to write for him. Then he (Šenouti) sent to fetch the bishops to reassure ⁽⁵⁾ them about this. A certain man from among them entered in unto him and said to him : "What is the object for which thou hast * called us, and why hast thou forsaken simony (χειροτονία) and pretended that thou wilt not take anything from him whom thou wilt make bishop? What (is this) thing that thou hast done with thyself, lo, thou hast hearkened to him who does not wish thee well?" He (Šenouti) changed his mind from (that) hour, and he established in his mind ⁽⁶⁾ an opposition to Buḳairah. He said : "If I do not take simony (χειροτονία) the patriarchate will pass away from me". When Buḳairah heard that the bishops were present, he came to him (Šenouti) and received his blessing according to the custom, and he said to him : "O our father, the bishops are present. Act with them as if thou hast done this thing of thyself without that anyone counselled thee (to do) it. This will

*fol. 159 r°

(¹) *Lit.* my soul. — (²) Cf. p. 117, n. 3. — (³) *Lit.* that his heart was reassured. — (⁴) AMÉLINEAU, p. 507. — (⁵) *Lit.* to reassure their hearts. — (⁶) *Lit.* soul.

to him the money which he had taken from him. I, the wretched Michael (Mikhâyl), declare, and the Lord is a witness unto me, that I saw him one day talking to him (Šenouti) about this matter, and he (Šenouti) did not address a single word to him, and he wept and smote his cheeks and he tore off the episcopal garments and cast them down, and he fell down trembling as one dead or as one in whom there is an evil spirit (šaiṭân). We raised him up and we treated him with kindness until he became calm and his reason returned to him. We wrote for him a letter to the two bishops who were neighbours to his see that they should proclaim ⁽¹⁾ him in one of the villages of his see.

Another bishop whose name was Elias (Īlyâ) died in a town called Bišnânah ⁽²⁾. He (Šenouti) sent (and) took his dwelling-place and all that he had. His (Elias') brother presented himself and asked him (Šenouti) and begged him to give him the dwelling-place empty and to take all that was in it. He did not pay any attention to him, and (thereby) obliged him to embrace Al-Islâm, and he took the dwelling-place and all that was in it. This was amongst his (Šenouti's) vexations and his deeds which it is not right to record.

When the inhabitants of Alexandria demanded from him (Šenouti) the five hundred dînârs in the second year, he refused (to pay them) to them. They went and complained about him to the wâlî. He (Šenouti) himself went and implored ⁽³⁾ certain of the archons (ἀρχων) until they (the archons) took away the signature for the five hundred dînârs from the Alexandrians, and he wrote for them in place of it (the five hundred dînârs) (a signature) for three hundred and fifty dînârs.

Buḡairah the deacon, the owner of the cross, was present at the drawing up of this agreement, and he reconciled the patriarch (to it), and he said to him : “Hearken now unto what I say to thee, for it is agreeable to God the Exalted and the people, and they will rejoice about it”. He (Šenouti) said to him : “Whatever thou advisest, I will do it, and I will not act contrary to it”. He (Buḡairah) said to him : “It is essential that thou shouldst forsake this simony (χέιροτονία) which thou takest,

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* consecrate. — ⁽²⁾ Unidentified. — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* threw himself before.

* and thou comparest us to the Jews (Yahûd)”. They rose up and went forth in anger saying : “There is no salvation in thy kingdom”. In truth, there was no salvation in it, since first he consecrated (as) bishop of Banâ ⁽¹⁾ the aforementioned (Raphael) and took from him six hundred dinârs, and (then) he consecrated after him Badr ⁽²⁾, archpriest (ἀρχιεπίσκοπος) of Asyût ⁽³⁾, bishop, and took from him much money. The inhabitants of Asyût ⁽³⁾ prevented him from entering in unto them for three years on account of the money which he paid, since they adhered to the Canons (κανόν), and said : “It is not allowed to an overseer ⁽⁴⁾ or to a priest who makes himself ⁽⁵⁾ worthy for God to pay for this money or to take anything from him whom he ordains to the service of God, as the saying of Christ through His exalted mouth to His disciples, when He commanded them to baptize the nations and to announce to them the good tidings of the Gospel for their salvation. He (Christ) said to them the well known commandment in the Gospel and He said to them at the end of it : ‘Freely ye have received, freely give’ ⁽⁶⁾, that is, ye have received this grace without a price, demand not then from him to whom ye give it a price”.

* fol. 158 v°

The patriarchs of the Copts (Kibî) and their fathers did not cease from acting according to this commandment up to the time of the oppression by the authorities of the Muslims from Aḥmad ibn Ṭulûn ⁽⁷⁾ up to the days of al-Ḥâkim ⁽⁸⁾, (in addition to) other things which, if we were to describe them, the description would be long. Necessity caused them to do what they did in this (matter) on account of what was demanded of them in the way of money and of what they undertook in the way of burdens.

Let us return now to the account of the affair of the bishop of Asyût ⁽³⁾. When they prevented him from entering in unto them, he returned to the patriarch Abba Šenouti (Anbâ Šanûdah) and demanded from him the money or that he should confirm to him the bishopric. But he (Šenouti) was not able to do anything for him, and he did not return

⁽¹⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 84. — ⁽²⁾ *i. e.* Apatêr. — ⁽³⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 464. — ⁽⁴⁾ a literal rendering of ἐπίσκοπος. — ⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* his soul. — ⁽⁶⁾ *Matt.* 10, 8 *. — ⁽⁷⁾ A. D. 868-884. — ⁽⁸⁾ A. D. 996-1021.

at interest, and he wrote a document, whereby he obliged himself⁽¹⁾ to pay to them for that (sum) in almonds (lûz) at the rate of one and a third ardab (ερτωκ) a dīnār. Thereupon, he (Šenouti) consecrated him (bishop) and he remained two years in his see, and he died, and the patriarch paid the money to the Alexandrians.

He (Šenouti) annulled what had been arranged with him that he should not take simony (χειροτονία). He loved money and collected a great amount of it and gave it to his family. He was a lover of the glory of this world.

When he had departed from Alexandria, and they had come with him to Mišr⁽²⁾ to proclaim him⁽³⁾, he descended at the church of Michael (Mikáyl) the elect which is in the Island of Mišr⁽⁴⁾, and there came to him a multitude of priests and archons (ἀρχων) to be blessed by him, and there was with them the deacon Buḳairah ar-Rašidî, the owner of the cross. When they had saluted him and had received his blessing, they sat down. He (Šenouti) said to Buḳairah : “The Lord reigneth, let the people tremble”⁽⁵⁾. Buḳairah said to him : “What is the meaning of this speech, O our father?” He said to him : “I solicited the see of Mišr⁽²⁾, but it (the see) did not accept me, and asked for Philotheus (Filâtâûs). Lo, the Lord has made me king without thy choice”. The archons (ἀρχων) became angry with him and they looked one at the other, and they started to get up. Buḳairah said to him : “These words David (Dâwûd) the prophet said in the psalm concerning the Lord Christ alone, since He reigned over the Jews (Yahûd) without their desiring that He should be king over them, because He came for the salvation of the world. Lo, now thou comparest thyself⁽⁶⁾ to the Lord

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* his soul.

⁽²⁾ Cairo.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* consecrate him.

⁽⁴⁾ The Island of Mišr (Rôḍa) جزيرة مصر = the νῆσος βασιλιῶνος of the Aphrodito Papyri, cf. J. MASPERO et G. WIET, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire*, 1914, pp. 67-68, also cf. A. J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ps.* 99, 1*.

⁽⁶⁾ *Lit.* thy soul.

with which I may live, since the see of al-Faramâ ⁽¹⁾ of which thou wilt make me (bishop) has nothing; and thou shalt consecrate my brother to another see. He (Šenouti) wrote his signature concerning this.

The bishops remained some days after this (and) were meeting together, but their opinion did not agree as to whom to consecrate. Everyone of them mentioned one of his relatives or a friend of his with regard to being patriarch, until a week had passed ⁽²⁾. Then John (Yû'annis), the aforesaid monk, said to them: "Until when will this sitting of yours (last)? Everyone of you seeks (to satisfy) his own desire, but there is not (anyone) save Šenouti (Šanûdah), a saintly and learned man, who has read the Scriptures, and (is a man of) understanding". He described him and was profuse in his description (of him). The bishops assisted him, and they sent to bring Šenouti (Šanûdah), and they made him hegoumenos (ἡγούμενος), and they journeyed with him to Alexandria. The Alexandrians assembled to arrange something that concerned them. They took his (Šenouti's) signature for five hundred dinârs every year (which) they used to spend for the management of their churches, and they took his signature that he would not take from anyone simony (χειροτονία), nor ask for the gift of Christ a dinâr or a dirham or more than that. They forced him before his consecration (to pay) as dues, according to their custom, to the wâlî one hundred dinârs. When they consecrated him, and he had not wherewith to pay to the wâlî or (money) for himself also, certain of them said to him: "Art thou better than thy fathers who used to take simony (χειροτονία) and paid with it for this and other things?" This suited him. The see of Banâ ⁽³⁾ was vacant, and there was a man there whose name was Justus (Yustus) ⁽⁴⁾, and he had a nephew (son of his sister) whose name was Raphael (Rafâyîl). He arranged with him (Šenouti) about the see for six hundred dinârs, but he had not anything except half and a quarter of a dinâr, and he went to certain Muslim people, and he borrowed that (sum) from them

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 230, n. 6.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* until after a week.

⁽³⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 84.

⁽⁴⁾ This name is written without diacritical points.

known as D????á?h⁽¹⁾. Some of the bishops preferred him on account of his learning, but he was an old man (šaiḫ), and they remained perplexed as to whom they should consecrate, him or another than him. One of the bishops saw a speaker who spoke to him in a⁽²⁾ dream : “The first who enters to-morrow by the door of the church and kisses the bodies⁽³⁾, seize him, for he (shall be) the patriarch”. He awoke immediately, and he informed the brethren, the bishops, of this. When *fol. 158 r° * it was day, Šenouti (Šanûdah) entered, and they seized him immediately. It happened before this, in the night of the aforementioned day, that he (Šenouti) saw in a⁽²⁾ dream Peter (Buṭrus) the Apostle, and John (Yûḥannâ) the Evangelist, and it was as if they both delivered to him keys. When he awoke, he spoke to the monk who was with him, and said : “I saw in my dream so and so”. The monk said to him : “The patriarchate shall be thine”.

It is said that this Šenouti (Šanûdah) was desirous of this (the patriarchate), and that he had solicited the bishopric of Mišr⁽⁴⁾, but that he had nothing wherewith to pay for this, and they had rejected him and had made Philotheus (Filâtâûs) bishop of the see of Mišr⁽⁴⁾.

Before they invested him (Šenouti) with the patriarchal robe, it was arranged between him⁽⁵⁾ and the bishops that he should consecrate for them John (Yû’annis), the monk, who had calumnated the father Zacharias (Zakhâryâs) to al-Ḥâkim, bishop of al-Faramâ⁽⁶⁾, on account of their fear of his tongue. They went with him (John) to his (Šenouti’s) cell (κέλλιον), and he (Šenouti) made an obeisance (μετάνοια) to him (John) to assist him in everything, and he treated him as a brother of his. He (John) said to him : “If thou wishest me to assist thee, write for me thy signature that thou wilt give me every year thirty dînârs

⁽¹⁾ This name is without diacritical points دبحاه, cf. H. G. EVELYN WHITE, *op. cit.*, Part II, pp. 347 and 362.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* his.

⁽³⁾ *i. e.* the bodies of SS. Macarius, etc., cf. H. G. EVELYN WHITE, *op. cit.*, Part II, pp. 363 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ Cairo.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* between him and between.

⁽⁶⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 317.

who is to be elected patriarch three thousand *dinârs*, but we have dispensed with this out of honour for you, and what ye do after this, (let it be) what is pleasing to God—praised be He!—(even) as it is done with us at Baghdad (Baghdâd), and this is, that when they wish to advance a man to the patriarchate, they assemble in the church, and they select from those who are in the monasteries a hundred men, and from the hundred, fifty, and from the fifty, twenty-five, and from the twenty-five, ten, and from the ten, three, and they write the names of the three on three pieces of paper, and on a fourth they write the Name of the Lord, and they (the pieces of paper) are covered with wax (and made into) balls ⁽¹⁾, and they are placed on the altar (*haikal*), and they (the clergy) pray and celebrate the Liturgy. After the prayer and the Liturgy (*ḡuddâs*), they bring a little child from among their male children in whom there is no sin, and he stretches out his hand and takes one of them (the pieces of paper). If there is on it the name of (one of) the three, they consecrate him patriarch, but if there is on it the Name of the Lord, they know that (there is) not among the three he who is fit, and they write other three names, and they do not cease from doing (this) until God—praised be He!—has chosen him whom He has selected, and his name is revealed. Then they consecrate him patriarch. Thus it is necessary that ye should do here''. They marvelled at his wisdom and his understanding and they thanked him and prayed for him and departed.

The bishops assembled and with them were the superiors of Wâdî Habîb ⁽²⁾, but they did not do as the *wazîr* had said to them, but they sat down to think about the people whom they might select to consecrate one of them. There was mentioned a man who had become a monk at fourteen years of age and whose name was Šenouti (Šanûdah). He had become a priest in the *skênê* (*σκηνή*) of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḡâr) ⁽³⁾, (and) he had knowledge of the Scriptures. He was a native of Tilbânat 'Adî ⁽⁴⁾ and had become a monk in the dwelling-place (*ΜΑΝΩΩΠΙ*)

⁽¹⁾ Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 118.

⁽²⁾ Cf. p. 113, n. 4.

⁽³⁾ Cf. p. 118, n. 3.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. AZIZ SURIAL ATIYA, *op. cit.*, pp. 122, 123.

Aš-Šaikh ‘Alam al-Kafāh Abū Yaḥyá Iṣṭafan ibn Mīnā at-Tūrīgī⁽¹⁾, the scribe, related that he went with his workman whose name was Zakīr to Damrū⁽²⁾, and they saluted the father Abba Zacharias (Anbā Zakhāryās) the patriarch—God grant to us (acceptation) of the blessing of his prayer! The father went out walking, without a beast, to Ṭumbārah⁽³⁾ so that he might salute a Nubian (Nūbī) man, a monk, whose name was Šišīh, and he (the patriarch) received his blessing before he blessed him (the monk), and he honoured him with much honour and humbled himself before him and venerated him. When he had departed from him, those who were with him, asked him and said to him: “What is the reason of thy respect for the state of this (one), and for humbling thyself before him, and for giving him precedence over thee in the blessing,—thou, the patriarch of the land (κλίμα)?” He said to them: “This (man) al-Ḥākīm cast together with me to the lions after they had starved them, and the lions were obedient to him, and licked his feet before mine⁽⁴⁾.”

ŠENOUTI (SĀNŪTĪŪS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE SIXTY-FIFTH
OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

When Abba Zacharias (Anbā Zakhāryās), the patriarch, went to his rest, certain people solicited the patriarchate, and they hoped to obtain it through⁽⁵⁾ the Sultān, and to force the bishops to elect them. When Buḳairah, the scribe, of Rašīd (ar-Rašīdī)⁽⁶⁾, the owner of the cross, in whom was zeal for God, the Exalted, learned of this, he collected some good people and he went to the wazīr ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad and talked with him about this. He was a man who understood and loved the Christians (Naṣārā), and he said to Buḳairah and to those who were with him: “It is obligatory (to pay) to the Royal Treasury (Bait al-Māl) for him

(1) The Arabic is without diacritical points, sic. يورحى.

(2) AMÉLINEAU, p. 505.

(3) Cf. AZIZ SURIAL ATIYA, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

(4) *Lit. me.*

(5) *Lit. by the hand of.*

(6) AMÉLINEAU, p. 404.

in a sâtirah ⁽¹⁾ of tamarisk ⁽²⁾ resembling a barrel ⁽³⁾, after he had put into the half of it salt, and had set his face towards the East, and had said to him : “O my son, continue in prayer and entreaty and weeping, and repent, that thou return not again to sin”. He used to feed him after three days and three nights with a little bread (measured out) with a balance and to give him water to drink also (measured out) with a balance until the end of fifteen days, and he came to him to visit him and he prayed for him. At the end of three weeks, he visited him again, and prayed for him, * and at the end of the month, he came to him and examined his body, and he found the leprosy had diminished, and he was reassured ⁽⁴⁾. Then he announced to him the good news about this. Then at the end of forty days, he came to him and he looked at him attentively and found that he was clean and that nothing of the leprosy remained in his body. He rejoiced with him and he bathed him with hot water, and he anointed him and prayed for him, and he said to him : “O my son, thou art cured and thou knowest what thou hast vowed to thyself ⁽⁵⁾—return not to sin—and think not that I caused thee to fast three days (and) then after them (another) three days, and that I myself broke my fast, but—as the Name of Christ liveth—I did not feed myself during these forty days, except as I fed thee, and I did not break my fast except at the time at which I caused thee to break thy fast (and) likewise (with) the same (amount of) bread and water with which I fed thee. Then he blessed him and commanded him to depart to his dwelling, and he returned to his blessed wife, rejoicing and happy.

* fol. 157 v°

⁽¹⁾ Cf. E. W. LANE, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Bk. 1, Part IV, pp. 1311 and 1359 under سَجِيل (سَجِيلَة) and سَطْل respectively, with the meaning ‘a large, or big, bucket or pail’. This word came into Arabic through the Greek σίτλα also σίλλα, cf. E. A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon*, New-York, 1900, p. 990, which in turn came from the Latin situla and its derivative sitella, cf. N. THEIL, *Grand dictionnaire de la langue latine*, Paris, 1862, t. 2, pp. 270 and 271.

⁽²⁾ For طرفاء, cf. A. K. BEDEVIAN, *Illustrated Polyglottic Dictionary of Plant Names*, Cairo, 1936, p. 575.

⁽³⁾ Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 50.

⁽⁴⁾ Lit. his soul was reassured.

⁽⁵⁾ Lit. thy soul.

said : “O my father, this (is) through thy prayers”. He (the patriarch) said to him : “On the contrary, (it is) through thy faith and thy prayer”. He (the patriarch) gave him the right to officiate, and he (the bishop) celebrated the Liturgy that day. He (the patriarch) said to him : “Truly, thou art more worthy than I (to celebrate) the Liturgy (ḡuddās) so that we may receive thy blessing, after this great grace has been bestowed upon thee”. All those present glorified God Who performs miracles.

There was a man, a deacon, a native of Minyatī Milīg⁽¹⁾ (who was) very well known. He quarrelled with his wife, and she was pure (and) pious. He went out from her, and was filled with satanic (šaiṭānī) fury, and he went (and) copulated with an effeminate man and fell with him into sin. Then he returned to his dwelling, and his wife became reconciled to him. When it was night, he sat down on his bed (firāš), and took off his garment to lie down to sleep. His wife saw his body and it all shone with leprosy. She rose up and was full of fear, and she said to him : “What (is it) that thou has done, so that thou hast leprosy? Look at thy body”. He looked attentively at his body and he wept bitterly, and he said to her : “O my sister, when I quarrelled with thee to-day, Satan (aš-Šaiṭān) played a trick on me, and I did so and so”. Then he struck his face, and he plucked out the hair of his beard and he increased (his) weeping. His good (and) pious wife said to him, weeping over him : “Thou hast sinned, O my brother, and hast erred. Hasten to the father Abba Zacharias (Anbā Zakhāryās) the Saint, and take hold of his feet and cling to them, until he beseeches God on thy behalf, and thou shalt be healed”. He rose up early and rode his beast and went to Damrū⁽²⁾ and cast himself⁽³⁾ before⁽⁴⁾ the patriarch, and he increased (his) weeping and (his) entreating, and he clung to his feet and confessed to him what had happened to him. He (the patriarch) said to him : “O my son, is it in thee to stand firm in labour before the Lord Christ?” He said to him : “O my father, judge me according to what thou wilt, and I will do it with God’s assistance to me, and through the blessing of thy prayer”. He took him into a dark house that he had, and he left him standing

⁽¹⁾ Unidentified. — ⁽²⁾ Cf. p. 224, n. 5. — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* his soul. — ⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* between the hands.

lady Mary (Mart Maryam) the Virgin, the Mother of God the Word. That church was in a village called Tmai⁽¹⁾. He entered it in the morning (ghadâh) of a Monday, and there was in it an aged priest whose name was Farah. He (the bishop) said to his disciple : “When it is Wednesday evening (‘ašiyah)⁽²⁾, visit me here, and if thou find me dead, help this priest to bury me here, and if thou find me alive, I shall speak to thee”. The disciple went away from him. He (the bishop) stood before⁽³⁾ the picture of the Mistress, weeping (and) entreating on Monday, and the night of it (Monday), Tuesday, the day and the night of it (Tuesday), Wednesday, the day of it (Wednesday), and he was asking for her intercession, entreating her to examine that leprosy and to remove it from him. When it was the ninth hour of the day of Wednesday, he (the bishop) became dazed from fasting and fatigue, and he leaned against the wall on which was the picture, and he was dozing. Then he saw the hand of this picture, as if it wiped his body, and he woke up and was cured of his sickness. He summoned the priest and informed him of the news, and asked him to look at his whole body, and he (the priest) saw it, and it had become clean and free from leprosy. He rejoiced and thanked the Lord, the Saviour, and his weeping was grievous. Then the disciple came to him at the end of the day and he (the bishop) said to him : “O my son, the Lord Christ has granted (me) through the intercession of the Pure Mistress, his Mother, health (again). It is necessary that I remain in this place three days more to thank the Lord for what he has bestowed upon me. Come to me with a beast on Saturday”. Then he partook of a little bread and water, and he remained there three days, as he had said. The disciple came to him on the evening (‘ašiyah)⁽²⁾ of Saturday, and he (the bishop) went to Damrû⁽⁴⁾ and he entered in to the father Zacharias (Zakhârÿâs) on the morning (ghadâh) of Sunday, while he was in the church, and he made known to him the news, and he

⁽¹⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 500.

⁽²⁾ *i. e.* the time between the Prayer of al-Maghrib and the Prayer of al-‘Atamat.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* between the hands of.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 224, n. 5.

I said : "O my father, I am blind and feeble, whilst they see. I beg of them to give me something as alms, but they do not (do so)". He said to me : "If the Lord Christ open thine eyes, what wilt thou do?" I said : "I will serve thee until the day of my death". He (the patriarch) took with his hand water from that basin and said : "The Lord Christ Who made mud with His spittle on the ground and anointed with it the eyes of the completely ⁽¹⁾ blind and said to him : 'Go, wash both of them in the source of Siloam (Silwân) and they will be opened' ⁽²⁾, may He open these two eyes of thine", (and) he sprinkled the water on my eyes and they were opened, as thou ⁽³⁾ seest. I have served him till now, and I shall serve him also until I die beneath his feet".

*fol. 157 r°

Trustworthy (people) of the Faithful informed me of many miracles concerning the father Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs), among which how the body of Abba Mercurius (Anbâ Marqûrah), bishop of Tilbânah ⁽⁴⁾, shone with leprosy, and an awful whiteness appeared in him. He came to the father, Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs), at Damrû ⁽⁵⁾ on a Sunday, and the aforementioned father said to him with humility * and quietness and a sore heart : "O my brother Abba (ⲀⲘⲘⲉⲗ) Mercurius (Marqûrah), I am a partner with thee in what thou sufferest ⁽⁶⁾, and thou knowest that God said to Moses (Mûsâ) : 'Thou shalt not have regard to the face of anyone in judgment' ⁽⁷⁾. The priesthood ⁽⁸⁾ shall not be valid, except after the Lord Christ has removed from thee this whiteness ⁽⁹⁾, for it is a defilement, as the Scripture calls it". He (Mercurius) wept and said : "Help me through thy prayer, O my father, the saint". He departed from him and he went to a church in his see (dedicated) to the name of the Pure Mistress, my

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* blind.

⁽²⁾ Cf. *John* 9, 6-7.

⁽³⁾ *i. e.* Abraham, bishop of Damietta.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. H. MUNIER, *Recueil des listes épiscopales de l'Église copte*, Le Caire, 1943, p. 27.

⁽⁵⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 505.

⁽⁶⁾ *Lit.* thou art in it.

⁽⁷⁾ *Deutr.*, 1, 17.

⁽⁸⁾ *i. e.* the functions of the priesthood.

⁽⁹⁾ *i. e.* leprosy.

father Abba (ÁĒĒ) John (Yûḥanná) really raise the dead?" He described to me all what I have mentioned in this biography.

As for his story about Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm), bishop of Damietta (Dumyât) ⁽¹⁾, I heard it from his mouth in the year in which the father Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs) died in Miṣr ⁽²⁾. These two patriarchs experienced great trial and labour and they received a glorious crown through their endurance and their confession of the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Faith before the dissidents; Abba John (Anbâ Yûḥanná), before the king of the Greeks (ar-Rûm) and their patriarch and his communion, and Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs), before al-Ḥâkim, king of the Muslims and the inhabitants of the kingdom.

Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm), the aforementioned bishop of Damietta (Dumyât) ⁽¹⁾ said: "I witnessed great miracles by the father, the saint John (Yûḥanná), the patriarch, while I was with him, among which I saw one of his disciples ⁽³⁾, and it was said to me that he had been blind and that Abba (ÁĒĒ) John (Yûḥanná) had opened his eyes. I asked the disciple with an obeisance (μετάνοια) to recount to me his story. He said to me: "I was blind and I used to sit in the church by the basin of water from which the people covered their communion (ḳurbân) ⁽⁴⁾. I used to lay hold on the garments of those whose speech I recognized so that they might give me as alms some of their money. I pulled one day the garment of one of the brethren, and he went and complained about me to the father. He (the patriarch) had just finished communicating the people, and he gave them the peace ⁽⁵⁾ and washed his hands ⁽⁶⁾ and came out to me. He said to me: "O my son, what is this matter with thee that thou dost harm the people and tear their garments?"

⁽¹⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 116.

⁽²⁾ Cairo.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* a disciple of his disciples.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. O. H. E. BURMESTER, *The Canons of Christodoulos, Patriarch of Alexandria*, in *Muséon*, t. XLV, pp. 78 and 83-84.

⁽⁵⁾ *i. e.* the prayer ΠΑΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΠΕΝΗΟΥ† ΠΟΥΡΟ ἸΤΕ†ΖΙΡΗΝΗ etc., cf. the *Book of the Holy Euchologion*, Cairo (1902), pp. 434 and 146.

⁽⁶⁾ At the end of the Divine Liturgy the celebrant washes his hands and then sprinkles the congregation with the water.

place in the church and thou wilt find there a bishop from the lands of Miṣr⁽¹⁾, standing with the monks in the garb of a monk, and bring him to me". This was a wonder similar to what befell Saint Basil (Bāsīlīūs) the Great Doctor, Bishop of Caesarea (Kaisāriah) in Cappadocia (Kābādūkiāh) with the Saint, my lord Ephraem (Mārī Afrām) the Syrian (as-Suryānī). The disciple went thither, but he did not recognize him on account of the change of his attire. Then he returned to the father and said to him : "I did not find him". He said to him : "Yea, indeed, he is standing there and with him are two strange monks". The disciple went back to the place and said to the three : "Who of you is the bishop?" One of the two monks said : "He is this (one)". Then he said to him : "The father calls thee". He came with him to him, and when he had entered in to him and had prostrated himself before him⁽²⁾, the patriarch raised him and said to him : "Why hast thou fled from the grace which the Lord Christ has bestowed on thee?" He said to him : "I am not fleeing (from it), but I have come to see thee and to receive thy blessing". He said to him : "Yea, indeed, thou art fleeing from much speaking and from the fatigue which thou hast experienced", and he spoke to him words that reassured his heart. He remained with him for a time and he sent him back to his see with honour.

There sat on the Throne of Antioch (Anṭākiāh), after this saint John (Yūḥannā), the son of his brother, and they called him John (Yūḥannā) the patriarch. God grant to us (acceptation) of the intercession and blessing of both of them altogether.

His⁽³⁾ disciple informed me, I, Michael (Mikhāyīl), the writer of this biography, about this, when I went to the Throne of Antioch (Anṭākiāh), after I had become bishop of the see of the city of Tinnīs⁽⁴⁾ and its districts, and with me there was Abba Gabriel (Anbā Ghabryāl) bishop of Ṣā⁽⁵⁾ with the Synodical (συνοδικά) Letter which Abba Christodoulos (Anbā Ikhrīstūdulūs), patriarch of Alexandria, wrote to Abba (Ἄββ) John (Yūḥannā) the aforementioned, in the year seven hundred and sixty-five of the Martyrs⁽⁶⁾; for I asked this disciple and said to him : "Yea, did the

⁽¹⁾ Egypt. — ⁽²⁾ Lit. between his hands. — ⁽³⁾ i. e. the former John the patriarch. —

⁽⁴⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 507. — ⁽⁵⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 405. — ⁽⁶⁾ i. e. A. D. 1048-1049.

death from the dissidents, lest they should do with it what they wished. Then he said within himself⁽¹⁾ ‘yet, let God’s will be (done)’. The patriarch knew in the spirit his (the disciple’s) thought, and he said to him : “Why doest thou have doubts concerning my body? I believe that God is able to do all things”. After three days, he went to his rest, as he said. When the monks learned of this, they assembled that they might bury him. The Superior of the monastery was away. The king sent to call the patriarch, but he found him dead. The messengers quarrelled with the monks who wished to bury him, and they prevented them (the messengers) from burying him there, and they said : “Take this heretic (αἰρετικός) from the midst of the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος)”. They took him and they brought him to the place of a rock, and they dug out a grave, and buried him far from them (the monks). As for the messengers of the king, they took the disciple and the man who came from Constantinople (al-Ḳusṭantīniyah) to visit the patriarch and wrote to him the letter, and they returned to the king and they announced to him his (John’s) death. He (the king) set them both free, for he had suffered torment in his dream that night on account of the saintly patriarch. His going to rest in banishment was in the year seven hundred and forty-seven of the Righteous Martyrs⁽²⁾. God Whose praise is great and Who is exalted did not hide from him anything of what he wished to know, on account of his sanctity and his purity.

It happened that, before his (John’s) departure to the lands of the Greeks (ar-Rûm), there fled to him Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm), bishop of Damietta (Dumyât)⁽³⁾ on account of what had befallen him through his people, and of what had reached him (in the way of news) about his (John’s) sanctity. He went and entered into his monastery, and he was clothed⁽⁴⁾ in wretched attire in the garb of monks with a white hood (ḳalansuwah) so that he might conceal his state, and he stood in a corner of the church* in the midst of the congregation of the monks. It was a

* fol. 156 v°

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* his soul. — ⁽²⁾ *i. e.* A. D. 1030-1031. — ⁽³⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 116. —

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit* and upon him,

(thus) for three days, Satan (aš-Šaiṭān) tormenting him. Then he died an evil death.

There was in Constantinople (Kūstanṭīniyah) a man who loved Abba John (Anbā Yūḥannā), and he came thither to visit him, but he was not able to reach him. Then he wrote to him a letter and went to a village near to the monastery, and he met in it a man known to him, and he said to him : “I desire greatly that thou shouldst take this letter and deliver it to the patriarch secretly without that anyone knows about thee”. He gave to him a dīnār and the letter, and there was not anything in it except an enquiry after him (John) and an excuse to him that he had not been able to reach him so as to visit him, and asking from him a blessing⁽¹⁾ to place in his dwelling. He took the letter and went with it to the chief (of the village), as did Judas (Yūdas). He sent some people to the owner of the letter and they beat him and imprisoned him. The patriarch heard his weeping and his speech in Syriac (Suryān) and he called to his disciple and he desired to know of him the news, and he informed him of all what had happened. The patriarch marvelled and was grieved and sent to him to console him, and he said to him : “Let not thy bosom be contracted. After three days, the Lord will remove all this (from thee)”. The disciple inquired about the meaning of the saying. Then he said to him confidentially : “After three days, God will take me to Him. Bury me not in the cemetery of the heretics (αἱρετικὸς), but place me in a place alone, for the day on which I shall fall asleep, the king will send (a messenger) to bring me out, and he will find me having gone forth from this body. He (the messenger) will take thee and the other man to the king, and he (the king) will set you two free. I charge thee to say to the people that they let not him who comes after me dwell in the lands of the Greeks (ar-Rūm), but that he should dwell in Amid⁽²⁾ or in the city of Edessa (ar-Ruhā)”⁽³⁾. His disciple was considering how he could save his (John’s) body after his

⁽¹⁾ Any sanctified object.

⁽²⁾ Cf. *Encyclopédie de l’Islām*, t. 1, pp. 1009-1010 under the Turkish name Diyār-Bekr.

⁽³⁾ Cf. *Encyclopédie de l’Islām*, t. 3, pp. 1062-1066, under the name Orfa.

they professed their (the Melkite) Faith, and then he should set them free. There were among them two aged metropolitans (muṭrān), and when they learned this, they acknowledged the Council of Chalcedon (Khalḳidūniyah), and they thought that they would remain in their former rank (ταξις), but the patriarch of the Melkites (Malakiah) did not leave them in it, but made them both subdeacons (ὑποδιάκων). The two others (metropolitans) held fast to their faith, and they did not agree to what the king wished. The king strove, but he was not able to turn them from their Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Faith. Then the king caused Abba (Αββα) John (Yûḥannâ), the patriarch, to be brought, and he promised him great honours and advancement. He said to him : “Lo, I am standing before thee⁽¹⁾ and (am) under thy authority. Thy power is over my body, do with it what thou thinkest (fit) and as thou wilt. Kill me, but I will never forsake my Orthodox Faith”. Then he commanded him (John) to be exiled to a monastery on an island near to Constantinople (Κωνσταντινούπολη). Between him and it⁽²⁾ (there was) a distance of one day. He did not allow (anyone) with him except one disciple to minister unto him. He (John) had the illness of gout (νιḳρίς) in his feet, and he remained there two years. * There was in that island an anchorite of the Melkites (Malakiah), and he commanded the monks who were with him to go every day to the patriarch, the saint John (Yûḥannâ), and to curse him and to spit in his face, and he placed an anathema upon them if they did not do this every day. They used to do this to him (John) during his stay there. There was in the monastery a youth, a servant, and he used to insult the patriarch still more. It happened that, whenever the disciple heated water for the feet of the patriarch in order that he might thereby find ease, that youth used to cast ash into it. The disciple used to weep, but the patriarch used to console him and say to him : “O my son, God will not forget us”. The youth persisted in this deed, and an evil (Šaiṭân) spirit leapt upon him and strangled him and belaboured him and tormented him. They brought him to the elder (šaiḳh) Abba John (Anbâ Yûḥannâ) foaming and striking with his head and gnashing with his teeth. He remained

* fol. 156 r°

⁽¹⁾ Lit. between thy hands. — ⁽²⁾ Lit. between him and between it.

to the patriarch : they have informed me that thou art a saint of God. Now I desire nought of thee save that thou shouldst acknowledge the Council of Chalcedon (Khalkidūniyah), and I shall be happy⁽¹⁾, and I will exalt thee and honour thee and give thee the authority over all the lands near to thee". He (John) said to him : "O my master, the king, may the Lord preserve thy kingdom and thy authority!—He knows that I do not cease from prayer and supplication for thy powerful kingdom, as the Holy Scriptures command us, 'so that our life may be in quietness and peace'⁽²⁾. Thy authority has not the right to force anyone to forsake his religion, as we have two kings, namely, the king of Abyssinia (Ḥabašah) and the king of Nubia (Nūbah), and they do not force anyone of the people of your religion who is dwelling among them to change his faith. Now I beseech the Lord Christ to establish thy kingdom without disturbance and to preserve all of us according as has been revealed to him". The interpreter interpreted all that he said except (about) the two kings, the Abyssinian (Ḥabaši) and the Nubian (Nūbī), for he added to this and he said : "We have two kings greater than thou", and this (was because) the bishop of Malatya (Malaṭīah)⁽³⁾ had bribed the interpreter with money and had come to an agreement with him to turn the speech against him (John), whereby the king would be enraged against him (John), even though with a single word. When the king heard (this), his wrath and his rage and his imprecation(s) became intense, and he cursed his (John's) belief and his congregation and he said : "Ye are dissidents in truth". He commanded that he (John) should be returned to (his) confinement. There was one of the disciples of the saint John (Yūḥannā) who knew the language, and he was his interpreter. When they came out, he informed him (John) of what the interpreter had done by turning the speech against him.

When the morrow was come, the king caused his patriarch and his congregation to be brought and he consulted them about what he should do. They advised him that he (John) should be banished to the islands which were near to him, he (John) and those who were with him until

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* my soul will be happy. — ⁽²⁾ Cf. 1 *Tim.* 2, 2*. — ⁽³⁾ Cf. p. 211, n. 2.

three monks, disciples of his, till they reached the dwelling of the king at Constantinople (Κωνσταντινῆ). They put him in confinement for some days till they had informed the king of his arrival. Then the patriarch of the Melkites (Malakiah) appointed a free day for him (John) and for himself and for his bishops and for the bishop of Malatya (Malaḥiah) ⁽¹⁾ who had complained about the patriarch John (Yûḥannâ). They adorned themselves with hardness of heart and they put on garments of silk and sat upon decorated thrones and they ordered * the saint John (Yûḥannâ) to be brought to them. He came to them in wretched garments, and he and those who were with him stood before them, and they did not cause them to be seated nor did they salute them, but they occupied themselves with reading, while they were standing for a time so that their bosoms became contracted. Thereupon, John (Yûḥannâ) the saint spake in the soft Syrian (Suryânî) tongue and said : “Which ⁽²⁾ of the Canons (κανόν) of the Church bids you to sit on your thrones and cause us to stand before you ⁽³⁾ like assistants?” They said to him : “Thou and thy congregation are dissidents, and it is not fitting that ye sit with us as Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) bishops”. He said to them : “If we are dissidents as ye say, let us sit with you and let us talk about the Faith, and he to whom God shall give the victory shall be victorious, if we (can) find him who judges between us in truth and not by the authority of the kingdom”. The bishop of Malatya (Malaḥiah) ⁽¹⁾ had agreed with the patriarch of the Melkites (Malakiah) and his bishops that they would not dispute with him (John) or his bishops, and he had said to them : “They are very learned. If ye dispute with them, ye will be put to shame before them, but overcome them by speech, by the power of the kingdom”. Then they reviled them and they said to them : “Ye are heretics (αἰρετικός). We ought not to speak to you”, and they said to the attendants : “Take them (away) till tomorrow”. When the morrow was come, the king caused them all to be brought and he made them stand before him ⁽⁴⁾, and he appointed an interpreter for them ⁽⁵⁾. The king said to the interpreter : “Say

* fol. 155 v°

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 211, n. 2. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* Which Canon of the Canons. — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* between your hands. — ⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* between his hands. — ⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* between him and between them.

and without shame, because he used to see the veneration of the people for this saintly father and how they ministered unto him on account of the strength of their faith in him, and he observed his entry into the city in the finest and most becoming manner. The aforesaid bishop used to go in and to go out (of the city) and no one paid attention to him or asked about him. His heart was sore with envy, and jealousy was engendered in him, and he was enraged against him (John) ⁽¹⁾. He went to Constantinople (Kuşanşînah) and complained about this saintly father, Abba John (Anbâ Yûḥannâ), to the king and said to him : “In thy kingdom there is a man, a patriarch, who encroaches on thy rights, and the people obey him more than thee. They are Jacobites (Ya‘âqibah) and they adhere to this dissident Jacobite (Ya‘kûbî), and he also prays for kings other than thee and more than for thee. A reputation is falsely ascribed to him that he raised the dead, and on account of this the hearts of the multitude are inclined towards him. Banish him now from thy kingdom, and cause him to be brought hither, and thy holiness shall judge between me and him” ⁽²⁾. The king sent to bring him (John), and the bishop sat in the city of the patriarch with its patriarch. They were assembled to arrange about what they should do with the saint. The messengers found him (John) in Malaṭya (Malaṭṭah) ⁽³⁾. When the Faithful were informed of the news, all of them assembled and said : “We will die, all of us, but he (John) shall not be taken from us, but we will give ourselves ⁽⁴⁾ in exchange (for him). All that we possess, it is for thee!”. He forbade them (to do) this. He spake to them soft words ⁽⁵⁾ that ‘he who resisteth the king sinneth, and he is as he who resisteth the ordinance of God’ ⁽⁶⁾. “What should the king be able to do (to me) other than to kill my body, and if he does this to me, there will be a crown prepared for me. If he speaks to me on account of the Faith, it will be a contest and an honour for me. Thus shall I be like my Lord Who was reviled and slain”. With this (speech) and what was similar to it he spake to them till they left him. He journeyed with the messengers and there were with him four bishops and

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* and rage against him. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* between me and between him. — ⁽³⁾ Cf. p. 211, n. 2. — ⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* souls. — ⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* speech. — ⁽⁶⁾ Cf. *Rom.* 13, 2*.

populated by Christians (Naṣārā) than it. There were in it fifty-six churches filled with priests and many Syrian (Suryān) Orthodox (ὁρθόδοξος) people, and their number was sixty thousand Christians (Naṣrānī) who bore arms, if they wished (to do so) or needed (to do) this, besides women⁽¹⁾.

When I, the wretched Michael (Mikhāyīl), and I, Gabriel (Ghabriyāl), bishop of Ṣā⁽²⁾, reached this patriarch, the saint (John), with the Synodical (συνοδικά) Letter from Christodoulus (Ikhrīṣṭūdūlus), when he was seated on the Throne of Alexandria and its districts, we observed in him (John) great sanctity. When we parted from him, he honoured us and sent the son of his brother with us so that we might see the city and the people who were in it. He said to us : “I have no (city) like to it”. We saw in it a number of Melkite (Malakīah) Chalcedonians (Khalkīdūnīn) who had a metropolitan (muṭrān) of it. The Orthodox (ὁρθόδοξος) Jacobites (Ya‘āqībah) who were in the city used, out of their great love for this saintly patriarch, to go to him at all times to the monastery and to beseech him to be present with them on the great feasts and on Sundays so that they might receive the blessing from him and communicate from his hands. It happened that, if he came to them, they would meet him with gospels and crosses and censers and readings (from the Gospels) before him⁽³⁾, from the gate of the city up to the church with great joy and love. They used to do this every time he came to them, and they would recount his virtues to everyone and narrate the miracles which God—praised be He!—performed by his hand. Satan (aṣ-Ṣaiṭān) found for himself an assistant in harming the aforesaid patriarch, a bishop dissenting (from us) of them who profess the Two Natures. He raised up against him a great trial, as saith the Apostle : “All who desire to live by upright faith shall be persecuted by evil men, haters of the truth”⁽⁴⁾. This bishop was an enemy of his out of envy

⁽¹⁾ ‘besides women’ added on the margin. Part of this addition has been cut off, and it probably had ‘and children’.

⁽²⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 405.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* between his hands.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. 2 *Tim.* 3, 12 *-13*.

what pertains to men". Then she took that paper and made it (a source of) strength for her.

It happened again that he (John) had gone out to the river⁽¹⁾ to (re)-build a bridge over which the people used to cross which had been destroyed. Some good people besought him to stand on it at the beginning of its (re)building so that it might receive his blessing. If the people saw him there, they would assemble and assist in (re)building it. He did this and a great multitude assembled and they remained for three days (re)building it, and they worked with joy on seeing the patriarch. When it was completed on the third day, the multitude crowded (together) in passing over it, and a young man fell into the river⁽¹⁾, and the width of that river⁽¹⁾ was about twenty cubits, and its current was very strong. The father went forward (and said) that he who knew how to swim should go down to take him out. A number of those present took off their garments and went down to look for him, but they did not find him. They did not cease from diving and searching (for him) from the sixth hour of the day till the ninth hour so that they became weary and annoyed. News of him (the youth) reached his mother and she came out shrieking and weeping, as the widow of the city of Nain (Nāyin)⁽²⁾. They found him after ten hours and brought him up dead, and they carried him to the tent of the father Abba John (Anbā Yûḥannā), the patriarch, and left him in front of him and went away. The saint arose and prayed and besought God on his account. Then the young man opened his eyes and arose and went forth from the tent alive, and the multitude was standing outside and they hastened towards him and crowded round him to see this marvellous miracle, and he could not get free from them, and he went away to his house, only after trouble and great exertion. This great miracle concerning him was noised abroad in all the lands of Syria (Sûriah) and elsewhere so that news of it reached the lands of Miṣr⁽³⁾, and he (John) became a boast of Orthodoxy (*ὀρθοδοξία*) and a grief for those who dissent (from us).

Malatya (Malaṭīah)⁽⁴⁾ was near to the monastery in which this saintly father dwelt * and there was not in his see (a city) greater or more

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* sea. — ⁽²⁾ Cf. *Lk.* 7, 12. — ⁽³⁾ Egypt. — ⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 211, n. 2.

he did not keep anything of it except for his daily sustenance, and he gave the rest to the hidden⁽¹⁾ and the poor.

There came to him a woman one day and (she had) with her many dinârs in a large bag, and she placed it at his feet and said to him : “O my lord father, I have brought these dinârs for a blessing. Grant unto me their acceptance and bless me and dispose of them for thy requirements and for the hidden”⁽¹⁾. He answered her in a quiet voice and said to her : “May the Lord accept this from thee, O my daughter”. She stood expecting that he would say to her something more in the way of prayer(s) and favour(s) than this (blessing) which he had invoked upon her, as was the custom of those, other than he, who collect money and are desirous of it, so that, even if a man bring to them a single coin, they respect and honour him, especially so much money as this. When her stay had been drawn out and she did not hear (anything) other than what he had said to her, she went away grumbling. The disciple who went out to shut the door, returned and said to the patriarch : “O my father, this money which this woman brought is much. Did she not deserve that thou shouldst make much prayer for her and that her heart should be reassured? As it is, she went out grumbling about us and said : ‘Perhaps, the father did not know what I brought him’”. He said to him : “Go, bring her back!” He went and brought her back to him. He said to the disciple : “Bring me a balance”. He brought it to him, and he took a piece of paper and he wrote on it ‘May the Lord accept them (the dinârs) from thee’, even as he had prayed for her with his mouth at first. He put the paper into (one) scale of the balance and he put the money into the other scale, and he said to the disciple : “Lift up the balance”, and he lifted it up and the paper weighed more than the money, and the scale in which was the paper went right down. The patriarch said to the woman : “O my daughter, take from them (the dinârs and the paper) what thou wishest”. She threw herself⁽²⁾ before him⁽³⁾ and wept and said : “Forgive me, O my father. Thou believest in what pertains to God, whilst I believe in

⁽¹⁾ Cf. *H. P. E. C.*, vol. II, Part I, p. 63, n. 1. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* her soul. — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* between his hands.

some people will come to us (and) take one of us to make him patriarch of the Throne. Should we not arise (and) go from here lest they find us?" The monk John (Yûḥannâ) said to him : "Why should we flee if the Lord has called one of us for this matter, and whither shall we flee from His presence?"⁽¹⁾ That saintly father said to him : "As for me, I (can) not bear this matter, and I am not suitable for it. But if thou art able (to bear it), remain in thy place. I am going to hide myself until this wrath which has come upon us to remove one of us from this blessed solitude which I prefer, passes us by". He went fleeing from there, and John (Yûḥannâ) the monk remained in his place. When the morning came, there arrived at the monastery those who were seeking for John (Yûḥannâ) the saint. They went around (looking) for him in the mountain, but they did not find him. When they reached the place in which that monk was living, they found him, since he was desirous of this. Then they took him, and while they were coming down from the mountain (and) going with him to where the congregation was, they saw on their way a tree, and they turned aside to it so that they might sit beneath its shade. A branch of the tree struck the eye of John (Yûḥannâ) the monk and tore it out, and he became one-eyed from that (hour). They marvelled and enquired of him (concerning) the matter of his case, and he confessed to them what had taken place between him and⁽²⁾ the saint John (Yûḥannâ) ibn 'Abdûn, and that he had desired this matter, but that that one (John the saint) had rejected it. When they were acquainted with the matter of the case, they left him and they went to the congregation and informed them of this.

*fol. 154 v° * Their resolution was strengthened to seek for that saint wherever he was. They did not cease from going around and searching for him until they found him by the will of God, after they had become weary. He refused to go with them, so they took him by force, and they consecrated him patriarch and they seated him on the throne. During the time of his patriarchate he did not weary from his (acts of) humility and his devotions. Money used to be brought to him in the form of alms, but

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* from between His hands. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* and between.

the Church of the Mistress at Banî Wâyil, known as the Church of the Steps (Daraġ) ⁽¹⁾.

Then a great trial was stirred up for the Church of the Syrians (Suryân) who agree with us in the Orthodox Faith in the East, so that their patriarch was exiled from his throne and he died in exile. That is to say, there was on the throne of Antioch (Antâkiah) of the Syrian (Suryân) Jacobites (Ya'âkibah), our brethren, a father, a saint, called John (Yûhannâ) ibn 'Abdûn, in that he resembled the first saintly fathers, and he did what we shall record. That is to say, our fathers, the Syrian (Suryân) patriarchs, had not been able to dwell in the city of Antioch (Antâkiah) since the time of the father Severus (Sâwîrus) for fear of the Greeks (ar-Rûm), and they did not go near its districts at all. This saint was dwelling in a monastery near Malatya (Malaṭyah) ⁽²⁾. At the beginning of his career he had been an anchorite in the Black Mountain (Ġabal al-Aswad) ⁽³⁾. He was (held) in good repute by everyone, as it is written in the Holy Gospel : "A city is not hidden which is ⁽⁴⁾ built upon a mountain" ⁽⁵⁾.

There was in his neighbourhood a monk who was also devoted to the worship of God there, whose name was John (Yûhannâ). When Athanasius (Athanasîûs), patriarch of Antioch (Antâkiah) went to his rest in the time of Abba Philotheus (Anbâ Filâthâûs), patriarch of Alexandria—his deeds were like the deeds of his namesake Athanasius (Athanasîûs) the Great in truth—he said at (the time of) his going to his rest that this saint John (Yûhannâ) ibn 'Abdûn would sit after him on the Throne of Antioch (Antâkiah). When he (Athanasius) went to his rest, they went around (seeking) for him (John), and the day before their arrival, his friend, the monk, who was in his neighbourhood knew of what the Holy Spirit had revealed (to him), and he said to him : "To-morrow

⁽¹⁾ Cf. A. J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 252; and A. J. BUTLER, *Babylon of Egypt*, Oxford, 1914, p. 48.

⁽²⁾ Cf. Malatya in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, t. III, pp. 208-214, especially p. 210.

⁽³⁾ Cf. E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, London, 1932, vol. I, p. 249.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* and it is.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. *Matt.* 5, 14 *.

which was not known to anyone save to him. He continued thus till the days of Ma'add al-Mustanşir bi'llah⁽¹⁾. Then he went out to al-Buḥairah⁽²⁾ and sojourned with a Bedouin (Badawî) man of (the tribe) of Banî Ḳurrah, known as Mufarriğ ibn Tammâm, and the Bedouin (Badawî) man pitched a tent for him, and he remained with him for two years, and he pretended (to do) the deeds of the prophets by deception. He wore miserable garments as the ascetics. He used to give to the Bedouin (Badawî) rich garments and fine weapons, and if the Bedouin (Badawî) said to him : "Why dost thou not wear these magnificent garments?" He would say to him : "so that I may escape the execution which I fear"⁽³⁾. By this speech he used to enter in unto them to deceive them, namely, Mufarriğ ibn Tammâm of Ḳurrah (al-Ḳurri) and his troop and other people besides them, * and they used to enter in unto him and prostrate themselves before him and salute him, as the people salute the kings, the Califs (al-Khulafâ). He forbade them (to do) this, and it was thought that he wished to conceal his affair until the time at which he willed to manifest it. News of him was spread in all the habitations of Mişr⁽⁴⁾ so that the kingdom was in an uproar and disturbed. This Şurûṭ then feared for himself, and he fled from the Bedouin (Badawî) and disappeared in a place not known to anyone. He remained concealed until the days of the father Abba Şenouti (Anbâ Şanûdah) the patriarch. Then he wrote to him (Şenouti) and deceived him so that he sent to him money.

As for the father Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs) the patriarch, he remained, after meeting al-Ḥâkim, in tranquillity and peace for the rest of his days. The duration of his patriarchate was twenty-eight years, of which seven years were before the time of the persecution and twelve years after the (re)building of the churches. He went to his rest in the year seven hundred and forty-eight of the Martyrs⁽⁵⁾. He was buried in

(1) A. D. 1036-1094.

(2) AMÉLINEAU, p. 90.

(3) *Lit.* the execution which I fear may escape me.

(4) Egypt.

(5) i. e. A. D. 1031-1032.

was 'Alī and his surname (kunya) was Abū'l-Ḥasan. He did not interfere in anything of the affairs of his father, and there was in his days great tranquillity and peace, and he remained king for sixteen years⁽¹⁾. The religion of the Christians (Naṣārā) was in a good state and its people respected.

In his (Az-Zāhir's) days the churches were (re)built till they returned to the state⁽²⁾ (in which) they had been, and (were even) better. The (re)building in them (the churches) did not cease and the restoration was continued till the year in which this biography was written, and it is the year seven hundred and sixty-seven of the Martyrs⁽³⁾.

The people did not cease from saying from the time of the disappearance of al-Ḥākim up to the end of the time of his son, that he was alive. Many used to dress themselves in his style, and each one of them used to say : "I am al-Ḥākim". They dressed themselves (thus, and appeared) to the people in the mountains so that they might take from them dīnārs. There was a man from Šubrā Kilsā⁽⁴⁾ (who was) called Šurūṭ, a Christian (Naṣrānī) (who) afterwards embraced Al-Islām, and he learned magic and became skilled in it. Some people testified in his favour that he had walked with them and had suddenly disappeared from them, and that he resembled al-Ḥākim, even in his speech, but that he was a little taller than he. He called himself Abū'l-'Arab and some people followed him (and) walked with him and became his disciples. He used to send them to the rich with letters from him to obtain for him money from them, and he used to say to them : "I shall make you amends when I return to my kingdom". He who met him and said to him : "Thou art our lord, the king", he (Abū'l-'Arab) would strike him and say to him : "Take heed to thy head". He remained at Miṣr⁽⁵⁾ thus for twenty years concealed so that most of the people at Miṣr⁽⁵⁾ thought that he was al-Ḥākim and that he hid himself⁽⁶⁾ on account of some secret affair

(1) S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 and 134 gives the years A. D. 1021-1036.

(2) *Lit.* to what.

(3) *i. e.* A. D. 1050-1051.

(4) Cf. AZIZ SURYAL ATIYA, *Kitāb Qawānīn ad-Dawāwīn*, p. 154.

(5) Cairo.

(6) *Lit.* his soul.

(*ηγούμενος*) and to clothe him with the black hood (*ḳalansuwah*) and to promise (to treat him) with courtesy. Then the king al-Ḥâkim came to them and he brought⁽¹⁾ an important decree (*siḡill*) (authorizing) the (re)opening of all the churches which were in his kingdom and their restoration, and that there should be returned to them (the Christians) the timber, pillars and bricks (*τῶκε*) which had been taken from them, and the lands and the gardens which belonged to them in all the land (*χώρα*) of Miṣr⁽²⁾. The demolition of the churches was in the year seven hundred and twenty-seven of the Martyrs⁽³⁾, and they were opened and their restoration was allowed in the year seven hundred and thirty-six of the Martyrs⁽⁴⁾. In this decree (*siḡill*) he (al-Ḥâkim) exempted them (the Christians) from wearing the *ghiyâr*⁽⁵⁾ and from wearing⁽⁶⁾ the cross, and (allowed) them to strike the *nawâḳîs*⁽⁷⁾ in all the churches in every place, as was their custom. O what joy was it on that day for all the Christians (*Naṣârâ*) who were in the land (*χώρα*) of Miṣr⁽⁸⁾!

In the year in which there was deliverance and the allowance to undertake restorations in the churches, a wonderful thing was manifested. (It was) that al-Ḥâkim used to ramble about the mountains which are outside Miṣr⁽⁹⁾ at night and during the day, and with him (there were) three equerries or a single equerry. When, on a certain night⁽⁹⁾, he had come to Ḥulwân⁽¹⁰⁾, a single equerry (being) with him, he dismounted from his beast and he said to the equerry : “Hough this ass”. He did what he was ordered. Then he (al-Ḥâkim) said to him : “Go to the Castle and leave me here”, and he went as he had commanded him. When it was morning, the occupants of the Castle did not find him (al-Ḥâkim), and he was sought for in every place, but he was not found, and no news of him was known. He had a young son and a sister. She managed the kingdom for two years until his small son had grown up⁽¹¹⁾. Then they seated him (on the throne as) king, and they called him *Az-Zâhir li-‘Izâzi-dîni’llah*, and his name by which he was known

(1) *Lit.* with him. — (2) Egypt. — (3) *i. e.* A. D. 1010-1011. — (4) *i. e.* A. D. 1019-1020. — (5) Cf. p. 207, n. 5. — (6) *Lit.* carrying. — (7) Cf. *H. P. E. C.*, vol. II, Part I, p. 7, n. 3. — (8) Cairo. — (9) *Lit.* a night of nights. — (10) AMÉLINEAU, p. 584. — (11) Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.

from them, he writes to them and places it (the mark of the cross) between the lines of the letter in the place of the mark of the king, and he says to them 'Do thus and thus, lest the cross be upon you' ⁽¹⁾. They obey his words and they do what he commands them without troops or warefare". He (al-Hâkim) said : "In truth, there is not (such a) stable religion in the world as the religion of the Christians (Naşârâ). Lo, we shed blood and spend money and send out armies, and yet we are not obeyed, but this elder (şaiikh) of humble appearance and ugly by nature, the inhabitants of all these lands obey at a single word". Then he said to him (Zacharias) and to the bishops : "Remain here till I satisfy your desires", and he went out from them and they were delighted at what they had heard from him.

Then John (Yû'annis) the monk who had taken an action against the patriarch, learned where they were ⁽²⁾, and he came to them as swiftly as a bird, and they did not perceive him till he had entered and was among them. He said to the patriarch : "Lo, the Lord has restored to thee thy rank (τῶν ἑξῆς), and I desire that thou shouldst make me bishop". The patriarch said to him : "If the Lord will, I shall make thee (bishop)". The son of his (Zacharias') brother, who was Khaël (Khâyil), bishop of Sakhâ ⁽³⁾, was present there, and he was an adversary of John (Yû'annis) the monk. He again spoke words to him which angered him so that he went up on to a wall of the monastery and cried out : "I (ask help) of God and al-Hâkim. I am wronged, I am wronged : obtain for me my rights!" The bishops became afraid and a great quarrel took place between them and Khaël (Khâyil) the bishop, and they said to him : "Thou art the cause of all this affliction and of all that has happened to us in the way of the demolition of the churches and of the wearing of the ghyâr ⁽⁴⁾ and of the shame and of the other things. Thou art the root of it (all), and thou desirest also to begin again * another affair ⁽⁵⁾ so that the last (state) shall be worse than the first". They did not cease (from speaking) until the wrath of John (Yû'annis) the monk had subsided, and they compelled the patriarch to make him a hegoumenos

*fol. 153 v°

⁽¹⁾ *i. e.* lest ye be under a ban. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* of their place. — ⁽³⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 410. — ⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 205, n. 5. — ⁽⁵⁾ Cf. *Lk.* 11, 26 *.

matter) for him. When Poemen (Bimîn) perceived that his words had become acceptable to him (al-Ḥâkim), he reminded him of the case of Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs) the patriarch, and he begged him to allow the (re)building of the churches. He (al-Ḥâkim) promised him (to do) this. Then he (Poemen) sent to bring the patriarch from the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) ⁽¹⁾, and he concealed him with him in the Monastery of Mercurius (Marḳûrîs) at Šahrân ⁽²⁾.

When al-Ḥâkim came to him, as was his ⁽³⁾ custom, he (Poemen) brought forth the patriarch to him. He (Zacharias) saluted him with the salutation of kings and he blessed him and prayed for him. Al-Ḥâkim said to Poemen (Bimîn) the monk : “Who is this?”. He (Poemen) said : “It is our father, the patriarch, whom I sent to bring, as thou didst command”. He (al-Ḥâkim) beckoned to him with his finger, and he saluted him. There was with him (Zacharias) a number of bishops. He (al-Ḥâkim) said : “Who are these?”. The monk Poemen (Bimîn) said to him : “These are his vicars in the lands, namely, the bishops”. Al-Ḥâkim looked at him (Zacharias) attentively and he marvelled at him, because he was humble in appearance ⁽⁴⁾ but was awe-inspiring in himself ⁽⁵⁾. He was small of stature, thin bearded and ugly by nature. He (al-Ḥâkim) saw the bishops who were with him, elders (šuyûkh) of handsome aspect, splendid in appearance and of complete stature. He said to them : “Is this the chief of you all?”. They said to him : “Yea, O our master. May the Lord establish thy kingdom!” He marvelled and said to them : “Unto where does his judgment extend?”. They said to him : “His judgment is executed in the lands of Mišr ⁽⁶⁾, Abyssinia (Ḥabašah), Nubia (Nûbah), the Pentapolis ⁽⁷⁾, Africa (Ifriḳiyah) and other places”. His astonishment increased and he said : “How (is it that) all of these obey him without troops or money with which to spend on them?”. They said to him : “All these tribes obey him by means of a single cross”. He said to them : “And what is this cross?”. They said to him : “It is a model of that upon which Christ was crucified. Whatsoever he (the patriarch) wants

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 118, n. 3. — ⁽²⁾ Cf. p. 205, n. 8. — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* the. — ⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* eye. — ⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* his soul. — ⁽⁶⁾ Egypt. — ⁽⁷⁾ *Lit.* the five cities of the west.

burnt. After this⁽¹⁾, after another three years, they began to restore the churches in the houses and to consecrate them secretly and to pray in them and to communicate (in them). The Possessor of the Order⁽²⁾ used to write to the Sultân who was al-Ḥâkim, that the Christians (Naṣârâ) had built churches in Miṣr⁽³⁾ and in the Rif (ar-Rif)⁽⁴⁾ secretly and that they were communicating in them *, but he (al-Ḥâkim) ignored them.

* fol. 153 r°

After that, a number of Christians (Naṣârâ) who had embraced Al-Islâm stood before him (al-Ḥâkim), and he said to them : “What do ye want?” They said to him : “That thou shouldst let us return to our religion”. He said to each one of them : “Where is thy girdle (ζωνάριον), thy cross and thy ghiyâr⁽⁵⁾?” They brought them out from under their garments and he (al-Ḥâkim) ordered them to wear them in front of him⁽⁶⁾. He despatched with each an equerry to write for him a decree (siġill) to be kept with him⁽⁷⁾ that he should not be interfered with. Many of those who had embraced Al-Islâm returned to their religion. There was amongst the number of those who had embraced Al-Islâm a monk whose name was Poemen (Bimîn) (who) returned to his religion and he begged al-Ḥâkim to empower him to build a monastery outside Miṣr⁽³⁾ in the name of the martyr of Christ my lord Mercurius (Mârî Marḡûrîs), and it is the monastery of Šahrân⁽⁸⁾. He built it and dwelt in it with his brother monks. Al-Ḥâkim used to come to them many times, and to stay there and to eat of their humble food. All who wanted anything from al-Ḥâkim used to go to Poemen (Bimîn) the monk to speak with him about it at the time of his (al-Ḥâkim’s) presence at his monastery⁽⁹⁾, and he used to settle it (the

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* it.

⁽²⁾ For the designations and titles assumed by wazîrs at this period, cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁽³⁾ Cairo.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 117, n. 6.

⁽⁵⁾ *i. e.* some distinctive mark in a person’s dress.

⁽⁶⁾ *Lit.* between his hands.

⁽⁷⁾ *Lit.* to be in his hands.

⁽⁸⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 135 and B. T. A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, fol. 47 b.

⁽⁹⁾ *Lit.* at him.

to us, but let us go with him to the bishop''⁽¹⁾, and they went with me⁽²⁾ to him and they informed him of what had happened to me. He kissed me and strengthened my heart, and he was kind to me before I said to him what I had seen and what had befallen me. He spoke with me in Coptic, and those Muslims did not know what he was saying to me. When I opened my mouth to tell him, I became, the Lord is a witness, like unto him whose tongue is tied, and I was not able to say a single word of what I had seen. I made an obeisance (*μετανοια*) unto him, and I said to him : "Absolve me, I am not able to say anything". When I reached my house, I wished to tell you, thou and thy brethren, but my tongue was tied and it would not make⁽³⁾ any mention of it (the matter), except at this hour, while I was walking with thee⁽⁴⁾. I have mentioned now this wonder on account of your⁽⁵⁾ love (for me), and because it is an order from God, and (that) for the Faithful, on hearing about it, (there may be) profit and strength of heart in the Faith". I do not doubt the words of my father—may God have mercy upon him!

Of these nine years during which there was chastisement from the Lord, there were three years during which no one was able to make the oblation (*δωρον*) in the lands of Miṣr⁽⁶⁾, except in the monasteries alone. The virtuous Faithful could not endure to be away from the Holy Mysteries, and they used to beg the wālīs and to bribe them with many dinārs and presents so that they might give to them a permit to communicate at night secretly in remote and ruined churches and to lodge in them on the nights of the great feasts in order that they might pray and communicate at night. The vestments and Church instruments⁽⁷⁾ were concealed in their houses, but the books had been

⁽¹⁾ "to the bishop" supplied from *MS. A.*

⁽²⁾ *MS.* has "him".

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* pronounce.

⁽⁴⁾ *MS.* has "him".

⁽⁵⁾ *Sic.*

⁽⁶⁾ *Egypt.*

⁽⁷⁾ *i. e.* the musical instruments, the cymbal and the triangle which are used as accompaniment to certain chants in the Coptic services.

in the way of vices, and when their actions against me increased, I raised my eyes to heaven and said : “O my Master Jesus Christ, if Thou dost not manifest to me something whereby to reassure my heart, and that I may know that I shall have a reward on account of what has happened to me through these (people), then I shall deny Thy religion”. The Lord testified unto me, and the thought had not left my heart nor the speech my lips⁽¹⁾ ere I became, as it were, translated from this world, and it all vanished from me, and I was, as it were, in another world, and I was in a lofty luminous place. I am not able to describe with my tongue its beauty and its splendour, for there is not in this world anything like to it nor resembling to it. I saw the Lord Christ—to Him be glory—but I did not make out His real features and I was not able to distinguish Him clearly on account of the abundance of the light which was about Him. He said to me : “Why art thou of little faith? This is the place of the Christians (Naṣārā) who endure trials patiently for My Name’s sake. Is thy heart (now) reassured?” On account of the intensity of (my) illness and joy, O my son, Michael (Mikhāyil), and of the splendour which I beheld, I cried out, saying : “I thank Thee, O Lord, my heart is reassured”. All who were in the ship heard me when I said that. I was not, as it were, in a ship. After this, I arose from my sleep, and I saw the ship and the people, and I was actually⁽²⁾ among them, and what I had seen vanished from me. Those who were in the ship said to me : “Alas for thee! What (is it) that has befallen thee? Thou art mad and thou hast an evil (Šaiṭān) spirit”. I said : “I have not an evil (Šaiṭān) spirit, but God knows what has happened to me”. Then I saw this for the second time, as a likeness of Him, and the Master Christ said to me : “Was thy heart strengthened?” and I cried out and repeated⁽³⁾ my first statement, so that all who were in the ship marvelled. Then I saw Him again for the third time, and then my heart was strengthened. When those who were in the ship heard me saying these words for the third time, some of them said to the others : “Perhaps, he has seen what it is not lawful for him to say

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* mouth. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* on my condition. — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* said.

(Naṣrānī) were to forget his cross and were to walk without his cross, he would meet with much disgrace.

I will acquaint you with another miracle about which my father according to the flesh informed me. His trade was building, and in him (there was) piety and affection. I, the wretched Michael (Mikhāyīl), was a child at the time of this affliction. He took me with him one day, when he was going to a village to build in it, and I was learning from him the trade of carpentry, since he was a mason and a carpenter. (Suddenly), he stood still astonished and clapped his hands together⁽¹⁾. I said : “O my father, inform me of what has befallen thee”. He sat down and his eyes overflowed with tears, and he said to me : “O my son, sit down and listen to what happened. Three months ago I went out from Miṣr⁽²⁾, and God caused a loss of memory to come upon me, and my tongue was tied so that I might not inform you⁽³⁾ about this, except at this hour, for God the Exalted has enlightened my understanding and He has caused my tongue to be loosened so that I remember this. * It is, that I was working in Miṣr⁽²⁾ and that illness overtook me, and that I feared lest the illness might become severe and that I should not have anyone who would attend to me. I went out to walk little by little towards the shore and I found a ship going down to al-Maḥallah⁽⁴⁾, and I went on board her. She was overloaded with people and they were very crowded together in her. There was no Christian (Naṣrānī) among them except a bishop and his disciple in the prow (muḥdim)⁽⁵⁾ of the ship on a wood plane. I (was) in the midst of the people lying down in pain. The people crowded around me and buffeted me and said to me : “O dog, O vile one, O Christian (Naṣrānī), depart from us”. They spat on me and inflicted on me every sort⁽⁶⁾ of torment. They imputed to me falsely what they did (themselves)

*fol. 152 v°

(1) *Lit.* hand upon hand.

(2) Cairo.

(3) “You” is plural here. It may possibly mean the man’s family.

(4) AMÉLINEAU, p. 262.

(5) Cf. G. S. COLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

(6) *Lit.* sort of sorts.

this reason God brought to nought their deliberations through something (which) was manifested to them from God, and He preserved all the churches of the desert. It is recorded that the Martyr George (Ġirġis) ⁽¹⁾ appeared to them and drove them back and terrified them, so that they returned, as it is written in the Apocalypse of John (Yûḥannâ) ‘the woman who brought forth the male child, the dragon poured forth behind her a river ⁽²⁾ of water. And the Lord gave to her deliverance from it in the place in which she abode ⁽³⁾’. Thus, the churches which are in this mountain found rest, as though the earth had opened her mouth and swallowed up the water ⁽⁴⁾, and thus these churches were saved from the disturbance.

At that time a Turkish (Turkî) amîr obtained the head of the father, the preacher, my lord Mark (Mârî Markuṣ) the Evangelist. It was said to him : ‘‘The Christians (Naṣârâ) will pay to thee whatsoever thou desirest for it’’. Then he carried it (the head) to Miṣr ⁽⁵⁾. When Buḳairah ar-Raṣîdî, the Cross-bearer, was informed of this, he took the head from him (the Turk) for three hundred dinârs, and he carried it to the father, the patriarch, who (was) at that time in the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) ⁽⁶⁾, and most of the bishops were dwelling with him there through their fear of affronts and (on account of) fatigue. Most of the Christians (Naṣârâ) also used to enter the desert twice in the year, namely, (at) the Feast of Epiphany (al-Ghiṭâs) and (at) the Feast of the Resurrection (al-Ḳiyâmah) which is Easter (al-Fiṣḥ). They used to long for the Eucharist (ḳurbân) as a babe longs for the milk of its mother’s breast. There was for the Christians (Naṣârâ) during these nine years great affliction, expulsion (from office) and execration and imprecation on the part of the Muslims, and they used to spit in their faces. Most of these (afflictions) happened ⁽⁷⁾ at the city of Tinnîs ⁽⁸⁾ and (in) its districts. If a Christian (Naṣrânî) passed through them, they (the inhabitants) would insult him and would say to him : ‘‘Break this cross and enter the all-embracing religion ⁽⁹⁾’’. If a Christian

⁽¹⁾ *i. e.* Saint George the Great Martyr. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* sea. — ⁽³⁾ Cf. *Apoc.* 12. 5*, 15*, 6*, — ⁽⁴⁾ Cf. *Apoc.* 12, 16.* — ⁽⁵⁾ Cairo. — ⁽⁶⁾ Cf. p. 118, n. 3. — ⁽⁷⁾ *Lit.* were. — ⁽⁸⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 507. — ⁽⁹⁾ *i. e.* Al-Islâm.

and I have nothing (wherewith) to pay them". He said to him : "I shall make it my business for to-day (to speak) with al-Ḥâkim in order to free thee". That pious Christian (Naṣrânî) said to him : "I cannot go out and leave this father, the Šaikh, the patriarch". Mâḍî said to him : "What is the crime of this patriarch, that they have imprisoned him?", and he informed him of the cause. Mâḍî was afraid lest (in) the speech concerning his (Zacharias') affair there might be something of which the Sulṭân would not approve, and that he would not release him. He said : "I shall arrange something about this matter, that is, I shall make it my business (to speak) with him (al-Ḥâkim) to-day, in order to entreat (him) to set free all who are in this chamber. If he orders this (to be done), thou wilt be liberated and he (the patriarch) (will be) among all those set free". Then Mâḍî went out and he met al-Ḥâkim and he entreated him for all (who were in the chamber), and he caused them to be set free. When the patriarch was liberated, he went down to Miṣr⁽¹⁾, and all the Christians (Naṣârâ) rejoiced greatly⁽²⁾, but they advised him to depart to the desert, to Wâdî Habîb⁽³⁾, for fear lest his release might have been (through) an oversight on the part of al-Ḥâkim, or that he (al-Ḥâkim) might forget that he (the patriarch) (had been) in that place from which Mâḍî of the Villages⁽⁴⁾ had released him. He (Zacharias) accepted their advice and he departed immediately to Wâdî Habîb⁽³⁾. He remained in it for nine years, since the churches which were there were safe from demolition. (The reason for) this was that al-Ḥâkim had sent an amîr from Miṣr⁽¹⁾ and there had accompanied him workmen and surveyors (with) pick-axes (τῶρε) in ships, to demolish all the churches which were in the desert. When they reached Tarnût⁽⁵⁾, they said : "We are afraid of the Arabs ('Arab) who are in this mountain on account of their great number". For

⁽¹⁾ Cairo.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* rejoiced a great rejoicing.

⁽³⁾ Cf. p. 109, n. 3.

⁽⁴⁾ *Sic.*

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. A. R. GUEST, *The Delta in the Middle Ages*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1912, p. 978.

belongs not to anyone save to Me, and I sent it to thee by the hand of my minister". He said to Him : "O my Master, no minister of Thine came to me, but (it was) Buḡairah ar-Rašīdī (who) sent it to me". The Lord said to him : "As though thou art not aware till now that Buḡairah is My minister". When he heard this, he awoke and he informed his wife of his dream and their hearts rejoiced that they had not to return the wheat, but that they might live on it.

As for Abba Zacharias (Anbā Zakhāryās), he remained under arrest for three months, and they were threatening him every day with burning by fire and with throwing (him) to the lions, if he did not enter the religion of al-Islām. They said to him : "If thou wilt agree to this, thou shalt receive great glory and al-Ḥākim will make thee Ḳāḏī al-Ḳuḏāh, but he did not pay any attention to them nor did he incline towards them. There was with him (Zacharias) in (his) imprisonment an evil Muḡlim, and he said to him : "O Šaikḥ of evil, embrace Al-Islām so that they may set thee free and thou shalt receive from them great honour". The patriarch said to him : "My reliance is in God Who has power, and He will help me". When he had finished (this) speech, one of the Turks (Atrāk) came in to him and struck him on his mouth with a club. The patriarch said to him : "As for the body, ye have power over it to destroy it as ye will, but as for the soul, it is in the hand of the Lord".

There was a man of the Arabs ('Arab), a chief of the Two Villages, whose name was Mādī ibn Maḡrab. He was the chief of his company and he was (held) in high esteem by al-Ḥākim. He had arranged with him (al-Ḥākim) to supply every day his wants whatsoever they might be. He had a Christian (Naṣrānī) friend, an employee, who was in debt to the Dīwān for three thousand dīnārs, and he was not in a position * to pay them. He was imprisoned with the father, the patriarch Abba Zacharias (Anbā Zakhāryās). When news of him reached Mādī of the Villages⁽¹⁾, he came to him that he might be informed correctly of his news, and he said : "Why did they imprison thee?" He said : "There (still) remains for me (to pay) to the Dīwān the three thousand dīnārs,

* fol. 152 r°

(1) Sic.

(were) upon him (which) covered him. If he had had another (garment) in which to go to the church, he would have sold it. I do not know how Buḳairah, the servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, knew about him. He (Buḳairah) took ten sacks (Σαλλίς)⁽¹⁾ in which there were ten ardabs (ΕΡΤΟΚ) of wheat, and he sent them to him by his boy. He did not find him at that time in his dwelling-place, so he emptied out the wheat in his house (and left it) with his wife and said to her : "Inform the master of the house and say to him, 'So and so has sent thee this blessing' ". He went to his friend and informed him of it. When the man came to his dwelling-place (and) perceived the wheat, he asked his wife about it. She informed him (and said) : "It is a blessing which the Lord has sent to us in order that we may live through it". He said to her : "Who is it who has brought it?" She said to him : "(It is) from Buḳairah ar-Rašīdī the scribe". When he heard this, his bosom became contracted and he said : "As the Lord liveth, I will sit in my dwelling-place till God shall take away my soul, but I will not take alms from anyone, nor will I be disgraced⁽²⁾". He began to weep and to strike his face. His believing wife said to him : "God has provided us with our food to-day. Rise up now and wash thy face, thy hands and thy feet, and pray and adore the Lord and thank (Him) for His mercy unto thee, break thy fast, and when it is still early in the morning (ghadāh), return the wheat to its owner". He was comforted by her speech and his heart rejoiced and he ate his food and he sighed. When he was sleeping that night, he saw in his dream, as it were, the Lord Christ standing before him, and He said to him : "Why is thy heart sorrowful?" He said to Him : "O Master, how should my heart not be sorrowful, (since) after those riches and the mercy which I and my fathers enjoyed⁽³⁾ (my) condition has ended in this poverty, so that I am brought to ask for alms? It is better for me to die of hunger in preference to this". He said to him : "Grieve not, for this wheat

⁽¹⁾ Σαλλίον, (Σαλλίς), cf. F. PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, Berlin, 1925, p. 664 and R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 150.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* expose my soul.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* was to me and to my fathers.

a few of them. From the beginning, when this affair happened in those days, he (Buḳairah) did not break his fast during the day, and on the days on which he communicated, he did not (even) break his fast on them till the night ⁽¹⁾. All this I knew from him on account of the friendship (which) existed between us ⁽²⁾. Most of the time, I used to sleep at his home, and he would bring to me some book to read for a part of the night, (and) then I would sleep a little, but, as for him, he would remain erect till the morning. When it was the morrow, he would go to the work which he had chosen for himself ⁽³⁾, and it became for him * like a profession and a way of life. (Once), when wheat and all food were lacking, it happened ⁽⁴⁾ one day ⁽⁵⁾ that he purchased bread and distributed it according to his custom to the hidden ⁽⁶⁾ and the poor till there remained to him only one loaf with which to break his fast. He placed it (the loaf) upon the table and said grace and sat down to break his fast. He gave thanks and stretched forth his hand to eat, when he heard a knocking at the door. He said to his boy : “See (who is at) the door!” The boy went out and found a hidden man ⁽⁶⁾ (who) said to him : “Say to the Šaiḳh Buḳairah : ‘Thou hast forgotten me to-day and I have nothing wherewith to break my fast’ ”. The boy went in to him and informed him of what the man had said. He (Buḳairah) gave to him the loaf and he remained fasting until the night of the next day.

* fol. 151 v°

There was, moreover, a man, high in rank among his people (and) very rich, (who) became poor and his money was exhausted, so that nothing remained to him, and he was in want, and shame caused him not to show his face nor to beg from anyone. He sold all that (was) in his house, so that nothing remained to him except the clothes which

⁽¹⁾ It is customary in the Coptic Church for the communicant to drink a little water after communicating and to eat the antidoron.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* was between me and between him.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* for his soul.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* It was.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* a day of days.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. p. 142, n. 6.

brought me up, and he swore to me, saying : “I had not reached my home and started to go to the house of Buḳairah, as he told me (to do), when al-Ḥākim sent and brought him (Buḳairah) out from (his) imprisonment and wrote for him a decree (siḡill) that no one should hinder Buḳairah al-Rašīdī from buying and selling nor in any other affair ⁽¹⁾.

When he (Buḳairah) had received the decree (siḡill), he went down to Miṣr ⁽²⁾, and he went around to the Christians (Naṣārā) who were alarmed, and he reassured them and swore to them that after three days all the disadvantages from which they were suffering would be removed from them. He used to purchase for them all that they were in need of in the way of water and food and he used to send it to them by his boys. He did this for three days, and on the morning of the fourth day an order (from) al-Ḥākim went forth that the Christians (Naṣārā) might buy and sell as was their custom. He (al-Ḥākim) wrote a decree (siḡill) that whosoever of the Christians (Naṣārā) in Miṣr ⁽³⁾ wished to go to the lands of the Greeks (ar-Rūm) or to the lands of Abyssinia (al-Ḥabaṣah) and Nubia (an-Nūbah) or to other (lands) should not be prevented (from doing so) by anyone. Before this, they were prevented from (doing) it.

When Buḳairah was dismissed from the Dīwān in which he was, he devoted himself to visiting the prisoners and to taking ⁽⁴⁾ to them what they were in need of, and he used to visit those imprisoned (for the non-payment of) the poll-tax (ḡawālī). If he found anyone who was asked (to pay) what he could not, he would go bail for him and would bring him out from (his) imprisonment, and he would go to the chiefs and to the rich men and he would take from them what he would have to pay on his account in going bail for him, and he would free him. He (Buḳairah) trusted in the Lord Christ with (all) his strength (and) with all his heart. Likewise, if he knew that any of the brethren, the Faithful, were in need of food, he would give to them what was sufficient for them ⁽⁵⁾ for each day. He performed very many good and fine deeds which we have not mentioned, but we have contented ourselves with

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* in an affair of affairs. — ⁽²⁾ Cairo. — ⁽³⁾ Egypt. — ⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* carrying.
— ⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* their sufficient means.

or sell in any place ⁽¹⁾. A number of them denied their religion on account of this. Most of the Egyptian (Maṣriyîn) Christians (Naṣârâ) divested themselves of (their) distinctive dress and the cross and the girdle (ζωνάριον) and the wooden stirrups, and they imitated the Muslims, and no one exposed them, and he who saw them thought that they had embraced Al-Islâm.

There was a deacon whose name was Buḳairah. He left the service in the Dîwân to which he was (attached) and he wore ⁽²⁾ his cross and he went to the Castle and cried at its gate, (saying) : “Christ (is) the Son of God”. When al-Ḥâkim heard his voice, he ordered him to be brought (to him), and he endeavoured (to make him) deny his religion and to acknowledge al-Islâm, but he did not do (so). He was as the firm rock which is not disturbed. The more he (al-Ḥâkim) spoke to him, the more he cried out and said : “Christ (is) the Son of God”. He (al-Ḥâkim) commanded that a collar and an iron chain should be cast about his throat and that he should be cast into the Prison of Blood. A trustworthy man testified to me (that) he went to him to visit him in (his) imprisonment on account of the friendship (that) was between them ⁽³⁾, and that he found him in the following ⁽⁴⁾ state, being fastened to a large peg driven into the ground. He was standing praying, and in his hand there was a small writing-book, and his face (was) towards the East, (and) he was reading and praying, in spite of the weight of that iron with which he was bound, and when he saw him, he rejoiced with him, as if he were at a marriage-feast.

This man said to me : “When I visited him and (afterwards) wished to separate from him, I said to him, ‘What dost thou charge me (to say) to thy house and to thy relatives?’ He said, ‘Go to them and say to them : I (shall be) with you (for) the remainder of the day before sunset, so be not grieved’ ”. This man who related this to me was chief engineer of those who worked at sawing, (and) his name was Menas (Mînâ) and he was my uncle, the brother of my mother, and through his work he found the means to visit the aforesaid Buḳairah. He (it was) who

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* a place of places. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* carried. — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* between him and between him. — ⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* this.

the Church of the Resurrection (al-Ḳiyāmah) should be demolished. The scribe wrote to the wālī a letter (and) this (is) a copy of it : ‘An order of the Imām (Imāmah)⁽¹⁾ has been issued to thee to demolish the Rubbish Mound (Ḳimāmah)⁽²⁾ and to make its heaven⁽³⁾ an earth and its length a breadth’. The writer of the decree (sigill) was a Nestorian (Nasṭūrī) Christian (Naṣrānī) known as Ibn Šīrīn. When the aforementioned (scribe) had despatched the decree (sigill) which he had written, he became as one drunk who awakes from his drunkenness, and he thought within himself⁽⁴⁾ about what he had done and he said : “I wrote with my hand that the Church of the Resurrection (al-Ḳiyāmah) should be demolished. Why did I not endure death before doing this, and why did I not endure the cutting off of my right hand, and (then) I would not have written this? If I had refrained from writing it, what would have been done to me beyond beheading me, and I could not have wished for a martyrdom greater than this”⁽⁵⁾. He used to say this and similar things to it and to repeat this by heart night and day. Through the intensity of his sorrow he became ill and was confined to a sick-bed, and he used to say : “O my right hand, how didst thou dare to do this terrible thing? I, also, shall do * to thee what thou dost deserve, and I shall not cease from afflicting thee”. He began to lift up his hand and to strike the ground with it, and he did not cease from this throughout the days of his illness until his fingers were cut to pieces and he died.

* fol. 151 r°

After some days, al-Ḥākim sent forth decrees (sigillāt) to all the districts of his kingdom that the churches should be demolished, and that there should be brought to his castle what (was) in them in the way of gold and silver vessels, and that the bishops in every place should be asked (for money), and that the Christians (Naṣārā) should not buy

⁽¹⁾ The Fātimīd Califs styled themselves Imāms, *i. e.* leaders of the Faithful, hence the use here of the word Imāmah.

⁽²⁾ Ḳimāmah, a term of contempt applied to the Church of the Resurrection (Ḳiyāmah).

⁽³⁾ *i. e.* its roof.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lūt.* his soul.

⁽⁵⁾ *i. e.* for the sake of the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem.

in which he recounted every evil (thing) concerning the patriarch, and he went out to the mountain and stood before al-Ḥâkim and said to him : “Thou art the Calif (Khalifah) of God on His earth, help me for the sake of God”. He delivered to him (al-Ḥâkim) the letter and he took it from him and in it there was written : ‘Thou art the king of the earth, but for the Christians (Naṣârâ) (there is) a king (who) does not accept thee on account of the great amount of what he has stored up in the way of abundant riches, because he sells the episcopate for money, and he does not do what is agreeable to God the Exalted’, and he mentioned in the letter many abominable things about him (the patriarch) such as this. When al-Ḥâkim learned the contents of the letter, he ordered that the doors of the churches should be closed and that the patriarch should be brought (to him). He (the patriarch) had become old and was advanced in age. When he was brought, he (al-Ḥâkim) imprisoned him for three months, and his imprisonment occurred ⁽¹⁾ on the twelfth day of Hatûr (in) the year seven hundred and twenty-seven of the Martyrs ⁽²⁾. Then he (al-Ḥâkim) ordered that he (the patriarch) should be cast to the lions to eat. When he was thrown to them, God changed their nature for him, and protected him from them and kept them away from him and restrained them from him, and they did not eat him. Al-Ḥâkim reproached their keeper and said to him : “Thou hast taken bribes from the Christians (Naṣârâ) and hast fed the lions abundantly and hast satisfied them and hast not starved them”. He ordered that the lions should be starved again, and that, when their hunger became violent, a sheep should be slain and that the patriarch should be divested of his clothes and that his body should be smeared with its (the sheep’s) blood, and that the lions should be set loose upon him. They did this to him (the patriarch), but they (the lions) did not harm him at all. John (Yû’annis) the aforementioned monk used to go most of his time to the patriarch, while he was in imprisonment for the sake of gloating over him. It happened ⁽³⁾ on the second day of his imprisonment that al-Ḥâkim ordered that a decree (siġill) should be written to the wâlî of Jerusalem (Bait al-Mağdis) that

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* was. — ⁽²⁾ *i. e.* A. D. 1010. — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* was.

was the name of the king, and (he ordered) that they should hang it about their necks with ropes of palm fibres (lif). Likewise, the weight of the ball which was about the necks of the Jews (Yahûd) should be five raṭl⁽¹⁾. He among them who was found without a seal should be contemned and should pay a fine for the offence. Many of the Christians (Naṣârâ) and the Jews (Yahûd) from their chiefs (down) to the lowest of them denied (their faith) on account of this, and they did not endure patiently this disgrace and affliction.

It is recorded that, when al-Ḥâkim forbade the Cairene (Maṣriyât) women to go out in the daytime, they made likenesses of women from paper (χάρτης)⁽²⁾ and bread and radishes⁽³⁾, and they set them up for him in the way, where he walked outside Miṣr⁽⁴⁾, and in their hands (were) written papers in which they reviled him and defamed his sister. He (al-Ḥâkim) used to order the papers to be taken from them (the likenesses) and he would read them and find them after this manner. This they did a number of times, and on account of this, he ordered Miṣr⁽⁴⁾ to be set on fire and he plundered it. He did not live in luxury as (other) kings, but he used to travel in the mountains and the deserts at night and in the day, and he shed in his days much blood.

We return now to finish (the account) of what the aforementioned monk John (Yû'annis) did in the way of abominable things in the days of this king (al-Ḥâkim). This (was) that when he ascertained that he would not be consecrated bishop, he went to Miṣr⁽⁴⁾ and he wrote a letter

⁽¹⁾ Cf. S. C. MALAN, *A Short History of the Copts and their Church*, London, 1873, p. 90; for the Arabic text of this, cf. AL-MAKRÛZÏ, *Kitâb al-Khiṭat*, vol. II, p. 495, Bûlâk edition, Cairo, A. H. 1275.

⁽²⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

⁽³⁾ خبز فجل 'bread [and] radishes' *sic*. This is also the reading in MS. A. It is suggested that the original may have had جريد نخل of which the diacritical points were altered and the last two letters of the first word omitted in subsequent copies. جريد نخل means 'branches of the palm-tree'. The 'likenesses' may, therefore, have been made from branches of palm-trees covered with paper, similar to what is still done to this day in our villages, in order to scare away birds and thus protect the corps and fruit. Such a scare-crow is called خيال المغات.

⁽⁴⁾ Cairo.

houses⁽¹⁾ in which there was trefoil (ḳurt), firewood (ḥatab) and reeds (bûṣ), and he ordered them to be burned. They were burned while he rode by (and) watched the burning of the fire in them until all of them were burned, and the price of them was lost for their owners.

On a certain night ten men furnished with arms met him (al-Ḥâkim) and they asked him to give them money. He said to them : "Divide (yourselves) into two parties and fight before me. To him who vanquishes I will pay the money, because he will be worthy to receive honour". They did this and they fought until nine of them were killed and one remained. He (al-Ḥâkim) said to him : "Thou, indeed, art worthy to receive honour, and he threw to him many dinârs from his sleeve. He (the man) bent down to take them from the ground, and he (al-Ḥâkim) made a sign to those who were riding with him, and they leaped upon him and killed him, and they gathered together those dinârs, and he returned them to his sleeve.

There was constructed for him (al-Ḥâkim) in his castle a marble basin⁽²⁾ and water was brought to it by means of a water-wheel (sâḳiyah) and it (the water) ran into it (the basin) through a canal. Outside the basin⁽²⁾ there was an enclosure (ḥaṣar) of marble and there was sculptured upon it all (kinds of) birds. He ordered that there should be set in the wall a thin wooden arrow jutting out, and that its extremity should project out from it (the wall) as far as the basin⁽²⁾ of marble and should be level with its edge. It * was (placed) very high at the top of the wall, as was related by him who saw it. Then he (al-Ḥâkim) ordered that a public crier should proclaim that to him who walked upon this arrow and jumped (from it) into the basin⁽²⁾ and fell into the water there should be paid six hundred dirhams. He (al-Ḥâkim) caused a number (of people) to be tempted by this, and through the love of dirhams a number of people walked upon it and jumped (from it) and fell upon the floor and were killed. Then he (al-Ḥâkim) ordered that the crosses of the Christians (Naṣârâ) should be of wood, and each cross weighing five Egyptian (maṣrî) raṭl (and) stamped with a leaden seal upon which

* fol. 150 v°

⁽¹⁾ From the Coptic ⲠⲉϢⲏⲓ, cf. W. E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 603 b.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* sea.

dinārs. Then al-Ḥākim said to him : “Thou hast brought this merchandise for doing something illicit (with it), otherwise, swear that thou hast brought it for making sweetmeat (ḥalāwah) and for eating, and take its price”. The merchant entreated that the money should be brought before he swore. Then al-Ḥākim ordered the money to be brought, and the merchant swore and received his money, and there was written with regard to him that he had taken it (the money) and had received his due (for his merchandise) in full. He (the merchant) entreated that a decree (ṣiġill) should be written for him to have charge of it and to keep it, and this was done for him. When judgment had been pronounced upon the matter which (was) between them, the Ḳāḍī stood before ⁽¹⁾ al-Ḥākim and saluted him with the salutation of the Calif (al-Khalifah). The Ḳāḍī increased in dignity with him (al-Ḥākim) and he loaded him with great honours.

He (al-Ḥākim) used to walk (abroad) at night and he found sometimes those who roast (meat) heating the ovens to roast therein, and he cast some of them into the ovens so that they were burnt. He found on a certain night a man frying meat in a frying-pan (ṭāġin) and he ordered that his hands should be cut off and cast into the frying-pan (ṭāġin). That man said to him : “Since when did the Commander of the Faithful learn frying? We knew him only as one who roasts, since when did he become one who fries?” He (al-Ḥākim) laughed at him and ordered him to be released.

A man brought to him (al-Ḥākim) once a silver dish ⁽²⁾ snatched away from the hand of its owner in the market. When they caused him (the man) to stand before ⁽³⁾ him (al-Ḥākim) with the silver dish ⁽²⁾ in his hand, he said to him : “I desire that thou shouldst run before me and show me how thou didst run when thou didst snatch it (the dish) away from the hand of its owner”. He (the man) did this, and he departed running, and no one dared to follow him.

He (al-Ḥākim) passed on a certain occasion through the store-

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* between the hands of.

⁽²⁾ A dish for carrying cups, cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 822.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* between his hands.

should have a belt (ζωνάριον) fastened round their waists and that they should wear black turbans on their heads and that they should ride with wooden stirrups and that none of them should ride with iron stirrups, and that they should wear⁽¹⁾ crosses a span in length, then he ordered again to make them⁽²⁾ (the crosses) a cubit and a half (in length). (He ordered) that the Jews (Yahûd) should dye the borders of their turbans and that they should wear belts (ζωνάριον) and that they should make (for themselves) a wooden ball⁽³⁾ in the form of the head of the calf which they worshipped in the desert, and that none of the Christians and Jews (adh-Dhimmah) should enter a bath with Muslims. He (al-Hâkim) set apart for them baths and he placed (upon) the door of the bath of the Christians (an-Naşârâ) a wooden cross and upon the door of the bath of the Jews (Yahûd) a wooden log. Then he ordered that raisins (zabîb) should be burned, and what was burned of them in Mişr⁽⁴⁾ and its districts and (in) Syria (aş-Şam) was calculated, and it was six hundred thousand sâtarah⁽⁵⁾, and likewise that which he seized in Mişr⁽⁶⁾. He brake (the vessels containing) honey (‘asal) and cast it (the honey) into the river⁽⁷⁾. One of the merchants lost all (his) fortune, the price of the honey (‘asal) and the raisins (zabîb), and he cited our lord, al-Hâkim, before the Kâdî al-Kudâh, Ibn an-Nu‘mân. He said to him (Ibn an-Nu‘mân) that he had come to Mişr⁽⁴⁾ with his merchandise which was raisins (zabîb) and honey (‘asal) for eating and for making sweetmeat (ḥalâwah), and that he (al-Hâkim) had caused (the vessels containing it) to be broken and (the contents) to be cast into the river⁽⁷⁾. The Kâdî treated them both equally (in the matter of) seating (in the court) and (in) the trial. The merchant entreated al-Hâkim for his money, the full price of his merchandise being one thousand

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* carry.

⁽²⁾ MS. has “it”.

⁽³⁾ Al-Makrizî mentions this wooden ball, cf. S. C. MALAN, *A Short History of the Copts and their Church*, London, 1873, p. 90.

⁽⁴⁾ Egypt.

⁽⁵⁾ *i. e.* a measure, cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 652.

⁽⁶⁾ Cairo.

⁽⁷⁾ *Lit.* sea.

men to him, and they (the men) used to listen (to him). He used to say to those who were gathered together to him that al-Ḥākim was the Christ and many sayings which it is not permissible to mention. Al-Ḥākim used to go out many times from his castle at night borne in a litter on the shoulders of four servants (farrāšīn). He ordered that a woman should not go out at all from her house, neither to the bath nor elsewhere. If he caught a woman who had gone out at night or in the day, he would hand her over to the chief of the watch (mutawallī aš-šurṭah) who would chastise her with a chastisement that would lead to her death. He ordered that Jew's mallow (mulūkhiyah)⁽¹⁾ should not be eaten, and he was obeyed openly, but not in secret. He ordered that no one should drink nabīdh⁽²⁾, and he wrote concerning this decrees (siġillāt) to the rest of the cities, and the vessels in which there was nabīdh⁽²⁾ were broken in every place. Then (it happened) that he was passing along one day, and a dog jumped in front of him and the ass which was under him started, so he ordered that every dog in Miṣr⁽³⁾ should be killed. It is recorded that a dog howled exceedingly⁽⁴⁾ without the city, and there gathered to it many dogs and they climbed to the eastern mountain⁽⁵⁾ and they went away. He (al-Ḥākim) ordered the swine which were in the land (χώρα) of Miṣr⁽³⁾ to be killed * and they killed all of them, and there were in it (Egypt) many swine, especially in al-Bašmūr⁽⁶⁾. Then he (al-Ḥākim) ordered that the nāḳûs⁽⁷⁾ should not be struck in the lands of Miṣr⁽³⁾, and, after a little, he ordered that the crosses which were upon the domes of the churches should be pulled down, and that the crosses which were upon the hands of the people should be erased⁽⁸⁾. Then he ordered that the Christians (an-Naṣārâ)

*fol. 150 r°

⁽¹⁾ *i. e.* Corchorus olitorius.

⁽²⁾ Cf. *H. P. E. C.*, vol. II, Part I, p. 7, n. 1.

⁽³⁾ Cairo.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* howled a great howling.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. p. 187, n. 3.

⁽⁶⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 350.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. *H. P. E. C.*, vol. II, Part I, p. 7, n. 3.

⁽⁸⁾ *i. e.* the crosses tattooed on the wrists. A practice still in force with many Copts and Eastern Christians.

two eyes were large (and) of a blueness in colour⁽¹⁾. If he (al-Ḥākīm) looked at a man, he would tremble owing to the greatness of his awe (of him). His voice was loud and fearful. He used to observe the stars and (study) the false science⁽²⁾. He used to serve the star called Saturn, as he imagined, and he used to continue turning round the eastern mountain⁽³⁾ at Miṣr⁽⁴⁾ at night, and with him there were three riders. Satan (aš-Šaiṭān) used to take on for him the likeness of that star, and he (al-Ḥākīm) used to converse with him (Satan) about many matters, and he used to offer⁽⁵⁾ to him (Satan) sacrifices (ḳarābīn). He gave up the attire of kings on account of this, and he wore a black woollen garment. He let his hair grow till it descended to his shoulders. He gave up riding on dromedaries⁽⁶⁾ and marked⁽⁷⁾ race-horses and decorated mules, and he rode a black ass. He used to walk alone in every place and often he took with him (only) a single rider. He used to walk in the streets at night also and to listen to what men said about him in their houses. He had many spies and informers going around night and day who brought to him information, and who did not hide from him anything of what happened in all the lands of Miṣr⁽⁸⁾. Men thought that the power of God had descended upon him on account of the kingship which He had entrusted to him. He had a man called al-Ḥādī, and with him there were twelve men who became his disciples, and they used to call

⁽¹⁾ For the various shades of colour in the black of the eye expressed by the word شهل, cf. E. W. LANE, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, under this word.

⁽²⁾ i. e. astrology. Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁽³⁾ i. e. the Muḳaṭṭam Hills to the East of Cairo, cf. B. T. A. EVERTS, *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, etc., pp. 114 and 62.

⁽⁴⁾ Cairo.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* immolate.

⁽⁶⁾ For عَمَّارَات, R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 171-172 records the meaning *dromadaires*. He also gives under عَمَّارِيَّة the translation *litière*. It would appear that the former meaning is that required by our text, since further on we read that al-Ḥākīm was borne in a litter.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. E. W. LANE, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, under the word سوم where he gives an example of الخيل المسومة.

⁽⁸⁾ Egypt.

and set thee over all those who are in my State. Hearken to me and join me ⁽¹⁾ in my religion and I will exalt thee higher than thou art, and thou shalt be to me as a brother'', but he did not answer his (al-Ḥâkim's) words. He (al-Ḥâkim) ordered that he should be beheaded and that his body should be burned with fire. The fire remained alight upon him for three days, but he was not burned. His right hand remained as if the fire had not approached it at all. This was a miracle (performed) by God—Praise be to Him!—for he was a pious man in whom there was great compassion. He did not at all turn away him who solicited anything from him, so that if he passed through the streets riding, and there met him one who solicited alms from him, he would stretch out his hand to his sleeve thinking that there was nothing in it, and he would find wherewith to give to him who asked. Wherefore this miracle was manifested in his right hand which he used to stretch out for alms-giving at all times, for he performed ⁽²⁾ very kind deeds through ⁽³⁾ God. May God grant to us all acceptation through the blessing of their ⁽⁴⁾ prayers!

As for the remainder of those ten chief judges ⁽⁵⁾, when he (al-Ḥâkim) asked them to forsake their religion and to depart from it, they did not do this, nor did they obey him. Then he (al-Ḥâkim) commanded them to be tortured and they were scourged with thongs. When they had been scourged exceedingly ⁽⁶⁾, four of them (the chiefs) embraced Al-Islâm. As for one of these four, he died the same night, and as for the other three, after the expiration of the time of the disturbance, they returned to the belief of Christianity (an-Naşrâniyah). As for the remainder of the ten (chiefs), they died under the torture and obtained eternal life.

This king (al-Ḥâkim) did deeds which it was unheard of that any of the kings before him had done the like. He did not adhere to one opinion or to one belief. His aspect was as (that of) a lion, and his

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* be with me.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* there was to him.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* in.

⁽⁴⁾ *i. e.* of the aforementioned martyrs.

⁽⁵⁾ 'Chief judges' added in the margin.

⁽⁶⁾ *Lit.* when the scourging was increased upon them.

and threat to turn him away from his religion, but he would not do (so), and he (al-Ḥâkim) was not able to make him change his resolution with regard to his belief. Then he ordered that his garments should be removed from him and that he should be fastened to the rack⁽¹⁾ and that he should be scourged. So they scourged him five hundred lashes on his⁽²⁾ soft body until his flesh was torn and his blood flowed like water. The thongs were of the sinews of bulls, of which a giant (could) not endure (one) lash, more especially that man who lived in luxury and ease. Then he (al-Ḥâkim) ordered that he should be scourged (till) the completion of one thousand lashes. When he had been scourged another three hundred (lashes), he said : “I am thirsty”. So they ceased from scourging him, and they informed al-Ḥâkim of this. He said : “Give to him to drink after you have told him to turn to our religion”. When they had brought to him water and had told him what the king had ordered them (to say), he said to them : “Return to him his water, for I have no need of it, because my Lord Jesus Christ has given me to drink”. A number of assistants and others who were there bare witness that they saw water dripping from his beard. When he had said this, he gave up the⁽³⁾ ghost⁽⁴⁾.

* When they informed the hard-hearted king of this death, he ordered that he should be scourged (till) the completion of the thousand lashes, although he was dead, and on this wise his martyrdom was accomplished. May his blessings be with us!

Another among them (the ten chiefs) was known as the chief Fahd ibn Abraham (Ibrahîm). He (al-Ḥâkim) had set him over all the secretaries and chiefs of the Dîwâns. He caused him to be brought into his presence⁽⁵⁾ and he said to him : “Thou knowest that I chose thee

* f.l. 149 v°

⁽¹⁾ هنبازين is the term used for an instrument of torture in the Martyrdoms recorded in the Arabic *Synaxarium of the Coptic Church* and appears to be the equivalent of the ἐρωτητήριον. Cf. R. BASSET, *Le Synaxaire Arabe Jacobite*, in *P. O.*, t. I, p. [43].

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* that.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* his.

⁽⁴⁾ ‘He had said... ghost’ lacuna in MS., text from MS. A.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* between his hands.

informed his relatives and he wrote his will. After an hour, he (al-Ḥākim) sent to him one who cut off his head. It happened, that if he (al-Ḥākim) wished to kill a man, he would bestow upon him money and robes of honour, and after this, he would send one who would cut off his head and bring it to him. He (al-Ḥākim) did not cease from doing this till he had destroyed his notables and the chiefs of his army. Then he turned again to the archons (ἀρχων) and the scribes and took from them ten from among their chiefs, (including) Abū Naḡāḥ al-Kabir who was an Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Christian (Naṣrānī). He caused him to come to him and he said to him : “I desire that thou shouldst forsake thy religion and turn to my religion, and I will make thee my wazîr, and thou shalt conduct the affairs of my kingdom”. He (Abū Naḡāḥ) said to him : “Grant to me a delay until to-morrow that I may take counsel with myself ⁽¹⁾”. He (al-Ḥākim) granted to him a delay and let him go. He went to his residence and caused his friends to come and he made known to them what had happened to him with him (al-Ḥākim). He said to them : “I am ready to die for the Name of the Lord Christ. My purpose was not to delay until to-morrow in order to take counsel with myself ⁽¹⁾, but I said this so that I might meet you and my relatives and that I might take leave of you and take leave of them, and that I might give my instructions to you and give my instructions to them. Now, O my brethren, seek not this transitory glory and lose the everlasting and eternal glory of the Lord Christ. He hath satisfied our souls with good things of the earth. Behold through His mercy He hath called us to the kingdom of the heavens. Strengthen then your hearts”. He strengthened the ⁽²⁾ hearts of all by his speech and confirmed (in) them (the intention) to die for the Name of the Lord Christ. He made for them on that day a great banquet and they remained with him till the evening and they went to their residences. When it was morning, he (Abū Naḡāḥ) went to al-Ḥākim bi Amr Allah. He (al-Ḥākim) said to him : “O Naḡāḥ, tell me, hast thou decided? ⁽³⁾”. He said to him : “Yea”. He said : “In what wise?”. He said : “My remaining in my religion”. Then al-Ḥākim endeavoured by every kind of inducement

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* my soul. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* their. — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* Is thy soul content?

perfected, it bringeth forth death”⁽¹⁾. John (Yú’annis) the monk went to Miṣr⁽²⁾ to set forth his complaint. From here we break off the account⁽³⁾ now about what he did until we recount it in its place.

As for the king whom we mentioned previously, he was invested with the authority of the kingdom while still a very young child. He grew up and became big and became as a roaring lion seeking for a prey. He became more fond of shedding blood than a ferocious lion, so that a number (of people) counted them that were killed by his command and their number was eighteen thousand men. First of all, he began by killing the notables of his State and his secretaries, and by cutting off the hands of people. The first whom he killed was the master (ustádh) Barġuwân⁽⁴⁾ who had brought him up, since he used to call him in his childhood the lizard⁽⁵⁾. He (al-Ĥâkim) sent to him a master (ustádh) from him⁽⁶⁾ and he (al-Ĥâkim) said to him: “Say to him (Barġuwân)⁽⁶⁾, the small lizard⁽⁵⁾ has become a great dragon and it calls thee”. The master (ustádh) went to him and told him what he (al-Ĥâkim) had commanded him. He (Barġuwân) came to him, being terror-stricken. He (al-Ĥâkim) commanded that his head should be cut off. Likewise a great amîr called Al-Kâẓid Fâḍl⁽⁷⁾—a great and sincere intimacy existed⁽⁸⁾ between them⁽⁹⁾—entered one day the palace, as (was) his custom, and he found the aforementioned king seated, and before him⁽¹⁰⁾ there was a comely child whom he had bought for a hundred dînârs, and in his hand there was a knife with which he had slaughtered him, and he had extracted his liver and his intestines and was cutting them up. He (the amîr) went out afraid and terror-stricken to his residence, and he

⁽¹⁾ James 1, 15.

⁽²⁾ Cairo.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* speech.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁽⁵⁾ This is the Lacerta gecko, cf. A. de Biberstein KAZIMIRSKI, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, p. 860.

⁽⁶⁾ *Lit.* from his hands.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁽⁸⁾ *Lit.* was.

⁽⁹⁾ *Lit.* between him and between him.

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Lit.* between his hands.

to them as he had spoken to the patriarch. One of them, namely, Abba Khaël (Anbâ Khâyâl), bishop of Sakhâ⁽¹⁾, who was the son of the brother of the patriarch, insulted him when he learned from him that he desired the episcopate for nothing. He said to him after the insult : “If thou dost mention with thy mouth anything about this matter, I shall cause the disciples to revile thee”. Wrath obtained the mastery over him (the monk), and he rose up and he went to Mişr⁽²⁾ and he complained of his case to the Sultân. He wrote a number of letters against the patriarch that they might be submitted to the king al-Ĥâkim bi Amr Allah. When the archons (ἄρχων) at Mişr⁽²⁾ learned of this, they prevented him from doing it, and they wrote for him letters to the patriarch, and he (the patriarch) was at that time in Wâdî Habîb⁽³⁾. When the letters reached him (the patriarch), he gave them to the aforementioned son of his brother. When he learned their contents, he slandered the monk, and he brought the Arabs (‘Arab) who were the guards of the monasteries, and he delivered to them the monk. They (the Arabs) took him and cast him into a well and they stoned him with stones to kill him. He (the monk) found in the well a place (which was) a cleft and he entered it and hid himself, and not a single stone reached him. When the patriarch heard the news, he put dust on his head and he plucked out the hair of his beard and he excommunicated the son of his brother on account of what he had done with regard to the monk. He sent his disciples to the well and they brought him (the monk) up out of it and they consoled him and asked him to be comforted. The patriarch promised that he would make him bishop of a see which would become vacant. He (the monk) waited patiently till two sees had become vacant, but he (the patriarch) did not make him (bishop) of either of them, * but his (the patriarch’s) relatives and disciples used to speak to him (the monk) of that which caused pain to his heart. Then he (the monk) was filled with rage at their preventing him from (obtaining) the episcopate, the love of which had entered his heart. This was the first pain which Satan (aš-Şaiṭân) suffered, namely, pride, for it is written : “If the lust should conceive, it bringeth forth sin, but if the sin should be

* fol. 149 r°

(1) AMÉLINEAU, p. 410. — (2) Cairo. — (3) Cf. p. 109, n. 3.

There was a monk whose name was John (Yû'annis), a priest of the Skênê (σκηνή) of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) ⁽¹⁾, residing at the Church of Saint Abba Onuphrius (Abû Nufar), at the Skênê (σκηνή) which is at the north of the Church of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) ⁽¹⁾. He saw a number (of people) buying the episcopate for money, and Satan (aš-Šaiṭân) cast into his heart the fire of love for the episcopate, but he had nothing (wherewith) to pay for it. He presented himself to Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs), the patriarch, and he said : "I desire only that thou shouldst clothe me with the vesture of the episcopate and make me (bishop) of a depopulated see, such as Dabaḳûa ⁽²⁾, even though there be nothing in it save three minas (μνᾶ), for I am not able to endure this (matter) on account of the idea which overpowered me, when I beheld those whom thou didst consecrate for money, and they were unworthy, whilst I am rejected on account of the fact that I am poor and have nothing, (although) thou knowest me". The aforementioned patriarch was very modest, as a gentle lamb, and he had not done anything of what we have mentioned of his own accord. Even the bread which he ate, if they ⁽³⁾ left him alone (and) did not give him to eat, he would not ask for it (the bread), and likewise (with) the water which he drank. He was as (one) dumb. His relatives and his disciples dominated him and they were directing him in everything. They were those who used to take money from him whom they presented to him (the patriarch), in order that he (the patriarch) might make of him (the candidate) what they wanted. If he (the patriarch) wished to feed a man with bread, he was not able (to do so) without their charity. If a man solicited anything from him (the patriarch) he would send him to them. He who solicited from him the priesthood, he would send to them that they might bargain with him, otherwise, they would not give him (the patriarch) the possibility to ordain him.

When this monk whom we have mentioned, came to him (the patriarch), he sent him to them as usual. He (the monk) went to them and he spoke

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 118, n. 3.

⁽²⁾ Cf. H. G. Evelyn WHITE, *op. cit.*, Part III, p. 37.

⁽³⁾ *i. e.* the patriarch's relatives and disciples.

When the bishop of Samannūd⁽¹⁾ heard (of this), he came to it (the village) and built in it (the church) a fine altar and consecrated it and went away, for Šubrā Damānah⁽²⁾ belonged to him, and it was a right of his see. When Abba Menas (Anbā Mīnā) the aforesaid bishop heard of this, he came to the aforementioned church *and demolished the altar which the bishop of Samannūd⁽¹⁾ had built, and he built another one. When the bishop of Samannūd⁽¹⁾ heard of this, he was greatly offended, and he came thither, and there was a multitude with him, and Abba Menas (Anbā Mīnā) the bishop was there. They assembled and they quarrelled and fighting broke out between them, and they did not disperse until blood had been shed between them. Look now at that bishop who amassed the large fortune, how he fought for a thing of so little (value), so that God caused His wrath to descend upon that village (κώμην) and laid it (the village) waste until now, and the name of the village (κώμην) is S n d grā!

*fol. 148 v°

In their days, namely, those of the shepherds⁽³⁾, instruction also ceased and no one warned another or said to him : “Cast out the mote from thine eye”⁽⁴⁾, lest he should say to him : “Cast out the beam first from thine eye”⁽⁵⁾. The heads of the Church used previously to look for a person in whom was learning and knowledge that they might make him a priest, if a number of trustworthy (people) witnessed to his continency and learning from his childhood (upwards). Matters were (now) reversed, and the intelligent scholar was of no account, especially if he were a poor man, but the ignorant and he who was without intelligence was honoured and revered by them, especially if he were rich, that they might advance him to the exalted rank (τάξις) of the ranks (τάξις) of the priests. For that reason, the hand of the Lord came down upon them and His wrath descended upon the Church by reason of His knowledge that we were unworthy to enter her door, as at the time when He caused His wrath to descend upon Jerusalem (Yarūšalīm) until she was laid waste and her inhabitants and her sons and her daughters were made captive.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 179, n. 6. — ⁽²⁾ Cf. p. 179, n. 8. — ⁽³⁾ *i. e.* the bishops.
— ⁽⁴⁾ *Matt.* 7, 4*. — ⁽⁵⁾ *Matt.* 7, 5*.

brought out the piece of paper from his mouth, and when his brother entered, he delivered it to him and he said to him : “May the Lord not reprove thee, but forgive thee ! Thou hast indeed lost what was recorded on the three other pieces of paper on account of thine absence from me”, and when he had said this, his spirit left (him). Then he (Macarius) enshrouded him and buried him. Then he read the piece of paper and found in the place (mentioned) ten thousand dînârs. His (Menas’) brother Macarius (Maḳârah) was a good man, and he took the money and built with it a Skênê (σκηνή) ⁽¹⁾ in the name of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) in Wâdî Habîb ⁽²⁾. It is the beautiful sanctuary (haikal) to the south of the sanctuary (haikal) of Benjamin (Binyâmîn) ⁽³⁾. He spent on it three thousand dînârs, and gave a great sum in alms, and he built many churches in the Rif (ar-Rîf) ⁽⁴⁾ of Miṣr ⁽⁵⁾. When his death was approaching, they asked him if he had any commands for them to perform. He said : “The Lord is a witness unto me that I found that my brother had ten thousand dînârs, and I acquired many things each year from the see and from what I received for (acting as) secretary to the Synod (σύνδος), and that I spent all that. The Lord is a witness unto me that nothing remained to me save one dînâr and my houses. Lo, I am being translated from this world and I adjure you to give it (the dînâr) to the priests who shall read (the funeral service) over me”.

This bishop Menas (Minâ) who bequeathed this large fortune was not content with that, but he re-peopled a village (κώμη) between his see and the see of Samannûd ⁽⁶⁾. Ten houses in it became inhabited, and they built there a small church five or six cubits long of bricks (ἄωβι) of mud. The village (κώμη) was between Bašîš ⁽⁷⁾ and Šubrâ Damânah ⁽⁸⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 113, n. 5.

⁽²⁾ Cf. H. G. Evelyn WHITE, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 274.

⁽³⁾ Cf. H. G. Evelyn WHITE, *op. cit.*, Part III, p. 37.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, pp. 96 sqq.

⁽⁵⁾ Egypt.

⁽⁶⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 411.

⁽⁷⁾ Unidentified.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. AZIZ SURYAL ÂTIYA, *Kitâb Qawânîn al-Dawâwîn* by Ibn Mammâtî, Cairo, 1943, p. 155.

bishops used to ordain to the priesthood him who was unfit and without understanding.

A trustworthy man related to me that Abba Menas (Anbâ Mîná), bishop of Tānah⁽¹⁾, of whom we already made mention in this biography⁽²⁾, when we said that Philotheus (Filâtâús), the patriarch, dwelt in his residence at Damrû⁽³⁾ after his death, at the time of his (Menas') death, divided what he had collected in the way of money into four parts and buried them in four places. He (Menas) occupied the see for a number of years till he became old. He had a brother whose name was Macarius (Maḳârah), bishop of Upper (al-'Uliyâ) Minûf⁽⁴⁾, secretary of the Synod (σύνωδος). He sent to his brother a messenger that he should come to him (Menas) in haste. He was expecting his arrival and his eyes were looking out for him on the road, but he (Macarius) delayed two days and did not come to him. He (Menas) wrote four pieces of paper on which he mentioned the four places in which (was) the money, and he placed them in his hand till the moment of the arrival of his brother, that he might deliver them to him. Since he (Macarius) delayed (coming to) him (Menas), and the trouble and agony of death came upon him, he said to his disciple : "See, perhaps, if my brother has indeed arrived", and the disciple went out and returned to him and said to him : "He has not arrived". Then he (Menas) was troubled and he cast one of the four pieces of paper into his mouth and chewed it up and cast it (out). Then he said to the disciple : "Do you see my brother coming?" He went out again and returned and said to him (Menas) : "He has not arrived". Then he (Menas) chewed up the second piece of paper and cast it (out), and he did likewise with the third, and there remained in his hand one. Then he said to the disciple : "See if my brother has arrived". He (the disciple) went out to look for him, and he delayed (coming back) to him (Menas), and he (Menas) felt the pains of the suffering of death. Then he cast the fourth piece of paper into his mouth, but before he had chewed it up, the disciple entered unto him in haste and said to him : "Lo, thy brother has arrived". He (Menas)

⁽¹⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 259. — ⁽²⁾ Cf. p. 151. — ⁽³⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 505. — ⁽⁴⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 251.

shall become vacant (through the death) of its bishop in this district, it is understood that it shall be for thee, (and) thou shalt become bishop of it". Then they ordained him hegoumenos (ἡγούμενος) and clothed him in black. When the see of Minûf al-'Ulyâ⁽¹⁾ became vacant, they made him (bishop) of it.

Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs) remained (in peace), after he had become patriarch⁽²⁾, for seven years, and the Church was tranquil (and) in peace. After this, the Lord did not endure patiently the deeds of the shepherds *who were at that time, and God brought down His wrath upon the churches on account of them. They were removed from them, for they were become as wâlis who lorded over the priests. They invented pretexts for collecting money by every means, and they trafficked in the Church of God on account of the love of silver and gold, and they sold the gift of God for money, but they lost and did not gain. If a man added to the Diyâriah⁽³⁾ of any church⁽⁴⁾ a single dînâr, they would fall upon the first steward (ḳayyim) who was in charge of the affairs of the church, as was incumbent (upon him), and they would drive him away from it and would hand it over, on account of the dînâr which had been added, to him who was unfitted for its (the church's) service and (who) did not occupy himself with its affairs. Indeed, it was witnessed against a steward (ḳayyim) that he used to drink the clear wine and to mix the sediment with water and to clarify it and to present it to the priests to raise it⁽⁵⁾ in the sanctuary (haikal); and (it was testified) that the priests used to raise in the sanctuary (haikal) sufficient oblation (ḳurbân)⁽⁶⁾ for the whole week, so that there might remain over from it a large amount, with the object of not inconveniencing (themselves) with celebrating the Liturgy. The oblation (ḳurbân) used to remain in the churches until it became corrupt, because the

fol. 148 r

(1) AMÉLINEAU, p. 251.

(2) *Lit.* his patriarchate.

(3) Cf. p. 117, n. 3.

(4) *Lit.* a church of the churches.

(5) For this ceremony in the Liturgy, cf. JOHN BUTE, *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day*, p. 37.

(6) *i. e.* to reserve the Sacrament.

day to the upper (part) of the church to bring down a jar of vinegar for the cook who used to prepare what the bishops ate. While he was coming down the ladder, he slipped (and) fell and the jar was with him (and) it was not broken and nothing of it was spilled. When the bishops and all who were present saw this miracle, they said : “This is he who is worthy of the⁽¹⁾ object⁽²⁾ for which we are assembled”. Thereupon, all of them said with joy (and) with one mouth : “This (one) in truth is a man of God”. Then they asked the inhabitants of Alexandria about him and about his manner of life, and all of them said : “We have never heard an evil word about him, but he is poor, wretched and pure”. They (the bishops) said : “It is well and good that he⁽³⁾ who is thus should be appointed (patriarch). He is better than he who comes to us with a strong hand by order of the Sultān, and we shall be as slaves to him all our time”. They agreed with the Alexandrians on his consecration, and they took him and consecrated him patriarch. In the evening of that day on which they consecrated him, Abraham (Ibrāhīm) ibn Bišr arrived with the decree (siġill) and accompanied by the two masters (ustadhain). When he arrived outside the city, one of his acquaintances met him and said to him : “A patriarch has already been consecrated”. He said to him : “And who is he?” He said to him : “Zacharias (Zakhāryā) the priest who (was) in the Church of Michael (Mikāyil) (known as) an-Nūbah”. When he heard this, a great trembling attacked him in his bones, and it did not depart from him for the rest of his life. He went to his house in great distress by reason of the violence of the trembling, and he became ill on account of this, and the news (of this) reached the bishops and they marvelled. Then they were afraid of the Sultān and they said : “We do not know what will happen to us”. Then they counselled the father, the patriarch, Abba Zacharias (Anbā Zakhāryās) to console⁽⁴⁾ him (Abraham) with a bishopric so that they should be safe from the wrath of the Sultān on his account, and they said to Abraham (Ibrāhīm) ibn Bišr : “This matter has indeed been (arranged) by God—praised be He! Now, the first see that

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* this. — ⁽²⁾ *i. e.* being elected patriarch. — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* this. — ⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* reassure his heart.

the wālīs, and everyone in the city hearkened to him and obeyed him. He was a wealthy merchant in the lands of Miṣr⁽¹⁾ and he used to give gifts to and to honour⁽²⁾ the chiefs of Miṣr⁽¹⁾, and they did not contradict him in what he desired. He asked and prayed for the patriarchate until a decree (siḡill) was written for him. They (the wālīs) sent two masters (ustadhain) in his company to Alexandria to assist him in what he wished (to do) and to oblige the Alexandrians to appoint him patriarch in the place of Philotheus (Filâtâûs) the patriarch who had gone to his rest, since it was the turn of the Alexandrians this time to appoint the patriarch, and the Council was in Alexandria. The hearts of a number of its inhabitants were agreeable to his becoming patriarch⁽³⁾, and they wrote to Miṣr⁽⁴⁾ to this effect. When the bishops were informed of this, they did not agree with them on this point of view, and the matter was difficult for them, because the Canon (κανών), as they said, would not allow them (the supporters of his candidature) (to do) this. They determined to stop the matter, and (that) everyone of them should go to his see.

At the time when they were assembled at the Church of my lord Mark (Mârî Marḡuṣ) the Evangelist (known as) al-Ḳamḡā, there was at Alexandria in the Church of Michael (Mikâyîl) the Archangel a priest, an elder, (ṣaikh) whose name was Zacharias (Zakhâryâ), and he was steward (ḡayyim) of all the churches of Alexandria, and the bishops were staying with him in the church, and he used to minister to them during their residence at Alexandria. He did not possess any qualifications in their eyes⁽⁵⁾, nor was he held in esteem⁽⁶⁾ by the priests of Alexandria, and everyone used to make use of his services for what concerned him. But God, Who alone performs wonders, Who chose David (Dâwûd) from the pasture of the flocks to be a shepherd of Israel (Isrâ'yîl), His inheritance⁽⁷⁾, Who raises up the poor from the earth and the wretched from the dunghill and seats him upon the throne of glory⁽⁸⁾, (was) He Who chose this humble unnumbered man. It (was) that he (Zacharias) went up one

⁽¹⁾ Egypt. — ⁽²⁾ Or "treat well" or "offer hospitality". — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* patriarchate. — ⁽⁴⁾ Cairo. — ⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* souls. — ⁽⁶⁾ *Lit.* nor did he have esteem among. — ⁽⁷⁾ Cf. *Ps.* 77, 70, 71*. — ⁽⁸⁾ Cf. *Ps.* 112, 7, 8*.

immediately silenced⁽¹⁾. When he had said this, a member of his withered up and remained withered up. The duration of his patriarchate was twenty-four years and eight months, and he went to his rest on the twelfth day of Hatûr⁽²⁾.

It was said concerning his family that they found that he possessed great riches from all that he had collected during his patriarchate, and they divided it among themselves, and they were four brothers, and the money was spent by them. I, Michael (Mikhâyîl), saw one⁽³⁾ of them in a time of dearth, and he was begging.

In his (Philotheus') days al-'Azîz, king of Mişr⁽⁴⁾, died, and his son al-Ĥâkim sat (on the throne), and he was very young. Extraordinary things happened⁽⁵⁾ to him, and we shall mention some of them, with the help of God to Whom be glory and power for ever end ever. Amen.

* fol. 147 v° * THE TWENTY-FIFTH BIOGRAPHY OF THE BIOGRAPHIES OF THE HOLY CHURCH. AĒBA ZACHARIAS (ANĒA ZAKĤARYĀS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE SIXTY-FOURTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER⁽⁶⁾.

When it was the reign⁽⁷⁾ of al-Ĥâkim bi Amr Allah who was called al-Imâm al-Manşûr, and the Throne of Alexandria had become⁽⁸⁾ vacant, the Synod (σύνδος) assembled to appoint a patriarch. While they were taking counsel together, there was at Alexandria a rich man whose name was Abraham (Ibrahîm) ibn Bişr (who) enjoyed the respect of

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 172, n. 6.

⁽²⁾ *i. e.* November-December.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* a man.

⁽⁴⁾ Egypt.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* were.

⁽⁶⁾ * Fol. 147 v°. A marginal note in red, complete in MS. A, in red and black, reads: "This father, the strong champion and the victor through Christ, sat (on the Throne) in the reign (*lit.* kingdom) of al-Ĥâkim, and he endured great adversities, and through his prayers his people was saved and overcame (them), and all of this is explained in this biography".

⁽⁷⁾ *Lit.* When it was in the kingdom.

⁽⁸⁾ *Lit.* was.

to him the words, but he was not able to utter a single word. Then he sat down and Abba Mark (Anbâ Marḳus), bishop of al-Bahnasâ⁽¹⁾ went up and performed the Liturgy (kuddâs) and the Fraction⁽²⁾ and communicated the people. The patriarch was carried to the house of Abû Malih̄ ibn Kuṭīn, the prefect (ʿâmil) of Alexandria, who was the father of Abû'l-Faraġ and of ʿUbaid. The father, the patriarch, continued silent until the ninth hour of the day. They gave him to drink white clay and rose water. When he had recovered, those who were assembled asked him to make known to them the reason for what had come over him, but he refused (to speak). They persisted in (their) request, and then he said: "O my sons, when I lifted up the oblation (δῶρον) and before I made the sign of the cross over it, I saw the niche⁽³⁾ split open and there came forth from it a hand from the top of the vault downwards, and the hand made the sign of the cross over the oblation (δῶρον). Then it (the oblation) was split in my hand, and I was

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 172, n. 3.

⁽²⁾ Cf. BUTE, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁽³⁾ The term شاق (the spelling شاو may be ignored) occurs several times in Abû Šâlih̄'s (or rather Abû'l-Makârim's *Chronicle Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, edited by B. A. T. Evetts, foll. 24 b, 41 b, 46 a and 59 a. There is also an alternate spelling جاق on foll. 5 a and 31 a. Its meaning, namely, niche, apse, or mural aperture (cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 70 and W. LANE, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 1894), is confirmed by the context of the various passages in which it occurs; e. g. انه جعل مكان الشاق قبلة "he turned the place of the niche (apse) into a Kiblah". Its position at the east end of the sanctuary is clear from the incident recorded above, and in EVETTS, *op. cit.*, fol. 31 a, we read that a church was burnt to the ground ما خلا الجاق وجانبى الاسكنا البحرى والقبلى "except for the niche (apse) and the sides of the northern and southern skênês". In Abû'l-Barakât's *Scala Magna*, edited by A. KIRCHER, *Lingua aegyptiaca restituta*, etc., p. 217, شاق is given as the rendering of ΠΙΣΟΡΓΙΣΙΝ which appears to be from the Greek σῦργις. This niche (apse) is also mentioned in the *Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar* edited by G. Horner (London, 1902), pp. 386-389. Here, the Coptic word ⲠⲟⲮⲩⲧⲧ (niche, alcove, cf. W. E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 608 b) is rendered by the word طاق. This word according to W. LANE, *op. cit.*, p. 1894 is said to be a Persian word arabicized, and it is possible that the forms جاق and شاق are merely variant spellings of طاق.

attention to our lands, but they (the lands) are abandoned without a shepherd, and our bishops and our priests are dead, and the churches are ruined, and we have learned that this trial has come down upon us as a just judgment in return for what we did with the metropolitan (muṭrān)”. When the letters reached George (Ġirġis), the king of Nubia (an-Nūbah), and he had learned of their contents, he sent on his part letters and messengers to the patriarch Philotheus (Filâtâûs), and he explained to him in them all that the king of Abyssinia (al-Ḥabašah) had mentioned to him, and he begged him to have compassion on his people. He (Philotheus) acceded to his request, and he consecrated for them a monk from the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr)⁽¹⁾, whose name was Daniel (Dânyâl), and he sent him to them as metropolitan (muṭrān). They received him with joy, and God removed from them His⁽²⁾ wrath and put an end to the affair of the woman who had risen up against them.

In the days of this father there were manifested many miracles to which truthful (and) trustworthy people bore witness. Among them (was) that the sun was darkened from the third hour of the day until the sixth hour, and the darkness was like night, and the stars appeared in the heaven, and the people wept and were afflicted and they thought that it was a matter which would not end, but afterwards God had pity and the sun (re)appeared.

Surûr ibn Ġirġâ, the archdeacon (ἀρχιδιάκονος) of Alexandria, related that he was present one day in the Church of my lord Mark (Mârî Marḳuṣ) the Evangelist, in Alexandria, and in it (there was) Abba Philotheus (Anbâ Filâtâûs), the patriarch, and with him a number of the bishops, among whom (were) Abba Mark (Anbâ Marḳuṣ), bishop of al-Bahnasâ⁽³⁾ and Abba Severus (Anbâ Sawîrus), bishop of Abû Şîr⁽⁴⁾, and that the patriarch went up to the sanctuary (haikal) of my lord Mark (Mârî Marḳuṣ) and stood upon the black flagstone and celebrated the Liturgy. When he lifted up the oblation (δῶρον)⁽⁵⁾, he remained silent⁽⁶⁾ and was not able to utter a word. Then the two aforesaid bishops pronounced

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 118, n. 3. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit. the.* — ⁽³⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 90. — ⁽⁴⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 7. — ⁽⁵⁾ Cf. BUTE, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39. — ⁽⁶⁾ *i. e.* he had a stroke.

of the Melkites (al-Malakîah) through her influence, because she had power, and he (Arsenius) prevailed over our churches in Fustât Mişr⁽¹⁾. We had in Kasr aş-Sam⁽²⁾ two churches under the name of the Lady, the Pure Mistress; one of the two of them was the Mu'allaḳah⁽³⁾, and the other was in the Lane (zuḳâḳ) of Abû Ḥuşain⁽⁴⁾. He (Arsenius) wished to take the Mu'allaḳah⁽³⁾, and our chiefs had many troubles and quarrels with him until he took the church of the Lady in the Lane (zuḳâḳ) of Abû Ḥuşain⁽⁴⁾, and the Mu'allaḳah⁽³⁾ remained to us.

In his (Philotheus') days, the king of Abyssinia (al-Ḥabaşah) sent to the king of Nubia (an-Nûbah), a youth whose name was George (Ġirġis), and made known to him how the Lord had chastened him, he and the inhabitants of his land (χώρα). It was that a woman, a queen of Banî al-Hamwiyah had revolted against him and against his country (χώρα).

* She took captive from it many people and burned many cities and destroyed churches and drove him (the king) from place to place. That which befell him was a retribution for what the king who (was) before him had done to the metropolitan (muṭrân) in the days of the father Abba Cosmas (Anbâ Ḳuzmâ), as we have explained earlier, through his falsification and his fraud. He (the king) said to him (George) in the letter which he sent to him: "I desire that thou shouldst help me and partake with me in the fatigue, for the sake of God and for the sake of the unity of the Faith, and that thou shouldst write a letter on thy part to the father, the patriarch, in Mişr⁽⁵⁾ to beg him to absolve us and to absolve our lands and to pray for us, that God may remove from us and from our country this trial, and may grant to us that he (the patriarch) may consecrate for us a metropolitan (muṭrân), as was the custom of our fathers, and that he may pray for us, that God may remove His wrath from us. I have mentioned this to thee, O brother, for fear lest the Christian (Naşrâniyah) religion pass away and cease among us, for lo, six patriarchs have sat (on the Throne) and have not paid

* fol. 147 r°

⁽¹⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 538. — ⁽²⁾ Cf. p. 108, n. 3. — ⁽³⁾ Cf. A. J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 206-235. — ⁽⁴⁾ Cf. A. J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 247-249. — ⁽⁵⁾ Egypt.

from me the dīnārs for his ordaining me priest, and (yet) kept silent and did not forbid them and did not send them away”.

The father Philotheus (Filâtâûs), the patriarch, persisted in collecting money and (in) eating and drinking. It is said that he constructed a bath in his house, and that he used to enter it every day, and when he went out, he was censured with very much incense. Then he would sit judging, commanding and interdicting until the fourth hour of the day, (and) then he would rise. When it was the sixth hour, there was made ready for him what he required in the way of food and drink and fruits, and he would rise up (and) enter his house, and certain people of the inhabitants of Damrû⁽¹⁾ and of his family and of his near relatives whose usual custom it was to sit with him and to drink with him, would present themselves to him, and he would eat and drink with them, and no one might approach him for the rest of the day⁽²⁾ until the next day. Many a time he would sit down to eat and to drink from early in the morning (bukrah) or (from) the third hour of the day, except (on) the days on which fasting was obligatory. When he persisted (in doing) this, God chastened him with a punishment through an accident which happened to him⁽³⁾. This (was) that (he entered) on a certain day into the bath and with him there was his disciple (who) was ministering to him. He (the disciple) went out to fetch cleansing paste (dalûk) and returned, and he found him lying on the ground senseless and unconscious. Then he carried him and brought him out from it (the bath). They caused physicians to be brought to him, and they wearied themselves in treating him, but they were unable (to do anything) for him by any means, for the hand of the Lord had smitten him, and he remained thus until the day of his death.

The king al-‘Azîz lillah ibn al-Mu‘izz li-dîni ‘llah had received a son from a concubine of his, a Greek (Rûmîah), and he (this son) sat on the throne⁽⁴⁾ after him, and he was surnamed al-Ĥâkim bi Amr Allah⁽⁵⁾. The aforesaid concubine who was the mother of al-Ĥâkim had a brother whose name was Arsenius (Arsânî). She set him up as patriarch

⁽¹⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 505. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* his day. — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* an affair which happened to him by chance. — ⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* kingdom. — ⁽⁵⁾ A. D. 996-1021.

(Bûluş) the aforesaid said to him with an obeisance (*μετάνοια*) : “Depart not from me until thou conceal me in the earth and receive the blessing. I shall not remain in the world beyond two days⁽¹⁾. When I die, hasten to bury me before the Muslims learn (of it) and take my body and burn it with fire”. His saying was a spirit of a prophecy speaking through him.

It happened⁽²⁾ that when after two days, he went to his rest, as he had said, Satan (aš-Šaiṭân)—may God put him to shame!—noised abroad news of him (Paul) in al-Maḥallah⁽³⁾ and Sandafâ⁽⁴⁾. Then the inhabitants of al-Maḥallah⁽³⁾ crossed over to Sandafâ⁽⁴⁾, and the inhabitants of the two cities gathered together in less than an hour, and they surrounded the church in which he (Paul) went to his rest. Then the aforesaid deacon Theodore (Tîdra) was perplexed and did not know what he should do with his (Paul’s) body. While he was walking perplexed in the church, his foot went down beneath the threshold. He examined the place and found it a beautiful, clean, concealed cellar. Then he lowered the body of Saint Paul (Bûluş) into it and filled in the earth and replaced the flagstone as it was (before) and arranged the place as it should be. Then he opened the door, and those who were assembled entered and demanded his (Paul’s) body, but they did not find it. They went round the whole church, but they did not find it, and they went away ashamed. This deacon Theodore (Tîdra) was he who explained to me the case of this Saint Paul (Bûluş) ibn Rağâ from its beginning to its end according to what he (Paul) had related⁽⁵⁾ to him by his true mouth. He wrote what he (Paul) had said and related about himself, how he (Paul) had said : “All that happened to me in the way of torture, and what befell me in the way of degradation did not trouble me, with the exception of three things (which) were the coming together of my brother with my concubine in my presence, and the drowning of my son from her in my presence while I was looking at him, but more serious than either of them was when the patriarch looked on at me while his disciples were demanding

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* There remains not to me in the world save two days. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* It was. — ⁽³⁾ Cf. p. 168, n. 6. — ⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 168, note 5. — ⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* his relation.

possessed ⁽¹⁾, they seized him by force and ordained him priest in the holy Skênê (σκηνή) of Benjamin (Binyâmîn) ⁽²⁾. The disciples of the patriarch demanded from him the dinârs according to their custom, and this was exceedingly difficult for him, for he did not have anything. A certain archon (ἄρχων) saw them asking him, and they troubled him with the demand. Then he (the archon) paid to them what they demanded from him. When news of him reached his father that he had become a priest, his heart did not support it with patience, but he sent dinârs to certain of the Arabs ('Urbân) who were in that desert so that they might kill him. When certain of the monks heard (of this), they informed him, and they said to him : "Thou hast done what was necessary and hast proclaimed the Name of Christ in the place in which it was not necessary to proclaim it. Now deliver not up thyself ⁽³⁾ unto death, but go to the Rîf (ar-Rîf) ⁽⁴⁾ and remain hidden in it". He obeyed them and went forth to Sandafâ ⁽⁵⁾ and abode there for two years, and he became steward (ḳayyim) in the Church of the martyr Theodore (Tâdrus), being assiduous in its service night and day. Then Satan (aš-Šaitân) entered into the heart of certain people of them (the inhabitants), and they noised abroad the news of him in Sandafâ ⁽⁵⁾ and al-Maḥallah ⁽⁶⁾, and they related the affair of his case. This was two days before his death. It happened that there was present a deacon from among the inhabitants of Minûf ⁽⁷⁾, whose name was Theodore (Tîdra) ibn Menas (Minâ). He was at that time a secretary of the Synod (σύνδος) of the see of my lord Mark (Mârî Marḳus) the Evangelist, and it was he whose

* fol. 146 v * office I, the wretched Michael (Mikhâyîl), the compiler of this biography, took after his death. When he entered the aforesaid church at Sandafâ ⁽⁵⁾, he found Saint Paul (Bûluṣ) ibn Raḡâ ill with a severe fever. Paul

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* what was upon him in the way of piety, etc.

⁽²⁾ Cf. H. G. EVELYN WHITE, *op. cit.*, Part III, p. 42.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* thy soul.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, pp. 96 sqq.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. H. MUNIER, *Recueil des listes épiscopales de l'Église copte*, in *Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte, Textes et Documents*, Le Caire, 1943, pp. 36 and 40.

⁽⁶⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 262.

⁽⁷⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 251.

which we say over the bread and the wine when we place them both on the altar. Then the bread is transmuted and becomes flesh and the wine becomes blood in a mystical manner, as God has shewn to thee to-day, but they are both outwardly bread and wine, because no one in the world is able to take raw meat or to drink spurting blood; only God has manifested to thee this hidden, true and holy mystery for the salvation of thy soul''. Then he (the priest) read to him the books of the Church and explained to him the Mysteries of the Christian (al-Masiḥī) belief, so that his heart was reassured to enter it (Christianity), and he recognized its grandeur and the truth of it and he ascertained its teachings and its soundness. Then he commanded his companions to depart and he spent the night there with the priest, and he baptized him at night and he became a Christian (Naṣrānī). When the morrow came⁽¹⁾, his companions brought to him the beast, (but) he sent them away and he did not speak to them. When they learned the news, they went to his father and informed him of this, and he grieved sorely⁽²⁾, and he sent to bring him (al-Hāsimī) against his will. He spoke to him with tenderness and with severity. He grew weary with him on account of all the means which he tried, and he multiplied for him at one time humiliation(s) and at another time intimidation(s), but he was unable (to obtain) anything from him, and he (al-Hāsimī) did not renounce his opinion. Thereupon, he delivered him up to torture and he was tortured exceedingly⁽³⁾, but he did not renounce his belief, and then his head was cut off with the sword for the Name of the Lord Christ, and his martyrdom was accomplished—may his blessings descend upon us and may his intercession be with us. As for his holy body, the Christians (an-Naṣārā) of Baghdād honoured and venerated it, and they built over it a church which is now known as the Church of al-Hāsimī.

When the Saint Paul (Būluṣ) ibn Raḡā had completed the construction of the church which (is dedicated) to Michael (Mikāyīl) at Rās al-Khalīḡ⁽⁴⁾, he returned twice to Wādī Habīb⁽⁵⁾, and he abode there two years. When the monks saw the piety, learning and knowledge which he

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* was. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* a severe grieving. — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* a severe torturing.
— ⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 163, n. 5. — ⁽⁵⁾ Cf. p. 113, n. 4.

of the Liturgies (ḳudāsāt), and most of the priests abstained from (celebrating) the Liturgy (ḳuddās) for fear of this, but it was the help of God (that) was attracting him, yet he did not know (it).

When, on a certain day, he entered one⁽¹⁾ of the churches according to his custom, God opened his eyes and he perceived in the paten the oblation (ḳurbân) as a beautiful, noble child, and at the time of the Fraction⁽²⁾ he perceived (that) the priest had immolated him and (that) he drew off his blood into the chalice and (that) he divided his flesh into pieces in the paten. Al-Hâsimî was astounded and unable to move.

* fol. 146 r°

* Then the priest went out to communicate the people with the flesh, and in like manner the deacon with the chalice, with the blood, while he (al-Hâsimî) was looking at them. He marvelled and said to the soldiers : “Do ye not see this doer, the maker, namely, the priest?” They said to him : “We see him”. He said to them : “Shall we endure patiently this (man) taking a child, immolating him and dividing his flesh among this great multitude and giving them to drink of his blood?” They said to him : “May God help thee, O our master, we see nothing save bread and wine”. Then his fear and his amazement increased. The people remained amazed at his standing (thus) stupified, and (that) he did not do to the Eucharist (ḳurbân) as his custom was. When the priest had finished and the people had gone out, he summoned the priest and told him what he had seen. He (the priest) said to him : “O our master, God forbid⁽³⁾; it was nothing save bread and wine”. When he (al-Hâsimî) knew that this mystery had not been manifested save to him alone, he said to him : “I desire that thou dost make known to me the mystery of this Eucharist (ḳurbân) and its origin”. The priest made known to him, how the Lord Christ had taken bread and drink, and divided this among His disciples and said to them : ‘Take and eat : This is My Body, and drink : This is My Blood. Drink of It all of you (for) a remission of your sins’. “The disciples taught us a prayer

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* a church of the churches.

⁽²⁾ Cf. John BUTE, *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day*, London, 1882, p. 102.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* I take refuge with God for thee.

the Discernment; Book on the Order of the Priesthood, twelve (chapters) on the Rites (ἑσθῆς) of the Church; Book on the Differences of the Sects; Book on Judgments; Book on the Exposition of the Union. Some of these books have a different name from that which we have stated. Perhaps, the book has two names.

Severus (Sāwirus) the aforesaid bishop and al-Wāḍiḥ ibn Raḡā, the two Saints, used to consult together a good deal of their time, and to examine the books of God for the enlightenment of their minds and their nature, so that they might interpret spiritual books. Then al-Wāḍiḥ ibn Raḡā wrote two books of commentary in the Arabic language, one of the two he called "The Evident (al-Wāḍiḥ), that is, the Confession", and he set forth in it the errors of those who are opposed to us, and he produced arguments against them from their book. The other book he called "Rarities of the Commentators (Nawādir al Mufasssirin)", and he consumed those who are opposed to us by means of these two books, and he produced arguments against them from their religion, as did Samson (Ṣamṣūm), the mighty one, when he fastened brands to the tails of foxes and let them loose into the cornfield of his enemies and consumed it⁽¹⁾. He wrote in them (the two books) an exposition of his case concerning himself.

He said in them (the two books) that the bishop Abba Severus (Anbā Sāwirus) ibn al-Muḡaffa' had related to him that there was in Baghdād a man, a chief, the son of a king, known as al-Hāsimī. He never occupied himself with anything of the affairs of the kingdom, neither with garments nor with camels, save that he used to ride (about) every day, and with him there were his soldiers, and he used to watch the churches of the Christians (an-Naṣārā) at the time of the Liturgy (ḡuddās), and he would enter them mounted, and he would order the Eucharist (ḡurbān) to be taken from the sanctuary (haikal), and they would break it and mix it with the dust, and he would overturn the chalice. Whenever he did this in a church, he would go to another and he would do in it the same thing, so that the churches of Baghdād were on the point of being deprived

⁽¹⁾ Cf. *Judges* XV, 4-5.

the name of the great angel Michael (Mikhâyîl)⁽¹⁾, and he built it.

There were in Mişr⁽²⁾ people of Ramâdiyât, (and) they went by night and stole the wood of this church. When it was morning, this Saint, Ibn Rağâ, saw some of them in that district (nâhiyah), and he said to them : "I know that yesterday ye took the wood, and I know the place in which ye have hidden it. Return it to its place, otherwise I shall complain of you to the wâlî of Cairo (al-Ķâhirah)". They denied this, and they said : "We have not taken anything". He said to them : "I shall go to al-Ĥâkim bi Amr Allah, and he, if God will, will order the wood to be taken from where ye have put it and ye shall suffer harm from that". They were afraid and returned the whole of the wood to the church.

This Saint, Ibn Rağâ, called himself al-Wâđih, and he became a friend of the learned, eminent man, Abba Severus (Anbâ Sâwîrus), bishop of al-Aşmûnain⁽³⁾, known as Ibn al-MuĶaffa' whom we have mentioned before, he who composed twenty books, besides homilies (mayâmîr), commentaries, and answers and questions by Abî 'I-Bişr ibn Ġârûd, the Egyptian (al-Maşri) writer. These are the names of the twenty books : Book on the Unity ; Book on the Union ; Book of the Splendid, a refutation of the Jews (al-Yahûd) ; Book of the Exposition and Detailed Account, a refutation of the Nestorians (an-Nasţûriyah) ; Book concerning Religion, written for the Wazîr Cosmas (Ķuzmân) ibn Menas (Minâ) ; Book on the Arrangement of the Pearl ; Book on the Councils ; Book on the curing of sadness and the healing of affliction ; Book on the Councils ; Book of Commentary on the Faith ; Book of the Announcement, a refutation of the Jews (al-Yahûd) ; Book of Refutation of Sa'id Ibn BaţriĶ ; Book on the Signification of the Children of the Faithful and the Impious, and on how the Two Souls rise ; Book of the Elucidation, namely, the Lamp of the Soul ; Book of the Biographies ; (Book of)

⁽¹⁾ Cf. al-MaĶrîzî, extract in B. T. A. EVETTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt, etc.*, p. 340.

⁽²⁾ Cairo.

⁽³⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 167.

him : “When the lad goes down with thee in the evening that thou mayest teach him swimming, drown him, and I will be present that I may see him and may know that it is he”. The swimmer agreed (to do) this. When it was evening, Ibn Raġā, the witness, took his son, the monk, the father of the lad, and went with him to the river⁽¹⁾. The lad went down with his teacher to the river⁽¹⁾ that he might (teach) him to swim. When he was in the middle of the river⁽¹⁾, he (the teacher) drowned him, while his father, the monk, was looking on. Then his (Ibn Raġā’s) father took him back to his house and imprisoned him in another part of it, and wrote a letter concerning him to the Sulṭān—the Calif (al-Khalifah) at that time was al-Ḥākīm bi Amr Allah⁽²⁾—as the Lord saith in the Gospel : “A father shall deliver up his son unto death”⁽³⁾. The Calif (al-Khalifah) commanded him to be brought with his father before the Supreme Judge (Ḳāḍī al-Ḳuḍāh) and the witnesses, and that they should dispute with him. If anything were proved against him, he should be put to death, but if nothing were proved against him, then he should be set free. When they assembled for this (purpose) in the presence of a good mediator, al-Ḥākīm bi Amr Allah caused him (Ibn Raġā) to stand up, but no proof of his father’s was established against him, as the Lord Christ saith : “For I will give you a tongue and wisdom that no one shall be able to withstand”⁽⁴⁾. * Then they departed disappointed and ashamed, and no one addressed a word to him (Ibn Raġā) anymore. Then al-Ḥākīm commanded him to be set free (and) to go whithersoever he wished. He (Ibn Raġā) went to Rās al-Khalīġ⁽⁵⁾ and he started on the construction of a church there between Birkīt al-Ḥabaš⁽⁶⁾ and Banī Wāyil⁽⁷⁾ under

* fol. 145 v°

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* sea, *i. e.* the Nile.

⁽²⁾ A. D. 996-1021.

⁽³⁾ Cf. *Matt.* 10, 21*.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. *Lk.* 21, 15*.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. P. CASANOVA, *Essai de reconstruction topographique de la ville d’Al-Fouṣṭāt ou Miṣr*, in *Mémoires de l’Institut français d’Archéologie orientale du Caire*, t. XXXV (1919).

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. P. CASANOVA, *Essai de reconstruction*, etc., t. I, p. xxvi.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. P. CASANOVA, *Essai de reconstruction*, etc., première partie, pp. 3-60.

but he did not taste anything of it. When six days had passed ⁽¹⁾, his strength was weakened, but he was assiduous in fasting and prayer night and day ⁽²⁾. There appeared to him on the seventh day the monk who had appeared to him first on the way to Mecca (Makkah), and in his hand there was pure bread. He (the youth) thought that he was a spectre, and he did not eat anything of it (the bread) until he knew that something had appeared to him from God. Then the monk said to him : “Knowest thou me?” He said to him : “Yea, thou art he whom I saw in a dream three times on the way to Mecca (Makkah)”. He said to him : “Yea, I am that (one), and I am Macarius (Maḳārah), the father of Wādī Habīb ⁽³⁾. Now I have been sent unto thee to console thee. Be strong and patient, for thou shalt have a great reward”. Then he departed from him, and he (the youth) took that bread and ate, after he had made the sign of the cross over it, and his soul was strengthened. Then his father brought him forth from that place, and he marvelled at his remaining without food and drink (for) this period, and (that) his countenance was not changed. He (his father) spoke with him about renouncing what he had done ⁽⁴⁾ and he grew weary with him, but he did not prevail over him in any way. He (the youth) had formerly a concubine, and he had received a son from her before his going to Mecca (Makkah). His father ordered his elder brother to bring her, and when she was brought, he commanded him (the elder brother) to come together with her in his (the youth’s) presence. He did that, and he (the father) gave her to him. His (the youth’s) little son was learning swimming, and he (the father of Ibn Raḡā) said to his believing, saintly father : “If thou do not obey me and renounce what thou hast done ⁽⁵⁾, then I shall drown thy son in thy presence, him ⁽⁶⁾ whom thou lovest”. He said : “Yea, I love him, and he is my son, yet I love the Lord more than him”. Then he (the father of Ibn Raḡā) caused the swimmer who used (to teach) him (the lad) swimming to be brought, and he paid to him secretly two dīnārs, and he said to

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* it was after six days. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* his night and his day. — ⁽³⁾ Cf. p. 113, n. 4. — ⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* what he is upon him. — ⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* what thou art upon him. — ⁽⁶⁾ *Lit.* this.

brought him out and presented to him food, but he did not eat anything of it. He was as if he had come forth from a feast or a banquet, and (as) one (who is) without need of food * or drink, as saith Isaiah (Iṣā'yā) * fol. 145 r° the prophet : "Those who are bound to the Lord shall renew their strength. They shall not hunger nor shall they thirst" (1). When his affair had wearied them, they took counsel to kill him lest they should be dishonoured through him. Then their hearts were touched with pity for him, and they brought him forth secretly and went with him to al-Ġīzah (2), and they said to him : "Depart from us (that) we may find rest from thy dishonour". Then he went to Wādī Habīb (3), and he abode there with a monk, and he taught him the paths of God and made him a monk. When he had abode (there) a few days, certain of those among the monks, who are without understanding, said to him : "The Lord will not accept thy (conversion to) Christianity (Naṣrā-nīyah) unless thou go to Miṣr (4) and shew thyself publicly, so that thou mayest be known". He hearkened to them and returned to Miṣr (4) in obedience to them. He went to the dwelling-place of his father and was prepared to be put to death for the Name of Christ. When his father saw him in the garment of monks, he cried out and was enraged with him and said to him : "What is this dishonour? Thou didst go and hast returned to me with a hood of wool"—he meant the holy hood (kalansuwah) which is the helmet (baīḍat) of salvation. Then he took him and imprisoned him in a dark cellar into which the sweepings of the dust and ashes and dirt of the house were cast, and he shut down the cover over him. He swore unto everyone in the house that none should give him bread or water, and that if anyone gave to him anything of this, he would punish him. He ordered his pages and his female servants to throw upon him all that they swept up in the way of dust and ashes and dirt of the house and the washings of the pots. He (the youth) remained thus for six days, and his weeping mother did not cease from weeping on his account, and she was exceedingly grieved for him, and she used to let down to him bread and water with a rope,

(1) Cf. *Is.* 40, 31*. — (2) AMÉLINEAU, p. 190. — (3) Cf. p. 113, n. 4.
— (4) Cairo.

came out and those who went in at the time of the Prayer of Vespers. When the Prayer (of Vespers) was finished and the Christians (an-Naṣārā) came out, the youth came out in their midst, and they (the brothers) examined him attentively and they recognized him and they followed him to the bank (of the Nile). When they were in a place separated from the people, they took hold of him and they wept and they struck their faces and said to him : “What is this which thou hast done to us, O our brother?”. He said to them : “What is there about me that you should not recognize (me)?” One of the two of them said to the other : “This is not a place for discussion, lest Satan (aš-Šaiṭān) should have entered him and we be covered with shame among the people». They kept close to him until they brought him to the house with gentleness. His family renewed the mourning (ġanāzat), when they saw him in this condition. Then his father and his mother spoke to him, and they said to his brothers : “Do not speak to him till we find out about his case, lest we should become disgraced”. Then they shut the doors and went in with him to a place apart. When they had ascertained the truth about his case, they said to him : “Thou art not our son”. He said to them : “I am Paul (Būluṣ)”, that is to say, the name by which they called him at the time of baptism. His father said to him : “Thou hast dishonoured me, O my son, and thou hast dishonoured my eldership among the judges (kuḏāh) and the witnesses. Perhaps, thou hast done this because I did not marry thee. I had already thought to marry thee, when thou shouldst return from the pilgrimage, to the best (woman) in Miṣr⁽¹⁾, and to spend on thy marriage much money”. They remained questioning him and saying to him : “Do not dishonour us in the midst of the people, and do not put us to shame in this city”. They did not cease (to remain) with him till midnight, and he was saying to them : “I do not know what you are saying”. When they did not find in him any way out, they put him into a dark chamber for three days without food (and) without drink, but they did not prevail over him. On account of her great weeping and affliction, his mother did not break her fast likewise. Then they

⁽¹⁾ Cairo.

friend of their father there, they turned to him and asked concerning him (the youth). But he (the friend) wept and informed them that their brother had gone astray in the desert at night, and he said to them : “I halted for a long (time) waiting for him, but he did not come, and I was compelled to journey on ⁽¹⁾, and I caught up with the end of the caravan. I journeyed against my will, and the night came between me and him, and I thought that perhaps he might have gone before me at the head of the caravan. When it was morning, I made a tour the ⁽²⁾ whole day through the caravan from its head to its end, and I asked all who were in it concerning him (the youth), but I did not learn any news about him, and I knew (then) that he had become separated from the caravan at that place, and (that) the wild beasts had devoured him”. When they (his brothers) heard this from him, they rent their garments and returned to their father and informed him of this. He set up a lamentation (manâḥah) for him and a great mourning (ġanâzah). When the days of the mourning (ġanâzah) were accomplished, a youth from among his (the youth’s) friends (who) was dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Church of the martyr Abba Mercurius (Abû Marḳûrah) ⁽³⁾ in Miṣr ⁽⁴⁾ saw him (the youth) one day come out from the church and return to it, and there were upon him garments of wool and a girdle of wool. He said : “Verily, people resemble one another, and if Ibn Raġâ were not already dead, I would have said that he was this (one)”. Then he met his father and his brothers and he said to them : “I wished to-day to detain a Christian (Naṣrânî) man at the Church of Abba Mercurius (Abû Marḳûrah) ⁽³⁾, (as) I would have said that he was your son. If I had not been informed of his death, I would say it was he, because he resembles him in all his characteristics, even in his gait. I had no doubts about him, except in his garments of wool and the girdle”. When they heard this, grief and weeping were renewed in them. Then his brothers desired ardently to see this person (of) whom it was said that he resembled their brother. Then they both arose in the evening and, being disguised in despicable garments, they hid themselves in a corner at the door of the church, so that they might see those who

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* the journey compelled me. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* my. — ⁽³⁾ Cf. p. 144, n. 3. — ⁽⁴⁾ Cairo.

(Testaments) until God enlightened his heart and he learned the Mysteries of the Belief and the truth of the Faith, as the Apostle saith : “If a man return to the Lord the covering will be removed from his heart”⁽¹⁾. He (the youth) recognized the error in which he was⁽²⁾, and in which he had destroyed his life, and he stablished his foundation on the rock which is Christ, and he said as Paul (Bûluş) saith : “What (is it that) shall separate me from the love of Christ? Tribulation or captivity or hunger or fire or prison⁽³⁾? and the remainder of the chapter, none of these⁽⁴⁾ shall be able to separate me from the love of Christ”. When the heart of that youth was strengthened in the Orthodox Faith, he asked the elder (şâikh), the priest, to baptize him. He (the priest) feared lest it might be a blow from Satan (as-Şaiṭân), and he counselled the aforesaid youth to go to Wâdî Habîb⁽⁵⁾. On account of the greatness of his desire (to receive baptism) he asked him (the priest) fervently⁽⁶⁾ with many obeisances (μετάνοια) and said to him : “Perhaps, I shall not live till I reach there”, and he constrained him (to baptize him) through the abundance of his supplication to him * and his weeping, so that he baptized him and named him Paul (Bûluş). When he had worn the light of the garment of baptism⁽⁷⁾, he asked for despicable clothes to be bought from the market, and he put them on and he asked him (the priest) to pray for him. He went out and no one recognized him on account of the change in his dress and his mien by reason of the abundance of his fasting, his prayer, his contest and his standing up to read the books, the reading of which was like honey unto him.

* fol. 144 v°

As for the pilgrims, they had reached Mişr⁽⁸⁾; and it was the usual custom, when they approached Mişr⁽⁸⁾ to send him who should announce the news of their arrival. The families of the pilgrims went out (from Cairo) a distance of two days that they might meet them a long way off. When his (the youth's) brothers went out with all the people to meet him, they went around (searching) for him and they asked concerning him, but they did not learn any news of him. When they found the

⁽¹⁾ 2 Corinth. 3, 16*. — ⁽²⁾ Lit. what was in him in the way of error. — ⁽³⁾ Cf. Rom. 8, 35*. — ⁽⁴⁾ Lit. this. — ⁽⁵⁾ Cf. p. 113, n. 4. — ⁽⁶⁾ Lit. a great asking. — ⁽⁷⁾ i. e. the white baptismal robe. — ⁽⁸⁾ Cairo.

do ; and bring to me a priest, a minister of God the Exalted, pure, virtuous, intelligent (and) learned that he may teach me the Canons (κανόν) of the Christians (an-Naṣārā) and their belief and the precepts of their Law and stablish me in the Faith, since my heart is already inclined towards this religion''. The sacristan agreed (to do) this, and he hid him with him in a concealed place in the church, and he went to an elder (šaiḥ), a priest, learned, pure and virtuous, and made known to him the state of the affair. He rose up with him, being pleased with him. When they came together, the priest gave him (the youth) an answer to all that he asked him about (the affair in question) and he explained it to him and caused him to understand the truth of the matter concerning it. The youth asked him to bring to him the Gospels and the Books of the Church, the Old and the New (Testaments), and to translate⁽¹⁾ for him the Coptic into the Arabic tongue. He said to him : "I wish to read them and to understand them and to know them, that the truth of the Faith may be stablished in me on strong foundations, for these sufferings and afflictions are not to be borne in vain''. The priest brought to him the Gospel and the Books of the Prophets and all the Books of the Old and the New (Testaments) which demonstrate the truth of the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Faith and the Unity of the Lord Christ, One of the Three Persons, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and that God is One in His Godhead, and the reason for His Incarnation and His Life-giving Death and His Resurrection from the dead and His Ascension into Heaven and the Descent of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete (Παράκλητος) upon the Apostles and the turning back of the people from error to the truth of the Faith. The youth said : "Blessed be he who followed this path, namely, Saul (Šāwūl) who was called Paul (Būluṣ) who heard the voice of the Lord saying to him : 'Saul (Šāwūl), Saul (Šāwūl), why persecutest thou me?'⁽²⁾. After which He elected him from out of his error. In like manner I ask Him to guide me and to vouchsafe to me election, that I may manifest His Name among the nations''. The end of this speech will come at its place in this biography. He remained (many) days searching the Books of the Old and the New

⁽¹⁾ *Lit. interpret.* — ⁽²⁾ *Acts 9, 4**.

* fol. 144 r°

that the reason ⁽¹⁾ for thy entry into his church might be manifest". The youth said to him : "Who is the Patron Saint ⁽²⁾ of this church?" He said to him : "He is Saint Abba Mercurius (Abû Marķûrah) the venerable". He (the youth) said : "Is Abba Mercurius (Abû Marķûrah) a prophet?" The sacristan said to him : "No, * but he is the martyr, the venerable and the strong, (one) because he renounced the glory of this world and sought (that of) the next world, and he died for the Name of Christ on account of his belief in Him and his manifesting His Name before the unbelieving kings. He received from them much torture for the sake of the Name of Christ, and he was afflicted with (all) kinds of tortures and (all) sorts of afflictions till God took him unto Himself and received him into His everlasting and Heavenly Kingdom. This church and others beside it were built in his name in many places, in order that God—praised be He—might be glorified in it. His intercession is acceptable ⁽³⁾ with God in interceding for the people and he intercedes for them and God manifests miracles through him and through his intercession". The youth said to him : "What ⁽⁴⁾ is his description and (what is) his portrait (like)?" He (the sacristan) said to him : "He resembles thee and is about thy age". Then he (the sacristan) took him and went with him to the place of his venerable picture. When he (the youth) saw it, he said : "In truth, this is the portrait of him who appeared to me, whom I saw in the desert, and (who) carried me on the back of this horse of his hither, and this golden girdle which I saw about his waist is the same shape as it. Now I will make known to thee that I am a Muslim man from among the inhabitants of this city and I agree on account of this miracle to become a Christian (Naṣrânî)". He informed the sacristan of all that had happened to him and he said to him : "I am the son of Raġâ, the witness, and I cannot shew myself, lest I should be burned with fire and the church should be burned on account of me ; but I desire thee to do me a favour, and thou shalt receive a reward from the Lord Christ, (it is that) thou shouldst hide me in some place so that no one shall see me until I have arranged what I shall

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* what was on thee. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* possessor. — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* He has an acceptable intercession. — ⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* How.

from my companions". Then he said to him : "Mount the horse behind me". When he had mounted, the horse flew with him through the air. He did not know whether he was in the sky or on the earth, so that he swiftly arrived in the Church of the martyr Abba Mercurius (Abû Marḳûrah) ⁽¹⁾ in Miṣr ⁽²⁾. The door opened to him by itself without that anyone opened it, and he entered with him, still mounted upon the horse, as far as the door of the sanctuary (*ιερατεῖον*). There he made him dismount, and he did not see him again. He remained astonished, as if he were in a dream, on account of the miracle which he had witnessed. Then he thought within himself and said : "(What) is this that has befallen me? Can this be a church of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ)?" He turned round and saw the lamps (*κωνδηλην*) burning and the pictures, and said : "Was I not a moment (ago) in the desert?" He stood inside the sanctuary (*ιερατεῖον*) till it became morning. Then the sacristan (*ἄμνογυτ*) of the church entered, and he thought that he (the youth) was a thief, and he wished to cry out. He (the youth) motioned to him with his hand to keep silent and to come up to him. When he drew nigh to him, the youth said to him : "What is this place?" He said to him : "The Church of Abba Mercurius (Abû Marḳûrah) ⁽¹⁾ in Miṣr" ⁽²⁾. He (the youth) said to him : "Is this the city of Miṣr?" ⁽²⁾. He said to him : "Yes, but lo, I see thee as if thy mind were troubled. Make known to me thy history and what is thy case". By that time the youth had grown calm and he said to him : "How should my mind not go astray, (seeing) that I was this night in such and such a place, and I do not know how I arrived here. God it is Who knows this". When the sacristan (*ἄμνογυτ*) heard mention of the place in which he (the youth) had been, he said to him : "Did I not say to thee that thy mind was troubled (and) distracted, (and that) thou dost not know what thou sayest? Between thee and the place which thou hast mentioned there is a distance of one month and twelve days' (journey) and according to my opinion thou art nothing but a thief, and that it is the power of the martyr which has caused thee to bring forward this vain excuse, in order

⁽¹⁾ Cf. A. J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 75-154.

⁽²⁾ Cairo.

Thereupon they comforted him and said to him : “Do not stablish in thy heart anything of the speech of that erring one”. But he did not forget what was in his heart. After those days, the aforesaid youth saw a number of the inhabitants of Miṣr⁽¹⁾ who had determined (to go) to the Hedjaz (al-Ḥiğāz) to perform the pilgrimage. He said to his father : “I desire to perform the pilgrimage with the people”. His father rejoiced at this and gave to him one hundred dīnārs and entrusted⁽²⁾ him to a friend of his who was journeying to Mecca (Makkah), and he said to him : “This is my son whom I entrust⁽³⁾ to thee to guard him as thy son until thou bring him back with thee, and he shall be in thy company by the will of God”. He (the father) bought for him all that was necessary for him. While they were journeying the youth had⁽⁴⁾ a dream one night, and it was as if an elder (ṣaikh), a monk, exceedingly luminous stood by him and said to him : “Follow me, thou shalt profit thy soul”. When he awoke, he related the dream to the friend of his father who was with him. He said to him : “O my son, may God assist thee. Verily, the monk is Satan (aṣ-Ṣaiṭān) who desires to tempt thee. Do not lend⁽⁵⁾ thy thought to him”. Then he (the monk) appeared to him the next night and said to him as he had said on the first night without addition or reduction. On the third night also he (the monk) spoke in the same manner. When they had accomplished their pilgrimage they returned, and they journeyed six or seven days. While they were returning, they dismounted from their camels at night to pass water. Then the man (who was) the friend of his (the youth’s) father mounted his camel, but he (the youth) tarried and became separated from him (his friend) and saw no one. Then he (the youth) started to run till he became tired, but he could not rejoin them (the company). He remained alone astray in the desert and he sat down being afraid of the beasts of the desert, lest they should devour him. Behold, a youth mounted on a horse, in a handsome garment and girded with a girdle of gold, stood before him. When he saw him, he said to him : “Who art thou and how is it that thou art gone astray alone in this desert?”. The youth said to him : “I dismounted from my camel to pass water, and I became separated

(1) Egypt. — (2) *Lit.* gave. — (3) *Lit.* give. — (4) *Lit.* saw. — (5) *Lit.* make.

and the Holy Spirit. The Son is not foreign to God the Father, Who is His Word and likewise His Spirit. The mystery of our religion is wonderful, but it is hidden from you, because your minds (cannot) endure it. Now, O man ⁽¹⁾, thy heart is darkened and the light of faith has not illuminated it, but I see that after a little while the light will draw nigh to thee, and thy heart will be illuminated through the light of Christ, and that thou shalt contend for the sake of Him for Whose sake I am contending, and for the sake of Whose Name I give my soul and my body unto suffering and death, and that thou also shalt receive these sufferings which I endure ⁽²⁾". When the youth heard his words, he was angered with him and said : "Hearken to what this erring impious one says. Thinkest thou that I shall be an erring impious one as thou?" Then he took off his shoe from his foot and buffeted him with it on his mouth and his face and his head, and he caused him to suffer much through the buffeting. He said to him : "It ⁽³⁾ shall never be that I shall be as thou, O vile one". He (the man) said : "Thou wilt remember my words ⁽⁴⁾ and wilt know the truth of what I am saying ⁽⁵⁾". Then they struck off his head ⁽⁶⁾ and cast upon him fire-wood (ḥatab) and many reeds (bûṣ), so that it (the heap) became like a lofty castle, and they set fire to it. * When the people saw the hugeness of that fire which

*fol. 143 v°

remained over him for three days, and the soldiers were guarding him day and night, and after that they took off from him the burning fire and they found his body like unto gold, and that nothing of it was burnt. Then they informed al-Mu'izz of this and he commanded him (the man) to be buried.

Ibn Rağâ, the witness, whom we have mentioned, went to his house and spent that night (there), being sad at heart on account of what the martyr of Christ had said to him. He did not eat and he did not drink that night, but he was sitting astonished. Then his father and his brothers came together to him and they said to him : "What is it that has befallen thee?" He informed them of what the martyr had said.

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* thou, this one. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* in which I am. — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* This. — ⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* speech. — ⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* my saying. — ⁽⁶⁾ *Lit.* neck.

as Ibn Raġā⁽¹⁾. The youth had learned the Law (*νόμος*) of the Muslims and observed the Coran (*Qurʾān*). He was wandering on a certain day along the bank of the river⁽²⁾ (at) the place where fire-wood (*ḥaṭab*) and reeds (*bûṣ*) are sold, (which) is known as Birkit Ramis⁽³⁾ at Miṣr⁽⁴⁾, and he found (there) a man who was a Muslim (who) had become a Christian. The soldiers of the king were round about him, holding him, and they had already prepared for him at Birkit Ramis⁽³⁾ fire-wood (*ḥaṭab*) and reeds (*bûṣ*) in order to burn him. A great multitude of people had gathered together unto him, and were crowded together to see him. This youth whose father (was) Ibn Raġā, was very zealous in his religion, even as was Paul (*Bûluṣ*) at that time, when he was called to from heaven, and it was said to him : “Saul (*Ṣāwûl*), Saul (*Ṣāwûl*), why persecutest thou me?”⁽⁵⁾ That One Who spake to him (Saul) was He Who called this youth to be a witness to that martyr. When he was brought, as (was) Paul (*Bûluṣ*), he went up to that martyr who was in the midst of the soldiers, and he said to him : “O man, what is it that has driven thee to lose thy soul on account of a religion in which thou art unfaithful to God the Exalted, and dost associate with Him another, and wilt be precipitated into this fire in (this) world and in the next world (into) the fire of Gehenna (*Ġahannam*), because thou makest God the third of three, whereas He is one and nothing resembles Him, and thou sayest that God has a son. Now hearken to me and put away from thee this impiety and return to thy religion, and I will make thee as a brother unto me, and everyone shall honour thee”. He (the man) said to him : “Do not attribute to me impiety and associating with God the Exalted (other gods). How (can) we make Him three, while we, the Christians (*an-Naṣārā*), adore one God Who is the Father and the Son

⁽¹⁾ A marginal note in red, complete in A, reads : “From here is the story of al-Wāḍih ibn Abū Raġā, the martyr, a native of Miṣr (Cairo)”.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* sea, *i. e.* the Nile.

⁽³⁾ Cf. P. CASANOVA, *Essai de reconstruction topographique de la ville d'Al-Fouṣṭāt ou Miṣr*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire*, t. XXXV (1919), p. 178.

⁽⁴⁾ Cairo.

⁽⁵⁾ *Acts*, 9, 4*.

days of his son who ruled after him, namely, Nazâr Abî 'l-Manşûr al-'Azîz bi'llah.

There was in the days of this king a body of Christian (an-Naşârah) scribes who were chiefs, amongst whom was a community known as Banî al-Muġġ'. They came to an agreement with the father, the patriarch, that he should not consecrate a bishop without (asking) their opinion, because he used to take money and consecrate him who was not worthy.

There was at Minûf al-'Alyâ⁽¹⁾ a bishop whose name was Macarius (Maġârah) and he was the secretary of the Synod (σύνοδος), and his brother was bishop of Ṭānah⁽²⁾ whose name was Menas (Minâ) (who) was living at Damrû⁽³⁾. The patriarch was dwelling at Maġallat Dānyâl⁽⁴⁾. Abba Menas (Anbâ Minâ), the bishop, went to his rest in those days. His brother, Abba Macarius (Anbâ Maġârah), bishop of Minûf⁽⁵⁾, said to the patriarch, Abba Philotheus (Anbâ Filâtâwus) : "If thou wilt hearken to me, I will give thee a good counsel". He said to him : "What is it?" He said : "This see which belonged to my brother is a good see and it is the place of thy son, and my brother had a good dwelling-place in it at Damrû⁽³⁾. Take now one of thy brethren, the monks, who are in thy cell (κελλίον), and consecrate him bishop of it and dwell thou in his dwelling-place at Damrû⁽³⁾, and the see will be according to thy wishes"⁽⁶⁾. He approved of his (Macarius') idea⁽⁶⁾, and he took his father, the monk, the elder (šaiġh), who was (attached) to him at the patriarchate, named John (Yûġhannâ) and made him his bishop. The news (of this) reached the archons (ἀρχων) at Mişr⁽⁷⁾ and they complained of him to the wazîr and he seized him (the patriarch) and cast him into prison until he received from him three thousand dinârs for the Treasury.

There happened in his days a marvellous affair which we ought not to neglect to mention. It is (about) a youth of the righteous Muslim witnesses in Mişr⁽⁷⁾ who attend the Council of the Kâdî of judgments in it (Cairo), and (about) his father a man (who was also) a witness, known

⁽¹⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 251. — ⁽²⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 259. — ⁽³⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 505.
— ⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 134, n. 9. — ⁽⁵⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 505. — ⁽⁶⁾ Lit. opinion. — ⁽⁷⁾ Cairo.

behalf, since thou didst distribute my money among those in need, and didst not leave it for the king''.

When Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm) went to his rest, after he had remained for three years and a half (on the Throne), nothing of the ninety thousand dînârs was left to him nor a single dirham of the great wealth which he himself had possessed, but he had spent all of this on (re)building his churches and on alms and on what was pleasing to God—praised be He! He became as father Abraham (Ibrahîm) the first (patriarch) in his deeds which were pleasing (to God), and he was numbered with the righteous in the Kingdom of God.

May the Lord have mercy upon us through his prayer and through the prayer of all who have pleased Him by their deeds. Glory be to God for ever and ever eternally!

PHILOTHEUS (FILÂTÂWUS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE SIXTY-THIRD OF
(THEIR) NUMBER.

The Throne of Alexandria remained vacant for six months without a patriarch. A Synod (σύνδος) assembled at Miṣr⁽¹⁾, as was the custom, and they mentioned a man, a monk, called John (Yûḥannâ), in the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr)⁽²⁾, in the Cell (ΜΑΝΩΩΠΗ) known as Dhakr Kafri⁽³⁾. Then they sent for him and caused him to be brought to Miṣr⁽¹⁾, and with him there was a disciple who accompanied him, whose name was Philotheus (Filâtâwus). When John (Yûḥannâ) arrived, they saw that he was an exceedingly old man, already stricken in years, and that he was not fit for this charge, but they saw his son Philotheus (Filâtâwus), and lo, he was perfect in stature, (and) they made him patriarch. He (Philotheus) decided * to take money for the consecration of bishops. There was great peace for the churches in the days of the king al-Mu'izz until he died, and likewise (during) the

* fol 143 r°

⁽¹⁾ Cairo.

⁽²⁾ Cf. p. 121, n. 2.

⁽³⁾ Cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part II, pp. 340 and 362.

the Ḳarmaṭī⁽¹⁾ reached Miṣr⁽²⁾, al-Muʿizz went out to fight against him and routed him and slew him.

Cosmas (Ḳuzmān) ibn Menas (Minā) wrote to al-Muʿizz (and) informed him of what had occurred with the Ḳarmaṭī⁽¹⁾ and how he had gone to meet him so that he might be saved from him, and that he had saved the two hundred thousand dīnārs. Al-Muʿizz took vengeance on the wazīr ibn Killis and seized him and slew him⁽³⁾, and he sent to summon Cosmas (Ḳuzmān) ibn Menas (Minā) the pious, virtuous one. He arrived and the money with him. He (al-Muʿizz) put on him a robe of honour and received him with hospitality after he had released all his money and people and had returned to them all their possessions which had been taken away.

Cosmas (Ḳuzmān) ibn Menas (Minā) had acquired before his journey to Palestine (Filistīn) ninety thousand dīnārs. When he wished to journey, he delivered it (the money) to Abba Abraham (Anbā Afrahām), the patriarch, and said to him : “If thou hearest that I have died, then spend it for the salvation of my soul on the churches, the hidden⁽⁴⁾, the destitute and the captives. If I return, then I shall take my money”. When he (Cosmas) had returned to Miṣr⁽⁵⁾ and his case had been settled with al-Muʿizz, he asked the patriarch for the ninety thousand dīnārs. He (Abraham) said to him : “I heard of what befell thee in Syria (aš-Šām) and I thought that thou wouldst not return hither on account of what had happened to thy people, and I feared that reports of the money would reach al-Muʿizz and that he would take it and that nothing of it would remain for thee and that (it would be) of no advantage (to thee) in the next world, and I spent it on what thou didst command me”. He (Cosmas) did not say to him a word (about this), or on what didst thou spend my money, but he said to him : “O my father, thou didst well for me and didst perform a good action and mercy on my

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 148, n. 1.

⁽²⁾ Cairo.

⁽³⁾ N. B. Ibn Killis died in A. D. 981 in the reign of al-ʿAzīz, cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. *H. P. E. C.*, vol. II, Part I, p. 63, n. 1.

⁽⁵⁾ Egypt.

When Jacob (Ya'qûb) ibn Killis the wazîr saw the access (which) Abû 'l-Yumn had to al-Mu'izz, he envied him and feared that he (al-Mu'izz) would make him wazîr in his stead. He counselled al-Mu'izz and said to him : "It is good to send Cosmas (Kuzmân) ibn Menas (Minâ) to the districts of Palestine (Filisṭîn) to direct them, since he is a trustworthy man". His object was to remove him from al-Mu'izz. Then he (al-Mu'izz) sent him to Palestine (Filisṭîn). When he arrived there and took charge of it, he exacted from it and from its districts two hundred thousand dînârs.

Then a heretic (khariġî) from the lands of the East arose, known as the Ķarmaṭî⁽¹⁾. He took possession of all the lands of Syria (as-Šâm) till he reached the districts of Palestine (Filisṭîn). When news of him reached Cosmas (Kuzmân) ibn Menas (Minâ), he took the money which he had obtained and went with it to a monastery on the top of Mount Tabor (Tâbûr)⁽²⁾ and he delivered it to the Superior of the monastery and placed it as a deposit with him in order that he might guard it, and he returned to his work. When the Ķarmaṭî⁽¹⁾ reached him, he said to him : "Fear not, for no evil shall happen to thee from me, and I will make thee to be a friend to me as thou wast to al-Mu'izz", and he made a pact with him thereon. Then those who held rank wrote to al-Mu'izz about this, that Abû 'l-Yumn Cosmas (Kuzmân) ibn Menas (Minâ) had come to an agreement with the Ķarmaṭî⁽¹⁾ and had made peace with him. When the wazîr was informed of this, he found the means to remember him with evil, and he said to al-Mu'izz : "This is Cosmas (Kuzmân) ibn Menas (Minâ) of whom thou sayest that he is trustworthy and faithful. He has made peace with thine enemy and has delivered to him the two hundred thousand dînârs which he exacted from thy lands, in order that he might strengthen him thereby against thee". Al-Mu'izz became wrathful and sent and seized all his (Cosmas') people and plundered their possessions and cast them into prison. When

⁽¹⁾ On the Ķarmaṭî (Carmathians) cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 94. The person in question was Ḥasan b. Aḥmad, surnamed al-A'sam, cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 113.

⁽²⁾ For the monastery on Mount Tabor, cf. *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, p. 53 b.

under the rule of Ġawhar, and Abba Abraham (Anbā Afrahām) (came) after him. Whenever al-Mu'izz wished to do anything according to his custom in the West, Ġawhar prevented him with gentleness and diplomacy, and said that the inhabitants of Miṣr⁽¹⁾ are a people in whom there is cunning and sagacity, and that nothing is hidden from them, and it is as if they have knowledge of that which is invisible. He (al-Mu'izz) said to him one day : "O Ġawhar, if what has been said about the sagacity of the Cairenes (al-Maṣriyîn) is correct, then I wish to test them". Then he commanded them to take a large roll of paper similar to (that of) a decree (siġill), and that it should be rolled up without being written upon and sealed. When it was brought, he delivered it to the scribe and he inscribed upon it the name of the king al-Mu'izz, and he (al-Mu'izz) commanded that a trumpet should be sounded before him (the bearer) and that a public crier should proclaim among the people that they should come to hear the decree (siġill) of the king, and he commanded that spies should walk behind him (the public crier) and listen to what the inhabitants of Miṣr⁽¹⁾ said. This was done, and they heard some of the people say : "Let us go to hear the decree (siġill) of the king", but some of them said : "Do not trouble yourselves. There is nothing in it; it is blank". * Then they (the spies) returned and informed him (al-Mu'izz), and he marvelled at this exceedingly.

* fol. 142 v°

At the beginning of the pontificate⁽²⁾ of Abba Abraham (Anbā Afrahām) the patriarch, the wazîr in Miṣr⁽³⁾ was the aforesaid Abû 'I-Yumn Cosmas (Kuzmâ) ibn Menas (Minâ). He was a pious man and a virgin. He had never married, and it had not been heard concerning him that he had (known) the follies of youth. He acted well towards all men and he was praised by everyone. He was accorded favour and love by al-Mu'izz on account of his good manner of life and intention(s) and of the strength of his faith. He (al-Mu'izz) used to accept his words⁽⁴⁾ and his counsel, and he appointed him mutawallî for collecting the tax on the wealth of Miṣr⁽³⁾. He continued thus until Abba Abraham (Anbā Afrahām) became patriarch.

(1) Cairo. — (2) *Lit.* consecration. — (3) Egypt. — (4) *Lit.* speech.

Alexandria which had become weakened, and he spent on this a great (deal) of money, and was not able to pay to the Alexandrians the thousand dinârs which had been agreed upon for them for the expenses of their churches, and after many demands it was agreed upon that he should give to them each year five hundred dinârs.

The duration of the occupation by this patriarch, Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm), of the Throne was three years and six months, and he went to his rest with his saintly fathers.

It is said that one ⁽¹⁾ of the archons (ἄρχων), known as Abî's-Surûr al-Kabîr, who had influence in the State, possessed many concubines. He (Abraham) commanded him to send them away, but he did not (do so). Then he excommunicated him and forbade him the Eucharist (Kurbân). He acted craftily in that he gave to him (Abraham) a drink to drink ⁽²⁾ and killed him. He went to the Lord in peace, and the people wept over him.

There was a prophecy concerning his advancement (to the patriarchate). It (happened) that when he was a layman, he went to the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) ⁽³⁾ in Wâdî Habîb ⁽⁴⁾ to pray there. He went to the Caves ⁽⁵⁾ to receive the blessings from the anchorites. He met one of them, and with him there were two of his companions. That saintly anchorite blessed him and seized him by his hand and took him aside and said : "O my brother, lo, I see a great rock suspended above thee and it is descending upon thee". He (Abraham) did not understand the meaning of his saying that day, and that he (the anchorite) signified to him thereby the greatness of the majesty of the patriarchate which he merited from God.

When the kingdom of Miṣr ⁽⁶⁾ fell to al-Mu'izz, as we have said above, Abba Menas (Anbâ Mînâ) the patriarch lived ⁽⁷⁾ during some of his days

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* a man.

⁽²⁾ *i. e.* poisoned him.

⁽³⁾ Cf. H. G. Evelyn WHITE, *op. cit.*, Part III, pp. 31-129.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 109, n. 3.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. H. G. Evelyn WHITE, *op. cit.*, Part III, pp. 5-6.

⁽⁶⁾ Egypt.

⁽⁷⁾ *Lit.* was.

of Abba Mercurius (Abû Markûrah)⁽¹⁾, the sellers who were there and the dregs of the people assembled and said : “If we are all slain with one sword, we shall not allow anyone to place (one) stone upon (one) stone in this church”. Then the patriarch returned to the king al-Mu‘izz with the news. He (al-Mu‘izz) became wrathful at this, and he rode at once with all his troops till he came to the place, and he halted and commanded the foundations to be dug. They were promptly dug and a large number of masons were assembled for it (the rebuilding) and stones were carried to it (the site) from every place by the order of the king al-Mu‘izz, and they (began to) build them (the foundations) at once. No one dared to say a word except an elder (šaiikh) who used (to lead) in the prayers for those sellers in the mosque which was there. He it was who used to assemble the congregation and presided over them. He threw himself into the foundations and said : “I desire to die to-day for the Name of God and not to let anyone build this church”. When the king al-Mu‘izz was informed of this, he commanded that stones should be thrown upon him and that they should build over him. When lime and stones were thrown upon him, he wished to stand up, but the assistants did not allow him (to do so), since al-Mu‘izz had commanded that he should be buried in the foundations into which he had thrown himself. When the patriarch saw this, he dismounted from his beast and threw himself before⁽²⁾ al-Mu‘izz and besought him on behalf of him (the elder) until he (al-Mu‘izz) commanded that he should be got up from the foundations. It was with difficulty that he managed to escape from them (the foundations) safe, after he had almost died.

The king al-Mu‘izz returned to his palace, and no one dared after that to say a single word till the rebuilding of the church had been completed, and likewise (that of) the Church al-Mu‘allaḡah⁽³⁾ at Kašr aš-Šam⁽⁴⁾ and he (the patriarch) (re)built all the churches which were in need of restoration. No one opposed him (the patriarch) in anything of this (affair). He (re)built likewise many places in the churches at

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 144, n. 3. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* between the hands of. — ⁽³⁾ Cf. p. 144, n. 5.
— ⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 108, n. 3.

the mountain came down to its base. The king al-Mu'izz feared greatly⁽¹⁾, and the king and the Muslims cried out : "God is great. There is no God besides Thee!" Then the king al-Mu'izz said to the patriarch after the third time : "Enough, O patriarch, I have recognized, indeed, the correctness of thy faith". When the people had become calm, the patriarch turned to look for the saintly man, but he did not find him⁽²⁾.

Then the king said to the patriarch Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrâham) : "Desire of me something (and) I will do it for thee". He (Abraham) said to him : "I desire nought, save that God may strengthen thy State and give thee victory over thine enemies". He (al-Mu'izz) said to him : "Desire (of me something), O patriarch". He repeated to him the speech three times. Then the king al-Mu'izz said to him : "It is necessary that thou desire of me something". The patriarch said to him : "If it be necessary, then I will ask our lord to command, if it be possible, to be built a church of Abba Mercurius (Abû Marqûrah)⁽³⁾ at Mişr⁽⁴⁾"; since it happened, when they had demolished it, that they did not allow them (the Christians) to restore it, and it has been turned into a store house (şûnah) for sugar-cane (kaşab); and likewise the Mu'allakah⁽⁵⁾ in Mişr⁽⁴⁾ in Kaşr aş-Sam'⁽⁶⁾, since a great part of its walls had fallen down and part of them was in a state of decay. He (Abraham) also asked permission to restore it (the Mu'allakah). He (al-Mu'izz) ordered at once that a decree (siğill) should be written for him giving him the power (to do) this, and he gave to him from the Treasury what he would have to spend on the restoration. * He (Abraham) took the decree (siğill), but he returned the money and said to the king al-Mu'izz : "May the Lord strengthen thy kingdom, but the Treasury has more right to this money". When the decree (siğill) was read at the Church

* fol. 142 r°

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* a great fearing.

⁽²⁾ An account of this miracle is given in B. T. A. EVETTS' *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, pp. 124-127.

⁽³⁾ Cf. A. J. BUTLER, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, vol. I, pp. 75-154.

⁽⁴⁾ Cairo.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. A. J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 206-235.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. p. 108, n. 3.

the ⁽¹⁾ day I work in the tannery and at night ⁽²⁾ I stand praying. This is the state of my case, and I ask thee, O my father, not to make it known to anyone, for I have not the power to endure the praise of men, but that which I shall say to thee, do (it). Go out with thy priests and all thy people to the mountain concerning which the king told thee, (having) with you gospels, crosses, censers and large candles. Let the king stand with his soldiers and his troops on one side, and thou and thy people, on one side, and I, behind thee, will stand in the midst of the people, so that no one may recognize me. Then read thou and thy priests and cry aloud, saying : ‘O Lord, have mercy’ for a long time. Then command them to be silent and (to keep) quiet, and thou shalt prostrate thyself and all who are with thee shall prostrate themselves, and I will prostrate myself with you, and without that anyone recognizes me. Do thus three times, and every time that thou shalt prostrate thyself and stand up (again) thou shalt make (the sign of) the cross over the mountain, and thou shalt see the glory of God”. When he (the man) had said this word, the heart of the patriarch was reassured by what he heard from him. Then he (Abraham) rose up and all the people with him, and they went up to the king and said to him : “Go out to the mountain”. He (al-Mu‘izz) commanded all his army and those who were attached to him and the notables of his State to go out, and that trumpets should be sounded. The king went out and his wazîr with him, and he ordered that disbelieving Moses (Mûsâ) to go out. The father, the patriarch, did as that Saint had said to him. The king al-Mu‘izz and his companions stood on one side and all the Christians (Naşârâ) and the patriarch, on the other side, and the man stood behind the patriarch, and there was none among the assembly who recognized him, except the patriarch alone, and they cried out ‘O Lord, have mercy’ many times. Then he (Abraham) commanded them to be silent and he prostrated himself upon the ground and all (who were) with him prostrated themselves three times, and every time that he lifted up his face and made (the sign of) the cross, the mountain was lifted up from the ground. When they prostrated themselves,

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* my day. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* my night.

this miracle shall be manifested". The patriarch awoke at once and he was afraid. It was still dark (ghalas), and he arose in haste and did not let anyone know of him till he reached the door and found it closed. He doubted in his heart and said : "I believe that Satan (aš-Šaiṭān) has played a trick upon me". He called the door-keeper, and he opened (the door) for him. The first who entered by the door was the man about whom he was told ⁽¹⁾. He seized him and said to him * with an obeisance (μετάνοια) for the Lord's sake : "Have pity upon this people". Then he informed him of the reason for their meeting. The man said to him : "Forgive me, for I am a sinner, and I have not reached this degree" ⁽²⁾. Thereupon, the patriarch informed him of what the Pure Mistress had told him, when she appeared to him. Then he said to him : "What is thy business?" He (the man) wished to hide from him his case. He (Abraham) solemnly charged him ⁽³⁾ and bound him under (pain of) anathema not to hide from him anything of his case. Then he said to him : "O my father, I will inform thee of my case. I am a man, a tanner, and this eye which thou seest, I plucked it out on account of the commandment of the Lord, when I beheld what was not mine with lust ⁽⁴⁾, and saw that I was going to Hell (al-Ġaḥīm) on account of it. I considered and said : 'It is better for me to go into life with one eye, as the Lord Christ saith : It is better (etc.), than that I should go to Hell (al-Ġaḥīm) with two eyes' ⁽⁵⁾. I am (living) in this place (as) a hired worker to a man (who is) a tanner. I do not have over from what (I receive) from my work every day (anything) except a bread to eat, and the remainder is for the destitute hidden ⁽⁶⁾ of the brethren, women and men. This water I give them to drink every day before I go to my work. I take it to the poor people among them who have not the money to buy it from the water-carrier. All

*fol. 141 v°

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* it was told to him.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* end.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* placed the cross on him.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* a look of lust.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. *Matt.* 18, 9.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. *H. P. E. C.*, vol. II, Part I, p. 63, n. 1.

Some of them (the monks) broke their fast once every night⁽¹⁾ with bread and salt and a little water. Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm), the patriarch, did not cease to stand weeping before⁽²⁾ God on account of it during those days and nights⁽³⁾, until there did not remain in him any movement.

This blessed gathering took place⁽⁴⁾ in the Church of the Mistress in Kaşr aş-Şam⁽⁵⁾ known as the Mu'allaḡah⁽⁶⁾. When it was the morning (sabah) of the third day, the saintly patriarch fell to the ground from grief of heart⁽⁷⁾ and from his fasting and his weariness, and he slept for a while⁽⁸⁾. He saw the Lady, the Pure Mistress, Mary (Martmaryam) and she said to him with a joyful face : "What is it that has befallen thee?" He said to her : "Dost thou not know⁽⁹⁾, O my Lady, that the king of this land has said to me : 'If thou dost not shew to me a miracle this day in the mountain, I shall kill all the inhabitants of the Christian Religion in the land of Mişr⁽¹⁰⁾, and I shall destroy them from out of my kingdom with the sword'". The Mistress said to him : "Fear not, for I will not overlook the tears which thou hast shed in this church of mine. Rise now, and descend from here and go out by the door of the Darb al-Ḥadīd which leads to the Great Market⁽¹¹⁾. As thou goest out thou wilt find a man (carrying) on his shoulder a jar full of water—his mark is that he is one-eyed—seize him, for he it is at whose hands

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* from night to night.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* between the hands of.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* their night.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* was.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. p. 108, nn. 2 and 3.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. A. J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 206 sqq.

⁽⁷⁾ *Lit.* his heart.

⁽⁸⁾ *Lit.* slept a little sleep.

⁽⁹⁾ *Lit.* see.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Egypt.

⁽¹¹⁾ For the Iron Gate and the Great Market, cf. A. J. BUTLER, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, Oxford, 1902, pp. 240-242, and P. CASANOVA, *Description historique et topographique de l'Égypte*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire*, t. III (1906), p. 105.

the king al-Mu'izz, but the Lord Christ protects His elect and His servants.

It happened after some days that he found a way (to have) an audience to say to al-Mu'izz : "It is written in the Gospel of the Christians (Naṣārā) : 'If one hath faith as a grain of mustard-seed, and he saith to the mountain : Be thou removed and be thou cast into the sea, it shall be done⁽¹⁾.' Let the Commander (Amīr) of the Faithful see his way⁽²⁾ to ask them to prove the truth of this saying, so that he may know that they are frauds and are liars. If they do not do (this), it is requisite that there should be done to them what they deserve on account of their lie". He (al-Mu'izz) approved of this word. The king al-Mu'izz sent to summon Abba Abraham (Anbā Afrahām) and said to him : "What sayest thou concerning this word? Is it in your Gospel or not?" The patriarch said : "Yea. It is in it". He (al-Mu'izz) said to him : "Lo, ye Christians (Naṣārā) are thousands and tens of thousands in this land, and I desire to be brought to me one of them that this miracle may be manifested at his hands; and thou, O chief of them, it is requisite that this deed should be (done) by thee, otherwise, I shall destroy you with the sword". Then the patriarch was astounded, and great fear came upon him and he did not know what to answer to him (al-Mu'izz), but God the Exalted inspired him to say to him : "Grant me a delay of three days, so that I may seek and beseech the Lord—His name be magnified—to render the heart of the Commander (Amīr) of the Faithful favourable to his slaves". He granted to him the delay.

He (Abraham) returned to his dwelling-place in Miṣr⁽³⁾ and he caused to be brought (to him) the priests and the archons (ἄρχων) of Miṣr⁽³⁾ and all the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) people, and weeping he made known to them the matter. There were in Miṣr⁽³⁾ a number of monks of Wādī Habīb⁽⁴⁾, and he (Abraham) imposed upon them all a penance (κασόν) that none of them should go to his dwelling-place for three days, but that they should assemble to continue in prayer in the church night and day. They did this for the three days and nights⁽⁵⁾. As to the patriarch, he did not break his fast during them (the three days) at all.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. *Matt.* 17, 20* and *Mk.* 11, 23*. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* opinion. — ⁽³⁾ Cairo.
— ⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 109, n. 3. — ⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* their nights.

(Yahûdî) and the wazîr Ibn Killis were present, and they sat for a long time silent. Then the king al-Mu'izz said to them : "Speak concerning that for which ye are assembled". Then he said : "Speak, O patriarch, and tell thy deputy to say what he has (to say)". The patriarch said to the bishop : "Speak, O my son, and God will assist thee". The bishop said to the king : "It is not lawful to converse with a man (who is) a Jew (Yahûdî) in the presence of the Commander (Amîr) of the Faithful". The Jew (Yahûdî) said to him : "Thou dost slander me and sayest in the presence of the Commander (Amîr) of the Faithful and his wazîr that I am ignorant". The bishop Abba Severus (Anbâ Sawîrus) said to him : "If the truth be made manifest to the Commander (Amîr) of the Faithful, will there not be anger thereat?" The king al-Mu'izz said : "It is not allowed that anyone should become angry in the disputation, but it is requisite for those who dispute that everyone of them should say what he has (to say) and to set forth his argument as he wishes". The bishop said : "It is not I (who) bear witness against thee, O Jew (Yahûdî), * with regard to ignorance, but a great and illustrious prophet from God (who) has witnessed against thee with regard to this". The Jew (Yahûdî) said to him : "Who is the prophet?" He (Severus) said to him : "He is Isaiah (Iṣā'yâ) who saith in the beginning of his book concerning God : "The ox hath known its owner, and the ass hath known the manger of its master, but Israel (Isrâ'yîl) hath not known Me'"⁽¹⁾. The king al-Mu'izz said to Moses (Mûsâ) : "Is not this correct?" He said : "Yea. This is what is written". Then the bishop said : "Has not God said, indeed, that the beasts are more intelligent than you. It is not lawful for me to converse in the council of the Commander (Amîr) of the Faithful—may his might endure—with him (the Jew), (for) the beasts are more rational than he, and God, indeed, has attributed to him ignorance". The king al-Mu'izz marvelled at this and commanded them to depart.

* fol. 141 r°

Enmity became great⁽²⁾ between the two parties. The wrath of the wazîr waxed strong and he began to seek for a pitfall for the patriarch, because he had confounded the Jews (al-Yahûd) in the presence⁽³⁾ of

⁽¹⁾ Is. 1, 3. — ⁽²⁾ Lit. strong. — ⁽³⁾ Lit. between the hands.

the bishops, that he may dispute with the Jew (Yahûdî), do (so)”. They arranged between themselves a certain day on which their meeting should be, and there was present among all the bishops a saintly, virtuous bishop of al-Ašmûnain ⁽¹⁾, called Severus (Sawîrus) and known as Ibn al-Muḳaffa’ ⁽²⁾. He had been a scribe and then he became bishop, and the Lord had bestowed upon him grace and power in the Arabic tongue, so that he wrote many books and mîmars and controversies. He who read his books recognised his excellence and the soundness of his knowledge. He (Severus) disputed many times with the kâdis (al-ḳuḍâh) of the Muslim elders (šuyûkh) by the order of the king al-Mu’izz, and he overcame them through the power of God and His grace.

It happened that he (Severus) was sitting with the Supreme Ḳâḍî (al-ḳâḍî al-ḳuḍâh), (and) lo, a dog passed by them. It was a Friday and there were a number of witnesses there. The Supreme Ḳâḍî (al-ḳâḍî al-ḳuḍâh) said to him : “What sayest thou, O Severus (Sawîrus), concerning this dog? Is it Christian (Naşrânî) or Muslim?” He said : “Ask it, and it will answer thee itself”. The Ḳâḍî said to him : “Does a dog speak? We wish thee to tell us”. Hē (Severus) said : “Yea. It is necessary for us to test this dog. It (happens) that to-day is Friday on which the Christians (Naşârâ) fast and do not eat meat, and when they break (their) fast in the evening, they drink nabîdh ⁽³⁾, but the Muslims do not fast on it (Friday) and do not drink nabîdh ⁽³⁾ on it, but eat meat on it. Put before it (the dog) meat and nabîdh ⁽³⁾, and if it eats the meat, it will be Muslim, and if it does not eat it, but drinks the nabîdh ⁽³⁾, then it will be Christian (Naşrânî)”. When they heard his words ⁽⁴⁾, they marvelled at his wisdom and at the strength of his answer, and they departed from him.

The patriarch Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm) took this bishop on the day on which his attendance in the presence of the king al-Mu’izz had been fixed, and he went with him to the palace. Moses (Mûsâ) the Jew

⁽¹⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 167.

⁽²⁾ A famous Coptic theologian.

⁽³⁾ Cf. *H. P. E. C.*, vol. II, Part I, p. 7, n. 4.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* speech.

who did it. They all of them obeyed him except one high archon (ἄρχων) from among the chiefs (Aṣḥâb) of the Diwâns (ad-Dawâwîn), who had concubines. He did not send them away, and he disobeyed the patriarch. The father Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm) the patriarch made a number of obeisances (μετάνοια) to him, but he did not obey him and continued in his evil deed, * as the viper which does not hearken to the voice of the charmer, and (as one who does not take) the medicine (which) the physician prepares. Then the patriarch rode and went to his house that he might speak with him, and he said within himself : “Perhaps, if I go to him he will have respect before me”. When they informed him (the archon) that the patriarch was coming to him, he shut the door of his house. When the patriarch reached the door, he stood and knocked at it for two hours, but no one answered him a word. Then he excommunicated him (the archon) and shook off (the dust from) his feet on the threshold which was of flint-stone, and it was divided in twain, and this miracle was manifested to the people, and all those who were in Miṣr⁽¹⁾ feared the patriarch. After a few days that archon (ἄρχων) perished with all that he possessed.

* fol. 140 v°

The wazîr of the king al-Mu‘izz was a Jewish (Yahûdî) man whose name was Bû Jacob (Ya‘qûb) ibn Killis⁽²⁾, and he came with him (al-Mu‘izz) from the West and had embraced Al-Islâm at his hands. The wazîr had a Jewish (Yahûdî) friend whose name was Moses (Mûsâ). He was accorded great fortune by al-Mu‘izz on account of his friendship for his wazîr. When he saw the love of the king for the patriarch and the access (which he had) to him (al-Mu‘izz), he envied him and took counsel against him. He said to Al-Mu‘izz : “I desire that thou shouldst cause the patriarch of the Christians (Naṣârâ) to be brought that I may dispute with him before thee⁽³⁾ so that he may expose to thee his religion”. Al-Mu‘izz did not confront the patriarch with this and he did not expose him to a disputation with the Jew (Yahûdî), but he said to him : “If thou seest (good) to summon one of thy sons,

⁽¹⁾ Cairo.

⁽²⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 120.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* between thy hands.

with the king al-Mu'izz⁽¹⁾ and the men of his State on account of his goods and of his wares which had reached (them), in which he used to deal with them. All the archons (ἄρχων) of Miṣr⁽²⁾ loved him and honoured him. (While) the people were assembling in the Church of the two Martyrs Sergius (Sarġîûs) and Bacchus (Wākhus)⁽³⁾ at Miṣr⁽²⁾ in Kaṣr aš-Šam'⁽⁴⁾, which is the Catholic (καθολικὴ) one, and (while) the bishops and the priests and the archons (ἄρχων) were assembling for the feast, Abraham (Ibrahîm) ibn Zar'ah entered to pray in the Church. Then one of the archons (ἄρχων) made a sign to one of the bishops, saying : "Ye are seeking for him who is fit for the patriarchate, and lo, God has sent to us him who is worthy of it". A number of those who were present heard (this), and his words⁽⁵⁾ pleased them, but they did not shew it. Then one of his (Abraham's) friends, the archons (ἄρχων), called him, as if he wished to speak to him about something. When he advanced and arrived in their company, they all cried out : "This is he whom the Lord hath chosen". They seized him at once and put fetters of iron upon him. He cried out and wept and said : "I am not worthy of this charge". They bore him away at once and journeyed with him to Alexandria and consecrated him patriarch there.

He (Abraham) abolished simony (χειροτονία) which the patriarchs used to practise⁽⁶⁾ and to take dinârs as a loan on it (ordination). He gave alms of all that he possessed, and he had great wealth, and his memory was honoured more than (that) of those who were before him. Al-Mu'izz used to cause him (Abraham) to be brought to him at all times to take his opinion on what concerned him and to receive his blessing, and he asked him to live in Miṣr⁽²⁾.

When he (Abraham) saw a number of the archons (ἄρχων) taking concubines and begetting children by them, he excommunicated him

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* There was great favour between him and between the king al-Mu'izz.

⁽²⁾ Cairo.

⁽³⁾ Cf. A. J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 181 sqq.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. A. J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 155 sqq.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* saying.

⁽⁶⁾ *Lit.* take.

to their places, they (the Egyptians) did not find wheat to sow until the merchants transported (it) to them from Syria (aš-Šâm).

Then the father, the patriarch, Abba Menas (Anbâ Minâ), died after he had remained (on the Throne) eighteen years. At the end of his days, there were very good conditions of life, so that wheat was sold at twelve ardabs (ερτροε) for a dinâr, and it was thrown to the people by the order of the Sulţân.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH BIOGRAPHY OF THE BIOGRAPHIES OF THE HOLY CHURCH.

ABBA ABRAHAM (ANBÂ AFRAHÂM) THE SYRIAN (AS-SURYÂNÎ), AND HE IS THE SIXTY-SECOND OF (THEIR) NUMBER, (AND) WAS KNOWN AS IBN ZA'RAH (1).

When Abba Menas (Anbâ Minâ) the patriarch went to his rest, and the Throne remained vacant, the bishops of the land (χώρξ) of Mişr (2), from the Rif (ar-Rif) (3) and from the Two Şa'ids (aş-Şa'idîn), and the scribes of Mişr (4) and the priests of Alexandria assembled and remained for several days, but they did not find anyone whom it pleased them to advance (to the patriarchate).

There was in Mişr (4) a man, a Syrian (Suryânî) merchant, whose name was Abraham (Ibrahîm) ibn Zar'ah. He used to give alms to the widows, the poor, the hidden (5) and the feeble. He was an old man (şaiikh) whose beard descended upon his breast like (that of) our father Abraham (Ibrahîm) the first (patriarch). He was in great favour

(1) A marginal note in red, more complete in MS. A. reads : "This father sat on the patriarchal throne during the reign of al-Mu'izz, the first Calif (Khalifah) of the Fâţimid (al-Fâţimî) dynasty. In his days, he ordered that the Christians (an-Naşârâ) ... and the affair of the mountain is explained in this biography. May God exalt his rank and declare his sanctity and purity, and what He, God, did to him, in all the quarters of the earth".

(2) Egypt.

(3) Cf. *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, pp. 96 sqq.

(4) Cairo.

(5) Cf. *H. P. E. C.*, vol. II, Part I, p. 63, n. 1.

were : Tarnûṭ⁽¹⁾, Aûrâṭ⁽²⁾, Nastarûh⁽³⁾, Anḥlûâ⁽²⁾, Iṣṭaf⁽²⁾, Ḥaryûṭ⁽²⁾, Itušûâ⁽⁴⁾, Abû Rašâ⁽²⁾, Diḳahlat⁽⁵⁾, Niḳîûs⁽⁶⁾, and many places (for which) time does not suffice to mention them all.

The father Abba Menas (Anbâ Mînâ) the patriarch was, during all this, sojourning in the Rif (ar-Rîf)⁽⁷⁾. When the famine became intense, he removed (from there) and dwelt in a village of the district of Tîdâ⁽⁸⁾, known as Maḥallat Danyâl⁽⁹⁾, until a chief woman of the inhabitants of Balkûnah⁽¹⁰⁾ (who was) rich and god-fearing, her name being Dinah (Dînâ), supported, during the remainder of the days of the famine, the patriarch and his disciples and those who belonged to him. He (Menas) remained (thus) for one year, and he did not enter into Alexandria nor (go) to Wâdî Habîb⁽¹¹⁾ to consecrate⁽¹²⁾ the Chrism (μύρον). Then he built a fine altar at Maḥallat Danyâl⁽⁹⁾ under the name of my lord Mark (Mârî Marḳuṣ) and bore the Chrism (μύρον) on to it⁽¹³⁾.

When the seven years of the famine had ended and God had granted to the people plenty and the inhabitants of the West had returned

⁽¹⁾ Cf. A. R. GUEST, *The Delta in the Middle Ages*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1912, p. 978.

⁽²⁾ Not identified.

⁽³⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 275.

⁽⁴⁾ Not identified. The second letter has no dots.

⁽⁵⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 509.

⁽⁶⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 277.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, pp. 96 sqq.

⁽⁸⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 504.

⁽⁹⁾ Cf. Extract from the Chronicle of Abû'l-Makârîm Sa'd Allah ibn Ġirġîs Mas'ûd given by M. SIMAIKA PASHA, *Guide to the Coptic Museum* (Arabic edition), Cairo, 1930-1932, vol. II, p. 232.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Cf. A. R. GUEST, *The Delta in the Middle Ages*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1912, pp. 966-967.

⁽¹¹⁾ Cf. p. 109, n. 3.

⁽¹²⁾ *Lit.* to raise.

⁽¹³⁾ For details of the procession which the patriarch makes with the Chrism, when he consecrates it at the Monastery of Saint Macarius, cf. H. G. Evelyn WHITE, *op. cit.*, Part III, pp. 39-47.

opened the gates of the city, and Maš'alah entered it with great glory, and he made for them a great banquet and invited all of them. This was a thing which Kišlâm had arranged with him (Maš'alah) that it (the banquet) should be prepared for them. He set before them much food and drink and he swore to them by the head of the king al-Mu'izz that none of them should depart to his dwelling-place for three days, but should remain with him⁽¹⁾ eating and drinking with him⁽¹⁾. After the three days, they became intoxicated from drinking, and he shut the door upon them and ordered his soldiers to slay them all. They slew them, and he crucified them on the wall of the city before dawn (aš-šubḥ). When it was morning (al-ghadât), the inhabitants of the city saw them, and they feared⁽²⁾ greatly⁽³⁾. Then he ordered most of the wall to be demolished, and it was demolished and it has remained demolished until now.

In the first year, (when) these Moors (al-Magharibah) ruled, the land of Mišr⁽⁴⁾ dried up (ⲬⲁⲢⲢⲈ) and was not irrigated, and a famine started. In the second year, the Nile rose, and the people sowed (their lands), and their crops prospered, but when the dew fell, a multitude of rats descended upon it, and the crops were destroyed. In the third year, a wind came upon the crops (and) destroyed them. In the fourth year, huge locusts descended upon the crops and ate them up. The famine did not cease until the end of seven successive years, and the famine was great in all Mišr⁽⁴⁾, so that the land (Ⲭⲱⲣⲁ) of Mišr⁽⁴⁾ was emptied of people on account of the number of deaths and of the hunger which occurred. In the seventh year, half a waibah (ⲬⲱⲐⲐ) and a quarter of a waibah (ⲬⲱⲐⲐ) of wheat⁽⁵⁾ (reached the price of) one dînâr. A number of the episcopal sees were depopulated on account of their being empty of people, and bishops were not appointed to them, but they were joined to the populated sees * which were neighbouring to them. They

* fol. 140 r°

⁽¹⁾ MS. me (*sic*).

⁽²⁾ 'They feared' missing from text, supplied from MS. A.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* a great fear.

⁽⁴⁾ Egypt.

⁽⁵⁾ *i. e.* 3/4 waibah.

despatched to it (Tinnîs) a man of Kutâm (Kutâmî) whose name was Maš'alah, and with him there were many men. When he arrived, those evil-doers shut the gates of the city in his face, and they fought against him for three months until the city was in an uproar on account of thirst, because their water (was) from the lake which would be fresh⁽¹⁾ for three months in the year (during) the rise of the Nile⁽²⁾, and they would fill their cisterns from it. Then it (the lake) would be salt for nine months, and ships would carry to them fresh⁽¹⁾ water from the river Nile for (a distance of) a day's journey. When they (the inhabitants) made an uproar, Kîslâm came together with their chiefs, and their number was one hundred men, and he said to them, while they were on the wall : "How long shall we straiten this city and remain thus? If ye will obey me, I will be a mediator between you and between this amîr Maš'alah, and I will take from him for each one of you ten dînârs and a fine robe of honour and he will confer on you the administration of this city on his behalf, for ye have no power to resist the Sultân". They approved of his words⁽³⁾ and they said to him : "Thou shalt be the mediator in this affair. Whatsoever thou shalt enjoin upon us, we will not gainsay thee". Then the assembly of those young men separated, and everyone of them went to his (own) place and there remained (none) save the aforesaid hundred (chiefs). Then Kîslâm ordered the gate to be opened, and he went out through it and the gate was closed, and there went out with him the elders (şuyûkh) of the Muslims of the district with whom he was in agreement regarding this matter⁽⁴⁾, and they went to Maš'alah. When they went in to him, Kîslâm informed him of all that he had decided on and (of what) he had done, and he took from him (Maš'alah) a thousand dînârs and a hundred goodly robes of honour. He (Maš'alah) wrote with his hand that he would not oppress them. They were reassured thereat, and they returned to the city, and they delivered to everyone of them ten dînârs and a robe of honour, and informed them of the contents of the writing which he (Maš'alah) had written. Then they rejoiced and their hearts were reassured and they

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* sweet. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* the high Nile. — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* saying. — ⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* opinion.

said to them : “Aid me and I will protect your lands and save you the tax”. A great number followed him. When reports of him reached the king al-Mu‘izz on his arrival in Mişr⁽¹⁾, he despatched troops to him. When the Başmûrites (al-Başâmirah) saw the troops, they took counsel among themselves and said : “How shall we do mischief to the king, and be safe from what will happen from him?” Then each one of them separated to his place, and that wretched Tîr fled to Damietta (Dumyât)⁽²⁾ and the troops pursued him. Then he embarked on a ship and escaped to Palestine (Filistîn) and entered Jaffa (Yâfâ). They seized him there, and he remained for a month being given to drink sesame oil (sirig) until his skin was raised from his flesh and his skin peeled and came off like the skin of a water-bottle. Then they stuffed it with straw and crucified it on a beam.

The inhabitants of Tinnîs⁽³⁾ were in great straits at that time on account of (some) bold youths (who) were in it, and (who) had become masters of it and had robbed a number of the rich who were in it, of (their) money and they imposed (a fine in) money on its inhabitants (and) they took it from them. They used to gather together to eat and to drink, and everyone of them did what he wished, so that they took the virgin daughters from their parents * and likewise the women, and no one dared to speak to them.

* fol. 139 v°

There were in Tinnîs⁽³⁾ certain people of the Christians (Naşârâ) known as the Children of Kîslâm, and they were called by this name on account of (what) their father did. It (happened) that their father was a wise man, and when he saw that the wickedness of those bold (youths) multiplied and increased, he wrote to the king al-Mu‘izz asking help from him. He said in his letter, “In thy kingdom (there is) a city called Tinnîs⁽³⁾ in which there are a thousand Muslim youths who do such and such things”, and he exposed to him all their actions. “Now it is necessary that the amîr should send one of his people to be the wâlî of it (Tinnîs), and that there should be with him a good army. When he reaches us, I will assist him in whatever he may need”. Al-Mu‘izz

⁽¹⁾ Egypt. — ⁽²⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 116. — ⁽³⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 507.

most of their army (was composed of) naked infantry wrapped (only) in cloaks of wool. It happened that when they fought, they put their cloaks on their arms and fought with swords and arrows made of wood (nuššāb) and the venvnants of fine lances with which they pierced the Ikhšidians (Ikhšīdiyāh) and killed them. Their flags were pieces of cloth dyed and marvellously coloured with threads of silver (as) an emblem of victory. When they saw them unfold them (the flags), they became strong for battle. When the Ikhšidians (Ikhšīdiyāh) put up the black flags which were with them, their troops were routed. When the master (ustādh) Fātik perceived that these flags were put up by their bearers, and that they started to flee, he crossed over to them in wrath and killed them, but he was routed together with his troops. The Moors (al-Magharibah) continued pursuing them and slaying them as far as Bilbais⁽¹⁾, and they took captive a number of their chiefs. Ġawhar put them in irons and despatched them to the West (Maghrib) to his master al-Mu'izz li-dīni-llah. Ġawhar ruled over the land of Mišr⁽²⁾, and his arrival in it was in the year six hundred and eighty-three of the Martyrs⁽³⁾.

As to Abū'l-Yumn Cosmas (Ḳuzmān) ibn Menas (Minā) the wazīr of Kāfūr, he found grace before Ġawhar (and) he left him in his position (as) overseer (nāzīr) of the land (χώρα) of Mišr⁽²⁾, on account of the trustworthiness and probity for which he was well-known and to which trustworthy people of Mišr⁽²⁾ bare witness. Ġawhar built a city at the castle which he called Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) al-Mu'izziyah⁽⁴⁾.

There was among the number of the Ikhšidians (al-Ikhšīdiyāh) a master (ustādh), an amir, whose name was Tīr⁽⁵⁾, and he was wālī of al-Bašmūr⁽⁶⁾, and he it was who built the mosque (masġid) outside Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah). He prevented all the inhabitants of al-Bašmūr⁽⁶⁾ (al-Bašāmīrah) from paying the poll-taxes (ġawālī) and drove them to disobey Ġawhar and

⁽¹⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 333.

⁽²⁾ Egypt.

⁽³⁾ *i. e.* A. D. 966-967. This is an incorrect date for this event.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

⁽⁶⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 350.

and seated him on a lofty throne in his palace, and they clothed him in a robe with very long sleeves, * so that they reached to the door of the audience chamber in which he was. They stationed servants before him ⁽¹⁾, and they prevented everyone (who) came to salute him from going in to him, and they said : “Our lord commands that thou shouldst kiss his sleeve and salute him from outside, because he is sick ⁽²⁾ and can not endure that anyone enters in to him”. They had placed someone behind the throne on which they had seated [him], so that when the people saluted him, he would move his head and his sleeve, as if he were replying to them. No one of the people of his palace knew about this, except the two masters (ustâdhîn) who had been attached to him and his concubines and Abû'l-Yumn Cosmas (Ḳuzmân) ibn Menas (Minâ).

* fol. 139 r°

He (Kâfûr) remained thus for three years, and his wazîr collected the taxes and directed affairs until certain people learned the news (of this) and wrote to the king of the West whose name was Ma'add Abû Tamîm al-Mu'izz-li-Dîni'llah ⁽³⁾. When he (al-Mu'izz) learned this, he despatched one of his generals ⁽⁴⁾ whose name was Ġawhar ⁽⁵⁾, and he was a brave (man) and a warrior, and with him there was a large army. When the Ikhšîdians (al-Ikhšîdiyyah) heard news of him, they went out to fight against him, and they prevented the ships from crossing (the river). That year there was little water (in the Nile). Certain people knew the place of the ford which was opposite to Şaṭanûf ⁽⁶⁾. When the chief of the Ikhšîdians (Ikhšîdiyyah), namely, the master (ustâdh) whose name was Fâtik learned... He was a brave (man) (and) a warrior, and his army (was composed of) fighting men, but there was not among them any who knew how to shoot ⁽⁷⁾ with arrows made of wood (nuşşâb), except a few. As regards those who arrived from the West (Maghrib),

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* between his hands.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* weak.

⁽³⁾ A. D. 953-975.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* a general of his generals.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 98. Ġawhar ar-Rûmî was wazîr and commander of the forces, A. D. 953-999.

⁽⁶⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 424.

⁽⁷⁾ *Lit.* throw.

lawful and what is contrary to the Canon (*κανών*). Tell us the truth concerning thyself". He said to them : "The matter is correct, but bring the woman". Then they brought her, and the patriarch said to her : "Make known to them the secret which is between me and thee", and she informed them of this. When they heard her words, they glorified God on knowing the truth of the story from the woman and from all her family.

That year in which this father Menas (Minâ) was made patriarch was the year six hundred and seventy-three of the Martyrs⁽¹⁾.

Miṣr⁽²⁾ at that time belonged to the Calif (Khalifah) of Baghdâd. The wâlî of it (Egypt) (who was appointed) by him (the Calif) was a man known as the Ikhšîd⁽³⁾. He was appointed three years before this father was made patriarch⁽⁴⁾. Then he journeyed to Palestine (Filistîn) and died there. He left behind (him) two sons, one of them was Abû'l-Ḳasim and the other (was) Abû'l-Ḥasan⁽⁵⁾. They were appointed to the government (wilâyat) in the place of their father.

An insurgent made an insurrection against them ; (he was) from the West and his name was Ḥanâniyâ and they fled away before him to Palestine (Filistîn), and he took possession of Miṣr⁽²⁾. When they learned that his troops were in Miṣr⁽²⁾ only, they returned to fight against him and they routed him.

They were both youths and with them there was a master (ustâdh) (who had) belonged to their father, whose name was Kâfûr⁽⁶⁾. He was of Nubian (Nûbî) race (*γένος*), captured from the lands of Nubia (Nûbah), and his master had given him in his childhood to one who taught him writing and literature and all that he needed (to know). When he (Kâfûr) grew up and he (his master) saw that he was distinguished and skilled, he delivered to him his kingdom and his two children. This (one) was like Joseph (Yûsuf) in Miṣr⁽²⁾. When seven years had passed both the sons died, and the master (ustâdh) Kâfûr succeeded them. Then he (Kâfûr) died and the chiefs of the State took him and embalmed him

⁽¹⁾ *i. e.* A. D. 956-957. — ⁽²⁾ Egypt. — ⁽³⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-85. — ⁽⁴⁾ This is chronologically incorrect. — ⁽⁵⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 86. — ⁽⁶⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

what is required by them, and that it is requisite that he who is advanced to this dignity should be of middle age, neither an elder (šai^{kh}) nor a young man, lest the lust of the body should torment him, nor one advanced in old age, lest his body should weigh him down and he be unable to do what is necessary for him (to do)". Then they said to him : "We shall not leave thee at all except thou make known to us him who is fit for this dignity". When he understood that they would not leave him except he indicated to them another, he said to them : "My son Menas (Minâ) is fit for this charge, and I testify for him with regard to this and to the beauty of his godly way of life and that he is learned and of middle age". Then all of them cried out : "Worthy, worthy, worthy", and they presented themselves to him (Menas) and took him by force and bound iron (fetters) on his feet and bore him to Alexandria and consecrated him patriarch in it.

The bishops and the elders (šuyûkh) returned with him, and (when) he passed by his aforesaid hamlet, he turned aside to it in order to greet his family. When news of him reached them, they went out to receive him with censers and crosses and they conducted him to the house to rest. As he sat (there), a multitude (of people) being with him, an evil man among the inhabitants of the hamlet presented himself and said to one of the bishops : "Do ye not say that it is not permitted to him who has been married to become patriarch?" He said to him : "Yea". Then he said : "This (one) has been married and his wife is still living with us until now in the village". When that bishop heard this saying, he was grieved and he informed the rest of the bishops who were with him and said to them : "O my brethren, know that a great misfortune and shame has befallen us and that we are become a reproach to everyone". He made known to them the news, and they were silent and became drunk, (though) not with wine⁽¹⁾, through grief and affliction. When Menas (Minâ) the patriarch saw them taking counsel together and knew that they (were doing so) on account of him, he said to them : "O my brethren, why take ye counsel?" They said to him : "We have learned that thou art married and we have done to thee what is not

⁽¹⁾ Cf. *Is.* 51, 21*.

so that they might marry her to another man, but she did not respond to this and she did not agree with their opinion. She said to them : “(This is) what the Lord has judged against me. I shall abide in this house of mine, sorrowing for my husband until the day of my death”.

When the aforesaid Menas (Miná) had dwelt for three years in the monastery and his affair had been hidden from his father and his family, —then they learned news of him after that, that he was alive and had become a monk in the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḩâr) ⁽¹⁾— his family hastened and went to him and they saw him there alive, serving God the Exalted (and) glorifying Him. The woman kept the covenant which had been established between her and him and she did not break it. This (one) ⁽²⁾ remained in Wâdî Habîb ⁽³⁾ for a long time, then he became an anchorite.

When the father, Abba Theophanius (Anbâ Tâûfânîûs) the patriarch, went to his rest, the bishops and the archons (ἄρχων) assembled to appoint (a patriarch) in his stead. Reports of this father, the saintly elder (šaikh), the father of the Cell (κελλίον), and of his devotion in the monasteries and of the knowledge which he possessed, reached them. Then they went to him and they did not constrain him and did not speak with him about what he did not wish and did not trouble him on account of his sanctity, but they spoke to him quietly and gravely, saying : “We have come to thee, O our saintly father, to call thee to a divine charge that thou shouldst be for us a father on the Apostolic Throne. All of us make an obeisance (μετάνοια) to thee for God’s sake * that thou send us not away disappointed, but take on this charge and accept our effort on the part of the Lord”, and all of them prostrated themselves before him. When they did this, and he saw that he was vanquished by them, he said to them : “Lift up your heads, I will not gainsay you”. When they lifted up their heads and wished to place their hands upon him and to consecrate him, he said to them : “By an order from God, hearken to me to what I shall say to you. Lo, ye see in me an aged elder (šaikh), and no force remains in me for this charge, because it is a great charge, and ye know the Canons (κανόν) of the Church and

* fol. 138 v°

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 118, n. 3. — ⁽²⁾ i. e. Menas. — ⁽³⁾ Cf. p. 109, n. 3.

Let us say now that we came together and fulfilled the desire of our bodies and that we received children both female and male, what would be the advantage of this and what profit should we have from it? Shall we not die at the end of this and the grave be its termination? Both of these things must occur, as it is written : ‘The world passeth away and all its desires, but he who doeth good endureth for ever⁽¹⁾’. When he had reassured the woman’s mind⁽²⁾ with these words⁽³⁾ and similar (ones) from the Holy Scriptures, to preserve the chastity of their bodies, he remained thus for three days until he had strengthened her faith. Then he said to her : ‘‘O my sister, the mind⁽²⁾ of each of us has been reassured. Sit thou now in thy house, and I shall go to Wādī Habīb⁽⁴⁾ to become a monk, but keep this secret and do not inform anyone of it’’. She said to him : ‘‘Yea’’. Then he arose on the fourth day very early (ghalasan), and no one knew of it, and he went to the aforesaid Wādī and dwelt in the aforesaid Cell (κελλίον) which is Dirnabā⁽⁵⁾, with a saintly elder (ṣaikh) who was father of the Cell (κελλίον). He instructed him in the fear of God, and when he made known to him the secret, he clothed him with the garments of monasticism. He concealed his case for three years, and no one knew about him of those who knew him.

It was on the second day of his journeying from his house that his family asked about him that he should go out to them as was his wont, but they did not find him. Then they asked his wife about him, and she said to them : ‘‘He went out from me since already a good part of the night’’. They searched for him diligently⁽⁶⁾, but they did not find him. That marriage was turned into mourning and grief. When the days of their mourning⁽⁷⁾ which followed the rejoicing and the marriage were accomplished, the family of the woman wished to take her to them

⁽¹⁾ Cf. *John* I, 2, v. 17* ; neither the Sa'idic nor the Bohairic has the reading ‘he who doeth good’.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* heart.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* this speech.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 109, n. 3.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. p. 124, n. 7.

⁽⁶⁾ *Lit.* a diligent searching.

⁽⁷⁾ *Lit.* making mourning.

He cried out and blasphemed and said what those who are opposed (to us) say. It is said that one of the disciples of the bishops who were with him went down in the night into the hold⁽¹⁾ and wet a pillow and placed it on his (Theophanius') face, while he was sleeping, and sat upon it until he was dead. And it is said that he was given something to drink so that he died⁽²⁾, through fear of the disgrace. The duration of his patriarchate was four years and six months.

MENAS (MĪNÀ) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE SIXTY-FIRST OF (THEIR) NUMBER⁽³⁾.

There was consecrated in his place a man of Şandalâ⁽⁴⁾, the son of a saintly monk of the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr)⁽⁵⁾ in Wādī Habīb⁽⁶⁾ from the Cell (κελλίον) known as Dirnabâ⁽⁷⁾. This man was elect, and the reason for his monastic life⁽⁸⁾ was that his parents forced him into marriage in his youth against his wishes. He was very obedient to them, and they completed all that was necessary for him, for the marriage, while he looked on at it as (if it were) a vision or a dream. When they had conducted him into his bridal-chamber with his wife and left him with her, she being of his family and tribe, he sat down and said to her: "O my sister, what profit have we in this world?"

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 123, note 4.

⁽²⁾ *i. e.* he was poisoned.

⁽³⁾ A marginal note in red reads: 'This father sat on the patriarchal throne during the governorship (wilāyat) of Kafur (Kāfūr) the Ikhšīd (al-Ikhšīd) over Egypt (Miṣr) in the reign of the Calif (Khalifah) of Baghdād in the year six hundred and seventy-three (*sic*) [MS. A. has 'ninety-three'] of the Martyrs (= A. D. 976-977). After three years of his reign (*lit.* sitting), Ġawhar arrived from the west and conquered Egypt (Miṣr) and delivered it to al-Mu'izz, and built Cairo (al-Kāhirah) [MS. A. adds 'after a year'].

⁽⁴⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 119.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. H. G. Evelyn WHITE, *op. cit.*, Part III, pp. 31-129.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. H. G. Evelyn WHITE, *op. cit.*, Part III, p. 3.

⁽⁷⁾ Dirnabâ is possibly from the Coptic ⲉⲣⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲁ, 'The Cell of the Papa (Patriarch)', cf. H. G. Evelyn WHITE, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 362.

⁽⁸⁾ *Lit.* monasticism.

THEOPHANUS (TĀŪFĀNĪŪS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE SIXTIETH OF
(THEIR) NUMBER ⁽¹⁾.

They consecrated in his place Theophanius (Tāūfānītūs) (who was) from among the inhabitants of Alexandria, and he was already aged. It is related concerning him that (his) bosom became contracted ⁽²⁾ on account of his great age and his senility. He paid to the Alexandrians the thousand dinārs which had been agreed upon for them every year, and then he had difficulty (to pay) in certain years, and he asked them to remit to him something of it, but they would not do (so). They quarrelled with him and straitened him and said to him : “We shall not exempt thee from a single dirham of the thousand dinārs”. Then they said to him : “Thou art more honourable than we on account of these vestments and the skhēma (σχῆμα), (but) we invested thee with them and they belong to us. Either pay to us what was settled (to be paid) to us by thee and those who were before thee, if not, then give to us our vestments”. Then indignation overcame him, and he took off the vestments and the skhēma (σχῆμα) from him and threw them in their faces and said to them : “If they belong to you, then take them. I have no need of them”. When he took them off and threw them at them, an unclean spirit descended upon him and struck him down, so that he was bound with iron (chains) for the rest of the days of his life. Then they hid him away so that no one should see him. Then the bishops assembled and bore him to Miṣr ⁽³⁾ so that they might treat him. They carried him on to a vessel and set sail with him. Respect did not allow them to put him on the deck of the vessel * but they put him into the hold ⁽⁴⁾. * fol. 138 r°

⁽¹⁾ A marginal note in red reads : This is he whom the grace of God deserted [MS. A. supplies the lacuna ‘and he became mad’].

⁽²⁾ *i. e.* he became ill-tempered.

⁽³⁾ Cairo.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, p. 407. This word is from the Coptic ⲠϮⲎⲦⲧ, cf. W. E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 484a. Cf. also G. S. COLIN, *Notes de dialectologie arabe*, II. *Technologie de la batellerie du Nil*, in *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire*, t. XX (1922), pp. 59-60.

conferred upon him⁽¹⁾. She had become very aged. When he reached the hamlet, and (there was) with him a great multitude of bishops and other (people) to bid him farewell, it was said to his mother, as she sat spinning in her house, “Lo! thy son, Macarius (Maḳārah), has become patriarch and has arrived here to visit thee”. She did not answer a single word to him who said this to her, and she did not move from her place and she did not go out to receive him, but that old woman who knew (of his arrival) sat at her work weeping bitterly⁽²⁾. When he (Macarius) entered the door of her house, she did not rise to receive him, but remained sitting (and) weeping. He was joyful at the gift which he had received⁽³⁾. When he saw her in this state, he was exceedingly ashamed on account of them who were with him, because she contemned him before them, (and) because she did not receive him and rejoice with him, but wept while he stood (there). Then he said to her : “O aged (one), perhaps, thou dost not know me, I am thy son Macarius (Maḳārah). The Lord has given to me this great glory. Dost thou not rejoice with me now, I (being clothed) with this vesture which is the vesture and glory of kings?” Then she answered him with understanding and said to him : “As to me, I know thee, my son ; as to thee, thou knowest not what thou hast become. Thou art joyful at what thou hast received, but I grieve for thee. Would that they had brought thee to me borne dead on a bier than that thou shouldst come in to me with this empty glory! Regard not, my son, what thou hast received and rejoice, but weep and grieve, because thou shalt be answerable for the sins of all these people who glorify thee”. He did not understand what she said to him at all by reason of the respect and embarrassment and shame (which he felt) on account of the people who were with him ; and he went out from her, being grieved (and) weeping because she had contemned him and had spoken (thus) to him in the presence of his people. He remained on the Throne twenty years, and he went to his rest on the twenty-fourth of Baramhât.

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* what had befallen him in the way of an exalted gift.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* a great weeping.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* what he had received in the way of the great gift.

he had already died in exile. His disciple, (however), had survived, and he prayed (to be allowed) to journey to Mişr⁽¹⁾, but the king did not permit him (to do this), and said to him : “Thou shalt sit in the place of thy master”. Then he asked the king to allow him to journey to Mişr⁽¹⁾ so that the patriarch might consecrate him metropolitan (mu-trân), and (that) he would return. He (the king) would not do (this), but clothed him with the garments (of bishops) against his wishes and installed him without consecration. He remained up to the time of the father Philotheus (Filâtâûs), the patriarch, till he became old and very aged, and he used to perform the acts * of bishops.

* fol. 137 v°

Then the father Cosmas (Kusmâ) went to his rest, and the duration of his patriarchate was twelve years, and he went to his rest on the third day of Baramhât. May his prayer be with us. Amen.

ABBA MACARIUS (ANBÂ MAËÂRAH) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE FIFTY-NINTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

In his (Cosmas') place there was consecrated Macarius (Maëârah), a monk of the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maëâr)⁽²⁾, (who was) from a village in the Rif (ar-Rif)⁽³⁾ called Şubrâ⁽⁴⁾, near Alexandria. When he had been consecrated in Alexandria and at the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maëâr)⁽³⁾ and in Mişr⁽⁵⁾ according to the custom, and when he had finished his affairs in Mişr⁽⁵⁾, he went down to Alexandria, since none of the patriarchs had sojourned in Alexandria after Abba Khaél (Anbâ Khâyâl) the patriarch, who sold the houses belonging to the churches.

While going down, he determined to pass by his mother to greet her and to please her with (news of) the great gift which had been

(1) Egypt.

(2) Cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi'n Natrân*, Part III, pp. 31-129.

(3) Cf. *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, pp. 96 sqq.

(4) AMÉLINEAU, p. 456.

(5) Cairo.

hands. On being informed of this⁽¹⁾, remove Peter (Buṭrus) from you and install this (man) Menas (Mînâ) in the see. News has also reached us that he (Peter) seated the younger son of the king on the throne⁽²⁾ and rejected the elder (one), and this is unjust, because the elder has more right to the kingdom than the younger”. They both went with the letters to the elder son of the king who was alone in a solitary place, and a few people had followed him. When he learned of the contents of the counterfeit letters, he rejoiced exceedingly, and he gathered together the army to him and made known to them the letters and what was in them, and he found thereby a means to make war against his brother. The army joined him, and he vanquished him (his brother) and captured him and banished him, and he banished the metropolitan (muṭrân) also, and installed that monk Menas (Mînâ) in his place. After a few days a difference arose between these two false monks, and Victor (Buḡtur) plundered the cell (κελλίον) of the archbishopric (maṭranah) and took all that was in it and became a fugitive and embraced al-Islâm and wasted all that of which he had got possession in what was not pleasing to God.

When reports of Menas (Mînâ) reached the patriarch and of what he had done in order to banish the metropolitan (muṭrân) and to install himself in his place, he (Cosmas) grieved exceedingly and he wrote letters (and) anathematized and excommunicated him. When the king heard of this, he took Menas (Mînâ) the false monk and slew him. Afterwards, the patriarch did not consecrate for them (the Abyssinians) a metropolitan (muṭrân) during the remainder of the days of his patriarchate, and neither did the patriarch who sat (upon the Throne) after him, until after⁽³⁾ five patriarchs, and (this) was Philotheus (Filâtâûs). The biography will make this clear to us when we have need for the knowledge thereof, when we reach it with the help of God, since it is not requisite that we should mention the rest of the account of this before we reach it. Then the king ordered that Peter (Buṭrus) the metropolitan (muṭrân) should be brought back to his see, but he found that

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* them (the letters). — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* in the kingdom. — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* the completion of.

(al-Hind) and the parts near to it. It is included in the see of my lord Mark (Mârî Marķuṣ) the Evangelist up to our own ⁽¹⁾ day.

When the said metropolitan (muṭrân) had come thither—his name was Peter (Buṭrus)—its (Abyssinia's) blessed king received him with joy. When the death of its king drew near, he (the king) summoned the metropolitan (muṭrân) and delivered to him the crown of the kingdom and his two sons and said to him : “Thou art the vicar of the King Christ, the Great God, by Whose authority are all the kingdoms of the world. Behold, I have delivered to thee my kingdom and my two sons, and I have committed them into thy hands so that thou mayest direct them by the will of the Lord, and upon the one of them whom thou shalt judge to be worthy, gentle and good, place the crown of the kingdom”. Then the king went to his rest. The metropolitan (muṭrân) was a wise man and saw that the younger son was more accomplished than the elder one, and he placed upon him the crown and installed him as king. Lo! a monk from the Monastery of Abba Anthony (Anbâ Andûnah)⁽²⁾ was making a tour round the countries and was passing through the land, and with him a companion, who was making a tour with him, whose name was Victor (Buḡtur). They both penetrated into the lands of Abyssinia (al-Ḥabaṣah), and presented themselves to the metropolitan (muṭrân) and demanded of him that he should give them dînârs and endow them both with some of his money, but he did not give anything to them. Then Satan (aṣ-Ṣaiṭân) instructed them that one of the two of them should put on the garments of bishops and that the other should act as his disciple. They wrote counterfeit letters, as if from the patriarch, in which they said : “News has reached us that there has come to you an erring man, whose name is Peter (Buṭrus), and that he has said about us that we sent him to you as metropolitan (muṭrân) and (this) is not correct, and neither are the letters which (he has) with him from us, nor have we consecrated him, but he has counterfeited (as if) from us, what has reached you through his hands. He whom we really sent is the metropolitan (muṭrân) who shall come to you with our letters in his

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* this our day.

⁽²⁾ *i. e.* the Monastery of Saint Anthony in the Eastern Desert.

breaking his fast. He did not find a rest from this, because at the beginning (and in) his youth he had humbled himself and tired it. When he became patriarch and found rest, this thing⁽¹⁾ was stirred up in him. When he had tired himself through fasting and had not found rest, he complained of this to the elders (šuyûkh), the monks. They gave him counsel and said to him : “This spirit is not humbled save by humility and abasement”. Thereupon, he made a shovel of iron for himself and began to rise up at night after the prayer and to put on a sleeveless thouragi (ΘΟΥΡΑΧΙ)⁽²⁾ (and) to go round the cells (κελλίον) of the monks outside and to clean out their latrines, without that anyone knew about him. He continued thus for two years until that (lust) left him.

He remained patriarch for eleven years, and he went to his rest on the eleventh of Amšîr, and he was buried at the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr)⁽³⁾ in Wâdî Habîb⁽⁴⁾.

COSMAS (KUSMĀ) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE FIFTY-EIGHTH
OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

Cosmas (Kusmā) was consecrated after him (Gabriel) patriarch, and there was manifested in his days a great (and) marvellous thing. This was that he (Cosmas) consecrated a metropolitan (muṭrân) from among the monks, for the regions of Abyssinia (al-Ḥabašah) which is a vast country (χώρα), namely, the kingdom of Saba (Sâbâ) from which the queen of the South came to Solomon (Sulaiman), the son of David (Dâwûd) the king⁽⁵⁾. * If the king of it wished to make a tour through it, he would take a whole year making the tour, Sundays excepted, until he returned to his place. It is a country (χώρα) bordering upon India

* fol. 137 r°

⁽¹⁾ i. e. the lust.

⁽²⁾ Cf. p. 111, n. 5.

⁽³⁾ Cf. H. G. Evelyn WHITE, *The Monasteries of the Wâdî'n-Natrân*, Part III, pp. 31-129.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 109, n. 3.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. *Matt.* 12, 42.

When he went to Alexandria so that they might consecrate him, the inhabitants of Alexandria said to him, according to their established custom, "Write for us in thy handwriting the Creed". He spake to them a marvellous word : "Bring to us a carpenter to make for these people a new Creed. What need is there of handwriting (when) we are established in the Orthodox Faith which the Fathers, the three hundred and eighteen, set forth at Nicaea? We do not add to it nor do we take away from it". When they had consecrated him, the inhabitants of Alexandria demanded of him the thousand *dînârs* which Abba Khaël (Anbâ Khâyâl) the deceased had agreed (to pay) in place of what he had taken from the (sale of) the houses belonging to the Church, but he could not pay anything⁽¹⁾. The circumstances made it necessary (for him) to journey through the see and to violate⁽²⁾ the canons (*κανόνων*), and the word of God became (as) a merchandise (which is) sold for *dînârs* to him who asks to be ordained priest.

The *Diyâriât*⁽³⁾ was fixed in all the sees of Miṣr⁽⁴⁾ at a carat (*κεράτιον*) of gold a year for every soul among the men and women. The bishops used to take this (the *Diyâriât*) and to live on it, and from it they used to pay the *Diyâriât*⁽³⁾ to the patriarch every year, which was a sum of *dînârs* (imposed) upon everyone (of the bishops), according to the wealth of his see. He (Gabriel) used to pay from it (the *Diyâriât*) to the inhabitants of Alexandria what was arranged for them, and to spend the remainder in alms to his flock.

It is said concerning this saint, Abba Gabriel (Anbâ Ghabryâl) the patriarch, that he remained during the whole of his patriarchate in Wâdî Habîb⁽⁵⁾, and that he did not leave it and did not live in the Rîf (ar-Rîf)⁽⁶⁾ nor in Miṣr⁽⁷⁾ nor in Alexandria. Whenever he went away from there (Wâdî Habîb) on an important business, he would be as a stranger till he returned to the said Wâdî.

It was mentioned concerning him also that the lust of sin used to torment him, and that on account of this he used to fast long without

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* his ability did not reach to anything. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* loose. — ⁽³⁾ *Cf. H. P. E. C.*, vol. II, Part I, p. 36. — ⁽⁴⁾ Egypt. — ⁽⁵⁾ *Cf. p. 109, n. 3.* — ⁽⁶⁾ *Cf. Orientalia*, vol. VIII, pp. 96 sqq. — ⁽⁷⁾ Cairo.

THE FATHER GABRIEL (GHABRYÁL) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE FIFTY-SEVENTH
OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

They consecrated Gabriel (Ghabryál) patriarch. He was a young man from among the inhabitants of Almah⁽¹⁾, and he entered the desert and became a monk at the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maqâr) at the cell (ΜΑΝΩΩΠΙ) there called after Dorotheus (Dûrutâûs) who is Abû Kamâ⁽²⁾, brother of John (Yûḥannâ) in the monastic life, and his way of life was good in the cell (ΜΑΝΩΩΠΙ), and everyone who was in it * was laudable in (his) way of life. There was in this cell (ΜΑΝΩΩΠΙ) a priest, an aged elder (šaiḫ) called Maximus (Maksîmûs) who said that it was the established custom in this cell (ΜΑΝΩΩΠΙ) that none of them (the monks) should advance to say the "Alleluia" (ἀλληλούϊα), save he who knew all the Psalms by heart without a book, and this was the reason why the monks knew the Psalms by heart.

Concerning his (Gabriel's) advancement, there was a prophecy of an aged saintly elder (šaiḫ) called Dorotheus (Durûtâûs). This was that (when) the brethren were come to him once to receive his blessing, and this Gabriel (Ghabryál) was present with them, all of them sat to hear his (the šaiḫ's) words, except Gabriel (Ghabryál) who received his blessing and (then) went out, because he loved solitude and did not keep company with anyone. The elder (šaiḫ) stretched out his hand and seized the hand of Gabriel (Ghabryál) and drew him to him, while he smiled a spiritual smile, and said to him : "Thou dost flee from me, O brother, and dost not sit with me on account of thy love of solitude. I say to thee, O my son, that thou shalt certainly sit in the midst of a great multitude of men and women together". When they seized him (Gabriel) by force to make him patriarch, he recalled the speech of this saintly elder (šaiḫ).

⁽¹⁾ i. e. ΓΑΜΙ, cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part. I, p. 134, and Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

⁽²⁾ H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 336, reads : "known as the 'Syrian', that is to say the Father Kama".

from his lands many gifts, many fruits (which were) rare (and) out of season, and he carried them to the amîr. He (the amîr) was pleased with him and asked him about the news of the west. He (Pachomius) said : “There is nought save (what is) good and peaceful for thy Excellency”. He remained with him for (some) days and (then) returned after he (the amîr) had ordered him not to conceal from him anything in the way of news that might reach him from the west. Then he (Pachomius) was absent for five days and (then) returned. When he (the amîr) saw him, he feared and thought that news had already reached him. The bishop said to him : “Do not fear, O my master, the amîr, there is nought save (what is) good, only it is not lawful for me to conceal from thee anything of what might be of profit for this kingdom. It is that, (when) I departed from thy presence I was informed that the Melkites (al-Malakiyah) who are opposed to us, who are of the Greeks (ar-Rûm), had appointed for themselves a patriarch, and I feared that he might be an eye of the king of the Greeks (ar-Rûm) here, and that he (the king) might come in ships to Alexandria. For this (reason) I considered that I should inform thee of this”. Then he (the amîr) wrote a letter of appointment (καταστατική) to the wâlî of Alexandria that he should obey him (Pachomius) in whatsoever he should command him. When he (Pachomius) received the order, he went down to Alexandria and ordered that they should seize the patriarch of the Melkites (al-Malakiyah) who was no patriarch, and that they should cut off the two fingers of his right hand with which he made the sign of the cross. He found with him (the patriarch) six bishops of his religion which is opposed (to the Monophysites). He tore their garments which were upon them together with those of their patriarch⁽¹⁾. Then he assembled a synod (σύνοδος) of the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) bishops, and they went to Wâdî Habîb⁽²⁾ with the help of God Whose Name is great and by an order from Heaven⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ With regard to this story, E. REAUDOT, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum*, p. 329, says : ‘suspectissima omnino videtur haec narratio’.

⁽²⁾ Cf. p. 113, n. 4.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* heavenly order.

(side) beside the arch (kaṣarah) ⁽¹⁾ and noticed the picture of the martyr looking towards the west, and they said : “It is the picture of Saint Theodore (Tâdrus)”. There was in the hand of Khumârawaih a bunch of basil and he threw it to the picture and said : “Take it, O knight, O valiant (one)”. There came forth from the picture a hand and took the bunch of basil, and the bunch of basil remained in his (the martyr’s) hand so that everyone saw it. Khumârawaih, son of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, was very afraid and astonished at these miracles. Then he commanded that a mark should be made on that picture, that it might be manifest to all ages. Then they painted in his (the martyr’s) hand another cross, and that cross is in the hand of that painting until now. From that day he (Khumârawaih) became kind towards the Christians (Naṣârâ), especially the bishops and the monks.

Abba Pachomius (Anbâ Bakhûm), bishop of Taḥâ ⁽²⁾, who had written his name in (the document of) guarantee for the father, the patriarch, had two brothers also bishops, and he had workmen and pages, about three hundred, and they used to guard the regions in his see. Some of them had been taught to shoot ⁽³⁾ with arrows of wood (nuššâb), because the Berbers (al-Barbar) used to make incursions against them from the west, and on account of this the amîr loved him and relied on him to visit those regions, because of his fear of the king of the west who was of the family of Muḥammad and was called al-Fâṭimî. This bishop established a ferry at the west bank (of the river) (so that) news reached him at all times.

When Abba Khaël (Anbâ Khâyâl) went to his rest, they (the Copts) remained for a time without consecrating a patriarch. The Melkites (al-Malakiyah) consecrated for themselves a patriarch, and they exulted over the Orthodox (ὁρθόδοξος) and became exceedingly proud. When the news (of this) reached Abba Pachomius (Abbâ Bakhûm) the bishop, this matter was grievous to him, and he arose immediately and took

⁽¹⁾ Cf. R. DOZY, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, vol. II, p. 419. القوسرة is used to translate ἈΟΞΑΡΙΟΝ ‘arch’, cf. G. HORNER, *The Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar*, pp. 11 and 389.

⁽²⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 471.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* throw.

summoned the archons (ἄρχων) to him, and they brought the document and he tore it up with his hand, and he returned to his cell (κελλίον), glorifying God (but) grieving over that which had been violated of the Canon (κανών) of the Church and over what would befall his see after him through simony (χειροτονία) and over what was taking place between himself and the Alexandrians.

Then he remained patriarch for twenty-seven years, and he went to his rest on the twenty-first of Amšîr in the days of Khumârawaih, son of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn. The aforesaid⁽¹⁾ Khumârawaih had built a mosque outside Mişr⁽²⁾, and it is the mosque which is known by his name⁽³⁾ until now.

Then Khumârawaih heard reports of Wâdî Habîb⁽⁴⁾. He journeyed to it and entered the Church of Saint Abba Macarius (Abû Maḩâr) and saw his holy body, and asked (questions) concerning it. * It was said to him : "This is the body of the owner of this Church". Then he commanded that it (the body) should be loosed from its shroud, and took hold of the hair of its beard and it opened its eyes in his (Khumârawaih's) face. Then he fell on his back and remained for an hour in a swoon without uttering a sound. Then they carried him to his tent, and they took of the oil in the lamp (κανδήλη) of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḩâr) and anointed his forehead with it. Afterwards, another wonder was manifested to him in this Church, which was that (when) he passed through the door of the Skênê (σκηνή)⁽⁵⁾ on its northern

* fol. 136 r°

⁽¹⁾ 'The aforesaid' is added in the margin.

⁽²⁾ Cairo.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* by him.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. H. G. Evelyn WHITE, *op. cit.*, Part III, p. 3.

⁽⁵⁾ The term Skênê is strictly applied to the dome of a church, but, as may be gathered from the description of the consecration of a Coptic church, it may be applied also to the space beneath the dome, whether the dome be situated over the sanctuary (haikal) or over another part of the church, cf. G. HORNER, *The Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar*, London, 1902, pp. 12 and 389-390. According to G. GRAF, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini* (Leipzig, 1934), p. 9, the Skênê is also the place of the singers and readers in front of the sanctuary. The term Skênê has also a wider application, namely, that of Sanctuary. Examples of this use occur frequently in the *History of the Patriarchs*, e. g. the Skênê of Benjamin in the Monastery of St. Macarius which is a small church.

him, "Sit down". Then he sat besides the disciples (of Khaël) and he said to one of them : "Why is our father, the patriarch, troubled on account of what is demanded of him and of what he expects from the demands on him? Go to him and say to him that after forty days the Lord will tear up the writing⁽¹⁾, and that money will not be demanded of him, but will be left to him". The disciple went up and informed the patriarch about this. He (Khaël) commanded the disciple to present him (the monk) to him, but they did not find him, and they searched for him (in) the city of Tinnîs⁽²⁾, but they did not know anything about him (there), so that it was as if the earth had swallowed him up or the heaven had hidden him. They sent to Damietta (Dumyât)⁽³⁾ and to the places near to them, searching for him, but they did not find him.

After three days, Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn departed from Mişr⁽⁴⁾ (and) marched to Damascus (Dimaşk)⁽⁵⁾, on account of the news which reached him (and) which troubled him. He spent on the soldiers three thousand dinârs. He continued marching for twenty-nine days, and did not rest in (any) place. This was a Divine⁽⁶⁾ punishment (which) descended upon him from God on account of his injustice. On the completion of the forty days which the monk had announced, Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn died, after his return, an evil death, and his son Khumârawaih reigned⁽⁷⁾ in his stead. Thereupon, Aḥmad ibn 'Alî al-Mardânî, the wazîr, got out the document⁽⁸⁾ with the guarantee and delivered it to John (Yûḥannâ) al-Milîğî, his secretary. He sent to summon the father, the patriarch, from Tinnîs⁽²⁾. When he (Khaël) arrived, he stayed at the Church of the Lady at Kaşr aş-Şam⁽⁹⁾, where he was first (of all). He (Khaël)

(1) *i. e.* the document making Khaël liable for the ten thousand dinârs.

(2) AMÉLINEAU, p. 507.

(3) AMÉLINEAU, p. 116.

(4) Cairo.

(5) Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-70.

(6) *Lit.* heavenly.

(7) *Lit.* sat.

(8) *Lit.* handwriting.

(9) Cf. A. J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 155-181.

thou hast insulted our Faith and it was not necessary for thee to write this, since thou dost not know its meaning, and it is not lawful for thee to insult our Faith, unless there be manifested in it a fault. We have examined carefully what has reached us from others besides thee, since the appearance of your religion until now, and we have not found in it anything like what thou hast offered to us in the way of insults to our ⁽¹⁾ Faith, but we have learned that those who were before you were more noble than you, and thou hast not come up to them in any of the arts ⁽²⁾. Thou hast blasphemed against our belief in the Son of God and hast declared that thou dost not know of a child (born), except from sperm, and this is far from the good way, but reason testifies to us that our God is eternal and has not ceased to live, Who speaks and Whose Word is called Son and Whose Life is the Holy Spirit. We together with you (believe) that God is the Creator of all without a tool (with which) to work, except by His saying "Be, and it was". The language of the remainder of the letter is weak, such as none of those who were before thee wrote".

As regards the father Abba Khaël (Anbâ Khâyâl), he continued sad at heart ⁽³⁾ on account of the ten thousand dinârs which remained for him (to pay). Then he sought grace from God the Exalted, and he went down to the city of Tinnîs ⁽⁴⁾ to take from it something in the way of alms from the Christians (Naşârâ), the lovers of God. Then he made a tour through those regions in order to obtain something else from them. After he had remained in Tinnîs ⁽⁴⁾ one day, a company (of people) presented themselves to receive his blessing and to ask news of him and (about) what had happened to his case. Lo, a monk whose face was veiled and (who was) thin in body and of contemptible appearance, wearing a ragged thouragi (ΘΟΥΡΑΧΙ) ⁽⁵⁾, came in to the patriarch in the midst of the assembly and received his blessing. No one said to

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* the.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* art of the arts.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* under a straitened breast.

⁽⁴⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 507.

⁽⁵⁾ A monastic garment = *Θωράκιον*, cf. W. E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 69 a.

for them). He (Khaël) got together from all this and from the alms which were brought to him ten thousand *dînârs*, as much as he had borrowed, but he still owed ten thousand *dînârs* to the *amîr*, (and) he did not know of a way (how to obtain) them.

It happened, whenever this saintly patriarch wrote a letter from himself, that he did not say from Michael (*Mikhâyîl*), but from *Khâyâ*⁽¹⁾, the interpretation of which is "last", that is, the last of those whom his mother, namely, the Church had borne, since her beauty had been turned into affliction through what had happened through taking money from the bishops for the laying on of hands (*χειροτονία*).

In those days raids occurred between the Greeks (*ar-Rûm*) and the Muslims. The Muslims carried off the Greeks (*ar-Rûm*) from their lands and brought a very great number⁽²⁾ of them to *Miṣr*⁽³⁾, and likewise the Greeks (*ar-Rûm*) led away captive many people of the Muslims. Then the two kings *Leo* (*Lawûn*) and *Alexander* (*Alâksandarus*) wrote a letter to *Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn* asking for peace and that each of them should release the captives who had fallen into his hands, soul for soul. *Ibn Ṭûlûn* wrote to the two kings insulting and threatening them, (saying that they were) like a weak man who insults his pursuer, while he (the weak man) is being pursued by him⁽⁴⁾. Then they both wrote a letter to him (*Ibn Ṭûlûn*), (of which) this is a copy. "From *Leo* (*Lawûn*) and *Alexander* (*Alâksandarus*) the two kings, the chiefs (appointed) by the Lord Jesus Christ over the lands of the Greeks (*ar-Rûm*) * (who) write to *Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn*. Hail to thee according to the degree of thy dignity! Thy letters have reached us in answer to what we had written with regard to the captives, and we have found in them words which contradict one another. First of all, thou addressest us as a friend, then, after that, thou threatenest us as an enemy and (as) one who is afraid, and it is not clear to us upon what we can rely with regard to thee. Let our answer to thee be in the same strain⁽⁵⁾. Nevertheless,

fol. 135 v

⁽¹⁾ The Coptic word *ḥαίε* (last).

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* thing.

⁽³⁾ Egypt.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* who runs away, while he who pursues insults him.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* according to it.

When the patriarch's senses were restored and his fears allayed, the Synod (σύνοδος) assembled with him and deliberated about the case of the money which had been borrowed and about what remained (to be paid) to the amîr. They agreed ⁽¹⁾ to go to their sees and to take from every man a carat (κεράτιον) of gold. They violated by their deed the ⁽²⁾ canon (κανών) of the Fathers, the Apostles (al-Ḥuwāriyûn), and the Saintly Doctors of the Church who say : "Neither gold nor silver is to be taken for the gift of God which is the priesthood, namely the laying on of hands (χειροτονία)". Then they took from the ten bishops whom they had appointed to the sees what had been imposed upon them. Then the father, the patriarch, went to Wādî Habîb ⁽³⁾ and sold the Ramârum ⁽⁴⁾ which is the place of standing of the monks in the church for prayer, and he took from each monk for the place of his standing one dinâr. Then he went to Alexandria and asked the priests to allow him to take what was in the churches that he might sell it and take the price (received for) it to the Sulṭân. They did not obey him (in this) and much discussion (took place) between them until it was agreed among them to sell the houses belonging to the churches and to take the ⁽⁵⁾ price (obtained for them) to the Sulṭân. They (the priests) imposed upon him (Khaêl) the condition that he should give to them every year a thousand dinârs and that this should be a tax imposed upon him every year and upon him who should sit after him on the Throne of Mark (Marḡuṣ) the Evangelist. They obtained his signature to this and the signatures of his bishops. Then they sold the houses belonging to the churches at Alexandria and delivered to him (Khaêl) the ⁽⁵⁾ price (obtained

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* their opinion was established.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* this.

⁽³⁾ Cf. H. G. Evelyn WHITE, *op. cit.*, Part III, p. 3.

⁽⁴⁾ This is the Coptic ΕΜΦΩΜ in Greek texts under the form ἐμβριμιον, cf. W. E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 183a. The object in question was originally a kind of bolster and later a very low seat like a footstool. For a description of this, with examples from the Rule of Saint Pachomius, the writings of Saint John Cassian and the Apophthegmata of the Fathers, cf. Henrico STEPHANO, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, under the word 'Ebyimion'.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* their.

what had been settled, (in which) it was witnessed against them that the money (had to be paid) by them ⁽¹⁾, and they did this. Then they took the patriarch and tried to go with him to their dwelling-place, but he would not do (it), but he went to the church of the Lady, the Mistress ⁽²⁾, at Kaṣr aš-Šām ⁽³⁾ * in the lane (zuḳāk) of Abū Ḥuṣain, which now belongs to the Melkites (al-Malakiyah). He remained at it twenty days, and the archons (ἄρχων) used to come to him and converse with him and eat and drink with him and receive his blessing. Everyone of them had (a vessel) in which he brought to him (Khaël) what he required. When the end of the month drew near and nothing of the ten thousand dînârs had been collected for him and the patriarch had nothing at all, they were troubled about this and they counted the sees which were without bishops and found them to be ten. Then they appointed for them (the sees) ten bishops and presented them to him (Khaël) after they had imposed on them (the obligation to pay) the money which they had to collect within ten days, and he (Khaël) consecrated them bishops. John (Yûḥannâ) and his son brought two thousand dînârs, and the wazîr gave to them one thousand dînârs of his (own) money (as) a loan, and they went to the Muslim secretaries and they borrowed from them seven thousand dînârs. Then they took the ten thousand (dînârs) to the amîr at the end of the month and they swore to him that the patriarch did not have either a dînâr or a dirham and that they did not find anything belonging to him and that all of it (the money) was a loan to him. He (Ibn Ṭûlûn) took the money and delivered to them the writing and they tore it up. John (Yûḥannâ) and his son and others wrote (a document) for the remainder, that is the other ten thousand dînârs. His (Khaël's) disciple Abba Pachomius (Anbâ Bakhûm), bishop of Ṭahâ ⁽⁴⁾, and another disciple signed it ⁽⁵⁾, so that there were four who guaranteed the money after four months.

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* on their side.

⁽²⁾ Cf. A. J. BUTLER, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, vol. I, pp. 247-249.

⁽³⁾ Cf. A. J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 155-181.

⁽⁴⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 471.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* wrote in it.

and he informed him about the affairs of his kingdom, and he mentioned to him the state of the patriarch. Then the amîr said to him : “I shall kill him, because he has behaved towards me with harshness”. He said to him (Ibn Ṭûlûn) : “There is no use in killing him, but let us try to obtain from him something for the treasury, it is better than to kill him”. Then he (Ibn Ṭûlûn) said to him : “Perhaps, he (Khaêl) sent to ask thee about this matter”, but he (Aḥmad) swore to him and said : “Since the day of his confinement I have not read a letter from him, and no one has spoken to me about him until this occasion when John (Yûḥannâ) the secretary and his son came to me and wept. I swear to them that I would speak to thee on behalf of him (Khaêl)”. He (Ibn Ṭûlûn) ordered that John (Yûḥannâ) the secretary and his son should be brought, and when they were present, he wrote for them a letter to the mutawallî of the prison to deliver the patriarch to them that they might go with him whithersoever they wished, and they settled his affair according to what had been arranged. Then he (Khaêl) was brought out from the prison to the house of the wazîr, and he did not enter at all the latrine which was built for him in the prison—he (Khaêl) spent on it three hundred dînârs—because at the hour of its completion God delivered him. He went out from the prison and stayed ⁽¹⁾ in a furnished and decorated place, such as was fitting, nearby the wazîr’s (house). John (Yûḥannâ) asked permission of the wazîr to carry to him (Khaêl) what was (necessary for) eating every day. The wazîr said : “It (the food) shall be carried to him (Khaêl) from my house, but if thou wish to carry to him anything else, then it is thy affair”. He (Yûḥannâ) used to carry to him (Khaêl) every day many things in the way of food and drink. Then his (Khaêl’s) affair was settled after many requests and difficulties at twenty thousand dînârs, of which ten thousand (were to be paid) at (the end) of a month, and the remainder which was half (the amount was to be paid) at (the end of) four months.

The soul of Ibn Ṭûlûn rejoiced at this. He was about to set out for Syria (aš-Šâm) ⁽²⁾, and he ordered that (a document) should be written (making) John (Yûḥannâ) and his son Macarius (Maḳârah) (liable) for

⁽¹⁾ *Lit. was.* — ⁽²⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

he said to her : “Thou knowest the length of (time) of the imprisonment of the patriarch, and that a number of the bishops in the territory (κλίμα) of Egypt (Miṣr) are dead, and that none has been appointed in their place, and that there is need to appoint (others) in their place”. Then she said to him : “Dost thou not know that John (Yûḥannâ) and Abraham (Ibrahîm), sons of Moses (Mûsâ), who are his (Ibn Ṭûlûn’s) secretaries and his own (people) have made efforts to transfer him (Khaêl) from his prison to their dwelling-place, and they were not able (to do so)? How, then, will he (Ibn Ṭûlûn) listen to thee?” He said to her : “I will do what God has put into my heart (to do), and the matter is in God’s (hands), Whose power is great”. She encouraged him in this. Then he went and he took with him his son (who) was called Macarius (Maḳârah), and they arose while yet it was dark (ghadât) (and went) to the house of Aḥmad ibn ‘Alî al-Mardânî. He (Aḥmad) had the custom, when he went out very early (ghadât), not to answer anyone nor to listen to his words until he had been to the mosque and had made five prostrations in it. Then he would return to his house and to the place where he was wont to sit ⁽¹⁾. When he returned from the mosque, a candle being in front of him ⁽²⁾, he found John (Yûḥannâ) and his son sitting at the door of his house, for they had spread out the covers of their saddles, and were sitting upon them. When he had given them permission to enter with him, he asked them the reason of their coming so early, contrary to the custom. They bowed down before him ⁽²⁾ and said : “O our lord, the wazîr, we (wish to) inform thee that we have no prayer in our churches nor anyone who pronounces judgment in our affairs. The imprisonment of our patriarch has lasted long and we ask thee to help us, we and all the people of the Christians (Naṣarâ), and that thou shouldst ask the amîr for him”. Then he said to them : “Do ye not know the regard (which) he (Ibn Ṭûlûn) has for the sons of Moses (Mûsâ) and the esteem in which he holds them, and how they have asked him many times (for him, *i. e.* the Patriarch), but he did not grant them their request? Nevertheless, I will give my attention to this (matter)”. He swore to them. Then he went to the amîr, according to his custom,

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* the place of his sitting. — ⁽²⁾ *Lit.* between his hands.

or anything of what has been reported to thee ; and thy Highness knows that we are a people (who are) commanded not to lay up treasures on earth ⁽¹⁾ and not to take thought of the morrow ⁽²⁾. Now I am before thee ⁽³⁾. Do what thou wilt. Thou hast domination over my body, but my soul is in the hand of its Creator". When Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn heard this he became angry and said : "In truth, my good reception of thee has caused thee to refuse me thy money. Everyone who is outside our religion, whenever he is honoured, does not know (the meaning) of honour". Then he ordered that he (Khaël) should be imprisoned.

There was in the prison in which he (Khaël) was confined a chief man known as Ibn al-Mudabbir. He was a trustworthy man (who) loved alms-giving (and who) had much money. He used to serve the patriarch and to fast with him and to breakfast with him on bread, salt, boiled beans and such like things. That chief used not to eat anything of what was brought to him from his house, and he remained with him (Khaël) in the prison for a year. The prison was very full, and after the expiration of a year, the patriarch gave to the jailer something so that he might make for him a latrine of bricks (ṬḶḶḶ) and mud two cubits long by two cubits (wide), that he (Khaël) should not have to make water before those who were imprisoned (with him), since he thought that the duration of his imprisonment would last till the day of his death. On the day on which the building of the latrine was completed, God caused him to be released.

Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn had * two secretaries (who were) brothers, one of the two of them was called Bessus (Basūs) and the other, Abraham (Abrââm), sons of Moses (Mūsâ). He loved them both, and they frequently besought him to make them surety for him (Khaël), that they might take him from the prison to their dwelling-place, but he did not do (so). *fol. 134 v°

Aḥmad ibn al-Madhirânî, wazîr of Ibn Ṭūlūn had a secretary called John (Yû'annis). This secretary asked his friend the wazîr to ask the amîr for the patriarch. Then he went to the mother of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn who was a woman pious in her religion (and) with knowledge of it, and

⁽¹⁾ Cf. *Matt.* 6, 19*. — ⁽²⁾ Cf. *Matt.* 6, 4*. — ⁽³⁾ *Lit.* between thy hands.

and took the oblation (δῶρον) which had been borne into it, and he broke it and threw it down and came out in anger. This was grievous to the father, the patriarch, and to all who were present. Then they took another oblation (δῶρον) and bore it into the sanctuary (haikal) and completed the Liturgy (al-Ḳuddās) and gave the Communion to the people. When the morrow came, the father, the patriarch, took his seat and the bishops assembled with him, and they excommunicated that bishop and consecrated another. When he (the first bishop) learned of this, Satan (aš-Šaiṭân) entered him and wrath took possession of him. Then he went to the amîr, the mutawallî, at Fustât Miṣr⁽¹⁾ (appointed) by the Calif (Khalîfah), who was Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn⁽²⁾ the representative of the Calif (Khalîfah) at Baghdâd. He (Ibn Ṭûlûn) loved to amass money, so he (the bishop) complained to him about the patriarch and incited him against him (Khaël), and said to him : “He (Khaël) has much money”. Ibn Ṭûlûn was occupied with recruiting soldiers for Syria (aš-Šâm), and he rejoiced at the words of the bishop that he might take from the patriarch what he could spend on the soldiers. Then he sent to summon the father, the patriarch, and he addressed him, saying : “Thou knowest what we have need of in the way of money for taking it to the Calif (Khalîfah) at Baghdâd, since he is the possessor of this land, especially for the debts which he has on account of the war. Ye, O chiefs of the Christians (Naṣârâ) are in peace and ye have no need of gold or silver, but only of bread to eat and a garment to wear. I have learned, indeed, that thou hast much money and innumerable vessels and gold and silver and brocade and (all) kinds of silk belonging to the churches. I love thee and respect thine old age, and I have summoned thee not unjustly and not with force, since it is necessary that thou shouldst be honoured and not despised. Give me what thou hast to take to the Calif (Khalîfah) and thou shalt find grace with him and with me”. Then the patriarch kept silent and did not know what to answer him. Then he said to him (Ibn Ṭûlûn) quietly and with humility : “There is no injustice in your kingdom and ye are a people who know truth, but I am a feeble man (and) I do not possess either gold or silver

⁽¹⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 538. — ⁽²⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

ABBA KHAËL (ANBĀ KHĀYĪL) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE (IS) THE FIFTY-SIXTH
OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

When Šenouti (Sānūtīūs), the patriarch who built the sanctuary (haikal) of my lord Mark (Mārī Marķuṣ) at Alexandria, died—this sanctuary (haikal) remained for one hundred and fifteen years—Abba Khaël (Anbā Khāyīl) was consecrated after him. He had three beautiful qualities⁽¹⁾ which resembled gold molten in the fire, on account of the trials which he suffered and underwent. There was an evil bishop of the see of Sakhā⁽²⁾, and there was among (the villages) of his see the village known as Dinūšir⁽³⁾. There was in it a church under the name of Ptolomaeus (Ṭulmāūs) which required to be consecrated⁽⁴⁾. The chiefs of the commune (naḥiyah) assembled with the father, the patriarch Abba Khaël (Anbā Khāyīl), and the fathers, the bishops, who were present with him for the consecration, and they asked them to come to the church, in order that they might receive their blessing. They came together and a great multitude assembled, and the time of the Liturgy (al-Ḳuddās) arrived. The said bishop of Sakhā⁽²⁾ was absent from the church, being occupied with preparing food for them. The day was ending * and the time for the Liturgy (al-Ḳuddās) passed. Then he (Khaël) sent for the bishop, but he did not come, because he was occupied with what we have mentioned. Then the bishops and the congregation asked the father, the patriarch, to bear the oblation (ḳurbān) into the sanctuary (haikal), so that the priests might begin (to read) the lessons from the books and their interpretation in a quiet and slow manner, till the bishop should come. He (Khaël) did that, and after this the bishop came and found that they had begun before his arrival. Then he became angry and said to the patriarch in wrath: “Who made thee do this in my see without my order or presence?” Then he went up to the sanctuary (haikal)

* fol. 134 r°

(1) These qualities are not stated.

(2) AMÉLINEAU, p. 410.

(3) AMÉLINEAU, p. 143.

(4) For particulars about this church, cf. *H. P. E. C.*, vol. II, Part I, pp. 17-18.

THE TWENTY-THIRD BIOGRAPHY OF THE BIOGRAPHIES OF THE HOLY CHURCH.

The virtuous father Abba Michael (Anbâ Mikhâyîl), bishop of the city of Tinnîs ⁽¹⁾, said : “It is requisite, O my beloved, out of Christian love, that we should set down in writing what has not yet been recorded of what happened in the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Church of which these pastors were witnesses and with which they were acquainted in every generation—who were ministers of the word ⁽²⁾. I besought God—praised be He—to assist my feebleness, I the wretched (one), the sinner, to begin to cause my faulty tongue to be (as) the pen of a swift-writing (scribe) ⁽³⁾, in order that it might move through the gift of the Holy Spirit, so that I might write what I heard and know from those who are trustworthy, whose words may be accepted; and we follow the path of those who went before us, who received the grace, and since it came into my mind to achieve this matter, I imitated the woman (who was) a widow, who cast into the treasury the two little mites, for she had nothing more besides them ⁽⁴⁾, and the Lord, the Scrutineer of hearts, accepted them from her. I found what the biographies contained which had been set forth by the saintly fathers through the power of the Holy Spirit, which was adopted by the Church from the time of the saintly Father, the Evangelist, my lord Mark (Mârî Marķuṣ), the pure virgin, the martyr, down to the time of the father Abba Senouti (Anbâ Sântîûs) who is the fifty-fifth, who was consecrated patriarch after Abba Cosmas (Anbâ Kûsmâ). This is the father Šenouti (Sântîûs) who experienced great afflictions according to what his biography contains. After him, down to the time of Abba Šenouti (Anbâ Sântîûs) the sixty-fifth, who ordained me, I the unworthy priest, nothing was written of the biographies. Then I, the wretched (one), Michael (Mikhâyîl), wrote this with God’s help to me—praised be He!

⁽¹⁾ AMÉLINEAU, p. 507.

⁽²⁾ *Lk.* 1, 2.

⁽³⁾ Cf. *Ps.* 44, 2. Bohairic version has ΠΑΛΑΣ ΟΥΚΛΩΠΕ ἸΤΕΟΥΣΛῆ
 ΒΑΥΡΕΠΩΩΠΗ ἸΣῆΛΙ.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. *Lk.* 21, 2*.

[IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER AND OF THE SON AND OF THE HOLY SPIRIT,
ONE GOD. TO HIM (BE) PERPETUAL GLORY FOR EVER. AMEN.] ⁽¹⁾

*We begin with the help of God and in the excellence of His assistance *fol. 133 v°
to copy out the third part of the biographies of the fathers, the patriarchs,
the virtuous and pure (ones), successors of the father, the preacher, my
lord Mark (Mârî Marḡuṣ), the Evangelist. May his prayers and their
prayers protect us. Amen.

They are the patriarchs of the Copts (al-Ḳibt) in the land of Miṣr ⁽²⁾,
the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Faithful, who strove and patiently endured
every suffering and toil and hardship and pain on the part of those who
waged open warfare and of heretics (αἰρετικός) and of the enemies of the
Church. This did not turn them away from the love of Christ their
Lord and from the good confession and acknowledgment of the Holy
Faith and from setting up the beacon of religion, but they persevered
in the Orthodox Faith which they had inherited from their saintly fathers,
which had come down to them from the Fathers, the Apostles (al-Ḥuwâ-
riyûn), the Disciples of the Lord Christ, who saw (Him) and beheld
(Him), and who wrought miracles even as their Lord had wrought (them)
and had given to them power to do, and to resist kings and authorities
through the strengthening of the Holy Spirit Who speaks by their tongues,
even as the Lord Christ promised to them. To Him be glory for ever.
Amen.

⁽¹⁾ This is found only in Ms. A.

⁽²⁾ Egypt. Fol. 133 v° is covered by partly transparent paper, and the text is
written on an unnumbered folio by the hand of the late Marḡus Simaika Pasha.
The above translation, however, is from the original text which is clearly visible,
when an electric lamp is held behind the folio.

and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God, to Him (be) glory. The book of the biographies of the fathers, the patriarchs — God grant to us the acceptance of their prayers. Amen — the successors of the father, the Evangelist, my lord (Mâri) Mark (Marḳus) the Evangelist, the preacher of the Holy Gospel and glad tidings of the Lord Christ in the great city of Alexandria and in the land (κλίμα) of Egypt (Miṣr), Ethiopia (Habašah), Nubia (Nûbiyah) and the Pentapolis (the Five Cities in the West) which is Africa (Afrîkiyah) and its district.”

This MS. has the following colophon (folio 204 verso) : “We have informed you, O brethren, and may God enlighten your minds and your hearts to understand what we read in the way of the mysteries of His holy books and His pure law and His astounding miracles and His wonders manifested in His Saints, as saith the prophet David (Dâwûd) in the psalm fifteen⁽¹⁾ : “He hath manifested His miracles to His Saints in His land, and hath placed (in them) all His delight”, to Him be glory for ever and ever. Amen. This blessed book was completed on Thursday the twenty-ninth of Baû’ûnah (in the year) 1408 of the Pure Martyrs (= A.D. 1692) may their intercessions (be) with us. Amen.”

⁽¹⁾ Ps. 15, v. 3.

Abba (Anbâ) Peter (Buṭrus), the one hundred and ninth patriarch in the number of the fathers, the patriarchs, may God the Exalted cause him to be chief over us and (cause) his time (to be) a long, peaceful and quiet period, up to a great age and with a happy life. Amen.”

Folios of the first part of Volume II contain 26 lines per folio. The latter part of this volume is in the handwriting of the late Markus Simaika Pasha who states on the first folio that he copied it from a manuscript in the Library of the Coptic Patriarchate in the year 1898⁽¹⁾. When rebound, this volume had the edges of its folios cut down, and consequently, part of some marginal notes, and sometimes the text itself, is missing. Some folios have had stains on them which render the writing almost illegible.

The text of this MS. has been collated with that of MS. Hist. 3 in the Library of the Coptic Patriarchate, Alexandria, which is designated by the letter “A”, and variant readings are recorded in the foot-notes. Lacunas and illegible words in MS. “M” have been completed from MS. “A”.

MS. “A” is complete and in a very good condition. It contains 214 folios with from 21 to 27 lines per folio. The space occupied by the writing measures 22 × 14 cm. The script is in a regular hand and in black ink. The first six folios are written in a large naskh hand, and the rest of the MS. is in a small naskh hand. Titles are in red, and the material of the folios is linen paper of a yellowish colour. There are some restored folios, and on some folios there are marginal notes in red and black. This MS. has been recently bound. It ends with the biography of Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû’annis) VI, the seventy-fourth patriarch, A.D. 1189-1216. This is mentioned in a note in folio 207 recto, which reads as follows: “The saintly father Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû’annis), the second patriarch of the second period. He is the seventy-fourth in the number of the fathers, the patriarchs.”

This MS. begins (folio 2 recto) as follows: “In the name of the Father

⁽¹⁾ This MS. is Hist. 15 in the Library of the Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, cf. *Catalogue of Coptic and Arabic MSS. etc.* by Markus Simaika Pasha and Yassa Abd al-Masih, Cairo, 1942, vol. II, pages 309-310, No. 675.

PREFACE.

The present Part comprises the biographies of ten patriarchs, beginning with that of the fifty-sixth patriarch, Khaël III (Michael I) and ending with that of the sixty-fifth patriarch Šenouti II. These patriarchs occupied the See of Saint Mark from A. D. 880-1066.

The Arabic text has been taken from MS. Hist, 1⁽¹⁾ in the Library of the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, and is found in volume II of this MS. which is designated by the letter «M». This second volume begins at folio 133 verso which, however, is bound up in volume I. Folio 133 verso is covered with a transparent paper upon which the text beneath has been rewritten by the late Markus Simaika Pasha. The last folio of this second volume is numbered 282 verso. There are a number of restored folios in this second volume which date from the time of the patriarch Abba Peter VII, the 109th patriarch, A.D. 1809-1853, as is stated in the following note on folio 203 verso :

“Remember, O Lord, Thy miserable, humble and wretched servant Šenouti (Šanūdah), in name hegoumenos (ḡummuṣ), minister at the Monastery of the great and righteous Saint Abba (Anbā) Paule (Būlā) the Great, the first anchorite, who restored these biographies. He entreats thereby pardon, remission and forgiveness of his sins through the intercessions of those whose names have been mentioned in them. The restoration of these (biographies) was (made) at that time in the flourishing Cell (κελλιον)⁽²⁾ in the protected (city)⁽³⁾ during the presidency of the lord, the venerable father, the fortunate and blessed (one), the chief of chiefs and lord of lords, the father honoured in every respect,

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Volume II, Part I of the present work.

⁽²⁾ *i. e.* the Patriarchate.

⁽³⁾ *i. e.* Cairo.

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TEXTES ET DOCUMENTS

HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS OF THE EGYPTIAN CHURCH,

KNOWN AS THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY CHURCH

BY

SAWĪRUS IBN AL-MUKAFFA',

BISHOP OF AL-AŠMŪNĪN

VOLUME II. PART II.

KHAËL III — ŠENOUTI II

(A. D. 880 — 1066)

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

BY

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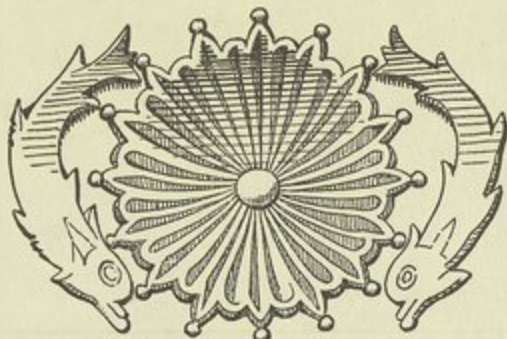
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