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AN ANSWER TO THE DHIMMIS*

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IN THE MEMORIAL VOLUME published in memory of our late colleague President William W. R. Harper, I have gone a little into the history of the relation to each other of the three great religious systems which have existed in nearly all Islamic countries, except Arabia, since the foundation of the Moslem Church. In the East that relation still plays a part—often a dominant one—in commercial life. No attempt even is made, as we do in the West, to ‘camouflage’ the situation. The text and translation that I publish in the following pages are a further contribution to the subject.

The little Ms. from which it is taken bears the title: ‘An answer to the Dhimmis and to those that follow them.’ Its author, Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭī (i. e. from Wāsiṭ on the Tigris) does not try nor does he pretend to give a presentation of his subject from a technically legal or theological point of view, as many have done who have written upon the subject. He tries, rather, to give a history of that relation from the time of the Prophet down to his own day in a series of stories; citing the chief incidents—as he considers them—that have occurred to point the moral to be drawn from that relation. Of course he is one-sided; so would be a Christian or a Jewish author writing in his day. It is an *ex-parte* statement, designed to prove the excellence of his own people and his own faith, and to expose the obliquity of ‘the others.’ We need not be too hard in our judgment of Ghāzī. He feels strongly for his own side; and, as he is evidently a man

* The Editors and the Author of this article desire to express their acknowledgement of the courtesy of the Mergenthaler Linotype Company of New York in furnishing gratuitously the composition of the Arabic text by the linotype process. They believe it is the first time that a scholarly text in Arabic has been published by that process. The editor of the text would very much have desired to vocalize it in certain cases and to employ the hemza and teshdid. He had especially desired to vocalize the passages in verse, but the linotype process is not yet adapted to expressing the vowel signs. The insertion of the folio pagination in the Arabic text was made after the type lines were cast, and accordingly the foliation is approximate, within half a line.

of some tempèr, he does not mince matters, nor does he take the edge off his words. But, we must remember that pungent expressions are permitted in the politest near-Eastern society which, with us, would never for a moment be permitted above or beyond the smoking-room. And if we do remember this, we shall not be shocked beyond measure to find the adjective 'cursed' prefixed to every mention of Jew or Christian!

The anecdotes are interesting just because they are trivial. They open the lattice a little, and permit a peep here and there into the private life of the people which too often is guarded from our sight by official and pompous historians. The soreness of the relations between the Copts and the Moslems in Egypt comes clearly into view—even the peculiarity in this relation; for the author—to his credit be it said—is quite conscious of the necessity of the non-Moslem population to the country, if the more important, and especially the Secretarial, positions were to be filled. As is natural, he is particularly violent against such as openly profess Islam, while still at heart remaining Christians. One can understand such feeling; and it is evident that he has in mind some particular persons belonging to this class whose shadows had fallen across his own path, though he does not mention them by name.

About the author I can find nothing in the various books of reference; the one or two facts that can be put down are those that follow of necessity out of his little compilation. The latest datable reference that he makes is in the year 1292, during the reign of the Mameluke Sultan Ḳala'ūn in Egypt. Though living in that country, Ghāzī was for a time in the service—so he himself relates—of al-Malik al-Ashraf Muḥaffar al-Dīn Mūsa of Emesa (1245–1262), the son of al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm, the last of the Ayyūbites there of the line of Shirkūh, the father of Saladin. The coming of the Mogul Khān Hulagu in 1262 evidently ended his services in northern Syria. The treatise, then, must have been written in Egypt towards the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. We should expect it at such a time; for, then, hot-headed Ulemas were apt to make life a burden for both Copts and Jews in the land of the Pharaohs.

The small Ms.—the property of the Library of Columbia University—is, so far as I can tell, unique. It evidently was not so at one time; for the first leaf, giving the title and seven lines of the first section, were added at some later time and from some

other copy; paper and script are glaring evidence of this. How late, I do not know. Upon the inside of this first leaf there is the Turkish sign-manual and the name al-Ḥāj Ḥasan Muḥammad Efendi . . . in the year 1171 [A. H.]—evidently the name and date of a late owner.

The Ms. itself is written with a great deal of care. It is fully—one might say, over-punctuated; and the section-headings are done in large gilded script. This goes so far that the letter *ra* is most often distinguished from the *zai* by a half-circle superimposed; as, in like manner, the *sin* is distinguished from the *shin*. The *ha* is made evident by a superimposed final *ha* and the *ṣād* by a sub-imposed final *ṣād*. Even the vowel letters, when indicating a long vowel preceding, are provided with *jezm*. For this superabundance the scribe, and not the author, is to be blamed—which does not, however, prevent him from making the mistakes natural to a scribe; e. g. he writes—with consistency it must be said—*ibllkhân* for *ilkhân*, probably because in one passage the original copy missed a dot under the *yā*. And, it must be added, the multitude of signs makes the reading more than usually difficult.

I have translated quite literally; and only with the idea of giving sense, not with the thought of literary polish. I have added the fewest possible notes—only when they appeared to be absolutely necessary. In some difficult situations, I have profited from the good advice and the knowledge of my colleagues, Dr. Philip Hitti and Prof. William Popper.

هذا كتاب رد علي اهل الذمة ومن تبعهم رحم الله مؤلفه امين
تاليف الشيخ غازي بن الواسطي

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم . الحمد لله على دين الاسلام . والصلاة
والسلام على خير الانام . صلى الله عليه وسلم . وصلى على آله
 واصحابه البررة الكرام . وبعد فمنذ تعليق لطيف مشتمل على طريقة
اهل السنة ونصرة اهل للدين والحق والرد على من خالفهم وتبع

^{2a}
هواهم بغير علم فاقول ويا لله التوفيق ان الذمة الغير مخفية من
المتصرفين في الممالك المصرية والشامية . من كفره ملة اليهودية .
والطوائف النصرانية . فانهم اشد كفرا واكثر عنادا من اهل بالسيف .
واصرت على الاسلام بظلمهم والحنف . وليظهر لعلومه الشريفة
ما على الاسلام من ضررهم . رجاء ان يطهر ايام سلطنته الشريفة من
وضرهم كما درس ممالكهم الحصينة المنيعة . ومعاقلم الشاهقة
الرفيعة . وجعلهم كامن الذاهب . ووسطر في صحائف ايام دولته
الشريفة منقبة لم تكن لسلاطين المشارق والمغرب . ويسلك بهم
مسلك رسول الله صلى عليه وسلم والخلفاء الراشدين . والسلاطين
العادلين .

وقد جعلت كتابي هذا مقدمة وفصلين فالمقدمة ما تضمنه الكتاب
العزیز وما روي عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم . والفصل الاول
فيما ورد عن امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه وعن
^{2b}
التابعين وتابعيهم من بني امية وبني العباس رضي الله عنه والمصريين
وغيرهم . والفصل الثاني في وقائع جرت في عصرنا هذا وشهدها
اكا بر الناس .

وعريت ما اورده من لباس الالتباس وختمته بمباحث لا يستطيع
احد ان ينقضها ولا يعارضها ويرفضها . ليعلم من تأمله وعرف جملة
ومفصلة . اني لم ابتغي غير نصح سلطانني والقريبى الى الله عز وجل
بما سطرته بيناني . واسئل الله المعونة والتوفيق بمنه وكرمه .

المقدمة فيما ورد في الكتاب العزيز

قال الله عز وجل يا أيها الذين آمنوا الا تتخذوا اليهود والنصارى اولياء بعضهم اولياء بعض ومن ولهم منكم فانه منهم . وقال الله عز وجل يا ايها الذين آمنوا الا تتخذوا عدوي وعدوكم اولياء . وقال

^{3a} سبحانه وتعالى قاتلوا الذين لا يؤمنوا بالله واليوم الآخر ولا يحرمون ما حرم الله ورسوله ولا يدينون دين الحق من الذين اتوا الكتاب حتى يعطوا الجزية عن يد وهم صاغرون . والنصارى ادخل في الشرك من اليهود كما ان اليهود ادخل من النصارى في الكفر والعناد فلذلك وسم الله عز وجل بالغضب وهو لاء بالضلال . وقال الله عز وجل يا ايها الذين آمنوا لا تتخذوا الذين اتخذوا دينكم هزواً ولعباً من الذين اتوا الكتاب من قبلكم والكفار اولياء واتقوا الله ان كنتم مؤمنين .

خرج مسلم في صحيحة عن عائشة رضی الله عنها قالت خرج رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قبل بدر فلما كان بحرة الوبرة ادركه رجل كان يذكر عنه جراءة ونجاة . ففرح به اصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم حين راوه فقال للرسول الله صلعم جئت لا تبعك

^{3b} واحارب معك . فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم توءمن بالله ورسوله . فقال لا . فقال له رسول الله صلعم ارجع فلن استعين بمشرك . فرجع حتى اذا كان بالشجرة لحق رسول الله صلعم فقال له كما قال اول مرة . فقال لا . فقال ارجع فلن استعين بمشرك . فرجع حتى اذا كان بالبيداء لحقه فقال له رسول الله صلعم اتوءمن بالله ورسوله فقال نعم . فقال اتبعني .

فلذلك قال الامام احمد بن حنبل رضي الله عنه لا يستعان باليهود والنصارى في شيء من اعمال المسلمين مثل الخراج وغيره . وكذلك قال ابو حنيفة والشافعي رضي الله عنهما وغيرهم من الفقهاء انه لا يجوز استعمالهم في شيء من الولايات والامانات . فان

انكفر ينافي الولاية والامانة لان قوله صلعم لن استعين بمشرك يعم الاستعانة بهم في الاستنصار والاستعمال والاستكتاب وغير ذلك.

^{4a} فان القول العام يجري على عمومه ولا يقتصر على سببه وقد تأيد هنا بوجهين احدهما انه علل امتناعه من الاستعانة بالشرك ولذه العلة تولية ولا استيمان ولا اعلى درجة ففي الولاية والمناصب اولى واحرى. ولهذا الى اضيقها فان منع الاستعانة بهم عام معقول المعنى المراد به كل كافر من اهل الكتاب. فعلق الحكم على ايمانه. بالله ورسوله. فان الكتابي لما كذب بدين الله ورسوله وخالف سبيل انبياء الله فلزمه الشرك. ولهذا قال الله تعالى اتخذوا ايجابارهم ورهبانهم اربابا من دون الله والمسيح بن مريم وما امروا الا ليعبدوا الها واحدا لا اله الا ه وسبحانه عما يشركون.

^{4b} وروى الامام ابو بكر الاثرم رحمه الله وهو من اكابر رواة الحديث. روى عنه الامام احمد بن حنبل رحمه الله وغيره في سننه عن ابي موسى الاشعري رحمه الله امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه امره ان يرفع اليه ما اخذ وما اعطى في اديم واحد. وكان لابي موسى كاتب نصراني فرفع اليه ذلك فعجب عمر رضي الله عنه منه وقال ان هذا لحافظ. فادعه ليقرأ. فقال ابو موسى انه لا يستطيع ان يدخل المسجد. وقال عمر اجنب هو. فقال بل نصراني. قال فاتهرني وضرب فخذي بيده حتى يكسره وقال لا تدنهم اذا اقصاهم الله ولا تامنهم اذا خونهم الله ولا تعزهم اذ اذلهم الله.

وروى الامام احمد بن حنبل رحمه الله عن حرب الكرمانى في مسائله عن عياض الاشعري ان ابا موسى استكتب نصرانيا فانكر

^{5a} عمر رضي الله عنه عليه ذلك فقال ابو موسى لى عمله. فقال عمر رضي الله عنه لا تامنهم اذ خونهم الله ولا تعزهم اذ اذلهم الله ولا تقربوهم اذ ابعدهم الله.

وقد مر على امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه بعض

المهاجرين بمال من البحرين فقال عمر يا معاشر المسلمين رحمكم الله قد جاءنا مال كثير فان شتتم كلنا كيلا وان شتتم وزنا وزنا وان شتتم عددنا عددا . فقام اليه رجل فقال يا امير المؤمنين قد راينا الاعاجم يدنون دواوين . فامر بوضع الدواوين في الاعمال وكتب الى عماله جميعهم ان لا يستخدموا كافرا يهوديا كان او نصرانيا .

وكتب معاوية بن ابي سفيان رحمه الله الى امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه . اما بعد فان في عملي كاتبنا نصرانيا لا يتم امر الخراج الا به وكرهت الاستمرار به دون امرك . فرد جوابه عافانا الله واياك قرأت كتابك في امر النصراني والجواب اما بعد .

^{5b} فان النصراني قد مات ولم ينقل في خبر من الاخبار ولا تاريخ من التواريخ انه استعمل مشرك من المشركين في عمل من الاعمال في زمن النبي صلعم ولا زمن ابي بكر ولا عمر ولا عثمان ولا علي رضي الله عنهم .

وعن ابي مشجعة بن ربعي من اعيان المحدثين رحمه الله قال لما قدم امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه الشام قام قسطنطين بطريق الشام بين يديه فقال يا امير المؤمنين ان ابا عبيدة بن الجراح فرض علينا خراجا فاكتب لي به كتابا . فانكر عمر ذلك وقال ما الذي فرض عليك . قال فرض اربعة دراهم وعباءة على كل حلحلة يعني جمجمة ولم يكن احد ان يستطيع عند عمر رضي الله عنه ان يتكلم الا باذنه . فالتفت الى ابي عبيدة رضي الله عنه فقال ما تقول في هذا . قال كذب علي ولكنني صالحته صلحا . ثم تقدمت انت فتكون الفارض . فقال عمر لقسطنطين ابو عبيدة اصلق منك فقال صدق ابو عبيدة وكذبت انا . فقال ما حملك على ذلك . فقال اردت ان اخدعك

^{6a} ولكن افرض انت . ففرض على الموءسر ثمانية واربعين درهما وعلى الوسط اربعة وعشرين درهما وعلى المدقع اثنا عشر درهما

وعلى ان لا يحدثوا كنيسة ولا يرفعوا صليبا بين ظهراي المسلمين ولا يضرىوا ناقوما الا في جوف كنيسة وعلى ان نشاطرهم منازلهم فيسكن فيها المسلمون فاني لا اطمئن اليكم وعلى ان اخذ الحير القبلي من كنائسهم لمساجد المسلمين فانها اوسط في المدائن وعلى ان لا يعبر بخنزير بين ظهراي المسلمين وعلى ان يقروا ضيوفهم ثلاثة ايام وثلاثة ليال وعلى ان يحملوا راجلهم من رستاق الى رستاق وعلى ان يناصحوهم ولا يغشوهم وعلى ان لا يتمالوا على عدو واستحللنا سفك دمائهم وسبي ابنائهم ونسائهم بذلك عهد الله وعقده وذمة المسلمين . فقال قسطنطين اكتب بذلك لنا كتابا . فينما يكتب الكتاب اذ ذكر عمر رضي الله عنه فقال اني استثني عليك معشرة الحبش مرتين فقال لك ثيالك . فلما فرغ من الكتاب قال له قم يا امير

6b

المؤمنين في الناس فاخبرهم الذي جعلت لي وفرضت علي . فقام عمر فقال الحمد لله احمده واستعينة من يهدي الله فلا مضل له ومن يضل الله فلا هادي له . فقال ذلك النبطي الملعون ان الله لا يضل احدا . فقال عمر رضي الله عنه ما يقول النبطي قيل يزعم ان الله لا يضل احدا . فقال عمر رضي الله عنه انا لم نعطك الذي اعطيناك لتدخل علينا في ديننا . والنبي نفسي بيده لئن عدت لاضربن الذي فيه عينك فينبغي الفكر فيما انتقده ذلك الكلب وما قاله امير المؤمنين عمر رضي الله عنه من شرطه وجوابه بالموءاخذة على اتقاده وما يعتده الا ان الاقباط من ترفعهم على المسلمين واتخاذهم الممالك والاماء والعبيد ورفعهم المناظر والبنيان ولبسهم افخر ملابس المسلمين مع اقتناء الجواهر والزرا كش والبساتين والمتاجر برا وبحرا وملازمتهم الملاذ انواعا . وان احد النصارى ياتي الريف مدقعا فقيرا وهو من اولاد مداير النصارى كالمعيشين فيخدم في اقل الجهات وينهبها

7a

ويرطل بما نهبه ويتقدم الى اعلى منها ويتنقل الى ان يلي الجيش او الايستيفاء . فما يمضى عليه اسرمد الى ان يجدد البساتين والسواقي

والاملاك المرخمة . فما يصير له ذلك الى ان تنهب اموال بيت مال المسلمين وتقاسمه الخونة والسفل معهم .

ومن عبد الرحمن بن عثمان . قال كتب لعمر رضي الله عنه حين صالح نصارى الشام ما نسخته . هذا كتاب لعبد الله عمر امير المؤمنين من نصارى الشام انكم لما قدمتم علينا سالناكم الامان لانفسنا وذرائنا واموالنا على ان لا تتخذ في مدننا وما حولها ديرا ولا كنيسة ولا صومعة لراهب . ولا نجدد ما خرب منها ولا نحبي منها ما كان حطط من المسلمين ولا نمنع كنائسنا ان ينزلها احد من المسلمين في ليل ولا نهار . وان نوسع ابوابها للمارة وابناء السبيل وان نزل من مر بنا من المسلمين ثلاثة ايام . ولا نتوى في كنائسنا ولا منازلنا جاسوسا ولا نكتم غشا للمسلمين ولا نعلم اولادنا القرآن

^{7b}

ولا نظهرا شركا ولا ندعوا اليه احد ولا نمنع احدا من قرائبنا من الدخول في الاسلام اذا ارادوه . وان نوقر المسلمين . وان نقوم لهم من مجالسنا ان ارادوا الجلوس ولا تشبه بهم في شيء من لباسهم ولا نتكنى بكناهم ولا نركب السروج ولا تقلد السيوف ولا تتخذ شيئا من السلاح ولا نحمله ونضرب بنواقيسنا في كنائسنا ضربا خفيا ولا نرفع اصواتنا مع موتانا . ولا نتخذ من الرقيق ما جرت عليه سهام المسلمين . ولا نطلع عليهم في منازلهم . وان نرشدهم الى الطريق . فلما قرأه امير المؤمنين زاد فيه شرطنا ذلك على انفسنا واهلينا وقبلنا عليه الامان . وان نحن خالفنا عن شيء شرطناه لكم وضمناه على انفسنا فلا ذمة لنا وقد حل لكم منا ما حل لاهل الشقاق والمعاندة . فليعتبر المعتبر هذه الشروط ويعاين ملابسهم ومراكبهم وتعرضهم للمسلمين من الاغاني ومن يجري مجراهم . فلا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم .

^{8a}

وكتب عمر بن عبدالعزيز سيد بني امية رضي الله عنه الى عماله في الافاق اما بعد . فان عمر يقرأ عليكم السلام ويقرا عليكم من كتاب الله المبين . يا ايها الذين امنوا انما المشركون نجس جعلهم

الله حزب الشيطان وجعلهم الاخسرين اعمالا الذين ظل سعيهم في الحياة الدنيا وهم يحسبون انهم يحسنون صنعا اولئك عليهم لعنة الله والملائكة والناس اجمعين . واعلموا انه لم يهلك الذين من قبلكم الا بمنة الحق وبسطة يد الظلم . وقد بلغني عن قوم من المسلمين فيما مضى اذا قدموا الى بلد اتاهم اهل الشرك فاستعانوا بهم في اعمالهم وكتابتهم لعلهم بالكتابة والجباية وتدبير المعيشة والاخيرة ولا تدبير فيما يغضب الله ورسوله . وقد كانت مدة قضاها الله تعالى فلا يعلمن ان احدا من العمال ابقى في عمله رجلا متصرفا على غير دين الاسلام الا نكل به . فان محو اعمالهم وانزالهم منزلتهم التي حصم الله تعالى من الذل والصغار وليكتب كل منكم الي بما

8b

فعله في عمله . وامر ان يمنع اليهود والنصارى من ركوب السروج ولا يمكن احد من الذمة من الدخول الى الحمام يوم الجمعة الا بعد الصلاة . وامر الحرس بان يقفوا على رءوس اليهود والنصارى عند ذبحة ما يذبونه . وان يذكروا اسم الله واسم محمد صلعم . فكتب اليه عامله حيان على مصر . اما بعد . يا امير المؤمنين ان دام هذا الامر في مصر اسلمت الذمة وبطل ما يوخذ منهم . فارسل اليه رسولا جلدا وقال له ايت مصرا واضرب حيان على راسه ثلاثين سوطا ادبا على قوله . وقل له ويلك يا حيان من دخل دين الاسلام ضع عنه الجزية فوددت لو اسلموا كافة ان الله بعث محمدا صلعم داعيا لا جايبا .

ولما استجد بنو امية النصارى في كتابة الـ«؟» والسلام كتب محمد بن يزيد الانصاري الى عبد الملك هذه الايات .

بني امية كفوا السن الغلغا كذاك سن رسول الله والخلفا

9a

لا تجعلوا القبط كتابا بالدولتكم فان في ذلك العدوان والجفنا
فاتم للهدى يضيء به بكم على نهجه يجري اذا وقفا
فامر عبد الملك بان لا يستعمل في دولته احد من اليهود والنصارى

واهدر دم من يستعلمهم .

وكتب خالد بن صفوان الى عمرو بن العاصي رحمه الله عند ما

ولي مصر .

يا عمرو وقد ملكت يمينك مصرنا وملكنا فيها العدل والاقساطا
فاقتل بسيفك من تعدى طوره واجعل فتوح سيوفك الاقباطا
فيهم اقيم الجور في جناباتها وراى الانام البغي والافراطا
لا تركنن الى النصرارى انهم شعب على دين الاله تعاطا

واذكر امير المؤمنين وقوله ان كنت في طاعاته محطاطا
لا تحفظن لمشرك عهدا ولا ترعى له ذمما ولا احلاطا
فراى في تيك الليلة عمرو في منامه قائلا من النصرارى ينشده ويشير
اليه بكفه .

بنت كرم غصيوها امها واهانوها بوطي بالتقدم
ثم عادوا حكموها فيهم ولناهيك بخضم يحتكم
فاستيقظ فرعا وقال والله لا حكمتهم في امر نزعهم الاسلام فامر
بعزل الاقباط جميعهم .

وكان الكسائي يقري المامون رحمهما الله القران من وراء ستارة
فاذا غلط ضرب الكسائي بقضيب على مخدة فبلغ المامون الى قوله
تعالى يا ايها الذين امنوا لا تتخذوا اليهود والنصارى اولياء - الاية
فضرب الكسائي بالقضيب فظن المامون انه غلط فراجع القراءة

10a

وقرا كما قرا اولا فضرب بالقضيب فظن المامون ان مراد
الكسائي التنبيه على معنى الاية الشريفة فامر ان لا يبقى يهودي ولا
نصراني في عمل من الاعمال متصرفا في امور الكتابة والتصرف .
وفي ايام هارون الرشيد ولي الفضل بن يحيى خراسان وجعفر
اخوه ديوان الخاتم عمرا الجوامع والمساجد والمرافق والصحاريج
للسبيل والمكاتب لايتام المسلمين واجريا لهم الارزاق . وصرف
كل منهما الذمة عن الدواوين والمناصب وخرّب الفضل معاقبهم

ومعابدهم بخراسان وامر بان لا يمكنوا من يياض شيء مما بقي من
كنائسهم لثبلا يتشبهوا بمساجد المسلمين في البلاد.

وذكر عمرو بن عبد الله قال استدعاني المأمون عند ما تظلم
المسلمون من الاقباط بمصر فقال يا عمرو اتعرف من اين اصل القبط

^{10b} فقلت هم بقية قوم الفراعنة الذين كانوا بمصر. فقال صف لي كان
امرهم. فقلت يا امير المؤمنين لما اخذ الفرس الملك من ايدي
الفراعنة قتلوا القبط ولم يبق منهم الا من هرب واختفا باضنا
والاقصريين وتعلموا الطب والكتابة. ثم توصلوا وخدموا اكابره
الفرس اطباء وكتابا. ثم تحيلوا وكتبوا الروم بامور الفرس وعدة
جيشهم واطلعوهم على بواطن امور يتملكون بها الديار المصرية
وحرصوا الروم على وصولهم وتملكهم البلاد وبنوا لهم اسباب التوصل
الى الملك. فجمع ملوك الروم وحشدوا وقصدوا البلاد وملكوها
وعملوا على قتل ملوك الفرس ورعاياهم واقاموا كلمة التثليث
وتمكنوا من الاستيلاء على البلاد. ونالوا بمكرهم مقاصدهم وقلعوا
ملك الفرس وفيهم يقول بعض الشعراء

لعن النصارى واليهود فكانهم بلغوا بنا من دهرنا الامالا
خرجوا اطباء وكتابا لئن تناهبوا الارواح والاموالا

^{11a} وفي ايام المهدي اجتمع الى بعض جماعة من المسلمين وتظلموا
من النصارى وكان ذلك الزاهد يغشى مجلس المهدي وسالوه
الحديث في امرهم فانهم ما بين مظلوم في نفسه ومظلوم في ماله.
فالمظلوم في نفسه من يصرف من شغل ويصرف فيه النصارى.
والمظلوم في ماله من يستضعف. فاجتمع ذلك الزاهد بالمهدي وقص
على المهدي ما ذكره الناس. وانشده

بابي وامى ضاعت الاحلام ام ضلت الاذهان والافهام
من ضل عن دين النبي محمد اله بامر المسلمين قيام
ان لم تكن اسياهم مشهورة فينا فان سيوفهم اقلام
وراي الحاكم المنتسب الى الفاطميين في منامه كان البارى

عز وجل في صورة انسان محمول على الايدي الى ان وصل الى باب القصر فمات . ففسره لنفسه وقال الحق يكون في الدنيا كلها حتى اذا وصل الينا بطل فاحتسب على نفسه واهله ثم احتسب على

11b

اليهود والنصارى وامر بهدم كنيسة قمامة بالقدس الشريف . وكتب امرت حضرة الامامة بهدم قمامة فليجعل سماءها ارضا وطولها عرضا . وهدم الدير المعروف بالقصير وامر بهدم كنيسة عظيمة بدمياط وذلك في سابع عشر شعبان سنة احدى وتسعين وثلثمائة . وامر باهانة اليهود والنصارى وحرم عليهم الكتابة وان لا يطبوا احدا من المسلمين ولا يركب احدا منهم فرسا ولا بغلا ولا يركب حمارا الا بيرذعة ولا يسمى احد من النصارى ابا شاكر ولا ابا الفضل ولا ابا الفتوح ولا يلبس نساء النصارى واليهود خفافا بل السراميز احدهما حراء والاخرى سوداء ولا يدخلن نساءهم الحمامات الا في رقابهم صلبان الخشب . وقرم لليهود وكذلك رجالهم . ويكون وزن الصليب والقرمة اربعة ارطال . واطهر الخبر المستفاض بين العالم اليهود والنصارى خونة لعن الله من البسهم ثوب عز نزع عنهم الاسلام . وامر ان يبنى الى جانب كل كنيسة بالديار المصرية

12a

مسجدا وماذنة وان يعلى الماذنة على عمارة الكنيسة بحيث تكشف الكنيسة . وكذلك في كل ديز من الدير بنى في باطنه مسجدا ومن جملة ذلك بنى بدير القصير مسجدا ثم اخفاه النصارى الى ايام السلطان الملك الظاهر رحمه الله وجرى في اموره واسبابه ما ارجو ان يسألني مولانا السلطان عنه ثم تقرر استمراره مسجدا .

وكذلك ظهر في ايام مولانا السلطان ماذنة في الكنيسة المعلقة في قصر الشمع بصر . فان النصارى سرقوا الماذنة المذكورة واخفوها ودرسوها من جهة الكنيسة وجعلوها من حقوق الكنيسة وكان باتفاق موءذن المسجد من مدة ثلاثين سنة واتفق ان مات ذلك المنافق وفوض الاذان بغيره فوجد صورة خزانة وفيها اثر درج

مقطوعة الى باب مسلود . فاحضر سلما وفتح الباب فوجده الى
^{12b}
 الماذنة فاظهر امرها واذن فيها . فعمل النصارى على الموذن الى ان
 ضرب بالمقارع وصرف من المسجد خدمة لابن فلان و كاتب
 فلان . فبلغت القضية للامير زين الدين كتبغا المنصوري الصغير فقام في
 القضية واوصل الامر للامير حسام الدين طرنتاي المنصوري
 والامير الدين كتبغا الكبير واعيد الموذن بمرسوم الى المسجد
 المذكور .

وفي ايام المامون بن العباس تقدم بعض اليهود الى ان صار
 يجلس اعلا من الاشراف فتخيل بعض الفضلاء وكتب رقعة
 وصلت الى المامون

يا ابن الذي طاعته في الورى وحقه مفترض واجب
 ان الذي تشرف من اجله يزعم هذا انه كاذب
 فاجابه المامون صدقت وبررت وغرق اليهودي لوقته واورد المامون
 للحاضرين حديث المقداد بن الاسود الكندي صاحب رسول الله
^{13a}
 صلعم لما سار في بعض اسفاره ورافقه بعض اليهود يوما كاملا . فلما
 انقضى النهار ذكر المقداد رضي الله عنه حديث رسول الله صلعم ما
 خلا يهودي بمسلم الا واضمر له غيلة . فقال المقداد لليهودي والله ما
 تفارقني او تعرفني ما فعلت معي من اذى والا قتلتك . فقال ولي
 الامان . فقال نعم فاستوثق يميننا . ثم قال اليهودي كنت مذ سايرتك
 اقصد ظل راسك فادوسه بنعلي . فقال المقداد رضي الله عنه صدق
 رسول الله صلعم .

وذكر انه كان في زمن بعض الملوك رجل يعرف بالهاروني
 من اليهود وهو عنده بمنزلة رفيعة فلعب معه في مجلس شرابه
 بالشطرنج على التمني لحاجة في نفسه . فلما غلبه سال الملك الوفاء
 فقال له الملك سل . فقال يامر الملك ان يضع من آي القران قوله
 تعالى ان الذين عند الله الاسلام . فضرب عنقه لوقته .

^{13b}
 وبلغني من اعيان العدول ان الحكيم موسى مرض فعاده القاضي
 الفاضل وكان اليهودي عالما فاضلا. فقال للفاضل قد وجب حقتك
 على مجرى وزيارتي واوصيك ان لا تتطب يهوديا فعندنا من حلل
 السبت استبحنا دمه. فحرم القاضي طب اليهود واستخدمهم لذلك.
 وذكر عن بعض اليهود انه كان يجيء لبعض المتمولين المغفلين
 فيحضر له في الجباية النحاس فيردها عليه فاذا اخذها يقول لعن
 الله من دفعها لي فيظن ذلك المغفل ان المراد به غيره.

وبلغني ممن اثق به ان اليهودي يكتب ورقة ويجعلها في عمامته
 مضمونها لعن من يلغنه وشتم من يشتمه فاذا لعنه احد يقول له لعنتك
 على راسي وانه يلخر في بيته خشبتين ويسمي احدهما السعادة
^{14a}
 والاخرى النعمة. واذا وجد المسلم قال له صبحك الله او مساك
 بالسعادة والنعمة. ومراده الملعون بالخشبتين المذكورتين.

وحكى لي بعض العدول ان بعض اليهود بلبس استاذن
 للصاحب صفي الدين بن شكر في ضيافة يحضرها له فاذن له فعمل
 في بيته ما امكنه. فلما تهيأ الطعام قال لزوجته عملتي الشريعة فقالت
 لا فقال اعلمها فدخلت وخرجت ومعها زبدية فيها اراقة فجعلت
 تاخذ بملقعة وترشه على الزبادي والطعام فوشي للصاحب بذلك
 فامتنع. وطلب اليهودي واستقره فقال نحن معاشر اليهود من حلل
 السبت استحلنا دمه في شريعتنا. ولما لم تقدر جعلنا في الطعام
 بولا. فقتل اليهودي صبورا وارق الطعام.

^{14b}
 وكان في زمن الحافظ. موفق الدين بن الخلال من
 اكابر العلماء الذي ورد عليه القاضي الفاضل وكان من اكابر
 الروءساء والفضلاء وكان يتحدث في امر الدواوين والانشاء وكان
 من سنن ملوك مصر ان لا اقطاع لاحد من الجند ينفق فيه من الخزانة
 كعوائد العراق وانه عند تخضر البلاد يندب موفق الدين ومن هو
 في منصبه من فيه نباهة ومعرفة من الجند ومعه من العدول الموثوق

بهم ومن كتاب النصارى من شهر بكتابة ومعرفة المساحة الى كل اقليم من الممالك المصرية لتحرير ما روي من البلاد وما زرع فيها من اصناف الزراعات على اختلافها ويعمل بذلك مكلفات مستقصاة الشروح بالقطائع والفتن. وتخلد الدواوين بالباب فاذا مضى من السنة اربعة شهور ندب غير اولئك من الجند من فيه حماسة وهمة وبطش ومن الكتاب المسلمين من فيه امانة ومعرفة بمستخرج الاموال وبعض كتاب النصارى لاستخراج ثلث المال المتعين ليحمل

15a

لنفقات الجند. فندب الى بعض البلاد من يمسحها على العوائد. فتوجه الشاد والناظر والعدول واعتذر النصراني بعذريته ويحتملهم ثاني يوم سفرهم فتقدمت المذكورون وتبعهم. فلما وصل تجاه بلد واراد التعدية في معدية ذلك البلد فلما وصل البر طلب صاحب المعدية الاجرة فنفر فيه النصراني وشتمه واغلظ عليه قائلا انا ماسح هذه البلدة تطلبني بحق المعدية. فاجابه ان كان لي زراعة خذها. واخذ لجام دابة ذلك النصراني فاعطاه اجرته واستعاد اللجام. فلما مسح البلدة شد جملة المكلفة بزائد عشرين فدانا وترك في ورقة من الاوراق يابضا. فلما قوبلت كتب العدول عليها فاخذها النصراني ليكتب عليها فكتب في ذلك البياض ارض اللجام باسم صاحب المعدية عشرين فدانا كنانا قطعة اربعة دنانير الفدان. وحملت

15b

المكلفة الى ديوان الباب وانقضت مدة المهمة واستحق طلب الخراج فندب من جرت العادة به لاستخراج المال فوصلوا البلدة المذكورة وطلبوا ارباب الزراعات فطلب صاحب المعدية بثلث المال وهو ستة وعشرون دينارا فامتنع قائلا ان كان لي زراعه خذوه فلم يسمع منه وضربه المشد بالمقارع واستشهد بالمكلفة وخطوط العدول عليها ويبيع المعدية وغيرها واخذ منه المبلغ. فهرب ذلك المظلوم خوفا من طلبه بالباقي وحضر الى القاهرة شارحا امره لمعارفه طالبا الاعانة باشارتهم كيف الخلاص. فقال له احد الناس للخليفة عادة ان

يجلس عند المسبح في السفينة وبنى منظره بباب القصر ويأتيه المتظلم ويلعن في ذلك الوقت قائلا لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله علي ولي الله فيسمع الخليفة كلامه فيامر بما يقدره الله تعالى على يده ولسانه من احضار الشاكي الى بين يديه وسماع كلامه او تفويض امره لوزير او قاض او والي . فبكر ذلك. المظلوم الى تجاه

16a

السفينة واعلن بتلك الكلمات . فاستدعاه الخليفة وسمع كلامه واستوضح امره . وطلب موفق الدين بن الخلال واستحضر محلفات ذلك البلد لعدة سنين متقدمة وتصفحت وكشفت سنة سنة فلم يوجد لارض اللجام ذكر . فامر الحافظ باحضار ذلك النصراني ورسم بتسميره في مركب وان يطعم انواع الاطعمة وامراق الدجاج ويسقى اطيب الاشربة المسكرة ويشهر به في الممالك المصرية . وبرزت اوامر الحافظ شاما ومصرنا بكف يد الذمة عن المباشرات واستمر ذلك الامر وحقاق النصرارى منه وهلكوا الى ان اتخذ الحافظ منجما حاذقا وارتبط عليه وجعل حر كاته منطقة براي ذلك المنجم في كبير امره وصغيره فاعمل الحيلة جماعة من اعيان النصرارى واتوا ذلك المنجم وبذلوا له الف دينار عينا واحضروا له شخصا من النصرارى يعرف بالاخرم ابن زكري وقالوا تذكر حلية هذا في احكام طلوع الشعري اليمانية ولا تذكر اسمه وتقول انه يدل على انه ون ولي شخص من النصرارى وتذكر صفات هذا ابن ابي زكري زاد

16b

النيل عن عاداته ونمت الارتفاعات وزكت الاغنام والزراعات وكثر حيد البحر من البوري والاسماك وقدمت التجار برا وبحرا وجرت قوانين الملك على اجمل الاوضاع واحسن الاحوال . فعمل ذلك الكلب المنجم اكثر مما اقترح عليه من ذلك البهتان والمحال . فعندما وقف الحافظ الدب على احكامه عند طلوع الشعري امر باحضار اعيان النصرارى وتصفح حلاهم والنصارى يوعخرون احضار ابن ابي زكري مدة ايام واشتد طلب ذلك الملعون الى ان احضر وتمثل

بين يدي الحافظ فولاه الامر . وعزل موفق الدين المسلم الفاضل
الامين بذلك الكلب الخائن فاعاد استخدام القبط على ما كانوا
عليه واظهروا التكبر والتجبر على المسلمين وتظاهروا بحسن الملابس
الفاخرة وركوب البغال والخيول المسومة . وضايقوا المسلمين في
ارزاقهم الى ان ولي منهم النظر واصحاب الدواوين حتى في
^{17a}
الاحباس الدينية والاقواف الشرعية واتخذوا الممالك والعبيد
والجوار من المسلمين والمسلمات وصدود بعض المسلمين وبيعت
بناته في المصادرة من ظلم ابن دخان لعنه الله واشتراهم بعض
النصارى وتملكهم . فعمل بعض الفضلاء فيه

اذا حكم النصارى في الفروج وغالوا بالنعال وبالسروج
وذلت دولة الاسلام طرا وصار الامر في ايدي العلوج
فقل للاعور الدجال هذا زمانك ان عزمت على الخروج
واستمر امر ذلك الملعون والنصارى الى ايام العاضد المنتسب

للفاطميين ونبغ في زمنه ابو الفضل بن دخان النصراني واستولى على
عقل العاضد وشاع نفاذ امره اكثر من ابن ابي زكري واستولى على
الدولة بجهد القرييين من العاضد وعدم معرفتهم الى ان اسلم في
تلك الايام بعض النصارى واقام على الاسلام مدة ثم ارتد واستنجز
^{17b}

ذلك الملعون ابن دخان امر العاضد بان يستمر نصرانيا ولا يعارض
وان الحا كم في ذلك الزمان انكر ذلك وارصد جماعة لاحضار ذلك
المرتد اليه ليقتله . فوشى النصارى لابن دخان بذلك . فدخل جامع
مصر واعتبر حواصله وعجز بعض اطباق القناديل ورسم على القاضي
واشاع ان القاضي خان واخذ الات الجامع . واتفق عقيب ذلك ان
الشيخ زين الدين بن نجا الواعظ الحنبلي دخل البلاد وبلغته صورة
ما اعتمده ذلك الملعون ابن دخان في امر النصراني المرتد وما
عمله مع القاضي . وكان زين الدين المذكور له قدر كبير عند الملك
العادل نور الدين محمود بن زنكى رحمه الله فامر العاضد للواعظ
المذكور ان يجلس في جامع مصر ويتكلم على عادته . فاحتفل
الخواص من اصحاب العاضد واقاربه والعلماء والقضاة والامراء

والجند والعوام. وقرر الشيخ زين الدين مع القراء بين يديه ان يفتحوا
^{18a}
 بين يديه بقوله تعالى يوم تأتي السماء بدخان مبين. فشرع الشيخ
 زين الدين يذكر كلما يمكن من ردة الدخان وما يتفرع منه من
 الاذى للعيون والادمغة وفساد الامزجة وما يدخل في هذا الباب.
 ثم انتقل الى ذم النصارى وفساد اعتقادهم واجماعهم على ربوبيته
 من قتل وصلب وقبر. وبين اختلالهم في امر النار المصنوعة في قمامة
 بيت المقدس وضلالهم بقولهم انه نور ينزل على قبر المصلوب وخطا
 الملوك وقبح على وزرائهم ونوابهم استعمالهم في امر الحساب
 والاموال. واقام الدليل على ان من استخدمهم خالف الله عز وجل
 بما ورد في القران الشريف في امرهم وما ذكره رسول الله صلعم
 وما اعتمده الخلفاء الراشدون. ثم ذكر ان من يقول الاب والابن
 وروح القدس اله واحد وانشد

كيف يدري الحساب من جعل الله ثلاثا بزعمه وهو واحد
^{18b}
 وتوسع في الطعن على انسابهم وقلة نحوتهم لا كلهم لحوم الخنازير
 وملازمتهم لشرب الخمر مع نسوانهم وبناتهم واقاربهم من الرجال
 والشباب ونومهم في مكان الشرب ليلا في اختلاط الرجال مع
 النساء. وانشد ابيات عمارة اليمني في ابن دخان عندما نكر عليه
 في امر جامكيته

قل لابن دخان اذا جثته	ووجهه يندى من القرقف
حرم جاري ولو انه اضعاف	ما في سورة الزخرف
واصقع قفا النذل ولو انه	بين قفا القسيس والاسقف
ملكك الدهر سبال الورى	افالحق لحاهم عامدا وانتف
واكسب وجصل وادخر واكثر	واسرق وخن وابطش وخنواخطف
وابك وقل ما صح لي درهم	فرد وصلب وابتهل واحلف
واغتتم الفترة من قبل ان	نفع الانجيل بالمصحف

وذكر حديث النصراني المرتد وتحريه على القاضي فنقل المجلس
^{19a}

الى العاضد فامر بامساك ابن دخان ونهب داره . فوجد فيها مئة وخمسة وعشرين كتابا بالقلم الافرنجي وحملت الى شاور وزير العاضد فاحضر الترجمة وقراوها فكانت من الفرنج بعكّه وصور وقبرص اجوبة عن كتب الملعون اليهم التي يخبرهم فيها باحوال البلاد وضعف العساكر وقلة حرمة العاضد ويطعمهم فيه ويحث الملك مري على سرعة حضوره للممالك المصرية ويوشح ويمت انه يبين المسلمين ويرفع كلمة النصارى ورفع شان القسيس والرهبان وترميم الكنائس وعمارة اوقافها والمساعدة على الاجر وزيادتها وانهم شكروه على ذلك واثنوا عليه . وعرفوه انهم على عزم الخروج والوصول الى الديار المصرية . فقتل ابن دخان لوقته وامر العاضد بان يستعاد من النصارى جامكياتهم وجراياتهم لخمس سنين . وان لا يترك لاحد منهم الى شهر واحد الدرهم الفرد ومتى عجز يقتل ويمثل به . ولم تنقض تلك السنة الى ان جمع الملك مري الفرنجي جموعا كثيرة وقصد الديار المصرية وقتل كل من في بليس اخذا لثار ابن دخان . ونزل شاور الى مدينة مصر ومعه جماعة من القصرية واحرق ادد النصارى وقتل ونهب . فلما انتقل الملك الى السلطان الملك الناصر صلاح الدين رحمه الله تعالى تحيل النصارى على امرائه الاكراد واستعانوا بمن اسلم منهم ظاهرا الى ان اعيدوا الى الخدم . واوهموا الاكاريد والجهال ان المسلمين عاجزون عن صناعة الكتابة وانهم يصعبون الاموال واستولوا بمكرهم على البلاد والاعمال ونهبوا اموال بيت لمال واخباذ الجند والامراء . وتاخر كتاب الاسلام الامناء الفضلاء . فعمل بعض الفضلاء

برى جسدي بحق النصارى بجهلهم وانهم العالي على كل مسلم وشهم الغارات في المال ظاهرا ولا يتقون الصنع في ربع درهم ترى كل قبطي لدى اللف عنترا واقلامه تربو على كل لهذم ففازوا من الدنيا بما يطلبونه ومثاهم في الحشر نار جهنم واستمر امر النصارى في التصرف في البلاد والعباد والعمل على

ارواح المسلمين واموالهم ومناصبهم .
وفي ايام السلطان الملك الصالح نجم الدين ايوب رحمه الله
وغفر له دخل بعض المسلمين سوق التجار ومعه حجة على بعض
الجند بمال مسطرة تحتاج الى الشهادة فوجد نصرانيين عليهما الباير
والاثواب الواسعة الاكمام كلباس عدول المسلمين . فغلب على
ظنه انهما من العدول . فقدم الحجة فشهد فيها استهزاء بالمسلمين ونقل
ذلك الى السلطان الملك الصالح رحمه الله فامر بان ترفع النصار
العذب ويشدوا الزنانير وان يلبسوا الغيار ويمنعوا من التشبه بالمسلمين
وان ينزلوا حيث انزلهم الله من الذل والصغار . ثم شرعوا في التقدم

20b

والازدياد من اول دولة المعز بطريق انه كل امير متمير في كل دولة
لا بد له من كويتب نصراني وانه بمقدار ما ينتشى من ممالك
سلطان الوقت من تلوح عليه امارات السعادة والامارة تعلق عليه
بعض اولاد النصارى بعناية كتاب الامراء خوشدا شية ذلك الامير
وخدمه وهو لا امرة له ولا اقطاع وخدمه ولازمه واوجب حقه عليه
امر استجد ممالك وجعل منهم الخزندار والاستاذ الدار فيشرع
ذلك الكويتب في التحيل بانواع الحيل على كل من اوليك كشرب
خمر وضيافة واستحسان بما لا يمكن ذكره . وما يتبع ذلك . ثم يغريه
في زيادة مال وانشاء ملك وتجديد سواقي ووسايا وتوسيع دائرة
وتكبير كلفة فيضطر الى الطمع والموافقة على الخيانة ونهب مال
استاذه واشراك ذلك الملعون معه وتارة بالترهيب والتخويف من
قوله ان الامراء يصادرون استاذ داريتهم وخزنداريتهم ويضرب له
الامثال بمن اتفق في ذلك ومسك استاذ داره لدبر ظهر

21a

منه ونهب تحفته واشتهر ويخيفه من ضرب يحل به وعقوبة يقع فيها
وانه لم يكن معه ما يخلص به نفسه والامات تحت الضرب فيضطر
الى السرقة الدخول في الخيانة .
ومما وقع لبعض النصارى من كتاب الامراء الكبار واعجزته

الحيلة مع خزنداره لامرين احدهما قرب عهد الكاتب من خدمة الامير والثاني ان الخزندار من صغار الممالك المغل لا يتصرف بنزول ولا ركوب الام مع الامير فاتفق ان الامير سلم لخزنداره ثلاثة الاف درهم . فلما فرغ انفاقها قال للكاتب اعمل لنا حسابها لناخذ خط الامير على العادة بصحة الانفاق . فعمل حسبة وقال له قد فاض المصروف على الثلاثة الاف درهم مائتان وخمسون درهما . فقال له الخزندار ذا جيد لي . فقال له الكاتب انت صبي وما تعرف ما يضرك مما ينفعك وانا صرت رفيقك ووجب حقك علي متى

21b

عملت هذه الحسبة . ووقف الامير عليها طالبك في جميع ما انفقته في كل ثلاثة الاف درهم بمائتين وخمسين درهما وينسبك الى الخيانة . وخوفه من الضرب والعزل عن الخزندارية والتاخر عن رتبته فالباه الى ان دخل في الخيانة وسرقة مال استاذه وان اكثر كتاب الامراء يتحيلون على خادم دار استاذه بسماي فارهة في الصياح ويهاديه بكر او سجادة وما اشبه ذلك . ثم يقول له تعرف الدار خدمتي ومجبتني للامير واني اوفر عليه وانصحه واحفظ ماله وغلاله وتحيل في فضلات من نفاصيل سكندرية غالي الثمن من طرح مستحسن مختلف الالوان ويقول للخادم تعرف الدار ان هذا طرح جديد خرج . وقد اخترت ان يعرض على الدار فاي شيء اعجبهم منه او من غيره يعرفوني لاشير على الامير ان يسير قمحا من اقطاعه وحوصله الى سكندرية . فيرعبهم الخادم ايضا بقوله ان دار الامير

22a

الفلاني فصلوا من هذا وهذا يليق بالست ان تلبسه فشكر ذلك الكلب ويقال له شر على الامير بارسال القمح الى سكندرية ونحن نقترح ما نطلبه من الذي يعجبنا . ثم يجتمع ذلك الكلب باستاذ دار الامير ويشوقه الى سكندرية وطئتها وبساتينها وتحفها وفرجها ونزهاها مما يوافق استاذاره ويطمعه بانواع الاطماع من حصول راحات وقماش وعشرة وفرجة ويتفق معه ويدخل هو واستاذ

داره على الامير ويقولان ان القمح يسوى في اسكندرية بالورق كذا والورق كل درهين ونصف بدرهم نفرة يتميز في البيع عن هناجملة كبيرة وتشتري من اسكندرية قماشاً ونحضره معنا ونضمن للامير كسب المال بالثلث سيما ان كان الامير يمكنه اخذ كتاب السلطان الى والي اسكندرية ويرمي القمح على الطحين فيكسب خملة مستكرة والدنيا محبوبة. فيامرهم الامير بالرواح واستصحاب الغلة للبيع . فيتنوع ذلك الملعون في نهب اموال مخدمه انواعا

22b

واستضعف عقل مخدمه وانتفع بعناية اهله ورتب له انواعا من المحبة وشرع في نهب مال مخدمه بوجوه كثيرة منها نهب الغلة عند الوسق في المراكب وفي اجر المراكب وعند البيع وما يسرقه منه وفي مشتري القماش وسرقته في الثمن وسرقته من القماش عند حضوره ويستخدم غلمان ذلك الامير المقربين اليه بهدية فوطه ومنديل . ويتقن امره بما يحضره وبما احضره من القماش لدار الامير ويتقلدون المانة بالقماش للشيخ الكاتب كانه من ماله ويستعين بدار الامير وغلمانه في دفع المضرات عنه . وتستد ابواب من يعرف خيائه من ان يوشى بها لمخدمه . ثم يسري الخلل الى ما يتعلق بسلطان الزمان . فان كل كاتب من كتاب الامراء لا بد ان يكون من اولاد كتاب السلطان او اقاربهم . فمتى حلت بكاتب من كتاب الدولة كائنة او نازلة

23a

بحياته ونهب واحتكار اموال بيت المال وغير ذلك من قحة النصارى وتناولهم في ارتكاب الكبائر من التعرض للمسلمات او شرب خمر في شهر رمضان المعظم وما يناسب ذلك استعان بالامراء على خلاصه بطريق كتابهم بانواع مختلفة . منها ان كان من مستوفيين الدولة فيطمع ذلك الكاتب الامير الذي يطلب شفاعتهم مستوفي بوضع الحقوق السلطانية الواجبة الواجبة على اقطاعه او يطعمه بمشترى بلاد من المقطعين . وانه يلزم نظار تلك البلاد بمساعدته في العمارة والتقاوى . وان كانت معصرة فبالاخشاب من الحراج السلطاني

والتمشية في الزريعة وتوفير الحقوق في الباب والاعمال . وان لم يكن الكل فيكون الغائب . ومنهم من يبذل الذهب والخيل والقماش وغير ذلك . فيسعى ذلك الامير بنفسه وخوشداشيتيه الى المتحدث للسلطان اذا عجز ذلك الكلب عن اصلاحه . ويحلل امره ويستمر

23b

بذلك الملعون فيخون مطمئنا بمعينيه ويزداد نهبا وخطنا وسرقة لاعتماده على من يحميه بالرشا والبراطيل .

واعرض عن اشيا لو شئت قلتها . ولو ان لي قوة او آوي الى ركن شديد لاذكرن تفاصيل احوال جماعة من كتاب النصارى ومن اظهر الاسلام منهم ظاهرا خوفا من قتل وعقوبة باسمائهم واشرح سيرة كل مستول بمكره منهم ومنتعد بشره من مفسد ملحد شرير خبير نغل نذل واوضح حال كل مظهر لاسلامه مكيدة منه . واذكر حاله عنه من مترفع بهذيانه مخط لكل عالم من المسلمين بيتهانه تترادف عليه الفلح كوقغ السهام وهو في الخيانة والنهب الى قدام ومضاعفة اقدام . وقد استتر بظهور اسلامه وجعله سلما لبلوغ مرامه ابلس من

24a

ابليس اكسير الكذب والتدليس . ويحلف بدين الاسلام كاذبا على امر ما كان . ويصوغ ما لم يكن بالزور والبهتان وانه يكون انجس ما كان نصرانيا واكثر خيانة واقل حياء وامانة واشد فحة . فانه مجبول على المخازي والفجور . وقد تحلص ظاهرا من رق النصرانية وذل اداء الجزية ووقهر دخوله في الالهنة . فيظهر كلمتي الاسلام لحفظ ماله ونفسه ويزيد اقدامه على الخيانة والنهب ويكون في الظاهر مسلما . واذ دخل بيته وجد زوجته واولاده وبناته واقاربه واقارب اهله نصارى . فيكون معهم نصرانيا على الحقيقة ويصوم لصومهم ويفطر لفطرهم . ولو اعتبر معتبر لوجد عمر احد النصارى دون الخمسة وعشرين سنة . وخدمه ما تكون خمس سنين . ومعلومه ما يكون فيها مائتي دينار في تيك المدة . فتجد املاكه وظاهر حاله ما ينيف عن الاف موءلفة من الدنانير خارجا عن الزراكش

والمصاغ والجواهر والعييد والممالك والخيول المسومة
^{24b}
والاغنام والجواميس والمتاجر برا وبحرا. ويعتبر حال اكابر المسلمين
وامنائهم ومن خدم الملوك والسلطين من خمسين سنة من ذوي
المناصب والجامكيات المتميزة فانهم يودون الامانة في جامكياتهم
وانفاقها كل منهم في كلف وظيفته في باب سلطانه وتجمله بالخيول
والغلمان وحسن البرة وان ورث شيئا اذهبه وامسى مديونا لعزة نفسه
وامانتة.

ولما تملك التتار المخولون بلاد الشام المحروسة توجه العالم
ابو الفضائل بن اخت المكين بن العميد المعروف بكاتب الجيش
بدمشق الى هولاء كملك التتار واستصحب معه من خاله المكين
المذكور ومن ممولين النصراري بدمشق اموالا وتقادم وتحفا.
وساعده المختص صاحب اربيل واستنجز فرمانا من هولاء كويتضمن
الامر لاهل الشرق وجزيرة ابني عمر والشام جميعه ان
^{25a}
تظهر كل طائفة من العالم دينها من النصراري واليهود والمجوس
والشمسية وعباد الاصنام. ولا ينكر احد من المسلمين على طائفة من
الطوائف ولا يتعرض له بلسان او يد. ومن فعل ذلك يموت. ثم
تحيل ذلك الملعون ان ارغب هولاء كبقوله ان المدارس والخواتق
والمساجد والزوايا يتناولها المسلمون بالتميم وشهادة بعضهم لبعض. ولا
يقومان عنها بشيء من حقوق الملك لكون القاضي منهم والشهود منهم
منهم. وقرر ان يوعذ لهولاء كالثالث من جميع الاوقاف الدينية.
وقرر ان يوعذ لهولاء كالثالث من جميع الاوقاف الدينية
وكان قصد الملعون بذلك تبطيل شعائر الاسلام باضعاف الفقهاء
واهنة القضاة ودرس الشرع الشريف . وحض بفرمان على يده
يامر باظهار الدين واخذ ثلث اموال الاوقاف . ونزل سيدنا يا وسير
الى النصراري بدمشق يعلمهم بحضوره بالفرمان من هولاء كونصرتهم
على الاسلام ويقول لهم تتلقوني بالصلبان على العكايز والاناجيل

25b

في اثواب الديباج والزربفت والاطس والمباخر بالعود مع الشماسية والقسوس بغفافيرهم والمطارنة بحلاهم ومعهم الخمر مجهرا. وكان في العشر الاوسط من شهر رمضان المعظم سنة ثمان وخمسين وستمئة. والخمر في اطباق الفضة والذهب وفي القناني المذهبة والاقداح. فخرجوا اليه زرافات ووحدا. ودخلوا مدينة دمشق نهارا بالطبول والبوقات والصنوج والمباخر الفضة والمطعمة والاعلان باصوات مرتفعة من ذلك العالم الكثير منهم المسيح عيسى ابن مريم والصليب المعظم. وكل مسجد مروا به او مدرسة وقفوا عنده ورشوا الخمر على ابوابه من فضلات الاقداح التي شربوا فيها الخمر وضجوا بالدعاء بخلود دولة هولاء الذي امر بنصرنا واظهار ديننا الحق على اديان الكذابين ولم يبق ذلك اليوم من عوام النصارى وزطهم واكابهم وتمولهم الا من لبس افخر لباس.

26a

وتبهرج نسوانهم بالحلى والعقود. وجرى على المسلمين في ذلك اليوم وهو من شهر رمضان المعظم ومجاهرتهم الله تعالى بالكفر من الذلة وانكسار القلوب. واجهشوا بالبكاء وجريان الدموع الحارة وابتهلوا الى الله عز وجل بكشف تيك الغمة عنهم.

وفي ثاني يوم دخول ابي الفضائل الملعون قريء الفرمان في الميدان بظاهر دمشق. وفي ذلك النهار حضر الي شخصان احدهما يعرف بالعز بن امسينا الواسطي وهو رجل مشهور بنضيلة وكتابة بالذهب. والثاني القاضي مبشر بن القسطلاني معروف بابواب الملوك والوزراء وذكر الي ان النصارى احضروا كتابا تصنيف الموءتمن بن العسال المستوفي بدمشق ايام الملك الناصر وسماه السيف المرفف في الرد على المصحف. ونودي عليه جهارا بجسر الببادين بمدينة دمشق وهو عند الشمس الجزري الكتبي المعروف بالفاشوشة. وانهما تصفحا الكتاب المذكور فتعلق على خاطرهما منه

26b

انه خرج منه ذلك الملعون ان باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

يستخرج منها المسيح ابن الله • وجهل ذلك الملعون ان كل حرف او اسم او فعل يتقلب غير صيغته من حرفين فصاعدا وقال انه تضمن الكتاب العزيز ان مثل عيسى عند الله — الاية • وكذلك مريم اخت هارون وابنه عمران وان اسم عيسى عند اليهود ايشوع ومريم ام يشوع كانت بنت يهودي واسم امها حنة ولم يكن لعيسى اسم عندهم ولا يعلم • وقال ذلك الملعون اترى الذي انزل القران ما كان يعلم ان بين مريم وموسى وهارون الافا من السنين • وانكر امر الخضر عليه السلام وقال ليس له عندنا ذكره • وانما النصرارى يقولون ان اسمه القديس امير جرجس وكان بعد المسيح بزمان • وانكر ما سواه لعنه الله • وانكر قصة سليمان عليه السلام وبلقيس وجميع ما نسب اليه • وانكر اهل الكهف وانه تجاسر وقال هذا من سخف المحدثين • وكنت في ذلك الوقت في خدمة السلطان الملك

27a

الاشرف مظفر الدين موسى صاحب حمص تغمده الله بالرحمة والرضوان • فتوجهت بنفسى الى جسر البادين وامسكت الشمس الكسبي الجزري وطلبته بالكتاب المذكور فحلف انه وداه للموءتمن الملعون وانه قطعه بحضوره وقطع مسوداته • فحضرت الى السلطان الملك الاشرف رحمه الله وسيرت من جهتي من اثق من غلماني من احضره وعرفت السلطان الواقعة فقال لي اطلب الكتاب واحضره وانا اضرب رقبة الموءتمن • فطلبت الكتاب من الملعون فانكره وقال لم يكن بخطي وقطعته • ثم اخذته الى دارى وضيقت عليه وشددت وهددت • فقام جماعة من نصارى دمشق منهم المكين بن المعتمد والرشيد المعروف بكاتب التفليسي وجماعة من اكابر النصارى وتموليهم وخرجوا الى البستان الظاهري الى السبان شحنة التتار ويقال انه ابن خالة هولاء كوكو كان متسلطاسفا كا كافرا وقدمواله اموالا جمة وقالوا ان فرمان ايلخان حضر بان يظهر كل

27b

انسان دينه ومذهبه ولا يتعرض اهل ملة لملة وان كاتب السلطان

الملك الاشرف امسك مصنف كتاب في ديننا وهو يقصد قتله .
 فسير السبان الى القاضي شمس الدين القمي النائب عن التتار
 بدمشق وهو بدار السعادة يقول انه يجتمع بالملك الاشرف وتقول
 له ان هذا البتكجي الذي لك خالف فرمان ايلخان وهذا يموت .
 فطلبني القمي من مخدومي وذكر الصورة وقال لي هؤلاء كفرة
 فجرة ولا فرق بين المسلم والنصراني فلا تتعرض لهذا النصراني
 توذى انت وينضر مخلومك وتلبسوا عند هولاء كو انكم خالفتهم
 اليسق . ودين الاسلام له من يحمي له غيركم . وهذه واقعة مشهورة
 يعرفها اكابر دمشق وعدولها وحكامها . فقد الله تعالى في اقرب مدة
 ان كسر السلطان الملك المظفر سيف الدين قطز التتار الملاعين
 وامسك المسلمين ذلك الملعون فضول ابن اخت المكين بن العميد
 وسلم للامير شرف الدين قيران الفجري استاذدار السلطان الملك

^{28a}
 المظفر رحمه الله عاقبه . وطلب منه اموالا فعمل
 كتاب النصارى وتحيلوا في اطلاق ذلك الملعون وهربوه الى
 الموصل فاتفق مع الرشيد التفليسي وعملوا بالمسلمين من المصائب
 ما لا يمكن ذكره وكانوا سب قتل اهل الموصل بالسيف صبوا .
 ثم انه في ايام السلطان الملك الظاهر رحمه الله تعالى عرفه
 ناصحوا المسلمين من بلاد التتار ان المكين بن العميد كاتب الجيش
 كاتب هولاء كوعدة جيش مصر حلقة وامراء فامسكه الملك الظاهر واراد
 قتله فاوقف حا له ممن عمل عليهم النصارى من الامراء فاعتقله احدى
 عشرة سنة وكسورا . ثم تحيلوا في خروجه بالدنانير . وينبغي لهذه
 الواقعة ان يستباح اموال النصارى وحريمهم وارواحهم ولا يترك على
 وجه الارض نصراني ولا يهودي . فان سعيد الدولة صاحب ديوان
 بغداد والعراق عمل على اهنة المسلمين واعلاء كلمة اليهود .

^{28b}
 ثم عمل على ارغون ودس عليه من سقاه بعد اختزان اموال الاسلام
 ورفع منار اليهود واهان الاسلام وان كلا من هاتين الملعوتين

منتظرون فرصة تلوح والعياذ بالله ويعاملون الاسلام بطلب الثار .
 واذا ظهر تاثير ما الفته اظهرت للدولة الشريفة من تحصيل اموال
 هؤلاء الكلاب التي نهبها من بيت مال المسلمين يتجرون فيها
 ويشاركون التجار برا وبحرا وشاما ومصرًا . وظهر لمولانا السلطان
 خلد الله ملكه جسارة هؤلاء الملاعين على مشترى اسرى طرابلس
 من اولاد ملوك ونساء ممولين واعيان النصارى وما عمل على
 المسلمين في ممالكم من التتميم والاذى بما تصل قدرتهم اليه كما
 قيل .

وضعيفة فاذا اصابت قدرة قلت وذلك عادة الضعفاء

^{29a}
 وفي ايام مولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر رحمه الله تعالى
 عندما فتح قيسارية وارسوف جهز اهل عكة الى نصارى القاهرة من
 تحيل باتفاقهم في احراق الباطلية واحراق ربع فرح وقف الحرم
 الشريف بمصر واحراق عدة مواضع لاشتغال سر السلطان الملك
 الظاهر واذى المسلمين . وسرى الحريق الى جرون الريف في عدة
 مواضع . وكتب المتصحون للملك الظاهر بذلك من بلاد الفرنج
 فامسك النصارى واليهود بالقاهرة ومصر وجمع الجميع ليحرقهم .
 وركب بنفسه في عدة من الامراء ليقف على حريقهم بظاهر القاهرة .
 فبرز اليه ابن الكازروني الصيرفي وقال للسلطان سالتك الله لا
 تحرقنا مع هؤلاء الكلاب النصارى اعدائكم واعدائنا بل احرقنا
 بمفردنا عنهم . فضحك السلطان والامراء لتمسخر ابن الكازروني .
 فدخل عليه الامراء وسالوه ان يقرر عليهم اموالا ويعفو عنهم ولا
 يحرقهم . فقرر عليهم جملا كثيرة ورتب لها الامير سيف

^{29b}
 الدين بلبان المهراني يستخرج منهم المقررات في كل سنة . واستمر
 الحال الى ايام الملك السعيد عمل الكتاب من النصارى في اختلاف
 الدول واول دولة مولانا السلطان الملك المنصور رحمه الله وقدم
 روحه الطاهرة بالدنانير والبراطيل وبطل عنهم ما قرر عليهم .
 وفي الايام الظاهرية ايضا تحقق ان جماعة من النصارى والارمن

والكرج من المجاورين بالكنيسة المصلبة بالقدس الشريف هم جواسيس التتار المخدولين. وانهم يكاتبونهم باخبار المسلمين وعساكر مصر ومتجددات الامراء من موت وامساك وحركة او سكون مما يتصل ذلك اليهم من زوار قمامة من نصارى الديار المصرية. فامر بقتل الجواسيس ومن كان يوءيهم ورسم بان تدار تلك الكنيسة مسجدا.

30a

الملك المنصور تغمده الله برحمته

اثبت قاضي صنفه من صنف المنوفية بشهود عدول ان كنيسة استجدت بحروان استجدها النصارى ما بين الدولة المصرية والدولة الصلاحية. فامر الحاكم بهدمها شرعا بعد فتاوي اكابر الفقهاء بالقاهرة بهدمها . فعمل النصارى عند الامير حسام الدين طرناوى المنصوري النائب في ذلك الوقت ورسم باحضاري القاضي المذكور وضرب بالمقاري في باب القرافة واستمر خراب الكنيسة بعد ذلك كما ذكر لي الامير ناصر الدين محمد الجهر كسي والي منوف الى اخر سنة تسع وثمانين وستمائة. وان المحاضر الثابتة عند ناصر الدين ابن الجهر كسي المذكور بذلك . ثم عمرت في سنة تسعين بمساعدة عز الدين القشاش والي الغربية لاجل فلان وابن فلان كاتب فلان . وتحيل العفيف موسى الشوبكي التاجر وروح لتردده الى عكة

30b

صادرا وواردا انى ان نقل الى عكة الجمل الكثيرة من غلال السلطان رحمه الله وغلال بعض الامراء من الديار المصرية في البحر الملح. وكان ذلك اعانة منه للفرنج على المسلمين. ولو انى آوي الى ركن شديد لاذكرن من هو الذي اعان المذكور لامور ظاهرة محققة.

ويقول العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى غازي بن الواسطي مؤلف هذا الكتاب رحمه الله انه لا يحل لاحد من سلاطين الاسلام وملوكهم ونوابهم ووزرائهم الاستمرار على بقاء قمامة التي في القدس الشريف لما يعتمد فيها من اظهار غرور النصارى ان النور ينزل على القبر

الذي تزعم النصارى ان المسيح عليه السلام دفن فيه لاجل الرسم الذي يوءخذ منهم عند الزيارة. فان الجاهل من النصارى يقول له الفتريرك الملعون ان هذا النور يعاينه شهود المسلمين ويباشرونه بانفسهم فيزداد ضلالهم ويفوت عقولهم بان النور لا يحرق ويستمر اقبالهم على دين ابائهم الكفار سيما ومن يولد ويعاينه عند كبره في كل سنة . فيحمل ظهور هذا النور على الطعيان ويجعله دليلا لتمسكه بالمذهب والدين الملعون ويكون نواب سلطان ذلك الزمان معينهم على الاستمرار بالمحال والتمادي على الضلال والكفر والزندقة والارتباط على التدليس فاذا خربت هذه الكنيسة واندرس امر القبر والنور وشاع امره الصحيح المحقق ان مشارف القدس الشريف يستصحب معه القداخة والصوفان والكبرية ويقدم بحضور البترك الملعون ويشعل فتيلة القنديل المالن بالزيت. فاذا فرغ الزيت انطفئ القنديل المسمى بالنور وتبين لهؤلاءك العديمين العقول انه من ابواب المحال والضلال. وكان الموجب لانحلالهم عن دينهم. وربما اسلم الاكثر ممن يظهر لهم زيف تميم كبيرهم الملعون كالبترك والاسقف والمطران وتبرد همهم وتحل عقائدهم بعدم هذا النور. كما فعل في زمن معاوية بن ابي سفيان رضي الله عنه لما سير

^{31a}

بعثة الى قبرص ودخل العرب المسلمون الى جزيرة قبرص وملكوها ووجدوا فيها صليبا من حديد واقفا في الهواء بين صارين عالين فتعجب العرب منه ومن وقوفه بلا آلة. وكان في العرب من فيه بصيرة . فتقدم وقلع الصاري الواحد فوق الصليب فوجد فيه حجر مغناطيس من اكبر ما يمكن طولاً وعرضاً. فرمى الصاري الثاني فوجده كذلك وان الحجرين المغناطيس يجذبان بالقوة ذلك الصليب بقوة معتدلة من كل جهة بالخاصية فلا يقغ. فلما وقع الصاري وقع الصليب وبان زيفهم وظهر ما دبره الملاعين الكابر النصارى وعلموا انه هذيان مقفل. وارجو من الله تعالى الذي اعطى هذا مولانا السلطان بن السلطان الملك الاشرف صلاح الدين من النصر

^{31b}

والفتوحات الميسرة وخذلان الكفرة ما لا اعطي لسطان قبله وجمع له بين حسن الفعل والشجاعة والكرم والاقدام وحسن الصورة ان يسطر في صحائف حسنة ايام سلطنته الشريفة محو اثار^{32a} يشهد به الديوان المعمور وما اشبه ذلك من هذا الهديان الذي اصطلاح عليه الاقباط الجهال بمصر والشام. كما قال بعض الفضلاء في قول الحسن بن هانئ المعري

اصاحت فقلت وقع اشرد شيصم

وان كانت هذه الالفاظ من اللغة الغربية مقولة منقولة فهو يشبه رقا العقارب. فانه غاية الامر فيما قاله انها سمعت مشي حافر فرس. كذلك اصطلاح الاقباط على تيك الهديانات والخزعبلات الغربية الالفاظ. فاذا شرحت كانت كاقبل مقدمة نحو يحفظها اصغر اولاد المسلمين في المكاتب. واذا سافر الحاذق من الذين اتقنوا ذلك الاصطلاح الى العراق او الروم او العجم لم ينتفع بشيء من ذلك. فان كل اقليم له اصطلاح بعارة اهله والنسب اليمه وبغير لبس. ان الممالك الحلبية والشرقية كان ترتيبهم في الحساب والاصطلاح في دواوينهم خلاف الاوضاع المصرية عن قرب عهد. فلما

^{32b} تملك الملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف بن العزيز المملكة الدمشقية واستخدم بعض الاقباط في البلاد الحلبية والشرقية نقلوا الاوضاع الى الاصطلاح المصري لعجزهم عن الحساب الشامي الذي يشهد اصله لصفه وصرفه لاصله. فلا يبقى لخائن فيه حيلة ان يغمس فيه حبه الا وظهرت. ثم انه كان في سنن ملوك الشام وسلاطينهم الى اخر الايام الناصرية ان لا يتفق خلو الديوان المعروف بالاستيفاء من مسلمين اكابر عدول جماعة كبيرة من ارباب البيوت المشهورين بالامانة والصناعة بحيث لا ينفرد يهودي ولا نصراني في شيء من ممالك الشام وغيره في كلمة واحدة. ولا يتحدث ولا يكتب الا بعد تحرير المسلم في كل قضية تقع. ثم يسطرها اليهودي والنصراني ويكتب ذلك العدل عليها بالصحة ففي اسر مدة لطيفة يصرف

المسلمون همهم لاشغال اولادهم في كشف تليفق هولاء السفلة
^{33a} الجاهل ويتقنونه اتقاننا جيدا بذكائهم ويتفقهون في اظهار
 المصالح كما تفقهوا في العلوم الدينية وحنفوا فيها الا فامولفة من
 الكتب ويفرعون وجوها لم يدركها اليهود والنصارى ويعملون في
 اموال بيت مال المسلمين بكتاب الله تعالى وسنة رسول الله صلى
 الله عليه وسلم. وتنموا الاموال بالبركات والعدل وتندرس الاغراض
 الفاسدة وابواب لمظالم وتعفى معالمهم وتبلى اثارهم القبيحة
 الفضيحة. ويكون مولانا السلطان الاشرف صلاح الدنيا والدين قد
 عمل بسنة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم. وسير سيرة الخلفاء
 الراشدين والسلاطين العادلين. فان مالكا رضي الله عنه ذكر في
 كتاب المدونة الكبرى ان امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي
 الله عنه قال لا يتخذ من اليهود والنصارى حزرون ولا صبارفة
 ويقاموا من اسواقنا. فقد اغنى الله تعالى المسلمين عنهم. فاذا كان
 هذا الامر في البيغ ولشراى الذي ليس فيه منصب ولا صورة فكيف
^{33b} في تولية المناصب. فان اليهود يعتقدون ان الربا جائز مع
 غير اهل ملتهم لاعتقادهم استباحة الاموال. فمن يعتقد استباحة
 الاموال من المسلمين كيف يجوز توليته عقلا او شرعا. فقد قالت
 العقلاء العجب من موءمن يستخدم كافرا يخالفه في ارائه ويضادده
 في دينه واعتقاده. وقالوا ايضا العجب ممن يطرح وليا موءمنا عاقلا
 ويستكفي عدوا جاهلا كافرا. وقال اخر في المسلم اربغ خصال لا
 توجد في غيره حسن العفاف وكثرة الانصاف والرفقة على اهل
 الدين ونصح المسلمين. وفي المشرك اربغ خصال قلة لدين وكثرة
 الخيانة وغش المسلمين وابعاد اهل الدين.
 كمل الكتاب بحمد الكريم الوهاب. الحمد لله وحده وصلى الله
 على محمد وآله الطاهرين وصحبه وسلم. حسب الله ونعم الوكيل.

TRANSLATION

In the name of the merciful and gracious God! Praise be to God for having given us the religion of Islam! Prayer and Praise to the best of all Creatures! Pray God for him—that he grant him peace, as well as his family and his noble and spotless companions. Now, this small treatise demands that we should follow the folk of tradition and gain the victory for the people of the (real) faith and the truth, and that we should answer those who differ with them or who follow their own inclination without possessing any true knowledge. I am of opinion—putting my trust in God—that (fol. 2a) the protected people who, not being subjected to fear, have been allowed to live freely in Egyptian and Syrian regions, some of them unbelievers belonging to the Jewish faith and others to sects of the Christians, are worse unbelievers and more stiff-necked than those who wield the sword and who have kept their hold over Islam by oppression and tyranny.

Now, in order that there may be brought to light by means of (extracts from) the exalted sciences (of Islam) what injuries Islam can inflict upon them in the wish to cleanse the days of the exalted Sultanate of their filthiness, just as it has blotted out their strong and well-defended kingdoms, their lofty and towering fortifications, and has turned them into hiding slinkers—there being disclosed in the accounts dealing with the reign of his excellent majesty a degree of merit which did not belong to (any other) Sultan of the East or of the West, so that in doing so he trod the paths of the Prophet of God, of the Righteous Caliphs and the noble Sultans—(in order to do this) I have composed this Preface and two Sections. The Preface will contain whatsoever the Holy Book has to say on the subject and whatsoever has been handed down in tradition from the Prophet. The first section will include that which has come to us from the Prince of the Faithful, Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, his immediate followers (fol. 2b) and those of the Banū Umayyah who followed them, as well as the Banū Abbās, the Egyptian rulers and the like. The second section will deal with events that have happened in this our own time and the truth of which is fortified by the testimony of leading men. That which I have written I have divested of all possible ambiguity. I have made it certain by investigations that no one will be able to counter, oppose or throw upon a side; so that any one who reflects upon all this and studies the matter in its whole

and its various parts, will know that I have sought nothing more than to earn the good will of my Master and to draw nearer to Allah in all that I have set down with my fingers. I ask God's help; for all must rely upon His favor and His mercy.

Preface; that which is found in the Splendid Book.

God said¹: 'O ye who believe, do not take Jews and Christians as partners, one with the other—for those of you who do so practically belong to them.' Further²: 'O ye who believe, do not take as partners those who are inimical to me.' Further³: 'Make war upon those who do not believe (fol. 3a) in Allah, in the Last Day and who do not hold forbidden that which Allah and his Messenger have so held—as well as those to whom a revelation has been given, who do not judge justly—until they pay the poll-tax willingly, being few in number.' The Christians are worse than are the Jews in the matter of Polytheism, just as the Jews are worse than are the Christians in the matter of unbelief and stiff-neckedness. For this reason Allah has branded the one with his anger and the other with error. Further⁴: 'Allah said, O ye that believe, have nought to do with such as make sport and fun of your faith—to whom a revelation was given prior to your own. Indeed, the rank unbelievers are to be preferred. Fear Allah, if you are true Believers.'

Traditions handed down from the Prophet.

Muslim in his *Saḥīḥ* says, on the authority of 'Āishah: Once the Prophet went out—it was before the battle of Badr; and when he was in Ḥarrat-al-Wabrah,⁵ a man came up to him of whom it was said that he was daring and generous. The friends of the Prophet were glad to see him. This man said to the Prophet (fol. 3b.): 'I have come in order to be one of your followers and to share your fate.' The Prophet answered: 'Dost thou believe in Allah and in his Prophet?' The man said 'No!' To which the Prophet replied: 'Go whither thou camest from. I can take no help from an idolater.' So he went his way until, one day, he met the Prophet under a tree, and the same conversation took place. Again, he went his way until he met the Prophet in the desert,

¹ *Qurān* 5. 56.

² *ib.* 60. 1.

³ *ib.* 9. 29.

⁴ *ib.* 5. 62.

⁵ *Yāqūt* II. 253 gives both forms 'Wabrah' and 'Wabarah'. He also mentions Muslim as his source.

when the latter said to him: 'Dost thou believe in Allah and in his Prophet?' To which the man answered 'Yes.' 'Then, follow me,' said the Prophet.

For this reason the Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal said: 'No help must be accepted from either Jews or Christians in any of the official acts of the Muslims, e. g. the poll-tax.' In like manner Abū Ḥanifah, al Shāfi'ī and other legal authorities hold that it is not lawful to appoint one of them to a position of influence in any province or to any station of trust; for unbelief is inconsistent with authority and with trust. The injunction of Allah: 'Do not ask help of an idolater' includes asking them for help in defence, employing them as governors, as clerks, and the like (fol. 4a). The general term used must be applied in all cases and can not be confined to a special case. In saying this he strengthens his position by two considerations. The one is that he gives their idolatry as a reason for withholding the appeal for help; and this reason applies equally to all such appeals. The second is that since he has not asked help from them in military matters, in which there is neither official appointment, nor raising him to a position of trust, nor elevating in rank—when it comes to positions of authority and of dignity, it is even less meet and proper. For this reason the legal authorities are agreed that it is impossible to put them in governing positions or in stations of power or in places of weight in a council; nor can they be allowed to build their houses higher than those of Muslims, nor can they be greeted first. When they are met on the road, they should be compelled to take to the narrowest part of it. It will be seen that the prohibition of asking them for help is general in its tenor—it being understood to refer to all unbelievers (living) among the People of the Book. This decision he bases upon his belief in Allah and in his Prophet. For just as soon as any one of the People of the Book declares the law of Allah and of his Prophet to be untrue, and disobeys the demands as laid down by the Prophet of Allah, idolatry adheres to him.

In this respect Allah says⁶: 'They have taken their clergy and their monks as their masters, but not Allah and the Messiah son of Mary. They were commanded to serve only one God; there is none other than He. Praise be to Him; far be He from that which they associate with him' (fol. 4b).

⁶ *Qurān* 9. 31.

We have a tradition that has come to us from Abū Bakr al-Athram⁷, one of the most important traditionists; it comes down to us through the Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and others and is cited in the (former's) collection of traditions, on the authority of Abū Mūsa al-Ash'arī, to wit: The Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, ordered him to bring an account of that which he had received and that which he had expended (written) upon a piece of parchment. Now, Abū Mūsa had a Christian for scribe; and this man brought the account to the Caliph. 'Umar wondered at Abū Mūsa employing such a man and said: 'Verily, this man is very careful; call him that he read the Koran for me.' But, Abū Mūsa answered: 'He will not be willing to come to the mosque.' 'Is he ritually unclean?' asked 'Umar. 'No,' answered Abū Mūsa, 'he is a Christian.' Whereupon 'Umar upbraided me, struck my thigh so hard with his hand as almost to break it, and said: 'Have nothing to do with the Christians, seeing that Allah has put them at a distance; have no faith in them, seeing that Allah distrusts them; and do not esteem them, seeing that Allah has humbled them.'

The Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal has the following tradition—coming from Ḥarb al-Kirmānī, in a group of questions that he put to 'Iyād al-Ash'arī —: Abū Mūsa had taken a Christian for scribe; of which action 'Umar disapproved. Abū Mūsa objected: 'But his work is bound to be of service to me' (fol. 5a). 'Umar retorted: 'Have no faith in them, seeing that Allah distrusts them; do not esteem them, seeing that Allah has humbled them; have nothing to do with them, seeing that Allah has put them at a distance.'

Some Muhājirs came to 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb with wealth gotten at Al-Baḥrein. 'Umar said to them: 'O Company of Muslims—may Allah have mercy upon you—much riches have come into our hands. If you desire, we can measure it. If you desire, however, we can weigh it. Again, if you desire, we can count it.' One of the men, however, came to him and said: 'O Commander of the Faithful, we have seen how the Persians have instituted a system of Dīwāns⁸.' So, 'Umar commanded that Dīwāns should be instituted in the various governmental districts; and when instituting such Dīwāns, he wrote to all his governors not to appoint in the service any unbeliever, be he Jew or Christian.

⁷ Who he is I am unable to find out.

⁸ For the general traditions concerning such Dīwāns and their origin, see Bilādhuri *Futūḥ*, p. 193.

Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān wrote to the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, as follows: 'In my district there is a Christian scribe, without whom I can not complete the taking of the poll-tax. I am unwilling to continue employing him without some word from you.' 'Umar answered his letter as follows: 'May Allah keep us and you in good health! I have read your letter concerning the Christian. My answer is this. The Christian is to be considered as if he were dead and gone; (fol. 5b) in no tradition and in no narrative is there any mention of an idolater being given an administrative charge during the times of the Prophet, of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān or of 'Alī.'

The following tradition comes from Abū Mashja'ah ibn Rabī', one of the leading traditionists: When the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, came to Syria, Constantine the Patriarch of Syria⁹ appeared before him and said: 'O Commander of the Faithful, Abū 'Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrāḥ has put a poll-tax upon us; do you write a note to me concerning it.' 'Umar refused to do this, saying: 'What tax has he laid upon you?' Constantine answered: 'He has laid a tax of four dirhems and a woolen cloak upon every chief of tribe; and not a single man has dared to speak with 'Umar except with Abū 'Ubaidah's permission.' Whereupon 'Umar turned to Abū 'Ubaidah: 'What have you to say to this?' 'He has lied about me,' said Abū 'Ubaidah; 'I came to equitable terms with him. Do you yourself come and assign the rate of tax.' 'Umar said to Constantine: 'Abū 'Ubaidah is more trustworthy than are you.' 'Yes,' answered Constantine: 'Abū 'Ubaidah has told the truth; it is I who have lied.' Then said 'Umar: 'What induced you to do so?' 'I wanted (fol. 6a) to deceive you,' said Constantine, 'but you were too clever for me.' So 'Umar laid a tax upon the wealthy of 48 dirhems; upon those of middling fortune, of 24 dirhems, and upon the poor of 12 dirhems. He also gave orders that the Christians should not build new churches nor erect crosses, where Muslims lived, and that they should not ring their church-bells except in the interior of their churches; (saying) 'we ought to have the power to divide up their dwellings with them, so that Muslims may share these with them.' (He added): 'I do not trust you; I shall take the southern part of the land around their churches as places for

⁹ Who is this Patriarch? Is he Constantine the son of Heraclius? Abū 'Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrāḥ had command over the Syrian army and conquered Damascus.

Mohammedan Mosques, as they are situate in the very middle of the various cities.' It was, further, ordered that they should not drive swine amongst the Muslims; that they should entertain any guests that might come to them for three days and three nights; that they should carry those who came on foot from one village to another; that they should give such ones good advice and not maltreat them, and that they should not show too much consideration for an enemy.' He said further: 'We consider it lawful to shed their blood and to take captive their children and their wives. In such manner a compact and an agreement are made with Allah, and proper protection is assured the Muslims.'

Constantine answered: 'Put this down in writing for us!' While the document was being drawn up, 'Umar bethought himself and said twice: 'I must make an exception for you in regard to a whole army of difficulties.' Then he added: 'Here are your two times.' Now when the document was finished, (fol. 6b) Constantine said: 'Come, O Commander of the Faithful, go among the people; tell them that which you have done for me and about the poll-tax that you have set in my case.' So 'Umar went and spake as follows: 'Praise be to Allah! I render praise to him and I ask him for aid. He whom Allah leads can not go astray, and he whom Allah does lead astray, for such a one there is no (other) leader.' But that cursed Nabatean injected: 'Allah leads no man astray.' Then said 'Umar: 'What sayeth the Nabatean?' The answer came: 'He says that Allah leads no man astray.' To which 'Umar replied: 'Verily, we have not given thee that which we have given with the idea that thou shouldst attack us in our faith. By him in whose hands is my soul, if thou doest such a thing again, I shall strike that in which are thy two eyes (i. e., thy face).' We must keep in mind that which this dog has criticized as well as that which the Commander of the Faithful 'Umar has said, the terms he laid down and the return given to him when the Caliph answered his criticism; how he warned Constantine that some of the Copts were lording it over the Muslims; that they were holding Muslims as bond-men, bond-women and slaves; that they were raising their watch-towers and buildings too high; that they were arraying themselves in the finest clothing possessed by the Muslims—not to mention that they had acquired precious stones, brocades and gardens, as well as merchandise brought from over land and sea, and how they pursued doggedly pleasures of various kinds. He complained,

also, about a certain Christian coming from Morocco, destitute and moneyless; one of those poverty-stricken Christians like those who make begging their livelihood.¹⁰ He did chores (fol. 7a) in the meanest of places, which places, afterwards, he plundered—using that which he had stolen for the purpose of giving bribes. Finally, he was able to raise himself to the highest position there, being transferred from one post to the other until he was placed in charge of the army and the finances. It needed only a little time and he was rebuilding the gardens, the irrigation canals and various broken-down properties. But in order to accomplish all this he had to plunder the treasury of the Muslims, which he divided up with the lowest and the vilest among them.

The following comes to us upon the authority of 'Abd-al-Rahmān ibn 'Uthmān: This letter was written to 'Umar when he made peace with the Christians of Syria:¹¹

'This letter is sent to 'Abd Allah 'Umar, the Commander of the Faithful, by the Christians of Syria. Verily, when you came to us, we begged safety for ourselves, our children and our possessions on condition that we would not build in our cities and in the country near them either monastery, church or monk's cell; that we would not rebuild any such that may be in ruins, nor raise up that which Muslims have torn down; that we would not refuse permission to any Muslim to enter our Churches, either by day or by night; that we would open their gates to passers-by and to travellers, and grant hospitality for three days to any Muslim that passes by our door; that we would not receive into our churches or into our dwellings any spy; that we would not practice any deception to the prejudice of the Moslems; (fol. 7b.) that we would not teach the Kurān to our children; that we would neither preach the Trinity nor invite anyone to accept the doctrine; that we would not restrain any of our relatives from becoming Moslems if they so wish; that we would show proper deference to the Moslems, offering them our seats if they desire to sit down; that we would not try to imitate them in any part of their dress; that we would not use the same fore-names that they use; that we would not ride upon saddles, nor wear swords,

¹⁰ Evidently a monk.

¹¹ Several recensions of this letter have come down to us. Probably most of them are spurious, as Miednikoff and Caetani hold rightly. See the latter's *Annali* 3² p. 958. Even the name of the chief ecclesiastic at Damascus is held to be unknown. See de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la Conquête de la Syrie*, p. 83.

nor bear nor carry any form of weapon whatsoever; and that we would strike the clappers softly in our churches. When we accompany our dead, we will not raise our voice in chanting. We will not run to the aid of a slave when the weapon of the Moslems is ready to fall upon him; we will not visit such in their dwellings nor set them right upon the road.'

Now, when the Commander of the Faithful had read this communication, he added these words: 'We make this agreement for ourselves and for all our people. For doing so, we receive protection. Should we deviate from any condition upon which we have agreed with you and for which we in our persons have become guarantees—then, we no longer are to enjoy protection; and you can do with us as riotous and uproarious people are dealt with. Let those who reflect consider these conditions with care; let them be thoughtful of their dress and their mounts and how they address the rich and such ilk among Moslem men and women. Verily! There is no real power excepting such as resides in Allah, the High and the Mighty!'

(fol. 8a) 'Umar ibn al-'Aziz, the chief of the Banū Umayyah wrote to his lieutenants in the various provinces as follows: 'Umar sends you greetings. He cites to you from the Book of Allah, about which there is no uncertainty¹²: 'O ye who believe! The non-Moslems are nothing but dirt. Allah has created them to be partisans of Satan; most treacherous in regard to all they do; whose whole endeavor in this nether life is useless, though they themselves imagine that they are doing fine work. Upon them rests the curse of Allah, of the Angels and of man collectively.' Know, then, that they who have gone before you died simply because they refused to accept the truth and stretched out the hand of wickedness. I have heard of some Moslems in times gone by, that when they arrived in a certain country, the non-Moslems came to them and asked them for assistance in their municipal affairs and in keeping their books, because the Moslems were expert in book-keeping, in tax-gathering and in running business affairs. There can be no prosperity, nor can there be any real management when one makes use of anything that angers Allah or his Prophet. Indeed, there was a time—Allah has brought it to an end—when one did not know of a governor who, having a single man living in his province connected with any religion

¹² *Qurān* 9. 28.

other than Islam, did not visit him with exemplary punishment. For the abolition of their own governments, and their having reached the low station to which Allah had degraded them was in itself abasement and derogation. Let every one of you write to me (fol. 8b.) what he has done in his province.

He commanded that both Jews and Christians should be forbidden to ride upon saddles; that no one belonging to the 'Protected Peoples' should be allowed to enter a public bath on Friday, except after Prayer-time. He ordered, further, that a guard should be set to watch both Jews and Christians whenever they slaughtered an animal, so that the guard should mention the name of Allah and of his Prophet (at such slaughter). His governor over Egypt, Ḥayyān¹³, wrote to him: 'O Commander of the Faithful! If things continue as they are now in Egypt, all the 'Protected Peoples' will soon become Moslems and then we shall cease to get any money (taxes) from them.' Whereupon 'Umar sent to him a messenger strong in character saying: 'Go down to Egypt and give Ḥayyān thirty stripes with a whip upon his head as a punishment for that which he has written, and tell him as follows: "Take care, O Ḥayyān; whosoever has become a Moslem, do not ask the poll-tax from him. I only wish that the whole bunch of them would become converted. Verily! Allah has sent Mohammed as a preacher, not as a tax-gatherer."'

When the Banū Umayyah once again admitted the Christians as scribes in their various provinces and countries, Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Anṣārī¹⁴ wrote the following verses to 'Abd al-Malik:

'O ye sons of Umayyah, drive away the uncircumcised tongues, as ordained by the prophet of Allah and the Caliphs;
Do not appoint Copts to be scribes for your government work;
doing so constitutes wrong and sin. (fol. 9a)
You should be leaders, from whom a light shines over one's tracks,
continuing to be bright even when one stands still.'

Then, 'Abd al-Malik gave orders that as long as he ruled, neither Jew nor Christian should be appointed to office; and he finished off in cold blood all those who had appointed such.

¹³ I. e. Ḥayyān ibn Shuraiḥ.

¹⁴ He was official scribe of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik; Tabari, *Annales* 2, 1168.

Khālid ibn Safwān wrote to 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ, when the latter was governor of Egypt:

'Oh 'Amr! thy right hand has charge of our Egypt; and thou art all-powerful over it in all righteous and just action.

Kill with thy sword anyone who opposes thy will, and make the Copts the conquered of thy sword.

Through them wrong-doing has become established within her borders and her people have seen oppression and excess.

Rely not upon the Christians; they are folk who are opposed to the very law of the Almighty. (fol. 9b)

Remember the Commander of the Faithful and his behest; if thou desirest to be obedient to him,

Do not keep any engagement made with an Unbeliever; do not observe any compacts arrived at with him or any agreement.'

During that very night¹⁵ 'Amr saw in his sleep a Christian talking and reciting certain verses, while he pointed at 'Amr with his hand:

'A noble girl—they robbed her of her mother and reviled her by treading her with their feet.

Then they set her as ruler over them; but beware when your enemy becomes your ruler.'¹⁶

'Amr awoke in fright and said: 'By Allah! I have not given them jurisdiction over any subject that Islam has withdrawn from them'; and he gave command that all the Copts should be removed from office.

Al-Kisā'i¹⁷ used to teach al-Ma'mūn how to read the Koran, he (al-Kisā'i) standing behind a curtain. Whenever the prince made a slip, al-Kisā'i was accustomed to beat with a stick upon a pillow. Al-Ma'mūn had reached the passage: 'O ye who believe, do not take Jews and Christians as leaders, etc., etc.' Al-Kisā'i beat with his stick, and al-Ma'mūn thought that he had made a mistake. So he commenced to re-read the passage in the same manner as he had read it the first time. Again al-Kisā'i struck; (fol. 10a) and then al-Ma'mūn understood that

¹⁵ Evidently, the night on which he had received the verses from Khālid.

¹⁶ I am told that these are popular verses sung over the wine-cups. The vine is apostrophized as a girl and sung to as such.

¹⁷ Evidently, the great philologist, Abū al-Hasan 'Alī ibn Ḥamzah, who taught also Ma'mūn, the other son of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

al-Kisā'i wished to call his attention to the meaning of the holy verse, and he gave orders that neither Jew nor Christian should remain in a position of authority in any province, either in secretarial nor financial matters.

During the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Faḍl ibn Yaḥya¹⁷ was appointed to be governor in Khorassān, and Ja'far his brother was placed in charge of the Dīwān of Seals. The two built private and public mosques, established other public benefactions, [and constructed] the cisterns connected with the public fountains, as well as schools for the Moslem orphans, to whom they gave all the substance at their disposal. Both of them removed the non-Moslems from the Dīwāns and from all other offices. Al-Faḍl destroyed their strongholds and their places of worship in Khorassān, and gave orders that it should be made impossible for them to paint white anything that might be left of their churches, lest they should look like the Mosques of the Moslems in the various countries.

'Amr ibn 'Abd Allah mentions the following: Al-Ma'mūn consulted me in connection with certain complaints made by the Moslems regarding their treatment by the Copts of Egypt, saying: 'O 'Amr, do you know anything about the origin of the Copts?' I answered: 'They are the remnants (fol. 10b) of the people of the Pharaohs who (at one time) were in Egypt.' He said: 'Tell me something about them.' I answered: 'O Commander of the Faithful! When the Persians wrenched the power out of the hands of the Pharaohs, they killed all the Copts; and those only were left alive who were able to flee and to hide in Esne and in al-Ukṣurain.¹⁸ There they studied medicine and secretarial work. Then they returned; and the best among them served the Persians as physicians and as scribes. But they acted deceitfully and corresponded with the Greeks, telling them all about the Persians, the number of soldiers they had; informing them of the secret counsels of the Persians in that which concerned their rule over Egypt and urging the Greeks to come to their aid and possess

¹⁷ Al-Faḍl and Ja'far, grandsons of Khālid the Barmecide. Al-Faḍl was governor of Khorassān between 794 and 796 A.D.

¹⁸ The text has اٰخِثَا —but the writer must refer to اٰخِثَا, Yāḳūṭ 1. 265, in the farthest part of Ṣa'īd or Upper Egypt (Blochet, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 148). Al-Ukṣurain was also in that region. Cfr. Ibn Dukmāk, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, v. 31; though I am not at all sure of the pronunciation. De Sacy, *Abdallatif*, p. 702, 'Aloksorein'.

themselves of the land. They made clear to them the reasons why they ought to arrive at power. So the Greek kings came together, mustered an army, invaded the country, took possession of it and presided over the killing off of the Persian kings and their followers, setting up the faith of the Trinity. They were able to gain the country into their power. By the deception that they practised, they attained their full desire and destroyed the rule of the Persians. One of the poets said in regard to them:

‘Cursed be both Christian and Jew; in our generation they have accomplished amongst us their every desire;
They have gone out as physicians and as scribes, in order to steal souls and to gain riches.’¹⁹

It happened in the days of al-Mahdī that a lot of Moslems came to one of the ascetics, (fol. 11a) complaining about the Christians. This ascetic belonged to the entourage of al-Mahdī. He was asked to tell what he knew about these Christians: for some of the Moslems had been hurt in their person, others in their pocket. Those who felt injured in their person were those Moslems who had lost their positions and had been superseded by Christians. Those who felt injured in their pockets were those who had been brought to financial ruin. The ascetic had an interview with al-Mahdī, to whom he told what he had heard the people say. Then he recited to him the verses:

‘By my father and my mother, either my dreams have led me awry, or both my mind and my thought have gone astray.
Whosoever is unfaithful to the religion of the prophet Mohammed — can such a one have anything to do with the affairs of the Moslems?
If their swords are not drawn against us, then are their pens, which are as sharp as swords.’

Al-Ḥākīm, who claimed descent from the Fatimides, saw in a dream how the Creator, in the form of a man, was borne upon hands until he reached the gate of the castle, where he died. He tried to explain this dream to himself and said: The truth can be seen plainly all over the world; but, before it reaches us, it has become corrupt. He thought little of himself and of his family. He thought equally little of Jews and Christians. So he

¹⁹ I. e. the physician stole the souls and the scribes the riches of the people.

ordered that the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem should be destroyed, (fol. 11b)²⁰ sending the following word: 'His Highness the Imām commands that the Resurrection be destroyed, making its top level with its bottom and its length with its breadth.' He also caused the convent called al-Ḳusair to be demolished, as well as a large church in Damietta. This occurred in the year 391(A.H.),²¹ on the 17th of Sha'bān. Further, he sent word that Jews and Christians should be reviled; making it unlawful for them to accept secretarial positions, to act as physicians to any Moslem; ordering that not one of them should ride upon a horse or a mule—being permitted to mount an ass only when seated upon a pack-saddle; that no Christian should be given the [by-] name Abū Shākir, Abū al-Fadl or Abū al-Futūḥ; that neither Christian nor Jewish women should wear boots of yellow leather, but gaiters, one red and the other black. Further, he ordered that their women be allowed to enter the public baths only if wooden crosses were suspended from their necks; and that Jewish women should suspend pieces of dried camel's-skin²² from their necks. The men were to do likewise; the weight of each cross and of each piece of skin to be four pounds. It was he that published broadcast, so that the word spread out over the whole world, that the Jews and the Christians were treacherous folk, and that Allah would put his curse upon anyone that gave them a beautiful robe to wear, Islām having deprived them of such dress. Then he gave orders that by the side of every church in Egypt a mosque and a minaret should be built, (fol. 12a.) the minaret being raised higher than any part of the church, wherever that church could be seen. In like manner, he built within the grounds of every monastery a mosque. One of these he built in the Monastery al-Ḳusair, which the Christians however kept closed until the days of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṭāhir, when there happened in connection with it something, the reason for which I can only desire that our Lord the Sultan will ask me about. Then the Sultan insisted upon its use as a mosque.

In such manner there appeared in the days of our Master the Sultan a minaret in the church al-Mu'allakah in Ḳaṣr al-Sham'

²⁰ Al-Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭāṭ* (1st ed.), II. 287; Ibn al-Kalānisī, *Hist. of Damascus* (Ed. Amedroz), pp. 67-8.

²¹ Ca. 1000 A.D. On the general treatment accorded to non-Moslems by al-Ḥākim, see Wüstenfeld, *Fatimiden*, pp. 179, 198; Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, pp. 126 seq.

²² Perhaps better, 'a piece of wood'.

in Cairo. Now, the Christians had [as it were] stolen the Minaret just mentioned, having hidden it and made it unseen from the side of the church, making it a part of the church itself. This had been done in connivance with the man who had been Muezzin of the Mosque for a period of thirty years. When the scoundrel finally died and the duties of Muezzin came into other hands, the new Muezzin found what looked like a closet and traces of steps leading up to a closed door. So he brought a ladder, opened the door and came upon the minaret. He made the affair known (fol. 12b) and took his stand in it proclaiming the *Idhān*. But the Christians worked the people up against the Muezzin, so that he was beaten with whips, driven from the Mosque and forced to earn his livelihood acting as servant for one man and as scribe for another. The matter came to the ears of the Amīr Zain al-Dīn Katbugha the younger brother of al-Mansūr, who took it up and referred it to the Amīr Ḥuṣām al-Dīn Ṭurnuṭāi²³ of al-Mansūr and to the Amīr Zain al-Dīn Katbugha the Elder.²⁴ The Muezzin was reinstated by definite order at the above-mentioned mosque.

In the days of al-Ma'mūn al-'Abbāsī a certain Jew rose in position so that he came to sit in a station more elevated than even the Mohammedan dignitaries. One of the nobles of the court played the following trick upon him. He sent a scrap of paper to al-Ma'mūn on which was written:

'O Son of him, loyalty to whom was to be found among all people,
and whose word was law binding upon us,
We who feel thus believe that he whom thou honorest is nothing
but a Liar.'

Al-Ma'mūn answered him: 'You are right! You have done well to call my attention to it'—ordering at once that the Jew should be drowned. Then al-Ma'mūn told those who were present the story of al-Miḳḳād ibn al-Aswad al-Kindī, (fol. 13a) a friend of the Prophet²⁵—how, when he was on one of his journeys, he was accompanied for a whole day by a Jew. When morning broke, al-Miḳḳād remembered the saying handed down from the Prophet: 'No Jew is on good terms with a Moslem unless he has

²³ So punctuated in ms. Perhaps better, Ṭurnuṭāi, the chief vizier of the Mamluke Khalīl, ca. 1290 A.D; Van Berchem, p. 319.

²⁴ Viceroy, and afterwards virtually Sultan.

²⁵ Especially concerned in driving the Jews out of Khaibar. Ibn Hishām, p. 779.

up his sleeve some scheme to trap him.' Then al-Miḳdād said to the Jew: 'By Allah! When you leave me you will have to tell me what crime you are meditating against me, or else I shall have to kill you.' The Jew answered: 'If I tell, have I your promise to do me no harm?' Al-Miḳdād said: 'Yes'—binding himself by an oath. Then the Jew added: 'Since I have been traveling with you, I have been planning for you to loose your head, so that I might trample it under my foot.' 'How right was the Prophet of Allah—Allah grant him peace!', rejoined al-Miḳdād.

The story is told that during the life of one of the kings a Jew known as al-Hārūnī (the Aaronide), who enjoyed high rank at his hands, played a game of chess with him in his drinking-room, on the promise that (if he won) he might ask something for himself. Having won the game, he asked the king to redeem his promise. The king then said: 'Ask what you wish.' The man answered: 'May the king order that the verse reading "Verily, the true religion is Islām"²⁶ be stricken from the Koran.' Straightway the king cut off his head. (fol. 14a)

I have it from most trustworthy sources that the physician Moses was ill and the Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil²⁷ went to pay him a visit. Now, the physician was an intelligent and decent fellow. So he said to al-Fāḍil: 'Your good manners have led you to come and visit me. I beg of you not to let any Jew doctor you; for, with us, anyone who dishallows the Sabbath has forfeited his life to us.' So the Ḳāḍī forbade the practice of medicine by the Jews or that they should be employed in its service.

The story is told about a certain Jew that he was accustomed to come to one of the financiers—a witless sort of a fellow—bringing him in place of taxes due a certain amount of copper. But the financier refused to accept it of him. When the Jew took it back he said: 'Allah curse him who gave it to me'; and that simpleton thought that he referred to someone other than himself.

I have heard tell by someone in whom I have trust that a Jew wrote upon a piece of paper which he put in his turban to the effect that he who cursed him should be cursed, and he should be reviled who reviled him. Then, whenever anyone cursed him he would say to that person: 'Your curse is upon my head!' At another time he put by in his house two pieces of wood, giving to

²⁶ *Qurān* 3. 17.

²⁷ The celebrated chancellor of Saladin.

one piece the name 'prosperity' and to the other (fol. 14a) 'grace.' Whenever he came across a Moslem, he would greet him with the words: 'God grant you in the morning or in the evening prosperity and grace.' The cursed Jew meant, of course, the two pieces of wood.

A trustworthy fellow told me that a Jew in Bilbais asked permission from the governor Ṣafī al-Dīn ibn Shukr to take in a guest who had presented himself. This permission was granted. The guest did in the house whatsoever he desired. When the time came to prepare the meal, the Jew said to his wife: 'Do as the (Mosaic) law prescribes!' She said: 'No!' He answered: 'I command you to do so.' So she went into the house and came out carrying a dish containing urine. She began to take of it with a spoon and to throw it all over the dishes and the food. The governor was told about this and cited the Jew before him, who confirmed the truth of the story, saying: 'We Jews believe that whosoever desecrates the Sabbath has forfeited his life according to our Law. When we can not kill him, we put urine into his food.' The governor had the Jew bound and killed and the food thrown away.

At the time of al-Ḥāfiṭh (fol. 14 b.)²⁸ there lived Muwaffaḡ al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, a very learned man. The Ḳādi al-Fāḍil came to visit him; he being one of the most influential and important men of his day having jurisdiction over the Dīwāns where the records were kept.²⁹ Now it was a custom of the kings of Egypt not to allow any property to be apportioned to the soldiery, but that the soldiers should be paid out of the public treasury as was the custom in Mesopotamia. From the day that al-Fāḍil had come into the country, he had sent Muwaffiḡ al-Dīn and such members of the army in his retinue who had vision and understanding, together with trustworthy Muslim notaries and Christian scribes who were known for their scribal talents and their com-

²⁸ A second hand has added: 'who was descended from the Fatimides'. The whole story is to be found in Maḡrīzī, *Khitaṭ* (1st ed.) I. 405; (2d ed.) II. 248.

²⁹ The text has *الدواوين والانشأ*. Is this simply a mistake for *دواوين الانشاء*? For the use of the plural, see the decree of Ḳait-Bey (874 A. H.) in an inscription found at Hama, in Van Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, 1909 [B. A. vii], p. 25; *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicorum*, I. 507. Maḡrīzī reads: *يتحدث في امور الدواوين*

petence in surveying land, into all the various provinces of Egypt in order to verify the reports brought concerning the various sections, and to find out the kind of planting that was done in regular rotation. In regard to these, registers were drawn up—worked out with painstaking study—of the lands held as fiefs and of the fields. The copy of these registers was deposited with the government.³⁰ Now, when four months of the year had gone by, other men of the army who had exhibited bravery, heroism and courage were sent out; as well as Muslim scribes who had been proved trustworthy and understanding in dealing with the accounts of state, together with some Christians, to gather the one-third tax appropriated (fol. 15a) to be used to pay the expenses of the army. Others were sent out to some of the districts, in order to survey them as was the custom. So, overseers, inspectors and notaries set out; but [one of] the Christians gave all sorts of excuse that had prevented his coming, and overtook the others only on the second day of their journey. The rest preceded him, he following after them. When he came opposite to a certain section of land and desired to take a ferry-boat to reach it, having come to the other side, the owner of the ferry-boat asked him for his fee. Then the Christian had a fuss with the man, reviled him, and addressed him in coarse language, saying: ‘I am the surveyor of this piece of land; would you ask me to pay for crossing this ferry?’ To which the man replied: ‘If I have any tillable ground—take it.’³² At the same time he seized hold of the bridle of the beast upon which the Christian was riding. So the Christian paid the fee and the ferryman gave back the bridle. Now when the Christian surveyed this piece of land, he added twenty faddān on to the whole amount; and in one of the accounts—the one dealing with it—he left a blank space. When this account came to be revised, the law clerks called attention to the omission. Whereupon, the Christian took it back in order to fill out the blank space, in which he wrote: ‘The land of a bridleman—adding the name of the ferryman, twenty faddān of cottonland, to be taxed four dīnār a faddān.’ The document was taken to the official bureau,³³ where it was decided to grant the man a

³⁰ Text: *وتخذ السواوين بالباب*. I am guessing somewhat in my translation.

³¹ Literally⁷ ‘in collecting the riches’.

³² ‘But the ferry is mine, and you must pay the fee’.

³³ For *ديوان الامل* in our text, Maḳrīzī has *ديوان الباب*.

certain leeway in the matter of payment. (fol. 15b.) Then, when the proper time to demand the poll-tax had come, those who were accustomed to gather the money were sent out. They came to the aforementioned place and sought contributions from those who possessed arable lands. The owner of the ferry-boat was asked to give one-third of his wealth, i. e. 26 dīnār. This he refused to do, saying: 'If I have any standing corn—why, come and take it.' No attention was paid to him, but the overseer gave him a thorough beating with whips, asking him for evidence regarding his rating and the reasons why the authorities had so rated him. He forced the man to sell the ferry, as well as other property that he possessed, and took the sum he had demanded originally.

Now, the one who had been treated so unjustly fled out of fear that he would be asked to give the remainder of what he possessed. He came to Cairo, explaining the predicament in which he found himself to his friends and asking their help to suggest to him the means to extricate himself from this difficulty. One of these friends said to him: 'The Caliph is accustomed to sit near the "Prayer-leader" in the Saḳīfah,³⁴ so as to have a good view through the gate of the Citadel. Let the fellow who thinks he has been misused come to him at that moment and call attention to himself saying: "There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is the prophet of Allah; 'Alī is the vice-gerent of Allah." The Caliph will then hear what he says and will believe that God has enabled the man in his person and with his tongue, to bring his complaint before him. He will listen to what he has to say or he will turn the matter over to some vizier, some Ḳāḍī or some Wāli.' So the man hastened to place himself opposite the Saḳīfah, and cried aloud in the terms suggested. The Caliph did indeed call to him, (fol. 16b) heard what he had to say, and asked for an explanation of the whole matter. He summoned Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and had the account sheets dealing with the

³⁴ Who, or what is *المسيح*? The reading here *السفينة* must be wrong. Maḳrīzī in the companion passage has *السقيفة*; though in his general description of Cairo at the time of the Fatimides (2d ed. 2. 181), he also has the reading *السفينة*—or, I ought to say the ms. upon which the two editions are based. From the citations in Dozy, *s. v.* *مسقيفة*, it is quite evident that it was a sort of covered portico. It was near the Bāb al-Īd on the one side, and the Khazānat al-Bunūd on the other.

district in question brought to him covering a number of years back. These were gone over and compared, year by year. No mention whatsoever was found of any 'land of the bridle-man.' So al-Ḥāfiṭh ordered the Christian to be brought before him and prescribed that he should be nailed in a boat, given all sorts of food to eat and chicken-broth, as well as the choicest drinks mixed with musk to drink. He became the talk of the whole of Egypt; and it soon became noised over the whole of Syria and Egypt that al-Ḥāfiṭh was engaged in preventing the 'Protected Peoples' from reaching high positions.³⁵

This practice continued; the Christians suffered under it and commenced to die off. Finally, al-Ḥāfiṭh got hold of a skilled astrologer, to whom he bound himself hand and foot, making his every act depend upon the opinion of this astrologer, whether the matter was of much or of little import. A lot of the leading Christians imagined that they would play a trick. They came to this astrologer, and offered him two thousand dinārs cash, presenting to him one of their number known as al-Akḥram ibn Abī Zakariyyah, and said: 'We want you to recognize the lineaments of this man in the rising of the southern Sirius star; but, do not mention his name. You will add that this points to the fact that if some Christian—giving here a description of this Ibn Abī Zakariyyah—(fol. 16b) be appointed Wāli, the Nile will rise above its usual height; prices will mount; flocks and vegetables will thrive; the sea-catch will be great with whiting and other kinds of fish; business-men will come over land and over sea; and the King's laws will rule over the finest places and the very best situations.'

Now, this dog of an astrologer did even more than had been suggested to him by the slanderer and crooked fellow. For, while that bear al-Ḥāfiṭh waited for his decisions connected with the rising of Sirius, the other fellow asked that the leading Christians be brought—whom he looked over very carefully. The Christians, however, did not put forward Ibn Abī Zakariyyah for many days. But the demand for this cursed fellow became so insistent that, finally, he was produced and stood before al-Ḥāfiṭh. The Sultan appointed him in authority and put out Muwaffaq al-Dīn—a Moslem, an excellent, truthful man, for the sake of such a treach-

³⁵ My translation is in the nature of a guess. Maḥrizi says:

بكف ايدي النصرانية كلها عن الخدم في سائر المملكة

erous dog as he. In such manner he gave back to the Copts the power they had possessed previously and made it possible for them to be haughty and proud over the Moslems. The Copts proceeded to dress in the most elaborate style, to ride upon mules and upon piebald horses. They made it hard for the Moslems to earn their livings; until out of their own midst came the inspectors and the heads of the various government departments, even in matters dealing with the religious mortmain and legal bequests.³⁶ (fol. 17a). They even made retainers, slaves and prisoners out of Moslem men and women. One of the Moslems was so importuned that he was led to sell his daughters—and this through the disgraceful conduct of Ibn Dukhkhān,³⁷ God's curse be upon him—who were bought by a Christian and actually taken possession of by him. In regard to this a learned man wrote the following verses:

'When the Christians decide to rejoice and become intoxicated
because they ride upon mules and use saddles,
When the whole Empire of Islam is humbled and the command
rests in the hand of the unbelievers,
Then say to the one-eyed Imposter³⁸—if you ever had an idea to
come forth, now is your time to do so.'

The state of affairs with this damned fellow and with the Christians endured down to the days of al-'Ādid,³⁹ who was descended from the Fatimides, when Abū al-Faḍl ibn Dakhkhān, the Christian, came into prominence and dominated the mind of al-'Ādid. The force of his influence became greater than that of Ibn Zakariyyah so that he was a powerful authority in the government, because of the foolishness shown by those who were near to al-'Ādid. They were so wanting in intelligence that when—just at this time—a Christian turned Moslem and remained so for a time but then repented, this damned Ibn Dukhkhān was able to persuade al-'Ādid to (fol. 17b) allow the man to remain a Christian and not be opposed. The Governor of the day did not approve

³⁶ In general, on the position of the Copts at this time, see Lane-Poole, *op. cit.* p. 169.

³⁷ I can find no further reference to this man.

³⁸ I. e. anti-Christ. On his one-eyedness cf. e. g. al-Mutakkī in his *Muntakhib Kanz al-'Umāl* on the margin of Ibn Khalil's *Musnad*, 6, 37:

عن فاطمة بنت قيس الا ان المسيح الدجال اعور العين اليمين

³⁹ 1160–1171, A.D.

of this and set a lot of people on the renegade, to bring him so that he (the governor) might put him to death. The Christian told this to Ibn Dukkhān, who went into the Mosque at Cairo, took a good look over the treasures it contained and stole⁴⁰ the dishes of some of the lamps. This act he then ascribed to the Kādi, and made it known publicly that the Kādi was a thief and had appropriated the appurtenances of the Mosque. The result of all this was that the Sheikh Zain al-Dīn ibn Najā, the Ḥanbalite preacher, coming into town was told what this cursed Ibn Dukkhān was doing in the matter of the reconverted Christians, as well as about his dealings with the Kādi.

Now, the aforementioned Zain al-Dīn had great influence with al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zanki⁴²—God have mercy upon him! Al-ʿĀḍid commanded the aforementioned preacher to take his place in the Mosque of Cairo and commence his discourse, as was his custom. Intimate friends of al-ʿĀḍid would then come in together with relatives of his, some wise men, Kādīs, Emirs, soldiers and common people. In the meantime, Zain al-Dīn had arranged with the Koran-Readers that were on duty that they should commence by reciting the verse: ‘On the day (fol. 18a) that Heaven shall bring obvious smoke.’⁴³ [This took place] and the Sheikh Zain al-Dīn began to relate all that he possibly could about the wickedness of al-Dukkhān and to detail the harm that was being occasioned through it to the eyes and the minds of the people, the injury to their constitutions—and more to this effect. Then, he went on to blame the Christians in general, to criticize their faith and their agreeing to recognize as Master one who had been killed, crucified and buried. He explained how they were mixed up in the matter of the fire that had been lit at the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem;⁴⁴ and how they had led people astray by saying that it was a fire that had come down [from heaven] on to the grave of the Crucified One. Further, he charged Christian kings with errors; and he showed how their viziers and lieutenants had erred in the matter

⁴⁰ From the context, this must be the meaning; though the use of *عجز* in this connection is peculiar.

⁴¹ His full name was Zain al-Dīn ibn Najā. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, 11. 263.

⁴² Atābeg of Syria, 1146-1173.

⁴³ *Qurān* 44. 9.

⁴⁴ This refers evidently to the occurrences on the Sunday before Easter.

of accounts and property. He adduced proof that those whom they had taken into their service had done contrary to the will of Allah as laid down in the Holy Koran in regard to them and in the authentic sayings of the Prophet of Allah, as well as contrary to the practices of the righteous⁴⁵ caliphs. Then he mentioned that there are some who say that 'the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are one God,' and he recited the Verse:

'How does he square the count who makes God three, while still maintaining that He is One?' (fol. 18b.)

The preacher continued to attack the lineage of the Christians and the little regard they had for their own persons, in that they ate swine's flesh; how they were addicted to taking strong drinks in the company of their wives, their daughters and other members of their families, both grown up and young; and how at times they slept in their drinking-houses for a whole night—men and women mixed together. He, then, cited the verses of 'Umāra of Yemen⁴⁶ in regard to Ibn Dukkhān, in connection with his disapproval of his conduct in the matter of his allowance⁴⁷:

'Say to Ibn Dukkhān when you meet him and his whole face is sweating because he is filled with wine,
 May my competitor be condemned even if he is much more than those mentioned in the Sūrah al-Zukhruf;⁴⁸
 Strike him down into the lowest depths, even though he carry himself high between priests and archbishops.
 Time has put you in authority over the destinies of man; therefore, shave off their beards resolutely and pluck out their hair;
 Acquire money and pile it up. Stock up goods, gain much and steal, be treacherous and rob, plunder and filch;
 Weep and say, "not a dirhem has come into my possession"—make the sign of the cross, sing ribald songs and swear;
 Seize what you can while you have the opportunity and before the Evangel is superseded by the Koran.' (fol. 19a)

Then he began to tell the tale of the converted Christian and what he had done to the Kāḍi. The whole assembly made off

⁴⁵ I. e. the early ones.

⁴⁶ Umara of Yemen, 1121-1175. See Brockelmann, *Gesch. der Arab. Lit.*, 1. 333. In the edition of Derenbourg, p. 215, the verses against Ibn Dukkhān can be found.

⁴⁷ For the following verses, see Derenbourg's ed., p. 294.

⁴⁸ I. e. 43, referring to Pharaoh, Moses and Jesus.

to al-'Āḍid and forced him to arrest Ibn Dukkhān and seize all the contents of his dwelling. There were found in it one hundred and twenty-five letters written in non-Arabic characters.⁴⁹ These were carried to Shāwar, the Vizier of al-'Āḍid. The official translators were summoned. They read these letters; and, lo and behold! it turned out that they had come from the Franks in Acre, Tyre and Cyprus as answers to letters of the cursed rascal to the writers, in which he had told them all that was happening in the various parts of the land—how there were but few soldiers, how al-'Āḍid was poorly protected, [thus] emboldening them to take action against him, and instigating the King Murri⁵⁰ quickly to make an incursion into Egypt. He so adorned the undertaking and spoke so well of it as to make the Moslems appear despicable; but giving dignity to the word of the Christians and elevating the position of the priests and the monks. [He, also, spoke about] repairing the Churches, rebuilding their community property, as well as aiding in the increase and the growth of their pay. They [it turned out] had thanked him for all this [information], had praised him and had told him of their firm intention to come and to settle in Egypt.

Ibn Dukkhān was put to death upon the spot; and al-'Āḍid gave orders that there should be demanded of the Christians to return the pay and the poor-tax that they had received during [the last] five years, and that there should be left to each single one (fol. 19b) of them not more than a single dirhem each month; and that when he grew old, each one should be put to death, in order that his fate might serve as an example to others. But that very year did not come to an end without the Frank King, Murri, collecting a large army and invading Egypt.⁵¹ He had every person in Bilbais killed, being roused to indignation by the lot that had befallen Ibn Dukkhān. Shāwar came to the city of Cairo with many men from al-Ḳaṣriyyah⁵² and burned the houses of the Christians, killing and plundering as he went.

When the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Salāḥ al-Dīn came into power, the Christians corrupted his Kurdish lieutenants and

⁴⁹ Probably in Latin, as they came from the Crusaders.

⁵⁰ Muri, Ibn Iyās, *Ta'riḫ Miṣr*, 67, 3 f. b. = Amalric, King of Jerusalem. I have not been able to find any other account of this treacherous action laid by our author at the door of the Christians of Egypt.

⁵¹ September, 1163.

⁵² I can not find any such place mentioned in any of the reference books.

asked help of those of them who had openly professed Islam,⁵³ that they should return to their service. They made these foolish Kurds believe that the Moslems were unable to fill the offices of scribes; that they squandered whatsoever money they possessed; and in such manner, by their craftiness, they succeeded in securing control over countries and territories—seizing whatsoever was to be found in the treasury and whatsoever food there was for the soldiers and the officers. However, some of the Moslem scribes, trusty and faithful, were not carried away; and one of them composed the following verses:

‘The stupidity and foolishness of the Christians have exhausted me bodily—and the high nose they point at every Moslem. They make an incursion into the Treasury quite openly—nor do they fear giving one a hit for the sake of stealing a quarter of a dirhem. (fol. 20a)

You can see a Copt at the buzzing of every fly; and his pens are more numerous than anything else that is sharp-pointed.

It is true they gained in this world that which they sought; but their final resting-place, together with the multitude, is Hell Fire.’

The Christians remained free to do as they pleased in the various countries, among the various tribes and in government positions—masters over the persons of the Moslems, over their property and over their situations.

In the days of the Sultan al-Malik al-Şāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, a Moslem went into the Sūḳ al-Tujjār⁵⁴ in Cairo. He had with him a title-deed to some money owing to him by a soldier. The document was all finished, and needed only the necessary signatures of the witnesses. The man came across two Christians. They were clothed in bodices and in garments that had wide sleeves, just as Moslems of the noble class are dressed. The Moslem thought really that they were nobles. He spread the document out before them and they signed it—their very act being a jeer at the Moslems. This fact was brought to the attention of the Sultan al-Malik al-Şāliḥ; and he gave orders that those Christians should receive a beating, that they should be

⁵³ The text has: *الى ان اعيدوا الى الخدم*. Perhaps one ought to translate: ‘until they were forced to return to their service’.

⁵⁴ The ‘Merchants’ Bazaar’—or ‘Street’.

forced to wear girdles and to put on the distinctive mark that they were not Moslems; that they should be prevented from making themselves look like Moslems, and that they should take the proper low and humble station to which Allah had degraded them.

But, [despite these regulations] the Christians began to make their way again and to increase in influence from the beginning (fol. 20b) of the reign of al-Mu'izz⁵⁵—in such manner that it was necessary for every Emir, as he came and went in each reign, to have a Christian scribe.⁵⁶ Just as soon as it would be found out from the slaves of the Sultan of the day who it was whose face exhibited the features of rule and of power,⁵⁷ some Christian fellow would get in touch with him through the assistance of the scribes of the Emirs—a lieutenant or his servants, though the latter had no authority over him and no title. Yet he was serviceable to the Emir, he accompanied him and carried out the obligation under which he was to him. [For this reason,] whenever the word was passed to him, he would change his servants; he would make one of them his secretary or his chamberlain. This went so far, that his secretary was able to have his say over such things as the drinking of wine, the inviting of guests, the giving of charity—in a manner that can not even be recorded; not to mention other things that went even beyond this. He, then, made him wish to increase his wealth, to proffer counsel, to repair water-wheels and estates⁵⁸, to enlarge the administration, to increase expenditures—so that [in the end] he was compelled to become covetous, to fall into breaches of trust, and to rob his master of his money, the while associating this cursed fellow with him. At times he inspired him with fear and trembling—saying that the Emirs would importune their chamberlains and secretaries. He gave him various examples of cases like this that had occurred to him. He even seized his chamberlain (fol. 21a) on account of the wrongs he had done and the spoliations he had been able to verify and make certain as having been committed

⁵⁵ 1250–1257 A.D.

⁵⁶ The ms. here, and a little further down, has an impossible form: كويتب
—unless it is used in derision as 'scribelet'.

⁵⁷ A somewhat free and uncertain translation of the Arabic:

من تلوح عليه امارة السعادة والامارة

⁵⁸ Text has وسايا . Is this a pl. of وسية ?

by him—instilling into him fear of the punishment that would come to him and the chastisement he would suffer because of it; even showing him that he, when he would have no proofs by which to free himself from suspicion, and without which he would die under the punishment, would be forced to steal and to commit breaches of trust.

The following was accomplished by one of the most powerful and eloquent of the Christian secretaries of the Emirs; the cunning that he exhibited in connection with his chamberlain was successful for two reasons. One reason was the close acquaintance of the scribe with the entourage of the Emir. The second was that the chamberlain, being one of the youngest of the Mogul Mamluks, was not free to ride anywhere or to stop anywhere except in the company of the Emir. Now it happened that the Emir had entrusted the chamberlain with three thousand dīnārs for the expenses of the two. When this money was spent, the chamberlain said to the secretary: 'Make up the accounts for us, in order that we may get the signature of the Emir in the customary manner, verifying the expenditure of the money.' So, he made out the accounts, and said to the chamberlain: 'Why, the expenses amount to two hundred-and-fifty dirhems above and beyond the three thousand.' To this the Chamberlain said: 'I'm glad of it.' But the Secretary answered: 'You are a mere boy, and are not able to distinguish that which is hurtful to you from that which is of advantage. Now, I am going to do you a friendly service. When it turns out that you were cognizant (fol. 21b) of this accounting, and the Emir becomes aware of it—why, he will ask you to make good that which you have spent, two hundred-and-fifty in every three thousand dirhems; and he will accuse you of perfidy.' In such manner he filled him with fear of receiving a beating, of being discharged from his chamberlainship and of being degraded in his rank. He worked on the chamberlain for so long a time, that he at length misused his trust and actually robbed his master of money.

Further, most of the scribes of the Emirs would acquire power over a servant of the palace by giving him presents of beautiful crowing quails, or by sending him—say—a carpet, a prayer-rug or the like. Then he would say to him: 'Tell the household of what service I have been, and that I love the Emir so much that I should like to do much for him—to give him advice, to care for his property and his crops.' Then, in order to carry out his

cunning, he would use pieces of Alexandrian cloth, quite expensive, made of pleasing stuff⁵⁹ and of variegated hue. He would say to this servant: 'Tell the household that this new stuff has just come out and that I wanted it to be offered to the household. Whatsoever part of it pleases them—or, even, if they should desire anything else—they should let me know; in order that I advise the Emir to send grain from his lands and his warehouses to Alexandria.' Then, the servant would make the rest of the household desire things by saying: 'The household of a certain Emir has large quantities of this stuff (fol. 22a); and this something would do splendidly for the dress of such and such a lady.' The dog would be thanked for this his advice and would be told: 'Advise⁶⁰ the Emir to send the grain to Alexandria, so that we may have the good fortune to pick out for ourselves some of it that pleases us.' Then, this dog got together with the Chamberlain of the Emir, told him so much about Alexandria as to make him yearn for it—for the good things found there, for its gardens and its precious objects, its delights and its pleasures, just those things that the Chamberlain liked. He excited his taste by letting him have samples of various kinds of enjoyment—enjoying rest, using fine cloth, keeping company and seeing sights.

The two came to an agreement, that both he and this Chamberlain would go to the Emir and tell him that in Alexandria grain was worth so-and-so-much in coined silver; and that the value of every dirhem of molten silver was two-and-a-half in the coined; and that there would result from such trading quite a tidy sum. [He added]: 'Let us then purchase in Alexandria linen, bring it back with us, guaranteeing to the Emir the grain of a third of the money spent—especially if the Emir will procure a letter of the Sultan to the Wāli of Alexandria that he should turn over the wheat to the millers. Thus, an increasing number of people will make money, and the whole world will be in good humor.'

The Emir ordered the two to go ahead, and to take also the [other] crops for sale. The cursed fellow went ahead, stealing in various ways the property (fol. 22b) of those whom he was serving. The intelligence of those whom he served was not great; he, also, profited by the care of his friends, who showed him various instances of friendship. So, he went ahead, robbing those

⁵⁹ طرح . See Dozy s. v.

⁶⁰ Ms. has "Shir" in place of *اشر*, iv. conj, of *شار*.

whom he served in many directions; e. g. withholding some of the wares as they were being laden in ships; in the hiring of ships; stealing when buying and selling wheat. He stole when buying the cloth, he cheated in the price, and he stole again from the cloth when it was received. He got into his own service the young men of this Emir who were attached to him, by making presents to them of handkerchiefs and head-bands.⁶¹ He bettered his own condition by that which he brought [from Alexandria] and by the linen goods that he carried to the palace of the Emir. They clothed⁶² . . . with cloth for the chief scribe, as if the money for it had come out of his own pocket. He asked help from the household of the Emir and from his young men in preventing troubles from coming upon him, in order that the gates should be closed against those who knew of his perfidy, lest he be betrayed to his master.

This disorder increased until [news of] it reached the Sultan of the day; for every one of the scribes of the Emirs had to be either a child of one of the Sultan's scribes or a relative. Now when any one of the scribes attached to the court had an occasion or chance to cheat or to rob or to take to himself money (fol. 23a) belonging to the public treasury, or to do any other of the shameless or high-handed tricks of the Christians—e. g. when they committed heinous crimes by interfering with Moslem women or drinking wine in the month of holy Ramadān—he would ask help of the Emirs to rid him of his troubles by means of their scribes in various ways. Thus, if he were one of those accused⁶³ by the Government, this scribe would tempt the Emir whose help he had demanded for the one accused by vacating the royal laws governing his feudal estates. He would tempt him still further by making him desire to buy land from the feudal lords; and by offering to force the attendants on the land to aid him in cultivating and seeding it; and if it were a place proper for wine-pressing, that he should receive wood from the royal demesne; that he should be assisted in producing seed, in paying all that was due the government and in carrying out all measures neces-

⁶¹ مندیل might mean one of various things.

⁶² The text gives no sense: ويتقلدون المانة بالقماش. I do not know what المانة is in this connection.

⁶³ Read مستوفي الدولة and not as in ms., مستوفيين.

sary. If everything could not be done, he hoped that the greatest part could be effected.

Some of them gave money liberally—horses, linens and the like. Now the Emir to whom I am referring went so far as himself to go, together with his officer, to have a personal interview with the Sultan,⁶⁴ whenever the dog of a fellow saw that he was not succeeding. He overrode his authority, persisting with the help of the cursed fellow, so that he betrayed the trust (fol. 23b) of those who had had faith in him. He even increased his robberies, his seizures and his plunderings, relying upon those who protected him because of the bribes they received and the presents.

Turn away from other [and similar] stories that I might relate to you if I wanted. Had I the power, or could I rely upon sufficient strength, I would relate particulars of many circumstances connected with the scribes of the Christians, and how many of them would have proclaimed Islam openly, had they not been afraid of being killed or punished—even giving their very names. I could recount the story of every one of them taken in by his own artifice, or by his own evil conduct counted among the trespassers—doing wrong, straying from the right path, a big fool, a bastard and one despised. I could disclose the state of every one who professed Islam [merely] with some trick in mind. I could explain the condition in which he was, due to those who were haughty in their ravings—by their lies condemning⁶⁵ every learned Moslem as faulty, so that calamities came upon him like the falling of arrows—always going further in his treachery and robbery and increasing in his greed. In reality, his profession of Islam was only a blind. He was using it as a ladder to reach the height at which he was aiming—more devilish than the devil, the very elixir of lying (fol. 24a) and fraud. He would take an oath on the faith of Islam—which constituted an untruth. Out of clean cloth he would fashion that which never had occurred, by means of falsehood and misstatement. He had been amongst the lowest of the low among the Christians, the biggest liar, the one who possessed least shame and truthfulness, the greatest in impudence, with an inborn disposition to do things disgraceful and vicious. By such means he was able ostensibly to free himself

⁶⁴ My translation is free; the text, *الى المتحدث للسلطان*, does not seem to be right.

⁶⁵ Reading Mukhatṭ'ian. Ms. has Mukhatṭ'in.

from the lower position accorded the Christians, the ignominy of paying the head-tax, and to prevent himself from falling into despite.⁶⁶ Openly, he would converse just like a Moslem—in order to preserve his fortune and his person, and that he might have an opportunity to cheat and to despoil. In fact, publicly he was a Moslem; but, as soon as he entered his house he found his wife, his sons, his daughters, his relations and the relations of all his people Christian—and he was a Christian with them in very truth, fasting during their fasts, and breaking the fast at the same time they did. Had anyone taken the trouble to observe him, they would have found that he had led the life of a Christian for more than twenty-five years. Now, his appointment had lasted only for five; and during these years his fees could not have amounted to more than two-hundred *dīnārs* for all this time. Yet, you would have found his possessions and his manner of living to be such as to require thousands of *dīnārs*; not to mention the brocade, the dyed-goods, the precious stones that he had—the servants, the slaves, the marked horses, (fol. 24b) the flocks, the buffaloes, and the merchandise that had come over land and sea. On the other hand, imagine the condition of the greatest and most loyal Moslems, who have done service to kings and to sultans during the last fifty years—functionaries with high pay and of distinction—how they turned their pay and the moneys they expended into expressions of loyalty; each one of them spending the money received in his office in the interests of the Sultanate and in increasing its splendor by means of horsemen and young men and by his own fine experience. If ever these inherited anything, they spent it. Indeed, at the end of their life they were in debt and poor, because of the strength of mind they had shown and their fidelity [to the ruling house].

Now, when the un-eyelashed Tartars obtained possession of Syria the well-guarded, the learned Abū al-Faḍa'il⁶⁷ ibn Ukht al-Makīn ibn al-'Amīd, known as Secretary of War in Damascus, went to Hulagu, King of the Tartars. He carried with him much money from his uncle, the afore-mentioned al-Makīn, and from the rich Christians in Damascus, as well as presents and gifts. He was aided especially by the governor of Irbīl,⁶⁸ who succeeded in

⁶⁶ Both here and further on ms. has *اهنة*, where one would expect *الإهانة*

⁶⁷ I am unable to identify this man. Ms. has *العالم* for *العالم*.

⁶⁸ Ms. *اربل*.

obtaining a firmān from Hulagu, sending his command to the inhabitants in the eastern part of the Empire, in Jazīrat-ibn-'Umar⁶⁹ (fol. 25a) and the whole of Syria that every religious sect could proclaim its faith openly—whether Christian, Jew, Magian, Sun-worshipper or idolater; and that no Moslem should disapprove of any one of the faiths or oppose them in language or in deed. Whoever should do anything like this was to be put to death. Then, this cursed fellow was able to make Hulagu covetous by telling him that the schools, business-quarters, Mosques and hospitals were all to be in the hands of the Moslems; and that, because of collusion one with the other, they do not pay that which is due to the King; the K̄āḍi being one of their own men, just as the witnesses are of their body. He [the Secretary of War] therefore laid it down that one-third of all the religious mortmain should be seized and given to Hulagu. In doing this, the intention the cursed fellow had was to destroy the forms customary in Islam by weakening the legal lights, by throwing despite upon the K̄āḍis, and by trampling under foot the holy law. He returned with a firmān in his favor, ordering him to allow the various faiths to practise their religion openly and to seize one-third of the religious mortmain. He stopped at Ṣaidanāyā,⁷⁰ and sent to the Christians in Damascus to tell them that he was coming with a firmān from Hulagu and that they had won a victory over Islam. He said to them: 'Come out to meet me with the crosses on the croziers, with Evangels (fol. 25b) clothed in brocade, shining white cloth⁷¹ and satin—the censers full of aloes-wood, with deacons and priests in their capes, the Metropolitan bishops decked out with their jewels, and with them the holy wine uncovered.'

This occurred during the middle days of the month of Ramaḍān in the year 658.⁷² The wine was on trays of silver and gold and in golden flasks and bowls. They came out to meet him in parties and singly. In such manner the fellow and those with him entered the City of Damascus in open daylight, with drums and trumpets, cymbals, silver-inlaid censers.⁷³ . . . raising cries in a loud voice,

⁶⁹ Ms. جزيرة ابني عمر !

⁷⁰ Yāḳūt, 3. 441.

⁷¹ A guess. The text has زربفت ; زر = glisten, and بفت , calico.

⁷² I. e. 1259 A.D.

⁷³ Ms. has المطعمة 'and incrustations'. I believe the conjunction must be a mistake.

carried by this large multitude—the most frequent of which were: ‘the Messiah Jesus son of Mary!’ and ‘the Holy Cross!’ Whenever they passed by a Mosque or a Madrasah, they halted there and sprinkled upon the doors [of these buildings] wine from the residue in the flasks out of which they had drunk, loudly wishing ‘long life’ to the dynasty of Hulagu: ‘who has pledged victory to us, and the triumph of our true religion over the religions of the Liars.’ On that day there was not one single Christian—of the common people and the lowest, or of the highest and the wealthiest—who did not put on his finest apparel. Their women decked themselves out with jewels and necklaces (fol. 26a). On that day—it was in the sacred month of Ramaḍān, when Allah openly showed their godlessness—the Moslems suffered abasement and anguish of heart. They broke out in weeping, in the shedding of hot tears; and they besought Allah to remove from them all this sadness.

Upon the second day after the entrance of the cursed Abū al-Faḍā’il, the firmān was read out publicly in the Maidān of Damascus. On that day two persons came to me. One of them was named ‘Izz ibn Amsainā al-Wāsiṭī. He was a man known for his attainments—especially, for his ability to write in gold. The second was the Kāḍī Mubashshir ibn al-Ḳaṣṭalānī, acquainted in government circles and with Vezirs. They told me that the Christians had exhibited a treatise composed by al-Mu’tamin ibn al-‘Assāl al-Mustaufī in Damascus in the days of al-Malik al-Nāṣir.⁷⁴ This treatise [the author] had entitled: ‘The Whetted Sword, an Answer to the Koran.’ A sūmmons was issued against him publicly on the ‘Bridge of the Feltworkers’⁷⁵ in Damascus. But, at that moment he was paying a visit to al-Shams al-Jazarī, the bookseller, known as al-Fāshūshah (Mr. Irresolute); and the two were studying carefully the aforementioned book. That which had struck their minds especially in the book was how this cursed fellow had tried to prove in it (fol. 26b) that the expression: ‘Bismillahi-rraḥmān-ir-rahīm’ can be interpreted as containing the words: ‘The Messiah, son of God.’⁷⁶ The cursed fellow did not know that any particle,

⁷⁴ Probably Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf of Aleppo, 1250–1260, who ruled over Damascus.

⁷⁵ I can not find mention of *جسر اللبادين* ‘Bridge of the Feltmakers’ in al-Kalānāsī’s description.

⁷⁶ By some sort of Atbash?

noun or verb that contains two letters or more can be mutated [to mean something else]. He said that the Holy Book contains the passage:⁷⁷ 'Verily, the like of Jesus with Allah, etc.>'; that it also mentions Mary the sister of Aaron, whose son was Imrān (Amram). He added that the name of Jesus among the Jews was Joshua; that Mary the mother of Jesus was the daughter of a Jew; that her mother's name was Hannah; and that no such name as 'Isa was used by them or was known to them. The cursed fellow added further: 'Did not he who gave the Koran know that between Mary on the one hand and Moses and Aaron on the other there were thousands of years.' He declared the story of al-Khidr (St. George), Peace be upon him!, to be untrue, saying that we had no mention of him [in the Koran]. The Christians say that his name was the Holy St. George,⁷⁸ and that he lived a long time after the Messiah. Cursed fellow! he declared many similar stories to be apocryphal; e. g. the history of Solomon, Peace be upon him!, and Bilkīs, and all the other events that are connected with his name. He threw doubt upon the 'Cave-Dwellers.'⁷⁹ He went even so far as to say that this was merely the foolish talk of storytellers.

Now, just at this time I was in the service (fol. 27a) of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Muṭṭahaffar al-Dīn Mūsa,⁸⁰ the ruler of Emesa—God keep him in mercy and favor! So, I went in person to the 'Bridge of the Feltmakers,' and interviewed al-Shams al-Jazarī the bookseller; and I asked him to let me see the aforementioned book. He swore that he had given it to the cursed al-Mu'tamin; and that, in his presence, the latter had torn it to pieces and destroyed the very paper upon which it was written. Then, I presented myself before the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf—sending, of my account, one of my servants in whom I had full trust, to bring al-Jazarī. I related to the Sultan what had happened; and he said: 'Get the book and produce the fellow. I'll have the head of al-Mu'tamin cut off.' I asked the cursed fellow for the book. He denied that he had it; saying: 'It was not at all in my own handwriting; and, [anyhow], I tore it to pieces.' Then, I took him to my own house and questioned him minutely. I threatened him and frightened him. The

⁷⁷ *Qurān* 3. 52.

⁷⁸ القديس امير جرجس 'the holy Emir George'.

⁷⁹ The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.

⁸⁰ 1245–1262.

while, a number of Damascus Christians—among whom were al-Makīn ibn al-Mu'tamid and al-Rashīd, known as Kātib al-Taffīsī, as well as a number of the leading and wealthy Christians—arose and went to the Ṭhāhirī Garden, to al-Sibbān,⁸¹ the Tartar general. It was said that he was a cousin, on the mother's side, of Hulagu. He was authoritative in tone, bloodthirsty and an unbeliever. The Christians brought him a goodly sum of money; and told him that a firmān of the Īlkhān⁸² had appeared to the effect that everyone should have the right to profess his faith (fol. 27b) openly and his religious connection; and that the members of one religious body should not oppose those of another; further, that the Secretary of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf had seized the author of the book written against our faith, and that he intended to have him put to death. Thereupon, al-Sibbān sent to the Kāḍī Shams al-Dīn al-Ḳummī, the Tartar representative in Damascus—who was then in the Dār al-Sa'ādah Palace—telling him to have an audience of al-Malik al-Ashraf and to say to him: 'This . . .⁸³ of yours has disobeyed the firmān of the Īlkhān; he shall die!' Al-Ḳummī asked my master for my services; related to me all that had occurred, and said: 'These fellows are unbelievers and wicked. There is no difference between a Moslem and a Christian. If you thwart this Christian you yourself will be hurt; your master will be harmed; and you both will get the reputation with Hulagu of having done that which is prohibited. The faith of Islam has claims upon whomsoever asks its protection, even if he is other than you [i. e. not a Moslem].⁸⁴ This whole affairs has become notorious; the great, the prominent, the learned men in Damascus—all know about it.'

Allah, however, made it possible—a very short time after this—for the Sultan al-Malik al-Muṭhaffar Saif al-Dīn to break the tail of the cursed Tartars; and the Moslems were able to seize this cursed fellow, Faḍā'il⁸⁵ ibn Ukht al-Makīn ibn al-'Amīd.

⁸¹ Who is Sibbān?

⁸² Ms. has ابلخان . These Īlkhāns formed a dynasty in Persia; and for many years disputed the power of the Egyptian Mamluke Sultans of Egypt.

⁸³ Ms. has بتكجي . Is it composed of بتك , pl. of بتكه , 'a part cut off', and the ending جي ?

⁸⁴ I have translated somewhat literally.

⁸⁵ Ms. has فضول . I have restored the former reading فضائل . I should perhaps, have put 'Abu al-Faḍā'il'.

He was given into the custody of the Emīr Sharaf al-Dīn Ḳairān al-Fahrī, head of the household of the Sultan al-Malik al-Muṭṭaffar, who punished him (fol. 28a), and made him pay a fine. But, the Christian scribes worked secretly and had this cursed fellow gotten out of prison and hurried to Mosul. There he met al-Rashīd al-Taʿfīsī; and they did all manner of things to the hurt of the Moslems, the mention even of which is impossible. In fact, they were the cause why the people of Mosul were put to the sword while in chains.

In the days of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṭāhir,⁸⁶ a lot of sincere Moslems from the country of the Tartars told him that al-Makīn ibn al-ʿAmīd, the Secretary of War, was corresponding with Hulagu in reference to the Egyptian army, its men and its commanders. Al-Malik al-Ṭāhir had him seized, with the intention of having him put to death. His condition was much worse than that of those who were governed by Christian Emīrs—he was confined in prison for more than eleven years. Then, through payments of money, his release was effected. In order to put through this release, it was considered proper by Moslems to seize the property of Christians, their wives and their very lives. In the end, not a single Christian and not a single Jew remained in the land. Now, Saʿīd al-Daulah,⁸⁷ Chief Minister in Baghdad and Mesopotamia, was busy doing whatever injury he could to the Moslems and elevating the status (fol. 28b) of the Jews. Then [Saʿīd] struck at Arghūn⁸⁸ and plotted against him with someone who gave him poison, after he had impounded the wealth of Islam, raised the condition of the Jews, and brought Islam into despite. Indeed, these two cursed religions were always on the lookout for an occasion to arise in which—Allah forbid!—they could do some injury to Islam by picking a quarrel.

Now, when a knowledge of that which I have related had

⁸⁶ I. e. al-Ṭāhir Rukn-al-Dīn Baybars, Bahri Mamluke, 1260–1277, the founder of the dynasty. William of Tripoli says that 'he was just to his own people and even kind to his Christian subjects'. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 263. His Empire was threatened by the Persians.

⁸⁷ Usually called Saʿd al-Daulah, 'who was hated by the Moslems as a Jew, and unpopular with the Moslem grandees; during Arghūn's last illness, a few days before his death, he was deprived of his office and his life by his enemies'; *Encyclopedia of Islam*, p. 430. He was killed March 5, 1291; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v.

⁸⁸ Fourth Ilkhān of Persia, 1284–1291.

^{88a} March and April, 1265. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.* p. 267.

become common property, I suggested to the high government to seize the wealth of those dogs which they had stolen from the treasury of the Moslems, and through which they had been able to establish businesses and to have dealings with merchants on land and on sea, in Syria and in Egypt. Our Master the Sultan became thoroughly informed of the audacity of these cursed peoples, who bought the captives of Tripoli—royal princes, rich women and Christian notables—as well as of the hurt and the affliction that was being wrought by them upon the Moslems, in their various provinces and to the very limit of their power. So the poet says:

‘How many a weak person, when once he attains power, kills;
this is the customary fate of the weak!’ (fol. 29a)

During the rule of our Master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṭhāhir, when he was in the act of conquering Caesarea and Arsūf, the people of Acre sent to the Christians in Cairo some men who were secretly to plot with them to set fire to al-Bāṭiliyyah,⁸⁹ to burn the quarter of Farah,⁹⁰ a mortmain in Egypt belonging to the Ḥarām al-Sharīf, and many other places—for the sole purpose of putting a thorn in the path of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṭhāhir and of injuring the Moslems. The fire spread to a number of places up to Jurūn al-Rīf.⁹¹

People, ready to offer good advice, wrote about this to al-Malik al-Ṭhāhir from European countries. Whereupon, the Sultan seized the Christians and the Jews in Cairo and in Miṣr, gathering them all together for the purpose of burning them in a heap at the stake.⁹² He himself rode out, accompanied by a number of his Emirs to be present at the burning just on the outskirts of Cairo; but Ibn al-Kazrūnī al-Ṣairafī made his way to the Sultan and said to him: ‘I beg of you, in the name of God, not to burn us in company with these dogs of Christians—your

⁸⁹ A street in the Eastern quarter of Cairo, not far from the Azhar Mosque.

Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rikh Miṣr*, 2. 111 بخت الباطلية .

⁹⁰ I can not identify this quarter of Egypt.

⁹¹ جرون الريف . Is this the name of a place; or is جرون pl. of جرن ?

⁹² This must be the event referred to by Ibn Iyās, *op. cit.* I. 104, as having occurred in the year 663. A more detailed description will be found in Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, tr. Quatremère, 2. 16; though, according to Maḳrīzī, it was the Atabek Fāris al-Dīn Aktai who interceded for them.

enemies as well as ours. Burn us by ourselves and away from them!' Both the Sultan and the Emirs laughed at such buffoonery on the part of Ibu al- Kāzrīnī; and some of the Emirs came to him and asked him [simply] to place a fine upon them, to let them go and not burn them at the stake. The Sultan fixed upon a heavy ransom and appointed (fol. 29b) the Emir Saif al-Dīn Balbān al-Mahrānī⁹³ to come to definite agreements with them to pay a certain amount each year. This arrangement held good until the days of al-Malik al-Sa'id,⁹⁴ when a new agreement was come to with the Christians, limiting their liability up to a change in reigns; and just as soon as our Lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr⁹⁵—may Allah sanctify his pure spirit!—began to reign, the [whole] matter was arranged by money and other bribes, and that which had been laid upon them was removed.

During the reign of al-Ṭāhir, also, it was found out that all the Christians, Armenians and Georgians who lived near to the Church of the Crucifixion in Jersusalem the Holy were nothing more than spies of the un-eyelashed Tartars, and that they were accustomed to keep these informed concerning the affairs of the Moslems and the armies of Egypt and all the things done by the Emirs—about those that had been put to death or imprisoned, when there was an uprising and when affairs were quiet; in fact, whatever came to their knowledge through the Christian pilgrims from Egypt who visited the Church of the Resurrection. Therefore he ordered that these spies should be put to death together with those with whom they associated. He, also, had that church turned into a mosque. (fol. 30a.)

King al-Manṣūr—⁹⁶ May Allah, in his mercy, grant him forgiveness!

The Kāḍī of one of the Manūf districts,⁹⁷ upon the basis of unimpeachable testimony, determined that a new church had

⁹³ Ibn Iyās, *loc. cit.* 1. 99, speaks of one بلبان الهاروني at this time. Is this a mistake of Ibn Iyās? Ibn Duḡmāk, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, 4. 119, has also 'al-Mahrānī'.

⁹⁴ Evidently, Sa'id Nāṣir al-Dīn Baraka Khān, Baḥrī Mamluke, 1277-1279; Lane-Poole, *op. cit.* pp. 227 ff.

⁹⁵ Al-Manṣūr Ḥuṣām al-Dīn Lājīn, 1296-1298.

⁹⁶ Manṣūr Saif al-Dīn Ḳalā'ūn, 1279-1290.

⁹⁷ In no dictionary is this word to be found in this sense; but see Van Berchem, *Matériaux*, pp. 214, 219. Lane gives ناحية as a synonym. Manūf is between Ṭanta and Ashmūn in the delta of the Nile.

been built in Ḥarwān,⁹⁸ and that Christians must have built it between the 'Egyptian' dynasty and that of Saladin⁹⁹. The judge ordered that it should be pulled down, in accordance with the law on that subject, after having obtained legal opinions from the most prominent jurists in Cairo in regard to its destruction. But the Christians brought much influence to bear upon the Emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭai¹⁰⁰ al-Manṣūrī, who was lieutenant-governor¹⁰¹ at the time, so that he had the Ḳādi cited before him and beaten with cudgels at the gate al-Karāfah. But the church remained in ruins—as I am told by the Emir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Jaharkasi, Governor of Manūf—until the end of the year 689.¹⁰³ [He added that] the supporting documents in regard to this were in the possession of the aforementioned Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Jaharkasī. Then in the year [6]90, it was rebuilt with the help of 'Izz al-Dīn al-Kashshāsh, Governor of the Gharbiyyah province, for the sake of Mr. Someone and the son of Mr. Someone, scribe of Mr. Someone. Now the incorruptible Mūsa al-Shaubakī, the merchant, formed a plan and commenced to pay frequent visits to Acre, going and coming (fol. 30b), until he had carried to Acre all the crops of the Sultan and of some of the Egyptian Emirs that they possessed in the region of the Dead Sea. This was the manner in which he brought aid to the Franks against the Moslems. Could I seek shelter under some strong pillar, I would relate who it was that gave the aforementioned help—[which I do not do] for reasons that are self-evident.

Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭī, the author of this book, says that it is not proper for any Islamic Sultan, King, Governor or Vizier to permit the Church of the Resurrection that is in the Holy Jerusalem to remain as it is; since there the deception is practised by the Christians which makes it appear that fire descends upon the grave in which the Christians think that the Messiah—upon whom be peace!—was buried; a deception that is practised simply

⁹⁸ I can not identify this place. Ibn Duḳmāk, *loc. cit.* 5. 107, has a جروان !

⁹⁹ What is meant by these two terms?

¹⁰⁰ Chief Vizier of Lājīn; Lane-Poole, p. 285; Van Berchem, p. 319.

¹⁰¹ طر نطاى بائب السلطنة ; Ibn Iyās, I. 116, below. [Read third word *nā'ib*.]

¹⁰² On باب القرافة see Maḳrīzī (2d ed.) 2. 151, 185; Van Berchem, p. 521.

¹⁰³ I. e. 1290. Jaharkasi = Circassian.

because of the tax that is levied upon them at the time of the [annual] pilgrimage. Then, the cursed Patriarch says to the fool of a Christian that Moslem witnesses watch this fire, trying how to produce it themselves—but that their perplexity only increases and they lose their senses, because their own fire will not catch. In this way they are more confirmed than ever in the faith of their unbelieving fathers. This is true especially of those who are born [there] and see this occurrence every year at his rising. (fol. 31a.) In addition, the appearance of this fire drives the Christian as a missionary to the erring ones; and it is made a proof [which is used] to hold people attached to the accursed faith and religion. [By permitting such things] the representatives of the Sultan would be their supporters in the persistence in absurdity, the perseverance in error, unbelief and atheism and the attachment to cheating. If this church were destroyed, and the affair connected with the grave and the fire made impossible, the whole truth would come out, to wit, that [one of the] leading men of Jerusalem takes a flint, two woolen threads and brimstone, and in the presence of the cursed Patriarch, strikes fire and lights the wick in a lamp filled with oil. When the oil is finished and the lamp which was called 'al-Nūr' goes out—then, a little sense will come to those poor fellows, and they will realize that they have been fooled, lied to and led astray. The circumstance would be a powerful influence leading them away from their own faith. It would happen that the majority of those would turn and become Moslems who had witnessed the fraud practised by their very highest cursed ecclesiastic, e. g. the Patriarch, Bishop and Metropolitan. Their aspirations would become cooled and their faith would wane [simply] because they missed this fire.

Thus it happened in the time of Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān when he sent his army into Cyprus.¹⁰⁴ The Moslem Arabs penetrated (fol. 31b) into the island of Cyprus and became its rulers. They found in it an iron cross standing upright between two high posts. The Arabs [naturally] wondered at this, and how it was able to stand upright without any support. But, there was one man among them who had excellent sight. He came forward and pulled up one of the posts. The cross fell over. Attached to this post there was found a magnetic stone of the greatest possible magnitude, both as regards length and breadth. He,

¹⁰⁴ According to al-Bilādhūrī, p. 153, in the year 28 or 29 (648–649). I can find no confirmation of the following story (e. g. in Ṭabari, I. 2826).

then, threw down the second post, and found the same to be the case with it. The explanation is that the two magnetic stones drew the cross, each to its own side, with equal strength, producing an equilibrium, so that it did not fall. But, when one of the posts fell, the cross was bound to fall also. In such manner a fraud that had been practised became discovered, and what had been done by these cursed leading men among the Christians. People recognized that the whole affair was an insidious fraud.

I ask Allah the Most-High, who has granted to our Master the Sultan, son of the Sultan, the glorious King *Salāḥ al-Dīn*,¹⁰⁵ victory, many conquests and desertions of their faith on the part of the unbelievers—such as he has never granted to any Sultan before him—, and who has united in his person good actions with the qualities of bravery, generosity, perseverance and fine personality, that he cause to be written upon the pages dealing with the noble deeds done during the days of his excellent Sultanate, the [account of the] erasure of the traces (fol. 32a) in the official *Diwāns* and the like of the nonsense practised by the ignorant Copts in Egypt and in Syria. In illustration of this an eminent man cited the verse of al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ma'arri:¹⁰⁶

'She listened and said, Lo and behold⁹ this is the tread of the foot of a walking horse.'

Although these words are strange they have been said and repeated [in common parlance], so that they are similar to [the use of the expression] 'the scorpion's charm' denoting the limit of possibility, in that he said that she 'hears the tread of the horse's hoof.' Just so are the technical terms of the Copts, seemingly nonsensical expressions and strange terms.¹⁰⁷ When they are explained, they are as easy as the simplest rule in grammar, which the smallest Moslem children learn in their schools. Now, when a clever man from among those who have studied this technical language goes to Mesopotamia, to Asia Minor or to Persia, it serves him in no way at all. Every country has technical terms that are peculiar to its own people, or to a tribe inhabiting that country, and are without any ambiguity whatsoever. Now, in the

¹⁰⁵ I. e. Khalīl ibn Qīlā'ūn, 1290-1293.

¹⁰⁶ This can hardly refer to Abū Nuwās, whose name was al-Ḥasan ibn Hānī. The verse is quite unintelligible in this connection.

¹⁰⁷ Ms. has الخربلات. Evidently, the author is making fun of the Copts.

region of Aleppo and Mesopotamia, the manner in which accounts are kept and the records in their *Dīwāns* had, even recently,¹⁰⁸ been the very opposite of that used in Egypt. (fol. 32b.) When the victorious King *Salāh al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn al-'Azīz*¹⁰⁹ came to rule over Damascus and placed some Copts in various positions in the provinces of Aleppo and Mesopotamia, these Copts changed the manner of keeping the accounts to that of Egypt—for the simple reason that they were unacquainted with the method used in Syria; according to which latter the relation of the original amount to the exchange and of the exchange to the original amount is so regulated that it is impossible for a cheat to use any guile and come off well with it,¹¹⁰ without its coming to light at once. Up to the end of the *Nāṣirite* dynasty, it was the custom of the Kings of Syria and of their Sultans not to permit the *Dīwān* known as the *Dīwān al-Istifā*¹¹¹ to be without Moslems, some of the most prominent headmen belonging to the leading families who were renowned for their good faith and for their activity. In such manner, no Jew nor Christian was alone in laying down the law in any matter relating to Syria. He was unable to speak or write [officially] about an event that had happened, except after the truth had been established by a Moslem. So, the Jew or the Christian would prepare the account; and the prominent [Moslem] would countersign the reliability of the document. Then, in the shortest possible time the Moslems turned their attention to accustoming their children to uncovering the lies of these vile and ignorant people, and, by their sagacity, to perfecting themselves to a great degree (fol. 33a) and to excelling in unearthing the guile [of others], as they already excelled in the religious sciences. Along this line they composed thousands of works, wherein they developed points of view which neither Jew nor Christian could reach. They were able to deal with the contents of the Moslem treasury as dictated by the Moslem Scriptures and the traditions of Allah's prophet.

In this manner the contents of the treasury increased—through the blessings [of Allah] and the equity [of the treasury's governors].

¹⁰⁸ Ms. *عن قرب عهد ؟ Lane, s. v. عهدي به قريـب* : 'I met him a short time ago.'

¹⁰⁹ 'Azīz must be a mistake for 'Ayyūb—i. e. Saladin.

¹¹⁰ Literally: 'to plant his seed in it.'

¹¹¹ I. e. Treasury-General.

All noxious prejudices were rooted out, and all avenues of injustice closed. Their guide-posts were battered down; their disgraceful and shameful traces were extinguished. Our Master, the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Salāḥ al-Dīn, [in doing all this] acted according to the traditions of the Prophet, and did exactly as did the righteous Caliphs and the just Sultans. Verily, Mālik writes in his *Kitāb al-Mudawwanah al-Kubrā*,¹¹² that the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said: 'There must not be chosen, either from among the Jews or the Christians, diviners or money-brokers; they must be removed from our market-places; Allah has made them unnecessary for the Moslems.'

Now, if this is so in questions of [ordinary] buying and selling, which are matters to which no importance and no [ethical] value can be attached, (fol. 33b) how much the more should it be the rule when the question of leadership in an affair is at stake! The Jews hold that interest may be taken from those who are not of their religion; for, according to their principles, the collection of fortunes is permitted. How, then, can anyone who holds it is permissible to gain money out of Moslems be put in a superior position—either in argument or in law? Intelligent men have said: 'What a wonder it is to see a believer take as a servant an unbeliever who differs from him in opinion, who is opposed to him in faith and belief!' They also have said: 'What a wonder it is to see someone put aside a believing, intelligent friend and be contented with a foolish, unbelieving enemy!' Still another has said: 'In a Moslem are to be found four qualities which you will not find in anyone else—excellent self-restraint in regard to women, plenitude of equity, consideration for people of [other] faiths, and liberality in advice to Moslems. In a Polytheist are also to be found four qualities—want of faith, abundance of perfidy, willingness to deceive Moslems, keeping at a distance people with faith.'

Finished is the book through the favor of the Kind One, the Giver. Praised be Allah! Pray Allah for Mohammed and his family of Pure Ones and his Companions! Sufficient is Allah, the trustiest Agent.

¹¹² I. e. 'The Great Decretal.' This is really not the work of Mālik himself, but a résumé of his legal system prepared by his disciple 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Kāsim who died in 806.