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مطبوعات جمعية الأثار القبطية

قسم النصوص والوثائق

١٣

تاريخ بطريرك الكنيسة المصرية

المعروف بسيرة البيعة المقدسة
لساوريس بن المقفع أسقف الأشمونين

المجلد الثالث

الجزء الثالث

من البطريرك كيرلس الثاني إلى البطريرك كيرلس الخامس

١٢٣٥ م — ١٨٩٥ م

فتم على نشره

دكتور أنطون حناطو و دكتور ازولد بورمستر



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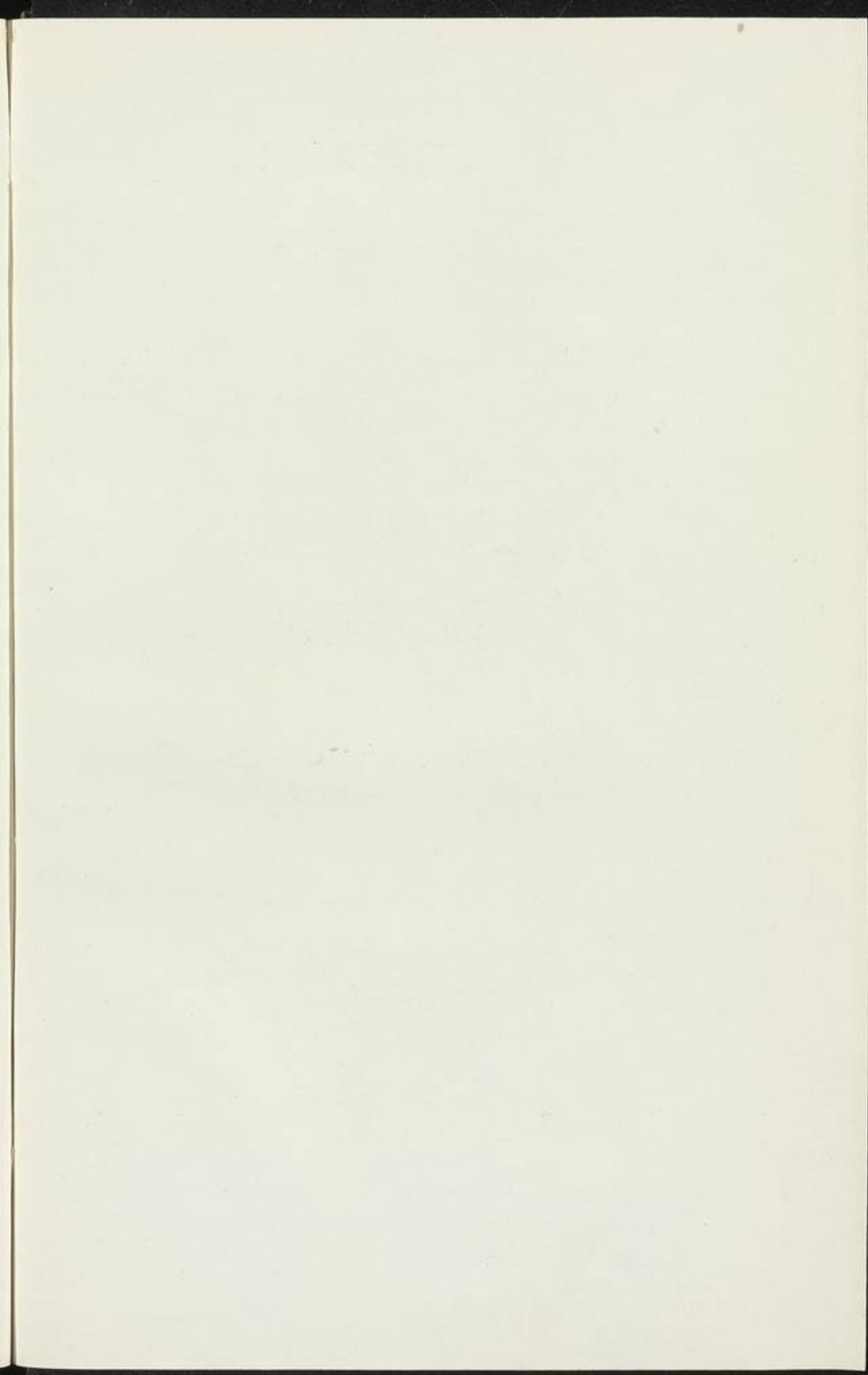
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تاريخ بطاركة الكنيسة المصرية

المعروف بسيرة البيعة المقدسة
لساورس بن المقفع أسقف الأشمونين



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نَائِحَةُ بَطْرِيْقِ كِيْرِسْتِيَانِيَّةِ الْأَمْرِيَّةِ

المعروف بسيرة البيعة المقدسة
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القاهرة

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مطبعة المعهد العلمى الفرنسى للاثار الشرقية بالقاهرة

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تصدير

يشمل هذا الجزء الختامى من تاريخ بطاركة الاسكندرية سير ثمانية وثلاثين بطريركا ، قد اعتلوا كرسى القديس مرقس من عام ١٢٣٥ إلى عام ١٨٩٥ ميلادية .

فيما يختص بالبطاركة الواردة اسماؤهم ، فان سيرهم غاية في الاختصار ، فلا يذكر عنهم إلا القليل بعد تاريخ تقديمهم وتاريخ نياحتهم .
اثناسيوس الثالث ، بطرس الخامس ، مرقس الرابع ، يوانس العاشر ،
غبريال الرابع ، غبريال الخامس ، يوانس الحادى عشر ، متاوس الثانى ،
غبريال السادس ، ميخائيل الثالث ، غبريال السابع ، غبريال الثامن ، مرقس
الخامس ، يوانس الخامس عشر ، متاوس الثالث ، مرقس السادس ، متاوس
الرابع .

ومن الطبيعى أن يرد خلال هذه القرون السبعة فى سير البطاركة ، ذكر
تفاصيل شيقة ومهمة ترتبط بتاريخ الكنيسة القبطية وأديرتها وكنائسها والاحوال
الاجتماعية فى مصر .

من الناحية التاريخية :

فى عهد البطريرك تاوضوسيوس الثانى عام ١٢٩٤ م ، ويوانس السادس عشر
عام ١٦٧٦ م ، حدثت مجاعة عظيمة فى مصر ، أدت إلى أن يأكل الفقراء
جثث الموتى من الناس والميتة من الحيوان . وكذلك فى عهد البطريرك متى
الأول (من عام ١٣٧٨ - ١٤٠٩ م) ، حدثت مجاعة أخف وطأة .
وفى عام ١٣٠٣ م ، حدثت زلزلة عنيفة عارمة ، شملت كل مصر ، وقد
أصببت القاهرة بخصائر كثيرة فى المباني . وفى عام ١٧٢٦ م ، حدث وباء ،
وفى عام ١٧٩١ م انتشر الطاعون البشرى فى مصر ، وقد بلغ من الخطورة
كما ذكر أن مات فى يوم واحد ألف شخص فى القاهرة .

ومن الربع الأخير للقرن الثالث عشر إلى الربع الثاني للقرن الرابع عشر ، وقعت على المسيحيين اضطهادات تختلف في حدتها . وفي عهد البطريك يوانس السابع ، صدر أمر الملك الظاهر بيبرس بحفر هوة سحيقة وحشر جميع المسيحيين لإحراقهم فيها . غير أنهم أعفوا من هذا الاستشهاد لقيام البطريك بدفع مبلغ كبير من المال .

وفي عهد البطريك يوانس الحادى عشر ، قتل أو أحرق عدد كبير من المسيحيين ، بينما سمر آخرون في ألواح خشبية يسوقونهم في شوارع القاهرة على ظهور الجمال . وقد أرغم المسيحيون على لباس العمم الزرقاء كعلامة مميزة لهم ، في عهد البطريك يوانس الثامن ويوانس التاسع (١٣٠٠ - ١٣٢٧ م) ، وفي عهد البطريك مرقس الثامن (١٧٩٦ - ١٨٠٩) ، حدثت مذابح جماعية للمسيحيين ونهبت منازلهم وسيرة البطريك متى الأول (١٣٧٨ - ١٤٠٩ م) مطولة بصفة خاصة ، وهى تتضمن سجلا لعديد من المعجزات التى صنعها . وهناك ذكر عن هبة قطعة من الصليب الحقيقى حفظت في مغلف من الذهب مع بعض الجواهر ، أرسلها ملك الافرنج إلى أحد ملوك أثيوبيا . وفي عهد البطريك يوانس الثامن (١٥٢٤ م) ، يرد ذكر بناء مسجد في أحد شوارع القاهرة ، يسمى « مسجد الغورية » ، بناه الغورى أحد المماليك الشركاسة .

وفىما يخص بالحوادث السياسية البحتة ، يرد ذكر قتال متكرر في القاهرة بين المتنافسين من السنجك والمماليك ، كما حدث في عهد البطريك يوانس السادس عشر (١٦٧٦ - ١٧١٨ م) وبطرس السادس (١٧١٨ - ١٧٢٦ م) ويوانس السابع عشر (١٧٢٦ - ١٧٤٥ م) ومرقس السابع (١٧٤٥ - ١٧٦٩ م) ويوانس الثامن عشر (١٧٦٩ - ١٧٩٦ م) . وفى سيرة البطريك مرقس الثامن (١٧٩٦ - ١٨٠٩ م) ، يرد ذكر غزو مصر بواسطة نابوليون بوناپرت ، واغتيال الجنرال كليبر ، واعتناق الجنرال مينوللاسلام ، الذى رزق - كما قيل - بابن سماه سليمان . وفى عهد البطريك ديمتريوس الثانى (١٨٦٢ - ١٨٧٠ م) يرد ذكر فتح قناة السويس . وفى سيرة البطريك كيرلس الخامس (١٨٧٤ - ١٩٢٧ م) ، تلك التى تمتد في مخطوطنا إلى عام ١٨٩٤ م ، يرد تدوين الحوادث الآتية :

ثورة احمد عرابي ، دخول الانجليز مصر ، قيام ثورة المهدي في السودان ، كما يرد ذكر تغيير حق الوراثة في الولاية على مصر بواسطة اسماعيل باشا ، وهذا يحفظ حق الولاية لأكبر أبناء أسرته ، بدلا من جعلها لأكبر عضو في أسرة محمد علي .

وفيما يتعلق بالناحية الكنسية : في بدء النصف الآخر من القرن الثالث عشر ، يرد ذكر واقعة بشأن اختيار اثنين للبطريركية ، قد نجح أحدهما كبطريرك ، وظل على كرسي القديس مرقس مدة ست سنوات وتسعة أشهر ، وقد خلع وقدم بطريركا بدلا من المرشح الآخر الذي ظل سنتين وشهرين ، ثم تنيح وأعيد البطريرك السابق بأمر السلطان ، وقد باشر أعباء البطريركية حتى تنيح . كما ورد خطاب من بابا روما ، بشأن إمكانية إعادة اتحاد الكنيسة القبطية بالكنيسة اللاتينية ، وقد استلمه البطريرك يوانس الثاني عشر (١٤٧٩ - ١٤٨٢ م) ، وخطاب إلى البطريرك يوحنا الرابع عشر (١٥٧٠ - ١٥٨٥ م) ، وقد كان الرد على خطابي روما رداً مناسباً .

وفي عهد بطرس السابع (١٨٠٩ - ١٨٥٢ م) ، أراد محمد علي ان يرد الجميل للفرنسيين بسبب ما أظهروا نحوه من لطف ، فأعرب عن رغبته - بإيحاء من أحد قواد جيشه الذي كان كاثوليكياً في ضم الكنيسة القبطية إلى الكنيسة اللاتينية ، وقد ترتب على هذا أن صار نفر من أعيان الأقباط اتحاديين .

وفي عهد يوانس السادس عشر (١٦٧٦ - ١٧١٨ م) ، تم تكريس الميرون المقدس ، ولهذا الغرض فقد استدعى البطريرك جميع الأساقفة ، وقد أهدى كل واحد منهم ، جهازاً كاملاً من الملابس الأسقفية والأواني الأفخارستية . وفيما يتعلق بانقطاع النيل عن الفيضان ، فان لدينا مثلين فيهما ترتفع المياه بطريقة معجزية إلى مقاسها المعهود بواسطة توسلات البطريرك .

والأولى تمت في عهد البطريرك يوانس السادس عشر (١٦٧٦ - ١٧١٨ م) حينما انقطع النيل ودب الجفاف ، وبهذه المناسبة كان البطريرك يقيم القداس الإلهي يومياً ويصلي على جرّة من الماء رشمها بالميرون المقدس ، ثم طرح هذا في النهر ، وللوقت بدأت المياه ترتفع من جديد .

والمثل الثاني حدث في عهد البطريرك بطرس السابع (١٨٠٩ - ١٨٥٢ م) . وبسبب عدم ارتفاع النيل في سنة ما ، فقد أمر محمد على جميع طوائف المسيحيين ، كما أمر المسلمين واليهود أن يتضرعوا لله ، ولكن بغير جدوى . حينئذ أقام البطريرك بطرس السابع القداس الإلهي ، على ضفة النيل وطرح الماء المتخلف من غسل الأواني المقدسة فيه . ولوقت بدأت مياه النهر في الفوران والارتفاع حتى طفت على ضفة النهر .

وفيما يتعلق بالحج إلى المدينة المقدسة بمناسبة عيد القيامة ، فقد ذكر أن البطريرك يوانس السادس عشر (١٦٧٦ - ١٧١٨ م) قد باشر هذا بصحبة الكهنة والأعيان وعدد من الشعب ، وإن الرحلة قد تمت براً لا بحراً .

وكذلك ذهب بطرس السابع (١٨٠٩ - ١٨٥٢ م) إلى المدينة المقدسة على عيد القيامة ، وقد صحب البطريرك الرومي إلى قبر المسيح لاستقبال النور المقدس ، وبهذه المناسبة قيل إن النور المقدس تفجر من أحد الأعمدة بمقدم كنيسة القيامة . وفيما يتعلق بكراسي بطريركية الاسكندرية ، نجد مثالا مهماً ، لما يعتبر في الكنيسة القبطية نادر المثل بسبب نص القوانين على منعه ، ذلك هو نقل أسقف من كرسيه إلى كرسي آخر ، ولما كان الأسقف يعتبر مقترناً بكرسيه بالزواج ، فنقله إلى كرسي آخر يعتبر نوعاً من الزنا . والمسألة التي نحن بصددنا قد حدثت في عهد بطرس البطريرك السابع (١٨٠٩ - ١٨٥٢ م) . فقد كرز لأثيوبيا رئيس أساقفة كان قبلاً أسقفاً لأورشليم ، وكرز بدلا منه أسقفاً آخر للمدينة المقدسة .

وفي عهد البطريرك كيرلس الخامس (١٨٧٤ - ١٩٢٧ م) رسم رئيس أساقفة وثلاثة أساقفة لأثيوبيا وفي سيرة البطريرك المذكور ، نجد أن قائمة من تسعة عشر كرسياً لبطريركية الاسكندرية مع ذكر أسماء شاغليها .

إن البطريرك كيرلس الرابع (١٨٥٤ - ١٨٦١ م) كاد يقع في نهاية محزنة أثناء زيارته لأثيوبيا ، فقد اتهمه جماعة من الإنجليز إلى النجاشي بأنه مقدم الجيوش المصرية التي تنوى أن تجعل أثيوبيا رعية لمصر . فالنجاشي وهو ذو طبيعة ثائرة أمر في الحال باحراق البطريرك حياً لولا تدخل الملكة لإنقاذ حياته ورده إلى مصر .

وبعد موت البطريرك ديمتريوس الثانى (١٨٦٢ - ١٨٧٠ م) ، خلا كرسى الاسكندرية لمدة خمس سنوات ، وكان يقوم بالإشراف عليه قائم مقام هو مطران الاسكندرية ، ولمعاونة هذا القائم مقام فى إدارة البطريركية ، فقد قام المطران بتشكيل مجلس لإدارة أوقاف الكنيسة . وقد ظل هذا المجلس يعمل تحت إشراف البطريرك الجديد كيرلس الخامس (١٨٧٤ - ١٩٢٧ م) ولكن سرعان ما دب الخلاف بينه وبين البطريرك ، وإذ كان هذا المجلس يتمتع بتأييد الحكومة استطاع العمل على نفي كيرلس الخامس إلى دير البرموس فى أغسطس عام ١٨٩٢ م ، وقد ظل هناك حتى يناير سنة ١٨٩٣ م ، حتى صدر قرار الحكومة بارجاعه إلى البطريركية فى انتصار .

أديرة وكنائس :

دير النسطوريين بالقاهرة :

من سير يوانس السابع (١٢٧١ - ١٢٩٣ م) وتاوضوس يوس الثانى (١٢٩٤ - ١٣٠٠ م) ويوانس التاسع (١٣٢٠ - ١٣٢٧ م) ، نعلم أن هؤلاء البطارقة الثلاثة دفنوا فى الدير المعروف بدير النساطرة ، وكان هذا الدير يقع فى الحبش ، منطقة تقع بين القاهرة ومصر .
وفى عهد البطريرك مرقس الثالث (١١٦٦ - ١١٨٩ م) ، انتقل هذا الدير من أيدي النسطوريين إلى ملكية الأقباط .

دير شهران فى مسرة :

وفى عهد البطريرك متى الأول (١٣٧٨ - ١٤٠٩ م) ، حاول فوج من المسلمين تدمير دير شهران ولكن هذا البطريرك منعهم بشجاعة وأخيراً تشتتوا وعدلوا عن إتيان نيّهم الشريرة .

قلاية البطرخانة (دير مارى جرجس) بحارة الروم فى القاهرة :

فى عام ١٦٦٠ م ، انتقلت بطريركية الأقباط إلى منطقة فى القاهرة ، تعرف بحارة الروم ، والبطريرك يوانس السادس عشر (١٦٧٦ - ١٧١٨ م) ، أعاد

بناء البطريركية وكرسها باسم كنيسة القيامة ، وقد كان شهر البطريرك مرقس السابع (١٧٤٥ - ١٧٦٩ م) في تلك الليلة قبل دفنه .

دير القديس أنبا بولا في الصحراء الشرقية :

وهذا البطريرك نفسه ، يؤانس السادس عشر ، أعاد بناء دير القديس أنبا بولا بالصحراء الشرقية ، وكان حرباً بعض الوقت . وقد كرس كنيسة في هذا الدير وأقام رهباناً ومنحها وقفاً أقتطع من دير القديس أنطونيوس في الصحراء الشرقية .

دير العدوية في القاهرة :

وفي عهد البطريرك بطرس السادس (١٧١٨ - ١٧٢٦ م) ، أعيد بناء دير العدوية في بولاق بواسطة أحد أعيان الأقباط ، وقد كرس بواسطة البطريرك المذكور .

وقد تنيح البطريرك مرقس السابع (١٧٤٥ - ١٧٦٩ م) في هذا الدير . هذا وقد أضيف له قصر بواسطة البطريرك كيرلس الخامس (١٨٧٤ - ١٩٢٧ م) .

أديرة متباينة :

وفي سيرة كيرلس الخامس ، وصلنا أن هذا البطريرك أعاد بناء أو جدد أو ضم إلى الأديرة الآتية :

دير القديس برسوم العريان بمسرة ، دير القديس مرقوريوس بطحاى ، دير مارى جرجس بطرة . ولدينا أيضاً قائمة بالأديرة المعمورة ، وعدد من الأديرة التى أصابها التخريب .

كنيسة المعلقة بمصر القديمة :

وفي عهد البطريرك متى الأول (١٣٧٨ - ١٤٠٩ م) ، حاول المسلمون إحراق كنيسة المعلقة المشهورة بقصر الشمع ، غير أن هذه المحاولة باءت بالفشل بصلاة هذا البطريرك ، ذلك لأن الله أنزل مطراً أطفأ اللهب .

كنيسة الكلية القداسة العذراء مريم بحارة زويلة بالقاهرة :

وفي سيرة نفس البطريرك متى الأول ، ورد ذكر كنيسة الكلية القداسة العذراء مريم بحارة زويلة بمناسبة حادثة وقعت لعامل سقط من أعلى صقالة أثناء قيامه بحمل حجر كبير .

كنيسة القديس ميخائيل رئيس الملائكة والقديس مينا بالقاهرة :

وفي عهد البطريرك بطرس السادس (١٧١٨ - ١٧٢٦ م) ، قام أحد أعيان الأقباط باعادة بناء الكنيسة القباية ، كنيسة رئيس الملائكة ميخائيل وكنيسة القديس مينا على حسابه الخاص .

كاتدرائية القديس مرقس بالأزبكية في القاهرة :

في عهد البطريرك مرقس الثامن (١٧٩٦ - ١٨٠٩ م) ، حصل ابراهيم الجوهري ، الموظف الحكومي ، على رخصة ببناء كنيسة في الأزبكية ، وقد قام فعلا ببناء هذه الكنيسة أخوه ، وإليها نقلت قلاية البطريركية من حارة الروم . وهذه الكنيسة أزالها كيرلس البطريرك الرابع (١٨٥٤ - ١٨٦١ م) ، وقام ببناء كاتدرائية كبيرة مكانها . هذا وقد أكمل خلفه ديمتريوس الثاني (١٨٦٢ - ١٨٧٠ م) بناء هذه الكاتدرائية وتم تزيينها من الداخل بأمر كيرلس الخامس (١٨٧٤ - ١٩٢٧ م) .

كنيسة القديس غبريال رئيس الملائكة بحارة السقاين وكنيسة كلية القداسة

العذراء مريم في الفجالة بالقاهرة :

وقد تم بناء هاتين الكنيستين بأمر البطريرك كيرلس الخامس .

الأحوال الاجتماعية :

وفي عهد البطريرك يوانس السابع عشر (١٧٢٦ - ١٧٤٥ م) ، زادت ضريبة الجوالي ١٥ ٪ ، التزم بها المسيحيون واليهود على انسواء ولم يعف منها أحد حتى الرهبان ، وقد سبب هذا متاعب للفقراء .

وفي عهد كيرلس الرابع (١٨٥٤ - ١٨٦١ م) ، حصل تقدم في التعليم بين الأقباط ، فقد افتتح هذا البطريك مدرستين ، واحدة بالبطرخانة وأخرى بحارة السقاين ، وكانت اللغة القبطية تدرس في هاتين المدرستين كمادة من المواد الدراسية . وهذا التقدم في التعليم ظل وأزهر بمجهود ديمتريوس خلف كيرلس .

وقد افتتح البطريك كيرلس الخامس (١٨٧٤ - ١٩٢٧ م) مدارس إضافية في حارة زويلة وفي بولاق بالقاهرة ، كما افتتح مدرسة بنات بالبطرخانة ، ومدرسة بنين ببطريكية اسكندرية .

وقد أسس كيرلس الخامس كلية لاهوت في القاهرة ، لإعداد الشبان لوظيفة الكهنوت ، كما أنشأ أيضاً مدارس لاهوتية بدير البرموس ودير القديس أنطونيوس ودير المحرق .

وقد شجع هذا البطريك إدخال التعليم الديني والدينوي بواسطة نشر الكتب ، وفي عهده تقدمت دراسة اللغة القبطية وانتشرت بين الناس .

وفي سيرة كيرلس الخامس ، نجد سجلاً للإنشاءات الحديثة المتعددة التي أدخلت إلى مصر في عهده ، مثل السكك الحديدية والتلغراف والبريد وري الأراضي والمصانع ، هذا وقد أدخلت قوانين ونظم جديدة ، وضمنت الحرية الشخصية والدينية .

وأنشئت مباني جديدة في القاهرة والاسكندرية ونظمت الشوارع وأضيت بواسطة الغاز ، ومدت أنابيب الماء في كلتا المدينتين . وقد زادت وسائل الانتقال وانتعشت التجارة إنتعاشاً بفضل التسهيلات التي أدتها السكك الحديدية والبواخر .

وفي عام ١٨٩٤ م ، صار يوم تنويج البطريك تذكاراً سنوياً ، يراعى في الكنائس ، عند إقامة القداس الإلهي ، وفي الأعياد المناسبة .

إن النص العربي المطبوع في الصفحات التالية قد أختير من مخطوط « تاريخ رقم ١ » بالمتحف القبطي بمصر القديمة من صفحة ٢٣٦ ط إلى صفحة ٢٧٦ ج .

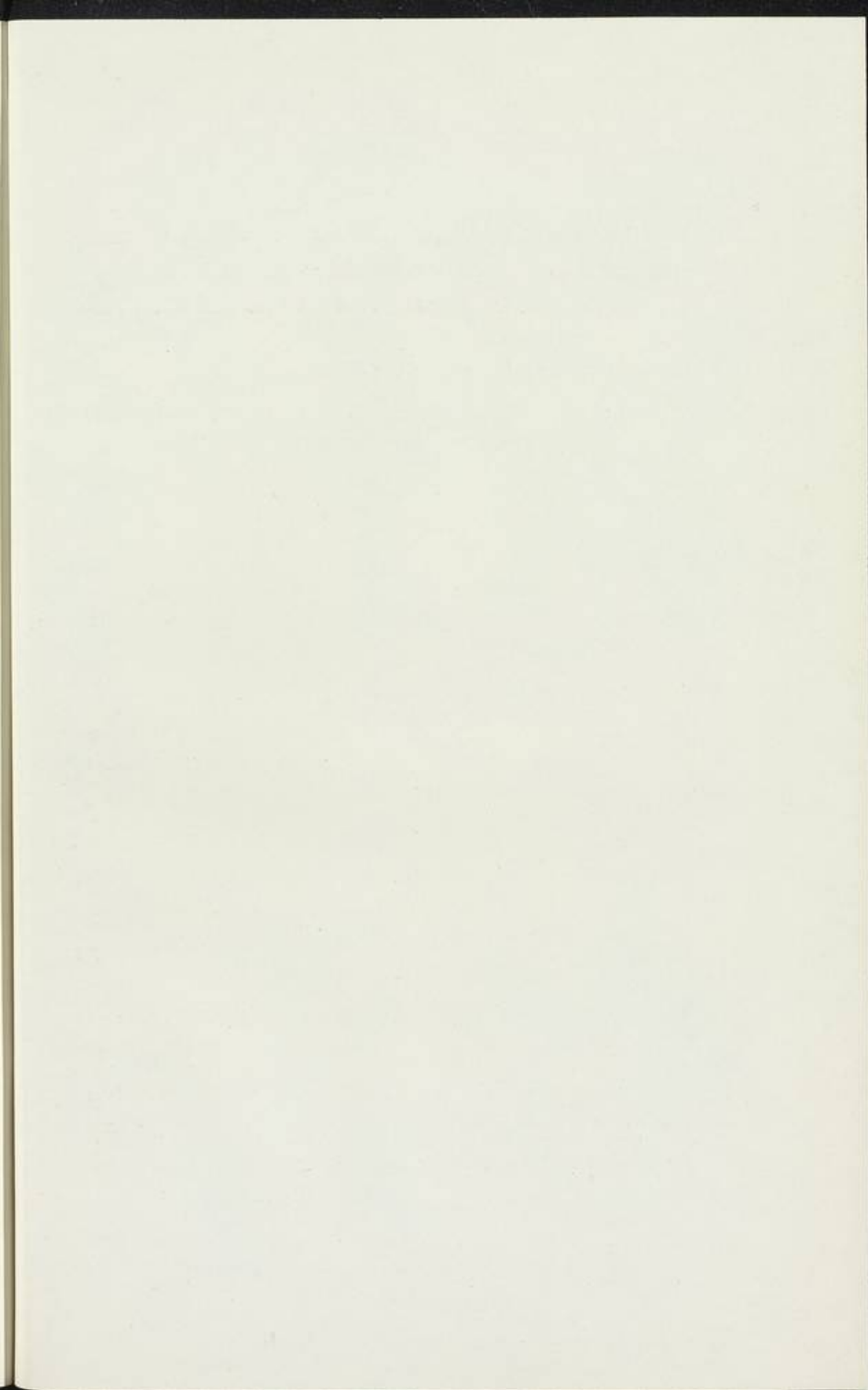
وفي الختام نقدم أحر تشكراتنا لجميع الذين عاونونا في إنتاج هذا المجلد . نشكر الأستاذ الدكتور سرج سونرون مدير المعهد الفرنسي للآثار الشرقية بالقاهرة ،

لتفضله بالسماح بطبع هذا المجلد بمطبعة المعهد ، ونشكر السيد بازيل س .
بسيروكيس ، رئيس مطبعة المعهد لعنايته الكبرى بترتيب وتنظيم النص
المطبوع ، كما نشكر هيئة المطبعة لتعاونهم ومساعدتهم لنا .

انطون جاطر

ازولر بورمستر

١٩٦٩



* نبتدىء بمعونة الرب سبحانه بشرح ما وجدناه من مختصر أخبار ساداتنا ٢٣٦ (ظ)

الأبء البطاركة بالأسكندرية الجلوس على كرسى مارى مرقس الأنجيلى البشير وذلك مما وجدناه فى كتب التواريخ ملتقط لأجل سياة العدد كيرلس البطرك الخامس والسبعون من العدد هذا الأب كيرلس ابن لقلق قدم بمدينة الاسكندرية فى يوم الأحد الثانى والعشرون من بؤونة سنة تسعاية واحد وخمسين للشهداء وأقام بطركاً سبع سنين وتسعة شهور وتنيح فى يوم الثالث الرابع عشر من برمهاة سنة تسعاية تسعة وخمسين للشهداء بدير الشمع بالجيزية ودفن به . وكان رجلاً عالماً فاضلاً . فيه عدة فنون من الفضيلة إلا إنه كان محباً للمال وأخذ الشرطونية وجرا عليه شدايد بسببها وتعصب عليه قوماً وأهانوه وعقدوا له مجالس بحضور نايب السلطان والعدول والوزير معين الدين ابن الشيخ . وغرموه بنيف عن اثنى عشر الف دينار . وخلق الكرسى بعده سبعة سنين وسبعة شهور . وهذا الأب هو الذى رتب كتاب الاعتراف . الاثنى وعشرين مقالة وسماه كتاب المعلم والتلميذ اثناسيوس البطرك وهو السادس والسبعون من العدد هذا الأب اثناسيوس البطرك . ولد القس مكارم ابن كليل كان شماس بالمعلقة واختير للبطريركية وقدم فى الخامس من بابة سنة تسعاية سبعة وستين للشهدا واقام بطركاً احدى عشر سنة وستة وخمسين يوماً وتنيح فى اول كيهك سنة تسعاية ثمانية وسبعين للشهدا .

غبريال البطرك وهو السابع والسبعون من العدد غبريال البطرك * هذا ابن ٢٣٧ (ج)

اخو الاب بطرس الشامى أسقف طنبدى . هذا الاب كان قساً بالمعلقة فأختير للبطريركية وكرز قمصاً ثم ان بعض الاراخنة بمصر اتفقوا على يوانس ابن ابى سعيد السكرى وعملوا قرعة هيكلية فطلعت باسم أنبا غبريال فانزعه يوانس بن سعيد المذكور ومن كان معه فابطل . وقدم يوانس فى سادس طوبة سنة تسعاية ثمانية وسبعين للشهدا بعد وفاة انبا اثناسيوس بشهر واقام بطركاً مدة ستة سنين وتسعة اشهر ثم عزل يوانس ابن سعيد وكلوا انبا غبريال واستقر فى البطريركية مدة سنتين وشهرين من رابع عشرين بابة سنة تسعاية وخمسة وثمانين للشهدا والى سادس طوبة سنة تسعاية سبعة وثمانين ثم عزل من البطريركية واعيد يوانس

بأمر السلطنة ولم يزل أنبا غبريال معزولا إلى أن تنيح بكنيسة ابو مرقوره بمصر ودفن بها في سابع عشر أبيب سنة تسعماية وتسعين للشهدا ولما تنيح قدموا اسمه على اسم أنبا يوانس في الكنيسة يوانس البطرك الثامن والسبعون من العدد يوانس البطرك ابن سعيد السكرى هذا كان من اهل مصر وقدم في سادس طوبة سنة تسعماية ثمانية وسبعين للشهدا كما شرحنا أولا . وكان في ايام الملك الظاهر بيبرس وفي سنة سماية اثنين وستين للهجرة أمر السلطان أن يحفروا حفرة كبيرة ويجمعوا النصارى يحرقوهم فيها وطلب البطرك وقرر عليه خمسون الف دينار وأطلقوا النصارى . واقاموا سنتين يستخرجوها وجرى على النصارى شدايد كثير في ايامه يطول شرحها . وقاسوا الاساقفة شىء يطول شرحه وعزل من البطركية كما شرحنا في خبر أنبا غبريال المذكور قبله ثم عاد ومدة بطركيته تسعة وعشرين سنة وتنيح في اليوم السادس والعشرون من برمودة سنة الف وتسعة للشهدا ودفن بدير النسطور وخلي الكرسي بعده سنة واحدة واياماً تاوضوسيوس البطرك وهو التاسع والسبعون من العدد تاوضوسيوس البطرك ابن أبو مكين الافرنجى كان اسمه عبد المسيح من اهل منية بنى خصيم وكان بدير القديس أبو فانا وكرز قساً بديره وقدم في عاشر أبيب سنة الف وعشرة للشهدا في ايام الملك الناصر محمد ابن قلاوون واقام الشعب مدة لم يذكروا اسمه بل كانوا يذكروا اسم الذى قبله وذكرانه اخذ البطركية بما يخالف التاموس والشريعة وكان محباً لأخذ الرشوة وحدث في ايامه فنا وغلا عظيم واكلوا الناس الميتة من بعضهم البعض وتنيح في الخامس من شهر طوبة سنة الف وستة عشر للشهدا ومدة مقامه على الكرسي ستة سنين ودفن بدير النسطور وخلي الكرسي بعده اياماً يوانس البطرك وهو الثمانون من العدد يوانس البطرك الشهير بابن القديس اختير للبطركية وكرز في اليوم التاسع عشر من أمشير سنة الف وستة عشر للشهدا . وكان في ايامه لبس العائم الزرق وما يجراه وحدثت زلزلة عظيمة في يوم الخميس نصف شهر مسرى سنة الف وتسعة عشر للشهدا وتنيح في اليوم . الرابع من شهر يؤونة سنة الف ستة وثلاثين للشهدا ودفن بدير شهران . ومدة بطركيته عشرون سنة ومائة وخمسة ايام وهذا الاب حضر تجنيز الاب القديس برصوما العريان في خامس النسي سنة الف وواحد وعشرين للشهدا

(ظ) ٢٣٧

(ج) ٢٣٨

وصلا عليه بركة صلاة الجميع تكون معنا الى الابد أمين يوانس البطرك وهو الحادى والثمانون من العدد هذا الأب يوانس البطرك من اهالى ناحية نفية بالمنوفية كرّز بطركاً فى اول شهر بابة سنة الف سبعة وثلاثون للشهدا وفى ايامه جرت شدايد كثيرة على النصارى وقتل منهم وحرقت منهم وسمروا منهم واشهروهم على الجمال وألبسوهم العمام الزرق ثم فرج عن الشعب برحمته ومدة بطركيته ستة سنين وخمسة شهور ونصف وتنيح فى اليوم الثانى من برمودة سنة الف وثلاثة واربعين للشهدا ودفن بدير النسطور بظاهر مصر وخلق الكرسى بعده ايام قليلة بنيامين البطرك وهو الثانى والثمانون من العدد هذا الأب بنيامين تنبأ عليه أبينا القديس برصوما العريان قبل نياحته أو سموه بطركاً فى الخامس عشر من شهر بشنس سنة الف ثلاثة واربعين للشهدا وكان هذا الأب القديس من اهل الديمقراط بالصعيد وكان راهباً عابداً مقيم بجبل طرا وتنيح فى اليوم الحادى * عشر ٢٣٨ (ظ)

من شهر طوبة سنة الف خمسة وخمسين للشهدا وفى ايامه تولا شرف الدين النشوا ابن التاج وجرا عليه شدايد كثيرة واهانوا النسا واولادهم والرهبان والرهبانات والأساقفة ومات النشوء فى العقوبة ببركة صلاة هذا الاب وطلباته وحل الانتقام من الله على جميع فاعلى السوء وهذا الأب اعمر دير القديس أنبا إيشاى بشيات وأنفق عليه من عنده ومدة اقامته بطركاً احدى عشر سنة وثمانية شهور وتنيح ودفن بدير شهران بطرس البطرك وهو الثالث والثمانون من العدد هذا الأب الفاضل بطرس كان رئيس بدير شهران أختير للجلوس على الكرسى المرقسى الانجلى فقدم فى اليوم السادس من شهر طوبة سنة الف ستة وخمسين للشهدا وأقام بطركاً ثمان سنين ونصف وكانت ايامه هادية وتنيح فى اليوم الرابع عشر من ابيب سنة الف اربعة وستين للشهدا مرقس البطرك وهو الرابع والثمانون من العدد هذا الأب مرقس البطرك كان من اهالى ناحية قلوب أختير للبطركية فقدم فى الثامن من ابيب سنة الف خمسة وستين للشهدا وأقام بطركاً أربعة عشر سنة وثلاثة شهور وتنيح فى السادس من امشير سنة الف تسعة وسبعين للشهدا وكانت ايامه هادية يوانس البطرك وهو الخامس والثمانون من العدد هذا الأب يوحنا المؤمن الشهير بالشامى قدم بطركاً فى اليوم الثانى عشر من شهر بشنس * سنة الف تسعة وسبعين للشهدا واقام بطركاً ستة سنين وشهرين وكان ٢٣٩ (ج)

عالم فاضل وتنيح في اليوم التاسع عشر من أبيب سنة الف خمسة وثمانين للشهدا
 غبريال البطرك وهو السادس والثمانون من العدد هذا الاب الفاضل الجليل
 غبريال كان من دير المحرق وأختير للبطركية فقدم في اليوم الحادى عشر من طوبة
 سنة الف ستة وثمانين للشهدا وكان عالماً فاضلاً عابداً ناسكاً ومدة إقامته على
 الكرسي المرقسى ثمانية سنين واربعة شهور وتنيح في اليوم الثالث من شهر
 بشنس سنة الف اربعة وتسعين للشهدا الأطهار متى البطرك وهو السابع والثمانون
 من العدد وهو الشهير بالمسكين هذا الاب القديس كان من صعيد مصر من ضيعة
 صغيرة من أعمال الأشمونين تسمى بنى روح وكان منذ صغره راعى غنم في
 بيت ابيه وان الله المظهر العجائب في قديسيه أظهر فيه من طفوليته في الرعاية
 أعمال عجيبة جداً منها انه لما كان يقف يلعب مع الاطفال كان يضع يده على
 رأس واحد من الأطفال وهو يقول اكسيوس ثلاث مرات وكان يرسم جماعة
 منهم قسوس واخرين شامسة حتى كانت والدته المباركة تعجب من ذلك وتسير
 إلى الجمع قائلة ان ابني هذا لا بد ان يصير بطريكاً وهذا لم يمكث الطفل قليلا
 حتى كبر ونشا * فلما صار له من العمر أربعة عشر سنة حينئذ ترك بيت ابيه
 ومضى الى بعض الديارات بالصعيد عمل راعى غنم كعادته وكان لا يلبس على
 جسده ثوب بالكلية بل كان متوزراً بعباءة وحبل على حقويه وكان مع حقريته
 لذاته هكذا دوء شجاعة وقوة شديدة حتى أن من عظم شجاعته كانوا الرعاة
 الذين اكبر منه اذا ارصدوهم الضباع الكاسرة في الليل لكسر اغنامهم ولا يقدروا
 عليهم فكانوا يمتحنوا هذا الأب ويبعثوه إلى تلك الضباع فكان اذا دنا منها
 وزعق عليهم بصوته تتقاذف منه وترجع مولية هاربة حتى كانوا الرعاة الذين
 هم اكبر منه يتعجبوا من عظم شجاعته ونعمة الله حالة على وجهه لأن هذا
 الأب كان حسن الوجه محبوب الشكل والصورة والمنظر جداً وكان كل من
 ينظره يحبه منها انه في دفعة نظرته امرأة واشتت حسن حاجبه وسلطها عليه
 الشيطان وأبدته بالشر وان انفرده الى ناحية وقشط حاجبه بموس وأخذه وجابه
 إلى تلك المرأة قائلاً لها خذى شعر الحاجب الذى اشتبهت به فلما نظرته الامراة
 تأملت لذلك جداً ولكنها لم تكف عنه حتى سأل الأب الأسقف ان يطلق سبيله
 لأن تلك الامراة كانت مجاورة لمنزل الأسقف وكان هذا الأب يكتم أمرها

ولم يريد يشهره للأسقف وانها تسلطت عليه بزيادة وأنه سأل الاسقف أن
 * يطلق سبيله فلم يشأ حينئذٍ عمل ذاته مثل مجنون وجمع للوقت ثياب الأسقف ٢٤٠ (ج)
 وبلايينه وقطعهم الجميع قطعاً قطعاً وطرحهم كوم شراميط فلما نظر الأسقف
 ذلك فقام على هذا الأب وانتهره وطرده إلى ديره ولم يكن يعلم أنه فعل هذا
 بسبب تلك المرأة بل انه جنون عرض له وان الله أرسل للأسقف جماعة
 أعلموه ما اتفق عليه مع المرأة فلما تحقق ذلك ندم على طرده وان الأب
 الاسقف صار يتوقع الاجتماع به إلى حين اجتمع به حينئذٍ قبض عليه للوقت
 وكرزه قساً وهو ابن ثمانية عشر سنة فلما ذاع خبر تكريزه إلى الاب المكرم
 الروحاني وهو الاب ابراهيم القمص الغاني فقام للوقت على الأسقف وقال
 كيف جسرت يا ايينا وكرزت صبي شاب راعي غنم قساً وهو ابن ثمانية عشر
 سنة فجأوبه الاسقف قائلاً ان الشاب يستحق ان يكرز بطريكاً لما علمه منه
 لانه كان يصوم في زمن الصيف يومين يومين وفي الشتاء ثلاثة ثلاثة فلما سمع
 ايينا القمص ما شهد به عنه الأسقف تعجب ومجد الله المتكلم على افواه قديسيه
 واما هو لما نظر الشك الذي وقع من اجله مضى الى جبل القديس أنطونيوس
 ولم يظهر لأحدٍ أنه كاهن بل اذا كان قصده الخدمة لا يخدم سوى شناس
 واذا بيد الآهيه خرجت من الهيكل وأعطته البخور ثلاثة دفعوع عند قراءة
 الإنجيل ثم غابت عنه * فلما نظروها بعض الشيوخ القديسين وتحققوها ٢٤٠ (ظ)
 أعلموه أنه لا بد أن يصير بطريكاً فلما سمع هذا منهم حزن جداً وقام ومضى
 إلى مدينة ايرושليم وتغرب هناك وكان يعمل في الفاعل وياكل من تعبته وكان
 من عظم جهاده في النهار يقطع الليل كله ايضاً ساهراً في مغارة ولم يخالط احداً
 ولم يتكلم قط وإذا كان يضطره الامر أن يتكلم كان لا يتكلم سوى سبع كلم
 واما يوم الجمعة فلا يتكلم فيه بل كان يتكلم مع السيد المسيح النهار كله وهكذا
 لم يزل هذا الأب مجاهد في مدينة ايرושليم إلى أن حضر اليه راهب غريب
 الجنس وقال له يا رجل الله ارحمني فان كان معي مبلغ فضة ينفعني في غربتي
 سرقوه ولا أعلم من هو الذي سرقه مني وكان الذي سرقه أخذه في خفيه وسار
 لساعته إلى بيت لحم قاصد الحرب إلى بلاده فلما علم هذا الأب بالروح أمره
 ترك ذلك الراهب مكانه ومضى لساعته إلى بيت لحم قبض الذي سرق المبلغ

وأخذه منه ولم يشهر أمره لكن أخذه منه وأعادته إلى ذلك الراهب صاحبه
وان الراهب تعجب لذلك وذاع بهذه الاعجوبة لكل احد في اورشليم فلما علم
هذا الاب ان أمره قد اشتهر قام لساعته وجاء إلى جبل انطونيوس وناله عند
عودته أحزان كثيرة وشدايد منها أن الملك بمصر لما وقع من الافرنج ما وقع
بمدينة الاسكندرية * فأرسل . . . قائد وجند من عنده يعاقب الرهبان ويطلب
منهم أواني الدياره فلما قبضوا الجند على هذا الأب وعاقبوه عقاب صعب
الى أن تألم قلب الطوباني مرقس عليه فانتهره القائد من أجله قائلاً له أنت
ما تخاف الله اذ تسمع الشاب يقسم عليك من ألم الضرب بشأن الله وأنت
لا ترحمه وتقبل شأن الله فلما سمع القائد كلامه حنق جداً وامر ان يطلقوا
هذا الأب ويضربوا الطوباني مرقس عوضاً عنه وعيا القائد من عقابهم أخذهم
في الوثاقت يريد يروح بهم الى مصر ان الله المظهر عجائبه في قديسيه أظهر على
أيديهم أعجوبة عظيمة إلى أن تعجب القائد وندم على عقابه لهم وذلك ان هؤلاء
القديسين لما اشتد بهم ألم الضرب والوثاقت حصل لهم في الطريق عطش
صعب إلى أن دابت كبودهم وكان الطوباني مرقس يسأل القايد ان يعطيهم
قليل ماء يشربوا فلم يفعل وان الطوباني مرقس انتهره قائلاً ان كنت انت
ما تعطينا ماء لنشرب ها هو الرب إلهنا يعطينا ماء من السماء لنشرب ومع كلام
الطوباني مرقس له صلى ورفع وجهه إلى السماء ولوقت انفتحت ميازيب السماء
وهطلت الامطار إلى ان امتلئت البقاع والأودية وشربوا جميعهم ومن كثرة
المطر نزلوا يستريحوا فوافاهم رسول من عند الملك بخلاصهم وعودتهم الى
ديارتهم وهكذا لم يمكث هذا الأب * بالدير إلا قليلاً ثم انه أخذ إذن من
الطوباني مرقس ومضى إلى جبل قسقام بالحرق وكان ذلك بتدبير من الله لمنفعة
الأخوة السكان هناك . لأن كان فيهم من لا يداوم الصوم في كل يوم إلى التاسعة
فعلمهم هذا الاب مداومة الصوم إلى التاسعة مع الجهاد الكثير الذي كان
يجاهده امامهم كي يتعلموا منه بالنظر لانه افضل من السماع فكان تارة يشيل
الرماد على رأسه ويغسل أواني المطبخ والقدر ويخدم الشيوخ والمرضى الذين
فيهم والمترددين وليس له ثوب ولا قنيه ولا قلايه بل كان المتن اقامته في
مغاره بالجبل خارج عن الدير ويصلى فيها وكان الشيطان يثير عليه . في تلك المغاره

(ب)

٢٤١ (ج)

(د)

٢٤١ (ظ)

حروب كثيرة وخيالات مفزعة منها انه كان يهيج عليه مثل السباع والضباع الكاسره ليأتوا اليه يفترسونه فكانوا حين ينظروه يأنسوا اليه ويخافوا منه . وقد أخبرنا هذا الأب ان الوحوش الكاسره أنست اليه حتى صاروا اليوم الذى لا يجذوا فيه قوت رضعاتهم فيأتوا ويشكوا اليه فيقوم ويعطيهم ما عنده من الخبز ويترك ذاته أيام جائع بدون أكل إلى أن يعود إلى الدير وكانوا الوحوش لمحبتهم فيه إذا سار في الطريق يسيروا معه وإذا أمرهم بالرجوع رجعوا وكان تدبيره هكذا من وقت إلى وقت إلى أن انتقل البطريرك الذى كان قبله وحينئذ دعوه جماعة الشعب وسألوه ان * يصير بطريركاً عليهم فلم يرضَ وقام واختنى (ج) ٢٤٢ ونزل في مركب تقلع إلى قبلى فنع الله الهواء ان لا يخرج إلى ان أتى طفل صغير غمزهم في نحن المركب فمضوا اليه الشعب للوقت واطلعوه من الخن من المركب ولما علم أن ليس له خلاص من ايديهم حينئذ سألهم سؤال كثير ان يصحبوه صحبة اثنين منهم إلى جبل القديس انطونيوس ليشاور أهباته الشيوخ وفي الساعة الذى ابصروه الشيوخ قاموا عليه وبالخاصة الطوباني مرقس وشاروا عليه ان لا يبرح عما رسم له بل يستعد ويقبل الخدمه ويعمل بطريركاً ولما حضر إلى مصر وتحقق انه يصير بطريركاً تألم قلبه لذلك جداً حتى ان من زايد تألمه أخذ مقص بولاد وقطع طرف لسانه وطرحه امام الشعب وانهم تألموا جداً وقصدوا يعالجوه فلم يمكنهم ولكن الرب الذى أطلق لسان زكريا بعد الخرس هو الذى اطلق لسانه وانهم تحققوا أن راعيهم هذا من الله ثم مسكوه وكرزوه بطريركاً في اليوم الأول من شهر مسرى سنة ألف أربعة وتسعين للشهدا وكان جملة من اجتمع من الاساقفة ووضع يده عليه بمدينة الاسكندرية إحدى عشر أسقفاً وكان يود من المسيح أن يرسل له الاسقف الثانى عشر وانه لم يخرج من الاسكندرية حتى أرسل له المسيح الأسقف الثانى عشر وكملاوا جلوسه بطريركاً في اليوم السادس عشر من مسرى * لمحبتته في ذلك اليوم الذى هو تذكار سيدتنا (ظ) ٢٤٢ العذراء وانه لم يغير شئ من طريقته ولا تواضعه في ايام بطركيته لكنه نصب جرس نحاس في القلايه البطركية وصار كل من يسمع ذلك الجرس ينهض للصلاة في أوقاتها والصوم في كل يوم إلى التاسعة وكان من حرصه على الصلوات والسهرانات لا يغفل عن رحمة المساكين بل كان اذا جلس في مجلسه ثم وافاه

انسان جائع أو مسكين فكان يترك ما هو فيه من الاشتغال بالحكم وينظر في حال ذلك المسكين الجائع أفضل مما هو فيه لان هذا الأب ما كان أكثر اهتمامه إلا بالمساكين والصدقة عليهم ومن زايد اهتمامه في الصدقة والرحمة كان اليوم الذي ما يأتي اليه فيه مسكين فكان يقوم يطوف بيوت الأرامل والمساكين ويفتقدهم والذين في السجون أيضاً كان يتعاهد كل واحداً واحداً منهم وأما الديارات التي للرهبانات فأعظم من الكل فانه كان يطوف على كل دير من دياراتهم وينظر في حالهم وفي دفعة دخل أحد الديارات فوجد امرأة عمجوز راهبة مسكينة جالسة وقت التاسعة تأكل خبز وملح فقط فأخذته لذلك تألم وحزن قلب على الرهبانات حتى صار لا يغفل عن إفتقادهم بل صار يرسم لهم كل شهر من قمح وحبوب وزيت وغير ذلك من حين بطركيته إلى يوم انتقاله وكذلك * الذين في الدياره والحبال ٢٤٣ (ج) كان يرسل لهم جميع ما يحتاجوه والذين في الضوايق والشدايد كان يتلقى عنهم تلك الشدة والذين في السجون كان لأجل خلاصهم يطرح ذاته على أبواب الامراء والحكام ويبدل لهم الأموال الكثيرة حتى يخلصوا من تلك الشدة وكان يطلب العوض من ذلك من السيد المسيح وكان كلما صنع مثل هذه المراحم وأعطى المساكين والمتضيقين كلما أعطاه المسيح أضعافه وكان كلما تزايدت اليه العطايات من ذهب وفضه كان يصرفه أولاً بأول على المساكين وان تلاميذه أحصوا ما تخلف عن البطريرك الذي قبله وجدوه أكثر من مائة الف درهم صدق بها الجميع على المساكين ولما نظروا تلامذته أن كلما تحت يده وجميع ما يحمل اليه يصرفه أول بأول على المساكين فكلموه بسبب ذلك وأشاروا عليه أن يبقى شيء من الصدقات وغيره الواردة اليه لعارض يعرض ولما لحوا عليه بالاكتر فحفر في الارض حفره وشال فيها ستمائة دينار فلما شال ذلك تفكر في ذلك وقال يا متي ربنا يقول في الكتاب المقدس لا تكنزوا لكم كنوزاً في الأرض حيث السوس يفسدها والسارقون يمتالون فيسرقون وانت حبست ذلك عن المساكين وخزنته في الأرض وبقيت مخالف لقول الانجيل أو ما تعلم أن الله سبحانه وتعالى يعوض بدل ما تعطيه للمساكين * أضعاف وأنه ندم وبكى وقام لساعته ليخرج تلك السماية دينار وإذ هو يجد إلى جانبها سماية دينار أخرى كشفها له الرب من أجل رحمة المساكين فلما نظر ذلك تعجب وصار يبكت

تلاميذه على قساوة قلوبهم قائلاً انظروا يا اولادى انه اذا كان هذا صنيع الرب مع من ينجد ويعطى المساكين فكيف تمنعونى أنا الحقير أن لا أعطى المساكين ثم أنه أخذ للوقت بتلك الألف ومائتى دينار قمح وحبوب وفرقها للجميع على الديارات والمساكين والمحتاجين والأرامل والأيتام والمستورين وفى دفعة قال لتلاميذه قوموا يا اولادى اشترؤا الف أردب غلة للمساكين لان غلا عظيم يقع بأرض مصر ويموت كثير من المساكين والفقراء فقالوا له تلاميذه من أين يا أينا نشتري الف أردب غلة وليس معنا من ثمنها سوى النصف خمسمائة دينار لا غير فقال لهم يا اولادى اشترؤا ولا تخافوا الرب يجهز لنا خمسمائة دينار أخرى لاجل المساكين وهكذا لم يفرغ الكلام من فم هذا الأب حتى وافا اليه امرأتين من أعيان الناس ومعهما خمسمائة دينار وسألوه ان يشتري بهن قمح للمساكين فلما نظروا تلاميذه ذلك تعجبوا بما كان وقاموا لساعتهم اشترؤا تلك الألف أردب غلة كما قال وبعد ما اشترى الغلال لم يمكث الامر الا قليلاً حتى وقع بمصر غلا صعب وهج أناس كثير من بلادهم واجتمعوا إلى عند هذا الأب * حتى امتلأت طريق قلايته من الجياع والمطروحين وكان هذا الأب ٢٤٤ (ج) يطوف وينظر إلى كل طائفة منهم ويتألم قلبه عليهم وكان يهتم للجميع بما يحتاجوه يوماً بيوم إلى أن ارتفع ذلك الغلا وزالت تلك الشدة حينئذ دعا الغرباء وعزاهم وعطا كل واحد منهم ثوب وكساه له وكذلك النسوة أعطاهن ما يجب لسترتهن ثم زودهن الجميع واكرا لهم مراكب تحملهم إلى بلادهم وكان عدتهم ثمانمائة^(١) نفر وكان يهتم أيضاً بالاموات ويكفنهم ويدفنهم وكان يفعل الرحمه مع كل الطوائف نصارى ومسلمين ويهود وكان الله تعالى يبارك في جميع الغلات وغيرهم كما بارك في الخمس خبرات والحوتين حتى صاروا تلاميذه اذا شكوا عدم الغلة وأن ما بقى في المخازن ما يكفى الجميع للغد فكان يقول لهم فرقوا يا اولادى ولا تخافوا لان عندى مخازن أخرى فايضة مآلته وليس كان هذا الاب يعنى عن مخازن أرضيه بل المخازن السماويه لان هذا الاب كان عادته يعيد لستنا العدرى ولرئيس الملائكة الطاهر ميخائيل عيدين في كل شهر وكانت

(١) اكتب : ثمانمائة .

المخازن إذا انقضت ودخل وباركها في هؤلاء العيدين كانت المخازن تنمو وتفيض من البركة السمائية وفي دفعة رأيت هذا الاب سبق واشترى للديارات والجبال الف أردب ترمس من أجل وقوع ذلك الغلا * فلما ابطأ وقوع ذلك الغلا (ظ) ٢٤٤ صار بعض الاخوه الرهبان يحملوا من ذلك الترمس في النار كما الزبل فلما اتفق وقوع ذلك الغلا ندموا أولئك الرهبان كثيراً وأما الذى حفظوا ما عندهم فانهم صاروا كلما جاعوا ولم يجدوا شيئاً يقتاتوا من ذلك الترمس ويمجدوا الله ولما نظروا الاغنياء الذين بغير رحمه الى صنيع هذا الاب وزايد محبته في الرحمة صاروا يتبعوا اثاره ويصنعوا كصنيعه حتى ان احد الاغنياء كان يسمى السعيد برکه ابن وجه المهرأتى وطلب قائلاً أنا أسألك يا سيدى الاب أن تسأل السيد المسيح أن يعطينى رحمه فى قلبى لأحب رحمة المساكين مثلك ويجعل انتقالى قبل انتقالك فقال له ايمانك يكون لك مثل قلبك تعطا وفى تلك الساعة اعطى المسيح لذلك رحمة فى قلبه كما طلب الى ان صار لا يرد احداً مما يسأله ولا يبرح يصدق ويعطى وكان اكثر صدقاته على الرهبانات الى ان وصلت صدقته الف اردب غلة فى كل عام فلما ارضى الاله بأعماله وذنبت ساعته حركته النعمة الآلهية طلع ذات يوم الى القلاية ليتبارك من هذا الأب كعادته فادركته الوفاة بحضرة هذا الاب كما طلب حتى تعجب من أمانته وانه كفنه بيده الطاهرة وكتب على (١) سألت عطيت قرعت فتح لك لان الله سبحانه وتعالى يسمع للرحومين والمتواضعين فاما الاغنياء الذين بغير رحمه فقد رأيت هذا الاب سأل واحداً من الأغنياء ان يعطى شيئاً من ذهبه وفضته للمساكين فلم يفعل وان الله أرسل له قايد ظالم قبل * ان يخرج هذا الأب من بيته فوضع يده على خزين ذلك الغنى أخذ ذهبه وفضته ودخائره ثم مات موة ردية مقهور وراحت نفسه الى الجحيم لان هكذا الشقا الذى يحل بالأغنياء الذين بغير رحمه وكان هذا الأب يحب جميع الناس ان يداوموا على الرحمة من محبته فى الرحمه وصار اليوم الذى لا يجد فيه شىء يصدق به فصدق مرة بالبساط الذى تحته وفى دفعة صدق بتوبه ووزرته وفى حين آخر بالدواه النحاس الموضوعه امامه ومره وافاه

(١) هنا كلمة ناقصة ، ربما تكون « على مقبرته » .

انسان كاتب محتاج أعطاه بساطه وايضاً وافاه انسان جائع عند المساء فاخذ عشاءه من قدامه ودفعه لذلك الجائع ثم خرج قرع الأبواب مثل مسكين في طلب رغيث فلما قرع الباب تحققوا انه صوت البطريرك فخرجوا وسألوه ان يقبل أكثر من رغيث فلم يفعل وفي دفعة أرسل احد تلاميذه يحضر له طعاماً عند المساء فلما ابطأ عنه حضور ذلك التلميذ وصار يبكت نفسه قائلاً لماذا لم تكتفي بالتراب عن الطعام وأخذ يغمز خبزه بالتراب ويأكل حتى شبع وشكر الله فلما حضر التلميذ وجده اكتفى بالتراب عن الطعام فتعجب لانه ما كان له اهتمام بحاجة الجسد حتى ولا الثياب والبرانس التي لجسده ما كان يلتفت اليها بل كان يكتفى بخيشه شعر من تحت ثيابه ويعطى جميع ما عنده لاولاده الأساقفة ولا يدع عنده غير برنس واحد برسم الخدمة * وفي دفعة سأل تلاميذه أن يعطوا ذلك البرنس لأسقف مسكين اقامه فلم يفعلوا ولما لم يطاوعوه ارسل له الرب في تلك الساعة برنس حرير كمنحه جديد أحسن من ذلك وانه اعطاه لذلك الاسقف فلما نظروا التلاميذ ما كان مجدوا الله وندموا على مخالفتهم له ولم بقوا يخالفوه في شيء وانه أجاد مع الرحمة فضيلة الاتضاع فكان يعمل مع القعلة معاجن الطين وينزع المراحيض مع العمالين ويشيل الغلال مع التراسين وكان يجري خلف الحمير ومع هذا لم ينحط عن هيئته ووقاره في اعين الناس وأما في خدمة الكهنوت فكان اذا ابدل وطلع الى المذبح يصير لون وجهه مثل الجمر وعينه تلمع كمثل من ينظر ابن الله قائماً على المذبح فيخاف ويرهب منه وكانوا جماعة الكهنة يسألوه الجلوس على الكرسي كان يمتنع من ذلك ويجيبهم قائلاً كيف يمكن يا اولادى ان يكون المسيح حاضر ونحن لا نتأدب ونمتنع من الجلوس على الكرسي وكان يزجر بيده وينهر الكاهن الذى لا يقوم بمخافة امام تلك الخدمة ومن تهاون بكلامه يحرمه يموت لساعته وفي دفعة رأيت شماس تجاسر على الخدمة بتهاونه حرمه هذا الاب فسقط من سلم عال وتقطع قطعاً ومات وفي دفعة رأيت شماس أخفا مكاتيب بستان لأطفال ايتام فلما كلمه الاب في معانهم كان من جوابه له كلمتك تقطعنى يا أبى ان كنت اخفيت عنك مكاتيب بستان أولئك الايتام * فقال له هذا الأب بغضب من فاك يكون لك كما قلت ولم ينتهى (ج) ٢٤٦ (ظ)

بيته لانه ما كان يحكم بسوى روح القدس فانه ما كان يبتدىء في أول حكوماته بشيء حتى يدع الحاضرين للحكومته يقولوا ابانا الذى فى السموات وأما مكاتبته فكان يكتب فيها بعد ذكر الثالوث المقدس الخلاص للرب يشير بذلك ان المسيح إلهنا هو الذى يحكم على فمه بما فيه الخلاص لعبيده ولهذا كل حكمه تتعطل على الملوك والحكام يرسلوها له تنحل لوقتها وكم من مرة كان الملك بمصر اذا عسرت عليه حكمه فى خطف الأموال الذى كانت الشوايله تدعى ان الافرنج اختطفوها لهم فى البحر المسالج وكان الملك اذا تبصر فى ذلك الحكمه لا يعرف المظلوم من الظالم فكان يرسلها لهذا الاب فيحكم بينهم فتنحل للوقت لحسن اخلاقه وكلامه بروح القدس الساكن فيه وان جماعه الروم لكثرة ما عاينوه من محبة هذا الاب لهم وسلامته فى الحكم لجميعهم صاروا لا يشبهوا احداً يحكم بينهم سوى هذا الاب وأيضاً طوايف الافرنج كذلك لما عاينوا الحكم مجدوا الله لان خبر هذا الاب قد ذاع فى تخوم تلك البلاد وان الحب والصلح الذى تجدد فى زمان هذا الاب بين ملوك النصرانية ما سمعنا بمثله قط ولا الهدايا الذى هادوا بها الملوك بعضهم بعضاً ما سمعنا بمثله قط وهو ان ملك الحبشه لما سمع بالحب الذى لملوك الافرنج فى هذا الاب وعظم هداياهم له * أرسل لهم هدايا ما هو اعظم منها وارسل يقول لملك الافرنج انى ما ارسلت اليك هذه الهدايا لطلب هدايا مثلها الا لتهدى لى شىء من الاثارات السيديه الذى فى بلادكم ولما وصلت تلك الهدايا إلى ملك الافرنج فرح بها جداً وارسل اليه ما هو اجل وأعظم منها وهو انه كان عنده فى دخائره قطعة خشب من خشب الصليب الذى صلب عليه سيدنا يسوع المسيح فاخرجها للوقت ووضعها داخل صليب مجوف من ذهب مرصع بالفصوص المتمنة واخرج معها جسد طفل من أجساد الأطفال الذى قتلهم هيرودس المنافق وجعلهم داخل صندوق ثم وضع معهم من الأواني الذهب والفضة والحلل الفاخرة الذى للملوك والكهنة ما لم يمكن وصفه وانه صور على احد الحلل صورة هذا الاب مصورة بالذهب اللامع ثم انه ارسل يقسم على هذا الاب ان لا يرسل هذه الهدايا إلى الحبشه حتى يقدر فى تلك البدله الكهنوتيه المصور عليها صورته وليقبل فيها البركة من فمه الطاهر قبل مضيتها إلى هناك لانه كان له امانه عظيمة فى هذا الأب ولم يكن رآه

ولا أبصره بل لما كان يسمع من فضايله ولعظم أمانته فيه أرسل له بسؤال كثير يطلب قطعة من عمامته فأرسل له ذلك فكان يضعها على الأعداء فيبرؤن وان الاب سمع ما أشار به الملك وقدس في تلك البدله أمامنا ودعانا للجميع استباركنا في ذلك اليوم من تلك الأثار السيديه وتعجبنا بالأكثر لما عايناه من حسن جسد ذلك الطفل الذى له من ايام سيدنا المسيح الى الآن ولم ينحل من اعضاءه * ولا اصابعه اصبع واحداً وسألناه ان يتركه لنا فى القلايه ايام قلائل (ج) ٢٤٧

لنتبارك منه فلم يفعل وفى الساعه التى وصلت الهدايا بلاد الحبشه وعان الملك البار اثار سيدنا المسيح مع ذلك الطفل تعجب وكشف التاج من على رأسه واقام نحو ساعه مطروح ساجد على تلك الاثار السيديه ثم رفع رأسه فرأى البدله الكهنوتيه التى فيها صورة هذا الاب مصوره وانه صار يتهلل ويفرح ويمجد الله الذى جعله مستحق ان ينظر صورة هذا الاب فى بلاده قبل انتقاله لان الملك كان مشتاق ينظر صورة هذا الاب لما صنع معه من النبوة لان ذلك الملك ما كان من قبل ملكاً على الحبشه بل أخيه فارسل له هذا الاب رساله من مصر يبشره فيها انه يصير ملكاً موضع اخيه لان الملك بمصر برقوق كان اشار لهذا الاب ان يكتب كتاب الى ملك الحبشه وكان هذا الاب لا يشتهى يكتب ذلك الملك فلما جلس ليكتب تكلم الله على لسانه كتب الكتاب باسم أخيه داوود ولم يكتبه باسم المتولى قبله حتى انكروا عليه رسل الملك بمصر وقصدوا أن لا يحملوا ذلك الكتاب فألزمهم هذا الاب الى ان اخذوا ذلك الكتاب ومضوا وانهم لما لم يبلغوا الى تلك البلاد جيداً وجدوا بالتدبير الالهى ذلك الملك قد عزلوه عساكره عن ملكه لسوء اعتماده واقاموا اخيه داوود ملكاً عوضاً عنه كما كتب هذا الأب فلما سمعوا رسل الملك بمصر الأخبار قبل وصولهم إلى بلاد الملك مجدوا الله وصاروا متعجبين لاطلاع هذا الأب * ولما وصلوا قدموا تلك (ظ) ٢٤٧

الرسالة بفرح للملك داوود الذى كتب ابونا الكتاب باسمه فلما فك الملك خاتم الرساله ووجدها مكتوبه باسمه تعجب وارسل وراء الرسل ان يعطوه صليب هذا الاب ومنديله وكان هذا الاب اعطى للرسل مع الرساله الصليب فلما سهوا ان لا يعطوهم للملك فى تلك الساعه فسأهم هو عنهم فتعجبوا وسألوا الملك من اعلمه بذلك فقال لهم السيد البطريرك أعلمنى بذلك قبل وصولكم

وعندى شهود يشهدوا بذلك ودعا للوقت وزراه وعساكره وجنوده واخته المباركه وأخذ يقص عليهم ما أبصر قائلاً : أقول لكم يا هؤلاء ان من قبل ان تجلسونى ملكاً على الكرسي أبصرت هذا الأب البطريرك فى الرؤيا وقد أقام أخى من على الكرسي واجلسنى عوضاً عنه وقال هكذا ينزع الله الملك مما لا يسير بالاستقامه ثم من بعد ما تكلم بهذا وأجلسنى على الكرسي أعطانى هذا الصليب ييدى ودعا لى ان الله يتبت كرسيى مثل داوود أيننا لأقضى بين الشعوب بالعدل ثم باركنى وانصرف عنى فانتبهت وانا متعجب وكنت أود لو شرحت لكم هذه الرؤيا فى وقتها فلم تمكنى أختى المباركه من ذلك خشيه من الملك أخى لئلا يدرى فيقتلنى ولهذا ادعوته لتشهد لكم بما سمعته منى من قبل ولما أخبر الملك بهذا امام الجمع فجدوا الله جميعاً المظهر عجايبه على يد هذا الأب اذ كان جالس بمصر وهو ينظر بالروح ما يقع فى بلاد الحبشه وأن الرسل لما عادوا من بلاد الحبشه * أعلموا الملك بمصر بما اتفق من هذا الاب فتعجب لانه كان يجب هذا الاب وهو ايضاً كان يجب لانه لم يجلس ملكاً الى ان يرسل يسأله فأخذ له اذن من الشيوخ القديسين بجبل القديس انطونيوس انه يجلس ملكاً فأقامه الله ملكاً واقام جميع ايام حياته لم يشوش على هذا الاب ولم يسمع فيه سعايه كذب لانه كم من مرة سعوا المعاندين فى هذا الاب والملك لم يسمع لهم وفى دفعة رأيت راهبين مناجيس لطلبهم الكهنوت باطل سعوا فى هذا الاب عند ذلك الملك ولما لم يسمع لهم سعوا به ايضاً عند كل حاكم بمصر وكان كل حاكم يمضوا به اليه يتكلموا فيه بما يخالف ما ادعوا به عند الحاكم الآخر وان الحكام لما تحققوا كذبهم وضجروا منهم قصدوا يعاقبهم ويلقوهم فى السجن فلم يمكنهم هذا الاب ولم يزال يحتلمهم ويطول روحه عليهم فلم يرجعوا عن شرهم ومأى الشيطان قلبهم فهجموا ذات يوم على هذا الأب وهو قاعد يحكم وقالوا له ما بالك ما تقوم وتنحط عن كرسيك فان قد جاء الوقت الذى يصير فيه الواحد منا بطريكاً والأخر اسقف فلما سمع كلامهم تبسم ولم يتشدد بالغضب بل اجابهم بعظم اتضاع قائلاً ما تروا يا هؤلاء وانا اسألكم أن تصبروا على قليلا واضرب لكم المطانوه أن تمهلونى اربعين يوماً فقط حتى اخلص من تعلقات البطركية ووداع الشعب الذى تحت يدي وبعد كمال الاربعين

يوم تعالوا الى وانا أسلم لكم كرسي البطرقيه بغير مانع يعيقني وهذا لما قال لهم هذا الاب فرحوا ومع فرحهم لم يدعهم هذا الاب يمضوا حتى قدس وناولهم من السراير المقدسة * ثم بعد التناول تركوه ومضوا الى بعض الدياره لكي يقيموا فيها الاربعين يوم ولما مضى لهم ثلاثين يوماً اخذ الرب نفوسهم وماتوا واحد بعد واحد من الصلاة القويه التي لهذا الاب الذي احتمل هولاء الرهبان الى هذا الحد ولم يحقد على شرورهم بل اعطاهم من السراير المقدسة قبل موتهم وايضاً راهب سرياني يسمى ابراهيم خرج من الايمان قدام الملك وتجنّد وصار جندياً وتكلم في حق هذا الاب وفي حق جماعة الرهبان المخروحين بالبرية وقبض على جماعة منهم واوثقهم وحملهم الى مصر وكان يظن انه يجد احداً من اولئك المخروحين فلم يجد غير راهب واحد مجروح احضره موثوق صحبه الرهبان وانه اخذ الشهادة واما ذلك الراهب الذي صار جندي لم يبرح يعاند هذا الأب ويقاومه الى ان ضجروا الشعب منه وسألوا هذا الاب ان يدعو عليه فلم يدعى عليه بل قال لهم لا يا اولادى لا تدعوا عليه بل انا ادعى له ان الله يردّه ويعطيه اكليل الشهادة فلم يمكث ذلك الا قليلا حتى ندم ومضى أخذ اكليل الشهادة كما دعا له هذا الأب وفي (١) وقع على هذا الاب تجربه من الامير منطاش لان ذلك الامير لما حارب الملك برقوق وكسره واخرجه الى الكرك فقام احد المعاندين لهذا الاب لها للامير منطاش ان تحت يد هذا الاب أموال وذخاير اودعها عنده الملك برقوق قبل خروجه الى الكرك وانه طلب هذا الاب وعصره فلم يجد تحت يده شيء بالجمله فندم على عقابه له ثم اطلق سبيله ومرة أخرى تسلط عليه أميراً يسمى يلبغاً الساملي وقصد * يحدث على (ج) ٢٤٩ الشعب حوادث رديه وعادات صعبه فلم يوافقه الاب على ذلك وقاومه فجرد ذلك الامير سيفه بغضب يريد ضرب رقبته وللوقت مد عنقه للسيف وسأله ان يضرب عنقه فلم (٢) رأى الامير شجاعته وقوة قلبه هلع عنه وأطلقوه وأن الله لم يغفل عنه بل اسلمه في يدي الملك الذي أقامه وضربه وعصره وارسله إلى الحب بمدينة الاسكندريه وكانوا الشعب كلما خشوا عودته فكان يطمئنه

(١) يتقص هنا كلمة وهي « دفعة » . (٢) اقرأ : فلما .

هذا الاب قائلاً لا تخشوا يا اولادى ولا تخافوا ولا تظنوا ان ذلك الامير بقى يعود الى مصر لانى وكلت بسجنه الاربعة حيوانات الحاملين كرسى الله ولم يبرح ذلك الامير مسجون فى الاسكندرية الى ان مات أشرموتة وان الشعب تعجبوا ومجدوا الله . وفى دفعة سعوا جماعه من المعاندين ان يهدموا كنيسة ستنا السيده بالمعلقه وكان هذا الاب فى تلك الايام خرج الى البريه ليصلى هناك فلما سمعوا المعاندين سعوا فى غيبته وان الملك لم يمكنهم من ذلك بل بالأكثر اهمته الصلاة القويه الى ان اشار للقضاة الاربعة بالكشف عن تلك البيعه وهكذا لم يجدوا شيئاً مما انهوه المعاندين حينذا انقهروا وامتلوا غيضاً ومن زايد غيظهم أخذوا جفنة نار اطلقوها تحت اساسات تلك البيعه يريدوا يحرقوها بكاملها ولكن الله الذى سمع للثلاثة فتيه فى اتون النار فظفاها عنهم سمع صلاة هذا الأب ولم يدع النار تصعد الى علو البيعه ولما كانوا تلاميذ هذا الاب يطفوا النار من أسفل كلما أرسل لهم الرب ندا بارداً من فوق أطفأ لبيب النار المتوقدة حتى تعجبوا الحاضرين * ومجدوا الله وفى دفعة تسلطوا جماعة من المعاندين على دير شهران أن يهدموه وذلك انهم انهبوا الملك كلام كثير باطل عن رهبان الدير حتى أذن لهم الملك بهدمه فلما اجتمعوا ليهدموه لم يمكنهم هذا الأب لان كان اجتمع فى ذلك اليوم خلق كثير لا يحصى لهم عدد وكانوا يظنوا لكثرة اجتماعهم يخافهم هذا الاب ويسلم لهم الدير ليهدموه وان هذا الاب لم يخافهم بل لا برح يناصرهم ويقاومهم الى ان قال لهم من منكم يا هولاء له يد وسلطان يجرد سيفه ويقتلنى لانى ما دمت حياً لا أمكنكم تهدموا طوبه واحده من ذلك الدير الا ان اقف انا وانتم قدام السلطان واظهر له باطل ما نهيتوه وباطل كلامكم ومع كلام هذا الاب لهم تركهم ومضى الى القلعة واستغاث بقوة الملك برقوق ولما اتصل بالملك صوت صراخه أرسل للوقت كشف عن ذلك الدير كالعادة فلما مضوا القضاة الاربعة كشفوا عن الدير فلم يجدوا شيئاً مما انهوه المعاندين وانهم اختفوا لوقتهم من الملك وفى دفعة اكشف الرب لهذا الاب ان المعاندين لبغضتهم فى هذا الاب كمنوا للشعب كمين صعب وقدروا مع الامير سودون انهم لا بد ان يرموهم فى ذلك الكمين فلما اكشف الرب لهذا الاب ما كمنوه لم يلتفت لورايه بل اقام ساعته خرج فى خفيه عن قلايته ولم يعلم تلاميذه ومضى الى بيعة الشهيد ابو مرقوره

حبس ذاته هناك في مكان مظلم ولم يطلق لأحد أن يبصره واوصا الرجل الذي حبسه ان لا يكلم أحداً به فأقام سبعة أيام وليالي وهو يصلي في ذلك الحبس * ويعبد الله ويستغيث بشفاعة الست السيدة الى ان ظهرت له وقالت له ان الله قبل طلبته في خلاص الشعب وبطلت موامره المعاندين السوء حينذا اتهج قلب هذا الاب وفرح فرحاً عظيماً وخرج في اليوم السابع مثل ملاك الرب وبتدبير من الله أرسل الامير طلبه في ذلك اليوم وصار يخاطبه بما أضمره للشعب من الحوادث الرديه الصعبة ومن جملتها انه أراد ان يلبس النسوة الازارات الزرق وغير ذلك وان هذا الاب احتفى بالروح وقال له من هو من الامراء الذين تقدموك فعلوا هكذا مع الرعيه أو من من البطاركة الذي اتفق له مثل هذا ان يشهر بنات شعبه ويصيروا عاراً وضحكة لصغار اعوام الناس ولكن الحق اقول لك ايها الامير انك متى اشتهرت واحده من بنات شعبي انا لا ابرح أطلق الخراب والشهرة في بلادكم من اطراف الحبشة والى اقاصى مصر وانا اخبرك ايها الأمير ان النصرارى ما هم بغير ملوك على الارض ولا امم كما انتم تحكموا عليهم ولا هم بلا سلاطين ينظروا في سلطنتكم فحصل للامير من ذلك وهم كثير واطلق سبيل الاب ولم يعد يخاطبه بشى حتى تعجبوا الشعب ومجدوا الله وستنا العدرى التى تساعد هذا الاب في جميع حركاته لان هذا الاب ما كان يتحرك في شىء حتى يقف امام ايقونة ستنا السيدة ويسألها فيه وكانت تظهر له وتخاطبه من الصورة حسب شهادة ابينا القديس رويس عندما سألناه ذات يوم ان يذكرنا فاجابنا قائلاً من هو انا يا اولادى حتى تسألونى ان اذكركم اسألوا ابينا القديس البطريك الذى تظهر له ستنا السيدة وتخاطبه من ايقونته الطاهره ان يذكركم وتخبره بأسرار عجيبة وتساعده في كل اموره واننا تعجبنا من كلامه * ومجدنا الله وفي دفعة اتوا الى هذا الاب بصبيبة شابة بها روح نجس يعذبها فلم نظره الروح القدس قايم يصلى فرهاباً ولم يعود يقربها وايضاً كان صبي من ضواحي مصر اعتراه روح نجس وكانوا اهله كلما ارادوا حملة الى عند هذا الاب يرميه هذا الروح ويعذبه ولم يمكنهم يدنوا منه وأن الله الكثير الرحمة أهمهم لورقه بركة مكتوبة بخط يد هذا الاب ان يضعوها عليه فلما وضعوها عليه برىء لوقته وان اهالى بلدته تعجبوا ومجدوا الله وصاروا كل من اعتراه روح نجس عندهم يضعوا عليه تلك الورقه

٢٥٠ (ج)

٢٥٠ (ظ)

المكتوبه بخط هذا الاب ييرا لوقته وفي دفعة رأيت انسان فاعل قايم يعمل في البيعة التي في حارة زويلة على اسم ستنا العدرى وقع من فوق الاسقالة إلى الارض فحمل ميتاً لانه كان حامل حجر ثقيل فلما وقع ونزل عليه ذلك الحجر فرصع اظلاعه وان أصحابه قصدوا أن يتركوه ويهربوا فلم يمكنهم هذا الاب بل قام عليهم وقال لهم أسكتوا ولا تفرعوا ولا تظنوا ان الفاعل مات لانه لم يمت بل انا أضمن لكم من مراحم المسيح انه حى وانه حمله بين أربعة ووضع امام صورة ستنا السيدة التي في حنية البيعة ثم غطاه بالوزره التي له نحو من ثلثة ساعات من السادسة من النهار الى التاسعة ثم انه استدعى قليل ماء سخن صلا عليه وغسل اعظامه وكان كلما غسل عظامه من اعظام ذلك الفاعل يتحرك العظام لساعته الى ان قام حياً على قدميه فلما نظروا رفاقه الفعلا ذلك تعجبوا ومجدوا الله وكم من مرضا وأعلأ كثير رايت هذا الاب ابراهم واقامهم ببركة صلواته * منهم من كان يضع وزرته عليه ويذهب الى بين الكيان ويسأل ستنا السيده فيه ويكشف عنه تلك الوزره فيجده قد تحرك ونهض من نزاع الموت لساعته ومنهم من كان يسأل فيه الملاك الجليل ميخائيل فيقوم لساعته وهكذا صنع هذا الاب مع المرضى الذى يمضوا اليه اهلهم ويحضرهم له في قلايته وقد اخبرنا عن هذا الاب انسان يسما فخر الدولة قال بالحقيقة اقول لكم يا أخوتى انه لما ادركنى نزاع الموت ومتم ولم اجد هذا الاب يحضرنى عند موتى ولم اشعر حتى ابصرته في مقام الخوف والدينونه عندما اختطفوا الملائكة روحى وأقامونى امام كرسي السيد المسيح وابصرت السيد المسيح له المجد وهو يشير الى الملائكة الموكلين بى ان يشهروا كتاب خطاياى وانا كل خطية انساها ولا أعترف بها بيكتونى عليها بغير رحمه وابصرت هناك خوف وفزع شديد ونار لا تطفأ حتى انه لعظم ما ابصرت سقطت لوقتي مرعوباً وكنت اطلب من يقيمنى فلم اجد واننى ابصرت هذا الاب قد أقامنى وسأل السيد المسيح ان يعيد روحى على حتى اتوب عن خطاياى التي صنعها دفعة اخرى وان السيد المسيح ^(١) لهذا الاب في ولم يرد سؤاله وقال له قد سمعت لك في ذلك

(١) ينقص هنا كلمة لربما «سمع» .

الانسان ووهبته لك فعرفه منذ الان لا يعود يخطى لثلا يصديه شرا وهذا لما قاله السيد المسيح لهذا الاب وانا أشعر حتى انتبهت ووقفت بما انا فيه فوجدت روحى عادت الى فجدت الله وتحققت الصلاة القوية التى لهذا الاب الذى كان يفعل فى المرضى مثلى هكذا يقيمهم المسيح بصلاته حتى يعودوا الى التوبة من خطاياهم والذى يستوجبوا حكم الموت * يخدمهم على سرير وجعهم الى ان يتنبحوا (ظ) ٢٥١

ويسأل المسيح فى غفران خطايهم لانه ما كان عنده فى الفضائل جميعها افضل ولا أبر من خدمة المرضى اذ كان كل مريض يمرض وتأنف الناس منه كان هذا الاب يبذل نفسه دونه الى ان ينقا من جميع اوساخه واوجاعه وفى دفعة رأيت هذا الاب عبر على باب منزل لانسان من الاغنيا فوجد بذلك الباب عبداً لم ملق مريض قد جاف وتتن من كثر أوساخه ولا وجد من يعالجه فلما نظره هذا الاب هكذا لم يلتفت للعبور الى اولئك الاغنيا بل سارع للوقت واشتد بمنديل وغسل اوساخه وفراشه وثيابه الوسخين الملوئين من قدر وتتن رايحته وان نفس ذلك العبد ارتاحت واراد الموت بحضرة هذا الاب ولا تئن تلك الرائحة التى كان يستنشقتها فى كل يوم وفى دفعه عبر على بير معين مالخه ووجد بها امرأة مقتولة قد جافت وتنت ولم يدنوا منها احداً من الناس ولا يعترف بها وانه نزل الى تلك البير واصعد تلك الامراة ولم يأنف منها بل بيده الطاهرة غسلها وكفنها ودفنها والذين كان بهم الامراض الزمنة^(١) والعاهات كان يعالجهم منها انهم قدموا اليه صبية بكر مصابه بقروح فى عينيها فلما نظرها تحن عليها وقال لأمها منذ الان لا تعودى تعالجي ابنتك بالاكحال بل أشار اليها ان تعمل فى عينيها شىء من الادوية الحقيمة وانها برت ابنتها وكذلك كما فعل ابونا برصوما العريان وغيره يداوا الامراض الصعبة بضدها من الادوية ليعلم ان الامر من الله والاعتماد فيه على الصلاة القوية * التى للقديسين الأبرار كما قال يعقوب (ج) ٢٥٢

الرسول ان الصلاة بايمان تخلص المريض والرب يقيمه وان كان عمل خطية يغفر له ومنها انهم قدموا امراة مقعدة قد يبست اصابع يديها ورجليها وانه امسكها بقوة ليفتح اصابع يديها فانشحط مع ذلك اقفال اصابع رجليها

(١) اقرأ : المزمته .

فنهضت للوقت بسرعة قائمه تمشى وان الحاضرين تعجبوا ومجدوا الله وفي دفعة قدموا اليه انسان ملسوع بحية جرده وهو في ألم قوى وانه أخذ جرو وشق بطنه ووضع فيه رجل ذلك الملسوع ثم استدعى قليل لبن وشحم حنظل و اشار له ان يستعمله وانه بقى يستعمل منه قليل قليل ويتقايه الى ان قذف ذلك السم جميعه وقام معافاً لساعته والذين كانوا يقعون في الشدايد كان يسأل المسيح في خلاصهم يخلصوا وفي دفعة وقع شاب من اولاد الوزراء في شدة قويه مع الملك برقوق بمصر وان هذا الاب لعظم الشدة كان يستغيث للشهيد العظيم تاوضوروس في خلاصه قائلاً : انا اعلم يا شهيد الله انك لعظم شجاعه خلصت اولاد الارملة من فم ذلك التنين القاتل وانا اربطك بالسلطان الذى اعطانى من ربنا يسوع المسيح ولا احلك من الرباط الا ان تسرع وتخلص ذلك الانسان من الشدة الذى هو فيها وانه لم يستم الكلام من فم هذا الاب الى ان تخلص ذلك الانسان من تلك الشدة وصار متعجب لا يعلم كيف كان خلاصه فازداد تعجبه من الكرامة والوقار الذى يكرموه بها القديسين والشهدا وانه كان يفعل ذلك مع كثير من الشهدا والقديسين وذلك انه اذا عدت أنية بيعه من بيعهم يربطه بصلاة ولا يحمله حتى يظهر له من سرق أوانى البيعة * ودفعه ربط صورة القديس ابوشنوده بمصر ولم يحمله حتى ارسل له من عرفه بالذى سرق أوانى بيعته وكان له عادة يسرق اوانى البيع فلما هجم هذا الاب بيته وانه قام عليه وانتهره وقال له كم لى من مدة وانا احتملك وانهبك ان لا ترجع وتسرق اوانى البيع وانت لا ترجع ولا تكف ولكن من الان سأتى عليك الانتقام القوى الذى لا يكون لك بعده حياة على الارض بل تموت اشرموته وبعد كلامه له هكذا لم يمكث هذا الانسان قليلا حتى وقع في يدى متولى الحكم بالقاهرة بأوانى ذهب وفضه عدموا من بيته ولما تحقق انه تجاسر وسرق انيته سمره لساعته وتم عليه قول هذا الاب ومات اشرموته وفي دفعة تكلم احد الامراء مع الملك والقضاة ان لا يبقوا نصرانى على الارض فقام هذا الاب على صورة الشهيد مارى جرجس من اجله وقال له الى كم يا شهيد الله يا مارى جرجس أسألك الانتقام من ذلك الامير وانت لم تنتقم منه ولكن هوذا اربطك بالكلمة ولا احلك حتى تسرع وتنتقم لى منه ولم يستم الكلام من فمه حتى قدموا لذلك الامير في

ذلك اليوم كأس مملوء سم قاتل شربه وهو لا يعلم مات لساعته وفي دفعة اشتد غضب هذا الاب على امير آخر من أمراء مصر يسما اوزبك فاقام ستة ايام وستة ليالى يسأل رئيس الملائكة الطاهر ميخائيل في هلاكه فلما انتهى اليوم السادس ولم يسمع لذلك الامير خبر حينئذ ارسل احد تلاميذه يستعلم عن خبر ذلك الامير وانه وجد تابوت ذلك الامير على الباب والناس يستغيثوا قائلاً ان هذا الامير له ستة ايام معذب من طعنة جنبه واليوم هذا مات فلما سمع التلميذ كلامهم اعاد الخبر على هذا الاب فتعجب ومجد الله * ورئيس الملائكة ميخائيل الذى (ج) ٢٥٣

سمع دعاه ولم يخيب سوا له في ذلك الامير الظالم وفي دفعة وانا الى هذا الاب شماس مضروب وقال له يا كاهن الله ارحمنى فان بعد^(١) الاجناد عبر على اليوم راكب فرس ابيض وعاقبني عقاب كثير مؤلم لأكلى يوم الأربعاء والجمعة من بكره لأنى كنت أكل فى خفية ولا اعرف من هو الذى اخبر ذلك الجندى عنى حتى جاء الىّ وضربنى وكلما كان ضربنى يقول لى كيف تكون يا هذا شماس ونصرانى وتأكل يوم الاربعاء والجمعة من بكره ثم من بعد ما كلمنى بهذا تركنى وهويتواعدنى لاني لا اعود لما كنت عليه وانا خايف من ذلك الجندى لا اعلم من هو فقال له لا تخاف يا ابني فان الجندى الذى ضربك انا اعرفه ولكن اذا مضيت بك تتوب امامه فقال له ذلك الشماس نعم يا أبى وانه مسكه بيده واوقفه قدام صورة رئيس الملائكة ميخائيل وكانت تلك الصورة التى للملاك مصور فيها راكب على حصان ابيض فلما تأملها ذلك الشماس خرت ساجداً امامها وقال بالحقيقة ان هذا هو ذلك الجندى الذى ضربنى وانا منذ الان تايب امامه لاني شماس على بيعته وقد انساني اللهولم اذكر انى شماس على بيعته حتى افتكرنى هو وضربنى ان اترك ما انا فيه من اللهو واقوم بما يجب على من خدمته وانه تاب من ذلك اليوم وهو متعجب من صلاة ذلك الاب ووجوده مع الناس على الارض وهو يشاهد المكتومات الخفية وفي دفعة رأيت اخرين من اعيان الناس ووقع عليهم شدة قوية بالقاهرة ولما راموا الهرب الى عند هذا الاب بمصر لم ينهضوا وحينئذ ادركهم الليل ناموا وفي تلك الساعة * أبصر احداهم (ظ) ٢٥٣

(١) اقرأ : بعض .

هذا الاب وهو قايم قدام صورة الشهيد مارى جرجس يسأل فى خلاصهم
ويقرع الصورة بيده ويقول يا شهيد الله يا مارى جرجس ما اعرف خلاصهم
الا منك وأنه امال رأسه من الايقونه كمن يقول نعم نعم انا أخلصهم فلما نظر
هذا الاب ما كان من تواضع الشهيد انطرح ساجداً له على الارض فعظم
الامر على الشهيد من سجوده له وخرج من الايقونه مثل فارس متجسد فسك
باديال هذا الاب وتبارك منها ثم ان هذا الاب فعل كذلك أعنى يتباركا من بعضهما
بعض ثم انتبه من نومه وقص تلك الرؤيا على رفاقه ولم يصدقوه حتى وافاهم
الخبر باكر النهار خرج من الله وشهيدته بخلاصهم وان الامير خلصهم من غير
سعى وهكذا لما تحققوا خلاصهم قاموا للوقت ومضوا الى عند هذا الاب
يشكروا له عما رأوه فى الرويا من غير ان يحضروا ولا يسألوه فى ذلك بل كانوا
اضمروا فى نفوسهم لا غير فعلم الاب المكرم ضميرهم من غير ان يسألوه
فتعجب جميعهم ومجدوا الله وفى دفعة وانى اليه كاتب وهو فى شدة عظمة
ومعه خمسمائة دينار وقال له يا رجل الله اقبل منى هذى الخمسمائة وصلى عنى فان
الملك برقوق اليوم هذا يريد قتلى ولا اعلم كيف يكون خلاصى فقال له هذا
الاب المكرم لا تخاف يا هذا ولا تظن بالذهب الذى احضرته يكون خلاصك
فان الصلاة بالذهب لا يكون بها خلاص بالكلية بل ان اردت ان تتخلص
عيد الذهب الذى احضرته الى مكانه والرب يخلصك من غير ذهب البته وانه
قام صلى عليه وباركه وارسله الى الملك برقوق واعطاه صليبه ومنديله وقال له
احملهم جواك وادخل ولا تخف وانه امتنع وخاف بلاكثر ان كيف يحمل
الصليب وهو مجروح يقع عليه * الانظار اذا شعر به احداً فقال له الاب قلت
(ج) ٢٥٤ لك يا هذا احمل الصليب والمنديل داخلك وادخل الى الملك وانا اضمن لك
على الله تعالى الذى انت حامل صليبه ان الملك لا يؤذيك ولا يضرک وانه اطاع
لكلمة الاب وحمل الصليب ودخل الى الملك وان الملك كان مماًو غضب عليه
فى تلك الساعة تغير غضب الملك بلين ورضا ورأفه وصار كل كلمه يتكلم بها
ذلك الانسان امام الملك تدخل فى اذان الملك مثل ندا بارد تطفىء ما عنده من
الغضب ثم انه خرج من عند الملك فرحان متقوى مباشر على عادته حتى تعجب
ذلك الانسان من الصلاة القويه التى لهذا الاب الذى ابدلت غضب الملك

وحقته الى رضا لانه كان يضمير في نفسه انه متى ما وقع له قتله فصار هذا الرجل
 وكلمن سمعوا يمجّدوا الله وهكذا كان هذا الاب يشترى نفوس الآتين اليه
 ويخلصهم بصلاته القوية من الضوايق والشدايد والخطايا كما اخبرنا بذلك احد
 اولاده الكهنة المعلمين انه كان وقع في خطية صعبة مكتومة ولما حضر يعترف
 بها على هذا الاب اخذه خوف واستحا ان يعترف بها امامه فكاشفه عنها بمفرده
 قائلاً انت فعلت الخطية الفلانية فلا تعود تفعلها وانا اقول لك من الان مغفورة
 لك خطاياك فلما سمع ذلك الكاهن كلامه تعجب ومجد الله لان تلك الخطية
 ما كان يعلم بها الا المسيح وحده لما كاشفه عنها ازداد تعجبه وتحقق ان خطايا
 الشعب مكتومة (١) امامه مثل زيت في زجاجة ولا يرى ان يشهرها بل اذا كان
 يريد يبكت احداً على خطية يكون ذلك في خفية لان الخطية ايضاً كثيرة على
 الناس وكانوا كثير من الشعب اختلطوا وتنجسوا بنجسات المصريين وكان
 هذا الاب يتهد ويكي على الشقا الذي يحل بالمصريين حتى ان من زايد بكاه
 اخذ ينذر شعبه قائلاً * تيقظوا يا اولادى وتحذروا من ذلك اليوم الذي يأتي
 فيه الانتقام على المصريين لأن في ذلك اليوم تنزل ناراً من السماء تحرق كل
 مساكن المصريين حتى يعلو بخار تلك المدينة ومن بعد ينوحوا عليها قائلين اليوم
 سقطت بابل العظماء ام جميع المصريين وكان هذا الاب كلما خاطبنا بهذا
 نحن لا نتحذرو ولا نزداد الا طغيان ووقاحة وعدم خوف من الله ولم نسمع له
 فكان يحزن لذلك ويتهد من عمق قلبه ويشهى الموت لنفسه حتى اثار الشيطان
 على الشعب امير من عظماء المملكة يسمى جمال الدين وطلب من الشعب
 ما لا يقدروا عليه وكان هذا الاب كلما دافع عن الشعب لم يندفع (٢) بل يطلب
 يجد عليه علة يقتله وانه ارسل رسلا في خفية الى ارض الحجاز واليمن ان يكتبوا
 في تلك البلاد محاضر على هذا ويقتبوا (٣) فيها انه في كل يوم يرسل رسله الى
 بلاد الحبشة ويحث الملك على خراب مكة وما معها ولما علم بالروح أن المحاضر
 كتبت لأجله وانه سبق قبل وصولها صلاً الى الله وسأل ستنا السيده كعادته
 أن تأخذ نفسه اليها بغير سفك دم وأن لا ينال شعبه في أثره شدة ولا صعوبة

(١) اقرأ : مكشوفة . (٢) اقرأ : يقتنع . (٣) اقرأ : ويكتبوا .

وان ستنا السيدة سمعت طلبته ولم تدع ذلك اليوم يعبر عنه حتى انهز بحمه صعبه في جسده فانطرح ملكوم ضعيف فلما اتصل بالأمير الذي كان يروم قتله خبره سكن غيظه قليلاً ولم يسكن عن الشغَب بل لا برح يرسل يهدد هذا الاب ويتواعده من اجل شعبه الى ان حملوا له من مال هذا الاب نحو خمسمائة الف درهم وقدموها له لعل يطيب قلبه ويكف عن الطلب لهذا الاب فلم يكف ولا برح يطلب هذا الاب * الى الساعة الذي قارب فيها الموت وانه ارسل له رسلاً يحملوه (ج) ٢٥٥ وياتوا به اليه وان هذا الاب طيب قلبهم وقال لهم تمهلوا على الى غدا يوم الاحد لعل استريح قليلاً وتعالوا احمولوني الى حيث تريدوا وكان يخاطبهم بهدو وهو يعلم ان ساعته قد قربت ليخرج من هذا العالم ويستريح من جور ذلك الامير وظلمه فان الرسل مضوا كما قال لهم هذا الاب وحضروا الغد بعد الاحد ووجدوا هذا الاب قد اسلم الروح في الهجعة الأولى من ليلة الاثنين قبل حضورهم بمهلة لطيفة فلما عاينوا ما كان تعجبوا وتعجب الامير بالاكتر الذي خلص الله هذا الاب من يديه بغير سفك دم كما كان في ضميره ثم ان هذا الامير لم يمهل الله بل سلط عليه من سعاية عند الملك فقبض عليه وعاقبه وعصره واخذ منه عوضاً عن القدر الذي اخذه من هذا الاب اضعاف كثيرة ثم لا برح في الضرب والعقوبة حتى مات أشر مودة واما هذا الاب قبل موته ارسل ورا تلاميذه وأعلمهم بانتقاله ثم ارسلهم احضروا له جميع ما يحتاج لتكفينه من ثياب وبرانس وهم ثوبين وبرنسين واسكيمين وقلنسوتين وسترتين وبلينين حتى التابوت الذي له اشار لهم صنعه ما يعملوه ثم اوصاهم انهم اذا ادرجوه ووضعوه في ذلك التابوت لا يكشفوا وجهه الا وقت التجنيز كعادة البطارقة ولا يمكنوا احداً يقبل قدميه بل يتركوه ملفوف في اكفانه الصوف كمثل الرهبان واكد عليهم انهم لا يدفنوه الا بين اولاده داخل الخندق ثم بعد ما اوصاهم بهذا غطا جسده بوزرته واسلم الروح في الساعة الاولى من ليلة الاثنين الخامس من شهر طوبه سنة الف ومايه وخمسة وعشرين للشهدا وكان عمره يومئذ اثنتين و سبعين سنة منها اربعين سنة راهباً واثنتين وثلاثين بطريكاً * ثم اجتمع لتجنيزه في ذلك اليوم الكهنة والشمامسة والاراخنة وكل الطوايف النصرانية حتى طوايف اليهود وغيرهم وخلق لا يحصى لهم عدد وكان بكاء وعويل حتى ان عمد البيعة

كادت تبكى على فقده وهوراقد مطروح وصلبيه في يده وكانوا يبكون وينتحبوا لأجل حسن منظره وهيبته ومحبهه وصدقته وافتقاده المساكين وعلى احتماله وصبره وهم ينوحوا ويبكون الى ان اكملوا تجنيزه كالواجب ثم حملوه بالاكرام والتبجيل والوقار حتى كان حمله في التابوت كمثل حمل تابوت العهد اين هو ذلك الرجل القوى الذى يستطيع يحمل ذلك التابوت من كثرة الخليقة المحيطة به ومزدحمين عليه وكانت الأجناد والعساكر امام ذلك التابوت تحجبه الى ان مضوا به الى دير الخندق حينئذا دفنوه في الموضع الذى اختاره لدفنه ثم بعد دفنه اظهر الله منه الآيات والعجائب بعد انتقاله منها الليلة التى تنيح فيها اضطربت اجساد اخوته البطاركة الراقدين بدير القديس ابو مقار وان الرهبان سكان الدير الذين سمعوا اضطراب الاجساد صوت يدعوهم قائلاً : قوموا اخرجوا افتحوا الباب انبا متى حضر وهو قايم يقرع الباب فلما خرجوا الأخوة يفتحوا فلم يجدوا احداً تعجبوا وصاروا لا يعلموا ما الأمر الى ان وافهم الخبر من مصر ان هذا الاب تنيح في الليلة الذى عبر عليهم فيها لاجل اخوته البطاركة القديسين حتى يتباركوا الارواح من بعضها ولهذا اضطربت تلك الاجساد لعلمها ان المسكونة فقدت ذلك اليوم معلماً عظيماً لان من عظم اضطراب الاجساد وقع القنديل الذى يقدر^(١) عليهم * على الارض وانه انظفا ولم ينكسر والمدة الثانية (ج) ٢٥٦

فانه بعد اربعين يوماً ترا بالثلاثة رجال عربان مجروحين عبروا بميت الخندق سحر يوم الاحد فوجدوا هذا الاب قايم متردى^(٢) ببرنس ابيض وهو ماشى يطوف بين الاموات في الليل مثل ما كان يمشى ويطوف بينهم في النهار فلما رأوه اولئك الرجال ولم^(٣)

عما أبصروا فعرفناهم انه هذا الأب فتعجبوا وسألونا النظر الى قبره فضوا وتباركوا منه . واما المدة الثالثة فانه كان رمز لتلاميذه قبل انتقاله ان يكون الاب انبا غبريال بطريكاً بعده وكانوا بعض الشعب لا يصدقوا حتى ترا لهم هذا الاب في اليوم الذى دعوه فيه يكرزه قمصاً حينئذا الشعب المجتمعين في المعلقة واذا بواحد من الشيوخ القديسين المجتمعين

(١) اقرأ : يوقد (٢) اقرأ : مرتدى . (٣) يوجد هنا فراغ في المخطوط من سطر ونصف سطر .

في ذلك اليوم ابصر هذا الاب بالروح قايم على جناح المذبح وهو يضع يده مع يد الآباء الاساقفة على رأس انبا غبريال فلما نظر الشيخ ذلك تعجب وقصد يتبارك منه قبل ان يخفا عنه فباركه وصنع ايات وعجائب لم نستطع ان نشرحها وعدد الشهداء الذي استشهدوا في زمانه تسعة واربعين شهيد بركة صلاته وصلاة الجميع تكون معنا امين غبريال البطرک وهو الثامن والثمانون من العدد هذا الاب غبريال من دير القلمون بالفيوم أخبر عنه الاب متى المتنيح قبل نياحته قدم بطركاً في السادس والعشرون من برمودة سنة الف ومائة خمسة وعشرين للشهدا واقام بطركاً من (١) طوبه سنة الف ومائة ثلاثة * واربعين للشهدا يوانس البطرک وهو التاسع والثمانون من العدد هذا الاب يوانس البطريرک کرز بطركاً بالقاهرة في السادس عشر من بشنس سنة الف ومايه ثلاثة واربعين للشهدا واقام بطركاً خمسة وعشرين سنة وتنيح في تاسع شهر بشنس سنة الف ومائة ثمانية وستين للشهدا .

متاوس البطرک وهو التسعون من العدد هذا الاب متاوس البطرک من دير المحرق قدم بطركاً في ثالث عشر شهر توت سنة الف ومائة تسعة وستون للشهدا واقام بطركاً ثلاثة عشر سنة وتنيح في ثالث عشر توت سنة الف ومايه اثنين وثمانين للشهدا غبريال البطرک وهو الحادى والتسعون من العدد هذا الاب غبريال البطرک من دير القديس انطونيوس قدم في اليوم السادس والعشرين من امشير سنة الف ومايه اثنين وثمانين للشهدا واقام بطركاً ثمانية سنين وعشرة شهور وتنيح في السادس والعشرين من امشير سنة الف ومايه واحد وتسعين للشهدا بركة صلاته تكون معنا آمين ميخائيل البطرک وهو الثاني والتسعون من العدد هذا الاب قدم بطركاً في الثالث والعشرين من امشير سنة الف ومايه اثنين وتسعين للشهدا واقام على الكرسي سنة واحدة وثلاثة شهور وتنيح في شهر برمودة سنة الف ومايه اربعة وتسعين يوانس البطرک النقادى وهو الثالث والتسعون من العدد هذا الاب قدم بطركاً في الثالث والعشرين من برمودة سنة الف ومائة خمسة وتسعون واقام على الكرسي ثلاثة سنين واربعة شهور وتسعة

(١) اقرأ : الى .

* عشر يوم وتنيح في الخامس من توت سنة الف ومايه تسعه وتسعين وهذا ٢٥٧ (ج)
 الاب حضر له رسالة من البطريك البابا بمدينة روميه واعاد اليه الجواب برسالة
 ثلاثة كراريس ورق وفيها جوهر الكلام يتضمن ترك العناد والصلح والسلامه
 بين كامل طوائف المسيحيين يوانس البطرك المصرى وهو الرابع والتسعون من العدد
 هذا الاب قدم بطركاً في السابع عشر من امشير سنة الف ومايه تسعة وتسعون
 وتنيح في الحادى عشر من امشير سنة الف ومائتين واربعين ومدة اقامته على
 الكرسي اربعين سنة واحدى عشر شهر وستة وعشرين يوم وفي مدة هذا
 الاب كان فتوح مصر بيد السلطان سليم سلالة آل عثمان وذلك من السلطان
 الغورى آخر ملوك الجراكسة وهو الذى اعمر الغورية والجامع المعروف به
 غبريال البطرك وهو الخامس والتسعون من العدد هذا الاب من منشاہ المحرق
 قدم في سنة الف ومأتين واحد واربعين واقام بطركاً اربعة واربعين سنة وتنيح
 في سنة الف ومأتين خمسة وثمانين يوحنا البطرك المنفلوطى وهو السادس والتسعين
 من العدد هذا الاب كرز بطريكاً ليلة الأحد الجديد في الخمسين سنة الف
 ومأتين ستة وثمانين . اقام على الكرسي خمسة عشر سنة وهذا الاب حضر له
 رسالة من بابا روميه ورد له جوابها وتنيح في ثالث النسيم^(١) سنة الف وثلثمائة
 وواحد للشهدا غبريال البطرك وهو السابع والتسعون من العدد هذا الاب كان
 قبل قسمته يسما شنوده من المنبير وكان راهباً مجاهداً بيرية شيهات قدم بطريكاً
 في سنة الف وثلثمائة واثنين واقام بطركاً خمسة عشر سنة وتنيح بيرية * شيهات ٢٥٧ (ظ)

ودفن بها .

مرقس البطرك وهو الثامن والتسعون من العدد هذا الاب كان من البياضية
 وقدم بطركاً سنة الف وثلثمائة وثمانية عشر اقام بطركاً ستة عشر سنة وتنيح بسلام
 يوانس البطرك وهو من العدد التاسع والتسعون هذا الاب كان من ناحية ميلوى^(٢)
 قدم بطركاً سنة الف وثلثمائة خمسة وثلثين اقام بطركاً خمسة عشر سنة وتنيح في
 آخر سنة الف وثلثمائة وخمسين سنة متاوس البطرك الطوخى وهو المائة من العدد
 هذا الاب متاوس كان راهباً ناسكاً بدير السيده بالبرموس ولما اختير للبطركية

(١) اقرأ : النسيم . (٢) اقرأ : ملوى .

قدم في سنة الف وثلثمائة وواحد وخمسين واقام بطركاً خمسة عشر سنة وتنيح
مرقس البطرك البهجورى وهو مائة وواحد من العدد هذا الاب من أهالى ناحية
بهجورة وكان عابداً ناسكاً بدير القديس العظيم انطونيوس فلما اختير للبطركيه
قدموه في سنة الف وثلثمائة سبعة وستين سنة واقام بطركاً عشرة سنوات وتنيح
متاوس الميرى البطرك وهو مائة واثنين من العدد هذا الاب كان راهباً متعبداً
بدير السيدة بالبراموس فلما اختير للبطركيه كرر في الثلاثون من هاتور سنة
الف وثلثمائة سبعة وسبعين وتنيح في اثني عشر مسرى سنة الف وثلثمائة واحد
وتسعين واقام بطركاً على الكرسي اربعة عشر سنة وشهوراً يوانس البطرك
الطوخى وهو المائة وثلاثة من العدد هذا الاب كان من ناحية اهالى طوخ
النصارى وكان قبل بطركيته اسمه ابراهيم وهذا الاب في حال شبوبيته كان
صراف يتعاطا قبض المال ذكروا عنه انه لما كان صراف تأخر عليه جانب من
المال وانه تدارك * في غلاق المبلغ وقدم خيرة الله تعالى ومضى الى جبل
القديس العظيم انطونيوس طالب خلاص نفسه وبلاكثر كارهاً لعهددة الصنعة
لما فيها من وجوه الحل والخبرات لان صاحب هذه الصفة يظلم نفسه لغيره
وياخذ شئ ما هو له يحطه في شئ ما هو عليه وانه اقام مدة بالدير واستحق
لبس الشكل الملائكى ولما رأوا الابهاء الشيوخ القديسين الرهبان بالدير صلاحه
اوسموه قساً ولم يزل بالدير على هذا النظام النفيس الى ان تنيح الاب البطريك
ابنا متاوس الذى كان قبله فطلعوا جماعة اراخنة من مصر الى الدير يطلبوا من
يختاره الله يقدموه عليهم بطركاً فوقع اختيار الجميع على هذا الاب بارادة الله
ومعرفة الشيوخ الرهبان فاخذوه من الدير وحضروا لمصر وأوسموه بطركاً في
سنة الف وثلثمائة اثنين وتسعين للشهدا ولما استمر في البطركية وقدم في
كنائس مصر على جارى العادة قدم خيرة الله تعالى وتوجه الى الصعيد بقصد
زيارات الخلات المقدسة ولما حضر من الصعيد طاف ايضاً الاقاليم البحرية ورجع
لمصر بالسلامة وكان في أيامه معلمين اراخنة مسيحيين كاملين في فعل الخير
 والمعروف وكان قبل بطركيته هذا الاب كانوا نظار الكنائس بمصر اناس
صنایعيه ولما تولا هذا الاب الرئاسة انتقلت جميع نظارة الكنائس الى المعلمين
الأراخنة وجددوا ما يحتاج إلى الترميم والعمارة في جميع الكنائس وتغايروا جميعاً

في جميع الاعمال الصالحة ورحمة المساكين وكساوى الفقرا في كل عيد وكانت
ايامهم معتدلة رخا وسخا وريح وكان هذا الاب امر قلاية بطركية بحارة الروم
واوقفها الى القيامة المعظمة ولم * يزلوا على^(١) الى سنة الف ومائة وستة
الخارجية الموافقة الى سنة الف وأربعائه وتسعة للشهدا شرقت بلاد مصر كامل
قبلى وبحرى ولم يبلغ النيل سوى ستة عشر ذراع وكان متولى مصر يومئذ
يسماعيل على باشا قايمقام وكان بمصر ايضاً يومئذ واحد يدعى اسمه كوجك
محمد باس اوضه باشا مستحفظان والمذكور كان مخرج على القمح انه لا يزيد
الأردب المصرى عن ستين نصف فضة فلم يمكث الا قليل وبأمر الله قتل كوجك
محمد المذكور وفي ثانى يوم موته وصل القمح مائة وعشرين نصف فضه
الأردب المصرى ولم يزل يتدرج الى ان وصل ثلثماية وستين نصف فضه واما بلاد
الصعيد خليت من الفقراء وبلاد الريف ايضاً وحضروا جميعاً لمصر المحروسة .
ووصل القمح الى ثمانين نصف فضه الويه واجرة طحينها خمسة عشر نصف
فضة تكون الجملة الدينار لان كان قيمة الدينار المصرى يومئذ خمسة وتسعين
نصف فضه وما كان الدينار ابو طره ظهر ولا الزنجير ولا الفندقلى الا الذهب
الحمدى وحصل غلا شديد الى ان اكلوا الفقرا الميتة من الحمير والحيل والقطط
 وغير ذلك ونعوذ بالله من تلك الايام وكانوا الناس مطروحين في الشوارع
والازقة والكيان من الجوع والوباء لان الله تعالى ضرب المصريين بالغلا والوبا
 وكان الانسان يجوز عليهم في العشية يجذ الفقرا مسطحين جانب الحيطان ويصبح
يجوز عليهم يجدهم اموات وكان تولى بمصر يومئذ واحد يقال له اسماعيل باشا
لما رأى كثرة موت الفقراء من الجوع واكل * الميتة وكان يفرق على الامراء
الصناجق والأغوات كل منهم على مقدرته من الفقرا صاروا يطعموهم إلى أن
أفرج الله على خليقته وجاء النيل عال في سنة الف ومائة وسبعة الخارجية وزرعوا
الناس واطمأنت الخليقة وفي مدة هذه السنتين الغلا ما كان هذا الاب يتخلا
عن الرحمة وايضاً المعلمين الاراخنة بمصر كانوا يتغايروا في الصالحات والرحمة
وبالخصوص واحد أرخن يسما المعلم داوود الطونخى وولد أخيه المعلم جرجس

(١) هنا ينقص كلمة : لربما « حالهم » .

وكانوا سكان بدر ب الجنيه بحارة الأرمن وان المعلم جرجس كان له ولد وحيد اسمه منصور تنيح في تلك الأيام فلما حصل له هذا الأمر أخذ له بيت بحارة الروم بجوار الكنيسة وأعمره وأخذ نظارت الكنيسة أيضا وبقى في أيام الآحاد والأعياد والمواسم وغيره يحضر معه إلى بيته الأب البطريرك والكهنة والفقرا وغيرهم ويفطروا ويشربوا القهوة وفي أيام الأعياد والمواسم لا بد عن الطعام المفتخر للجمع وعلى الجملة اذ لم كان في زمانه من يشاكله على فعل الرحمة والخير وهو الذى أعمر الكنيسة الفوقانية بحارة الروم على اسم الشهيد العظيم مارى جرجس وهو ايضا الذى اهتم بعمل الميرون المقدس في سنة ألف وأربعمائة وتسعة عشر للشهدا الموافق لسنة ألف ومائة وستة عشر الخراجيه وأرسل أحضر جميع الآباء الأساقفة من كراسيهم لأجل عمل الميرون المقدس مع الأب البطريرك وبعد تمام عمل الميرون دفع لكل اسقف بدله كهنوتية كاملة وعدة كاملة للقربان وعادوا الى كراسيهم مسرورين فرحين . وكان تولى على مصر في سنة ألف ومائة واحدى عشر خراجيه واحدا اسمه ترى ^(١) محمد باشا * أقام متوليا على مصر خمسة سنوات وحصل منه أذيه للنصارى في سنة ألف ومائة واثنى عشر خراجيه بسبب الكنائس ولكن من معونة الله تعالى ورحمته وصلاة هذا الاب لم يحصل ضرر بوجود المعلمين الأراخنة المباشرين بخدمة أكابر مصر وفضوا القضية من غير مشقة على النصارى جملة كافية ولم يحصل بالمواضع المقدسة شىء ولا بطل قداس في يوم من الأيام والله سبحانه وتعالى أبطل قوة الشيطان والمعاندين ولم تزل الطمأنينة موجودة إلى سنة ألف ومائة وسبعة عشر الخراجية شرقت أيضا أرض مصر وتسا الشراقى الصفرا . وأن البحر لما توقف عن الزيادة توجه أبينا البطريرك إلى كنيسة ستنا العدره بالعدويه ومعه جماعة من الكهنة وبقى كل يوم يقدرس ويصلى على قليل ماء في ماجور صغير ويرشمه بالميرون المقدس ويطرحه في البحر وان الله تعالى تحن برحمته على عباده وأوفى النيل في الثامن عشر من توت واطمأنت الخلايق وبلغ القمح في سنتها ثمانية قروش الأردب المصرى سعر الويهه أربعين نصف فضه وكانت الخلق مطمأنة ولم يحصل

(١) اقرأ : كرا .

فيها شدة حكم الشراقى الكبرى وايضا توجه آيينا البطرك إلى الاسكندرية وزار
كنيسة الأب البشير مارى مرقس الانجيلى ولما كان فى سنة ألف ومائة وعشرين
الخارجية توجه هذا الأب إلى زيارة القيامة المعظمة مع الأرخن المعلم جرجس
الطوخى المذكور وكان صحبتهم جملة من الكهنة والأراخنة والشعب وكان توجههم
على البر ما هو فى البحر وكانت بهجة * عظيمة لم يُرى ولم يُسمع بمثلها قط
٢٦٠ (ج) ولما كان فى سنة ألف ومائة ثلاثة وعشرين هلاله كان تولا بمصر واحد يسما
خليل باشا والمذكور ألقى فتنه عظيمة بين العسكر وكان فى ذلك الوقت واحد
صنق يسما أيوب بك ملتجىء إلى باب الإنكجارية وواحد صنق اخر يسما
غيطاس بك ملتجىء إلى باب الغرب وكل واحد منهم له جماعات أحباب
وأصحاب فلما وقعت الفتنه بينهم واشتدت وعظمت جدا قفلت الاسواق
وبطل البيع والشرى وأقامت القاهرة سبعين يوم والاسواق مقفولة والمدافع
تضرب من باب الانكجارية على باب المغرب ومن باب الغرب على الانكجارية
وانحرفت بيوت ناس كثير وعلى الحملة انها كانت شدة شديدة وضيقه عظيمة
على كامل الناس خصوصا الفقرا وكانوا يشربون مياه الأبار من انقطاع الطرق
وعدم السقاين لانهم ما كانوا يقدروا يتوجهوا يملوا من بولاق من كثرة العربان
والعدى وبعد السبعين يوم أراد الله تعالى وأفرج على العباد بهروب أيوب بك
وبعض جماعة صحبتته إلى الديار الروميه وتوفى بالقسطنطينية وعزل خليل باشا
واطمأنت الرعية وحصل الرضا والبيع والشرا والأخذ والعطاء ولم يحصل أذية
لأحد من النصارى بصلاة هذا الاب لان الرضا والمواهب الذى منحهم الله
لهذا الأب لم حصل لغيره من الاباء البطاركة من مدة أنبا متى السابع والثمانون
إلى هذا الاب لأنه كان موفق من الله فى جميع أعماله وفعله وكرز كنائس عدة
بمصر والريف بعد ترميمها وأيضا كرز مطارنه واسافنه وقسوس وشامسه
وأقام * مدته كلها فى خير وعافية وطمانيه واعمر دير القديس العظيم انبا بولا
٢٦٠ (ظ) بعدما دثر من مدة وتوجه له وزاره وكرز الكنيسة واقام فيه رهبان وافرق وقفه
من وقف القديس انطونيوس وايضا زار دير القديس انطونيوس مرتين دفعة
وحده ودفعة مع المعلم جرجس الطوخى المذكور ولما كان فى سنة الف ومائة
سبعة وعشرين خراجية حصل ايضاً فتنه بمصر وكان يومئذ عابدى باشا متولى

بمصر وقتل الامير غيطاس بيك واراد يقتل الامير محمد بيك تابعه فتوجه هاربا إلى الديار الرومية وقتل جماعة كثيرة بمصر ولكن لم تبطل الفتنة حكم الفتنة الأولى وزال الشر واطمأنت الرعية ولم يزل هذا الاب في هدو وطمانية . خير وسلامه باقى أيام حياته وكان فى سنة الف واربعماية أربعة وثلاثين للشهداء تشويطة بمصر وتنيح هذا الأب فى اليوم العاشر من بؤونة سنة تاريخه الموافق فى ستة عشر شهر رجب سنة الف ومائة وثلاثين هلاله واقام اثنين واربعين سنة بطركا على الكرسي الرب يرحمنا بصلاته وتنيح المعلم جرجس بعده بعشرة أيام وكان يوم انتقال هذا الأب يوم عظيم وجنزوه بكرامة عظيمة ودفن بكنيسة أبو مرقوره بمصر بركة صلاة الجميع تكون معنا أمين .

بطرس البطرک وهو المائة وأربعة من العدد هذا الأب القديس من ناحية أهالى سيوط وطلع على جبل القديس العظيم انبا بولا وهو شاب واقام مدة ولبس الاسكيم المقدس واستحق أن يكون قسا من يد الاب انبا يوانس المنتيخ واقامه رئيسا على دير القديس العظيم انبا بولا واقام زمانا الى ان تنيح الأب انبا يوانس فلم يتوجه احداً من الأراخنة إلى الديورة * ولم يحصل تفتيش بل ارادة الله تعالى انذرهم على هذا الاب وكان المجتهد فى ذلك واحد أرخن يسما المعلم لطف الله كان متزوج بنت أختى انبا يوانس المنتيخ وارسله إلى (١) فارسل قايقام ناحية بوش قبض على هذا الاب وارسله فى الحديد إلى مصر واوسموه بطركا بكنيسة القديس ابو مرقوره بمصر فى السابع عشر من شهر مسرى سنة الف واربعماية أربعة وثلاثين للشهداء الموافق فى الرابع والعشرين من شهر رمضان سنة الف ومائة وثلاثين وكان فى ذلك اليوم خير النيل بمصر وكان فرح وبهجة عظيمة واقام بمصر نحو جمعة زمان وحضر إلى القلاية البطركية بحارة الروم على جارى العادة وأوسم أبينا الاسقف المكرم انبا اثناسيوس على كرسي اورشليم وفى تلك الايام حضر رسل من ملك الحبشة تطلب لهم مطران فوسم الاب انبا اخرسطوطولو اسقف اورشليم سابقا وتوجه صحبة الرسل فى البحر من بندر السويس على مدينة جندا وتوجه هذا الأب إلى الأقاليم البحرية وطاف بهم

(١) هنا يتقص كلمة فى المخطوط .

وكان يريد زيارة بيعة ماري مرقس الانجيلي بالأسكندرية فحصل فتنة بمصر بين واحد صنجدق يسما اسماعيل بك ابن ايواز وواحد صنجدق يسما محمد بك جركس فرجع إلى مصر ولم يتوجه إلى الاسكندرية في تلك السنة وكان المتولى بمصر يومئذ يسما رجب باشا سعوا له جماعة بالمعلم لطف الله بأنه أكرم بيعة الملاك ميخائيل القبلي وبيعة الشهيد ابومينا بمصر وبالحقيقة أنه أكرمهم من ماله أخير مما كانوا في الاول لأن بيعة الشهيد ابومينا ما كانوا يقدروا يدخلوا من باب الخورس بالنهار إلا بفتيلة فعمرها وبنائها كنيسة عظيمة منيره وبنوا فيها قلائي للفقراء وغيرهم وان رجب باشا المذكور * اوقع الطلب على المعلم لطف الله باجتهد ٢٦١ (ظ)

وان جماعة اكابر من محبين المعلم لطف الله طيبوا خاطر الوزير المذكور بنحو أربعين كيس ودفعتها من عنده من ماله حكم ما ذكروا ولم يأخذ من الأراخنة شئ وايضا المصروف الذي اصرفه في إقامة هذا الاب بطركا لم يأخذ من أحدأ شئ وجميع ذلك من عنده لان لم كان في زمانه من يعادله في المال وأيضا في الجاه وقوة القلب وان الشيطان عدو الخير خزاه الله أثار عليه من قتله وهو جأى إلى بيته في يوم الجمعة حصة الفطور وكان ذلك في شهر مسرى سنة ألف وأربعمائة وستة وثلاثين للشهدا الموافق في سنة الف ومائة اثنين وثلاثين خراجية نبح الله نفسه وانهم كفنوه ودفنوه وعمل له هذا الاب ألف قداس باسمه ولما كان في سنة الف ومائة ثلاثه وثلاثين الخراجية توجه هذا الاب إلى مدينة الاسكندرية وزار كنيسة الاب البشير ماري مرقس الانجيلي واقام بها نحو ستين يوم في فرح وسرور وبهجة وجاب معه هدية إلى ماري مرقس فندبل فضة ونحو عشرين أردب قمح زار وحصل المراد وحصل له جبر الخاطر بزيادة من الأراخنة المباشرين بديوان اسكندرية رجع لمصر بالسلامة وكانت أيامه كلها هادية وشعبه مرتاح بصلاته وكان في ايام هذا الاب ارخن يسما المعلم مرقوريوس الشهير بديك أبيض كان يومئذ بخدمة واحد جوريجي اختيار من اكابر مصر يسما ابراهيم جوريجي الصابونجي عزبان وأن الأرخن المذكور كان ناظراً على كنيسة السيدة المعروفة بدير العدوية وأن قدرة الله تعالى أعانته بشفاعه الست السيدة واعمر الدير المذكور تاممه ^(١) أخير منها كان في الاول ودعى هذا الاب وكرز

(١) اقرأ : تمامه .

الكنيسة المذكورة وأيضا كرز بيع غيرها وكرز قسوس وشمامسة بكثرة وكان
٢٦٢ (ج) سمح النفس في المأكل والمشرب شبه * انبا يوانس الذى قبله وكان يتشبه به
في جميع افعاله وفي الرحمة وغيره وكان الشعب جميعه في ايامه بخير وعافية
وطمانية ويتغايروا في الرحمه والاعمال الصالحة وبالخصوص واحد ارخن يسما
المعلم جرجس أبو شحاته من ناحية ابنوب بالصعيد وجاء وتوطن بمصر وكان
ارمل وتزوج بأخت المعلم لطف الله وكان اهل رحمة قوى ويصنع خيرات
كثيرة مع الفقراء والكهنة وغيرهم ومع ذلك ان ماله كان عند الصنائج بمصر
والأغوات ولما تنيح وجدوا عليه ديون كثيرة نبح الله نفسه واقام هذا الأب
بطركا ثمانية سنين وشمورا وتنيح في شهر برمهاث سنة الف واربعائة اثنين
واربعين للشهدا الموافق في سنة الف ومائة ثمانية وثلاثين خراجية وكان ايامها
تشويطه ودفن بكنيسة ابو مرقورة بمصر الرب يرحمنا بصلاته وتنيح ابو شحاته
بعده في التشويطه المذكوره الرب ينيح نفوس الجميع ويرحمنا بصلواتهم أمين .
انبا يوانس البطرک وهو المائة وخمسة من العدد هذا الاب من اهالى ناحية
ميلوى وطلع إلى دير القديس العظيم انبا بولا وأقام فيه زمانا ولبس الشكل
الملايكي واستحق ان يكون قسا وكان اسمه عبد السيد ولما تنيح الاب انبا
بطرس الذى قبله وقع الاختيار عليه وأرسلوا أحضروه إلى مصر وأوسموه بطركا
بكنيسة الشهيد ابو مرقوره في بدو سنة الف واربعائة ثلاثة واربعين للشهدا
الموافق سنة الف ومائة تسعة وثلاثين خراجية وأقام جمعة زمان بمصر ورجع
القلاية بطرکية بحارة الروم وحصل في ايامه زيادة الجوالى على النصرارى واليهود
من ابتدا سنة الف ومائة سبعة واربعين خراجية الاعلا يدفع اربعائة نصف فضة
٢٦٢ (ظ) وستون نصف فضة برانى والاوسط يدفع مائتين نصف * فضه وثلاثون
نصف فضه برانى والادنى يدفع مائة نصف فضه وخمسة عشر نصف برانى
وقبضوا الجوالى من الأباء الأساقفة والرهبان والقسوس ولم يكرموا أحدا وكان
المعينين بقبض ذلك جماعة بشتليه يحضروا في كل سنة من الروم من طرف
السلطنة الشريفة معينين بقبض ذلك وكانت ايام شدة وحزن على كامل الفقرا
وأرباب الصناعة وأيضا حصل غلا شديد في سنة الف ومائة اثنين وخمسين
وسنة الف ومائة ثلاثة وخمسين وانبيع القمح الأردب المصرى بستة ذهب محبوب

كل وية بشرقي ذهب محبوب وقاسوا الخلق شدايد صعبة خصوصا النصارى
الفقرا هام من الغلا هام من طلب الجوالى بلا رحمة وكان بمصر يومئذ أراخنة
محين فى المسيح المعلم نيروز والمعلم زرق الله البدوى والمعلم بانوب الزفتاوى
وغيرهم كانوا يشتروا الفقرا شراوى من حبس الجوالى ويخلصوهم وايضا فى سنة
الف ومائة خمسة وخمسين الخراجية حصل فتنة بمصر مع واحد صنجد يسما
عثمان بيك من اكابر مصر وقاموا عليه جماعة العسكر فطلع هاربا إلى الوجه
القبلى ونهبوا بيته وبعد ذلك رجع إلى الدير الرومية ولم تزل مصر واهلها فى
تعب وضنك وشدايد صعبة والرب الاله يتحنن عليهم برحمته واقام هذا الاب
بطركا ثمانية عشر سنة وشهورا وتذبح فى يوم اثنين البصخة ثالث عشر شهر
برموده سنة الف وأربعمائة واحد وستين الموافق فى سبعة عشر شهر ربيع الأول
سنة الف ومائة سبعة وخمسين هلالية ودفن بكنيسة ابو مرقوره بمصر الرب
يرحمنا بصلاته آمين .

مرقس البطرك وهو المائة وستة من العدد هذا الأب من أهالى ناحية قلو صنا
* من أعمال ولاية البنسا وكان اسمه سمعان طلع إلى دير القديس العظيم
٢٦٣ (ج)
انبا بولا وهو شاب صغير أقام فيه مدة وكان يتردد من دير الاب انطونيوس
إلى دير القديس انبا بولا ولبس الشكل الملايكي واستحق أن يكون كاهنا
ولما تذبح انبا يوانس الذى كان قبله وقع الاختيار عليه فارسوا أحضروه إلى
مصر وأوسموه بطركا فى اليوم الرابع والعشرين من شهر بشنس سنة ألف
واربعمائة واحد وستين الموافق إلى سنة ألف ومائة سبعة وخمسين وأقام سنتين
والعسكر هادين بمصر وبعد ذلك حصل فتنة عظيمة بين العسكر بمصر وقتل
فيها خليل بيك امير الحاج وعلى بيك الدمياطى الدفتردار وعمر بيك غيطاس
ومحمد بيك ذاده وهربوا جماعة من الامرا الصناجق إلى الصعيد وهما الامير
عمر بيك وأخيه وحسن بيك تابع ابراهيم بيك وعمر بيك حاكم بجرجا التم عليهم
واقاموا مدة ثمانية شهور بالصعيد وذلك فى سنة الف ومائة واحد وستين
هلالية وبعد ذلك اهتم به شيخ العرب همام وجهز لهم قومانية من قمح ودقيق
وسمن وعسل وغيره وارسلهم إلى بلاد الحجاز فى المراكب من بندر القصير السامى
وبعد ذلك أيضا لم تزل الفتنة إلى ان الله رحم عباده وازال هذه الشدة وان فى يوم
٤

الخميس المبارك الذى هو الثانى عشر من شهر بشنس المبارك سنة الف واربعمائة
خسة وثمانين قبطية للشهدا الاطهار الموافق إلى احدى عشر شهر محرم الحرام
سنة الف ومايه ثلاثة وثمانين هلالية تنيح الاب الفاضل المكرم انبا مرقس
بطريك المدينة العظمى والاسكندرية (١) والحبشة والنوبة بكنيسة الست السيدة
والدة خلاص العالم بدير العدوية فى ثانى ساعة فى ذلك اليوم كان عيد ستنا
العفيفة الفاضلة فى الكرامة الست * دميانة وتذكار رئيس الملائكة ميخائيل (ظ) ٢٦٣
رئيس طغيات السموات ونياحة الشهيد العظيم يوحنا فم الذهب وفى ذلك الساعة
نظر الاب الفاضل المكرم البطريك عند طلوع الروح من الجسد الابا القديسين
انطونيوس وانبا بولا وانتقل الاب البطريك من كنيسة الست السيدة بدير العدويه
وهو متنيح حملوه الاخوة المسيحيين إلى دير الشهيد العظيم كوكب الصبح
المنير العظيم فى الشهدا الشجاع البطل سيدى الملك مارى جرجس بدير البنات
بات الأب البطريك وهو متنيح تحت أيقونة الشهيد العظيم بالغداه (٢) والصلوات
والبشائر ومزامير النبي داوود الكبار وفى صبيحة يوم الجمعة الذى هو الثالث عشر
من شهر بشنس سنة الف واربعمائة خسة وثمانين قبطية حضروا اليه الآباء المطارنة
الاب المكرم انبا يوسا مطران الحبشة وذلك الاب المذكور مقسوم بيد الاب
البطريك قبل نياحته بستة أشهر والاب المكرم انبا بطرس مطران الوجه القبلى
اختاره الاب البطريك خوفا على الرعية ليرعا قطيعه الصالح خوفا عليهم من
الدياب الخاطفة وكامل القمامصة والقسوس والأراخنة والمعلمين وكامل الشعب
المسيحيين ماشيين على اقدامهم والكهنة بيدهم الحجامر بالبخور الذكى والاطياب
الفاخرة ولايسين البرانس من دير الشهيد العظيم مارى جرجس إلى دير الشهيد
العظيم محب ابويه مرقوريوس ابو السيفين وعملوا الآباء المطارنة والقمامصة
والقسوس إلى ذلك الاب البطريك بما يصلح بالآباء البطاركة وقبر فى ثانى ساعة
من يوم الجمعة وذلك الاب كان اول قسمته فى اليوم الرابع والعشرين من
شهر بشنس سنة الف واربعمائة واحد وستين للشهدا الاطهار* يوم دخول السيد
أرض مصر ونياحته فى اليوم الثانى عشر من شهر بشنس سنة ألف واربعمائة

(١) اقرأ : الاسكندرية ، بدون «و» . (٢) اقرأ : بالقراءة .

خمسة وثمانين قبطية ومدة حياة الاب بطريرك على الكرسي المرقسى أربعة وعشرين سنة وثلاثة اشهر واربعة عشر يوما وقاسا الاب بطريرك المتنيح المذكور في ذلك الأيام أهوالا لا يحصى لها عدد تارة من الخلفا وتارة من الشعب الملتوى الاعوج ولو شرحنا لكم ذلك لطال الشرح ونسأل الاهنا ومتولى خلاصنا بشفاعة ذات الشفاعات معدن الطهر والجود والبركات ستنا الشريفة البتول الزكية والدة خلاص العالم أن بصلوات هذا الاب نحن واياكم يا أبى واخوتى آمين انبا يوحنا بطريرك وهو السابع من بعد المائة من عدد البطارقة ومن أمره أنه كان راهباً في دير القديس انبا انطونيوس فلما توفي سلفه الأب مرقس أجمع رأى العموم على تكريسه بطريركا فكرس سنة ١٤٨٦ للشهداء الموافقة لسنة ١٧٦٢ مسيحية قبطية . ولا تسأل عما اصابه واصاب شعبه من البلاء الفادح الذى حمله على أن يتوارى ويختفى هربا من ظلم الحكام وجور الولاة الذين اثقلوا كاهل المسيحيين وشددوا الوطأة خصوصا بزيادة الضرائب ونخص بالذكر من تلك المصائب ما هو بالاجمال لما عزم ابراهيم ومراد شيخا مصر من المماليك أن يستقلا بالحكومة بغير أن يبقى للباب العالى أعنى الدولة العثمانية فيها يد وطرودوا وزير السلطنة وعلمنا أن الدولة لا تسكت بل تشمر سيف الحرب عليهما شرعا يضربان على المصريين الضرايب الفادحة بصفة تشبه النهب والسلب فتضايقوا واستغاثوا ولاث ساعة مغيث لكن خطوة الظلم التى خطاها الممالك لم تكن لتعد شيئا بازاء ما صنعه حسن باشا لما حاربهم وانتصر عليهم ودخل * إلى ٢٦٤ (ظ) القاهرة فائزا . فصنع عسكره ما تأبى ذكره النفس وينكره العقل . فانهم وطأوا بيوت المسيحيين وفضلا عن انتهاكهم حرمة الأدب ونقضهم ناموس الانسانية فى اساءة تصرفهم مع النصارى فانهم احضروا امتعتهم على اختلاف انواعها وباعوها بأمر الباشا المومىء اليه على مشهد من الناس فكم بذلك افقرت بيوت وكم بيوت ومنازل نعت أهلها لهجرهم لها ومن ذلك أن العسكر قبضوا على امرأة المعلم الفاضل ابراهيم الجوهري أمين احتساب مصر واجبروها على ان تخبرهم عن مخايب زوجها من النقود وغيرها ففعلت ذلك كرها فنهبوا بيته وتركوه قاعا صنفصفا وزاد الطين بلة الوباء الذى دهم مصر بخيوله وجيوشه وضرب جميع بلادها نحو سنة ١٥٠٧ للشهداء الموافقة ١٧٨٣ ميلادية قبطية و ١٧٩١

افرنجية فكان يموت من القاهرة في اليوم الواحد نحو الالف وهذا الوبا كان يعرف عند العوام بالكبسه لعظمه وثقله حتى افنى الناس ومن ذلك أن الوبا اصاب اسماعيل بيك الذى ولاه الصدر الاعظم على مصر فمات به وأقيم آخر بدله فمات أيضا في ذلك اليوم عينه وهلم جرّا إلى أن فنى جميع أقارب اسماعيل بيك فاغتم هذه الفرصة ابراهيم ومراد وعادا إلى القاهرة ومسكا أزمة الاحكام فدارت رحاهما على محورها الاول اذ شرعا يعتسفان طرق الظلم مع المسيحيين الذين أصبحت حالتهم تستدعى احتلال فرنسا لهذا القطر كما سيأتى . أما انبا يوحنا فتوفى سنة ١٥١٢ للشهدا الموافق سنة ١٧٨٨ مسيحية قبطية .

انبا يوانس وهو الثامن من بعد المائة من عدد البطارقة ومن أمره أنه كان (ج) ٢٦٥ أحد رهبان دير القديس أنبا * انطونيوس فلما توفى سلفه أجمع رأى الكهنة ورؤساء الكهنة وأراخنة الشعب على تقديمه بطريركا ورسم سنة ١٥١٣ للشهدا الموافق سنة ١٧٨٩ وقد نظر شيئا من البلايا التي حاقت بسلفه وقاسم المؤمنين مصايب ذلك الجليل المشئوم الطالع وتفطرت احشاؤه حزنا وقاسى بسماع الاذن ونظر العين تلك الصروف التي ابهظت ظهور المسيحيين وقد ازدادت طينتها بللا وشدتها قساوة ومرارتها علقما حينما احتلت عساكر نابليون بونابرت هذا القطر سنة ١٥١٤ للشهدا أى سنة ١٧٩٨ افرنجية وذلك أن أرجل جنود فرنسا لما وطأت أرض ابو قير والاسكندرية هاج في القاهرة رعاع المسلمين وشرعوا يجرعون النصرارى كاسات المرارة رغما عن اجتهاد امرأهم الذين اخبروهم بأن هؤلاء المسيحيين من جملة رعايا الدولة وأن من مس شرفهم فقد مس شرف الدولة نفسها فلم يرهبهم ذلك ولم يخشوا سطوة بونابرت وجنوده الباطشه وذلك أن هؤلاء لما حاربوا المماليك وانتصروا عليهم وملكوا القاهرة وظن النصرارى أن الجومعكر صفا لهم قام على أثر ذلك معظم المسلمين شيوخ الجامع الأزهر وتجمعوا فيه وارساوا القراء يطوفون في الأسواق منادين (فليذهب كل من يوحد الله إلى الجامع الأزهر هذا هو يوم الجهاد في محاربة الكفار وأخذ النار) فهاجت المدينة لذلك وماجت وقفل المسلمون حوانيتهم وتقلدوا أسلحتهم واجتمعوا في الجامع الأزهر ثم جالوا ينهون بيوت المسيحيين على اختلاف أجناسهم ويقتلون كل من صادفوه بغير تمييز بين الرجل والمرأة والطفل والشيخ

وكان الوجه القبلى الذى صار عادة ملجأ لكل متمرد ومهربا لكل عاص * ليس ٢٦٥ (ظ)

بأقل وطأة فانه لما هرب المالك أخذوا يعيّنون فى الناس ظلما وينهبون أموال
النصارى وما ظن النصارى أنهم نجوا من تلك الرزية حتى وقعوا بأشر منها
وذلك أنه لما نقضت المعاهدة التى عقدت بين القائد كليبر الفرنساوى والصدر
الأعظم بأمر من الباب العالى ودارت رحى القتال بين الجانيين فى المطرية اغتم
المسلمون فرصة خروج عسكر فرنسا من القاهرة وثاروا على النصارى وكان
ناصرى باشا أحد قواد الجيش العثمانى جاء إلى المدينة بجماعة من المالك ونادى
فيها بأنهم غلبوا الافرنج وامر بقتل باقى النصارى فشرعوا يجزونهم غير مميزين
بين القبطى والسورى والافرنجى فاستدرك حالهم عثمان بك أحسد ضباط الأتراك
وجاء إلى ناصرى باشا وقال له (ليس من العدالة أن تهرقوا دماء رعايا الدولة
فان ذلك مخالف للإرادة السنية) فأمر عند ذلك بكف أيدي المسلمين عن قتلهم
واخر ضيق طراً على الأقباط فى أيام هذا الأب رفت المستخدمين منهم فى
دواوين الحكومة وذلك أن الجنرال مينو لما تولى قيادة الجيش الفرنساوى بعد
موت كلابر قتلا اعتنق الدين الاسلامى ودعى نفسه عبد الله وولد له غلام
أسماه سليمان وكان ديوان القاهرة مولفا وقتئذ من الاقباط والاسلام فرفت الأول
وترك الدواوين للأخر وعهد اليهم جباية الخراج وكانت إقامة الفرنساويين فى
مصر ثلاث سنين ثم خرجوا وكانوا يعرفون عند العامة بالفرنسيس . أما الاب
مرقس فتوفى سنة ١٥٢٦ للشهدا الموافق سنة ١٨٠٢ وكان فى ايام هذا الاب
الأمير الشهير فى أعيان المسيحيين ابراهيم الجوهري رئيس كتاب البر المصرى
* الوجيه الكامل صاحب المآثر السعيده والآثار الحميدة وله فى كل دير وكنيسة ٢٦٦ (ج)

أثر يذكر فيشكر وإليه ينسب تأسيس كنيسة الأزبكية والى أخيه جرجس بنائها
وذلك أن الاقباط صاروا فى الأزمنة الأخيرة لا يتحصلون على اذن من الحكومة
بناء كنيسة إلا بشق الأنفس فانفق أن احدى السيدات من العائلة السلطانية
قدمت إلى مصر قاصدة الحج ولكون ابراهيم الجوهري هو المتقدم فى الحكومة
المصرية تقدما مشهورا باشر بنفسه اداء الخدمات لها فى الذهاب والإياب وقدم
لها هدايا فاخرة فأرادت أن تكافئه على خدمته التى أبدأها مع شهرة صداقته فى
خدمة الحكومة فسألت عن مرغوباته فالتمس منها المساعدة فى اصدار فرمان

سلطاني بالرخصة في انشاء كنيسة في الأذربكية حيث مستقر سكنه فلبت دعواه وصدر له بواسطتها الاذن بذلك غير أنه توفي قبل أن يشرع في البناء فلما تولى أخوه جرجس افندى منصبه اتحد مع الأب مرقس المومى إليه وكبار الطائفة وبنوا الكنيسة حيث نقلوا مركز البطريركية في ملك الامير يعقوب والمعلم ماطى الذين كانا متوظفين في مدة حكم بونايرت بوظايف عالية .

انبا بطرس البطريرك وهو التاسع من بعد المائة من عدد البطارقة قد اختير هذا الأب للبطريركية بعد وفاة الأب مرقس سلفه وكرس سنة ١٥٢٦ للشهداء الموافقه سنة ١٨٠٢ ومن امره أنه كان أحد رهبان القديس انطونيوس فاختر أن يكون مطرانا على الحبشة فتأجلت رسامته بتدبير من الله ثم كرس مطرانا عاما للكراسة المرقسية واستمر في البطريركية إلى توفى سلفه فانتخبه العموم أن يكون بطريركا خليفة له ورسم بعد نياحة سلفه بثلاثة أيام ومن أوصافه الحميدة أنه كان محبا للدرس في الكتب الالهية ومواظبا على * تعليم الشعب غير محب الطمع حلما وضيعا متواضعا حكما ذا فطنة عظيمة وذكاء فائق وسياسة لرعاية الشعب سامية . وقد ألف كتابا احتج به عن تعليم الكنيسة وفي مدته فتح محمد على باشا السودان فعاد من أهله كثيرون إلى الدين المسيحي فرسم لهم اسقفين على التعاقب ورسم من الاساقفة نحو ٢٣ اسقفا . ومما يستحق الذكر العجائب التي حدثت على يديه وفي زمانه ومنها أن ابنة محمد على باشا زهرى باشا زوجة احمد بك الدفتردار كان اعترها روح نجس فعانى الأطباء أتعابا شاقة في معالجتها فلم يستطيعوا أن يشفوها إذ لم يكن ذلك مرضا طبيعيا وكان صيت السرايمون اسقف المنوفية بما أعطى من قوة اخراج الأرواح الشريرة مائتا القطر المصرى فذكر لمحمد على باشا عن امكان أئمة النصرى في شفاء ابنته ما جعله يدعو الاب بطرس البطريرك إلى مباشرة ذلك فالاب إذ كان يعلم أن ابنته معترة من روح نجس استدعى الاب سرايمون وأمره أن يتوجه إلى السراى حيث سكن زهرى باشا فلبى دعوته وتوجه إليها وكانت السراى غاصة بالجنود والجماهير رجالا ونساء فلما ابتداء أن يصل على الاميرة تحرك الشيطان فيها والقها صرعى على الارض فازبدت وشرعت تصرخ باصوات ارتجت لها السراى فارتعب الاب من ذلك وخاف من سوء العاقبة وصار يستغيث بقوة المسيح صارخا بصوت مخزن زارفا

العبرات قائلا : (عظيمة خطيتك يا صليب) يا يسوع مجد يمينك وانصر
كنيستك حينئذ اكمل الصلاة و رسم علامة الصليب على ماء وضرب به وجه
الاميرة فصرخ الشيطان بصوت مزعج وخرج منها فعند ذلك قامت الاميرة
صحيحة وضربت الموسيقى . فرحا فبشر محمد على بذلك وجاء إلى ابنته فوجدها
٢٦٧ (ج) متعافية فرغب أن يكافئ الاب سراميون فصر صرة من النقود تبلغ أربعة آلاف
جنيه وقدمها للاب فأبى أن يقبلها واعتذر إليه قائلا : ليس من شؤون وظيفتي
أن أربح بمواهب الرب ما لا يحوجني إليه فلباسي كما ترى فرجيه صوف احمر
وطعامي الخبز وطبيخ العدس فعوض ذلك أسأل دولتكم أن تمولوا تعطفاتكم
نحو أبناء الطائفة القبطية وتخدموا بنبيها المرفوتين فأجابته إلى ذلك والحق عليه
أن يقبل تلك العطية فأخذ منها شيئا قليلا وفرقه اثناء مروره على العسكر .
ومن ذلك أن النيل لم يف في احدى السنين مقداره فخاف الناس من وطأة
الغلاء ورزية الجوع واستغاثوا بالباشا طالبين إليه أن يأمر الرؤساء الروحانيين
بأن يرفعوا الادعية والصلوات من أجل النيل ليبارك الله في مائه وتروى الارض
ففعل واحتفل اولا المسلمون بالصلاة ثم اليهود ثم الروم ثم السوريون ثم الافرنج
فلم ينتقل النهر من مكانه ثم طلبت الحكومة من الاب بطرس ان يصنع نظير
ما صنع باقى الطوائف فاستدعى لفيف الاكليروس وجماعة الاساقفة وخرج
بهم إلى شاطئ النهر واحتفل بتقديم سر الافخارستيا ثم أتم ذلك وغسل أواني
الخدمة وطرح ماءها مع قربانه من البركة في النهر فبعجت للحال أمواجه واضطربت
وفارت كدست يغلى وفاضت فبادر تلاميذ البطريرك رافعين أدوات الاحتفال
فلم يتموا ذلك إلا وقد ادركتهم المياه فعظمت منزلة البطريرك وطائفته لدى الباشا
وزاد في اعتبارهم ومن ذلك ما شاع على ألسنة العامة أن ابراهيم باشا عندما ملك
البلاد الشامية وملك اورشليم دعا الأب بطرس لياشر خدمة خروج النور من
ضريح السيد المسيح نظير ما يفعل بطاركة الروم في كل سنة . فالبطريرك لعلمه
ان ذلك يترتب عليه عداوة بين الاقباط والروم اعتذر للباشا فقبل عنده . وطلب
اليه أن يكون مع * بطريرك الروم وهو ثالثهم داخل القبر وكان الباشا مرتابا
٢٦٧ (ط) بحقيقة النور فخاف الاب بطرس من تأخير طلوع النور وسوء العاقبة وأخذ
يستغيث بقدرة يسوع وكانت كنيسة القيامة قد غصت بالجماهير وتضايق الناس

من الازدحام فأمر الباشا أن يخرج الفقراء إلى خارج القيامة حيث فسحة كبيرة ودخل في القبر وصحبته بطريك الروم وبطريك الأقباط فلما صار الوقت انبثق النور من المقبره بأمر ارتعب منه الباشا ووقع عليه ذهول واندهاش وصرخ مرددا هذه العبارة (امان بابا) وكاد يسقط على الارض فاحتضنه الاب بطرس إلى ان استفاق أما الفقراء التعساء الذين خارج القيامة فصاروا اسعد حظا ممن كان داخلها فان احد اعمدة باب القيامة انشق وخرج لهم منه النور فتبركوا به وقد سعى في ايامه محمد على باشا بضم كنيسة مصر إلى كنيسة روميه وذلك أن التنظيمات الجديدة التي صارت في مصر كانت بواسطة رجال فرنسا وعلمائها فلما رأى محمد على باشا نفسه مغمورة يجزىل معروفهم رام أن يقابلهم بمثله وإذا احتار فيما يقوم نظير ذلك نصحه أحد قواد الجيش وكان بابويا بأن يسعى في ضم نصارى مصر إلى كنيسة رومية فيجد ذلك الافرنج فعلا حميدا ومعروفا يوازي معروفهم . فاستدعى المعلم غالى وابنه باسيلوس بك رئيس المالية وأمرهما أن يفعلا ذلك فوقعا في حيص بيص وخافا من وقوع الفتن بين الطائفة فأجابا الباشا قائلين : ان استمالة الطائفة جميعها إلى مذهب كنيسة روميه دفعة واحدة لا تنهى بدون قلاقل وسفك دماء كثيرين فترى الأحسن أن يكون ذلك بسياسة وتدريب . وذلك اننا نعتنق نحن اولا المذهب البابوي بشرط أن لا نكره على تغيير طقوسنا وعوايدنا الشرقية وبذلك يمكن * أن نميل أفراد الطائفة رويدا رويدا . فقبل الباشا هذا الرأى واخبر الافرنج ففرحوا وشكروا فعله فانقلب من ثم المعلم غالى وابنه باسيلوس بك ورهط قليل من أشياعهما في مصر واخيم باباويين في الظاهر وهم يضمروا بأنهم بعد حين يعودون إلى حضن كنيستهم ومع ذلك ما زالوا يعتبرون كهنة الارثوذكسين حق الاعتبار ويعمدون أولادهم عندهم . واما انبا بطرس فتوفى سنة ١٥٦٨ للشهداء الموافقة سنة ١٨٤٤ مسيحية قبطية .

انبا كيرلس البطريرك وهو العاشر بعد المائة من عدد البطاركة ومن أمره أنه كان رئيسا على دير أنبا أنطونيوس فلما انتخب للبطريركية وقع خلاف بين الشعب فالبعض قبل ذلك والبعض الآخر رفضه فتأجلت قسمته ثم استقر رأى العموم عليه ورسم مطرانا عاما سنة ١٥٧٠ للشهدا الموافق لسنة ١٨٤٦ واستمر سنة

وشهرين فظهر من حسن تصرفه ما جعله أهلا ليكون بطريركا فرسم سنة ١٥٧١
للسهيدا أى سنة ١٨٤٧ مسيحية وإلى هذا الاب يرجع تمدن الشعب القبطى
وارتقاوه فى مراتى النجاش وذلك بما صبه من قصارى جهده فى سبيل تهذيب
شبانه وتعلمهم العلوم فانه انشأ المدرسة الكبرى القبطية فى البطرركخانه وفتح
مدرسه أخرى فى حارة السقاين ووجد فى تعليم اللغة القبطية بعدما كادت تدرس
رسومها إذ لم يكن فى ذلك الوقت يتكلم بها أحد البتة وانما كانت تستعمل فقط
فى كل كنائس القطر المصرى وما كان يفهم معانيها الا أناس قلائل . وأدخل
من ضمن ذلك لغات أجنبية لا سيما اللغة العربية ووجد كنيسة بحارة السقاين
ثم شرع فى اخر حياته بانشاء الكنيسة الكبرى الكاتدرائية الحالية بعدما نقض
الكنيسة القديمة وكان بغرمة أن يشاهدها على ما هى عليه من الرونق الجميل
والمنظر الحسن الآن فحال * دون ذلك غيابه فى المجلس الذى صادف فيه ٢٦٨ (ظ)
مخاطر مهولة كادت تذهب بأجله وذلك أن بعض الانكليز بعدما توجه إلى
الخبشة سعوا به عند النجاشى تاودروس وادعوا عليه انه فى عزمه أن يجعل
الخبشة خاضعة للحكومة المصرية وأنه سار إلى الخيش وعساكر مصر تبعه من
ورائه . فطار النجاشى عند ذلك جنونا وأمر بحرق البطريرك حيا فتصدت له
الملكة واثت بجزمها عزمه وسفرت البطريرك إلى مصر سالما ثم توفى عقب ذلك
بقليل - ومن صفاته أنه كان عالما شديدا التساوة على الاكليروس والشعب .
شديد الاعتصام بقوانين الكنيسة واعتقادها وكان مألوبا عند جميع الطوائف
محبوبا لدى حكومة مصر مكرما عند بنى كنيسته قد رسم ستة أساقفة من ضمنهم
انبا باسيليوس مطران اورشليم وانبا يوانس مطران المنوفية وانشئت فى مدته
عدة كنائس وتوفى سنة ألف وخمسمائة وسبع وسبعين للسهيدا الموافقة سنة
ألف وثمانمائة وثلاث وخمسين مسيحية قبطية و١٨٦١ مسيحية افرنجية .
انبا ديمتريوس البطريرك وهو الحادى عشر بعد المئة ومن أمره أنه كان رئيسا
على دير القديس أبو مقار فلما صار بطريركا سنة ألف وخمسمائة وثمانى وسبعين
للسهيدا الموافقة سنة ألف وثمانمائة أربعة وخمسين مسيحية قبطية صار على خطة
أسلافه واقطفى اثر انبا كيرلس سلفه فأكل الكنيسة الكبرى عمارة إذ كانت
ناقصة السقوفات والقباب ثم ان انبا كيرلس المائة والثانى عشر زينها جميعها

٢٦٩ (ج) من داخل بالبويات والايقونات * المذهبة لا سيما على الحجاب وفرش رصيفها المستدير بها بالرخام فهي احسن وأوسع وأعلى بناء وأعظم كنايس الأقباط بالقطر المصرى . وهذا الاب ديمتريوس نشط أيضا المدارس والمكاتب وقد توفر له الحظ السعيد بمثوله أمام الحضرة الشاهانية السلطان عبد العزيز عندما شرف الديار المصريه وحضر احتفال فتح ترعة السويس التى كان احتفال فتحها فى تاسع شهر هاتور سنة ١٥٨٦ للشهدا الموافق ١٧ نوفمبر سنة ١٨٦٩ مسيحية افرنجية وسنة ١٢٨٦ هجرية فنال من جلاله السلطان التفاتا عظيما وأنعم عليه بجملة من الاراضى الزراعية لفنقة الدار البطريركية ومدارس الأمة وكان فى أيامه اسماعيل باشا خديوى مصر وهو أول من نال من الدولة العلية لقب خديوى . ومن مآثر الانبا ديمتريوس أنه طاف الوجه القبلى على باخرة عينتها له الحكومة وبنى الشقة الغربية فى البطريركخانه واكمل ما فاتته ناقصا من العمارة فى زمن رئاسته فى عزبة دير ابومقار فى تريس واتفق أنه توفى ليلة عيد الغطاس ١١ شهر طوبه سنة الف وخمسمائة وستة وثمانين للشهدا الموافق سنة الف وثمانمائة واثنين وستين مسيحية قبطية بعدما استمر بطريركا سبع سنين وسبعة أشهر وسبعة أيام ولأجل تأخير الحكومة اصدار الأمر بقسمة بطريرك للطائفة بقى الكرسي بعده خاليا أربع سنين وتسعة اشهر وسبعة عشر يوما وكان حين ذلك يدير امور البطريركية أنبا مرقس مطران الاسكندرية ووكيل الكرازة المرقسية حتى صارت قسمة الآب الاثى ذكره . انبا كيرلس البطريرك الثانى عشر بعد المائة من عدد البطاركة ومن أمره أنه ولد بترمنت من مديرية بنى سويف سنة الف وخمسمائة وثمانى واربعين للشهداء الموافقة سنة الف وثمانمائة واربعة وعشرين مسيحية قبطية وسمى * حنا وبعد ميلاده بزمان يسير هجرا ابواه مسقط رأسهما وتوجهها إلى مديرية الشرقية واستوطننا بكفر سليمان الصعيدى وما زالت عشيرته بذلك الكفر وبعد زمان ليس بكثير انتقل أبواه إلى الدار الباقية فقام بتربيته أخوه البكرى المدعو المعلم بطرس فاعتنى بتعليمه وساعده على ذلك بعض الكهنة ورسم شماسا من يد الأب الانبا ابرام مطران اورشليم الذى كان قبل الانبا باسيلوس السابق ذكره وكان يلوح على حنا هذا منذ حداثة سنه أنه سيصير نموذجا للكاملات المسيحية فكان طبعه وخالقه الفطرى يميلان إلى الزهد والتقشف واحتقار هذا العالم وزخارفه ويجب

الوحدة وملازمة الدرس والطرس والادمان على ممارسة الفضيلة ويهرب من معاشره الشبان انداده خوفا من أن يسرى إليه شيء من اميالهم الدنيوية ويتغذى طبعه من اطباعهم باحتكاك افكاره بافكارهم وكان يحترم أبا ذمته أى القمص الذى كان يعترف عليه احتراماً يفوق الوصف ويهابه واخيراً ترك منزل ابويه وتوجه إلى دير السريان وهو احد الاديرة الأربعة الكائنة بالجبل الغربى فلم يلبث بضع أيام حتى استرجعه أهله من الدير بواسطة الكاهن الذى ساعد فى تربيته فعاد ولكن روحه ما زالت مشغوفة بالرهبانية ولم تكن دعوة الناس لتغير دعوة الله عزّ وجلّ ولبث بين قومه زماناً يسيراً وهم يلاطفونه بكل الخيل ويستجلبون رضاءه إلى الامور العالمية ويزينون له لذائذها ويعظمون له أتعاب الرهبان ونيرهم الثقيل فلم تكن كل هذه المساعى إلا لتزيده عشقاً وغراماً بعبشة * الرهبانية ٢٧٠ (ج)

فأخذ يتربص الفرص حتى تمكن من الهروب من قومه فذهب راساً إلى دير البرموس فى برية شيهات وهو أبعد الأديرة الأربعة بالجبل الغربى المذكور وذلك فى توت سنة ١٥٦٧ للشهدا الموافق سنة ١٨٤٣ مسيحية قبطية وهى السنة العشرون من عمره وبعد نحو شهر رسموه راهباً وكان هذا الدير وقتئذ فى اشدّ الفاقة مادياً وأديباً فكانت ايراداته ضعيفة جداً لا تفي بحاجيات رهبانه وكان اطيانه فى ايدى الغير يستغلونها لغيره وما كانت رهبانه تتحصل على القوت الضرورى الا بغاية الصعوبة بل كانت تمر عليهم أيام لا يقتاتون فيها إلا بالترمس الذى ذخر فى الاديره من ايام المرحوم ابراهيم الجوهري صاحب المآثر الجليلية والآثار الجميلة قدس الله روحه . فلهذه الاسباب تناقص عدد رهبانه حتى وصل إلى أربعة اشخاص . وروى بعضهم أن الدير احتوى مرة على شخص واحد وظل فيه وحده نحو ثلاث سنوات . وذلك كان قبل رهبة صاحب الترجمة بضع سنين . فسلك صاحب الترجمة فى الدير باحسن ما يتصور من النسك فلما رأى منه الرهبان ذلك أجمع رأيهم مع الاب عوض البرهيمى الربيته بالدير وقتئذ على ترقيته إلى درجة الكهنوت الشريف فكتبوا له الترقية وارسلوه إلى القاهرة حارة زويلة فى اوائل سنة ١٥٦٨ للشهدا أى ١٨٤٤ مسيحية قبطية ثم عاد إلى الدير فاختره الرهبان أن يكون مديراً لشؤونهم فسار بحقوق الرهبة واحسن القيام بواجباتها فلا أستطيع وصف ما كان عليه من فضائل

العفة والأمانة والنسك والاتضاع الفائق والدعة وطول الأناة والاختلاص
٢٧٠ (ظ) في القول والعمل عند الله والناس وتناهيه في محبة * الغريب والقريب ورحمة
المحتاج وصدقته على الرهبان من إيراده الخاص الذي كان يكتسبه من نساخة
الكتب وكان اعظم تسلية للناظرين بأقواله وافعاله فحسنت أحوال الدير بهمته
وازداد به عدد الرهبان وساروا على منهجه القويم في طريق الكمال المسيحي
وتعودوا على احتقار أباطيل هذا العالم وبلغ عدد رهبان بعد ذلك إلى ثلاثين
وزيادة بما فيهم جملة كانوا انتزحوا من الأديرة الأخرى إليه لحسن سلوك هذا
الاب وحسن معاملته فاستمر هذا الاب يمارس شؤون وظيفته بكل طاقته
وقدرته مرشدا ومعلما ومهذبا ومودبا متما الصوت الرسولى القائل « ليكن كل
واحد بحسب ما أخذ موهبة يخدم بها بعضهم بعضا كوكلاء صالحين على نعمة
الله المتنوعة وان كان يتكلم أحد فكأقوال الله وإن كان يخدم أحد فكأنه من
قوة يمنحها الله لكي يتمجد الله في كل شيء بيسوع المسيح » (بطرس الاولى
ص ٤ ع ١٠ و ١١) وقول معلمنا بولص « كنا مترفقين في وسطكم كما تربى
المرضعة أولادها » (تسالونيكى الاولى ص ٢ ع ٧) وبالأجمال بلغ من القداسة
وحسن العبادة غاية ما يمكن في جيله وفي اثناء ذلك اجتمع به القمص عبد المسيح
المسعودى الكبير ابن جرجس فكان من اهل معضده^(١) ومساعديه مع الاب
عوض المذكور ثم ان البطريرك انبا ديمتريوس استدعى صاحب الترجمة
سنة ١٥٧٩ للشهدا إلى الدار البطريركية فرسمه اغومانسا واقامه مساعدا في
الكنيسة الكاتدرائية بالأزبكية فشق على رهبسانه مفارقتة جدا ولم يستطيعوا
الصبر على بعده فكتبوا إلى البطريرك السابق يترجونه في إعادته لتدبير شؤونهم
٢٧١ (ج) فلم يجب طلبهم فكرروا * الالتماس مرارا فلبى البطريرك في اخر الامر التماسهم
واعاده الى محله فلبث قائما باعباء وظيفته خير قيام حتى انتخبه المطارنة والاساقفة
واعيان الطائفة القبطية أن يكون بطريركا فكلفت الحكومة مدير البحيرة إلى
القاهرة فجاء إليها شاء أم أبى وبعد أيام صار تكريسه في يوم الأحد ثالث وعشرين
بأبه سنة الف وخمسة وأحدى وتسعين للشهدا الموافقة سنة الف وثمانئة

(١) اقرأ : معضديه .

وسبع وستين مسيحية قبطية و ١٨٧٥ مسيحية افرنجية باحتفال حافل من جميع الطوائف باسم كيرلس الخامس لاسمه والمائة والثاني عشر من عدد البطركية فشرع يقوم بعبء وظيفته وشأنها ووجه عنايته نحو ترتيب المدارس وتنظيمها فأكثر من المدرسين فيها لسرعة تقديم الطلبة وأدخل فيها العلوم العربية والرياضية كالحساب والجبر والهندسة ولما رأى أن مدرستين أى مدرسة البطرركخانة ومدرسة حارة السقاين لا تكفيان لطلبة العلم من أبناء الطائفة أنشأ مدرسة جديدة فى حارة زويلة وأخرى فى بولاق ثم وجه التفاته نحو الأديرة التى بجوار القاهرة فوجدها كادت تميل إلى الانداس فشرع يصب قصارى همته فى ترميمها وتجديدها فهذه مآثره فى دير القديس برسوم العريان ومن ذلك القصر الجميل الذى انشاه والحديقة الجميلة التى غرسها عن يمين الدير وزرع فيها سائر انواع الاشجار والابنية الظريفة التى شيدها فى دير القديس مرقوريوس بجانب طموى والكنيسة والقصر اللذان بناهما فى دير القديس ماري جرجس فى طره على شاطئ النيل والقصر الذى عمره فى دير العدوية وهذه مآثره فى القاهرة فمن ذلك حجاب الكنيسة الكبرى الكاتدرائية والتصاوير والنقوشات التى جعلت لهذه الكنيسة * رونقا بهيا ومنظرا جميلا والشقة الظريفة التى بناها فى الجهة القبلىة من البطرركخانة ومدرسة البنات التى بناها فى الجهة الشمالىة الشرقىة من البطرركخانة عند الشارع الكبير ومدرسة الأولاد التى فى بطركخانة الاسكندرية إلى غير ذلك من المساعدة فى بناء الكنائس ككنيسة حارة السقاين وكنيسة الفجالة وغيرهما ومن الجهة الأخرى التفت إلى أمور الكنيسة فأمر بانتشار الكتب الدينىة بين بنىها وحث الرهبان على المدرس والقراءة فى الكتب المقدسة وفتح لهم مدارس فى الأديرة فكانت للديور الغربىة مدرسة بدير موسى^(١) وللديورين الشرقىين مدرسة بدير انطونيوس وبالخرق مدرسة وفتح مدرسة اكليريكىة فى القاهرة للطلبة من الشبان وقسوس الكنائس والرهبان ونشر فى أيامه هذه من ابناء الملة القبطىة وقسوسها كثيرا من كتب الوعظ وكتب التعليم الدينىة والمؤلفات العلمىة والتاريخىة وكانت لغبطته اليد الطولى فى نشر هذه الكتب وفى مدته ارتفعت نوعا درجة

٢٧١ (ظ)

(١) اقرأ : البرموس .

الاكليروس في العلوم والمعارف وايضا زادت وكثرت معرفة اللغة القبطية فصار كثيرون يمكنهم التكلم بها وألفوا فيها جملة كتب للتعليم وطبعوها وصار البعض يقدمون لغبطته في بعض الاوقات عرضا أو رسالة بالقبطية إذ كان يفهمها جيدا وزار بنفسه الوجه البحرى مرتين والوجه القبلى مرة واحدة فلاقى من أبناء الطائفة أحسن قبول ومزيد ارتياح واشد فرح وسرور بقدمه كما أنهم وجدوا منه * أعظم الالتفات لمصالحهم وقد اعتنى بصالح الابرشية الحبشية فرسم لها مطرانا وثلاثة اساقفة معا لاتساعها وكان ذلك في ايام توفيق باشا خديوى مصر المعظم وجلالة الملك يوحنا سلطان الحبش واسم المطران انبا بطرس والاساقفة انبا متاوس وانبا مركوس وانبا لوكاس وانى مهما بالغت في الاطراء على عفة البطريرك المذكور ونسكه واحتماله المشقات وصبره على الأحزان فلا أستطيع أن أفى بوصف جزء من محاسن أخلاقه ومحامد أعلافه أى أموره النفسية وقصارى القول أنه حاز قصبات السبق في مضمار الفضيلة وصار قلبه أسيرا للرأفة والشفقة فجيل على محبة الفقراء ومساعدتهم فشهدت له عموم ابناء الطائفة بأنه يمسح دموع الارملة وعبرات الشيخ بيد الاحسان ويتوجع للحزين ويتفجع للكئيب ويكد ويجد في اخراج كرب المتضايقين ولا يألوا جهدا في اتصال عيش أهل البيوت التى جارت عليها صروف الزمان وأناخت بفنائها كوارث الحدثان فتصرف هذا الاب الحسن من نحو الله والقريب ونفسه قد ضاعفت اعتباره وجعل له منزلة كبرى في أعين الملوك والولاة والحكام فهادوه بالنياشين فقلده الخديوى السابق المرحوم توفيق باشا بالنشان المجيدى الأول وقلده افندينا المحبوب الخديوى عباس حلمى باشا الثانى ابن توفيق باشا بذات النيشان المذكور واهداه جلالة السلطان عبد الحميد خان المعظم بالنيشان العثمانى من الدرجة الأولى واهداه قيصر المسكوب بنيشان من الدرجة الأولى واهداه يوحنا كاسا ملك الحبش السابق ذكره بتاج وصليب وهدايا فاخرة * وعلاوة على ذلك عينته الحكومة المصرية عضوا في مجلس شوراهها من ضمن نواب الأمة وإلى نهاية سنة ١٦١٠ للشهدا الموافق سنة ١٨٨٦ مسيحية قبطية كان عدد الذين ارتقاهم إلى درجة المطرانية والاسقفية تسعة عشر وهم من كل الديوره وبالاكثر ديرى المحرق وانبا انطونيوس وقد حصلت لهذا الاب اتعاب في سنة ١٦٠٨ وسنة ١٦٠٩ للشهدا

٢٧٢ (ج)

٢٧٢ (ظ)

بسبب المنازعات التي حدثت وقتئذ وذلك أن انبا مرقس مطران الاسكندرية لما كان يتولى ادارة شؤون الطائفة بعد وفاة انبا ديمتريوس كما تقدم القول شكل مجلس من اثني عشر عضوا لكي يشاركوه في الاعمال وسار على ذلك وبقي المجلس المذكور حتى في مدة الاب كيرلس وأحيانا من السنين كان المجلس يبطل وأحيانا كان يعقد جلساته ثم ان أرباب المجلس طلبوا النظر في مصالح الكنائس وأحوالها وفي المدارس والأوقاف ورسامة القسوس وغيرها من الاصلاحات التي فيها بعض أمور غير لايقه لا سيما قصدهم أن يحصروا أوقاف الديرية والكنائس وقلالي الاساقفة والمطارنة تحت يدهم ويصرفوا منها عليهم صرفا مع اخذ ماهية منها لمن يولونه حصرا كالكتاب والناظر وهذا يسبب للوقف تبديدا ولأصحابه ضيقا فلم يشأ ذلك الاب البطريك والاساقفة والرهبان وغيرهم ودام الاختلاف بين الطرفين لكن ارباب المجلس تقووا بالحكومة وحملوها على ابعاده إلى دير برموس فسافر من الاسكندرية يوم الجمعة ٢٨ مسرى سنة ١٦٠٨ للشهدا ثم اعادته بالاجلال والاكرام فوصل إلى القاهرة يوم السبت ٢٨ طوبه سنة ١٦٠٩ كما شرح ذلك كتاب القول اليقين وقد عرف جميع الملل وايضا الحكومة ذاتها أن * الحق كان بيد الاب البطريك وأنه جاهد عنه أما من جهة الحكومة (ج) ٢٧٣ المصرية في أيام هذا الاب فنقول أنه قد صار رسمه في سنة ١٥٩١ للشهدا كما مرّ وذلك في أيام اسماعيل باشا خديوى مصر ابن ابراهيم ابن محمد على باشا الكبير وفي ١٩ شهر بؤونه سنة ١٥٩٥ الموافقة ٢٥ حزيران غربى سنة ١٨٧٩ افرنجية صار خلع الخديوى المذكور وتولى ابنه توفيق باشا الذى دام في الخديوية اثني عشر سنة ونصفا وفي أيام هذا الخديوى حدثت حادثة مهمة شاعت في كل الدنيا وذلك أنه في أواخر سنة ١٥٩٨ عصى على هذا الخديوى أحمد عرابى باشا ناظر الجهادية المصرية واصله من مديرية الشرقية فهددته دولتا انكلترا وفرنسا وأمرتاه أن يكف فلم يكف فارسلتا اسطولهما الى ميناء الاسكندرية وتهددتاه بالضرب فأخذ يحصن القلاع ويجيش الجيوش فحاربه الانكليز وكسروه في التل الكبير في خامس توت سنة ١٥٩٩ للشهدا الموافق ١٤ ايلول غربى سنة ١٨٨٢ افرنجية أو ميلادية فبددوا شمل عساكره وسارت جيوشهم إلى القاهرة فدخلوها في اليوم الثانى بدون ادنى مقاومة ولم يحصل منهم أدنى أذية لأحد ولا أدنى

تعد على أحد فكان ذلك عجيبا عندنا واستلموا القلعة وقبضوا على عرابي
 وجماعته ونادوا بسيادة الخديوى وبعد أن حاكمهم واثبتوا خيانتهم عفوا
 عن قتلهم ونفوهم إلى جزيرة سيلان بالهند فهذا هو سبب دخول الانكليز أرض
 مصر وتدخلهم في إدارتها مع الخديوى لكن كانت لم تزل تابعة للدولة العثمانية
 كما من قبل وأيضا بينما كانت الثورة العراقية قائمة في مصر نهض رجل من عرب
 جنوبي افريقيا اسمه محمد احمد لقب نفسه بالمهدى وجمع حوله * جيوشا من
 ٢٧٣ (ظ) الناس وتقدم بهم إلى البلاد السودانية التي تحت تسلط خديوية مصر وسنة فسنة
 تملك تلك الأقطار فصار اخر حكم مصر من الجنوب إلى وادى حلغا فصدتهم
 الجيوش المصرية وكسروهم هناك وأسروا منهم عددا كثيرا وأيضا بقيت سواكن
 في يد مصر وفي ٢٩ كيهك سنة ١٦٠٨ للشهدا الموافق سنة ١٨٩٢ افرنجية توفى
 توفيق باشا وبعد ذلك بوضع ايام تولى عوضا عنه ابنه جناب الخديوى المعظم
 عباس باشا حلمى الثانى وقد كان محمد على باشا الكبير رأس هذه العائلة الحمديّة
 قد قرّر ورائه الحكم للأكبر في عائلته فلما استتب الحكم لاسماعيل باشا المذكور
 انفاً قرّر ورائه الحكم بعده في عائلته الخصوصية أى لابنه البكر ثم لابن ابنه
 حسب الطريقة الاوربية خلافا للطريقة السابق ذكرها وفي أمر الوراثة غاية
 المنفعة والراحة وصلاح الأحوال للحكام ورعاياهم كليهما نظرا لأمر لا يتحصل
 عليها أنه يكون حكمها متنقلا لا وراثيا كما لا يخفى على ذوى العقول والسياسيين
 فمن تلك الامور كون المطلوبة تعليته معينا فلا خلاف ولا منازعة حين التولية
 ثانيا كونه قد ربي في دار الامارة فلا يجهل أمور الحكومة وقوانينها وسياستها —
 ثالثا كونه غير مبغض لسلفه فيطرح قوانينه وتحديداته الحسنة التي حنكته فيها
 التجارب هو ورجاله بل يسير عليها ويزيدها تحسينا — رابعا كون كل ما هو لآبيه
 له فلا يظلم الرعية ولا يجور عليها جمعا للأموال الزائلة إلى غير ذلك من الأمور
 الحسنة التي * تنتج من الوراثة وتزول بعدمها . وبالأجمال نقول ان الحكومة
 ٢٧٤ (ج) المصرية في أيام هذا الاب كانت في أعلا درجات العدل وحسن النظام والترتيب
 وأزالت التعصبات الدينية وساوت بالتقريب بين رعاياها نصارى واسلام
 ورفعت اكثر المظالم وأتت بكثير من الاعمال الخيرية لنفع عموم الأهالى فن ذلك
 عمل السكك الحديدية والتلغرافات والبوسطات وانشاء الترع والجسور والقناطر

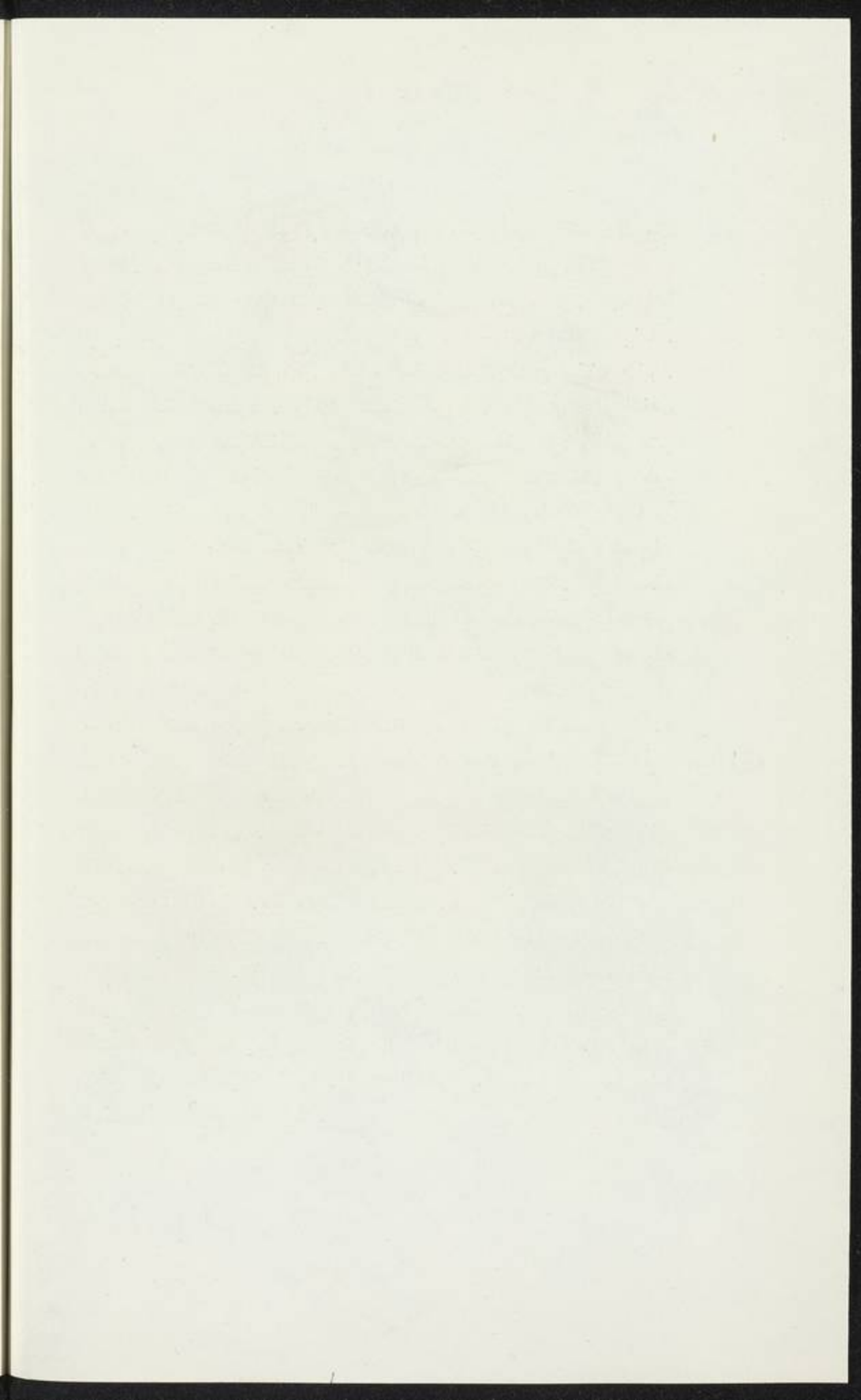
لرى الاراضى وتأسيس معامل الورق والسكر وتكثير الآلات النارية أو البخارية
وسن النظامات والقوانين وشدة الضبط والربط مع اطلاق الحرية الشخصية
والدينية وفتح المدارس ونشر العلوم والفنون وتحسنت أحوال مدينة القاهرة
عاصمة هذا القطر فاتسعت عمائرها ونظمت شوارعها وأثرت بالغاز ومدت فيها
مواشير المياه وكثرت فيها المدارس والمطابع إلى غير ذلك من التنظيمات وكذلك
مدينة الاسكندرية وأيضا فى هذه الأيام كثرت المخالطات والمعاطاة بين أقطار
العالم اذ سهلت عليهم الأسفار لأجل الوابورات البرية والبحرية وسهل نقل
الأخبار لأجل التلغرافات والبوسطة والبريد وكثرة الجرايد والكتب المطبوعة
وكثر العلماء جدا لا سيما فى أوروبا وكثر الأوربيون فى بر مصر وبواسطتهم
لا سيما الفرنسيين والانكليز صارت تلك الأعمال الهندسية والعلمية والسياسية
لتنظيم البر فكان الابتداء بهذه التنظيمات على ايام محمد على باشا وما زالت تزداد
إلى وقتنا الحاضر وبالاجمال كاد القطر المصرى يشبه الممالك الأوربية فى التنظيمات
والحمد لله على نعمائه . هذا وثلثت الى ذكر الأديرة التى كانت فى أيام هذا
الاب فنقول : أنه من مطالعة التواريخ * الكنايسية يعلم أنه فى الأجيال الأولى (ظ)
للرهبنة كانت فى ارض مصر ميات من الاديرة العامرة بالرهبان لكنها بعد ذلك
صارت تخرب وتقل وعلمنا أن بعضها قد عمر ثانيا حتى فى الأجيال المتأخرة
كدير أنبا بيشوى ودير انبا انطونيوس ودير انبا بولا . فأديرة الرهبان التى كانت
فى أيام هذا الاب سبعة منها أربعة فى برية شيهات بالجبل الغربى فالاول دير
العذراء دير برموس منشأ غبطته كما مر . وانما دعى دير برموس على اسم أولاد
الروم القديسين مكسيموس ودوماديوس والثانى دير العذراء المعروف بدير
السريان ودعى بهذا الاسم لأنه كان قبلا يحتوى على جملة من رهبان القبط
ورهبان السريان معا لكنه بعد ذلك لم يبق به أحد من السريان والثالث دير
القديس انبا بيشوى بقرب الدير المذكور وهما إلى الجنوب الشرقى من دير برموس
بمسافة ساعتين . والرابع دير القديس أبو مقار أبى الجبل الغربى وهو إلى الجنوب
الشرقى من ديرى السريان وانبا بيشوى بمسافة ساعتين وثلاثة أرباع الساعة —
وهذه الاديرة الأربعة واقعة غرب مديرية البحيرة غربى بنى سلامة والطرايه
وكفر داوود ويطلق عليها الديورة البحرية والغربية — وديران بالجبل الشرقى

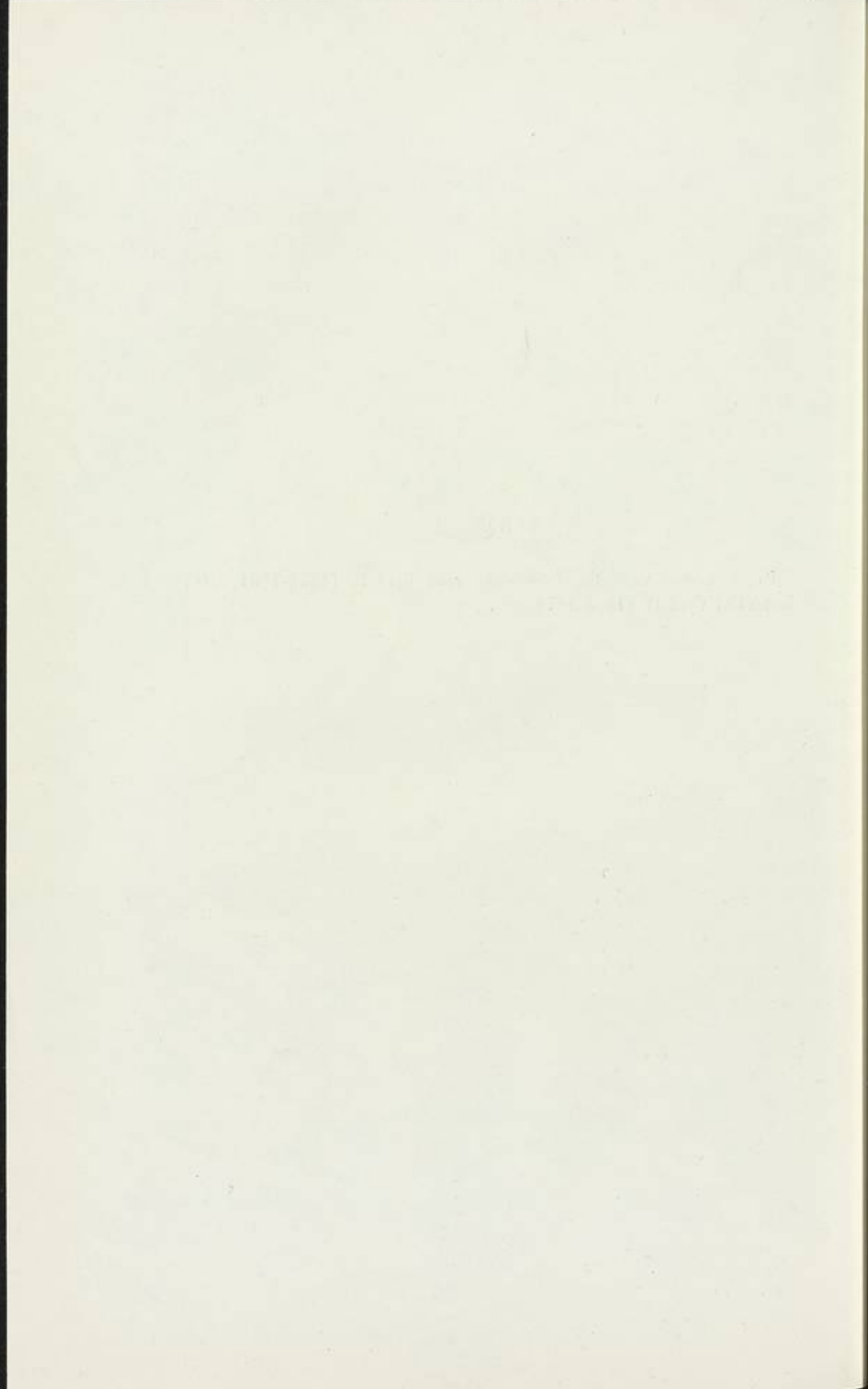
وهما دير القديس العظيم انبا انطونيوس ابى الرهبان فى جميع المسكونة ودير القديس انبا بولا . وهذان الديران كائنان مقابل مديرية بنى سويف الى الشرق فى الجبل الشرقى ولذلك يطلق عليهما الديورة الشرقية ويسافرون لدير انطونيوس ثلاثة ايام فى الجبل وأما لانبا بولا فأربعة ايام وكسراً مارة بدير انطونيوس والسابع دير المحرق * فى مديرية أسيوط بسفح الجبل الغربى وهو الآن أكثر الديورة رهبانا ويظن أنه من أديرة القديس انبا باخوم ابى الشركة والله اعلم . وفى هذه الاديرة السبعة قريب أربعائة أو خمسمائة راهب وكل من هذه الأديرة له أطيان خاصة من الانعامات والشراء يزرعها عدا الاوقاف

ومن الأديرة الخربة الباقية اثارها الى يومنا هذا بجهات الديورة العامرة دير انبا موسى الأسود بجانب دير برموس من الشمال - ودير ابو يحنس يبعد عن ديرى السريان وانبا بيشوى مسافة الى الجنوب الشرقى وجملة ديورة بقرب دير القديس مقاريوس . ثم دير القديس يوحنا الدرعى فى نواحى خليج السويس بجهات دير انطونيوس الى الشمال فيه . وعدا ذلك توجد أديرة كثيرة فى الريف خالية من الرهبان بالكلية ولكنها مستعملة كنائس للصلاة من شعب البلاد مثل دير العريان المدعو أيضا دير شهران . ودير مرقوريوس ابى سيفين بطموه جنوبى القاهرة ودير انبا شنوده ودير انبا بشاى بمديرية جرجا . وغير ذلك كثير « تنبيه » اعلم أن دير المحرق قلت رهبانه فى اوائل الجليل السادس عشر للشهدا أى التاسع عشر للمسيح - وكان اذ ذاك يخدمه قمص علمانى من القوصية يدعى القمص عبد المسيح . وبعد ذلك ازداد الرهبان ونموا شيئا فشيئا ووسعوا المحل وكثروا أملاكه ولما كان الدير منفردا وحده فى الصعيد الكثير النصرارى القبط ولا تجاوره أديرة أخرى فلذلك صار أكثر الأديرة رهبانا . أما أديرة الراهبات العامرة فى ايام هذا الابد فكانت خمسة منها ثلاثة بالقاهرة وهى دير مارى جرجس بحارة زويلة ودير العذراء المذكور ودير حارة الروم واثنان بمصر العتيقة وهما دير القديس مرقوريوس * ابو سيفين ودير مارى جرجس وفى كل هؤلاء الخمسة جملة من الراهبات وعدا ذلك كانت توجد راهبات فى بيوت أبائهن من اصل رهبنتهن . أما كراسى المطارنة والأساقفة فكانت فى ايام هذا الابد تسعة عشر وهى هذه : الأول كرسى مطران اورشليم الذى كان له أعظم وأوسع ابرشيات

أرض مصر وكان يقيم بالمنصورة أو غيرها من بلاد مصر وأحيانا بالقدس الشريف أو يافا . والثاني مطران المنوفية والثالث مطران الاسكندرية ووكيل الكرازة المرقسية . وفي سنة ١٦١٠ للشهدا اضيف اليه كرسي مطران المنوفية بعد نياحة انبا يوانس مطرانها . والرابع اسقف الفيوم . والخامس اسقف البهنسه . والسادس اسقف بنى سويف . والسابع اسقف المنيا والثامن اسقف صنبو . والتاسع اسقف منفلوط . والعاشر اسقف أسيوط . والحادى عشر اسقف أبو تيج . والثاني عشر اسقف اخميم . والثالث عشر اسقف قنا . والرابع عشر اسقف اسنا . كل هؤلاء فى القطر المصرى والخامس عشر اسقف الخرطوم الذى هو اسقف النوبه الذى لما عصى السودان على الحكومة المصرية كما مر وحصل للنصارى شدة وخوف ترك مكانه وعاد إلى مصر العتيقة فأقام بها . والسادس عشر إلى التاسع عشر مطران الحبشة واساقفته الثلاثة . غير ان هذه الكراسى قابلة للزيادة والنقص . ومن ذلك لما تنيح مطران مصر انبا مرقس لم يرسم عوضه وغير ذلك مما ذكرناه . ثم انه لما حضر يوم الخميس ٢٣ بابه سنة ١٦١١ للشهدا تمام السنة العشرين للاب البطريرك فى رئاسته حينئذ وكيل البطريركخانه القمص تادرس مينا خادم كنيسة مارى مينا نشر اعلانات فى القاهرة وكافة الكنائس بالقطر المصرى لكى يصير عموم الكهنة * وسائر الشعب ٢٧٦ (ج)

المسيحى الارثوذكسى عيد جلوس الاب البطريرك على الكرسي الرسولى فى ٢٣ بابه بالاحتفال فى هذا اليوم برفع القرابين المقدسة والصلوات للعة الالهية تذكارا بجلوس غبطته على مسند الخلافة لكى يعيد هذا اليوم على السدة البطريركية سنين عديدة وأزمة هادية مديدة . مسرورا ومبهجا بصحة وسلامة سائر شعبه المسيحى الارثوذكسى وهم متمتعون فى أيامه السعيدة بالخير والبركات والهنا والسرور . فى ظل الحضرة الفخيمة الخديوية ولكى يمنح جميع الملوك العظماء والسلاطين الأجلء القوة والسلامة والصحة وهكذا صار ولا سينا بالكنيسة الكبرى البطريركية إذا احتفل بها اليوم المذكور شعب القاهرة واعيانهم وبعض رؤساء الأديرة والكهنة . وبعد القداس هناؤا سيادته وتلوا أمامه الخطب وكان الفرح عاما شاملا .





ERRATUM

Pages viii and xi of the *Introduction*, read Cyril IV (1854-1861 A.D.) instead of Cyril IV (1853-1870 A.D.).

Then, when Thursday the twenty-third of (the month of) Bâbah in the year one thousand, six hundred and eleven of the Martyrs ⁽¹⁾ came, there was completed the twentieth year for the father, the patriarch, in his leadership. And, at that time, the vicar of the patriarchate, the hegoumenos (al-Kummuṣ) Theodore (Tâdrus) Menas (Mînâ), minister of the Church of my lord (Mâri) Menas (Mînâ) ⁽²⁾ published announcements in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and in all the churches in the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), so that all the priests * and the rest of the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Christian (al-Masīḥī) people should observe the feast of the enthronement of the father, the patriarch, on the Apostolic Throne ⁽³⁾, on the twenty-third of (the month of) Bâbah ⁽⁴⁾ with festivities on this day, celebrating the Divine Liturgy (al-Ḳarâbin al-Muḳaddasah) and prayers to the Divine Majesty in commemoration of the enthronement of His Exalted Eminence, the upholder of the succession ⁽⁵⁾, that He may bring back this day to the Patriarchal See for numerous years and long, peaceful times, happy and gladdened with health and soundness, (with) all his Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Christian (al-Masīḥī) people, enjoying in his prosperous days good things and blessings and felicity and happiness, under the shadow of His Magnificent Khedival (al-Khidīwiah) Presence ⁽⁶⁾; that He (God) may grant to all the great kings and the majestic sultans power and soundness and health. And thus it (the anniversary) became (a custom), especially, at the great Patriarchal Church, when the people of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and their notables and some of the heads of the monasteries and the priests celebrated it on the mentioned day. And after the Divine Liturgy, they congratulated His Lordship ⁽⁷⁾ and they pronounced speeches before him, and the rejoicing was general and universal.

Finished.

⁽¹⁾ = 1894 A.D.

⁽²⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 56-61.

⁽³⁾ *I.e.* the See of Alexandria founded by Saint Mark.

⁽⁴⁾ = 1st November, 1874 A.D.

⁽⁵⁾ *I.e.* the succession of patriarchs from Saint Mark.

⁽⁶⁾ *I.e.* the Khedive.

⁽⁷⁾ *I.e.* Cyril V.

Mark (al-Marḳūsiyah) ⁽¹⁾. And in the year one thousand, six hundred and ten of the Martyrs ⁽²⁾, the See of Al-Manūfiyah ⁽³⁾ was added to him, after the going to his rest of Abba (Anbā) John (Yū'annis) its metropolitan (Muṭrān). And the fourth (is) the bishop of Al-Fayūm ⁽⁴⁾, and the fifth (is) the bishop of Al-Bahnasah ⁽⁵⁾, and the sixth (is) the bishop of Banī Sūf ⁽⁶⁾, and the seventh (is) the bishop of Al-Minyā ⁽⁷⁾, and the eighth (is) the bishop of Ṣanabū ⁽⁸⁾, and the ninth (is) the bishop of Manfalūt ⁽⁹⁾, and the tenth (is) the bishop of Asyūt ⁽¹⁰⁾, and the eleventh (is) the bishop of Abū Tiğ ⁽¹¹⁾, and the twelfth (is) the bishop of Akhmīm ⁽¹²⁾ and the thirteenth (is) the bishop of Kīnā ⁽¹³⁾ and the fourteenth (is) the bishop of Isnā ⁽¹⁴⁾. All these (are) in the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), and the fifteenth (is) the bishop of Al-Kharṭūm ⁽¹⁵⁾, who is the bishop of Nubia (an-Nūbah), who, when the Sudan (as-Sūdān) revolted against the Egyptian (al-Miṣriyah) Government, as stated ⁽¹⁶⁾, and there befell the Christians (an-Naṣārā) affliction and fear, left his place and returned to Old Cairo (Miṣr) and resided at it. And the sixteenth up to the nineteenth (are) the Metropolitan (Muṭrān) of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabaṣah) and his three bishops. Nevertheless, these sees are susceptible to increase and decrease, for instance, when the Metropolitan (Muṭrān) of Cairo (Miṣr), Abba (Anbā) Mark (Marḳus) went to his rest, no one was consecrated in his stead, and other than what we have mentioned.

⁽¹⁾ I.e. the whole extent of the See of Alexandria.

⁽²⁾ = 1893-1894 A.D.

⁽³⁾ Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 372.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-340.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-93.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 120.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. *Dictionnaire, etc.*, p. 377.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. *Dictionnaire, etc.*, p. 484.

⁽⁹⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-238.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 464-466.

⁽¹¹⁾ Cf. *Dictionnaire, etc.*, p. 38.

⁽¹²⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-22.

⁽¹³⁾ Cf. *Dictionnaire, etc.*, p. 316.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-175.

⁽¹⁵⁾ The Capital of the Sudan.

⁽¹⁶⁾ *Lit.* 'happened'.

hegoumenos (Kummuṣ) from Al-Kūṣīah⁽¹⁾, called Al-Kummuṣ 'Abd al-Masīh, (who) used to serve it. And after this, the monks increased and multiplied little by little, and they enlarged the place and multiplied its possessions. And since the Monastery was the sole one in Upper Egypt (aṣ-Ṣa'īd), (where there are) many Christians (an-Naṣārā), Copts (al-Ḳibt), and no other monasteries are neighbouring to it, therefore, it became the greatest of the monasteries (as regards the number of) monks. As for the convents of the nuns which were inhabited in the days of this father⁽²⁾, there were five of them, three in Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah), and they are the Convent of my lord (Māri) George (Ġirġis) in the Ḥārat Zūwallah⁽³⁾, and the Convent of the Virgin mentioned⁽⁴⁾, and the Convent of the Ḥārat ar-Rūm; and two in Old Cairo (Miṣr), and they are the Convent of Saint Mercurius (Marḳūrīūs), * Abba (Abū) Saifain⁽⁵⁾, and the Convent of my lord (Māri) George (Ġirġis)⁽⁶⁾; and in each of these five (convents) there is a number of nuns. And, in addition to this, nuns were found in the houses of their fathers from the beginning of their nunhood. As for the sees of the metropolitans (al-Maṭārinah) and the bishops, there were in the days of this father⁽²⁾ nineteen, and these are: the first (is) the See of the Metropolitan (Muṭrān) of Jerusalem (Aḏruṣalīm) who has greater and wider districts (ἐπαρχία) than (those) of the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), and he used to reside at Al-Manṣūrah⁽⁷⁾ or at other than it of the towns of Egypt (Miṣr), and, occasionally, at the noble Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds) or at Jaffa (Yāfā)⁽⁸⁾. And the second (is) the Metropolitan (Muṭrān) of Al-Manūfīah⁽⁹⁾, and the third (is) the Metropolitan (Muṭrān) of Alexandria and vicar of the Preaching of

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⁽¹⁾ Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 342.

⁽²⁾ I.e. Cyril V.

⁽³⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, p. 69.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40. For a general study of the Coptic convents, cf. Iris Habib EL-MASRI, 'A historical survey of the convents for women in Egypt up to the present day' in *B.S.A.C.*, vol. XIV, pp. 63-111.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 361.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. B. MEISTERMANN, *Guide de Terre Sainte*, pp. 62-69.

⁽⁹⁾ Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 372.

of Abba (Abû) John (Yûhannis) ⁽¹⁾ (which) is separated from the Monastery of the Syrians (as-Suriân) ⁽²⁾ and (that of) Abba (Anbâ) Pišoi (Bišûi) ⁽³⁾ by some distance to the south-east, and (there are) a group of monasteries near the Monastery of Saint Macarius (Maḳârîûs) ⁽⁴⁾. Then the Monastery of Saint John (Yûḥannâ) Climax (ad-Daraġl) ⁽⁵⁾ near by the Gulf of Suez (as-Sûîz), in the direction of the Monastery of Antony (Anṭûniûs) ⁽⁶⁾, to the north of it. And, in addition to this, many monasteries are found in the Rif ⁽⁷⁾ (which are) completely devoid of monks, but they are used as churches for prayer by the people of the district, such as the Monastery of (Barsûm) the Naked ⁽⁸⁾, called also the Monastery of Šahrân, and the Monastery of Mercurius (Marḳûriûs) Abba (Abû) Saifaîn at Ṭammûah ⁽⁹⁾, south of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and the Monastery of Abba (Anbâ) Šenouti (Šanûdah) ⁽¹⁰⁾ and the Monastery of Abba (Anbâ) Pišoi (Bišâi) ⁽¹¹⁾ in the Province (Mudriah) of Girga (Ġirġâ) ⁽¹²⁾, and there are many others than these. Note: Know that the Monastery al-Muḥarraḳ ⁽¹³⁾ was reduced in monks in the early part of the sixteenth century of the Martyrs, that is the nineteenth (century) of Christ (al-Masîḥ) ⁽¹⁴⁾. And it was (that), at that time, a secular ⁽¹⁵⁾

⁽¹⁾ Cf. H.G. EVELYN WHITE, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 106.

⁽²⁾ Cf. p. 327, n. 8.

⁽³⁾ Cf. p. 327, n. 1.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 270, n. 5.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. M. MARTIN, 'Les Ermitages d'Abû Daraġ' in *B.S.A.C.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 139-145 and A.L. FONTAINE, 'Les Ruines de Bir Abou Darag sur le Golfe de Suez' in *BSHGIS*, t. VI, pp. 55-83.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. p. 284, n. 6.

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

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. p. 318, n. 1.

⁽⁹⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, p. 245.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, pp. 290-293.

⁽¹¹⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, pp. 267-268.

⁽¹²⁾ Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, pp. 637-641.

⁽¹³⁾ Cf. p. 321, n. 6.

⁽¹⁴⁾ *I.e.* A.D.

⁽¹⁵⁾ *I.e.* a priest who has the title «Ḳummuš» though he is not a monk.

are situated west of the Province (Mudîriah) of Al-Baḥārah⁽¹⁾, west of Banî Salāmah⁽²⁾ and At-Ṭarrānah⁽³⁾ and Kafr Dāūd⁽³⁾, and they are termed the northern and the western monasteries. And two monasteries in the Eastern Desert⁽⁴⁾, and they (are) the Monastery of the great Saint Abba (Anbā) Antony (Anṭūnūs)⁽⁵⁾, father of the monks in all the world, and the Monastery of Saint Abba (Anbā) Paul (Būlā)⁽⁶⁾; and these two monasteries are next to the Province (Mudîriah) of Banî Sūf⁽⁷⁾, to the east, in the Eastern Desert⁽⁴⁾, and, therefore, they are termed the eastern monasteries. And one travels to the Monastery of Antony (Anṭūnūs)⁽⁵⁾ three days in the desert, and as for Abba (Anbā) Paul (Būlā)⁽⁶⁾, (it is) four days and a fraction, passing by the Monastery of Antony (Anṭūnūs)⁽⁵⁾. And the seventh (is) the Monastery Al-Muḥarraḡ⁽⁸⁾ * in the Province (Mudîriah) of Asyūt⁽⁹⁾, at the foot of the western mountain, and it is now the most (populated) of the monasteries with regard to monks; and it is thought that it is (one) of the monasteries of Saint Abba (Anbā) Pachomius (Bākhūm), father of coenobitic life, and God knows (best). And in these seven monasteries (there are) about four or five hundred monks; and each of these monasteries has its own lands to cultivate from gifts and from purchase, in addition to the inalienable endowments. And of the devastated monasteries, traces of which remain to this our day, (there are) in proximity to the inhabited monasteries, the Monastery of Abba (Anbā) Moses (Mūsā) the Black⁽¹⁰⁾ at the side of the Monastery Al-Baramūs⁽¹¹⁾ in the north, and the Monastery

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- (1) Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, pp. 559-567.
 (2) *Idem*, p. 120.
 (3) Cf. Omar Toussoux, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Arabe*, p. 354.
 (4) *Lit.* 'Mountain'.
 (5) Cf. p. 284, n. 6.
 (6) Cf. p. 284, n. 4.
 (7) Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, pp. 612-615.
 (8) Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 287-289.
 (9) Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, pp. 630-636.
 (10) Cf. H.G. EVELYN WHITE, *The Monasteries of the Wādī 'n-Naṭrān*, vol. II, p. 303.
 (11) Cf. p. 276, n. 8.

And we know that some of them were rebuilt in the last generations, as the Monastery of Abba (Anbâ) Pišoi (Bîšûi) ⁽¹⁾ and the Monastery of Abba (Anbâ) Antony (Anṭûnîûs) ⁽²⁾ and the Monastery of Abba (Anbâ) Paul (Bûlâ) ⁽³⁾. And the monasteries of the monks which were in the days of this father ⁽⁴⁾ (are) seven, of which four (are) in the Desert of Scetis (Šihât) in the Western Desert ⁽⁵⁾. And the first (is) the Monastery of the Virgin, the Monastery al-Baramûs, the place of origin ⁽⁶⁾ of His Grandeur ⁽⁴⁾, as has been stated, only it is called the Monastery Baramûs, in the name of the sons of Rome (ar-Rûm) ⁽⁷⁾, the Saints Maximus (Maksîmûs) and Dometius (Dûmâdîûs), and the second (is) the Monastery of the Virgin, known as the Monastery of the Syrians (as-Suriân) ⁽⁸⁾, and it is called by this name, because, formerly, it comprised a number of Coptic (al-Kibṭî) monks and Syrian (as-Suriân) monks together, but, afterwards, not one of the Syrians (as-Suriân) remained. And the third (is) the Monastery of Saint Abba (Anbâ) Pišoi (Bîšûi) ⁽¹⁾ in proximity to the mentioned monastery, and the two of them (are) to the south-east of the Monastery Baramûs, at a distance of two hours. And the fourth (is) the Monastery of Saint Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḡâr), father of the Western Desert ⁽⁵⁾, and it is to the south-east of the Monasteries of the Syrians (as-Suriân) and Abba (Anbâ) Pišoi (Bîšûi), at a distance of two hours and three-quarters of an hour ⁽⁹⁾. And these four monasteries

⁽¹⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 213-238, and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n-Naṭrân*, pp. 21-28.

⁽²⁾ Cf. p. 284, n. 6.

⁽³⁾ Cf. p. 284, n. 4.

⁽⁴⁾ *I.e.* Cyril V.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* 'Mountain'.

⁽⁶⁾ *I.e.* where the Patriarch was a monk.

⁽⁷⁾ *I.e.* of the Roman Emperor Valentinian I, cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n-Naṭrân*, p. 8.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. H.G. EVELYN WHITE, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n-Naṭrân*, vol. III, pp. 169-220 and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n-Naṭrân*, pp. 13-21.

⁽⁹⁾ *I.e.* on foot.

between its subjects, Christian (Naṣārâ) and Islam (Islâm), and it eliminated most of the injustice, and it realized much in the way of beneficial works for the benefit of all the inhabitants. Among which the making of the railway and the telegraph and the post, and the creating of canals and causeways and dams for irrigating the lands, and the founding of paper and sugar factories; and there multiplied fire or steam machines, and enactments of regulations and laws (κανόν) and severe control together with the generalization of personal and religions liberty, and the opening of schools and the diffusion of sciences and arts. And the conditions of the city of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), the capital of this country, improved, its buildings extended and its streets were arranged and lighted by gas, and water-pipes were laid in them, and schools and printing-presses, besides other arrangements multiplied in it; and, likewise, the city of Alexandria. And, also, in these days relations and trade between the countries of the world multiplied, since journeys to them were facilitated on account of trains on land and steamships, and the transmission of news was facilitated on account of the telegraph and the post, and the multiplication of newspapers and printed books. And scholars multiplied greatly, especially, in Europe (Aûrubâ), and the Europeans (al-Aûrubîûn) multiplied in the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), and by means of them, especially, the French (al-Faransâwiyin) and the English (al-Inklîz), these engineering and scientific and political works have come into existence, in order to organize the country. The beginning of these organizations was in the days of Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha (Bâšâ), and they have not ceased to increase up to our present time. And, in short, the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) was similar to the European (al-Aûrubîah) kingdoms in organizations; and praise (be) to God for His graces! Now we turn to the mention of the monasteries in the days of this father⁽¹⁾, and we say that from the study of Church histories * it is learned that in the first generations of monasticism there were in the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) hundreds of monasteries inhabited by monks, but (that) after that, they became devastated, and they became few.

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⁽¹⁾ I.e. Cyril V.

Frankish (Afranġiah) (Era) ⁽¹⁾, Tawfiġ Pasha (Bâšâ) died, and a few days after that his son, His Honour, the great Khedive (al-Khidîwî) ‘Abbâs Pasha (Bâšâ) Ĥilmî the Second, governed in his stead. And Muĥammad ‘Alî Pasha (Bâšâ) the Great was the head of this Muĥammad (al-Muĥammadîah) family, and he had made it a condition (that) after him the inheritance of the rule (should be) for the eldest of his family. And when the rule was confirmed for Ismâ‘îl Pasha (Bâšâ) ⁽²⁾ the aforementioned, he made it a condition (that) after him the inheritance of the rule (should be) in his own family, that is, for his first-born son, then for the son of his son in accordance with the European (al-‘Urubîah) way, contrary to the aforementioned way. And in the matter of inheritance, the end aimed at is the benefit and tranquillity and uprightness of conditions for both the rulers and their subjects, in view of affairs to which a nation does not attain, (when) the rule of it is transferable, not hereditary, as is apparent to those who have intelligence and (are) statesmen. And among these matters (is that) he whose investiture is sought, being (already) designated, (there will be) no apprehension and no contention at the time of the investiture. Secondly, being brought up in the house of pryncedom, he will not be ignorant of the affairs of State and its laws (κακών) and its politics. Thirdly, not being antagonistic to his predecessor, he will not reject his (the predecessor’s) laws (κακών) and his good regulations in which his experiences were put to the test, both he and his men, but he will walk according to them, and will increase them in goodness. Fourthly, all what belongs to his father being his, he will not oppress the subject, and he will not wrong him by amassing perishable money or other than this of good things * which proceeds from the inheritance and passes away after it; and, in a word, we say that the Egyptian (al-Miṣriyah) State in the days of this father ⁽³⁾ was at the highest degree of justice and good order and arrangement. And it removed religious fanaticism, and almost established equality

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⁽¹⁾ *I.e.* A.D.

⁽²⁾ From 1863-1879 A.D.

⁽³⁾ *I.e.* Cyril V.

hundred and eighty-two. And they dispersed the gathering of his troops, and their armies marched to Cairo (al-Kāhīrah), and they entered it on the following day without the least resistance; and there did not occur from them the least harm to anyone, and not the least injustice to anyone, and this was marvellous to us. And they took the Citadel⁽¹⁾, and they seized 'Urābī and his company, and they proclaimed the supremacy of the Khedive (al-Khidīwī). And after they had judged them and had proved their treason, they exempted them from the death penalty⁽²⁾, and they exiled them to the Island of Ceylon (Sīlān) in India (al-Hind). And this is the cause of the entry of the English (al-Inklīz) (into) the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), and their interference in its administration together with the Khedive (al-Khidīwī), but it did not cease to be subject to the Ottoman (al-'Uthmānī) State, as (it was) before. And, again, while the revolt of 'Urābī (al-'Urābīyah) was taking place in Egypt (Miṣr), there arose a man from the Arabs ('Arab) of the south of Africa (Afriḳā)⁽³⁾, whose name was Muḥammad Aḥmad (who) surnamed himself the Mahdī (al-Mahdī)⁽⁴⁾. And he gathered around him * armies from among the people, and he advanced with them to the Sudanese (as-Sudānīyah) lands which (were) under the rule of Khedivial (Khidīwīyah) Egypt (Miṣr), and little by little he gained possession of these districts, and the furthest rule of Egypt (Miṣr) to the south was up to Wādī Ḥalfā⁽⁵⁾. And the Egyptian (al-Miṣriyah) armies repulsed and overcame them there, and they took captive a great number of them; and, also, Sūākin⁽⁶⁾ remained in the hand of Egypt (Miṣr). And on the twenty-ninth of (the month of) Kihak (in the) year one thousand, six hundred and eight of the Martyrs which corresponds to the year one thousand, eight hundred and ninety-two of the

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⁽¹⁾ Cf. D. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-210.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* 'their killing'.

⁽³⁾ The term 'Afriḳāh' was formerly applied to the northern littoral of the Continent of Africa, and, consequently, 'south of Afriḳāh' would be those districts bordering the Sudan.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. G. HANOTAUX, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, pp. 646-647.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. A.B. WYLDE, '83 to '87 in the Sudan, London, 1888, vol. I, pp. 1-40.

has been stated, and this (was) in the days of Ismá'íl Pasha (Bášá) ⁽¹⁾, Khedive (Khidîwî) of Egypt (Mişr), son of Ibrâhîm, son of Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha (Bášá) the Great — there occurred on the nineteenth of (the month of) Baû'ûnah (in the) year one thousand, five hundred and ninety-five which corresponds to the twenty-fifth of the European ⁽²⁾ (month of) Huzairân ⁽³⁾ (in the) Frankish (Afranġiah) year one thousand, eight hundred and seventy-nine, the abdication of the mentioned Khedive (Khidîwî). And his son, Tawfiġ Pasha (Bášá) ⁽⁴⁾ governed, and he ⁽⁵⁾ continued in the Khedivate (al-Khidîwiah) for twelve years and a half. And in the days of this Khedive (al-Khidîwî) an important event occurred which spread abroad in all the world. And this (was), that towards the end of the year one thousand, five hundred and ninety-eight ⁽⁶⁾ Aḥmad 'Urâbî Pasha (Bášá) ⁽⁷⁾, director of the Egyptian (al-Mişriyah) military service, whose ⁽⁸⁾ origin (was) from the Province (Mudrîah) of Aş-Şarġiah ⁽⁹⁾, rebelled against this Khedive (al-Khidîwî). And the two States, England (Inklitarâ) and France (Faransâ), threatened him, and they commanded him to desist, and he did not desist. And they both sent their fleets to the harbour of Alexandria, and they threatened him with bombardment. And he began to fortify the forts and to raise armies. And the English (al-Inklîz) fought against him, and they routed him at Tall al-Kabîr ⁽¹⁰⁾, on the fifth of (the month of) Tût (in the) year one thousand, five hundred and ninety-nine of the Martyrs which corresponds to the fourteenth of the European ⁽²⁾ (month of) Ailûl ⁽¹¹⁾ of the Frankish (Afranġiah) Year, or (Year) of the Incarnation ⁽¹²⁾, one thousand, eight

⁽¹⁾ From 1863-1879 A.D.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* ' western '.

⁽³⁾ *I.e.* June.

⁽⁴⁾ From 1879-1892 A.D.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* ' who '.

⁽⁶⁾ = 1882 A.D.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. G. HANOTAUX, *Histoire de la Nation Égyptienne*, pp. 365-366, 385-412.

⁽⁸⁾ *Lit.* ' his '.

⁽⁹⁾ Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, pp. 568-576.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Cf. G. HANOTAUX, *op. cit.*, pp. 407-408.

⁽¹¹⁾ = September.

⁽¹²⁾ *Lit.* ' of the Birth '.

the members of the council wished to look after the interests of the churches and their conditions, and after the schools and the inalienable endowments (al-Aûkâf), and the ordination of the priests, and other (things) than these, with regard to setting right matters which (were) unbecoming. Especially, their purpose (was) to bring under their hands the inalienable endowments (al-Aûkâf) of the monasteries and the churches and the cells (κελλιον) of the bishops and the metropolitans (al-Maṭārinah), and to expend from them (the inalienable endowments) on them (the monasteries, etc.) money, besides taking salaries from them (the inalienable endowments) for those whom they used to employ to define their (the monasteries, etc.) limits, such as the scribe and the overseer. And this occasioned for the inalienable endowment (al-Waḳf) a dispersal and a loss for its beneficiaries. And this father, the patriarch, and the bishops and the monks and others than they, did not wish for this. And the disagreement between the two parties continued, but the members of the council were supported by the Government, and they induced it to remove him (the patriarch) to the Monastery of Al-Baramûs ⁽¹⁾. And he (the patriarch) journeyed from Alexandria on Friday, the twenty-eighth of (the month of) Misrâ (in the) year one thousand, six hundred and eight of the Martyrs ⁽²⁾. Then it (the Government) brought him back with respect and honour, and he reached Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) on Saturday, the twenty-eighth of (the month of) Ṭûbah (in the) year one thousand, six hundred and nine ⁽³⁾, as the writers of undoubted word have explained. And all the community (al-millah) and also the Government itself knew that the right * lay in the hand of the father, the patriarch, and that he strove for it. As regards the Egyptian (al-Miṣriyah) Government in the days of this father — we have said ⁽⁴⁾ that his consecration took place in the year one thousand, five hundred and ninety-one of the Martyrs ⁽⁵⁾, as

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⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 276, n. 8.

⁽²⁾ = 1892 A.D.

⁽³⁾ = 1893 A.D.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* ' we say '.

⁽⁵⁾ = 1874 A.D.

Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Khan the Great ⁽¹⁾, conferred on him the Ottoman (al-'Uthmānī) Order of the first class, and the Muscovite (al-Muskûb) Tsar (Ḳaişar) ⁽²⁾ conferred on him an Order of the first class, and John (Yûḥannâ) Kāsâ, the aforementioned King of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabaş) ⁽³⁾, presented him with a crown and a cross and * magnificent gifts. And over and above this, the Egyptian (al-Mişriyah) Government appointed him a member in the Advisory Council amongst the deputies of the nation. And up to the end of (the year) one thousand, six hundred and ten of the Martyrs ⁽⁴⁾ which corresponds to (the year) one thousand, eight hundred and eighty-six of the Coptic (Ḳibṭiyah) Christian (Masīhiyah) (Era) ⁽⁵⁾, the number of those whom he elevated to the rank of the metropolitanate (al-Matrāniyah) and the episcopacy (was) nineteen, and they (were) from all the monasteries, and mostly from the two monasteries Al-Muḥarraḳ ⁽⁶⁾ and Abba (Anbâ) Antony (Anṭūniûs) ⁽⁷⁾. And there befell this father some reproaches in (the) year one thousand, six hundred and eight and one thousand, six hundred and nine of the Martyrs ⁽⁸⁾ on account of disputes which occurred at that time. And this (was) that, when Abba (Anbâ) Mark (Marḳus), Metropolitan (Mutrân) of Alexandria, was in charge of the direction of the affairs of the denomination, after the decease of Abba (Anbâ) Demetrius (Dimiṭriûs) ⁽⁹⁾, as was said before, he formed a council of twelve members, so that they might share with him in the work ⁽¹⁰⁾, and he acted on this wise, and the mentioned council lasted until the time of the father Abba (Anbâ) Cyril (Ḳirullus); and sometimes during the years the council was in abeyance, and sometimes it held its sessions. Then (it was), that

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⁽¹⁾ Sultan of Turkey, 1876 A.D.

⁽²⁾ Probably Alexander II.

⁽³⁾ Cf. p. 320.

⁽⁴⁾ = 1894 A.D.

⁽⁵⁾ I.e. the Ethiopian Era.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 285-308.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. p. 284, n. 6.

⁽⁸⁾ = 1891-1893 A.D.

⁽⁹⁾ Cf. p. 310.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Lit. 'works'.

and he consecrated for it a metropolitan (Muṭrān) and three bishops together, on account of its extent; and this was in the days of Tawfiḳ Pasha (Bāšā) ⁽¹⁾, the exalted Khedive (Khidiwī) of Egypt (Miṣr), and of His Majesty, the King John (Yūḥannā) ⁽²⁾, Sultan of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabaš). And the name of the metropolitan (al-Muṭrān) (was) Abba (Anbā) Peter (Buṭrus), and (those of) the bishops (were) Abba (Anbā) Matthew (Mattāūs) and Abba (Anbā) Mark (Marḳūs) and Abba (Anbā) Luke (Lukās). And no matter what exaggeration (there be) in eulogizing the continence of the mentioned patriarch, and his asceticism and his endurance of hardships and his patience in afflictions, I am not able to complete the description of a part of the excellent features of his character and the praise of his sobriety, that is, his spiritual affairs, and, in short, he excelled others in the course of virtue, and his heart became a captive of compassion and pity, and he was moulded for the love of the needy and for assisting them. And all the sons of the denomination testified concerning him (that) he was wont to wipe away the tears of the widow and the tears of the aged by the hand of alms, and to feel for the bereaved, and to grieve for the dejected, and to exert himself and to labour to remove the anguish of the afflicted, and not to spare pains to find a livelihood for households which were crushed by the vicissitudes of the times (which) subjected by their destructive power the calamities of events. And the conduct of this good father towards God and the neighbour and himself doubled his esteem, and created ⁽³⁾ for him a great place in the eyes of kings and rulers and governors, and they presented him with decorations. And the late Khedive (Khidiwī) Tawfiḳ Pasha (Bāšā) ⁽⁴⁾ conferred on him the Order of Al-Medjidi (al-Mağīdī), first class, and our beloved sovereign, the Khedive (Khidiwī) ‘Abbās Ḥilmī Pasha (Bāšā) ⁽⁵⁾, the second son of Tawfiḳ Pasha (Bāšā), conferred on him the same mentioned Order. And His Majesty, the

⁽¹⁾ *I.e.* 1879-1892 A.D.

⁽²⁾ *I.e.* John IV.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* ‘made’.

⁽⁴⁾ From 1879-1914 A.D.

⁽⁵⁾ From 1892-1914 A.D.

than these two. And, on the other hand, he took care of the affairs of the Church, and he commanded the propagation of religions books among its sons, and he urged the monks to study and to read the Holy Scriptures, and he opened for them schools in the monasteries. And the Western Monasteries⁽¹⁾ had a school at the Monastery of Al-Baramûs⁽²⁾, and the two Eastern Monasteries⁽³⁾ had a school at the Monastery of Antony (Anṭūniûs)⁽⁴⁾ and at (the Monastery) Al-Muḥarraḳ⁽⁵⁾ (there was) a school. And he opened the Ecclesiastical School⁽⁶⁾ in Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) for students from among the youths and the priests of the churches and the monks. And in these his days there were published by the sons of the Coptic (al-Ḳibṭiyah) community (millah) and its priests a quantity of books of sermons and books on religions instruction and scientific and historical works. And His Grandeur had a great⁽⁷⁾ hand in the publication of these books and, in his time, the standard of degree of the Clergy (κλήρος) was raised somewhat in learning and knowledge. Also the knowledge of the Coptic (al-Ḳibṭiyah) Language increased and spread; and it was, (that) many were able to speak in it, and they compiled in it a number of books for studying (it), and they printed them. And it was, (that) some (people) used to present to His Grandeur sometimes a petition or letter in Coptic (al-Ḳibṭiyah), since he understood it well. And he himself visited Lower Egypt (al-Waḡah al-Baḡarî) twice, and Upper Egypt (al-Waḡah al-Ḳiblî) once only. He received from the sons of the denomination the best of receptions, and intense satisfaction and the greatest joy and delight on his arrival, even as they found in him * the greatest consideration for their interests. * Fol. 272 r^o

And he attended well to the Ethiopian (al-Ḥabašiyah) Diocese (ἐπαρχία),

(1) *I.e.* the monasteries in the Wādî 'n-Naṭrân.

(2) Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 125-158 and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Monasteries of the Wādî 'n-Naṭrân*, pp. 8-13.

(3) *I.e.* in the Eastern Desert.

(4) Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-88.

(5) Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-308.

(6) This Theological Seminary still exists.

(7) *Lit.* 'powerful'.

care, for example, to the monasteries which (were) in the neighbourhood of Cairo (al-*Qāhira*). And he found them on the point of declining to extinction, and he commenced to exert his utmost care in repairing them and in renewing them. And these his memorable acts are in the Monastery of Saint Barsum (*Barsûm*) the Naked⁽¹⁾, in the way of a beautiful mansion (al-*Qaşr*) which he constructed, and the beautiful garden which he planted on the right of the Monastery, and he planted in it all kinds of trees; and the graceful buildings which he erected at the Monastery of Saint Mercurius (*Marḳûrîûs*) at the side of *Ṭamwaï*⁽²⁾, and the church and the mansion (al-*Qaşr*) which he built at the Monastery of the Saint, my lord (*Mâri*) George (*Ġirġis*), at *Ṭurah*⁽³⁾ on the bank of the Nile (an-*Nil*), and the mansion (al-*Qaşr*) which he constructed at the Monastery of Al-*ʿAdawiyah*⁽⁴⁾. And these are his memorable deeds in Cairo, (al-*Qāhira*), in the way of the screen⁽⁵⁾ of the great Cathedral Church⁽⁶⁾, and the paintings and sculptures which gave⁽⁷⁾ to this church * its splendour and its beautiful appearance; and the beautiful wing which he built on the southern side of the Patriarchate, and a school for girls which he built on the north-eastern side of the Patriarchate at the large street; and a school for boys which is in the Patriarchate of Alexandria⁽⁸⁾, and other (things) than these, in the way of assisting in the building of churches, as the Church of the *Hârat as-Saḳḳâyin*⁽⁹⁾ and the Church of Al-*Fağğalah*⁽¹⁰⁾, and others

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⁽¹⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, Cairo, 1965, pp. 250-251.

⁽²⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 477 and B.T.A. EVETTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, pp. 197-198 and O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, pp. 245-246.

⁽³⁾ Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144, 305.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-137, 340.

⁽⁵⁾ *I.e.* the eiconostasis.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 80-81.

⁽⁷⁾ *Lit.* 'made for'.

⁽⁸⁾ This school is still existing.

⁽⁹⁾ Cf. p. 309, n. 6.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Church of the All-Holy Virgin Mary.

administer their affairs, but he did not comply with their entreaty, and they reiterated the entreaty * several times, and the patriarch accepted at the end of the affair their entreaty, and he sent him back to his place. * Fol 271 r^e
 And he remained undertaking the charge of his functions in the best way, so that the metropolitans (al-Maṭārinah) and the bishops and the notables of the Coptic (al-Ḳibṭiyah) denomination chose that he should be patriarch. And the Government charged the governor (Mudīr) of (the Province of) Al-Buḥārah⁽¹⁾ (to bring him) to Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah), and he came to it, willingly or unwillingly, and after some days, his consecration took place on Sunday, the twenty-third of (the month of) Bābah (in the) year one thousand, five hundred and ninety-one of the Martyrs which corresponds to the year one thousand, eight hundred and sixty-seven of the Coptic (Ḳibṭiyah) Christian (Masḥiyah) (Era)⁽²⁾, and to the year one thousand, eight hundred and seventy-five of the Frankish (al-Afranḡiyah) Christian (Masḥiyah) (Era)⁽³⁾, with great celebrations⁽⁴⁾ by all of the denominations, with the name Cyril (Ḳirullus) the Fifth, as regards his name, and the one hundred and twelfth of the number of the patriarchs. And he commenced to undertake the charge of his office and its affairs, and he turned to the care, for example, of the management of the schools and their organization, and he multiplied the teachers in them, so as to hasten the progress of the scholars; and he introduced into them the Arabic (al-ʿArabiyah) studies and mathematics, as arithmetic and algebra and geometry. And when he saw that the two schools, that is, the Patriarchal School⁽⁵⁾ and the school in the Ḥārat as-Saḳḳāyin⁽⁵⁾ were not sufficient for the teaching of the scholars of the children of the denomination, he established a new school in the Ḥārat Zūwailah⁽⁶⁾ and another at Būlaḳ⁽⁷⁾. Then he turned his

⁽¹⁾ Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, pp. 559-567.

⁽²⁾ *I.e.* the Ethiopian Era.

⁽³⁾ *I.e.* A.D.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* 'with ceremonies of ceremony'.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. p. 309.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. D. RUSSELL, *Medieval Cairo and the Monasteries of the Wādi Nātrān*, pp. 183-192.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, pp. 237, 257-260.

in the way of Christian (al-Masīḥī) perfection, and they used to scorn the vanities of this world. And the number of the monks after this reached up to thirty and above it, among whom several had migrated from other monasteries to it, by reason of the good conduct of this father and his good treatment. And this father continued to perform the affairs of his office with all his energy and ability, directing and teaching and instructing and discipling, carrying out the voice of the Apostle⁽¹⁾ which saith : «Let everyone be according to whatever gift he hath received, ministering it among one another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God ; if anyone speaketh (speaking) as (it were) the oracles of God, and if anyone ministereth (ministering) as of the strength which God bestoweth ; that He may be glorified in everything through Jesus (Yasūʿ) Christ (al-Masīḥ) » — First Peter (Butrus) chapter IV, verses 10-11 — . And the saying of our teacher Paul (Būluṣ) : «We were gentle in your midst, as the nurse fostereth her children» — First Thessalonians (Tasālūnīkī), chapter II, verse seven. In brief, he reached in the way of sanctity and good devotion the climax of what was possible in his generation. And, in the meanwhile, the distinguished hegoumenos (al-Ḳummuṣ) ʿAbd al-Masīḥ al-Masʿūdī, son of George (Ġirġis), associated with him, and he was from the people who supported him and who helped him together with the mentioned father ʿAwad⁽²⁾. Then (it was), that the patriarch Abba (Anbā) Demetrius (Dīmītrīūs) called the possessor of the biography⁽³⁾, (in the) year one thousand, five hundred and seventy-nine of the Martyrs⁽⁴⁾ to the Patriarchal Residence, and he ordained him hegoumenos (Ighūmānus), and he appointed him an assistant at the Cathedral Church at Al-Azbakīah⁽⁵⁾. And his parting was very hard to bear for the monks, and they were not able to bear patiently his separation, and they wrote to the preceding patriarch, beseeching him to send him back to

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* 'apostolic voice'.

⁽²⁾ Cf. p. 315.

⁽³⁾ *I.e.* the patriarch Cyril V.

⁽⁴⁾ = 1862-1863 A.D.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 80-81.

from the days of the late Abraham (Ibrāhīm) al-Ġawharī⁽¹⁾, the possessor of excellent deeds and noble actions — may God sanctify his spirit! — and for these reasons the number of its monks decreased, so that it arrived at four persons. And some people reported that the monastery contained once (only) one person, and he remained in it alone about three years. And this was some years before the monkhood of the possessor of this biography⁽²⁾. And the possessor of this biography⁽²⁾ conducted himself in the monastery in the best conceivable manner of asceticism. And when the monks saw this in him, their opinion was agreed upon with the father 'Awaḍ al-Barhīmī, the steward at the monastery, at that time, for his advancement to the rank of the noble priesthood. And they wrote for him a testimonial letter (at-Tazkiyah), and they sent him to Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) (to) the Ḥārat Zūwāflah⁽³⁾, in the first (days) of the year one thousand, five hundred and sixty-eight of the Martyrs⁽⁴⁾, that is, one thousand, eight hundred and forty-four of the Coptic (Ḳibṭiyah) Christian (Masḥiyah) (Era)⁽⁵⁾. Then he returned to the monastery, and the monks chose him to be the intendant of their affairs, and he undertook the duties of monasticism, and he performed its obligations well. And I am not able to describe what he possessed in the way of virtues, chastity and faithfulness, and asceticism and surpassing humility and meekness and longsuffering, and sincerity in word and in deed with God and man; and his extreme love * for the stranger and the neighbour, and his charity for the needy and his alms-givings to the monks from his personal income which he used to gain from copying manuscripts⁽⁶⁾. And he was a great consolation to those who observed his sayings and his deeds. And the conditions of the monastery were ameliorated through his efforts, and the number of the monks increased in it, and they followed on his straight paths

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⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 301.

⁽²⁾ *I.e.* the Patriarch Cyril V.

⁽³⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 68-75.

⁽⁴⁾ = 1851 A.D.

⁽⁵⁾ *I.e.* the Ethiopian Era.

⁽⁶⁾ *Lit.* 'books'.

in the Western Desert ⁽¹⁾. And he did not remain, except a few days, before his family took him back from the monastery through the medium of the priest who had helped in his upbringing, and he returned, but his spirit did not cease to be enamoured with monasticism. And the appeal of the people did not alter the calling of God — magnified and exalted be He! And he abode among his people for a short time, and they humoured him with every expedient, and they used to attract his attention to worldly affairs, and they embellished for him its delights, and they magnified to him the toils of the monks and their heavy yoke. But all these endeavours were of no (avail), except to increase in him an ardent love and passion * for the monastic life. And he began to wait for an opportunity, so that he might be able to flee from his people; and he set off headlong for the Monastery of Al-Baramûs ⁽²⁾ in the Desert of Scetis (Sihât), and it is the furthest of the four monasteries of the Western Desert ⁽³⁾. And this (was) in (the month of) Tût (in the) year one thousand, five hundred and sixty-seven of the Martyrs ⁽⁴⁾ which corresponds to the year one thousand, eight hundred and forty-three of the Coptic (Kibṭiyah) Christian (Masḥiyah) (Era) ⁽⁵⁾, and it was the twentieth year of his age. After about a month, he was made ⁽⁶⁾ a monk, and this monastery was, at that time, in very great indigence, both economically and culturally. Its revenues were very low; they were not sufficient for the needs of its monks, and its lands were in the hands of others who took the proceeds for others than it. And its monks did not obtain the necessary food, except with extreme difficulty; but there used to pass days on which they did not feed on (anything), except the lupines (θέρμος) which had been stored up in the monasteries

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282 and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n-Naṭrân*, pp. 13-20.

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* 'mountain'.

⁽²⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 125-158 and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n-Naṭrân*, pp. 8-13.

⁽³⁾ = 1850 A.D.

⁽⁴⁾ *I.e.* the Ethiopian Era.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* 'ordained'.

and forty-eight of the Martyrs ⁽¹⁾ which corresponds to the year one thousand, eight hundred and twenty-four of the Coptic (Kibḥiyah) Christian (Masīḥiyah) (Era) ⁽²⁾. And he was named * John (Ḥannā), and a short time after his birth, his parents migrated from their place of origin ⁽³⁾, and they both went to the mudīrah of aš-Šarḳiyah ⁽⁴⁾, and they settled at Kafr Sulaimān aš-Šaʿidī, and his kindred continued at that Kafr. And after a time (which) was not long ⁽⁵⁾, his parents were translated to the eternal abode, and his eldest brother who was called Al-Muʿallim Peter (Buṭrus) undertook his upbringing, and he took care of his education, and some priests assisted him with this. And he (John) was ordained a deacon at the hand of the father Abba (al-Anbā) Abram (Abrām), metropolitan (Muṭrān) of Jerusalem (Aūršalīm), who was before Abba (al-Anbā) Basil (Bāsiliūs) the aforementioned. And it was shewn forth in this John (Ḥannā) from his earliest years, that he would become a model of Christian (al-Masīḥiyah) perfections. His character and instinctive nature were inclined to asceticism and mortification, and he scorned this world and its vanities, and he used to love solitude and the pursuit of learning and the restoring (of manuscripts), and he was given to the exercise of virtues. And he used to avoid the society of youths of his age, fearing lest something of their worldly inclinations might affect him, and (that) his disposition be nourished by their dispositions through the contact of his thoughts with their thoughts. And he was wont to honour his ghostly father ⁽⁶⁾, that is the hegoumenos (al-Ḳummuṣ), to whom he used to confess with an honour surpassing description, and he held him in awe. And, finally, he left the house of his parents, and he went to the Monastery of the Syrians (as-Suryān) ⁽⁷⁾, and it is one of the four monasteries existing

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⁽¹⁾ = 1831-1832 A.D.

⁽²⁾ I.e. the Ethiopian Era.

⁽³⁾ Lit. 'the place where their head fell'. For the use of birthstools in the villages, cf. W.S. BLACKMAN, *The Fellāhin of Upper Egypt*, London, p. 63.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. *Dictionnaire*, etc., pp. 568-576.

⁽⁵⁾ Lit. 'great'.

⁽⁶⁾ Lit. 'father of his conscience'.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 241-

Egypt (Miṣr), and he was the first who received from the Sublime Porte⁽¹⁾ the title of Khedive (Khidīwī). And among the memorable acts of Abba (al-Anbā) Demetrius (Dīmītrīūs) (was), that he journeyed through Upper Egypt (al-Wağah al-Ḳiblī) on a steamship (which) the Government assigned to him. And he built the western wing of the Patriarchate, and he completed what he had left incomplete of the building at the farm of the Monastery of Abba (Abū) Macarius (Maḳār) in Atrīs (Tirīs)⁽²⁾, at the time of his headship. And it came about that he died on the eve of the Feast of the Epiphany (al-Ghiṭās), the eleventh of the month of Ṭūbah (in the) year one thousand, five hundred and eighty-six of the Martyrs⁽³⁾ which corresponds to the year one thousand, eight hundred and sixty-two of the Coptic (Ḳibṭiyah) Christian (Masīḥiyah) (Era)⁽⁴⁾, after he had remained patriarch for seven years and seven months and seven days. And on account of the tardiness of the Government to issue the order to consecrate a patriarch for the denomination, the Throne remained vacant after him for four years and nine months and seventeen days. And, at that time, it was Abba (Anbā) Mark (Marḳus), the metropolitan (Muṭrān) of Alexandria and the administrator of the Preaching of Mark (al-Marḳusiyah)⁽⁵⁾, (who) administered the affairs of the Patriarchate until there took place the consecration of the next father to be mentioned.

ABBA (ANBĀ) CYRIL (KĪRULLUS) THE PATRIARCH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWELFTH OF THE NUMBER OF THE PATRIARCHS.

And concerning him⁽⁶⁾, (it was), that he was born at Tīzmant⁽⁷⁾ in the mudīriah of Banī Sūf⁽⁸⁾, (in the) year one thousand, five hundred

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* 'High State'.

⁽²⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-72 and O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 375-376.

⁽³⁾ = 1870 A.D.

⁽⁴⁾ *I.e.* the Ethiopian Era.

⁽⁵⁾ 'The Preaching of Mark' is a term used for the whole extent of the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

⁽⁶⁾ *Lit.* 'his affair'.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 521.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, pp. 612-615.

Martyrs ⁽¹⁾ which corresponds to the year one thousand, eight hundred and fifty-four of the Coptic (Ḳibṭiyah) Christian (Masīḥiyah) (Year) ⁽²⁾, he followed on the lines of his predecessors, and he followed in the trace of Abba (Anbā) Cyril (Kīrullus) his predecessor. He completed the building of the great Church ⁽³⁾, since it was lacking roofs and domes. Afterwards, Abba (Anbā) Cyril (Kīrullus), the one hundred and twelfth, embellished the whole of its interior with painting and golden eicons (εἰκων), * especially, the screen ⁽⁴⁾, and he paved its pavement which went round it with marble; and it is the best and the broadest and the highest building, and the most magnificent of the churches of the Copts (al-Aḳbāt) in the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) ⁽⁵⁾. And this father Demetrius (Dimitriūs) stimulated also the schools and the elementary schools. And good fortune increased for him on presenting himself before the presence of the Shah, the Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz ⁽⁶⁾, when he honoured the Land of Egypt (Miṣriyah) and attended the celebration of the opening of the Canal of Suez (as-Sûz). The celebration of its opening (was) on the ninth of the month of Hâtûr (in the) year one thousand, five hundred and eighty-six of the Martyrs ⁽⁷⁾ which corresponds to the seventeenth of November of one thousand, eight hundred and sixty-nine of the Frankish (Afrangīah) Christian (Masīḥiyat) (Year) ⁽⁸⁾, and to the year one thousand, two hundred and eighty-six of the Hegira (Hiġriah). And he received from the majesty of the Sultan great favour, and he (the Sultan) bestowed on him an amount of cultivated lands for the expenses of the Patriarchate and the schools of the nation ⁽⁹⁾. And in his days Ismā'il Pasha (Bāšā) ⁽¹⁰⁾ was Khedive, (Khidiwī) of

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⁽¹⁾ = 1862 A.D.

⁽²⁾ *I.e.* the Ethiopian Era.

⁽³⁾ *I.e.* the Cathedral Church of St. Mark of al-Azbakīah.

⁽⁴⁾ *I.e.* the eiconostasis.

⁽⁵⁾ Of course, the new Cathedral of St. Mark at Al-'Abbāsiyah is now the largest Coptic Church.

⁽⁶⁾ Sultan of Turkey (1861 A.D.).

⁽⁷⁾ = 1869 A.D.

⁽⁸⁾ *I.e.* A.D.

⁽⁹⁾ *I.e.* the Coptic nation.

⁽¹⁰⁾ From 1863-1879 A.D.

Egyptian (al-Miṣriyah) Government, and that (therefore) he had journeyed to Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah), and (that) the troops of Egypt (Miṣr) were following behind him. The Neğûshê (an-Nağâšî) flew into a passion ⁽¹⁾ at this news, and he commanded the patriarch to be burnt alive. But the Queen resisted him, and she dissuaded him by her prudence from his resolve, and she caused the patriarch to journey to Egypt (Miṣr) in safety. Then, he (the patriarch) died a little after that. And with regard to his qualities, he was learned, very severe on the ecclesiastics (κλήρος) and the people, strict (in observing) the Canons (κανόν) of the Church and its belief. He was on friendly terms with all the denominations, in the good graces of the Government of Egypt (Miṣr), (and) honoured by the Sons of the Church. He consecrated six bishops including among them Abba (Anbâ) Basil (Bâsilîûs), metropolitan (Muṭrân) of Jerusalem (Aûršalîm) and Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'annis), metropolitan (Muṭrân) of (the Province of) Al-Manûfiyah ⁽²⁾. And in his time a number of churches were built. And he died (in the) year one thousand, five hundred and seventy-seven of the Martyrs ⁽³⁾ which corresponds to the year one thousand, eight hundred and fifty-three of the Coptic (Kibṭiyah) Christian (Masîhiyah) (Year) ⁽⁴⁾, and one thousand, eight hundred and sixty-one of the Frankish (Afrangîah) Christian (Masîhiyah) (Year) ⁽⁵⁾.

ABBA (ANBÂ) DEMETRIUS (DĪMĪTRĪŪS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE ONE HUNDRED AND ELEVENTH.

And concerning him ⁽⁶⁾, he was the head of the Monastery of Saint Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr) ⁽⁷⁾. And when he became patriarch (in the) year one thousand, five hundred and seventy-eight of the

⁽¹⁾ For Theodore's fits of rage, cf. E.A. WALLIS BUDGE, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

⁽²⁾ Cf. Omar TOUSSOUN, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Arabe*, pp. 266-270.

⁽³⁾ = 1861 A.D.

⁽⁴⁾ *I.e.* the Ethiopian Era.

⁽⁵⁾ *I.e.* A.D.

⁽⁶⁾ *Lit.* 'his affair'.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. p. 270, n. 5.

year one thousand, five hundred and seventy-one of the Martyrs ⁽¹⁾ that is, one thousand, eight hundred and forty-seven of the Christian (Masīḥīyah) (Year) ⁽²⁾. And to this father is due the refining of the Coptic (al-Ḳibṭī) people and their advancement in the stages of progress. And this (was) by what he effused with the utmost of his exertion in the way of educating its youth and teaching them knowledge. And he founded the great Coptic (al-Ḳibṭīyah) School in the patriarchate ⁽³⁾, and he opened another school in the Ḥārat as-Saḳḳāyin ⁽⁴⁾, and he renewed in it the teaching of the Coptic (al-Ḳibṭīyah) Language at a time when its traces were about to be effaced, for at that time there was not anyone (who) used to speak it at all, but it was used only in all the churches of the Land of Egypt (al-Miṣrī), and only a few people understood its meaning. And he introduced among these (studies) languages of the races (γένοις) ⁽⁵⁾, especially, the Arabic (al-ʿArabīyah) Language. And he renewed a church in the Ḥārat as-Saḳḳāyin ⁽⁶⁾. Then, at the end of his life, he began to build the present great Cathedral Church ⁽⁷⁾, after he had taken down the old church. And it was his earnest desire to see it, as it is, in its beautiful splendour and its present ⁽⁸⁾ fine appearance, * but his absence in Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah) intervened, during which he met with terrifying dangers (which) almost ended his days. And this (was), that certain English (al-Inklīz) (people), after he had gone to Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah), calumniated him to the Neḡūshê (an-Naḡāšī) Theodore (Tāūdūrūs) ⁽⁹⁾, and they charged him with the firm resolve to make Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah) subject to the

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⁽¹⁾ = 1854 A.D.

⁽²⁾ *I.e.* the Ethiopian Era.

⁽³⁾ This school is still existing.

⁽⁴⁾ This school is also still existing.

⁽⁵⁾ *I.e.* of the races living in Egypt.

⁽⁶⁾ This is the Church of the Archangel Gabriel, cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, p. 52.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 80-81.

⁽⁸⁾ *I.e.* at the time of the writing of this biography.

⁽⁹⁾ For an account of Theodore, cf. E.A. WALLIS BUDGE, *A History of Ethiopia*, vol. II, London, 1928, pp. 492-516.

* Fol. 268 r° and thereby * we should be able to bring over gradually the individuals of the denomination». And the Pasha (Bâšâ) accepted this opinion, and he informed the Franks (al-Afranġ), and they rejoiced, and they thanked him for what he had done ⁽¹⁾. And for that reason Al-Mu'allim Ghâlî and his son Basil (Bâsilûs) Bey and a small group of their associates in Cairo (Mišr) and Akhmîm ⁽²⁾ went over to the papalists (al-Bâbâwiyin) in appearance, but they had in their mind that, after a while, they would return to the bosom of their Church, and notwithstanding this, they continued to show genuine respect to the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) priests and to baptize their children with them. And as for Abba (Anbâ) Peter (Buṭrus), he died (in the) year one thousand, five hundred and sixty-eight of the Martyrs ⁽³⁾ which corresponds to the year one thousand, eight hundred and forty-four of the Coptic (Ḳibṭiyah) Christian (Masīḥiyah) (Year) ⁽⁴⁾.

ABBA (ANBÂ) CYRIL (KÍRILLUS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE ONE HUNDRED AND TENTH OF THE NUMBER OF THE PATRIARCHS.

Concerning him ⁽⁵⁾, he was head of the Monastery of Abba (Anbâ) Antony (Antûnîûs) ⁽⁶⁾. And when he was chosen for the patriarchate, there occurred a disagreement among the people, and some accepted him, and some rejected him, and his consecration was deferred. Then the opinion of the public was agreed upon him, and he was consecrated a general metropolitan (Muṭrân) (in the) year one thousand, five hundred and seventy of the Martyrs ⁽⁷⁾ which corresponds to the year one thousand, eight hundred and forty-six ⁽⁴⁾. And he continued (thus) a year and two months, and he displayed a good conduct (which) made him worthy to be a patriarch. And he was consecrated (in the)

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* 'his deed'.

⁽²⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-22.

⁽³⁾ = 1852 A.D.

⁽⁴⁾ *I.e.* the Ethiopian Era.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* 'his affair'.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. p. 237, n. 3.

⁽⁷⁾ = 1853 A.D.

Greeks (ar-Rûm) and the Patriarch of the Copts (al-Aḳbât). And when the time arrived, the Light burst forth from the Tomb, so that the Pasha (Bâšâ) was terrified by it, and there came upon him confusion and astonishment, and he cried out, repeating this expression ' Help ⁽¹⁾, Father (Bâbâ) ', and he was about to fall on the ground, and the father Peter (Buṭrus) clasped him until he recovered. As for the wretched poor who (were) outside (the Church of) the Resurrection, they were more fortunate than those who were inside it, for one of the pillars of the door (of the Church) of the Resurrection split open, and the Light came forth from it ⁽²⁾, and they were blessed by it. And in his (Peter's) days Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha (Bâšâ) endeavoured to unite the Church of Egypt (Miṣr) with the Church of Rome (ar-Rûmîah), and this (was) that the new arrangements which took place in Egypt (Miṣr) were through the men of France (Faransâ) and its scientists. And when Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha (Bâšâ) saw himself overwhelmed by the profuseness of their amiability, he wished to repay them with the like. And since he was at a loss what he should do equal to this, one of the commanders of the army who (was) a papist (Bâbawiyâ) counselled him that he should endeavour to unite the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) of Egypt (Miṣr) to the Church of Rome (Rûmîah), and the Franks (al-Afranġ) would find this a good deed and a favour equal to their favour. And he called for Al-Mu'allim Ghâlî and his son Basil (Bâsilîûs) Bey, the head of finances ; and he commanded both of them that they should do this, and they were in difficulties (about what to do), and they feared the occurrence of a sedition in the denomination. And they answered the Pasha (Bâšâ), saying : « To bring over all the denomination to the belief of the Church of Rome (Rûmîah) at one time would not be achieved without troubles and the shedding of blood of many. And we see (it) better that this should be done with diplomacy and skill, and this (is), that we ourselves should first adopt the papal (al-Bâbawî) creed, on the condition that we should not be forced to change our Eastern rites and customs,

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* ' security '.

⁽²⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, ' The Ceremony of the Holy Fire in the Middle Ages and to-day ', *op. cit.*, plate 3 B.

the river. And its waves were immediately agitated, and they were troubled, and they boiled up as a cauldron boils, and they overflowed. And the disciples of the patriarch hastened to take away the vessels of the Celebration, and scarcely had they finished this, when the water overtook them. And the dignity of the patriarch and his denomination became great with the Pasha (Bâšâ), and he (Peter) increased in their esteem. And among these ⁽¹⁾ (was) what was spread abroad on the tongues of the people that Ibrâhîm Pasha (Bâšâ), when he ruled the Land of Syria (aš-Šâmîah) and ruled over Jerusalem (Aûrušalîm) ⁽²⁾, called the father Peter (Buṭrus) to perform the Service of the Issuing-forth of the Light from the Tomb of the Master Christ (al-Masîḥ) ⁽³⁾, according to what the patriarchs of the Greeks (ar-Rûm) do every year. But the patriarch (Peter) knowing that this would result in enmity between the Copts (al-Aḳbât) and the Greeks (ar-Rûm) excused himself to the Pasha (Bâšâ), and he accepted his excuse; and he besought him that the should be with * the Patriarch of the Greeks (ar-Rûm) and he (the Pasha) would be the third of them inside the Tomb. And the Pasha (Bâšâ) was doubtful about the truth of the Light, and the father Peter (Buṭrus) feared lest the appearance of the Light be delayed and the evil of the consequence. And he began to seek aid in the power of Jesus (Yasûc); and the Church of the Resurrection was overcrowded with multitudes, and the people were harassed from this overcrowding ⁽⁴⁾. And the Pasha (Bâšâ) commanded that the poor should go out to the outside of (the Church of) the Resurrection, where (there was) a large courtyard; and he entered into the Tomb and in company with the Patriarch of the

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⁽¹⁾ *I.e.* the miracles.

⁽²⁾ Cf. P.K. HIRTI, *History of the Arabs*, p. 733.

⁽³⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, 'The Ceremony of the Holy Fire in the Middle Ages and to-day' in *B.S.A.C.*, vol. XVI, pp. 243-252.

⁽⁴⁾ This appears to have been in 1834, when, according to R. CURZON, *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant*, London, 1849, pp. 208-219, Ibrahim Pasha was present, though he occupied a gallery in the church. Curzon does not mention the presence of the Coptic Patriarch, but records the panic in which several hundred people lost their lives. Cf. also O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *The Copts in Jerusalem*, Cairo, 1960, p. 41.

in a purse money amounting to four thousand guineas, and he presented it to the father, but he declined to accept it. And he apologized to him, saying. «It is not the affair of my office, that I should profit by the gifts of the Lord for what is not necessary for me. My dress, as thou seest, (is) a robe ⁽¹⁾ of red ⁽²⁾ wool, and my food (is) bread and cooked lentils. And in place of this ⁽³⁾, I beseech Your Excellency to extend your good-will towards the sons of the Coptic (al-Ḳibṭiyah) people, and to employ its sons who have been dismissed». And he responded to this, but he insisted on his (Sarapamon's) accepting that gift, so he took of it a little, and he distributed it, while passing among the troops. And among these ⁽⁴⁾ (was), that the Nile (an-Nīl) did not come up in a certain year ⁽⁵⁾ to its measure, and the people were afraid of a calamity of dearth and the misfortune of famine, and they sought aid from the Pasha (Bāšā), entreating him that he should command the spiritual chiefs, that they should raise supplications and prayers on account of the Nile (an-Nīl), so that God might bless its waters and irrigate the land, and he did (so). And the Muslims (al-Muslimīn) assembled first for the prayer, then the Jews (al-Yahūd), then the Greeks (ar-Rūm), then the Syrians (as-Sūrīn), then the Franks (al-Afrānġ), but the river did not change from its place. Then the Government asked of the father Peter (Butrus) that he should do according to what the rest of the denominations had done. And he (Peter) sent for a group of clerics (κληρικός) and a company of the bishops, and he went forth with them to the bank of the river, and he celebrated the Offering of the Mystery of the Eucharist (εὐχαριστία) ⁽⁶⁾. Then he finished this and he washed the vessels of the Service, and he cast their water with an antidoron ⁽⁷⁾ into

⁽¹⁾ For فرجية, cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 248.

⁽²⁾ The word أحمر in common parlance is somewhat vague, and can extend even to the colour brown.

⁽³⁾ *I.e.* the money.

⁽⁴⁾ *I.e.* the miracles.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* 'in one of the years'.

⁽⁶⁾ *I.e.* the Divine Liturgy.

⁽⁷⁾ The blessed eucharistic loaves which the priest distributes at the end of the Divine Liturgy.

three bishops. And of what is worthy to be recorded of the miracles which took place at his hands, and in his time, (is) that the daughter of Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha (Bāšā), Zahrā Pasha (Bāšā), the wife of Aḥmad Bey the Defterdar, was possessed by an unclean spirit, and the doctors wearied themselves with tedious toil in treating her, and they were unable to heal her, since this was not a physical sickness. And the renown of Sarapamon (Sarābamūn), bishop of Al-Manūfiyah⁽¹⁾, for what was given (to him) in the way of the power of casting out evil spirits, filled the Land of Egypt (Miṣr). And it was mentioned to Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha (Bāšā) concerning the possibility of the spiritual leaders (Īmmah) of the Christians (an-Naṣārā) with regard to healing his daughter, which caused him to call the father Peter (Buṭrus), the patriarch, to perform this. And the father, having been informed that his (Muḥammad 'Alī's) daughter was possessed of an unclean spirit, called the father Sarapamon (Sarābamūn), and he commanded him that he should go to the Palace, where Zahrā Pasha (Bāšā) dwelt. He (Sarapamon) responded to his call and he went to her, and the Palace was crowded with soldiers and multitudes, men and women. And when he commenced to pray over the princess (al-Amīrah), the devil stirred in her, and cast her in convulsion on the ground, and she foamed and began to scream with screams which shook the Palace. And the father (Sarapamon) was terrified at this, and he feared an evil result, and he began to seek aid in the power of Christ (al-Masīḥ), crying out with a sorrowful voice, shedding tears and saying : « Great (is) thy sin, O Salib!⁽²⁾ O Jesus (Yasū'), glorify Thy right hand and cause Thy Church to be victorious!» When he had completed the prayer and had signed the sign of the Cross over the water, and had sprinkled with it the face of the princess (al-Amīrah), the devil cried out with a tormented voice, and he went out from her. And, thereupon, the princess (al-Amīrah) arose sound, and she played the music * joyfully. And the good news was announced to Muḥammad 'Alī concerning this, and he came to his daughter, and he found her cured. And he desired to reward the father Sarapamon (Sarābamūn), and he tied up

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⁽¹⁾ Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 372.

⁽²⁾ The name which Sarapamon had before his elevation to the episcopacy.

ABBA (ANBĀ) PETER (BUTRUS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINTH OF THE NUMBER OF THE PATRIARCHS.

This father was chosen for the patriarchate after the decease of the father Mark (Marḳus) ⁽¹⁾ his predecessor, and he was consecrated (in the year one thousand, five hundred and twenty-six of the Martyrs ⁽²⁾ which corresponds to one thousand, eight hundred and two ⁽³⁾). As for him ⁽⁴⁾, he was one of the monks of Saint Antony (Anṭūnīūs) ⁽⁵⁾, and he had been chosen to be metropolitan (Muṭrān) over Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah), but his consecration had been deferred by the economy of God. Afterwards he was consecrated general metropolitan (Muṭrān) for the Preaching of Mark ⁽⁶⁾. And he remained in the patriarchate until the death of his predecessor. And all the people chose him to be patriarch, (as) a successor to him. And he was consecrated three days after the going to (his) rest of his predecessor. And among his praiseworthy qualities (was) that he was a lover of studying in the Divine Books ⁽⁷⁾, and assiduous * in teaching the people; not a lover of coveting things, long-suffering, self-abased, humble, wise, a possessor of great sagacity and lofty intelligence and eminent direction of his flock of the people. And he composed a book by which he furnished proofs for the teaching of the Church ⁽⁸⁾. And in his time, Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha (Bāšā) conquered the Sudan ⁽⁹⁾, and many of its inhabitants returned to the Christian (al-Masīḥī) Religion. And he consecrated for them two bishops in succession; and of the bishops he consecrated about twenty-

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⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 298, n. 3.

⁽²⁾ = 1809 A.D.

⁽³⁾ I.e. the Ethiopian Era.

⁽⁴⁾ Lit. 'concerning his affair'.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. p. 237, n. 3.

⁽⁶⁾ I.e. the See of Alexandria.

⁽⁷⁾ I.e. the Holy Scriptures.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. G. GRAF, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, Vierter Band, Città del Vaticano, 1951, pp. 143-144.

⁽⁹⁾ Cf. *Précis de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, t. III, p. 247 sqq. and G. DOUIN, *Histoire du Sudan Égyptien*, t. I, La Pénétration, 1820-1822, Le Caire, 1944.

building of it to his brother George (Ġirġis). And this (was), that the Copts (al-Aḳbāt) in latter times were (unable) to acquire the authorization from the Government to build a church, except with great difficulty ⁽¹⁾. And it chanced that one of the ladies of the Sultan's family came to Egypt (Miṣr), purposing (to make) the pilgrimage ⁽²⁾, and Abraham (Ibrāhīm) al-Ġawharī being a superintendent in the Egyptian (al-Miṣriyah) Government, well-known for his precedence, undertook to arrange for her the service of going and returning, and he offered to her, magnificent gifts. And she wished to reward him for his service which he had undertaken, together with his renowned faithfulness in the Service of the Government, and she asked (him) concerning his wishes. And he begged of her assistance in the issuing of a firman of the Sultan for the permission to build a church at Al-Azbakīah ⁽³⁾, where his dwelling was established. She accepted his request, and the permission for this was issued to him though her mediation, though he died before he started the building. And when his brother George (Ġirġis) Effendi (Afandī) occupied his position ⁽⁴⁾, he agreed with the mentioned father Mark (Marḳus) ⁽⁵⁾ and the notables of the denomination, and they built the church ⁽⁶⁾, whither they transferred the Seat of the Patriarchate ⁽⁷⁾ to the property of the amīr ⁽⁸⁾ James (Yaḳūb) and the Mu'allim Malaṭī who had been officials of high rank at the time of the rule of Bonaparte (Būnābarat).

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* 'toil of souls'.

⁽²⁾ *I.e.* to Mecca.

⁽³⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, p. 80.

⁽⁴⁾ For further particulars about George al-Ġawharī, cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. VII, pp. 393, 397, 400-401, 405.

⁽⁵⁾ This patriarch bore the name John before his consecration, when he changed it to Mark.

⁽⁶⁾ This church was subsequently demolished to make place for the present Church of Saint Mark.

⁽⁷⁾ *I.e.* from the Ḥārat ar-Rūm, cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 75 and 80.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. p. 301, n. 7.

blood of the subjects of the State, for this is contrary to the will of the Sublime Porte⁽¹⁾. And thereupon he commanded the hands of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) to cease from killing them (the Christians). And the last anguish (which) came to the Copts (al-Aḳbât) in the days of this father (was) the dismissing of the officials among them (who were) in the dîwâns of the government, and this (was), when the General (al-Ġinirâl) Menou (Minû)⁽²⁾ (who) became Commander of the French (al-Faransâwî) Army, after the death of Kléber (Kalâbar) (who) was assassinated⁽³⁾, embraced the Islamic Religion and called himself 'Abd Allah⁽⁴⁾, and there was born to him an infant whom he named Sulaimân. And the Dîwân of Cairo (al-Kâhirah) was composed in those days of Copts (al-Aḳbât) and Muslims (al-Islâm), and the former were dismissed, and the dîwâns were left to the latter, and the collecting of the tax was committed to them. And the duration of the French (al-Faransâwîn) in Egypt (Miṣr) was three years; then they departed, and they were known among the people as the French (al-Faransîs). As for the father Mark (Marḳus), he died (in the) year one thousand, five hundred and twenty-six of the Martyrs⁽⁵⁾ which corresponds to the year one thousand, eight hundred and two⁽⁶⁾. And there was in the days of this father the amîr⁽⁷⁾, famous among the Christians (al-Masîḥiyin) notables, Abraham (Ibrâhîm) Al-Ġawharî, head of the scribes of the Land of Egypt (Miṣr).

* The distinguished one, the perfect one, the possessor of prosperous deeds and praiseworthy acts, who⁽⁸⁾ has in every monastery and church a memorable work (for which) he is to be thanked. And to him is attributed the foundation of the Church of Al-Azbakîah⁽⁹⁾, and the

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(1) *Lit.* 'the Sublime Will'.

(2) Cf. *Précis de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, t. III, p. 147.

(3) Cf. *Précis de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, t. III, p. 167.

(4) Cf. *Précis de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, t. III, p. 169.

(5) = 1809 A.D.

(6) *I.e.* the Ethiopian Era.

(7) Here, merely a title of courtesy.

(8) *Lit.* 'and he'.

(9) Cf. D. RUSSELL, *Medieval Cairo and the Monasteries of the Wâdi Natrân*, pp. 41-42.

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(*γένος*), and they killed all whom they encountered without distinction between a man and a woman and a child and an old man ⁽¹⁾. And Upper Egypt (al-Wağah al-Ḳibli) which customarily was a refuge for every rebel and a retreat for every revolutionary * was not with less violence for, when the Mamluks (al-Mamâlik) escaped ⁽²⁾, they began to spread among the people oppression, and they pillaged the possessions of the Christians (an-Nasârâ). And scarcely did the Christians (an-Našârâ) think that they had been delivered from that misfortune, when they fell into worse than it. And this (was) that, when the treaty was broken which was concluded between the French (al-Faransâwî) Commander Kléber (Kalibar) and the Grand Wazîr ⁽³⁾ at the command of the Sublime Porte ⁽⁴⁾, the millstone of warfare revolved between the two parties at Al-Maṭariyah ⁽⁵⁾. The Muslims (al-Muslimîn) took advantage of the occasion of the departure of the troops of France (Faransâ) from Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and they rose against the Christians (an-Našârâ). And Nâşşîf Pasha (Bâšâ) was one of the commanders of the Ottoman (al-'Uthmânî) army. He came to the city with a company of the Mamluks (al-Mamâlik), and he proclaimed in it that they had overcome the Franks (al-Afranğ) ⁽⁶⁾, and he commanded the killing of the rest of the Christians (an-Našârâ); and they began to slaughter them without discriminating between the Copts (al-Ḳibṭî) and the Syrians (as-Sûri) and the Franks (al-Afranğî) ⁽⁷⁾. And 'Uthmân Bey, one of the officers of the Turks (al-Atrâk), perceived their condition, and he came to Nâşşîf Pasha (Bâšâ), and he said to him : « It is not right that they shed the

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. VI, p. 56.

⁽²⁾ Cf. *Précis de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, t. III, p. 141.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* 'the great bosom'.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* 'the lofty Gate'. Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. VI, p. 161 sqq., *Précis de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, t. III, pp. 161 and 163, G. HANOTAUX, *op. cit.*, vol. V, pp. 464-465. The Grand Wazîr was Yûsif Pasha.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. VI, p. 174, *Précis de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, t. III, p. 163 sqq.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. VI, p. 175 and *Précis de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, pp. 164-165.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. G. HANOTAUX, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 489 and Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. VI, p. 175.

colocynth at the time, when the troops of Napoleon (Nābuliūn) Bonaparte (Būnābarat) occupied this land⁽¹⁾, (in the) year one thousand, five hundred and fourteen of the Martyrs, that is, one thousand, seven hundred and ninety-eight of the Frankish (Afranġlah) (Year)⁽²⁾. And (it was) that, when the feet of the French (Faransā) soldiers trod the land of Abū Kīr⁽³⁾ and Alexandria, the rabble of the Muslims (al-Muslimīn) in Cairo (al-Ķāhirah) was inflamed, and they began to cause the Christians (an-Naṣārā) to drink the cup⁽⁴⁾ of bitterness, in spite of endeavours of their amīrs who informed them that these Christians (al-Masīhiyin) (were) among the subjects of the State, and that he who touches their honour touches the honour of the State itself. But this did not intimidate them, and they did not dread the assault of Bonaparte (Būnābarat) and his impetuous soldiers. And (it was) that, when these fought against the Mamluks (al-Mamālik) and conquered them and took possession of Cairo (al-Ķāhirah), the Christians (an-Naṣārā) thought that the troubled atmosphere had cleared for them; (but) there rose up the majority of the Muslims (al-Muslimīn), and the sheikhs (aš-Šiyūkh) of the Azhar Mosque (al-Ġami‘)⁽⁵⁾, and they assembled in it. And they sent the readers to go around the markets, proclaiming: «Let everyone who declares that there is only one God⁽⁶⁾, go to the Azhar Mosque (al-Ġami‘)⁽⁵⁾. This is the day of the holy war (al-Ġihād) in the fight against the godless and to take vengeance»⁽⁷⁾. And the city was stirred up thereby and agitated, and the Muslims (al-Muslimīn) closed their shops, and they girded on their weapons, and they assembled in the Azhar Mosque (al-Ġami‘)⁽⁵⁾. Then they went about pillaging the houses of the Christians (al-Masīhiyin) of different races

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* 'region'.

⁽²⁾ *I.e.* A.D.

⁽³⁾ On the coast 23 kilometres east of Alexandria. Cf. G. HANOTAUX, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 267.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* 'cups'.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. D. RUSSELL, *Medieval Cairo and the Monasteries of the Wādi Naṭrān*, London, 1962, p. 184 sqq.

⁽⁶⁾ *I.e.* he who declares «There is no God but God».

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. VI, p. 55.

the reins of government ⁽¹⁾, and the millstone of the two of them revolved on its former pivot, when they began to adopt ways of oppression with the Christians (al-Masīḥiyin) whose condition became such that it called for the occupation of the French (Faransā) ⁽²⁾ of this country ⁽³⁾, as will follow. As for Abba (Anbā) John (Yū'ānnis), he died (in the) year one thousand, five hundred and twelve of the Martyrs ⁽⁴⁾ which corresponds to one thousand, seven hundred and eighty-eight of the Coptic (Kibṭiyah) Incarnation (Year) ⁽⁵⁾.

ABBA (ANBĀ) JOHN (YŪ'ĀNNIS) ⁽⁶⁾, AND HE IS THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTH OF THE NUMBER OF THE PATRIARCHS.

* Fol. 265 r^o Concerning him ⁽⁷⁾, he was one of the monks of the Monastery of Saint Abba (Anbā) * Antony (Anṭūnīūs) ⁽⁸⁾. And when his predecessor died, the opinion of the priests and the heads of the priests ⁽⁹⁾ and the archons (ἄρχων) of the people was agreed upon for his consecration ⁽¹⁰⁾ as patriarch, and he was consecrated (in the) year one thousand, five hundred and thirteen of the Martyrs ⁽⁴⁾ which corresponds (to the) year one thousand, seven hundred and eighty-nine ⁽⁵⁾. And he beheld something of the calamities which beset his predecessor, and he shared with the faithful the misfortunes of that ill-omened, ill-starred generation. And his bowels were exhausted in grief, and he suffered through hearing of the ear and seeing of the eye those calamities which overburdened the backs of the Christians (al-Masīḥiyin). And it grew worse ⁽¹¹⁾, and its severity became harder, and its bitterness (was) a

⁽¹⁾ Cf. *Précis de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, t. III, p. 49.

⁽²⁾ Cf. *Précis de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, t. III, pp. 132-133.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* 'region'.

⁽⁴⁾ = 1796 A.D.

⁽⁵⁾ *I.e.* the Ethiopian Era.

⁽⁶⁾ John was the name of this patriarch before his consecration, when he took the name Mark.

⁽⁷⁾ *Lit.* 'his affair'.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. p. 237, n. 3.

⁽⁹⁾ *I.e.* the bishops.

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Lit.* 'his advancement'.

⁽¹¹⁾ *Lit.* 'And its mud increased in moisture'.

the law (*νόμος*) of humanity in wronging by their behaviour the Christians (an-Naṣārā), they took their chattles of different kinds and they sold them at the command of the Pasha (Bāšā) referred to, in the sight of the people. And thereby how many houses became desolate, and how many houses and dwellings lamented their inhabitants on account of their forsaking them. And by reason of this (it was), that the troops seized the wife of the honourable Mu'allim Abraham (Ibrāhīm) al-Ġawhārī, treasurer of accounts of Cairo (Miṣr), and they compelled her to inform them concerning the hiding-places of the money and other than it of her husband, and she did this being forced, and they pillaged his house, and they left it razed to the ground⁽¹⁾. And to make things worse⁽²⁾, the plague suddenly fell upon Egypt (Miṣr)⁽³⁾ with its horses and its armies, and it struck all its lands, towards the year one thousand, five hundred and seven of the Martyrs⁽⁴⁾ which corresponds to one thousand, seven hundred and eighty-three of the Coptic (Kibṭiyah) Incarnation (Year)⁽⁵⁾, and (to) one thousand, seven hundred and ninety-one of the Frankish (Afranġiah) (Year)⁽⁶⁾. And there used to die in Cairo (al-Ķāhirah) on a single day about one thousand, and this plague was known among the people as 'bubonic' on account of its magnitude and its gravity, so that it annihilated the people. And from among them the plague struck down Ismā'il Bey⁽⁷⁾ who had been appointed governor by the Sublime Porte⁽⁸⁾ over Egypt (Miṣr), and he died from it, and another was set up in his place, and he died also on that same day, et cætera, until it (the plague) annihilated all the relatives of Ismā'il Bey. And Ibrāhīm and Murād seized this opportunity, and they returned to Cairo (al-Ķāhirah), and they seized

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* 'flattened ground'.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* 'and to increase the mud by moisture'.

⁽³⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. V, p. 90.

⁽⁴⁾ = 1790-1791 A.D.

⁽⁵⁾ *I.e.* the Ethiopian Era.

⁽⁶⁾ *I.e.* A.D.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. G. HANOTAUX, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 149 and Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. V, pp. 90 and 142 sqq.

⁽⁸⁾ *Lit.* 'the most important breast'.

father Mark (Marḳus) died, the opinion of the people was agreed upon to consecrate him patriarch, and he was consecrated (in the year one thousand, four hundred and eighty-six of the Martyrs ⁽¹⁾ which corresponds to the year one thousand, seven hundred and sixty-two of the Coptic (Ḳibṭiyah) Christian (Masīḥiyah) (Year) ⁽²⁾. And ask not concerning what befell him and befell his people from the oppressive afflictions which drove him to hide and to conceal himself, fleeing from the oppression of the rulers and the iniquity of the governors (al-Wulāt) who burdened the shoulders of the Christians (al-Masīḥiyin) and intensified the pressure, especially, by increasing the taxes; and we shall single out in the mentioning of these calamities what was in general. And when Ibrāhīm and Murād, seniors of the Mamluks (al-Mamālik) of Egypt (Miṣr) ⁽³⁾, resolved to be independent in the government, without leaving a hand in it to the Sublime Porte ⁽⁴⁾, namely, the Ottoman ('Uthmāniyah) State, and had expelled the wazīr of the Sultan, they perceived that the State would not remain silent, but would declare war ⁽⁵⁾ against the two of them, they began to impose on the Egyptians (al-Miṣriyin) burdensome taxes in a form (which) resembled pillaging and robbing ⁽⁶⁾. And they (the people) were oppressed, and they sought aid, and the hour of aid lingered, but the enjoyment of oppression which the Mamluks (al-Mamālik) enjoyed did not equal to anything compared to what Ḥassan Pasha (Bāšā) ⁽⁷⁾ did, when he warred against them and conquered them and entered * Cairo (Al-Ḳāhirah) victorious. And his troops did what the soul loathes to mention and the mind abhors. And they violated ⁽⁸⁾ the houses of the Christians (al-Masīḥiyin); and in addition to violation of the rules of decency and their infringement of

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⁽¹⁾ = 1769 A.D.

⁽²⁾ *I.e.* the Ethiopian Era.

⁽³⁾ Cf. G. HANOTAUX, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 140 sqq. and Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. III, p. 232.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* 'the Lofty Gate'.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* 'draw the sword of war'.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. III, p. 93.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. G. HANOTAUX, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 144 sqq.

⁽⁸⁾ *Lit.* 'they trod down'.

(Abû Saifain) ⁽¹⁾. And the fathers, the metropolitans (al-Maṭārinah), and the hegoumenoi (al-Ḳamāmiṣah) and the priests performed for this father, the patriarch, what is fitting for the fathers, the patriarchs, and he was entombed at the second hour ⁽²⁾ of Friday. And the first consecration of this father was on the twenty-fourth day of (the) month (of) Bašuns (in the) year one thousand, four hundred and sixty-one of the Pure Martyrs ⁽³⁾, * the day of the entry of the Master (into) the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) ⁽⁴⁾. And his going to his rest (was) on the twelfth day of the month (of) Bašuns (in the) Coptic (Ḳibṭiyah) Year one thousand, four hundred and eighty-five ⁽⁵⁾; and the duration of the life of the father, the patriarch, on the Throne of Mark (al-Marḳusī) (was) twenty-four years and three months and fourteen days. And the father, the mentioned deceased patriarch, endured in these days intimidations, the number of which is not to be counted; sometimes from behind and sometimes from perverse disloyal people, and if we were to explain to you, the explanation would be drawn out. And we beseech God and the Agent of our salvation, through the intercession of the possessor of intercessions, the mine of purity and generosity and blessings, our illustrious Lady, the spotless Virgin, the Mother of the salvation of the world, (and) through the prayers of this father, for us and you, O my fathers and my brethren. Amen.

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ABBA (ANBĀ) JOHN (YŪḤANNĀ) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTH OF THE NUMBER OF THE PATRIARCHS.

Concerning him ⁽⁶⁾, he was a monk in the Monastery of the Saint Abba (Anbā) Antony (Anṭūniūs) ⁽⁷⁾. And when his predecessor, the

rius. For the Monastery, cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 40-49.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 229, n. 6.

⁽²⁾ I.e. 8 a.m.

⁽³⁾ = 1745 A.D.

⁽⁴⁾ On this day there is commemorated the entry into Egypt of the Holy Family, cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *In the Steps of the Holy Family*, Cairo, 1963.

⁽⁵⁾ = 1769 A.D.

⁽⁶⁾ Lit. 'his affair'.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. p. 237, n. 3.

virtuous, honoured father, the patriarch, beheld at the going-forth of the spirit from the body, the two holy fathers, Antony (Anṭūnītūs) and Abba (Anbā) Paul (Bālā). And the father, the patriarch, was translated from the Church of the Lady, the Mistress, at the Monastery Al-ʿAdawiyah⁽¹⁾; and being gone to his rest, the Christian (al-Masīḥiyin) brethren bore him to the Monastery of the great martyr, the bright morning-star, the great among the martyrs, the courageous warrior, my master the king, my lord (Mārī) George (Ġirġis), at the Convent of the nuns⁽²⁾. And the father, the patriarch, passed the night, being gone to his rest, beneath the eicon (εἰκών) of the great martyr⁽³⁾, with readings and prayers and Gospel-lessons and the psalms of the great prophet David (Dāūd). And in the morning of Friday which was the thirteenth of (the) month (of) Bašūns (in the) year one thousand, four hundred, and eighty-five⁽⁴⁾, the fathers, the metropolitans (al-Maṭārinah) came to him: the honoured father, Abba (Anbā) Yūsā, metropolitan (Muṭrān) of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah), and this mentioned father had been consecrated by the hand of the father, the patriarch, six months before his going to his rest. And the honoured father, Abba (Anbā) Peter (Buṭrus), the metropolitan (Muṭrān) of Upper Egypt (al-Waġah al-Ḳibli) whom the father, the patriarch, had chosen, fearing for the flock, that he might pasture his good flock, fearing for them on account of the ravenous wolves. And all the hegoumens (al-Ḳamāmišah) and the priests and the archons (ἀρχων) and the teachers, and the whole of the Christian (al-Masīḥiyin) people (were) walking on foot⁽⁵⁾, and the priests (with) censers of fragrant incense in their hand, and excellent perfumes, and vested in phelonions (al-Barānus), from the Monastery of the great martyr, my lord (Mārī) George (Ġirġis)⁽⁶⁾, to the Monastery of the great martyr Philopater⁽⁷⁾ Mercurius (Marḳūriūs), father of the two swords

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 293, n. 7.

⁽²⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, p. 77.

⁽³⁾ *I.e.* Saint George.

⁽⁴⁾ = 1769 A.D.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* 'on their feet'.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 39-40.

⁽⁷⁾ The epithet 'Lover of his parents' is usually given to Saint Mercu-

of Ibrāhīm Bey⁽¹⁾. And 'Umar Bey, the governor (Ḥākim) at Ġirḡā⁽²⁾, rallied them, and they remained for a period of eight months in Upper Egypt (aṣ-Ṣa'id), and that (was) in (the) year one thousand, one hundred and sixty-one of the Lunar (Year)⁽³⁾. And after that, Šāikh al-'Arab Hamām concerned himself and provided for them a shipment of wheat and flour and butter and honey and other than it, and he despatched them⁽⁴⁾ to the Land of Al-Ḥiḡāz in ships from the chief city of Al-Ḳuṣair aš-Šāmi⁽⁵⁾. And after that, also, the sedition did not cease, until God had mercy on His adorers and removed this affliction. And (it was) on the blessed Thursday which was the twelfth of (the) month (of) the blessed Bašuns (in the) Coptic (Ḳibṭiyah) Year one thousand, four hundred and eighty-five of the Pure Martyrs⁽⁶⁾, which corresponds to the eleventh of the sacred month (of) Al-Muḥarram (in the) year one thousand, one hundred and eighty-three of the Lunar (Year), (that) the virtuous, honoured father Abba (Anbā) Mark (Marḳus), patriarch of the great city of Alexandria, and Ethiopia (Al-Ḥabašah) and Nubia (An-Nūbah), went to his rest in the Church of the Lady, the Mistress, the Mother of the Salvation of the world, at the Monastery Al-'Adawiyah⁽⁷⁾, at the second hour⁽⁸⁾ on that day. And it was the feast of our lady, the chaste, the virtuous in honour, the lady Dimiānah, * and the commemoration of the Chief of the angels Michael (Mikhāyil), Chief of the ranks of the heavens⁽⁹⁾, and the falling-asleep of the great martyr John (Yūḡannā) Chrysostom (Fam adh-Dhahab)⁽¹⁰⁾. And in that hour, the

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(1) Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 29.

(2) Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 214.

(3) = 1748 A.D.

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

(5) A port on the Red Sea.

(6) = 1769 A.D.

(7) Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, pp. 136-137, 340.

(8) *I.e.* 8 a.m.

(9) = ὁ Ταξιάρχης τῶν ἐπουρανίων.

(10) The term 'martyr' is often applied to Saint John Chrysostom on account of the fact that he was deliberately killed by enforced walking in severe weather. On this day the Coptic Church makes these three commemorations, cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, p. 67.

was buried in the Church of Abba (Abû) Mercurius (Marḳûrah) in Cairo (Miṣr) ⁽¹⁾. May the Lord have mercy upon us through his prayer! Amen.

MARK (MARḲUS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

* Fol. 263 r^o This father (was) from the inhabitants of the district of Ḳalûṣnâ * of the regions of the wilâyah of Al-Bahnasâ ⁽²⁾, and his name (was) Symeon (Samâ'an). And he went up to the Monastery of the great Saint Abba (Anbâ) Paul (Bûlâ), while he was a very ⁽³⁾ young man, (and) he remained in it for a time, and he used to go frequently from the Monastery of the father Antony (Anṭûniûs) ⁽⁴⁾ to the Monastery of the Saint Abba (Anbâ) Paul (Bûlâ) ⁽⁵⁾; and he was clothed with the angelic form ⁽⁶⁾, and he merited to be a priest. And when Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'annis) who was before him, went to his rest, the choice fell upon him, and they sent and they caused him to come to Cairo (Miṣr), and they consecrated him patriarch on the twenty-fourth day of (the) month of Bašuns (in the) year one thousand, four hundred and sixty-one ⁽⁷⁾ which corresponds to (the) year one thousand, one hundred and fifty-seven (of the Tax Year). And he remained two years, and the troops were quiet in Cairo (Miṣr), and after that, a great sedition occurred among the troops at Cairo (Miṣr). And in it were killed Khalîl Bey ⁽⁸⁾, the Amîr al-Hâġ, and 'Alî Bey Al-Dumyâti ⁽⁹⁾, the Deſterdâr, and 'Umar Bey Ghîtâs ⁽¹⁰⁾ and Muḥammad Bey Dhâdah. And a group of the amîrs, the ſanjaks (Œanġâġ), fled to Upper Egypt (aŒ-Œa'id), and they (were) the amîr 'Umar Bey and his brother, and Ḥaſſan Bey, an adherent

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 229, n. 6.

⁽²⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* 'small'.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 237, n. 3.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. p. 284, n. 4.

⁽⁶⁾ *I.e.* the monastic skhêma.

⁽⁷⁾ = 1745 A.D.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 105.

⁽⁹⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 106.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Read 'Kitas'.

And also there occurred a severe dearth in the year one thousand, one hundred, and fifty-two (of the Tax Year) and the year one thousand, one hundred and fifty-three; and wheat was bought at six gold sequins (Maḥbûb) ⁽¹⁾ for the Cairene (al-Miṣrî) ardab, every waḥbah for a sequin (Šarîfî) ⁽²⁾, a gold sequin (Maḥbûb) ⁽³⁾. And the people ⁽³⁾ endured hard affliction, especially the poor Christians (an-Našârâ), partly from the dearth, partly from the demand of the tax (al-Ġawâlî) without pity. And there were at Cairo (Miṣr) at that time archons (ἄρχων) beloved of Christ (al-Masîḥ), Al-Mu'allim Nairûz and Al-Mu'allim Rizq-Allah al-Badawî and Al-Mu'allim Bânûb of Ziftâ (az-Ziftâwî) ⁽⁴⁾ and others than they. They used to buy the poor as a purchase from the prison of the tax (al-Ġawâlî), and they delivered them. And also in (the) year one thousand, one hundred and fifty-five of Tax (Year) there occurred a sedition ⁽⁵⁾ in Egypt (Miṣr) with one ṣanjak (Şanğak) ⁽⁶⁾ named 'Uthmân Bey from the notables of Egypt (Miṣr). And a part of the troops rose up against him, and he arose and fled to Upper Egypt (al-Wağah al-Kibli), and they pillaged his house ⁽⁷⁾, and after that he returned to the Grecian (ar-Rûmîah) Lands ⁽⁸⁾. And Egypt (Miṣr) and its inhabitants did not cease (being) troubled and afflicted and in difficult hardships; and may the Lord God have pity upon them through His mercy! And this father remained patriarch for eighteen years and (some) months, and he went to his rest on the Monday of Holy Week (al-Başkah), the thirteenth of (the) month of Baramûdah (in the) year one thousand, four hundred and sixty-one ⁽⁹⁾ which corresponds to the seventeenth of (the) month of Rabî'a al-Awal (in the) year one thousand, one hundred and fifty-seven of the Lunar (Year); and he

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 9.

⁽²⁾ Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 749.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* 'creatures'.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 531.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 92 sqq.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 85.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 98.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 101.

⁽⁹⁾ = 1745 A.D.

(Millawī) ⁽¹⁾, and he went up to the Monastery of the great Saint Abba (Anbā) Paul (Būlā) ⁽²⁾. And he remained in it for a time, and he was clothed with the angelic form ⁽³⁾, and he merited that he should be a priest, and his name was 'Abd as-Said. And when the father Abba (Anbā) Peter (Buṭrus) who was before him, went to his rest, the choice fell on him, and they sent (and) they brought him to Cairo (Miṣr) and they consecrated him patriarch at the Church of the martyr Abba (Abū) Mercurius (Marḳūrah) ⁽⁴⁾ in the beginning of the year one thousand, four hundred and forty-three of the Martyrs ⁽⁵⁾ which corresponds to the year one thousand, one hundred and thirty-nine of the Tax (Year); and he remained the space of a week in Cairo (Miṣr), and he returned to the Patriarchal Cell (κελλιον) at the Ḥārat ar-Rūm ⁽⁶⁾. And there occurred in his days an increase of the tax (al-Ġawālī) on Christians (an-Naṣārā), and Jews (al-Yahūd) ⁽⁷⁾ from the beginning of (the) year one thousand, one hundred and forty-seven of the Tax (Year). The highest (class) paid four hundred half-silver (coins) and sixty half-silver (coins) additional tax ⁽⁸⁾, and the middle (class) paid two hundred half-silver (coins) and thirty half-silver (coins) additional tax, and the lowest (class) paid one hundred half-silver (coins) and fifteen half-(silver coins) additional tax. And they took the tax (al-Ġawālī) from the fathers, the bishops, and the monks and the priests, and they exempted ⁽⁹⁾ no one. And those who were appointed to collect this (were) a body of Baštaliāh (who) used to come every year from Greece (ar-Rūm) in the name of the Sublime Porte ⁽¹⁰⁾, being appointed to collect this. And they were days of affliction and mourning for all the poor and the master-craftsmen.

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⁽¹⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁽²⁾ Cf. p. 284, n. 4.

⁽³⁾ *I.e.* the monastic skhēma.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 229, n. 6.

⁽⁵⁾ = 1726 A.D.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. p. 279, n. 2.

⁽⁷⁾ Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 10.

⁽⁸⁾ جراني, 'taxe, contribution accessoire', cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 62.

⁽⁹⁾ *Lit.* 'they respected'.

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Lit.* 'the Noble Power'.

priests and deacons in number. And he (Peter) was generous ⁽¹⁾ with food and drink ⁽²⁾, (and) he resembled * Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'annis) * Fol. 262 r° who was before him. And he used to resemble him in all his deeds, and in charity ⁽³⁾ and other than it. And all the people were in his days in welfare and good health and security; and they were zealous in charity ⁽³⁾ and good works. And, especially, one archon (ἀρχων) named Al-Mu'allim George (Ġirġis) Abû Šihâtah from the district of Abnûb ⁽⁴⁾ in Upper Egypt (aš-Ša'id). And he came and he fixed his residence in Cairo (Mišr), and he was a widower, and he married the sister of Al-Mu'allim Luṭf-Allah. And he was a person of great charity ⁽³⁾, and he did many good things to the poor and the priests and other than them. And together with this, it was (that) his money was with the šanjaks (aš-Šanāğak) in Cairo (Mišr), and the Aghas (al-Aghwât); and when he went to his rest, they found that he had many debts — may God give rest to his soul! And this father remained patriarch for eight years and (some) months, and he went to his rest in (the) month of Baramhât (in the) year one thousand, four hundred and forty-two of the Martyrs ⁽⁵⁾ which corresponds to (the) year one thousand, one hundred and thirty-eight of the Tax (Year), and there was in its ⁽⁶⁾ days a pest. And he was buried in the Church of Abba (Abû) Mercurius (Marḳûrah) in Cairo (Mišr) ⁽⁷⁾. May the Lord have mercy upon us through his prayer! And after him Abû Šihâtah went to his rest during the mentioned pest. May the Lord give rest to the souls of all, and have mercy upon us through their prayers! Amen.

ABBA (ANBÂ) JOHN (YÛ'ANNIS), AND HE IS THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father (was) from the inhabitants of the district of Mallawî

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* 'generous of soul'.

⁽²⁾ *I.e.* in entertaining guests.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* 'mercy'.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

⁽⁵⁾ = 1726 A.D.

⁽⁶⁾ *I.e.* of the mentioned year.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. p. 229, n. 6.

(aš-Šaitān), the enemy of good — may God confound him! — stirred up against him one who killed him, while he was going to his house, on Friday, at the time of dining; and this was in the month of Misrā (in the) year one thousand, four hundred and thirty-six of the Martyrs ⁽¹⁾ which corresponds to (the) year one thousand, one hundred and thirty-two of the Tax (Year) — may God give rest to his soul! And they shrouded him, and they buried him; and this father celebrated ⁽²⁾ for him, in his name, one thousand Divine Liturgies. And when it was in the year one thousand, one hundred and thirty-three of the Tax (Year), this father set out for the city of Alexandria, and he visited the Church of the father, the preacher, my lord (Māri) Mark (Marḳus) the Evangelist ⁽³⁾. And he remained in it (Alexandria) about sixty days in joy and contentment and rejoicing; and he had brought with him a gift to my lord (Māri) Mark (Marḳus), a silver sanctuary lamp (καυδῆλιον) and about twenty ardabs of wheat. He visited it (Alexandria) and (his) desire was accomplished and he was satisfied the more with the archons (ἀρχων) who were overseers ⁽⁴⁾ in the dīwān of Alexandria. He returned to Cairo (Miṣr) in safety, and all his days were peaceful, and his people (were) at rest through his prayer. And there was in the days of this father an archon (ἀρχων) named Al-Mu'allim Mercurius (Marḳūrīūs), designated as 'white cock'. He was at that time in the service of a certain Ġūrbaġī, an elect of the notables of Egypt (Miṣr), named Abraham (Ibrāhīm) Ġūrbaġī aš-Šabūnġī 'Azbān ⁽⁵⁾, and the mentioned archon (ἀρχων) was overseer at the Church of the Mistress the Virgin, known as 'at the Monastery of Al-'Adawīyah' ⁽⁶⁾. And the power of God the Exalted assisted him through the intercession of the Lady, the Mistress, and he (re)built the mentioned monastery completely, better than it was at first. And this father was called, and he consecrated the mentioned Church, and also he consecrated a Church other than it, and he ordained

⁽¹⁾ = 1720 A.D.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* 'made'.

⁽³⁾ Cf. p. 282, n. 7.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 89.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 252.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. p. 282, n. 2.

for the northern regions, and he went round in them, and he intended to visit the Church of my lord (Māri) Mark (Marḳus) the Evangelist at Alexandria⁽¹⁾. And a sedition occurred in Egypt (Miṣr) between a ṣanjak (Ṣanġaḳ) named Ismā'il Bey Ibn Iwāz, and a ṣanjak (Ṣanġaḳ) named Muḥammad Bey Ġarkas⁽²⁾, so he returned to Cairo (Miṣr), and he did not set out for Alexandria in that year. And the governor (al-Mutawālī) in Egypt (Miṣr) at that time was named Raġab Pasha (Bāšā)⁽³⁾. A group calumniated Al-Mu'allim Luṭf-Allah to him, that he had (re)-built the southern Church of the Angel (Mikhāyil)⁽⁴⁾ and the Church of the martyr Abba (Abū) Menas (Minā) in Cairo (Miṣr), and, in truth, he had (re)built them from his (own) money, better than what they were at first; because (as regards) the Church of the martyr Abba (Abū) Menas (Minā), they were not able to enter through the door of the choir (χορός)⁽⁵⁾ in the daytime, except with a taper (Φυτίλιον), and he (re)constructed it and (re)built it as a great light church, and he built in it cells (κελλίον) for the poor and others than them; and Raġab Pasha (Bāšā)⁽³⁾ the aforementioned * pressed the demand on Al-Mu'allim Luṭf-Allah with assiduity. And a group of the notables who were attached to Al-Mu'allim Luṭf-Allah complied with the desire of the mentioned wazīr with about forty purses. And he (Luṭf-Allah) paid it from what he had of his money, as was (already) mentioned, and he did not take anything from the archons (ἀρχων), and also the expenses which he expended on the setting up of this father as patriarch, he did not take anything from anyone; and all this (was) from his own (money), because there was not in his time he who was equal to him in wealth, and also in honour and strength of heart. And Satan

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⁽¹⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, p. 118.

⁽²⁾ Cf. G. HANOYLAUX, *Histoire de la Nation Égyptienne*, t. V, p. 102 and Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 130 sqq.

⁽³⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 133 and 268.

⁽⁴⁾ This may be the Church of the Archangel Michael at the Fūm al-Khalīġ (South of Cairo) mentioned by Maḳrīzī, cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 340, and E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 577 and 579.

⁽⁵⁾ For an example of a choir-door cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, plate XV.

Paul (Bûlâ) ⁽¹⁾. And he remained for a time, until the father Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'annis) went to his rest. And none of the archons (ἀρχων) went to the monasteries, * and no searching occurred, but the will of God the Exalted directed them to this father. And there was one archon (ἀρχων) who was assiduous in this, named Al-Mu'allim Luṭf-Allah. He was married to the daughter of the brother of Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'annis) the deceased ⁽²⁾ and he sent him to And the Kâimaḳâm ⁽³⁾ sent to the district of Bûš ⁽⁴⁾, (and) he seized this father and he sent him in fetters to Cairo (Miṣr). And they consecrated him patriarch at the Church of the Saint Abba (Abû) Mercurius (Marḳûrah) in Cairo (Miṣr) ⁽⁵⁾ on the seventeenth of the month of Misrâ (in the) year one thousand, four hundred and thirty-four of the Martyrs ⁽⁶⁾ which corresponds to the twenty-fourth of the month of Ramaḍân (in the) year one thousand, one hundred and thirty. And it was on that day (that) the Nile (an-Nîl) rose in Egypt (Miṣr), and there was rejoicing and great gladness. And he (Peter) remained in Cairo (Miṣr) about the space of a week, and he went to the Patriarchal Cell (κελλίον) in the Ḥârat ar-Rûm ⁽⁷⁾, according to the custom, and he consecrated our father, the honoured bishop Abba (Anbâ) Athanasius (Atanâsîûs), for the See of Jerusalem (Aûrušalîm). And in those days, there came messengers from the king of Ethiopia (Al-Ḥabašah) seeking for them a metropolitan (Mutrân). And the father consecrated Abba (Anbâ) Christodoulos (Akhrîstûṭulû), former bishop of Jerusalem (Aûrušalîm), and he set out by sea, in the company of the messengers, from the chief-town of Suez (as-Sûîz) to the city of Jedda (Ġiddâ) ⁽⁸⁾. And this father (Peter) set out

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 284, n. 4.

⁽²⁾ *I.e.* the preceding patriarch.

⁽³⁾ Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 434.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 366, and O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, p. 18, n. 27.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. p. 229, n. 6.

⁽⁶⁾ = 1718 A.D.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, p. 76.

⁽⁸⁾ *I.e.* the port of Mecca.

And he ('Âbdî) killed a great multitude in Egypt (Mişr), but the sedition did not linger as the former sedition; and the evil ceased, and the subjects were in tranquillity and security and wellbeing and peace for the remainder of the days of his (the patriarch's) life. And it was in (the) year one thousand, four hundred and thirty-four of the Martyrs⁽¹⁾, (that there was) a pest in Egypt (Mişr)⁽²⁾. And this father went to his rest on the tenth day of (the month of) Baû'ûnah (in the) year of its date⁽³⁾ which corresponds to the sixteenth of (the month of) Rağab (in the) year one thousand, one hundred and thirty of the Lunar (Year); and he had remained forty-two years patriarch on the Throne. May the Lord have mercy upon us through his prayer! And Al-Mu'allim George (Ġirğis) went to his rest ten days after him. And the day of the translation⁽⁴⁾ of this father was a great day, and they performed his funeral service with great honour, and he was buried in the Church of Abba (Abû) Mercurius (Marğûrah) in Cairo (Mişr)⁽⁵⁾. May the blessing of the prayer of all (the Saints) be with us!

PETER (BUṬRUS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTH OF
(THEIR) NUMBER.

This holy father (was) from the district of the inhabitants of Styût⁽⁶⁾; and he went up to the Mountain⁽⁷⁾ of the great Saint Abba (Anbâ) Paul (Bûlâ)⁽⁸⁾, while a young man. And he remained for a time, and he was clothed with the holy skhêma (σχημα), and he merited to be a priest at the hand of the deceased Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'annis), and he appointed him as head of the Monastery of the great Saint Abba (Anbâ)

⁽¹⁾ = 1717-1718 A.D.

⁽²⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 126.

⁽³⁾ *I.e.* of the aforementioned year.

⁽⁴⁾ *I.e.* his decease.

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

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

⁽⁷⁾ *I.e.* the Desert.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 91-116.

(al-Ḳusṭantīniyah). And Khalīl Pasha (Bāšā) was deposed⁽¹⁾, and the subjects were in tranquillity, and contentment prevailed, and (there was) selling and buying and commercial dealings⁽²⁾. And harm did not befall anyone of the Christians (an-Naṣārā) through the prayer of this father, because the favour and the gifts which God granted to this father did not happen to other than to him from the fathers, the patriarchs, from the time of Abba (Anbā) Matthew (Mattā), the eighty-seventh, up to this father, because he was assisted by God in all his works and deeds. And he consecrated a number of churches in Cairo (Miṣr) and the Rif⁽³⁾, after their repair, and, also, he consecrated metropolitans (Maṭārinah) and bishops and priests and deacons. And he remained * all his time in wellbeing and health and tranquillity; and he (re-)built the Monastery of the great Saint Abba (Anbā) Paul (Būlā)⁽⁴⁾, after it had been ruined for a time. And he went to it and visited it, and he consecrated the church, and he established in it monks, and he endowed (it with) its inalienable endowment from the inalienable endowment of Saint Antony (Anṭūniūs)⁽⁵⁾. And also he visited the Monastery of Saint Antony (Anṭūniūs)⁽⁶⁾ twice, once alone, and once with Al-Mu'allim George (Ġirġis) aṭ-Ṭūkhī the (afore-)mentioned. And when it was in (the) year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-seven of the Tax (Year), there happened again a sedition in Egypt (Miṣr), and it was at the time when 'Ābdī Pasha (Bāšā) (was) governor (Mutawālī) of Egypt (Miṣr)⁽⁷⁾. And he ('Ābdī) killed the amīr Ghaiṭas Bey⁽⁸⁾, and he wished to kill the amīr Muḥammad Bey his subordinate, and he (Muḥammad) turned in flight to the Grecian (ar-Rūmīyah) Lands⁽⁹⁾.

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⁽¹⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 114.

⁽²⁾ Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 13.

⁽³⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, 'The Rif of Egypt' in *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, fasc. 1/2, 1939, pp. 96-119.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 91-116.

⁽⁵⁾ *I.e.* The Monastery of Saint Antony.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 31-88.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 126.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 127 and 230.

⁽⁹⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 128 and 230.

on visit to (the Church of) the Glorious Resurrection ⁽¹⁾ with the archon (ἀρχων) Al-Mu'allim George (Ġirġis) at-Ṭūkhī the (afore-)mentioned, and their companions were a company from the priests and the archons (ἀρχων) and the people; and their journey was by land, not by sea, and there was a great * rejoicing, the like of which had not been seen nor heard of at all. And when it was in (the) year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-three of the Lunar (Year)⁽²⁾, there ruled in Egypt (Miṣr) one who was named Khalīl Pasha (Bāšā)⁽³⁾. And the aforementioned caused a great sedition among the troops; and there was, at that time, one ṣanjak named Aīyūb Bey⁽⁴⁾ had taken refuge at the Gate Al-Inkiġāriah, and an other ṣanjak named Ghaīṭās Bey⁽⁵⁾ had taken refuge at the Gate Al-Gharb; and each one of them had companies who were devoted to them and companions. And when the sedition occurred among them and became exceedingly serious and great, the markets were closed and selling and buying ceased, and Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) remained seventy days (with) the markets closed. And the cannons shot from the Gate Al-Inkiġāriah against the Gate Al-Gharb, and from the Gate Al-Gharb against the Gate Al-Inkiġāriah, and the houses of many people were burned⁽⁶⁾, and, in brief, there was severe affliction and great hardship for the whole of the people, especially, the poor. And they used to drink the water of the wells by reason of the cutting off of the ways and the lack of water-carriers, because they were not able to go to fill (their skins) from Būlāḳ⁽⁶⁾ by reason of the multitude of the Bedouins (al-'Urbān) and the hostile troops. And, after seventy days⁽⁷⁾, God the Exalted (so) willed and caused rejoicing to the adorers by reason of the flight of Aīyūb Bey⁽⁸⁾ and some of the company of his companions to the Grecian (ar-Rūmīah) Lands, and he died at Constantinople

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⁽¹⁾ I.e. at Jerusalem.

⁽²⁾ = 1711-1712 A.D.

⁽³⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 90.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 92.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 97.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 100.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 93.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 109, 113.

(an-Naṣārā) in the year one thousand, one hundred and twelve of the Tax (Year) on account of the churches, but through the aid of God the Exalted and His mercy, and through the prayer of this father (John), no harm happened by reason of the presence of the teachers, the archons (ἀρχων), who were undertaking the service of the great of Egypt (Miṣr), and they quashed the judgment against the Christians (an-Naṣārā) without difficulty at all. And nothing happened at the holy places, and the Divine Liturgy (Ḳuddās) did not cease on any day⁽¹⁾, and God — praised and exalted be He! — made void the power of Satan (aš-Šaitān) and the opponents, and tranquillity did not cease to exist until (the) year one thousand, one hundred and seventeen of the Tax (Year), (when) again the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) dried up, and it was named the yellow drought. When the Nile (al-Baḥr) ceased to rise, our father, the patriarch, went to the Church of our Lady the Virgin at Al-ʿAdawiyah⁽²⁾, and with him a company of the priests; and he remained every day celebrating the Divine Liturgy, and he used to pray over a little water in a small earthenware vase⁽³⁾ and to sign it with the Holy Chrism (μύρον) and to cast it into the Nile (al-Baḥr). And God the Exalted through His mercy had pity on His adorers, and the Nile (an-Nil) rose on the twelfth of (the month of) Tūt⁽⁴⁾, and the people⁽⁵⁾ were tranquil. And in this⁽⁶⁾ year wheat reached eight piastres (Ḳurūš) the Cairene (al-Miṣrī) ardab, the price of the waḡbah (being) forty half-silver (coins), and the people⁽⁵⁾ were tranquil. And no calamity happened in it (Egypt) by reason of the great drought; and, also, our father, the patriarch, went to Alexandria, and he visited the Church of the father, the preacher, my lord (Mārī) Mark (Marḳus) the Evangelist⁽⁷⁾. And when it was in (the) year one thousand, one hundred and twenty of the Tax (Year), this father went

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* ' a day of the days '.

⁽²⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 206. This church is still existing.

⁽³⁾ Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 509.

⁽⁴⁾ *I.e.* September 22nd or 23rd according to whether the year is a Leap Year or not. Cf. also Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 70-71.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* ' creatures '.

⁽⁶⁾ *Lit.* ' its '.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, p. 118.

And the Mu'allim George (Ġirġis) had an only son whose name (was) Maṣṣūr (who) went to his rest in those days. And when this affair befell him, he took for himself a house in the Ḥārat ar-Rūm at the side of the church ⁽¹⁾, and he (re-)built it (the house), and he undertook the supervision of the church also. And, furthermore, on Sundays and feasts and fairs ⁽²⁾ and others than them, he used to bring with him to his house the father, the patriarch, and the priests and the poor and other than them, and they used to breakfast and drink coffee. And on the days of the feasts and the fairs ⁽²⁾ there was invariably excellent food for all. And, in brief, there was not in his time anyone who resembled him in performing charity ⁽³⁾ and benevolence, and it was he who (re-)built the upper church at the Ḥārat ar-Rūm, in the name of the great martyr, my lord (Māri) George (Ġirġis) ⁽⁴⁾. And it was he also who provided for the making of the Holy Chrism (μύρον) in (the) year one thousand, four hundred and nineteen of the Martyrs ⁽⁵⁾ which corresponds to (the) year one thousand, one hundred and sixteen of the Tax (Year). And he sent to bring all the fathers, the bishops, from their sees for the making of the Holy Chrism (μύρον) with the father, the patriarch. And after the making of the Chrism (μύρον) had been completed, he gave to each bishop a complete set of hieratic vestments and a complete set of vessels for the Holy Eucharist (al-Ḳurbān), and they returned to their sees well-pleased and rejoicing. And there ruled over Egypt (Miṣr) in (the) year one thousand, one hundred and eleven of the Tax (Year) one whose name (was) Kirā Muḥammad Pasha (Bāšā) ⁽⁶⁾, *and he remained governor (Mutawallī) over Egypt (Miṣr) for five

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⁽¹⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, p. 75.

⁽²⁾ A fair held in connection with the patronal feast of a church. Cf. the Arabic 'mūlid' and the Greek πανήγυρις.

⁽³⁾ Lit. 'mercy'.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, p. 79.

⁽⁵⁾ = 1702-1703 A.D.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 68, 70.

the protected. And wheat reached to eighty half-silver (coins) the waḡbah, and the price for grinding it fifteen half-silver (coins), the total being a dīnār, because the value of the Cairene (al-Miṣrī) dīnār at that time was ninety-five half-silver (coins). And the dīnār Abū Ṭurrah ⁽¹⁾ had not appeared, neither the Zangīr ⁽²⁾ nor the Funduḡlī ⁽³⁾, except the Muḡammadī gold (coin). And a severe dearth occurred to the extent that the poor ate the dead (bodies) of asses and horses and cats and other than these — and we seek aid from God from those days — and the people were lying prostrate in the streets and the lanes and on the mounds by reason of hunger and pestilence, because God the Exalted had afflicted the Egyptians (al-Miṣriyyin) with dearth and pestilence. And (if) a man passed by them in the evening, he would find the poor lying prostrate beside the walls, and when it was morning, and he passed by them, he would find them dead. And there governed at Cairo (Miṣr), at that time, one called Ismā'īl Pasha (Bāšā). And when he saw the great number of the poor who had died from hunger and eating * the dead, he used to distribute among the amīrs, the ṣanjaks (aṣ-Ṣanāḡaḡ) and the aghas (al-Aghwāt), to each one according to his ability (a number) of the poor ⁽⁴⁾. They used to feed them, until God relieved His creatures, and the Nile (an-Nīl) came up high in (the) year one thousand, one hundred and seven of the Tax (Year), and the people planted, and the creatures felt secure. And during the period of these two years of dearth, this father did not abandon charity ⁽⁵⁾, and also the teachers, the archons (ἀρχων), at Cairo (Miṣr) were zealous in benevolence and charity ⁽⁵⁾, and especially, one archon (ἀρχων) named Al-Mu'allim David (Dāūd) at-Ṭūkhī, and the son of his brother, Al-Mu'allim George (Ġirġīs), and they were dwelling at the Darb al-Ġinaīnah in the Ḥārat al-Armān ⁽⁶⁾.

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⁽¹⁾ Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 29.

⁽²⁾ Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 606.

⁽³⁾ Read بندق 'a Venetian gold sequin', cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. *Précis de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, t. III, p. 37, Le Caire, 1933, and Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *Merveilles Biographiques et Historiques ou Chroniques*, Le Caire, 1888, t. I, pp. 62-63.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* 'mercy'.

⁽⁶⁾ This was situated north-east of al-Muskī, in proximity to the Sharia' Baīn as-Surain.

there were supervisors for the churches in Cairo (Miṣr) (who were) artisans. And when this father undertook the leadership, all supervision of the churches was transferred to the teachers, the archons (ἀρχων), and they found what was necessary to be repaired and to be (re-)built in all the churches, and they were all zealous in good works and charity ⁽¹⁾ for the wretched and for clothing the poor at every feast. And their days were calm (in which was) abundance, liberality and profit. And this father (re-)built the Patriarchal Cell (κελλιον) in the Ḥārat ar-Rûm ⁽²⁾, and he dedicated it to the Glorious Resurrection. And they (these conditions) * continued thus up to the year one thousand, one hundred and six of the Tax (Year) which corresponds to (the) year one thousand, four hundred and nine of the Martyrs ⁽³⁾, (when) the whole Land of Egypt (Miṣr) dried up, the south and the north, and the Nile (an-Nîl) did not reach except to sixteen cubits. And the governor (Mutawālî) of Egypt (Miṣr) at that time was the Commander (Kât-maḳâm) Ismâ'îl (Yismâ'îl) 'Alî Pasha (Bâšâ); and there was at Cairo (Miṣr) also at that time one whose name was called Kûḡuk Muḥammad ⁽⁴⁾ Bâs Aûdah Pasha (Bâšâ) Mustahfazâm ⁽⁵⁾, and the (afore-)mentioned was the controller for the wheat, that the Cairene (al-Miṣrî) ardab should not increase beyond sixty half-silver (coins). And he (Kûḡuk) did not remain, except for a little, and by the order of God Kûḡuk Muḥammad, the (afore-)mentioned, was killed, and, on the day following his death, the wheat reached one hundred and twenty half-silver (coins) for the Cairene (al-Miṣrî) ardab, and it did not cease mounting (in) price until it reached three hundred and sixty half-silver (coins). And as for the land of Upper Egypt (aṣ-Ṣa'id), it became devoid of the poor, and the land of the Rif ⁽⁶⁾, and they (the poor) all came to Cairo (Miṣr)

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⁽¹⁾ Lit. 'mercy'.

⁽²⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, p. 76.

⁽³⁾ = 1692-1693 A.D.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. Abd el-Rahman EL-DJABARTI, *Merveilles Biographiques et Historiques ou Chroniques*, Le Caire, 1888, t. I, p. 59.

⁽⁵⁾ I.e. the Guards.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, 'The Rif of Egypt' in *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, fasc. 1/2, 1939, pp. 96-119.

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this father (was) in his youth a collector engaged in the perception of money. And they mentioned concerning him that, when he was a collector, he owed an amount of money, and that he was made responsible * regarding the remainder of the amount. And he placed first the decision of God the Exalted, and he went to the Mountain of the great Saint Antony (Anṭūnūs)⁽¹⁾, seeking the salvation of his soul, and the more so, as he was averse to the responsibility of the work, for in it there are ways of conducting (it) and of experiences; because he who is in charge of this work harms himself for others than himself, and he takes something which is not his own, (and) places it in something which he owes. And he remained for a time in the monastery, and he merited to be clothed with the angelic habit⁽²⁾. And when the fathers, the saintly elders (aš-Šiyūkh), the monks in the monastery, saw his uprightness, they ordained him a priest, and he continued in the monastery in this priestly order until the father, the patriarch Abba (Anbā) Matthew (Mattāūs) who was before him, went to his rest. And a body of the archons (ἀρχων) from Cairo (Miṣr) went up to the monastery seeking one whom God would choose, to consecrate⁽³⁾ him patriarch over them. And the choice of all fell upon this father by the will of God and the knowledge of the elders (aš-Šiyūkh), the monks. And they took him from the monastery, and they came to Cairo (Miṣr), and they consecrated him patriarch in (the) year one thousand, three hundred and ninety-two of the Martyrs⁽⁴⁾. And when he was established in the patriarchate and had celebrated the Divine Liturgy in the churches of Cairo (Miṣr) according to the custom, he put first the decision of God the Exalted, and he turned to Upper Egypt (aš-Ša'īd) intending to visit the holy places. And when he came from Upper Egypt (aš-Ša'īd), he went round also the northern districts, and he returned to Cairo (Miṣr) in safety. And there were in his days, teachers, Christian (Masīhiyin) archons (ἀρχων), perfect in performing good works and benevolence. And it was (that), before the patriarchate of this father,

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 237, n. 3.

⁽²⁾ *I.e.* the monastic skhēma.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* 'to advance'.

⁽⁴⁾ = 1676.

MARK (MARĶUS) THE PATRIARCH (SURNAMED) AL-BAĦĠŪRĪ⁽¹⁾, AND HE IS THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIRST OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father (was) from the inhabitants of the district of Bahġūrā⁽¹⁾, and he was a devout ascetic in the Monastery of the great Saint Antony (Anṭūnīūs)⁽²⁾. And when he had been chosen for the patriarchate, they consecrated⁽³⁾ him (in the) year one thousand, three hundred and sixty-seven⁽⁴⁾; and he remained patriarch for ten years, and he went to his rest.

MATTHEW (MATTĀŪS) THE PATRIARCH (SURNAMED) AL-MĪRĪ, AND HE IS THE ONE HUNDRED AND SECOND OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father was a devout monk at the Monastery of the Mistress at Al-Baramūs⁽⁵⁾. And when he had been chosen for the patriarchate, he was consecrated on the thirtieth of (the month of) Hâtūr (in the) year one thousand, three hundred and seventy-seven⁽⁶⁾. And he went to his rest on the twelfth of (the month of) Misrā (in the) year one thousand, three hundred and ninety-one⁽⁷⁾; and he remained patriarch on the Throne for fourteen years and (some) months.

JOHN (YŪ'ANNIS) THE PATRIARCH (SURNAMED) AṬ-ṬŪKHĪ, AND HE IS THE HUNDRED AND THIRD OF (THEIR) NUMBER⁽⁸⁾.

This father was from the district of the inhabitants of ṬŪkh an-Naṣārā⁽⁹⁾, and before his patriarchate he was named Abraham (Ibrāhīm). And

⁽¹⁾ Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 232.

⁽²⁾ Cf. p. 237, n. 3.

⁽³⁾ Lit. 'advanced'.

⁽⁴⁾ = 1650-1651.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 125-158.

⁽⁶⁾ = 1660 A.D.

⁽⁷⁾ = 1675 A.D.

⁽⁸⁾ Though not mentioned in this biography, there was likewise correspondence between the Pope of Rome and this patriarch, cf. J.P. TROSSEN, *Les relations du Patriarche copte Jean XVI avec Rome*, Luxemburg, 1948.

⁽⁹⁾ Otherwise called ṬŪkh Dalakah, cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 523.

MARK (MARKUS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE NINETY-EIGHTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father was from Al-Baiyādiāh⁽¹⁾, and he was consecrated⁽²⁾ patriarch (in the) year one thousand, three hundred and eighteen⁽³⁾. And he remained patriarch for sixteen years, and he went to his rest in peace.

JOHN (YŪ'ANNIS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE NINETY-NINTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father was from the district of Mallawī⁽⁴⁾. He was consecrated⁽²⁾ patriarch (in the) year one thousand, three hundred and thirty-five⁽⁵⁾. He remained patriarch for fifteen years, and he went to his rest at the end of the year one thousand, three hundred and fifty⁽⁶⁾.

MATTHEW (MATTĀŪS) THE PATRIARCH (SURNAMED) ΑΤ-ΤŪKHĪ⁽⁷⁾, AND HE IS THE HUNDRETH OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father Matthew (Mattāūs) was a monk, an ascetic, in the Monastery of the Mistress at Al-Baramūs⁽⁸⁾. And when he had been chosen for the patriarchate, he was consecrated⁽²⁾ in (the) year one thousand, three hundred and fifty-one⁽⁹⁾; and he remained patriarch for fifteen years, and he went to his rest.

⁽¹⁾ There are four places of this name in Upper Egypt, cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, Le Caire, 1899, p. 113.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* 'advanced'.

⁽³⁾ = 1601-1602 A.D.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁽⁵⁾ = 1618-1619 A.D.

⁽⁶⁾ = 1633-1634 A.D.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 522-524.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 125-158.

⁽⁹⁾ = 1634-1635 A.D.

secrated ⁽¹⁾ in (the) year one thousand, two hundred and forty-one ⁽²⁾, and he remained patriarch for forty-four years, and he went to his rest in (the) year one thousand, two hundred and eighty-five ⁽³⁾.

JOHN (YŪḤANNĀ) THE PATRIARCH (SURNAMED) AL-MANFALŪṬĪ ⁽⁴⁾, AND HE IS THE NINETY-SIXTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father was consecrated patriarch on the eve ⁽⁵⁾ of Easter Sunday ⁽⁶⁾ (in the) year one thousand, two hundred and eighty-six ⁽⁷⁾. He remained on the Throne for fifteen years. And a missive came to this father from the Pope (Bābā) of Rome (Rŭmīah), and he returned to him a reply to it. And he went to his rest on the third of (the month of) An-Nasī (in the) year one thousand, three hundred and one of the Martyrs ⁽⁸⁾.

GABRIEL (GHABRYĀL) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE NINETY-SEVENTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father was before his consecration ⁽⁹⁾ named Šenouti (Šanūdah) from Al-Manbīr ⁽¹⁰⁾, and he was a zealous monk in the Desert of Scetis (Šihāt) ⁽¹¹⁾. He was consecrated ⁽¹²⁾ patriarch in (the) year one thousand, three hundred and two ⁽¹³⁾, and he remained patriarch for fifteen years, and he went to his rest in the Desert * of Scetis (Šihāt) and was buried in it ⁽¹³⁾. * Fol. 257 v°

⁽¹⁾ Lit. 'advanced'.

⁽²⁾ = 1524-1525 A.D.

⁽³⁾ = 1568-1569 A.D.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

⁽⁵⁾ Lit. 'night'.

⁽⁶⁾ Lit. 'the New Sunday in the Fifty (Days)' i.e. Paschaltide.

⁽⁷⁾ = 1570 A.D.

⁽⁸⁾ = 1585 A.D.

⁽⁹⁾ Lit. 'setting apart'.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Kāmil Šālah NAKHLAH, *op. cit.*, p. 94, adds after Al-Manbīr «Mir» (مير). The *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte* mentions on p. 378 a Mir in the Province of Asyūt.

⁽¹¹⁾ Kāmil Šālah NAKHLAH, *op. cit.*, p. 94 says 'the Monastery of Abba Pišoi (Bišūi)'.

⁽¹²⁾ = 1585-1586 A.D.

⁽¹³⁾ Kāmil Šālah NAKHLAH, *op. cit.*, p. 95 says 'the Monastery of the Syrians'.

ninety-five⁽¹⁾, and he remained in the Throne three years and four months and nineteen * days. And he went to his rest on the fifth of (the month of) Tût (in the) year one thousand, one hundred and ninety-nine⁽²⁾. And a missive came to this father from the Patriarch, from the Pope (al-Bâbâ) of the City of Rome (Rûmîah), and he returned to him the reply in a missive of three quires of paper, and in them (was) the matter of the discussion (which) included the abandonment of obstinacy, and reconciliation and peace among all the denominations of the Christians (al-Masîhiyin).

JOHN (YÛ'ANNIS) THE PATRIARCH (SURNAMED) AL-MIŞRÎ⁽³⁾, AND HE IS THE NINETY-FOURTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father was consecrated⁽⁴⁾ patriarch on the seventeenth of (the month of) Amşîr (in the) year one thousand, one hundred and ninety-nine⁽¹⁾, and he went to his rest on the eleventh of (the month of) Amşîr (in the) year one thousand, two hundred and forty⁽⁵⁾. And the duration of his occupation of the Throne (was) forty years and eleven months and twenty-six days. And during the time of this father there was the conquest of Egypt (Mişr) at the hand of the Sultan Selim (Salîm), a descendant of the House of Othman ('Uthmân), and this was from the Sultan Al-Ghûrî, the last of the Circassian (al-Ġarâkisah) kings, and he (it was) who constructed the Ghûrîyah and the mosque (al-Ġâmi') which is known by him⁽⁶⁾.

GABRIEL (GHABRYÂL) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE NINETY-FIFTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father (was) from a hamlet⁽⁷⁾ of Al-Muĥarraĥ⁽⁸⁾. He was con-

⁽¹⁾ = 1479 A.D.

⁽²⁾ = 1482 A.D.

⁽³⁾ *I.e.* the Cairene.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* 'advanced'.

⁽⁵⁾ = 1524 A.D.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, pp. 349-350.

⁽⁷⁾ Kâmil Şâlah NAKHLAH, *Kitâb Târîkh wa Gaddâl Batârikat al-Iskandariyat al-Ķibt*, Cairo, 1943, p. 94, gives the name of this hamlet as Abû 'Alîsah.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 285-308.

sixty-nine of the Martyrs⁽¹⁾, and he remained patriarch for thirteen years, and he went to his rest on the thirteenth of (the month of) Tût (in the) year one thousand, one hundred and eighty-two of the Martyrs⁽²⁾.

GABRIEL (GHABRYÂL) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE NINETY-FIRST OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father Gabriel (Ghabryâl) the patriarch (was) from the Monastery of Saint Antony (Arîûnîûs)⁽³⁾. He was consecrated⁽⁴⁾ on the twenty-sixth day of (the month of) Amšîr (in the) year one thousand, one hundred and eighty-two of the Martyrs⁽⁵⁾, and he remained patriarch for eight years and ten months. And he went to his rest on the twenty-sixth of (the month of) Amšîr (in the) year one thousand, one hundred and ninety-one of the Martyrs⁽⁶⁾. May the blessing of his prayer be with us. Amen.

MICHAEL (MÎKHÂYÎL) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE NINETY-SECOND OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father was consecrated⁽⁴⁾ patriarch on the twenty-third of (the month of) Amšîr (in the) year one thousand, one hundred and ninety-two of the Martyrs⁽⁷⁾, and he remained on the Throne one year and three months. And he went to his rest in the month of Baramûdah (in the) year one thousand, one hundred and ninety-four⁽⁸⁾.

JOHN (YŪ'ÂNNIS) THE PATRIARCH (SURNAMED) AL-NAÛKÂDÎ⁽⁹⁾, AND HE IS THE NINETY-THIRD OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father was consecrated⁽⁴⁾ patriarch on the twenty-third of (the month of) Baramûdah (in the) year one thousand, one hundred and

⁽¹⁾ = 1451 A.D.

⁽²⁾ = 1465 A.D.

⁽³⁾ Cf. p. 237, n. 3.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* 'advanced'.

⁽⁵⁾ = 1466 A.D.

⁽⁶⁾ = 1475 A.D.

⁽⁷⁾ = 1476 A.D.

⁽⁸⁾ = 1478 A.D.

⁽⁹⁾ In the Province of Kînâ.

GABRIEL (GHABRYĀL) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE EIGHTY-EIGHTH OF (THEIR)
NUMBER.

This father Gabriel (Ghabryāl) (was) from the Monastery Al-Qalamun (al-Ḳalamūn) in the Fayum (al-Fayūm) ⁽¹⁾. The father Matthew (Mattā), the deceased, had given information concerning him, before his going to his rest. He (Gabriel) was consecrated ⁽²⁾ patriarch on the twenty-sixth of (the month of) Baramūdah (in the) year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-five of the Martyrs ⁽³⁾ and he remained patriarch till ⁽⁴⁾ (the month of) Tūbah (in the) year one thousand, one hundred and forty-three of the Martyrs ⁽⁵⁾.

JOHN (YŪ'ĀNNIS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE EIGHTY-NINTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father John (Yū'ānnis) the patriarch was consecrated patriarch at Cairo (al-Ḳāhirah) on the sixteenth of (the month of) Bašuns (in the) year one thousand, one hundred and forty-three * of the Martyrs ⁽⁵⁾. And he remained patriarch for twenty-five years, and he went to his rest on the ninth of the month of Bašuns (in the) year one thousand, one hundred and sixty-eight of the Martyrs ⁽⁶⁾.

MATTHEW (MATTĀŪS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE NINETIETH OF (THEIR)
NUMBER.

This father Matthew (Mattāūs) the patriarch (was) from the Monastery Al-Muḥarraḳ ⁽⁷⁾. He was consecrated ⁽²⁾ patriarch on the thirteenth of the month of Tūt (in the) year one thousand, one hundred and

⁽¹⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, Cairo, 1961, pp. 311-336.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* 'advanced'.

⁽³⁾ = 1409 A.D.

⁽⁴⁾ The MS. has by error ن. 'from'.

⁽⁵⁾ = 1427 A.D.

⁽⁶⁾ = 1452 A.D.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 285-308.

on the night in which he had passed by them, for the sake of his brethren, the saintly patriarchs, so that the spirits might be blessed by one another ; and for this (reason) those bodies had stirred, knowing that the world had lost on that day a great teacher, for from the greatness of the stirring of the bodies the lamp (*καυδήλιον*) which was burning above them fell * upon the ground and was extinguished, but it did not break. And another time, after forty days, he appeared to three men wounded Bedouins ('Urbân), (who) passed by the cemetery of the Khandak⁽¹⁾ at the dawn of Sunday, and they found this father standing vested in a white phelonion (burnus), and he had been walking around among the dead at night, as he used to walk around among them in the day time. And when those men saw him, they⁽²⁾ concerning what they had seen, and we informed them that (it was) this father, and they marvelled, and they asked us to see his tomb, and they went and they received a blessing from him. And as for the third time, he (Matthew) had indicated to his disciples before his translation⁽³⁾, that the father Abba (Anbâ) Gabriel (Ghabryâl) would be patriarch after him. And some of the people did not believe, until this father appeared to them on the day on which they called him (Gabriel) to be ordained hegoumenos (Kummuş). At the time when the people were assembled in (the Church) Al-Mu'allakah⁽⁴⁾ lo ! one of the saintly elders (aş-Şiyûkh) who were assembled on that day, saw this father in the spirit standing at the side of the altar, and he was laying his hand with the hand(s) of the fathers, the bishops, on the head of Abba (Anbâ) Gabriel (Ghabryâl). And when the elder (aş-Şaikh) saw this, he marvelled, and he resolved to be blessed by him before he vanished from him, (and) he (Matthew) blessed him. And he (Matthew) performed wonders and miracles (which) we are not able to describe. And the number of the martyrs who suffered martyrdom in his time (was) forty-nine martyrs. May the blessing of his prayer and the prayer of all (the Saints) be with us. Amen.

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(1) Cf. p. 269, n. 3.

(2) One and a half lines left blank.

(3) *I.e.* his death.

(4) Cf. p. 228, n. 2.

his funeral on that day, the priests and the deacons and the archons (*ἀρχων*) and all the Christian (an-Naṣrāniyat) denominations, even the denomination of the Jews (al-Yahūd), and others than they, and people ⁽¹⁾ of which the number was countless. And there was weeping and lamentation so that the columns of the church were weeping for his loss; and he was reposing, laid out, and his cross in his hand. And they were weeping and lamenting for the beauty of his appearance, and his awe, and his love, and his alms-giving, and his visitation of the wretched, and for his forbearance and his patience. And they lamented and they wept until they finished his funeral, as it behoved. Then they bore him with honour and respect and dignity, so that his conveyance in the coffin (at-Tābūt) (was) as the conveyance of the Ark of the Covenant ⁽²⁾. Where was that strong man who was able to bear that coffin (at-Tābūt) by reason of the multitude of the people ⁽¹⁾ who encompassed him and crowded round him? And the soldiers and the troops were (walking) before that coffin (at-Tābūt) veiling it, until they came to the Monastery of the Khandaq ⁽³⁾. Then they buried him in the place which he had chosen for his burial. Then, after his burial, God manifested a year of signs and miracles after his translation ⁽⁴⁾, among which (was, that on) the night in which he went to his rest, the bodies of his brethren, the patriarchs, lying in the Monastery of Abba (Abū) Macarius (Maḳār) ⁽⁵⁾ stirred, and the monks inhabiting the Monastery who heard the stirring of the bodies, (heard) a voice calling to them, saying: «Arise, go forth, open the gate, our father Matthew (Mattā) has come, and he is standing (and) knocking at the gate». And when the brethren went forth to open, and they did not find anyone, they marvelled. And they did not learn what was the matter, until the news came to them from Cairo (Miṣr), that this father had gone to his rest

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* 'creatures'.

⁽²⁾ Cf. *Joshua* iv.

⁽³⁾ Cf. p. 269, n. 3.

⁽⁴⁾ *I.e.* his death.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 161-210 and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Monasteries of the Wādī 'n-Naṣrān*, pp. 28-40.

his intention, marvelled the more. Then God did not accord a respite to this amîr, but He stirred up against him a calumny with the King, and he (the King) seized him, and he rebuked him, and he straitened him, and he took from him instead of the amount which he had taken from this father, many times the double. Then he did not cease from the chastisement and the punishment, until he died a most evil death. And as for this father, before his death he sent after his disciples, and he informed them of his translation⁽¹⁾. Then he sent them, (and) they brought to him all what was requisite for shrouding him, in the way of robes and phelonions (Barânis), and they were two robes and two phelonions (Burnisaîn) and two skhêmas (Iskîmaîn) and two cowls (Kalsûataîn) and two veils and two palliums (Ballinaîn); even for the coffin (at-Tâbût) which (was) for him, he indicated to them the manner how they should make it. Then he commanded them that, when they had enveloped him and had laid him in that coffin (at-Tâbût), they should not uncover his face, except at the time of the funeral, as was the custom with the patriarchs, and that they should not allow⁽²⁾ anyone to kiss his feet, but that they should leave him enveloped in his woollen shroudings like the monks; and he impressed on them not to bury him, except among his sons, inside the Khandak⁽³⁾. Then, after he had commanded them with these (words)⁽⁴⁾, he covered his body with his izarat⁽⁵⁾, and he gave up the spirit at the first hour of the eve of Monday⁽⁶⁾, the fifth of the month of Tûbah (in the) year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-five * of the Martyrs⁽⁷⁾. And his

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⁽¹⁾ *I.e.* his death.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* 'make possible'.

⁽³⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-221. This is the Moat of Cairo. The body of this patriarch is buried in the Church of Saint Rûwais, cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 87-89. The new Cathedral of St. Mark is built here also.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* 'this'.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. p. 257, n. 4.

⁽⁶⁾ *I.e.* Sunday night.

⁽⁷⁾ = 1409 A.D.

(al-Yaman) that they should write in those lands reports against this (father) and should write in them, that every day he (Matthew) would send his messengers to the Land of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabaṣah) to incite the king⁽¹⁾ to destroy Mecca (Makkah) and its surroundings⁽²⁾. And when he (Matthew) learned through the Spirit that reports had been written concerning him, he prayed to God previous to their arrival, and he besought our Mistress, the Lady, according to his custom, that she should take his soul to her without the shedding of blood, and that his people should not receive by reason of him affliction or hardship. And our Lady, the Mistress, heard his supplication, and she did not let pass that day, before he was seized with a violent fever in his body, and he was prostrate, stricken (and) weak. And when news of him reached the amīr who was seeking to kill him, his wrath abated a little, but he did not cease from disturbing (him), and he did not cease to send and to threaten this father and to menace him with regard to his people, until they bore to him (the amīr) from the money of this father about five hundred thousand dirhams, and presented them to him, (that), perchance, he might be contented, and he might cease from seeking this father, but he did not cease, and he continued to seek this father up to * the hour in which death approached. And he sent to him messengers to bear him and to come with him to him. And this father contented their hearts, and he said to them : « Accord to me a delay until to-morrow, Sunday, (that), perchance, I may be rested a little, and (then) come and bear me whithersoever ye wish ». And he spoke with them calmly, knowing that his hour had approached to go forth from this world and to rest from the tyranny of that amīr and his oppression. And the messengers went, as this father had said to them ; and they came on the morrow, Sunday, and they found (that) this father had given up the spirit in the first watch of the eve of Monday⁽³⁾ before their coming, after the gracious respite. And when they saw what had happened, they marvelled ; and the amīr from whose hands God had saved this father without the shedding of blood, as had been

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⁽¹⁾ *I.e.* of Ethiopia.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* ' and what is with it '.

⁽³⁾ *I.e.* Sunday evening.

had fallen into a grave hidden sin. And when he presented himself to confess it to this father, fear seized him, and he was ashamed to confess it before him. And he revealed it to him of himself (Matthew), saying : «Thou hast committed such and such a sin, and return not to commit it. And I say to thee that from now thy sins are forgiven to thee». And when that priest heard his speech, he marvelled and glorified God, because that sin was not known except to Christ (al-Masīḥ) alone, (and) when he (Matthew) revealed it to him, his astonishment increased, and he was assured that the sins of the people were revealed before him (Matthew), as oil in a glass-bottle. And he (Matthew) did not see (good) to expose them, but, if he wished to rebuke anyone for a sin, this would be in secret because sin also was multiplied among the people. And many of the people used to mix together, and they became defiled with the defilement of the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin). And this father used to sigh and to weep for the evil which had befallen the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin), so that from the excess of his weeping he began to admonish his people, saying * «Be vigilant, O my sons, and beware of that day in which vengeance will come upon the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin); because in that day there will descend fire from heaven burning all the dwellings of the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin), so that the smoke of that city will rise up, and then they shall lament over it, saying : ' To-day is Babylon (Bābil) the great, the mother of all the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin), is fallen '»⁽¹⁾. And whenever this father addressed (us) with this (word), we paid no heed, and we increased only in transgressions and shamelessness and without fear of God, and we did not hearken to him. And he (Matthew) used therefore to mourn and to sigh from the depth of his heart, and he ardently desired death for himself, until Satan (aš-Šaiṭān) stirred up against the people an amīr from among the great of the kingdom, named Ġamāl ad-Dīn, and he sought from the people what they were not able (to do). And it was (that), whenever this father pleaded for the people, he (the amīr) was not persuaded, but he sought to find a fault against him to kill him. And he sent messengers in secret to the Land of the Higaz (al-Ḥiġāz), and the Yemen

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⁽¹⁾ Cf. *Apoc.* xvii, 5.

wishes to kill me, and I know not how my deliverance will be». And this honoured father said to him : «Fear not, O so and so⁽¹⁾, and think not (that) by the gold which thou hast brought thy deliverance will be, for prayer with gold will not (bring about) deliverance; but if thou desire that thou be delivered, take back the gold which thou hast brought to its place, and the Lord will deliver thee without gold at all». And he (Matthew) arose, (and) prayed over him, and blessed him, and he sent him to Al-Malik Barḳūḳ⁽²⁾; and he gave to him his cross and his scarf (μανδηλιον), and he said to him : «Wear them concealed⁽³⁾, and enter and fear not». And he (the scribe) refused, and he feared the more how he, being calumniated, should wear the cross, and (how) exposure would befall him, * if anyone felt him. And the father said to him : «I have said to thee, O so and so, wear the cross and the scarf (μανδηλιον) concealed⁽⁴⁾, and enter to the King, and I assure thee by God the Exalted Whose Cross thou wearest, that the King will neither harm thee nor hurt thee». And he obeyed the word of the father and he wore the cross, and he entered to the King, and though the King was filled with wrath against him at that hour, the wrath of the King was changed into leniency and graciousness and mercy; and it was (that) every word which that man spoke before the King entered into the ears of the King like cool dew quenching what he had in the way of wrath. Then he departed from the presence of the King joyful, fortified (and) cheerful, according to his custom, so that that man marvelled at the powerful prayer by which this father had changed the wrath of the King and his ire into good pleasure, because he had entertained the idea that, whatever happened to him, he would be killed. And it was that this man, and everyone who heard glorified God. And thus this father redeemed the souls of those who came to him, and he saved them through his powerful prayer from troubles, afflictions and sins; as one of his sons, the learned priests, informed us of this who

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⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* ' O this '.

⁽²⁾ 1382-1388 A.D.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* ' within thee '.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* ' inside thee '.

service». And he repented from that day, marvelling at the prayer of this father, and at his (Saint Michael's) presence with men upon the earth, and at his perception of hidden secrets. And once I saw others from the notables of the people, and there befell them a severe calamity at Cairo (al-Kāhira); and when they wished to escape to this father at Cairo (Miṣr), they did not hasten, and thereupon night overtook them (and) they slept. And, in that hour, * one of them saw this father standing before the eicon of the Martyr, my lord (Mārī) George (Ġirġis), supplicating for their safety, and striking the eicon with his hand, and saying : «O Martyr of God, O my lord (Mārī) George (Ġirġis), I know (of none) for their deliverance save thee», and he (St. George) inclined his head from the eicon (εἰκων), as one who says : «Yea, Yea, I shall deliver them». And when this father beheld what it was in the way of the humility of the Martyr, he cast (himself) down in prostration to him on the ground. And the act of his prostration to him was distressing to the Martyr, and he came forth from the eicon (εἰκων), as a material horseman, and he grasped the skirt (of the robe) of this father and was blessed by it. Then this father did likewise, namely, they blessed one another. Then he (the notable) awoke from his sleep, and he related this vision to his companions. And they did not believe him, until news came to them in the early morning of the day. Their deliverance came forth from God and His Martyr, and the amīr (St. George) delivered them without effort, and thus, when they were assured of their deliverance, they arose immediately, and they went to this father to thank him for what they had seen in the vision, without having come or having besought him concerning this, but they had been assured of it in their minds ⁽¹⁾ only. And the honoured father knew their inner thoughts without that they asked him, and all of them marvelled and glorified God. And once there came to him a scribe, and he was in a great calamity, and (he had) with him five hundred dīnārs. And he said to him (Matthew) : «O man of God, accept from me these five hundred (dīnārs) and pray for me, for Al-Malik Barḳūḳ ⁽²⁾ this day

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⁽¹⁾ Lit. 'their souls'.

⁽²⁾ 1382-1388 A.D.

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one of his disciples to enquire about the news of that amîr. And he found the coffin (tâbût) of that amîr at the door, and the people were imploring help (from God), saying : «This amîr has been tortured for six days by the stab of a jinn, and this day he has died». And when the disciple heard their words, he took back the news to this father, and he (Matthew) marvelled and glorified God * and the chief of the angels, Michael (Mikhâyîl), who had heard his supplication, and had not disregarded his petition concerning that oppressive amîr. And once there came to this father a deacon who had been beaten, and he said to him : «O priest of God, have mercy upon me ; a certain one of the soldiers passed by me to-day, riding a white horse, and he chastised me very severely ⁽¹⁾ (and) painfully for my eating on Wednesday and Friday from early morning : for I used to eat in secret, and I do not know whom it is who informed that soldier about me, so that he came to me and chastised me. And every time he chastised me, he would say to me : «How is it that thou ⁽²⁾ being a deacon and a Christian (Naşrânî) didst eat on Wednesday and Friday from early morning?» Then, after he had spoken to me thus, he left me threatening me that I should not return to what I was doing, and I am afraid of this soldier, not knowing whom he is». And he (Matthew) said to him : «Fear not, O my son, for the soldier who chastised thee I know ; but if I go with thee, wilt thou repent before him?» And that deacon said to him : «Yea, O my father» ; and he seized him by his hand and he caused him to stand before the eicon of the chief of the angels, Michael (Mikhâyîl). And that eicon which was of the Angel portrayed on it a rider on a white horse. And when that deacon looked at it attentively, he prostrated himself before it, and he said : «In truth, this is that soldier who chastised me ; and I from now repent before him, for I am a deacon at his church, but heedlessness caused me to forget, and I did not remember that I am a deacon at his church, until he reminded me, and chastised me, that I should abandon what I had in the way of heedlessness, and should perform what was incumbent upon me in the way of his

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* ' he chastened me (with) much chastisement '.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* ' How is it, O this deacon, etc. '.

and he did not loose him until he sent to him (one) who informed him of him who had stolen the vessels of his church; and he (the thief) had the custom to steal the vessels of the churches. And when this father took his (the thief's) house by surprise and rose against him and rebuked him, he said to him: «How many times have I borne with thee, and have I enjoined on thee that thou return not to the stealing of the vessels of the churches, and thou hast not desisted nor turned back? But from now there will come upon thee a powerful vengeance, after which there shall not be for thee life upon earth, but thou shalt die a most evil death». And after his speech to him thus this man remained but little before he fell into the hands of the officer of justice (al-Mutawallî al-ḥukm) at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) with vessels of gold and silver which had been lost from his (the officer's) house. And when he was assured that he (the man) had dared to steal his vessels, he nailed him⁽¹⁾ immediately, and the saying of this father was accomplished on him, and he died a most evil death. And once one of the amîrs spoke with the King⁽²⁾ and the judges (al-Ḳudât) that they should not let a Christian (Naṣranî) remain upon the earth. And this father stood at the eicon of the Martyr, my lord (Mârî) George (Ġirġis) on account of him (the amîr), and he said to him: «How long, O Martyr of God, my lord (Mârî) George (Ġirġis) have I besought thee to take vengeance on this amîr, and thou hast not taken vengeance on him? But, lo, I shall bind thee by the word and I shall not loose thee, until thou hast hastened and taken vengeance on him for me». And he had not finished the speech from his mouth, before they presented to that amîr on that day a cup full of deadly poison, (and) he drank it without knowing, and he died immediately. And once this father became greatly enraged with another amîr of the amîrs of Egypt (Miṣr), named Ūz (Âûz) Bey, and he remained six days and six nights beseeching the chief of the pure angels, Michael (Mikhâyîl), to destroy him. And when the sixth day was accomplished, and he did not hear (any) news about that amîr, he thereupon sent

⁽¹⁾ A form of execution whereby the criminal was nailed to a plank which was attached to a camel, and was then paraded through the streets of the city until he was dead.

⁽²⁾ *I.e.* Al-Malik Barġûġ.

dog⁽¹⁾, and he ripped open its belly and he placed in it the foot of that man who had been bitten. Then he called for a little milk and a colocynth⁽²⁾, and he counselled him to use it, and he continued using it little by little, and he vomited it until he had ejected all that poison, and he arose whole immediately. And for those who fell into calamities he used to beseech Christ (al-Masīḥ) for their deliverance, and they would be saved. And once a youth of the sons of the wazīrs (wuzarā) fell into a severe calamity with Al-Malik Barḳūḳ⁽³⁾ in Cairo (Miṣr), and this father, on account of the magnitude of this calamity, took refuge in the great martyr Theodore (Tāūḏūrūs) with regard to his deliverance, saying : «I know, O Martyr of God, that thou, on account of the greatness of (thy) courage, didst save the sons of the widow from the mouth of that murderous dragon⁽⁴⁾, and I bind thee by the authority which has been given to me by our Lord Jesus Christ (al-Masīḥ), and I shall not loose thee from the bond⁽⁵⁾, except that thou hasten and deliver that man from the calamity in which he is». And the words were not finished from the mouth of this father before that man was delivered from that calamity. And he (that man) became amazed, not knowing how his deliverance had come about⁽⁶⁾, and his amazement increased by reason of the honour and prestige with which the Saints and the Martyrs honoured him (Matthew). And he used to do this with many of the Martyrs and the Saints, and this (was) that, if some church⁽⁷⁾ had lost (its) vessels, he would bind him (the Saint or Martyr) with a prayer and he would not loose him, until he had revealed to him him who had stolen the vessels of the church. * And once he bound the eicon of Saint Abba (Abū) Shenouti (Šanūdah) at Cairo (Miṣr)⁽⁸⁾,

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⁽¹⁾ Cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 189, a dog resembling a basset.

⁽²⁾ Cf. A.K. BEDEVIAN, *Polyglottic Dictionary of Plant Names*, Cairo, 1930, p. 179.

⁽³⁾ = 1382-1388 A.D.

⁽⁴⁾ A miracle of St. Theodore.

⁽⁵⁾ This is obviously based on *Matt.* xvi, 19 and xviii, 18.

⁽⁶⁾ *Lit.* ' was '.

⁽⁷⁾ *Lit.* ' a house of the houses '.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 49-52.

he washed his filth and his sleeping-mat and his filthy garments which were soiled from the dirt and putrifaction of his smell. And the soul of that slave was rested, and he desired death in the presence of this father rather than the putrifaction of that smell which he used to inhale every day. And once he passed by a well of brackish running water and he found at it a murdered woman (who) had become putrified and was stinking, and not one of the people would come near to her, or would acknowledge her. And he descended into that well, and he lifted out that woman, and he did not turn up his nose at her, but with his pure hand he washed her, and he shrouded her, and he buried her. And those who had chronic diseases and infirmities, he used to cure them of them. They presented to him a virgin girl afflicted with ulcers in her eyes, and when he beheld her, he had pity on her, and he said to her mother : «From now on continue not to treat thy daughter with kohl», but he counselled her that she should put ⁽¹⁾ in her eyes something of the simple medicines and her daughter recovered. And thus did our father, Baršûmâ the Naked ⁽²⁾, and others than he, healing difficult diseases by the opposite of medicines, in order to teach that the matter is from God and to rely on Him through the powerful prayer * which belongs to the righteous Saints, as saith the Apostles James (Ya'qûb) : 'Prayer with faith will save the sickman, and the Lord will raise him up, and if he hath committed a sin, it shall be forgiven to him' ⁽³⁾. And among them (the deeds) they presented an infirm woman, the fingers of whose hands and the toes of whose feet had become dried up; and he (Matthew) took hold of her with force to open the fingers of her hand, and he caused thereby the joints of the toes of her feet to loosen, and immediately she arose speedily (and) she stood up and walked, and those who were present marvelled and glorified God. And once they presented to him a man bitten by a venomous snake, and he was in violent pain; and he (Matthew) took a small

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⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* 'made'.

⁽²⁾ This Saint is commemorated on the 5th of an-Nasî (= Sept. 10th, Gregorian Calendar).

⁽³⁾ Cf. *James* v, 15.

Master Christ (al-Masīḥ). And I saw the Master Christ (al-Masīḥ) — to Him be glory — and He was pointing to the angels who had charge of me that they should publish the book of my sins, and that every sin (which) I had forgotten and had not confessed, they should reprimand me for it without mercy. And I saw there fear and intense dread and unquenchable fire, so that by reason of the magnitude of what I saw, I fell down immediately terror-stricken, and I was seeking him who would raise me up, but I found none. And I saw (that) this father had raised me up, and (that) he besought the Master Christ (al-Masīḥ) to restore my spirit to me, so that I might repent a second time of my sins which I had committed; and (that) the Master Christ (al-Masīḥ) [hearkened] to this father concerning me, and (that) He did not refuse his request. And He said to him : ‘ I have hearkened to thee concerning this man — and I have granted him to thee; make known to him, from now, that he return not to sin, lest worse evil befall him ’. And when the Master Christ (al-Masīḥ) had said this to this father, I regained my senses, so that I arose and I stood as I was, and I found (that) my spirit had returned to me, (and) I glorified God, and I was assured of the powerful prayer which this father possessed, who used to do thus with the sick, (and) Christ (al-Masīḥ) would raise them up through his prayer, so that they might return to the repentance of their sins.

* Fol. 251 v^o And those who merited the judgment of death, * he would serve at the bed of their suffering, until they went to their rest and he would beseech Christ (al-Masīḥ) for the forgiveness of their sins; because among all the merits which he possessed there was none more meritorious or more upright than his service to the sick. And it was (that), when any sickman became diseased and people turned up their nose at him (the sickman), this father would take their place, until he (the sickman) was cleansed from all his filth and his ailments. And once I saw this father (who) passed by the door of the dwelling of a man of the wealthy, and he found at that door a slave of them cast down sick, and he had become putrified and was stinking from the abundance of his filthiness, and these was found none to treat him. And when this father saw him thus, he did not turn to cross over to those wealthy (persons), but he hastened at once, and he girded himself with a scarf (μανδηλιον), and

he was bearing a heavy stone, and when he fell, that stone came down upon him and crushed his ribs. And his companions intended to leave him and to run away; and this father did not allow them, but he withstood them, and he said to them: «Be quiet, and fear not, and think not that the workman is dead, because he is not dead, but I assure you by the mercies of Christ (al-Masīḥ), that he is alive. And he caused him to be carried by four (of the workmen) and to be placed before the eicon of our Lady, the Mistress, which is in the aisle of the church⁽¹⁾. Then he covered him with his own mantle for about three hours, from the sixth (hour) of the day to the ninth⁽²⁾. Then he called for a little hot water, (and) he prayed over it and he washed his (the workman's) limbs, and it was (that), whenever he washed one of the limbs⁽³⁾ of that workman, the limb moved immediately, until he (the workman) stood up alive on his feet. And when his mates, the workmen, saw this, they marvelled and they glorified God. And how many of the sick and numerous invalids I saw, (whom) this father healed and raised them up through the blessing of his prayer. * Among them (the sick), he upon whom he (Matthew) placed his mantle, and would go among the dunghills and would beseech our Lady, the Mistress, for him, and would take off from him (the sickman) that mantle, he would find (that) he moved and rose from the agony of death immediately. And among them, he for whom he would beseech the glorious Angel Michael (Mikhāyīl), would rise immediately⁽⁴⁾; and thus this father used to act with the sick whose families went to him and brought them to him in his cell (κελλίον). And a man named Fakhr ad-Daūlah (who) informed me concerning this father, said to me: «In truth, I say to you, O my brethren, that, when the agony of death came upon me and I died, and I found not this father present with me at my death, I felt nothing until I beheld him in the place of fear and judgment, when the angels bore away my spirit and set me before the Throne of the

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⁽¹⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, p. 69.

⁽²⁾ *I.e.* from 12-3 p.m.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* 'a limb of the limbs'.

⁽⁴⁾ *I.e.* from his sickness.

much apprehension from this, and he let the father go, and he did not revert to speak with him (Matthew) about anything, so that the people marvelled, and they glorified God and our Lady, the Virgin, who aided this father in all his movements. For this father used not to take any action until he had stood before the eicon (εἰκων) of our Lady, the Mistress, and had asked her about it. And she used to appear to him and to converse with him from the eicon, according to the testimony of our saintly father Rûwais, when we asked him one day to remember us ⁽¹⁾. And he answered to us, saying : « Who am I, O my sons, that ye ask me that I should remember you? Ask our saintly father, the patriarch, to whom our Lady, the Mistress, appears and converses with him from her pure eicon (εἰκων), that he remember you ; and she (the All-Holy Virgin) informs him of wondrous mysteries, and aids him in all his affairs ». And we marvelled at his words * and we glorified God. And once they came to this father with a young girl in whom (was) an unclean spirit tormenting her. And when the unclean spirit beheld him (Matthew) standing (and) praying, it fled away and did not return to torment her. And also there was a young boy from the suburbs of Cairo (Miṣr) who was possessed by an unclean spirit ; and it was (that), whenever his family wished to bear him to this father, this spirit would cast him down and torment him, and it did not allow them to draw nigh to him. And God (Who is) of much mercy directed them to a paper of blessing ⁽²⁾ written in the hand-writing of this father, that they should place it on him, and when they placed it on him, he recovered immediately ; and the inhabitants of his town marvelled and glorified God. And it happened that everyone among them whom an unclean spirit possessed, on whom they placed that paper in the hand-writing of this father, recovered immediately. And once I saw a workman standing working in the Church which is in the Ḥârat Zûwailah under the name of our Lady the Virgin ⁽³⁾. And he fell from the top of the scaffolding to the ground, (and) he was carried away (as) dead, because

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⁽¹⁾ *I.e.* in prayer to God.

⁽²⁾ *I.e.* a phylactery.

⁽³⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 68-75.

and he did not inform his disciples, and he went to the Church of the Martyr Abba (Abû) Mercurius (Marḳûrah) ⁽¹⁾, (and) he shut himself up there in a dark place ⁽²⁾; and he did not permit anyone that they should see him, and he commanded the man who shut him up, that he should not tell anyone about him. And he remained seven days and nights praying in that cell * worshipping God and seeking aid through the intercession of the Lady, the Mistress, until she appeared to him and told him that God had received his supplication to save the people; and the evil plot of the opposers came to nought. Thereupon, the heart of this father was gladdened and he rejoiced exceedingly ⁽³⁾. And he came forth on the seventh day like an angel of the Lord; and by the economy of God the amîr sent to seek him on that day, and he (Matthew) began to converse with him concerning what he (the amîr) had harboured against the people in the way of burdensome, difficult matters, among all of which (was) that he had willed that the women should wear blue izârs ⁽⁴⁾, and other than that. And this father was stirred by the Spirit, and he said to him (the amîr) : « Who from among the amîrs who preceded thee did thus with the subjects? Or to whom of the patriarchs did it happen like this to expose the girls of his people that they should become a disgrace and a jest to the base classes of the people? But I shall tell thee the truth, O Amîr, shouldst thou expose one of the girls of my people, I shall not cease to spread devastation and defamation in thy ⁽⁵⁾ country from the limits of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah) and to the ends of Egypt (Miṣr). And I tell thee, O Amîr, that the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) are not without kings on the earth, or nations, such as that which thou rulest over, and they are not without sultans (who) observe thy ⁽⁵⁾ Sultanate». And there befell the amîr

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⁽¹⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 40-49.

⁽²⁾ Perhaps, the cell of Saint Barsum the Naked, cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* 'he rejoiced a great rejoicing'.

⁽⁴⁾ For the meanings of izâr, cf. R.P.A. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, Amsterdam, 1845, pp. 24-46, especially p. 28.

⁽⁵⁾ The Arabic text has 'Your'.

were incited against the Monastery of Šahrān⁽¹⁾ to demolish it. And (it was) that they informed the King with many false words about the monks of the monastery, so that the King gave permission to them to demolish it. And when they gathered together to demolish it, this father did not let them (do so), for it was, on that day, (that) there had assembled many people⁽²⁾, the number of whom was countless, and they thought that owing to their multitudinous gathering this father would be afraid of them, and would deliver up to them the monastery, so that they might demolish it. And this father was not afraid of them, but he ceased not to resist them and to withstand them, until he said to them : « Who of you, O ye here⁽³⁾, has the hand and the authority to draw his sword and to kill me? For while I continue alive, I shall not let you demolish (even) one brick of the monastery; but let me and you stand before the Sultan, and I shall shew to him the falseness of what you have informed and the falseness of your words ». And with (these) words this father left them, and he went to the Citadel⁽⁴⁾, and he appealed for aid through the power of the King Barḳūḳ. And when the voice of his crying reached the King, he sent immediately to investigate about that monastery according to custom. And when the four judges (al-Kuḏāt) went, they investigated the monastery and they did not find anything of what the opposers had informed him, and they (the opposers) immediately hid themselves from the King. And once the Lord revealed to this father that the opposers out of their hatred of this father had prepared a dangerous trap for the people, and (that) they had come to an arrangement with the amīr Sūdūn⁽⁵⁾ to draw⁽⁶⁾ them without fail into this trap. And when the Lord revealed to this father what they had prepared in the way of a trap, he did not hesitate⁽⁷⁾, but he arose immediately, and he went out secretly from his cell (κελλεῖον),

(1) Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143, 305-306.

(2) *Lit.* 'creatures'.

(3) *Lit.* 'O these'.

(4) Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Cairo*, London, 1924, pp. 175 sqq.

(5) Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

(6) *Lit.* 'to cast'.

(7) *Lit.* 'did not glance behind him'.

and he tortured him ⁽¹⁾, and he sent him to the dungeon in the city of Alexandria. And whenever the people were apprehensive of his (Yalbughâ's) return, this father used to reassure them, saying : «Be not apprehensive, O my sons, and fear not, and think not that that amîr will return again to Cairo (Miṣr), because I have charged the Four Living Creatures who bear up the Throne of God ⁽²⁾ to keep him in prison. And that amîr did not cease to be imprisoned in Alexandria until he died a most evil death. And the people marvelled and they glorified God. And once a group of the opposers endeavoured to demolish the Church of our Lady, the Mistress, at al-Mu'allakah ⁽³⁾. And in those days this father had gone out to the desert to pray there ⁽⁴⁾, and when the opposers heard (this), they calumniated (him) in his absence, and the King did not authorize them (to do) this ⁽⁵⁾, but (it was) more the powerful prayer (of the patriarch) (which) inspired him (the King), so that he designated four judges (al-Ḳuḏât) to examine that church, and they did not find anything of what the opposers had informed. Thereupon, they were overcome and were filled with wrath. And through the excess of their wrath they took a bowl of fire and left it under the foundations of that church, wishing to burn it entirely; but God Who hearkened to the Three Youths in the furnace of fire and extinguished it for them ⁽⁶⁾, hearkened to the prayer of this father, and He did not suffer the fire to mount to the upper part of the church. And when the disciples of this father were extinguishing the fire at the lower part, the Lord sent to them a cold rain ⁽⁷⁾ from above (which) extinguished the flame of the burning fire, so that those who were present marvelled * and glorified God. And once a group of the opposers

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⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* 'pressed him'.

⁽²⁾ Cf. *Ezek.* i, 5 sqq. and *Apoc.* v, 6.

⁽³⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 23-31.

⁽⁴⁾ *I.e.* in a monastery in the desert.

⁽⁵⁾ *I.e.* to demolish the church.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. *Dan.* iii, 16 sqq.

⁽⁷⁾ Though *ندى* has normally the sense of 'dew', A. DE BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, t. IV, p. 485 records the meaning 'rain'.

a company of the wandering monks in the deserts. And he took hold of a group of them, and he bound them and he carried them to Cairo (Miṣr), and he thought that he would find of these wandering (monks), and he did not find any except one monk, who was a wandering monk; he brought him bound in the company of the monks, and he received martyrdom. And as for that monk who became a soldier, he did not weary of opposing this father and of standing against him, until the people became impatient with him, and they asked this father that he should invoke evil upon him, but he did not invoke evil upon him, but he said to them : «Nay, O my sons, do not invoke evil upon him. But I shall invoke that God bring him back and give to him the crown of martyrdom». And that (monk) remained but a little before he repented, and he went to receive the crown of martyrdom, as this father had invoked for him. And once a trial befell this father from the amīr Mintāš⁽¹⁾, because, when that amīr made war against the king Barḡūḡ and overcame him, and banished him to Karak (al-Karak)⁽¹⁾, one of the opposers of this father arose, (and) he informed the amīr Mintāš that this father (had) under his hand wealth and treasures which the king Barḡūḡ had deposited with him before he was banished to Karak, (al-Karak). And he (Mintāš) summoned this father and he tortured⁽²⁾ him, but he did not find under his hand anything at all. And he repented of torturing him, (and) afterwards he set him free. And another time an amīr named Yalbughā as-Sāmlī⁽³⁾ was incited against him (Matthew), and he purposed * to arouse in the people evil practices and oppressive customs, and the father did not agree with him on this, and he opposed him; then that amīr drew out his sword in wrath, wishing to behead him⁽⁴⁾, and immediately he (Matthew) stretched out his neck to the sword and he asked him to behead him⁽⁴⁾. And when the amīr saw his courage and the strength of his heart, he was dismayed at him, and they set him free. And God did not forget him, but He delivered him into the hands of the King who caused him to stand, and he beat him,

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⁽¹⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, p. 330.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* 'pressed'.

⁽³⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* 'to strike his neck'.

also with every governor, in Egypt (Miṣr), and to every governor to whom they went, they would speak concerning him the contrary of what they had accused about him with the other governors. And when the governors were assured of their falsehoods and had become impatient with them, they intended to punish them and to cast them into prison, but this father did not permit them, and he continued to bear with them, and his spirit endured them, but they did not turn away from their evil and Satan (aš-Šaiṭān) filled their heart. And they assailed this father on a certain day, while he was seated judging, and they said to him : « Why is it that thou dost not arise and come down from thy throne, for the time has come in which one of us should become patriarch and the other a bishop ». And when he heard their speech, he smiled and he did not become violent with wrath, but he answered them with great humility, saying : « Do as ye see (fit), O ye here ⁽¹⁾, and I ask of you that ye bear with me for a little, and I make an obeisance (*μετάνοια*) to you that ye accord me a delay of forty days only until I free myself from the attachments of the patriarchate and the deposits of the people which are under my hand. And after the completion of the forty days, come to me, and I will deliver up to you the throne of the patriarchate without an obstacle hindering me ». And when this father had said this to them, they rejoiced, but with their rejoicing this father did not suffer them to depart until he had celebrated the Divine Liturgy and had communicated them from the Holy Mysteries. * Then, after the Communion, they left him, and they went to some monasteries so that they might stay in them the forty days. And when thirty days had passed for them, the Lord took their souls, and they died the one after the other by reason of the powerful prayer of this father who bore with these monks to such an extent ; and he did not entertain vindictive feelings against their evilness, but he gave to them of the Holy Mysteries before their death. And, likewise, a Syrian (Suryāni) monk named Abraham, (Ibrāhīm) departed from the Faith before the King, and he enlisted and became a soldier, and he spoke against ⁽²⁾ this father and against

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(1) *Lit.* ' O these '.

(2) *تكلم في حق* is a colloquial expression meaning ' to speak against '.

father, the patriarch, in a vision; and he took off my brother from the throne, and he caused me to sit (on it) in place of him. And he said: ' Thus God takes away the kingdom from him who does not walk with uprightness '. Then, after he had spoken this and had caused me to sit on the throne, he gave to me this cross in my hand, and he invoked upon me, that God should stablish my throne as (that of) David, (Dâûûd) our father to judge among the peoples with justice. Then he blessed me and he departed from me. And I awoke and I was amazed, and I would have explained to you this vision at its time, but my blessed sister forbade me (to do) that, for fear of the king, my brother, lest he should learn (of it) and should kill me, and for this reason I have called her ⁽¹⁾ to witness to you what she heard from me before ». And when the king had related this before the assembly, they all glorified God Who manifested His miracles at the hand of this father, while he was dwelling ⁽²⁾ in Egypt (Miṣr) and beholding with the spirit what was taking place in the Land of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah). And when the messengers returned from the Land of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah), * they informed the King in Egypt (Miṣr) about what had occurred from this father, and he marvelled; because he loved this father, and he (Matthew) loved him also, because he did not mount the throne ⁽³⁾ until he had sent to ask him that he should take for him permission from the saintly elders (aš-Šiyûkh) in the Mountain of Saint Antony (Anṭûnîûs) ⁽⁴⁾ that he should mount the throne ⁽⁵⁾. And God set him up as king and he remained all the days of his life ⁽⁶⁾, (and) he did not disturb this father, and he did not listen to any false calumny against him, because how many a time did the oppressors calumniate this father, and the king did not listen to them. And once I saw two defiled monks (who) sought the priesthood in vain, (and) they calumniated this father with that king and when he did not listen to them, they calumniated him (Matthew)

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⁽¹⁾ *I.e.* the king's sister.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* ' sitting '.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* ' sat as king '.

⁽⁴⁾ *I.e.* the Monastery of Saint Antony in the Eastern Desert.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* ' sit as king '.

⁽⁶⁾ *I.e.* as king.

(Miṣr) announcing to him in it that he would become king in place of his brother, because the King Barḳūḳ⁽¹⁾ in Egypt (Miṣr) had indicated to this father that he should write a letter to the king of Ethiopia (al-Habašah); and this father did not wish to be in correspondence with that king. And when he sat down to write, God spake through his tongue, (and) he wrote the letter in the name of his brother David (Dâûûd)⁽²⁾, and he did not write it in the name of him who governed before him. And the messengers of the King in Egypt (Miṣr) disapproved of it, and they did not intend to bear that letter, but this father constrained them until they took that letter and departed. And they had not yet reached that land, when they found (that) by Divine Economy that king had been deposed by his troops from his kingdom by reason of the evilness of his designs, and (that) they had set up his brother David (Dâûûd) as king in place of him, when this father had written. And when the messengers of the King in Egypt (Miṣr) heard the news before their arrival in the land of the king, they glorified God and became amazed at the cognizance of the father. * And when they arrived, they presented that letter with rejoicing to the King David (Dâûûd) in whose name our father had written the letter. And when the king broke the seal of the letter and found it written in his name, he marvelled, and he sent behind the messengers that they should give to him the cross of this father and his scarf (*μανδηλιον*). And this father had given to the messengers together with the letter the cross. And when they had forgotten to give them to the king in that hour, and he had asked them about them, they marvelled, and they asked the king who had informed him about this. And he said to them : «The master, the patriarch, informed me about this before your arrival, and I have witnesses to witness about this». And he called immediately his wazirs (wuzarâ) and his troops and his soldiers and his blessed sister, and he began to relate to them what he had seen, saying : «I tell you, O (ye) here⁽³⁾, that before ye seated me as king on the throne, I beheld this

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⁽¹⁾ Virtual ruler of Egypt from 1378-1399 A.D.

⁽²⁾ I.e. David I, 1382-1411 A.D. Cf. Jean DORESSÉ, *L'Empire du Prêtre Jean*, Paris, 1957, vol. II, pp. 112-114.

⁽³⁾ Lit. 'O these'.

what it is not possible to describe. And he had designed on one of them the image of this father designed in glittering gold. Then he sent adjuring this father that he should not send these gifts to Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah), until he had celebrated the Divine Liturgy in that hieratical vestment on which his image was designed, and that he had impressed on it the kiss of the blessing of his pure mouth⁽¹⁾, before its going there, because he had great faith in this father whom he had not seen or beheld. But when he heard of his virtues, and by reason of his great faith in him, he sent to him many requests asking for a piece of his turban, and he (Matthew) sent it to him, and he (the King) used to place it on the sick, and they recovered. And this father obeyed what the King had counselled, and he celebrated the Divine Liturgy in that vestment before us, and he called all of us, (and) he blessed us on that day with those relics of the Master (as-Saīdiyah), and we marvelled the more when we beheld the good condition of the body of that child who was from the days of our Master Christ (al-Masīḥ) up till now, and nothing of its members, * or one of its fingers⁽²⁾ was decomposed; and we asked him that he should leave it for us in the Cell⁽³⁾ for a few days that we might be blessed by it, but he did not do (so). And in the hour in which the gifts reached the Land of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah) and the righteous king beheld the relics of our Master Christ (al-Masīḥ) together with that child, he marvelled, and he took off the crown from upon his head, and he remained for about an hour prostrate, worshipping those relics of the Master (as-Saīdiyah). Then he raised his head, and he saw the hieratical vestment on which was designed the image of this father, and he became jubilant, and he rejoiced and he glorified God Who had made him worthy to behold the image of this father in his land before his translation⁽⁴⁾, because the king was yearning to see the image of this father by reason of what he had done for him in the way of prophecy, for that king had not been king over Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah) at first, but his brother. And this father sent to him a letter from Egypt

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⁽¹⁾ The celebrant kisses a vestment before putting it on.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* 'nor one finger of its fingers'.

⁽³⁾ *I.e.* the patriarchal residence.

⁽⁴⁾ *I.e.* his death.

anean⁽¹⁾; and if the king were considering that judgment and did not recognize the oppressor from the oppressed, then he used to send it to this father to judge between them, and it would be solved immediately on account of his good moral character and his speech through the Holy Spirit Who dwelt in him. And the congregation of the Greeks (ar-Rûm) by reason of the abundance of what they had witnessed in the way of the love of this father for them, and his soundness in judgment for them all, used not to trust anyone to judge among them except this father. And, also, the sect of the Franks (al-Afranġ), when they witnessed the judgments, they glorified God, because news of this father had spread unto the borders of those lands. And the love and the friendship which was renewed during the time of this father, between the kings of Christendom (an-Naşrāniyah), we have never heard the like of it, or the gifts which the kings offered to one another, we have never heard the like of it. And it was when the King of Ethiopia (al-Habašah) heard of the love which the kings of the Franks (al-Afranġ) (had) for this father, and their great gifts to him, * he sent to them gifts which were greater than theirs⁽²⁾, and he sent to the King of the Franks (al-Afranġ), saying : « I have not sent to thee these gifts to seek similar to them, except there be offered to me something in the way of relics of the Lord (as-Saīdiyyah) which are in your land ». And when these gifts reached the King of the Franks (al-Afranġ), he rejoiced at them exceedingly; and he sent to him what was more venerable and greater than they; and it was that he had among his treasures a fragment of wood from the wood of the Cross on which our Master Jesus (Yasûs) Christ (al-Masiḥ) was crucified. And he brought it out immediately, and he placed it inside a hollow cross of gold ornamented with precious stones; and he brought out with it the body of a child from the bodies of the children whom Herod (Hirûdus) the hypocrite had slain, and he placed them⁽³⁾ inside a chest. Then he placed with them gold and silver vessels and magnificent copes which are for kings and priests

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(1) *Lit.* ' the Salt Sea '.

(2) *Lit.* ' them '.

(3) *I.e.* the fragment of the Cross and the body of the child.

would refuse this, and he answered them, saying : «How shall it be, O my sons, that, (when) Christ (al-Masīḥ) is present, we do not show respect and forbid (not) sitting on the throne?» And he used to rebuke with his hand and reprove the priest who did not stand in fear at ⁽¹⁾ this Service ⁽²⁾. And he who despised his words, he would excommunicate him, and he would die in that hour. And once he saw a deacon (who) ventured on the Service ⁽²⁾ with disrespect, (and) this father excommunicated him, and he fell down from a high ladder and was broken to pieces, and he died. And once I saw a deacon who concealed the correspondence about a garden for fatherless children. And when this father spoke to him concerning it, his answer to him was : «Thy word would cut me off, O my father, if I had concealed from thee the correspondence about the garden of those fatherless (ones)». * And this father said to him in wrath : «From thy mouth it shall be to thee, as thou hast said», and that deacon had scarcely reached his house when he fell down and died. And they found what he had concealed in the way of the correspondence at the sides of his house, because it was none other than the Holy Spirit Who had judged (him). And he (Matthew) did not begin, at the commencement of his judgements, except that he called on those who were present for the judgment to say : ‘ Our Father Who art in the heavens ’. And as for his correspondence, he used to write in it, after the mention of the Holy Trinity ⁽³⁾, ‘ Salvation belongs to the Lord ’, meaning by this that it is Christ (al-Masīḥ) our God Who gives judgment through his (the patriarch’s) mouth, in which is salvation for His slaves ; and for this reason every judgment put aside by kings and governors, they would send it to him, and it would be solved immediately. And how many times was it (thus), that the King in Egypt (Miṣr), when a judgment was difficult for him in the way of the pilfering of goods which the porters used to pretend the Franks (al-Afranġ) had carried off for themselves over the Mediter-

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⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* ‘ before ’.

⁽²⁾ *I.e.* the Divine Liturgy.

⁽³⁾ *I.e.* ‘ In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Amen ’.

at the door (and) they were assured that it was the voice of the patriarch, they came out, and they asked him to accept more than a loaf, but he did not do (so). And once he sent one of his disciples to bring to him food at eventide. And when the coming of that disciple was delayed, he began to rebuke himself, saying : « Why art thou not satisfied with dust in place of food ? » and he began to dip his bread into the dust and to eat until he was satisfied and he thanked God. And when the disciple came, he found him (Matthew) satisfied with the dust in place of food, and he marvelled, because he had no care for the needs of the body ; even the garments and the mantles which were on his body, he did not pay attention to them, but was satisfied with a hair-shirt beneath his robe, and he would give all what he had to his sons, the bishops, and he did not keep with him except one phelonion (burnus) destined for the Service ⁽¹⁾. * And once he asked his disciples to give that phelonion (burnus) to a needy bishop (whom) he had consecrated ⁽²⁾, but they did not do (so) ; and when they did not obey him, the Lord sent to him in that hour a new silk phelonion (burnus) as a gift, better than that one, and he gave it to that bishop. And when the disciples saw what had happened, they glorified God, and they grieved at their disobedience to him, and they no longer disobeyed him in anything. And he (Matthew) perfected charity with the virtue of humility ; and he used to make with the labourers the puddle of mud ⁽³⁾ and to empty the tubs with the workers, and to carry the grain with the porters, and he used to run behind the asses ⁽⁴⁾, and with (all) this he was not lowered in his prestige and his respect in the eyes of the people. And as for the service of the priesthood ⁽¹⁾, when he was vested and went up to the altar, the colour of his face became as embers, and his eyes shone as one who beholds the Son of God standing upon the altar, (and the congregation) were in fear and awe of him. And the assembly of the priests used to ask him to sit on the throne, and he

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⁽¹⁾ *I.e.* the Divine Liturgy.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* ' advanced '.

⁽³⁾ *I.e.* for making bricks.

⁽⁴⁾ *I.e.* the asses were laden, and he drove them forward with a stick.

asked him, and he did not cease to perform alms and to give, and the greater part of his alms-giving was for the convents⁽¹⁾, until his alms-giving reached a thousand ardabs of corn every year. And when he pleased God by his works, and his hour drew near, Divine grace moved him, (and) he went up the same day to the cell (κελλιον)⁽²⁾ to be blessed by this father according to his custom, and death overtook him in the presence of this father, as he had sought, so that he (Matthew) marvelled at his faith. And he shrouded him with his pure hand, and he wrote on⁽³⁾ . . . «Thou didst ask, (and) thou wast given : thou didst knock (and) it was opened to thee⁽⁴⁾», for God — praised and exalted be He! — hearkens to the merciful and the lowly. And as for the rich who were without charity, I saw this father asking one of the rich to give something from his gold and his silver to the wretched, and he did not do (so).

* Fol. 245 r* And God sent to him an oppressive officer (Ka'id)⁽⁵⁾ before * this father had departed from his house, and he laid his hand upon the treasures of that richman, (and) he took his gold and his silver and his provisions. Then he died, (and) his death (was) evil (and) tormented, and his soul went to Hell, for thus is the miserable fate⁽⁶⁾ which descends upon the rich who are without charity. And this father desired (that) all people should be assiduous in charity out of his love for charity. And it was (that, on) the day in which he did not find anything to give as alms, he once gave as alms the carpet which (was) beneath him. And once he gave as alms his robe and his loin-cloth; and another time (he gave as alms) the copper (vessel) placed before him; and once a man, a scribe, came to him, and he was in need, (and) he gave to him his carpet. And also there came to him at eventide a man (who was) hungry, and he (Matthew) took his supper from before him, and he gave it to that hungry (one). Then he went out (and) he knocked at the doors, as a wretched (one) seeking a loaf. And when he knocked

⁽¹⁾ *I.e.* nunneries.

⁽²⁾ *I.e.* the Patriarchate.

⁽³⁾ A word is missing here, perhaps it is 'his tombstone'.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. *Matt.* vii, 7.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. p. 238, n. 4.

⁽⁶⁾ *Lit.* 'misery'.

his (Matthew's) disciples began to complain of the lack of corn, and that all what remained in the garners did not suffice for the morrow, he used to say to them : «Distribute, O my sons, and fear not, because I have other garners overflowing (and) full». And this father did not mean earthly garners, but the heavenly garners, because this father was wont to celebrate the feast of our Mistress the Virgin and the Archangel, the pure Michael (Mikhâyil), the two feasts in every month ⁽¹⁾. And it was (that), if the garners were empty, and he entered and he blessed them on those two feasts, the garners would be filled and overflowing with heavenly blessing. And once I saw (that) this father had purchased beforehand for the monasteries and the mountains ⁽²⁾ a thousand arداب of lupines (*θέριμος*) on account of the occurrence of that dearth. * And when the occurrence of that dearth was retarded, some of the brethren, the monks, began to carry away part of these lupines (*θέριμος*) to the fire, as refuse ; and when that dearth happened and came to pass, those monks regretted much ; but as regards those who had preserved what they had, whenever they became hungry and did not find anything, they used to nourish themselves with those lupines (*θέριμος*) and give glory to God. And when the rich who were without charity saw the deeds of this father and the excess of his love for charity, they began to follow his steps and to do as he did, so that one of the rich (who) was named As-Sa'id Barakah Ibn Wa'gh al-Muhr, came and sought (from him), saying : «I beseech thee, O my master, the father, to ask the Master Christ (al-Masiḥ) to put charity into my heart, that I may love charity for the wretched, as thou, and to bring about my translation ⁽³⁾ before thy translation» ⁽³⁾. And he (Matthew) said to him : «It shall be to thee (according to) thy faith, and it shall be given (to thee) as thy heart (desires)». And in that hour Christ (al-Masiḥ) put charity in that (man) in his heart, according as he had sought, so that it was (that) he did not repulse anyone of those who

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⁽¹⁾ This is a commemoration of St. Michael the Archangel on the 12th of every month, and of the All-Holy Virgin Mary on the 21st of every month in the Coptic Church.

⁽²⁾ *I.e.* the cells of the hermits in the deserts.

⁽³⁾ *I.e.* death.

of corn for the wretched, because a great dearth will come upon the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), and many of the wretched and the poor will die». And his disciples said to him : « Whence, O our father, shall we purchase a thousand ardabs of corn, and we have not with us of its price, except the half of five hundred dīnārs and no more? » And he said to them : « O my sons, purchase and do not fear, the Lord will make ready for us another five hundred dīnārs for the sake of the wretched ». And thus, scarcely were the words out of ⁽¹⁾ the mouth of this father, when there came to him two women from the notables of the people, (having) with them five hundred dīnārs, and they asked him to purchase with them wheat for the wretched. And when his disciples saw this, they marvelled at what had happened, and they arose immediately (and) they purchased those thousand ardabs of corn, as he had said. And after the corn had been purchased, affairs did not remain long ⁽²⁾ before a severe dearth occurred in Egypt (Miṣr). And many people forsook their land and gathered about this father, * so that the way to his cell (κελλιον) was filled with the hungry and the cast down; and this father used to go round and see to every group of them, and his heart was pained for them, and he used to care for all according to what they needed day by day until this dearth was lifted, and this hardship was overcome. Thereupon, he called the strangers and he comforted them, and he gave to every one of them a garment and clothed him with it, and likewise the women, he gave to them what was needed to cover them. Then he gave provisions to them all, and he hired for them ships to carry them to their lands, and their number was eight hundred persons. And he used to provide also for the dead and to shroud them and to bury them; and he performed charity ⁽³⁾ with all parties, Christian (Naṣārā), Muslims (Muslimīn) and Jews (Yahūd). And God the Exalted blessed all the crops and other things than them, as He had blessed the five loaves and the two fishes ⁽⁴⁾, so that, when

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⁽¹⁾ Lit. ' finished from '.

⁽²⁾ Lit. ' but a little '.

⁽³⁾ Lit. ' mercy '.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. *Matt.* xiv, 19. For a description of the fish called حوت, cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 333.

it was (that) all what increased for him in the way of gifts of gold and silver, he used to spend it from the very beginning on the wretched. And his disciples counted what was left from the patriarch who (was) before him, and they found it (to be) more than one hundred thousand dirhams, (and) all of it was given in alms to the wretched. And when his disciples saw that all what (was) under his hand and all what was brought to him, he used to spend from the very beginning on the wretched, they spoke to him about this, and they counselled him to reserve something of the alms and other than that which came to him for some emergency⁽¹⁾. And when they importuned very much, he dug a hole in the earth, and he deposited in it six hundred dīnārs, and when he had deposited this, he thought about it and he said : « O Matthew (Mattā), our Lord says in the Holy Book : ' Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth, where the moth destroys and thieves using craft steal ' ⁽²⁾, and thou hast withheld this from the wretched, and treasured it up in the earth, and thou hast remained disobedient to the saying of the Gospel. Or dost thou not know that God — praised and exalted be He! — will recompense in exchange for what thou givest to the wretched * twofold? ». And he repented and he wept, and he arose immediately to take out those six hundred dīnārs and, lo, he found at the side of them another six hundred dīnārs which the Lord revealed to him for the sake of charity⁽³⁾ for the wretched. And when he saw that, he marvelled, and he began to rebuke his disciples for the hardness of their hearts, saying : « Behold, O my sons, if the Lord has done this with him who succours and gives to the wretched, how, then, do ye prevent me, I the miserable (one), that I give not to the wretched? » Then he immediately obtained for those thousand and two hundred dīnārs wheat and grain, and he distributed it all among the monasteries and the wretched and the necessitous and the widows and the orphans and the hidden poor⁽⁴⁾. And once he said to his disciples : « Arise, O my sons, purchase one thousand ardabs

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⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* ' an emergency of emergencies '.

⁽²⁾ Cf. *Matt.* vi, 19.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* ' mercy '.

⁽⁴⁾ *I.e.* those who conceal their poverty.

council, (and) then there came to him a starving man or a wretched (one), he used to leave what he had in hand in the way of giving⁽¹⁾ judgment, and he would attend to the state of that starving wretched (one), rather than to what he had in hand, because for this father there was not (anything) more (important) than caring for the wretched and giving alms to them. And from the superabundance of his care in alms-giving and charity⁽²⁾ it was (that) on the day on which there did not come to him a wretched (one), he used to arise and go round the houses of the widows and the wretched and visit them, and those who (were) in the prisons also, and he was a surety for every one of them. As for the convents which (were) for the nuns, the most important (thing) of all (was) that he used to go round every convent of their convents and see into their condition. And once he entered one of the convents, and he found an aged woman, a wretched nun, sitting at the time of the ninth (hour)⁽³⁾, eating bread and salt only. For this (reason) pain and grief of heart for the nuns took hold of him, so that it was (that) he did not neglect to visit them, but he used to appoint for them every month (a supply of) wheat and grains and oil and other things than these from the time of his (consecration to the) patriarchate up to the day of his translation⁽⁴⁾. And likewise * to those in the monasteries and the mountains⁽⁵⁾ he used to send all what they needed, and from those in straitened circumstances and hardships he used to remove that hardship, and for those in the prisons he used, for the sake of their deliverance, to cast himself at the gates of the amirs and the governors and to spend for them much money, so that they might be delivered from that hardship. And he used to look for a recompense for this from the Master Christ (al-Masīḥ); and it was (that) all what he did in the manner of these charities⁽⁶⁾ and gave to the wretched and those in poverty, Christ (al-Masīḥ) gave to him the double of it. And

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(1) *Lit.* 'occupied with'.

(2) *Lit.* 'mercy'.

(3) *I.e.* 3 p.m.

(4) *I.e.* his death.

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

(6) *Lit.* 'mercies'.

the Blessed Mark (Marḳus) ⁽¹⁾, and they advised him that he should not refrain from what was ordained for him, but (that) he should make ready for and accept the service and be appointed patriarch. And when he came to Cairo (Miṣr) and was assured that he would become patriarch, his heart was exceedingly grieved on account of it, so that from the abundance of his grief he took a pair of steel scissors, and he cut off the tip of his tongue and he cast it before the people; and they were exceedingly grieved; and they purposed to heal him and they could not, but the Lord Who loosed the tongue of Zacharias (Zakaryâ) after the dumbness ⁽²⁾, was He Who loosed his tongue, and they were assured that their shepherd (was) this (one) from God. Then they laid hold on him, and they consecrated him patriarch on the first day (of the month) of Misrâ (in the) year one thousand and ninety-four of the Martyrs ⁽³⁾. And the total of the assembly of the bishops (who) laid hands ⁽⁴⁾ on him in the city of Alexandria was eleven bishops. And he (Matthew) desired of Christ (al-Masîḥ) that He should send to him the twelfth bishop; and he did not depart from Alexandria until Christ (al-Masîḥ) sent to him the twelfth bishop. And they completed his enthronement as patriarch on the sixteenth day (of the month) of Misrâ ⁽⁵⁾, * out of his love for that day which is the commemoration of our Mistress the Virgin. And he did not change anything of his way (of life) or his humility during the days of his patriarchate, but he set up a copper bell at the Cell of the Patriarchate, and it was that all who heard that bell arose for the Prayer ⁽⁶⁾ at its (appointed) times. And (there was) fasting on every day up to the ninth (hour) ⁽⁷⁾, and it was (that) together with his assiduity for the Prayers ⁽⁶⁾ and vigils he did not neglect charity ⁽⁸⁾ for the wretched. But it was, if he sat in his

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⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 238, n. 5.

⁽²⁾ Cf. *Luke* 1, 20 sqq.

⁽³⁾ = 1378 A.D.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* 'their hand'.

⁽⁵⁾ This is the Feast of the Assumption of the All-Holy Virgin Mary.

⁽⁶⁾ *I.e.* the Canonical Hours.

⁽⁷⁾ *I.e.* 3 p.m.

⁽⁸⁾ *Lit.* 'mercy'.

used to carry away the ashes⁽¹⁾ on his head, and to wash the vessels of the kitchen and the pots, and to serve the elders (aš-Šiyûkh) and the sick who (were) among them and the visitors. And he had no robe and no possessions and no cell (κελλιον), but his dwelling was the hard lumpy ground in a cave in the mountain outside the monastery, and he would pray in it. And Satan (aš-Šaiṭân) used to stir up against him in that cave many trials and fearful phantoms, among which was (that) he raged against him in the likeness of lions and fierce hyenas coming to him to devour him. And as soon as they saw him, they would become tame towards him and would be afraid of him. And this father informed us that the fierce wild beasts became tame towards him, so that the day on which they did not find food for their young, they would come and complain to him. And he would arise and give to them what was with him in the way of bread and leave himself hungry for some days without eating, until he returned to the monastery. And the wild beasts out of their love for him, when he journeyed on the way, would journey with him; and when he commanded them to return, they would return. And his manner of life was thus from time to time, until the patriarch who was before him was translated⁽²⁾. And thereupon the assembly of the people * called him, and they besought him to become patriarch over them, but he did not agree, and he arose and hid himself, and he descended into a ship sailing southwards. But God forbade the wind to blow⁽³⁾, until a little child came and directed them to the hold of the ship. And the people went to him immediately, and they caused him to come up from the hold of the ship. And when he knew that there was no escape for him from their hands, he thereupon besought them with many prayers that two of their companions should accompany him to the Mountain of Saint Antony (Anṭūniûs)⁽⁴⁾ to ask the advice of his fathers, the elders (aš-Šiyûkh). And at the hour (in) which the elders (aš-Šiyûkh) saw him, they rose up towards him, and especially

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⁽¹⁾ *I.e.* from the oven.

⁽²⁾ *I.e.* died.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* 'to go forth'.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 237, n. 3.

and accept (it) for the sake of God». And when the officer (al-Kā'id) heard his words, he was exceedingly enraged, and he ordered that they should set free this father and should beat the Blessed Mark (Marḳus) in his stead. And the officer (al-Kā'id) wearied of punishing them, and he took them in fetters, wishing to journey with them to Cairo (Miṣr). God Who manifests His miracles in His Saints manifested at their (the monks') hands a great miracle, so that the officer (al-Kā'id) marvelled and repented at having punished them. And this (was) that these Saints, when the suffering of the beating and the fetters grew intense for them, a great thirst came upon them on the way, until their livers were dissolved. And the Blessed Mark (Marḳus) asked the officer (al-Kā'id) that he should give to them a little water to drink, but he did not do (so); and the Blessed Mark (Marḳus) rebuked him, saying: «If thou wilt not give to us water to drink, lo, the Lord our God will give to us water from the heaven to drink», and with (these) words of the Blessed Mark (Marḳus) to him, he (the Blessed Mark) prayed, lifting his face to the heaven; and immediately the cataracts of heaven opened, and rain ⁽¹⁾ fell heavily until the plains and the ravines were filled, and they all of them drank, and on account of the abundance of the rain they halted to rest. And a messenger from the King reached them to deliver them and to return them to * their monasteries. And

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⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* ' rains '.

⁽²⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 285-308.

⁽³⁾ *I.e.* 3 p.m.

of God, have mercy upon me⁽¹⁾, for I had a supply of silver to be of use to me in my sojourning abroad, (and) they stole it, and I do not know who it is who stole it from me». And he who stole it, took it stealthily, and journeyed immediately to Bethlehem (Baît Laḥm) intending to escape to his country. And when this father was informed by the Spirit of his affair, he left that monk in his place, and he went immediately to Bethlehem (Baît Laḥm), and he took hold of him who had stolen the supply (of money), and he took it from him; and he did not spread abroad his affair, but he took it from him, and he returned it to that monk, its owner. And (it was) that the monk marvelled at this, and he published this miracle to everyone in Jerusalem (Aûrušalîm). And when this father was informed that his affair was spread abroad, he arose immediately, and he went to the Mountain of Antony (Anṭûnîûs)⁽²⁾, and there befell him on his return many griefs and hardships among which (was) that the King of Egypt (Mişr), by reason of what had happened from the Franks (al-Afranġ)⁽³⁾, which had happened in the city of Alexandria, * sent an officer (Ka'id)⁽⁴⁾ and soldiers from him to inflict punishment on the monks and to require from them the vessels of the monasteries. And when the soldiers took hold of this father, they inflicted on him heavy punishment, until the heart of the Blessed Mark (Marḳus)⁽⁵⁾ was pained for him, and he rebuked him, the officer (al-Ka'id) on account of him, saying to him: «Dost thou not fear God, for thou hearest the youth adjuring thee for the sake of God through the suffering of the beating, and thou dost not have mercy upon him

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⁽¹⁾ The expression ارحمنى most probably is a rendering of the Coptic ⲁⲣⲓ ⲛⲛⲁ which is regularly found in ostraca with the meaning 'be so kind', 'do me a favour' etc.

⁽²⁾ Cf. p. 237, n. 3.

⁽³⁾ This is the descent on Alexandria by Peter of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, in 1365. The Christians of Egypt had to pay the ransom of the many captives which he took, and also to contribute to the building of a fleet, cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

⁽⁴⁾ For remarks on the title قائد, cf. R. DOZY, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 417.

⁽⁵⁾ The relics of the Blessed Mark are preserved in the church dedicated to him at the Monastery of St. Antony, cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, pp. 354-355.

Abraham (Ibrâhîm), the hegoumenos (al-Ḳummuṣ) al-Fânî⁽¹⁾, he rose up straightway against the bishop, and he said : « How didst thou make bold, O our father, and ordain a young lad a shepherd⁽²⁾, a priest, and he is eighteen years old? ». And the bishop answered him, saying : « The young man is worthy to be consecrated patriarch by reason of what I know of him, for he fasts in the time of summer every two days, and in winter, every three days ». And when our father, the hegoumenos (al-Ḳummuṣ), heard what the bishop testified of him (Matthew), he marvelled and glorified God Who speaks through the mouth of His Saints. And as for him (Matthew), when he beheld the scandal which arose on his account, he went to the Mountain of Saint Antony (Anṭûniûs)⁽³⁾, and he did not show himself to anyone that he was a priest; but when it was his intention to serve, he did not serve except as a deacon. And lo, a divine hand came forth from the altar (haikal) and gave to him incense thrice at the reading of the Gospel⁽⁴⁾; then it withdrew from him. * And when some of the saintly elders (aš-Šiyûkh) beheld it (the hand) and were assured of it, they informed him that he would without fail become patriarch. And when he heard this from them, he grieved exceedingly, and he arose, and he went to the city of Jerusalem (Aûrušalîm), and he was a stranger there, and he used to work as a labourer and to eat from his toil. And it was from his great exertions in the day, (that) he passed all the night also awake in a cave, and he did not associate with anyone and he did not talk at all. And if an affair compelled him to talk, he used not to speak beyond seven words, and as for Friday, he would not talk on it, but he used to talk with the Master Christ (al-Masîh) all the day. And thus this father did not cease (his) exertions in the city of Jerusalem (Aûrušalîm) until a monk of a foreign race (γένος) came to him and said to him : « O man

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⁽¹⁾ *I.e.* he was a monk of the Monastery of Abû Fanah, cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, Cairo, 1965, pp. 262-263.

⁽²⁾ *Lit* ' a shepherd of sheep '.

⁽³⁾ *I.e.* the Monastery of St. Antony, cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, pp. 31-88.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, pp. 42-43 and 59-60.

screamed at them with his voice, they would leap away from him and turn tail in flight, so that the shepherds who were older than he (was) used to marvel at his great courage. And the grace of God shone upon his face, for this father was handsome of countenance, very agreeable in form, figure and appearance, and it was (that) everyone who beheld him would love him on account of it. Once a woman beheld him, and she coveted the beauty of his eyebrows, and Satan (aš-Šaiṭān) incited her, and she accosted him (Matthew) with evil (intention), and he went aside, and he took off his eyebrows with a razor, and he betook himself with the eyebrows to that woman, saying to her : «Take the hair of the eyebrows which thou didst covet». And when the woman beheld him, she grieved for that exceedingly, but she did not turn back from him, so that the father asked the bishop that he should let him go his way, for that woman (lived in) proximity to the dwelling-place of the bishop. And this father concealed her affair, and he did not wish to make it known to the bishop that she was increasingly incited towards him. And he asked the bishop that * he should let him go his way, but he (the bishop) was not willing. Thereupon, he acted ⁽¹⁾ as if he were mad, and immediately he collected the robes of the bishop and his palliums (bállm), and he tore them all into little pieces ⁽²⁾, and he cast them in a heap as rags. And when the bishop beheld this, he rose up against this father and he rebuked him and drove him away to his monastery. And he (the bishop) did not know that he (Matthew) had done this on account of that woman, but (he thought) that a madness had come upon him. And God sent to the bishop a group of people who informed him of what had happened to him (Matthew) with the woman. And when he (the bishop) was assured of this, he regretted having driven him away. And the father, the bishop, began to seek an occasion to meet him (Matthew) until the time he met him. Thereupon, straightway he took hold of him, and he ordained him priest, and he was eighteen years old. And when the news of his ordination was made known to the spiritual, honourable father, who was the father

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⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* ' he made himself '.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* ' cuttings cuttings '.

MATTHEW (MATTÁ) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE EIGHTY-SEVENTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER, AND HE WAS KNOWN AS THE WRETCHED (AL-MASKĪN).

And this saintly father was from the Ša'īd of Egypt (Mišr) ⁽¹⁾, from a small hamlet of the Province of Al-Ašmūnāin ⁽²⁾ called Banī Rūḥ. And he was from his youth a shepherd ⁽³⁾ in the house of his father; and God Who shows forth miracles in His Saints showed forth in him from his childhood, while pasturing, very wonderful deeds, one of which (was) that, when he used to stand playing with the children, he would place his hand on the head of one of the children, saying: «Worthy!» (ἀξιός) ⁽⁴⁾ thrice, and he would ordain a group of them priests, and others deacons, so that his blessed mother used to marvel at this, and she would point to the gathering saying: «This my son will become without fail patriarch». * And this one (Matthew) did not continue a little child, so that he became big and grew up. And when he became fourteen years old, he thereupon left the house of his father, and he went to some monasteries in Upper Egypt (aš Ša'īd), and he worked as a shepherd ⁽⁵⁾ according to his custom. And he used not to wear on his body a garment at all, but he was clothed with a cloak ⁽⁶⁾ and a rope round his loins. And together with his contempt of himself he likewise possessed courage and amazing ⁽⁷⁾ strength, so that on account of his great courage the shepherds who were older than he (was) would, if fierce hyenas entrapped them at night to devour their sheep, and they prevailed not over them, put this father to the test and send him to those hyenas. And it was (that), when he drew nigh to them and

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⁽¹⁾ *I.e.* Upper Egypt.

⁽²⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-170.

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* 'a shepherd of sheep'.

⁽⁴⁾ In the ordination service of bishops, priests and deacons the final laying-on of hands is accompanied by the exclamation ἀξιός, repeated thrice, cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, Cairo, 1967, pp. 161, 164, 173.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lit.* 'a shepherd of sheep'.

⁽⁶⁾ For the meanings of عباءة, cf. R.P.A. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, Amsterdam, 1845, pp. 292-297.

⁽⁷⁾ *Lit.* 'powerful'.

and he was consecrated ⁽¹⁾ on the eighth (of the month) of Abīb (in the) year one thousand and sixty-five of the Martyrs ⁽²⁾, and he remained patriarch for fourteen years and three months. And he went to his rest on the sixth day (of the month) of Amšir (in the) year one thousand and seventy-nine of the Martyrs ⁽³⁾, and his days were peaceful.

JOHN (YŪ'ĀNNIS) THE PATRIARCH AND HE IS THE EIGHTY-FIFTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

* Fol. 239 r° This trustworthy father, known as Aš Šāmī, was consecrated ⁽¹⁾ patriarch on the twelfth day of the month of Bašuns * (in the) year one thousand and seventy-nine of the Martyrs ⁽³⁾. And he remained patriarch for six years and two months. And he was learned (and) virtuous, and he went to his rest on the nineteenth day (of the month) of Abīb (in the) year one thousand and eighty-five of the Martyrs ⁽⁴⁾.

GABRIEL (GHABRYĀL) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE EIGHTY-SIX OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This venerable, virtuous father Gabriel (Ghabryāl) was from the Monastery al-Muḥarraḡ ⁽⁵⁾, and he was chosen for the patriarchate. And he was consecrated ⁽¹⁾ on the eleventh (of the month) of Ṭūbah (in the) year one thousand and eighty-six of the Martyrs ⁽⁶⁾. And he was learned, virtuous, devout (and) ascetic. And the period of his occupation of the Throne of Mark (al-Marḡusī) (was) eight years and four months. And he went to his rest on the third day of the month of Bašuns (in the) year one thousand and ninety-four of the Pure Martyrs ⁽⁷⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Lit.* 'advanced'.

⁽²⁾ = 1349 A.D.

⁽³⁾ = 1363 A.D.

⁽⁴⁾ = 1369 A.D.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-308.

⁽⁶⁾ = 1370 A.D.

⁽⁷⁾ = 1378 A.D.

to his rest on the eleventh day * of the month of Ṭūbah (in the) year one thousand and fifty-five of the Martyrs ⁽¹⁾. And in his days there was made governor Šaraf ad-Dīn an-Našwā Ibn at-Taġ. And there befell him (the patriarch) many adversities. And they insulted the women and their children and the monks and the nuns and the bishops. And An-Našwā died under punishment through the blessing of the prayer of this father and his supplications, and retribution from God came down on all who wrought evil. And this father (re-)built the Monastery of Saint Abba (Anbā) Pšoi (Ibšāi) in Scetis (Šihāt) ⁽²⁾, and he expended on it from his own (money). And the period of his remaining patriarch (was) eleven years and eight months, and he went to his rest, and he was buried at the Monastery of Šahrān ⁽³⁾. * Fol. 238 v°

PETER (BUṬRUS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE EIGHTY-THIRD OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This virtuous father Peter (Buṭrus) was a chief at the Monastery of Šahrān ⁽³⁾, (and) he was chosen to sit on the Throne of Mark (al-Marḳusī) the Evangelist. And he was consecrated ⁽⁴⁾ on the sixth day of the month of Ṭūbah (in the) year one thousand and fifty-six of the Martyrs ⁽⁵⁾. And he remained patriarch for eight years and a half, and his days were peaceful. And he went to his rest on the fourteenth day (of the month) of Abīb (in the) year one thousand and sixty-four of the Martyrs ⁽⁶⁾.

MARK (MARḲUS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE EIGHTY-FOURTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father Mark (Marḳus) the Patriarch was from the inhabitants of the district of Ḳaliub (Ḳalūb) ⁽⁷⁾. He was chosen for the patriarchate,

⁽¹⁾ = 1339 A.D.

⁽²⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Monasteries of the Wādī 'n-Naṭrān*, pp. 21-28 and O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, Cairo, 1961, pp. 213-238.

⁽³⁾ Cf. p. 231, n. 8.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* 'advanced'.

⁽⁵⁾ = 1340 A.D.

⁽⁶⁾ = 1348 A.D.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391.

JOHN (YŪ'ANNIS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE EIGHTY-FIRST OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father John (YŪ'annis) the patriarch (was) from the inhabitants of the district of Nafiah ⁽¹⁾ in (the Province of) al-Manūfiyah. He was consecrated patriarch on the first of (the month of) Bābah (in the) year one thousand and thirty-seven of the Martyrs ⁽²⁾. And in his days many calamities befell the Christians (an-Naṣārā); some of them were killed, some of them were burned, some of them were nailed and paraded on camels ⁽³⁾, and they caused them to wear the blue turbans ⁽⁴⁾; afterwards, He (God) relieved the people through His mercy. And the duration of his patriarchate (was) six years and five months and a half. And he went to his rest on the second day of (the month of) Baramūdah (in the) year one thousand and forty-three of the Martyrs ⁽⁵⁾, and he was buried at the Monastery of the Nestorians (an-Naṣṭūr) ⁽⁶⁾ on the outskirts of Cairo (Miṣr), and the See was vacant after him for a few days.

BENJAMIN (BANYĀMĪN) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE EIGHTY-SECOND OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father Benjamin (Banyāmīn) was predicted by our father Saint Barsūmā the Naked before his going to his rest ⁽⁷⁾. They consecrated him patriarch on the fifteenth of the month of Bašuns (in the) year one thousand and forty-three of the Martyrs ⁽⁸⁾. And this saintly father was from the inhabitants of Ad-Dimikarāt ⁽⁸⁾ in the Ṣa'id ⁽⁹⁾, and he was a devout monk living at the Mountain of Tura (Ṭurā) ⁽¹⁰⁾. And he went

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Omar TOUSSOUN, *op. cit.*, p. 486.

⁽²⁾ = 1320 A.D.

⁽³⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-311, and B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-340, where there is given Maḳrīzī's account of what occurred.

⁽⁵⁾ = 1327 A.D.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. p. 230, n. 2.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. p. 231, n. 9.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 507.

⁽⁹⁾ *I.e.* Upper Egypt.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

of one another⁽¹⁾. And he (Theodosius) went to his rest on the fifth of (the month of) Ṭûbah (in the) year one thousand and sixteen of the Martyrs⁽²⁾. And the period of his occupation of the See (was) six years, and he was buried in the Monastery of the Nestorians (an-Naṣṭûr)⁽³⁾, and the See was vacant after him for (some) days.

JOHN (YŪ'ANNIS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE EIGHTIETH OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

John (YŪ'annis) the Patriarch, known as Ibn al-Kaddis, was chosen for the patriarchate, and he was consecrated on the nineteenth day (of the month) of Amšîr (in the) year one thousand and sixteen of the Martyrs⁽²⁾. And there was in his days the wearing of the blue turbans and other happenings⁽⁴⁾. And there occurred a great earthquake⁽⁵⁾ on Thursday (in the) half of the month of Misrâ (in the) year one thousand and nineteen of the Martyrs⁽⁶⁾. And he went to his rest on the fourth day * of the month of Baû'ûnah (in the) year one thousand and thirty-six of the Martyrs⁽⁷⁾, and he was buried in the Monastery of Šahrân⁽⁸⁾, and the duration of his patriarchate was twenty years and one hundred and five days. And this father was present at the funeral of the father, Saint Baršûmâ the Naked⁽⁹⁾ on the fifth of (the month of) Nâsî (in the) year one thousand and twenty-one of the Martyrs⁽¹⁰⁾, and he prayed over him. The blessing of the prayer of all (the Saints) be with us for ever. Amen.

* Fol. 238 r°

⁽¹⁾ Cf. S. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt*, London, 1925, pp. 289-290.

⁽²⁾ = 1300 A.D.

⁽³⁾ Cf. p. 230, n. 2.

⁽⁴⁾ The wearing of blue turbans and the closing of the churches is mentioned in the colophon of a MS. dated 1024 A.M. (= 1307 A.D.) edited by G. HORNER, *The Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar*, London, 1902, p. 25 (translation), and S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

⁽⁵⁾ S. LANE-POOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 301 states that this earthquake occurred on August 8th, 1303 A.D.

⁽⁶⁾ = 1303 A.D.

⁽⁷⁾ = 1320 A.D.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143.

⁽⁹⁾ Commemoration on Nâsî 5th.

⁽¹⁰⁾ = 1305 A.D.

in it, and he sent for the patriarch, and he imposed on him (a fine of) fifty thousand dīnārs, and they set free the Christians (an-Naṣārā), and they remained two years exacting it (the fine). And many adversities befell the Christians (an-Naṣārā) in his days, the explanation of which would be lengthy. * And the bishops suffered something, the explanation of which would be drawn out; and he (John) was removed from the patriarchate, as we have explained in the account of the aforementioned Abba (Anbā) Gabriel (Ghabryāl). Then he (John) returned, and the period of his patriarchate (was) twenty-nine years, and he went to his rest on the twenty-sixth of (the month of) Baramūdah (in the) year one thousand and nine of the Martyrs ⁽¹⁾, and he was buried in the Monastery of the Nestorians (an-Naṣṭūr) ⁽²⁾; and the See remained vacant after him one year and (some) days.

THEODOSIUS (TĀŪDŪSĪŪS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE SEVENTY-NINTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

Theodosius (Tāūdūsītūs), son of Abū Makīn al-Afaranġī — his name was Christodulus (ʿAbd al-Masiḥ) — (was) from the inhabitants of Minyat Banī Khasīm. And he was at the Monastery of Saint Abba (Abū) Fana (Fānā) ⁽³⁾, and he was ordained a priest in his monastery. And he was consecrated ⁽⁴⁾ on the tenth of (the month of) Abīb (in the) year one thousand and ten of the Martyrs ⁽⁵⁾, in the days of Al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Ḳalāūn ⁽⁶⁾. And the people remained for a period without commemorating his name, but they used to commemorate the name of him who was before him. And it was mentioned that he obtained the patriarchate by what is against the law (*νόμος*) and the precepts, and (that) he was a lover of taking bribes. And there occurred in his days mortality and great dearness, and the people ate the dead

⁽¹⁾ = 1293 A.D.

⁽²⁾ Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.

⁽³⁾ Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, Cairo, 1965, pp. 262-263.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lit.* 'advanced'.

⁽⁵⁾ = 1294 A.D.

⁽⁶⁾ 1290-1294, 1299-1309, 1310-1341 A.D.

was consecrated ⁽¹⁾ on the sixth of (the month of) Ṭūbah (in the) year nine hundred and seventy-eight of the Martyrs ⁽²⁾, a month after the decease of Abba (Anbā) Athanasius (Ātanāsīūs). And he remained patriarch for a period of six years and nine months. Then John (Yū'ānnis) Ibn Sa'īd was removed, and they finished (the consecrating of) Abba (Anbā) Gabriel (Ghabryāl) ⁽³⁾, and he was established in the patriarchate for a period of two years and two months from the twenty-fourth of (the month of) Bābah (in the) year nine hundred and eighty-five of the Martyrs ⁽⁴⁾ up to the six of (the month of) Ṭūbah (in the) year nine hundred and eighty-seven ⁽⁵⁾. Then he was removed from the patriarchate and John (Yū'ānnis) was brought back by the command of the Sultan. And Abba (Anbā) Gabriel (Ghabryāl) continued set aside until he went to his rest at the Church of Abba (Abū) Mercurius (Marḳūrah) in Cairo (Miṣr) ⁽⁶⁾, and he was buried in it on the seventeenth of (the month of) Abīb (in the) year nine hundred and ninety of the Martyrs ⁽⁷⁾. And when he went to his rest, they placed his name before the name of Abba (Anbā) John (Yū'ānnis) in the Church.

JOHN (YŪ'ĀNNIS) THE PATRIARCH, THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This John (Yū'ānnis) Ibn Sa'īd as-Sukarī was from the inhabitants of Cairō (Miṣr), and he was consecrated ⁽¹⁾ on the sixth of (the month of) Ṭūbah (in the) year nine hundred and seventy-eight of the Martyrs ⁽²⁾, as we explained at first. And he was in the days of Al-Malik az-Zāhir Beybars (Baībars). And in the year six hundred and sixty-two of the Hiḡrah ⁽⁸⁾, the Sultan commanded that they should dig a great pit, and they gathered together the Christians (an-Naṣārā) to burn them

⁽¹⁾ Lit. 'advanced'.

⁽²⁾ = 1262 A.D.

⁽³⁾ Up to this time he had been ordained only hegoumenos.

⁽⁴⁾ = 1268 A.D.

⁽⁵⁾ = 1271 A.D.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 40-49.

⁽⁷⁾ = 1274 A.D.

⁽⁸⁾ = 1264-1265 A.D.

And this father is he who drew up the Book of the Confession, the twenty-two sayings, and he called it the Book of the Teacher and the Disciple ⁽¹⁾.

ATHANASIUS (ATANĀSĪŪS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE SEVENTY-SIX OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father Athanasius (Atanāsiūs) the Patriarch, a son of the priest Makārim Ibn Kalil, was a deacon at (the Church) al-Mu'allakah ⁽²⁾, and he was chosen for the patriarchate. And he was consecrated ⁽³⁾ on the fifth of (the month of) Bābah (in the) year nine hundred and sixty-seven of the Martyrs ⁽⁴⁾. And he remained patriarch for eleven years and fifty-six days, and he went to his rest on the first (of the month) of Kihak (in the) year nine hundred and eighty seven of the Martyrs ⁽⁵⁾.

GABRIEL (GHABRYĀL) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE SEVENTY-SEVENTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

* Fol. 237 r° This Gabriel (Ghabryāl) the Patriarch * (was) a nephew of the father Peter (Buṭrus) aš-Šāmī, bishop of Ṭanbudī ⁽⁶⁾. This father was a priest at (the Church) al-Mu'allakah ⁽⁷⁾, and he was chosen for the patriarchate, and he was ordained hegoumenos (Ḳummuṣ). Then some of the archons (ἀρχων) at Cairo (Miṣr) agreed on John (Yū'annis) Ibn Abī Sa'id as-Sukarī, and they cast lots in the sanctuary ⁽⁸⁾, and it revealed the name of Abba (Anbā) Gabriel (Ghabryāl). And the mentioned John (Yū'annis) Ibn Sa'id and those who were with him gainsaid him (Gabriel), and he was set aside. And John (Yū'annis)

⁽¹⁾ Cf. G. GRAF, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-367.

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

⁽³⁾ *Lit.* 'advanced'.

⁽⁴⁾ = 1250 A.D.

⁽⁵⁾ = 1270 A.D.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 23-31.

⁽⁸⁾ *Lit.* 'they made a sanctuary (altar) lot'.

* We begin with the help of the Lord — praised be He! — to explain what we found from the epitome of the news of our masters, the fathers, the patriarchs of Alexandria who sat on the Throne of my lord (Mârî) Mark (Marḳus) the Evangelist (and) the Preacher; and this (is) what we found in the books of history which have been gleaned in order to continue the number ⁽¹⁾.

CYRIL (KÎRULLUS) THE PATRIARCH, THE SEVENTY-FIFTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER.

This father Cyril (Kîrullus) Ibn Laḳlaḳ was consecrated ⁽²⁾ at the city of Alexandria on Sunday, the twenty-second of (the month of) Baû'ûnah (in the) year nine hundred and fifty-one of the Martyrs ⁽³⁾. And he remained patriarch for seven years and nine months, and he went to his rest on Tuesday, the fourteen of (the month of) Baramhât (in the) year nine hundred and fifty-nine of the Martyrs ⁽⁴⁾ at the Monastery of the Beacon ⁽⁵⁾ at Gizah (al-Ġîzah) ⁽⁶⁾, and he was buried in it. And he was a learned man (and) virtuous. He possessed a number of divers virtues, except that he was a lover of money. And he practised ⁽⁷⁾ simony (χειροτονία), and there befell him adversities on account of it. And some people withstood and contemned him and held councils with regard to him in the presence of the viceroy (nâib) of the Sultan and the arbiters (al-'Adûl) and the wazîr Ma'in ad-Dîn Ibn aš-Šâikh ⁽⁸⁾, and they forced him to pay more than twelve thousand dinârs. And the throne remained vacant after him for seven years and seven months.

⁽¹⁾ *I.e.* of the patriarchs.

⁽²⁾ *Lit.* 'advanced'.

⁽³⁾ = 1235 A.D.

⁽⁴⁾ = 1243 A.D.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. B.T.A. EVETTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, pp. 192-196.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

⁽⁷⁾ *Lit.* 'took'.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. G. GRAF, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, Zweiter Band, pp. 360-361 and O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, 'The Canons of Cyril III Ibn Laḳlaḳ. Part II' in *B.S.A.C.*, t. XIV, p. 114.

This advance in education was maintained and stimulated by Cyril's successor Demetrius. Additional schools were opened by the patriarch Cyril V (1874-1927 A.D.) in the Ḥārat Zûwailah and at Bûlāk in Cairo, as well as a girls' school at the patriarchate and a boy's school at the patriarchate in Alexandria.

Cyril V also founded the Theological College at Cairo for the preparation of young men for Holy Orders, and also theological seminaries at the monasteries Al-Baramûs, Saint Antony and Al-Muḥarrak. This patriarch greatly encouraged the diffusion of religious and secular knowledge through the publication of books, and, in his time, the study of the Coptic language increased and spread among the people.

The biography of Cyril V records the various modern improvements introduced into Egypt during his patriarchate, such as the railway, the telegraph, the post, irrigation of the land and factories. New laws and regulations were enacted and personal and religious liberty was guaranteed. In Cairo and Alexandria new buildings were erected, the streets were arranged and lit by gas, and water was supplied through pipes in both these cities. Thanks to the facilities accorded by railways and steamships travel and trade greatly increased. In the year 1894 A.D. the day of the enthronement of the patriarch was made an annual commemoration which was observed in the churches by the celebration of the Divine Liturgy and by appropriate festivities.

The Arabic text which is printed in the following pages has been taken from *MS. Hist. 1* of the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, foll. 236^v°-276^r°.

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

Antoine KHATER O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER

1969

with an accident which happened to a workman who fell from the top of a scaffolding, whilst carrying a large stone.

Churches of Saint Michael the Archangel and Saint Menas at Cairo.

In the time of the patriarch Peter VI (1718-1726 A.D.) a certain notable of the Copts rebuilt at his own expense the southern Church of Saint Michael the Archangel and the Church of Saint Menas at Cairo.

Cathedral Church of Saint Mark at Al-Azbakiah in Cairo.

In the patriarchate of Mark VIII (1796-1809 A.D.) a certain Abraham al-Ġawharî, a Government official, obtained the authorization to build a church at Al-Azbakiah. The actual building of this church was undertaken by his brother, and thither the Patriarchal Cell was transferred from the Ḥârat ar-Rûm. This church was taken down by the patriarch Cyril IV (1853-1870 A.D.), and he started the building of a large Cathedral Church on its site. His successor, Demetrius II (1862-1870 A.D.) completed the building of this Cathedral, and its interior decoration was done at the order of the patriarch Cyril V (1874-1927 A.D.).

Churches of Saint Gabriel the Archangel in the Ḥârat as-Saḳḳâyin and of the All-Holy Virgin Mary at Al-Faġġalah in Cairo.

Both these churches were constructed at the order of the patriarch Cyril V.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

During the patriarchate of John XVII (1726-1745 A.D.) there was an increase of 15% on the tax (ġawâlî) which had to be paid by Christians and Jews alike. No one was exempted, not even the monks, and it caused considerable hardship to the poor.

Under the patriarch Cyril IV (1853-1870 A.D.) there was an advance in education among the Copts. Two schools were opened by this patriarch, one at the patriarchate and the other in the Ḥârat as-Saḳḳâyin, and the Coptic language was among the subjects taught in these schools.

the patriarch Mark VII (1745-1769 A.D.) lay in state the night before his burial.

Monastery of Saint Paul in the Eastern Desert.

This same patriarch John XVI rebuilt the Monastery of Saint Paul in the Eastern Desert, which had remained ruined for a time. He also consecrated a church in this monastery and established monks in it, and endowed it with an inalienable endowment taken from the Monastery of Saint Antony in the Eastern Desert.

Monastery of Al-'Adawiyah at Cairo.

In the days of the patriarch Peter VI (1718-1726 A.D.) the Monastery of Al-'Adawiyah in Bûlâk was rebuilt by a notable of the Coptic community, and it was consecrated by the patriarch. The patriarch Mark VII (1745-1769 A.D.) died at this monastery. A mansion (kaşr) was added to it by the patriarch Cyril V (1874-1927 A.D.).

Various Monasteries.

In the biography of Cyril V we are informed that this patriarch rebuilt or restored or added to the following monasteries :— Saint Barsum the Naked at Ma'sarah, Saint Mercurius at Ṭamwâi, Saint George at Ṭurah. We have also a list of all the inhabited monasteries, as well as the mention of a number of those which were ruined.

Church Al-Mu'allakah at Old Cairo.

During the patriarchate of Matthew I (1378-1409 A.D.) there was an attempt by the Muslims to burn down the famous church Al-Mu'allakah in the Fortress of Babylon (Old Cairo), but this attempt was frustrated by the prayer of this patriarch, for God sent down rain which extinguished the flames.

Church of the All-Holy Virgin Mary in the Ḥârat Zûwaïlah at Cairo.

In the biography of the patriarch Matthew I there is mention of the Church of the All-Holy Virgin Mary in the Ḥârat Zûwaïlah in connection

After the death of the patriarch Demetrius II (1862-1870 A.D.) the Throne of Alexandria remained vacant for nearly five years, and it was administered by a locum-tenens who was Metropolitan of Alexandria. To assist him in the work of administration of the patriarchate, this Metropolitan formed a council which undertook especially the control of the inalienable endowments of the Church. This council continued to operate under the new patriarch Cyril V (1874-1927 A.D.), but very soon serious disagreements occurred between it and the patriarch. As this council had the support of the Government, it managed to have Cyril V exiled to the Monastery of Al-Baramûs in August, 1892 A.D. Here he remained until January, 1893 A.D. when, by order of the Government, he was brought back to the patriarchate in triumph.

MONASTERIES AND CHURCHES

Monastery of the Nestorians at Cairo.

From the biographies of John VII (1271-1293 A.D.), Theodosius II (1294-1300 A.D.) and John IX (1320-1327 A.D.) we learn that these three patriarchs were buried in the monastery known as that of the Nestorians. This monastery was situated in Al-Ḥabaš, a district lying between Cairo (Al-Ḳāhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr). During the patriarchate of Mark III (1166-1189 A.D.) this monastery passed from the hands of the Nestorians into the possession of the Copts.

Monastery of Šahrân at Ma'sarah.

In the days of the patriarch Matthew I (1378-1409 A.D.) there was an attempt by the Muslim mobs to destroy the Monastery of Šahrân, but this patriarch courageously withstood them, and they finally dispersed and desisted from their evil intention.

Patriarchal Cell (Monastery of Saint George) in the Ḥârat ar-Rûm at Cairo.

In 1660 A.D. the Coptic Patriarchate was transferred to the district of Cairo known as the Ḥârat ar-Rûm, and the patriarch John XVI (1676-1718 A.D.) rebuilt the Patriarchal Cell and dedicated it to the Glorious Resurrection of Jesus Christ. It was at this monastery that

all the Christian denominations as well as the Muslims and the Jews to make supplication to God, but all was to no avail. Then the patriarch Peter VII celebrated the Divine Liturgy on the bank of the Nile, and cast the water from the ablution of the Eucharistic vessels into it. Immediately, the waters of the river began to effervesce and to rise to such an extent that they overflowed the bank.

With regard to the pilgrimage to the Holy City for the Feast of the Resurrection, it is recorded that the patriarch John XVI (1676-1718 A.D.) performed this in company with priests, notables and a number of people, and that the journey was made by land and not by sea. Peter VII (1809-1852 A.D.) also went to the Holy City for the Feast of the Resurrection, and he accompanied the Greek Patriarch into the Tomb of Christ to receive the Holy Fire. It was on this occasion that the Holy Fire is recorded to have burst forth from one of the pillars in front of the Church of the Resurrection.

Regarding the sees of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, we have an interesting example of what must be extremely rare in the Coptic Church, since the Canons forbid it, namely, the translation of a bishop from his see to another see. As the bishop is regarded as having been wed to his see, his translation to another see is considered as a form of adultery. The case in question occurred in the patriarchate of Peter VII (1809-1852 A.D.). He consecrated as archbishop of Ethiopia a former bishop of Jerusalem and then consecrated in his stead another bishop for the Holy City.

In the time of the patriarch Cyril V (1874-1927 A.D.) an archbishop and three bishops were consecrated for Ethiopia. In the biography of the said patriarch we have a list of the nineteen sees of the Patriarchate of Alexandria together with the names of their occupants.

The patriarch Cyril IV (1853-1870 A.D.) very nearly had a tragic end during his visit to Ethiopia. Certain English people accused him to the Negushe of being the precursor of Egyptian troops which were following him with the express purpose of making Ethiopia subject to Egypt. The Negushe who was of a very irascible nature immediately commanded the patriarch to be burned alive, and it was only through the intervention of the queen that he was spared and sent back to Egypt.

ECCLESIASTICAL

At the beginning of the latter half of the XIIIth century, an instance is recorded, where two candidates for the patriarchate were elected. One of the two of them succeeded in becoming patriarch, and he remained on the Throne of Saint Mark for a period of six years and nine months. Then he was deposed, and the other candidate was consecrated patriarch in his stead. After having remained patriarch for two years and two months, this patriarch died, and then the former patriarch was brought back by the command of the Sultan, and he resumed his patriarchal duties until his death.

A letter from the Pope of Rome regarding a possible reunion of the Coptic Church with the Latin Church, was received by the patriarchs John XII (1479-1482 A.D.) and John XIV (1570-1585 A.D.), and an appropriate answer was duly despatched to Rome. In the time of Peter VII (1809-1852 A.D.) Muḥammad 'Alī desiring to repay in some manner the French for their kindnesses towards him, expressed, at the suggestion of one of the commanders of his army who was a Catholic, the wish that the Coptic Church might unite with the Latin Church. As a consequence of this a small body of Coptic notables became Coptic Uniates.

During the patriarchate of John XVI (1676-1718 A.D.) there was a consecration of the Holy Chrism, and for this purpose the patriarch summoned all the bishops, and to each one of them he presented a complete set of hieratic vestments and Eucharistic vessels.

With regard to the failure of the Nile to rise, we have two examples in which through the intercession of the patriarch, the waters rose miraculously to their wonted measure. The first occurred in the time of the patriarch John XVI (1676-1718 A.D.), when the Nile stopped rising and a drought began to set in. The patriarch, thereupon, celebrated daily the Divine Liturgy, and prayed over a jar of water which he signed with the Holy Chrism. He then cast this into the river, and, in due course, the waters began to rise again. The second example occurred during the patriarchate of Peter VII (1809-1852 A.D.). As the Nile did not rise in a certain year, Muḥammad 'Alī commanded

In the time of the patriarch John IX many Christians were killed or burnt alive, whilst others were nailed to boards and paraded through the streets of Cairo on the back of camels. The wearing of blue turbans, as a distinctive mark for Christians, was enforced in the days of the patriarchs John VIII and John IX (1300-1327 A.D.). A massacre of the Christians and the pillaging of their houses also occurred in the time of the patriarch Mark VIII (1796-1809 A.D.).

The biography of the patriarch Matthew I (1378-1409 A.D.) is particularly extensive, containing, as it does, a record of the large number of the miracles which he performed. There is also mention of the gift of a fragment of the True Cross enshrined in a reliquary of gold set with gems, which was sent to a king of Ethiopia by a king of the Franks.

In the time of the patriarch John XIII (1524 A.D.) there is mentioned the building of a mosque in the street of Cairo called Al-Ghûriyah by Al-Ghûri, last of the Circassian Mamluks.

With regard to purely political events, we have mention of the frequent fighting in Cairo between rival sanjaks and mamluks, which occurred in the days of the following patriarchs :— John XVI (1676-1718 A.D.), Peter VI (1718-1726 A.D.), John XVII (1726-1745 A.D.), Mark VII (1745-1769 A.D.) and John XVIII (1769-1796 A.D.). In the biography of the patriarch Mark VIII (1796-1809 A.D.) there is an account of the invasion of Egypt by Napoléon Bonaparte, the assassination of General Kléber and the conversion to Al-Islam of General Menou to whom, it is stated, a son was born whom he named Sulaimân. In the time of the patriarch Demetrius II (1862-1870 A.D.) there is mention of the opening of the Suez Canal.

In the biography of the patriarch Cyril V (1874-1927 A.D.) which goes down to the year 1894 A.D., the following events are recorded :— the revolt of Aḥmad 'Urâbî, the entry of the English into Egypt and the Mahdî uprising in the Sudan. There is also mentioned the change in the right of succession to the viceroyalty of Egypt made by Ismâ'il Pasha, whereby the right of succession was reserved to the eldest son of his own family instead of being, as up to then, reserved to the eldest member of the family of Muḥammad 'Alî.

PREFACE

This final Part of the History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church comprises the biographies of thirty-eight patriarchs who occupied the Throne of Saint Mark from 1235-1894 A.D.

For the following patriarchs, however, the biographies are extremely brief, recording little else beyond the date of their consecration and that of their decease :— Athanasius III, Peter V, Mark IV, John X, Gabriel IV, Gabriel V, John XI, Matthew II, Gabriel VI, Michael III, Gabriel VII, Gabriel VIII, Mark V, John XV, Matthew III, Mark VI, Matthew IV.

Naturally, in the course of these seven centuries there is mention in the biographies of the patriarchs of many interesting and important particulars relating to the history of the Coptic Church, monasteries and churches and social conditions in Egypt.

HISTORICAL

During the time of the patriarchs Theodosius II (1294 A.D.) and John XVI (1676 A.D.) such a terrible famine occurred in Egypt, that the poor even ate dead people and dead animals ; there was also a lesser famine in the time of the patriarch Matthew I (1378-1409 A.D.). In 1303 A.D. a most severe earthquake convulsed the whole of Egypt, and Cairo suffered much damage as regards its buildings. In 1726 A.D. there was an occurrence of the pest, and in 1791 A.D. the bubonic plague broke out in Egypt, during which it is recorded that on a single day a thousand people died in Cairo.

From the last quarter of the XIIIth century to the second quarter of the XIVth century there were persecutions of the Christians with varying degrees of intensity. Under the patriarch John VII, Al-Malik az-Zâhir Beybars ordered a deep pit to be dug and then to gather together the Christians to burn them in it. They were, however, spared this martyrdom on the payment of a large sum of money by the patriarch.

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HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS
OF THE EGYPTIAN CHURCH

KNOWN AS THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY CHURCH

BY

SAWĪRUS IBN AL-MUKAFFA'

BISHOP OF AL-AŠMŪNĪN

VOLUME III. PART III

CYRIL II — CYRIL V

(A. D. 1235-1894)

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

BY

ANTOINE KHATER

LL. D., PARIS

O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER

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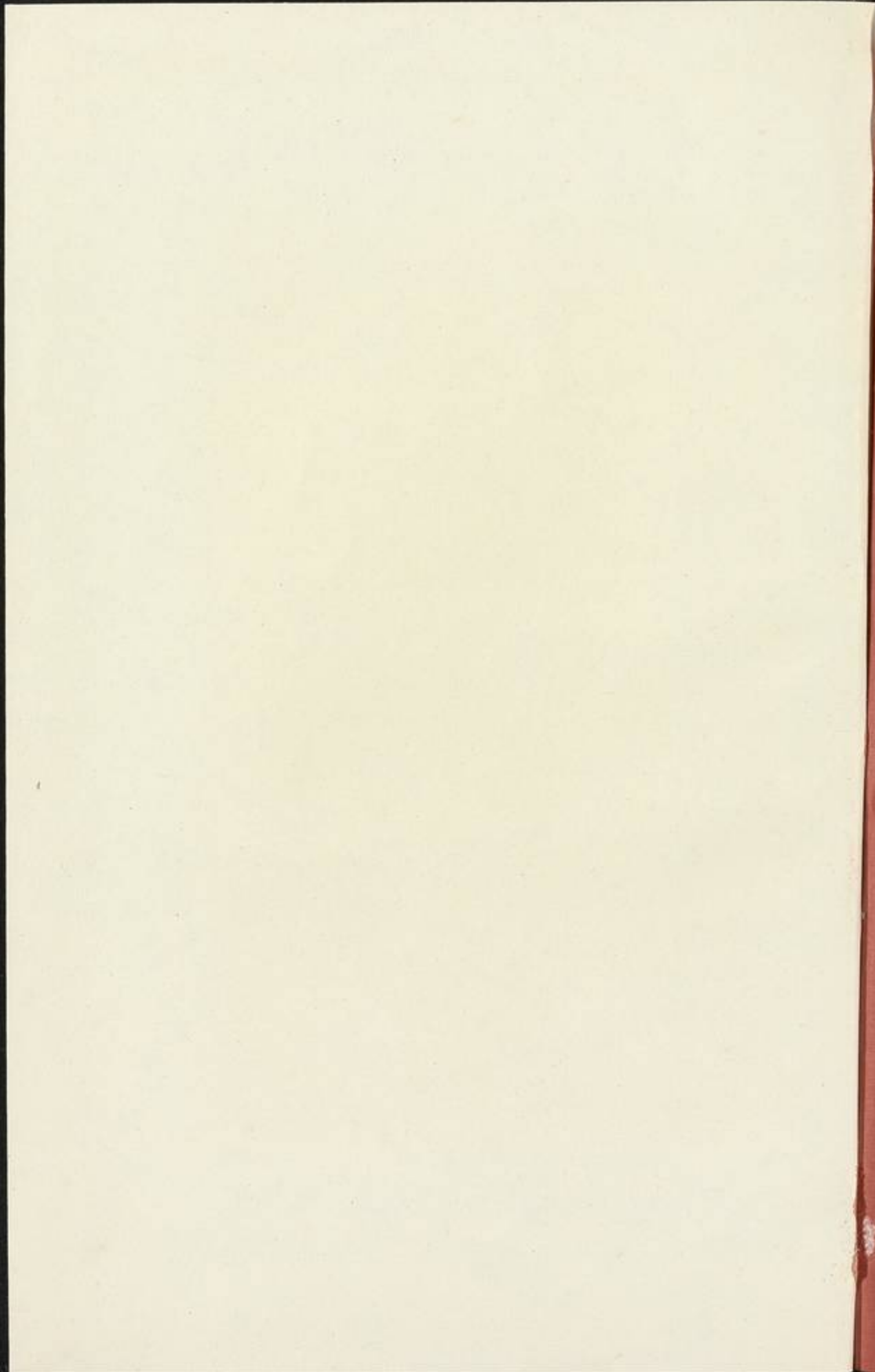
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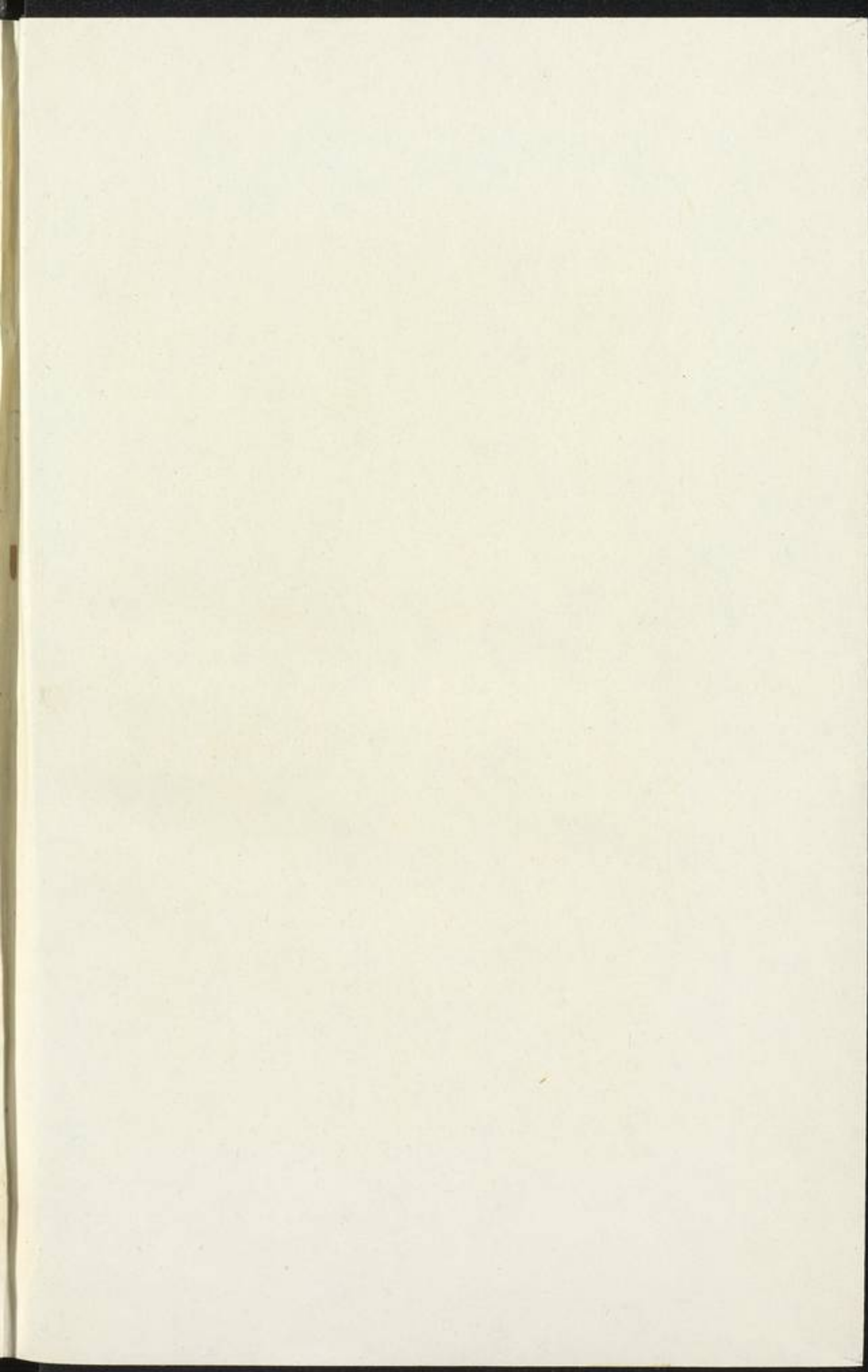
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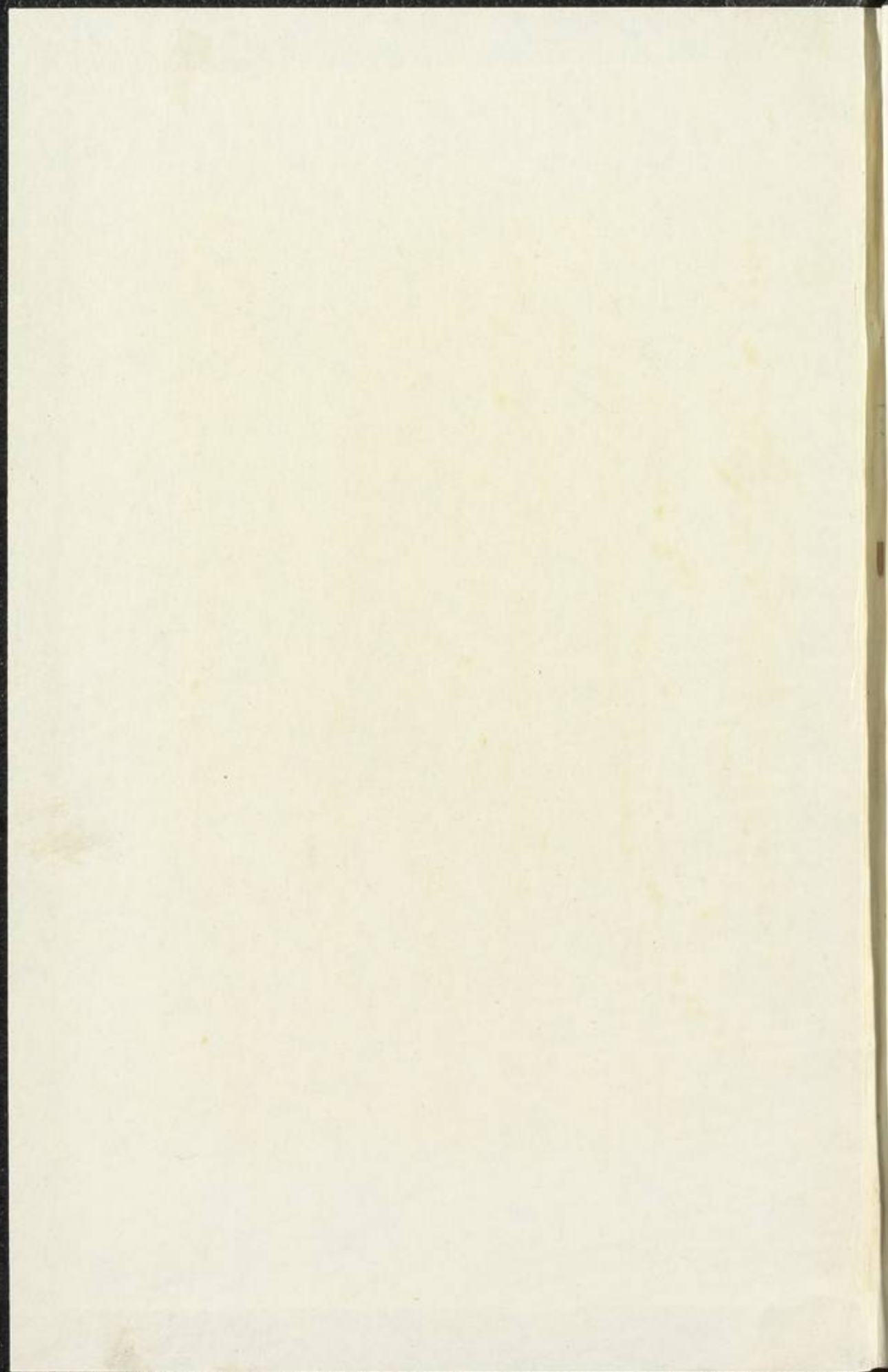


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