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Arab Siege of Egyptian Babylon : a Classic Study in Islamic Expansion of the 7th Century

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بُولِس مِيْشَال لُوف الصَّغِير

رِسَالَةٌ بَاحِثَةٌ قَدِّمَتْ إِلَى الْمَرْكَزِ الشَّرْفِيِّ فِي جَامِعَةِ وَاسْتُورْن كَنْتُونِي

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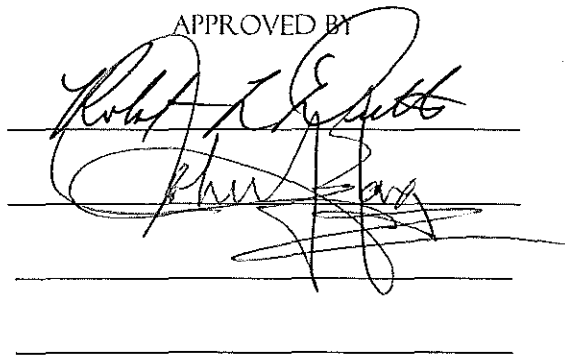
ARAB SIEGE OF EGYPTIAN BABYLON

A CASE STUDY IN ISLAMIC EXPANSION OF THE 7TH CENTURY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE WESTERN KENTUCKY UNIVERSITY HONORS PROGRAM
SPRING, 2007

BY
PAUL MITCHELL LOVE, JR.

APPROVED BY



Two handwritten signatures are present, written over four horizontal lines. The top signature is in cursive and appears to read 'Robert E. Pettit'. The bottom signature is also in cursive and appears to read 'Kevin R. Love'. The signatures are written in dark ink.

ABSTRACT

The fall of the Byzantine Fortress of Babylon in 641CE allowed invading Arab armies to move beyond the Lower Nile region of Egypt and ultimately conquer the whole of the province from the Byzantines, effectively ending centuries of almost totally uninterrupted Roman rule. The paper examines this pivotal moment in Islamic history in order to identify four salient features of early Islamic expansion: the struggle of the early caliphate for power and authority; the role of religion; the development of an organized and effective military; the nature of early Islamic approaches to warfare and foreign policy.

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CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

The following is an adaptation of the timeline found in the edited edition of Alfred J. Butler's The Arab Invasion of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion. Containing also the Treaty of Misr (1913) and Babylon of Egypt (1914), 2nd Ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

Arab Conquest of Egypt

A.D.

Heraclius Crowned Emperor	5 October, 610
Persian Conquest of Egypt Complete	618
Muslim Hijra from Mecca	11 July, 622
Persian Evacuation from Egypt	627
Muhammad sends Letters to Rulers	627-8
Cyrus established as Imperial Patriarch to Alexandria	631
Death of Muhammad	632
Arab Conquest of Palestine and Syria	629-40
Invasion of Egypt Begins	12 December, 639
Pelusium Falls	January, 640
'Amr's raid into the Fayum	May, 640
Arrival of main body of reinforcements	6 June, 640
Battle of <i>Ayn-Shams</i> (Heliopolis) and capture of Misr	July, 640
Capture of Babylon	9 April, 641
Capture of Nikiu	13 May, 641
Capitulation of Alexandria	8 November, 641
Evacuation of Alexandria by the Romans	17 September, 642

Siege of Babylon (640-1)

July, 640	Battle of <i>Ayn-Shams</i> (Heliopolis) and capture of Misr
September, 640	Siege of the Fortress of Babylon Begins
October, 640	Negotiations between Cyrus and al-Muqawqis take place. Rejection of the proposal by the Byzantines. Failed sortie results in capitulation. Treaty of Babylon offered.
November, 640?	Recall of Cyrus to Constantinople. Removal of Cyrus from his position in Egypt.
December, 640?	Word of the rejection of the treaty and the removal of Cyrus makes it way to Babylon.

January-February, 640	Failed sorties by the Byzantines against the Arabs. General Theodore attempts to send reinforcement army to Babylon. In response, 'Amr sends a force which prevents them from ever arriving.
11 February 641	Death of Heraclius
Early March, 641	Word of the death of Heraclius makes its way to Babylon.
9 April, 641	Final Arab attack and the surrender of Babylon

ARAB SIEGE OF EGYPTIAN BABYLON, 640-641: A CASE STUDY IN ISLAMIC EXPANSION OF THE 7TH CENTURY

Good Friday, 6 April 641. The Byzantine garrison of the Fortress of Babylon in Egypt lay waiting for the inevitable fall of their citadel. For nine terrible months this force had remained within the walls of the fortress and watched helplessly as an Arab army swept into the Nile Delta and conquered the surrounding city of Misr. Just two months prior they had received word of the death of Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, and it was now clear there were to be no reinforcements. They had been abandoned. Their failed sorties against the Arab besiegers had resulted in disaster, only further weakening their diseased and hungry bodies. That evening, al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām placed a siege ladder against the wall of the castle, and moments later came leaping over with a party of Arab soldiers. The Fortress of Babylon had fallen to the forces of Arab general ‘Amr ibn al-‘As.

It was the success of this siege and those events leading up to it which allowed the invading Arab armies to conquer the whole of Egypt from the Byzantines, effectively ending centuries of almost totally uninterrupted ‘Roman’ rule. The importance of this siege, along with the attention given to it in both Arab and Byzantine histories, make it an appropriate choice for a case-study in Islamic expansion during the 7th century. Given the incredibly diverse nature of Islamic expansion, (which varied according to parties involved, geography, leadership, as well as a whole host of other

factors), the goal here will be to outline some of the salient elements of expansion during the first decades of Islam.

It will be argued here that there were four principle elements, as exemplified in the invasion of Egypt and the siege of Babylon, which drastically influenced the nature of expansion and the development of the early Islamic state: the struggle of the early caliphate for power and authority; the role of religion; the development of an organized and effective military; the nature of early Islamic approaches to warfare and foreign policy.

Examining the role of the caliph in expansion is vital in determining level of authority which he possessed and the degree to which the invasions of new territories were under his control. The function of religion is doubtless crucial in attempting to understand both the drive of the Arab soldiers, as well as the acceptance of various predominately Christian populations to Muslim rule. Regardless of which factors may have facilitated the explosive growth of Islam, one necessary component was military power. As such, the development and organization of the armies of the early Islamic state were also fundamental parts of expansion. Similarly, examining the negotiation methods and battlefield tactics gives insight into the development of foreign policy during this period. Due to its exhibition of these key elements, the Arab siege of Egyptian Babylon will be used to illustrate how, in the 7th century, the early Islamic state embarked on its course as a medieval superpower.

The Arab invasion of Egypt is an event around which there is a great deal of confusion in the Arab histories. Even the entrance of general 'Amr b. al-'As (d. 656) and his army into the region itself remains, on some level, a topic of debate. The

controversy regards whether 'Amr initiated the invasion on his own or was ordered to do so by caliph 'Umar. This distinction is significant because it helps us gauge the autonomy with which 'Amr operated his army and the control which the caliphate held over its generals at the time.

Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (r.634-644) was only the second man to lead the Islamic community since the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632, yet it was during his reign that the Islamic state experienced its greatest period of expansion and development. So fantastic were his accomplishments that one historian would be led to suggest “‘Umar was without doubt the greatest ruler of his time...[and] did more than any other caliph to formulate a system of government.”¹ After first defeating the ‘renegade tribes’ of Arabia who left the community of Islam following Muhammad’s death (known as the ‘wars of the *ridda*’), he then directed his efforts toward the acquisition of territory outside the Arabian Peninsula. In 635, only one year after he had assumed power, the city of Damascus had surrendered to Muslims. Under his rule the Islamic empire would spread from Egypt to Persia, following successful campaigns against the two major superpowers of the world at the time, Byzantium and Persia.² Despite his abilities, the caliph at times had trouble maintaining his authority over this rapidly expanding empire. The invasion of Egypt by 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀs and the subsequent siege of Babylon provide insight into the caliph’s struggle to maintain order and authority over his armies, particularly as they moved farther away from the government in Medina.

¹G.E. Von Grunebaum, Classical Islam: A History, 600-1258. Katherine Wilson, trans. (New York: Aldine Publishing, 1960), 53.

² --, 53-55.

There was a clear disagreement among the Arab historians³ as to who decided to commence the invasion. Historian al-Balādhuri (d.892) recounted a tradition of in his Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān that caliph “Umar...wrote to him [‘Amr], rebuking and reprimanding him for following his own opinion, without consulting ‘Umar....”⁴ The source went on to say that ‘Umar had commanded ‘Amr to abort his invasion if he received the message before entering Egypt. If he had already crossed the border, though, he was to continue with the invasion. ‘Amr’s solution was to avoid reading the message until crossing into al-‘Arish (a border city on the Egypt side of the Sinai).⁵ Balādhuri’s traditions reflect the idea that the invasion of Egypt was an unauthorized campaign initiated by ‘Amr rather than the caliphate, but he also recorded a few traditions which observed that “It is asserted by others that ‘Umar wrote to ‘Amr ibn al-Asi, ordering him to proceed to Egypt.”⁶ Overall, however, the traditions in Balādhuri seemed to be of the opinion that the decision to invade Egypt was made by ‘Amr, rather than given to him as a command. The Arab general would have to have possessed relative autonomy in order to blatantly disobey the wishes of the caliph. If the accounts of Balādhuri were correct, the “authority” which ‘Umar held over and this general and his army would seem somewhat superficial.

Yet the accounts found in the history of al-Ṭabarī (d.923) were often in opposition to this notion. For example, he cited a tradition of Sayf b. ‘Umar in saying

³ It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the nature of and problems concerning early Islamic historiography, and the author has assumed some basic understanding of the use of *isnāds* in Arab histories. For an thorough explanation of this topic see Stephen Humphrey’s Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry, Revised Edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

⁴ Al-Imam Abu-l ‘Abbas Ahmad ibn-Jabir Baladhuri, Kitab Futuh al-Buldan (or The Origins of the Islamic State), Trans. Philip K. Hitti, (New York; Columbia University, 1916), 335.

⁵ One source even suggests that ‘Amr tried to pay the messenger off, (Hitti, 335).

⁶ *ibid*

that there was indeed an order from 'Umar to invade Egypt. His traditions contended that "'Umar...sent 'Amr b. al-'Asi to Egypt and appointed him governor over it, were God to conquer it for him."⁷ A similar tradition reportedly coming from Ibn Ishāq (d. 767) explained that 'When 'Umar had finished taking measures pertaining to all of Syria, he wrote to 'Amr b. al-'Asi that he was to march upon Egypt with his army."⁸ On the whole, the accounts of Ṭabarī gave the impression that 'Amr's invasion of Egypt was an order of the caliphate. The traditions of Ṭabarī depicted a caliphate in control of its forces, an image which stands in sharp contrast with majority of those traditions found in Balādhuri.

A third report, that of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d.871), was recounted in his *Futūḥ Misr*. He recounted the story of 'Amr requesting permission to move into Egypt. 'Umar then sanctioned the invasion and 'Amr set off with his army towards the Sinai. Permission had been granted, though, with the understanding that "he would soon receive a letter from the caliph, and if he received any retreat order before reaching Egypt, he must return from the expedition."⁹ One curious detail that was added to al-Ḥakam's account was that "'Amr headed out in the pit of night"¹⁰ with his army. This phrase could imply that the action was somewhat clandestine, thereby explaining the swift reaction of the caliph's letter. The rest of the story followed along the same lines as that of Balādhuri, in which 'Amr's hesitation in opening the letter allowed him to

⁷ Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Jarir al-Ṭabarī. *The Conquest of Iraq, Southwestern Persia, and Egypt*. Trans. Gautier H. A. Juynboll. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 166.

⁸ Ṭabarī, 163.

⁹ Abu Nayeem Raisuddin, *'Amr ibn al-'As and His Conquest of Egypt*, *Encyclopedia Survey of Islamic Culture, Volume XIX*. (Hyderabad: Deccan, 1981), 278. (Referencing Torrey, 56).

¹⁰ *فسار عمرو بن العاص من جوف الليل* Charles C. Torrey *The history of the conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain: Known as the Futuh Misr of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam*. Ed, Charles C. Torrey. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922), 56. Also noted in Raisuddin, 278.

pursue his own agenda. In this account, ‘Amr acted against the caliph’s orders, but the tradition was framed in such a way that the caliphate did not appear as helpless in controlling its forces.

Some sources also purported to explain ‘Amr’s personal interest and motivation for entering Egypt. These traditions, such as the one from Yahya b. Khalid al-‘Adawi found in the account of Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam,¹¹ recounted the story of ‘Amr’s venture into the region years before the conquest of the city of Mecca by the Prophet Muhammad (630CE). He was in Jerusalem on a merchant trip when he came upon a priest from Alexandria. As it happened, this man ended up indebted to ‘Amr and “invited [him] to visit Alexandria and promised to give him two thousand dinars as *diyyat* (blood money) for saving his life.”¹² Thus, it is claimed that ‘Amr traveled through Egypt to Alexandria and gained an appreciation and understanding for the architecture and wealth of the country. This story was followed by another tradition in which ‘Amr requested permission from caliph ‘Umar to enter Egypt with an army, “argu[ing] that with the conquest of Egypt Muslim strength will be more and more consolidated.”¹³ Although the story of the priest needs to be treated with a certain degree of skepticism, it is interesting that such a story came about, helping to explain ‘Amr’s understanding of Egyptian geography that he demonstrated during the invasion. The existence of this story could be interpreted as further evidence for ‘Amr’s own initiation of the invasion in that they demonstrate his own personal interests in Egypt rather than those of the caliphate.

¹¹ See Torrey, 53-55.

¹² Raisuddin, 278.

¹³ *ibid*

The truth is likely somewhere in between these various accounts. The decision of some Abbasid-era historians to portray the invasion of Egypt as a command was likely an attempt to avoid tarnishing the image of the power that the caliphate held over its armies. Balādhuri and Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam were writing in the 9th century during the zenith of Abbasid scholarly learning and development. The veneration of the Prophet and his companions (among whom both ‘Umar and ‘Amr figured prominently) would have been thoroughly developed by that time. One clear example of this veneration was the appearance of massive collections of oral traditions (hadīth) regarding the sayings and doings of those individuals.¹⁴ The accounts of these historians can hardly be expected to have cited too many traditions which challenged the authority, prestige and leadership of either of these esteemed companions of the Prophet Muhammad.

Yet these accounts give reason to suggest that, as Albrecht Noth argued, ‘Amr entered into Egypt on his own account, and it was only afterwards that this was supported by caliph ‘Umar.¹⁵ That is to say, ‘Amr likely commenced the invasion of Egypt on his own initiative and ‘Umar, realizing that it was too late to have him turn back, sanctioned the invasion after the fact. This would suggest, then, that the caliphate was unable to restrain the initial invasion. ‘Umar’s influence was not so powerful as to stop an ambitious general from launching an attack on Egypt.

¹⁴ For example, the largest and most respected of the Sunni hadīth, those of *Bukhari* (d.256 /869) and *Muslim* (d. 261/874), are both compiled around this time.

¹⁵ Albrecht Noth. Quellenkritische Studien zu Themen, Formen und Tendenzen frühislamischer Geschichtsuüberlieferung (The early Arabic historical tradition : a source-critical study), trans. Michael Bonner. (Princeton, N.J. : Darwin Press, 1994), 182-5.

In December of the year 639, 'Amr and his forces began their invasion of the Byzantine province of Egypt via Palestine.¹⁶ This was hardly the first attempt at expansion by the armies of the caliph. The invasion followed a series of successful campaigns against the Byzantines in Palestine and Syria, and was contemporary with the conquest of parts of the Sasanian Empire to the east. The key battles of Yarmuk in 636 and Gaza in 637, in particular, opened the way to Egypt for the Arab armies.¹⁷ Historian Walter Kaegi argued convincingly that the fall of Syria-Palestine made the conquest of Egypt inevitable.¹⁸ Unable to hold back the advancing Arab armies in Syria, the Byzantines would hardly have been able to keep the Arabs from invading Egypt regardless of whether 'Amr took action when he did, especially given the geographic separation from Byzantine territory. Warfare with the Byzantines in Syria-Palestine provided the Arabs with valuable war experience, meaning this would have been a decisive period in the development of the army of the Islamic state. Indeed, their effectiveness as a military force would be reflected well in the coming battles and siege of Babylon.

It is important to discuss briefly the number of troops entering under 'Amr's command because this may provide further evidence for the general having acted on his own accord. The size of the invading force, at least as the sources portray it, is relatively clear. Balādhuri gives 3,500 as the approximate number of troops under 'Amr's

¹⁶ Alfred J. Butler, The Arab Invasion of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion. Containing also the Treaty of Misr (1913) and Babylon of Egypt (1914)., 2nd Ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 198.

¹⁷ Walter E. Kaegi, "Egypt on the Eve of the Muslim Conquest," Cambridge History of Egypt, Vol 1. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 281.

¹⁸ --, Byzantine Egypt During the Arab Invasion of Palestine and Syria: Some Observations, American University of Cairo Newsletter, Vol 121. (Cairo, 1983), 15.

command upon his entrance into Egypt.¹⁹ This estimate is likewise confirmed in a tradition of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam.²⁰ Such a force would have been small for the period,²¹ and would no doubt have been insufficient for the conquest of the entire Byzantine province. It can be guessed that, had he planned an invasion of Egypt at that time, 'Umar would have sent a much larger force with 'Amr. Even the very size of the army, then, could support the notion that decision to invade was 'Amr's.

Once in Egypt, it is safe to assume that it was general 'Amr who was in complete control and that the opinion of the caliph was of little consequence. It is in these early engagements with the Byzantines that the tactical skill of both 'Amr and his army was demonstrated. The army made its way across the Sinai Peninsula, and by the end of January the city of Farama (Pelusium) on the eastern edge of the Nile Delta fell to the Arab forces. After moving into the delta, 'Amr engaged and defeated a small Byzantine force consisting of light cavalry troops led by John of Barkaina.²² Following this defeat, the Byzantine armies in the region --the largest of which was led by commander-in-chief Theodorus²³-- shifted their positions in order to defend the key cities of Misr and Nikiu. 'Amr and his forces moved west and attempted to take the Fayyum,²⁴ but they risked backtracking in order to rendezvous with the incoming reinforcements sent from 'Umar over fifty miles to the northeast and across the Nile.

¹⁹ Baladhuri, 335.

²⁰ Torrey, 56.

²¹ Fred Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 222.

²² John of Nikiu, *Chronicle of John Coptic Bishop of Nikiu: Being a History of Egypt before and during the Arab Conquest*, Trans, R.H. Charles. (Amsterdam: APA, 1916), 178. Identified as John of Barca by Zotenburg, compiler of the Ethiopic edition of the Chronicle of John. Butler did not agree with this identification, though. *See Butler, 222, Footnote 2*) He is likewise identified as 'John of Barkaina' in *Nicephori Patriarchae Constantinopolitani: Breviarium Historicum (Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople: Short History)*, Trans, Cyril Mango. (Dumbarton Oaks: Washington, D.C., 1990), 70.

²³ Nikiu, Chapter CXI, 1.

²⁴ *See Appendix B, Figures 1 & 2 for the locations of these cities.*

‘Amr broke from battle with Theodorus and made a dash for the city of Ayn-Shams. The retreat was successful, but a small portion of the force had to remain on the eastern bank of the river. Following their withdrawal, Theodorus then moved his troops to serve as a garrison for the Fortress of Babylon in Misr.²⁵ Although a retreat, ‘Amr’s move certainly demonstrated his tactical skill, as well the ability of his army to move quickly and effectively. Indeed, that Theodorus did not attack his enemy on the run is either evidence for ‘Amr’s ability as a military commander or the Byzantine commander’s lack thereof.

The traditions surrounding the reinforcements exhibit a considerable degree of variance. Although Zubayr b. al-’Awwām was often listed as the general of the force, there was mention of “four leading commanding officers, Zubayr b. al-’Awwām , Miqdad b. ‘Amr, ‘Ubadah b. Samit, and Maslama b. Mukhallad [emphasis added].”²⁶ Typically, however, it was Zubayr who is given credit for having led the main force, and the others were mentioned as being in charge of minor parties which joined the invasion at different times. The successful rendezvous of these various armies is further evidence of their ability to function as a proper military force. In terms of numbers, the chronicler John of Nikiu (c.690), typically regarded as the most accurate and clearly the nearest to being a contemporary resource available, gave this account:

And 'Amr the son of Al-As sent a letter to Omar the son of Al-Khattab [sic] in the province of Palestine to this effect: 'If thou dost not send Moslem

²⁵ John of Nikiu, 179-80.

²⁶ See footnote 39 in Raissudin for the list of the primary sources.

reinforcements, I shall not be able to take Misr.' And he sent him 4,000 Moslem warriors.²⁷

This number for the reinforcements appears again in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam.²⁸ Balādhuri, however, numbered the reinforcements at 10,000-12,000.²⁹ The variance in numbers is due to the entire reinforcement army having been comprised of around 12,000 men, but the first arriving force was made up of 4,000.³⁰ Indeed, 12,000 seems to be the consensus among most modern historians and is a much more realistic number of troops for carrying out an invasion than the original 3,000. Whether 'Amr requested the reinforcements or 'Umar sent them seems to be a bit more uncertain, though. As is evidenced by the passage above, John of Nikiu was under the impression that they were dispatched at the request of 'Amr. Ṭabarī did little more than mention that the reinforcements were sent, making no note as to whether they were requested or sent by 'Umar on his own accord.³¹ Balādhuri wrote that while 'Amr was beginning his invasion, the governorship of Egypt was offered to Zubayr, who "replied, 'I do not care for it, but would like to go there on a holy war and cooperate with the Moslems'.... (And) With this understanding, he left."³² This tradition suggests that 'Umar was taking the initiative in sending troops under Zubayr. If it is asserted that 'Amr entered Egypt on his own and was later supported by 'Umar, it would not have been unlikely for the caliph to have sent the forces in an attempt to avoid the annihilation of the army -- which would have been grossly outnumbered at 3,500. A tradition from 'Amr an-Nāqid

²⁷ John of Nikiu, 180-1.

²⁸ Butler 226, Footnote 1.

²⁹ Baladhuri estimates the numbers in his own account at 10,000-12,000 on 336, and later mentions two traditions from Yazid ibn-abi-Habib which give 12,000 as the number on 337 & 338.

³⁰ Butler, 226.

³¹ Ṭabarī, 166.

³² Baladhuri, 336.

recorded by Balādhuri indicated that ‘Umar sent reinforcements “in solicitude and fear,”³³ presumably at the thought of having the entire force annihilated. Given the growth and success of expansion efforts during the reign of ‘Umar, though, it is unlikely that the caliph would have needed a request from ‘Amr to know that such a small force was going to be insufficient for a prolonged campaign against the Byzantines in Egypt. Furthermore, ‘Umar clearly did not support the invasion from the beginning and the idea of allowing this ambitious general to dictate the deployment of troops would have been a serious compromising of the power and authority associated with the office of the caliphate. If the earlier assertion regarding ‘Amr’s own commencement of the campaign is maintained, it is likely that ‘Umar would have sent the reinforcements shortly after discovering ‘Amr’s potentially disastrous entrance into Egypt.

The next major engagement with the Byzantines would prove the abilities of the Arab army. Following his retreat from the battlefield in the Fayyum, ‘Amr made his way toward Ayn-Shams (Heliopolis), where Zubayr and the reinforcement army were preparing for an attack on the city. The union of these two Arab forces had not gone unnoticed by Theodore. Confident in his troop numbers and their ability, the Byzantine general moved his garrison out of the Fortress at Babylon in Misr towards the Arab army seven miles northeast,³⁴ outside the city of Ayn-Shams. Here, the two armies engaged in July of 640,³⁵ with the Byzantines suffering a significant loss; one which left them with only 300 soldiers.³⁶ Following the defeat, the small Byzantine force which

³³ *Ibid*, 336-7.

³⁴ John of Nikiu, 181.

³⁵ Estimated date given by Butler, 235.

³⁶ Butler, 233.

survived scrambled its way back to Babylon.³⁷ Various groups of horsemen “scoured the country” following the battle,³⁸ presumably to run down survivors. The battle at Ayn-Shams had clearly demonstrated the Arab’s ability to engage and defeat an organized enemy force of Byzantium.

‘Amr and his forces then moved on to take the cities of Ayn-Shams, Fayyum, and all but the citadel of the city of Misr, known to Arab sources as Bāb-il-yūn (Babylon) or Qasr ash-Shama.’³⁹ Thus, “the whole province was brought under Muslim dominion.”⁴⁰ That is, except the key sites of Nikiu and Alexandria. ‘Amr knew it was necessary to take the former before any venture toward the city of Alexandria –the ultimate goal –could be undertaken. But Nikiu was well defended, and the state of the Arab army was not sufficient to conduct a siege. The setting was described well by the scholar of the Arab Invasion of Egypt, Alfred Butler:

...the alarm now became a panic, which spread through every town of Egypt. From all parts the inhabitants streamed towards Alexandria, abandoning lands and houses, goods and chattels, cattle and crops...But ‘Amr was not prepared to follow the flying crowds northwards. The Nile, now rising fast as August waned, was making the country impassable: besides, he had no wish to leave in his rear the powerful fortress of Babylon unmasked, while to mask it such a number of

³⁷ John of Nikiu, 181.

³⁸ Butler, 235.

³⁹ Ibn ‘Abd al-Hakam reads: عمرو بن العاص حصرهم بالقصر الذي يقال بابليون, “Amr encircled the castle which was called Bab al-Yun,” Torrey, 61. The name of the castle, however, has several different spellings in each manuscript.

⁴⁰ Butler, 234.

troops were needed as would leave him no army capable of conquering

*Alexandria. His next step therefore must be the reduction of Babylon.*⁴¹

It would be the fortress at Misr, the castle of Babylon, which would serve as the linchpin to 'Amr's Egyptian campaign. If the forces could be free of this danger, they could move on toward Nikiu and achieve the final goal of ousting the Byzantines from Alexandria.

Ultimately affecting the outcome of the siege were two major factors: the position and layout of the castle, and the numbers and equipment of the two armies. Quickly examining the geography and the layout of the citadel itself helps to demonstrate the effectiveness of the castle as a point of defense. The city of Misr was a key site at the opening of the Nile Delta, less than twenty miles south of the first fork in the river. The fortress of Babylon itself was built atop a previously existing structure of ancient origin, positioned in what is today "Old Cairo." The name of the fortress as either "Qasr ash-Shama'" or "Qasr Bāb al-Yūn"⁴² varies from source to source, and a great deal of debate has developed over the development of these names and whether or not they refer to the same location.⁴³ The fortress as it stood at the time of the conquest was likely an ancient structure rebuilt by Trajan around 100 CE.⁴⁴ Its surrounding walls and the walls of the towers were 2.70 meters thick at the bottom. The towers were over sixteen meters high, which was four meters higher than the walls.⁴⁵ For obvious defensive purposes the fortress was built along the eastern bank of Nile, adjacent to the

⁴¹ --, 297.

⁴² See footnote 36.

⁴³ Wladyslaw B Kubiak, *Al-Fustat: Its Foundation and Early Urban Development*. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1987), 50-52. See Footnote 36.

⁴⁴ --, 55. (See also Butler, *Ancient Coptic Churches*, Vol. 1)

⁴⁵ *Ibid*

fortified Island of Raudah.⁴⁶ It seems that this island is in fact all that remains of a larger one which “extended farther south and was shorter on its northern side.”⁴⁷ At the southern end of the fortress there was a large iron gate which provided the primary means of entrance into the city. This gate could be opened and closed in order to control the ships that came in and out of the castle into a walled harbor. In the event of a land siege, this gate could also allow vessels to make trips unmolested over to the Island of Raudah.⁴⁸ There was apparently a ‘boat bridge,’ meaning a series of vessels strung together to serve the purpose of connecting the fortress on the southeastern side to the Island of Raudah and then continuing on to connect the western bank, which would have spanned a solid 350 meters across the eastern stem.⁴⁹ Edward Gibbon described the coastline and Raudah as having been “united by two bridges of sixty and thirty boats.”⁵⁰ The existence of this bridge would offer an explanation for the two towers which stood at the southeastern side of the wall. Also, perhaps one of the most important defenses of the city would have been the Amnis Trajanus moat, which surrounded it.⁵¹ This would have made the fortress particularly effective in its defense against ‘Amr in 641. It should also be pointed out that the topography within the fortress itself was likely higher than that of outside the fortress,⁵² adding a further tactical advantage to the Byzantine defense.

⁴⁶ See *Appendix B*.

⁴⁷ Kubiak, 47.

⁴⁸ For a more detailed description of the castle, look to Butler’s *The Fortress of Babylon in Arab Conquest*, 238.

⁴⁹ Kubiak, 55, 48.

⁵⁰ Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Volume 3*, (New York: Random House, 1932), 171.

⁵¹ --, 35. Butler describes the moat and the appearance of its mention in various sources on p245. Depictions of the fortress, (*See Appendix A*), also make the existence of the canal apparent.

⁵² Kubiak, 37.

A description of the general state of either army is also essential because the numbers and equipment ultimately determined the procedures of siege warfare itself. Furthermore, a description of the Arab army (as well as that of its opponent's forces) aids further the attempt to understand the nature of Islamic expansion during this period. 'Amr's forces are difficult to describe with any certainty, but a few general points may be noted. It is likely that the Arab forces amounted to around 15,500 men. This number is easily derived from the 'Amr's initial army of 3,500 and Zubayr's reinforcement army of approximately 12,000.⁵³ This was by no means a nomadic, tribal army; the armies of the early expansion period possessed a hierarchy of leadership, and their soldiers were not accompanied by families or possessions.⁵⁴ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam indicated that at least a few Greeks and Persians were included in the ranks in Egypt.⁵⁵ Also, it is not unreasonable to presume that at least a few soldiers from the previously conquered Egyptian cities may have joined the Arab army as well. Indeed, such an instance was noted by John of Nikiu when he referred to the invading army at the Battle of Ayn-Shams as "those Moslem, accompanied by the Egyptians who had apostatized from the Christian faith and embraced the faith of the beast...."⁵⁶ The importance of these forces has been noted by Hugh Kennedy:

*Such groups of renegades may have been important in stiffening the Muslim armies and introducing new military techniques, and their role is likely to have been underplayed in the Arabic sources.*⁵⁷

⁵³ See Discussion on page 8.

⁵⁴ Hugh Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs; Military and Society in the Early Islamic State*. (London: Routledge, 2001), 4.

⁵⁵ --, 5; Torrey, 129.

⁵⁶ John of Nikiu, Chapter CXIV, 1.

⁵⁷ Kennedy, 4.

That being said, although the army was comprised of more than just the initial Arab forces, there is nothing to indicate that these additions amounted to any serious increase in numbers.

The issues of weaponry and tactics are particularly problematic because of the tendency of later Arab historians to assume similarities between themselves and the people of the past, projecting their equipment and organization into the days of the early conquests.⁵⁸ Again, however, mentioning a few general characteristics contributes to the overall picture of the expansion period army. As both Donner and Kennedy have noted, the weaponry of the conquest period would undoubtedly have included swords, spears, bows, and some sort of mail, as well as horses and camels.⁵⁹ Indeed, some of the success of Muslim expansion during this early period should be attributed to the use of the camel, "which allowed them [the Arab armies] to move rapidly from front to front."⁶⁰ It is certain, though, that some of the most essential weapons for besieging this fortress were absent. Namely, the sources make no mention of siege towers and it appears that the army possessed no other artillery for siege warfare.⁶¹ The resulting image of the expansion army is one of ten thousand or more lightly armed soldiers under the command of various captains lead as a whole by general 'Amr guiding their course. This force would have been able to move relatively quickly, given that there is little evidence to suggest they carried with them any siege equipment.

The lack of siege equipment was destined to make this battle a long one. In the case of Babylon, though, there was one piece of equipment that the Arabs did possess

⁵⁸Kennedy, 2.

⁵⁹Donner, 222-3. Kennedy adds mail to this list, 5.

⁶⁰Grunebaum, 53.

⁶¹H. Idris Bell, Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest: A Study in the Diffusion and Decay of Hellenism. (London: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1956), 132.

which would have been particularly useful: boats. John of Nikiu noted that following the capture of Fayyum, 'Amr sent the Prefect of Heracleopolis⁶² "to bring the ships of Rif in order to transport to the east bank of the river the Ishmaelites who were upon the west."⁶³ This shows that Arab forces were indeed in control of some vessels. A later selection from the same chapter, however, indicates that 'Amr had a bridge built outside Babylon in order to hinder any boats hoping to make their way out of the city toward Alexandria.⁶⁴ If they were indeed in control of boats, the army apparently did not possess knowledge of how to use them to their advantage in besieging the castle or blockading the river. These factors, that the army did not possess artillery and did not use effectively the boats which they had, help to explain how the Byzantines managed to hold out from September of 640 to April of the following year.

Understanding the Byzantine force is equally important because it helps demonstrate the level of opposition which the Arab army faced. The population of Byzantine Egypt as whole, and more specifically the number of the troops garrisoned at Babylon, can only be estimated. Kaegi suggested the population of Egypt during the 7th century to have been at somewhere around 5 million, and the entire defensive forces of Egypt at somewhere between 25,000 and 30,000.⁶⁵ As for the Byzantine garrison at the fortress, Butler estimated their number to have been no more than five or six thousand. While the numbers of the troops may be uncertain, there quality as soldiers is apparent. It is telling that the troops which defended Babylon would not have been highly trained Byzantine soldiers but locally recruited Egyptians:

⁶² Identified as such in Butler, 235.

⁶³ John of Nikiu, CXIII, 1.

⁶⁴ *ibid*

⁶⁵ Kaegi, *Egypt...*, 38.

...these were not elite troops; most were probably of Egyptian origin...Byzantine military forces garrisoned in Egypt had never been the empire's best troops, who were not recruited from or stationed there.⁶⁶

As for the citizens of Misr, many of the inhabitants of the city would probably have attempted to flee towards Alexandria by this point. From this it could be deduced that the individuals remaining within the city would have been mostly the soldiers or religious personnel. Nevertheless, it is important to note that Babylon itself was “a medium-size fortified town, and not a purely military settlement,”⁶⁷ and thus it is certainly possible that the “several thousand souls” which normally inhabited the city might not have had the chance to flee. Indeed, some of the people of Misr remained because it is with them that ‘Amr’s treaty was offered following the fall of the citadel. Lastly, the isolation of these defenders of Babylon, cut off from the Byzantine stronghold of Alexandria by the Nile Delta, would have been a major disadvantage. Although the Byzantines were clearly in a stronger position given that they were behind castle walls, the Arabs appear to have had a three to one numeric advantage. Furthermore, a number of the people occupying the fort were civilians; those who were not were inadequately trained soldiers. Therefore, main factor in determining the outcome of this siege seems to have been the castle, given that the Arabs possessed both numeric and strategic advantages over their opponents.

Command of the Byzantine force also contributed to the ability of the Arab army to conquer Babylon. The active Byzantine general was identified in Arab histories as al-

⁶⁶ Kaegi, *Egypt...*, 38.

⁶⁷ Kubriak, 55.

Araj, a name which Butler interpreted as a corruption of the name 'George.'⁶⁸ However, because Byzantine General Theodorus had by that time gone to Alexandria, the figure known to Arab historians as al-Muqawqis became the de-facto leader. This identity of this man is agreed upon by modern scholars as having been Viceroy of Egypt and Patriarch of Alexandria, Cyrus.⁶⁹ It is certain that it was al-Muqawqis whom Emperor Heraclius ultimately held responsible for the loss of the fortress and it was he who controlled negotiation with 'Amr's army.

The final group of people who would play a role, albeit an indirect one, in the Arab conquest of Babylon was that of the Coptic prisoners, which John of Nikiu mentioned in his chronicle.⁷⁰ The Coptic population of Egypt had suffered persecution under the country's viceroy Cyrus (al-Muqawqis) for nearly a decade. Cyrus had originally been appointed to the position of Imperial Patriarch of Egypt in an attempt to reconcile the Malachite and Coptic churches, but when he was unsuccessful he turned to more drastic measures. He was able to carry this out through his dual appointment as both Imperial Patriarch and Viceroy. Although there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that the Coptic population in any way significantly aided the Arabs in their invasion (and less in particular in the case of Babylon), the ultimate success of the Islamic state in ruling the people of Egypt and the wider Middle East stemmed from its tolerance for the Coptic churches.⁷¹ Indeed, all Christians were to be treated with relative tolerance alongside Jews as *ahl al-kitāb* or "People of the Book." These groups

⁶⁸ Butler, 250. ٤١٠٧

⁶⁹ Little doubt no exists that the *al-Muqawqis* was, in fact, Kyros of Alexandria. For a detailed discussion of the identity of *al-Muqawqis*, see Appendix 5 in Butler. Prior to the Arab invasion, Kyros (or Cyrus) had been responsible for a vicious decade-long persecution of the Coptic citizens of Misr. For a detailed description see Butler, *Arab Conquest*, XIII.

⁷⁰ John of Nikiu, 187.

⁷¹ See Butler's "Persecution of the Copts by Cyrus" in *The Arab Invasion of Egypt*, 168-193.

(dhimmī) would be instructed to pay a special tax (jizyah) in exchange for their protected status.⁷² Although this still afforded them second class citizen status, the Copts would no doubt have considered this situation better than the heretical status awarded to them by al-Muqawqis.

The siege proper began in September of 641, following the victory at Ayn-Shams. The Nile was in flood by that time, and so Byzantine defenses would have been at their most effective level. The Arab army could do little but camp at the northwestern side of the fortress and await the recession of the river or the surrender of the castle.

By October, al-Muqawqis came to the conclusion that the chances of reinforcements arriving before the Nile receded were slim. He thus called a council with the various figures of authority and suggested that negotiations be opened between the Arabs and themselves in an attempt to salvage what little control the Byzantines still held in the region. The council agreed that such negotiations should commence, but it was decided that the soldiers should not be told.⁷³ This decision was likely made in an attempt to avoid demoralizing the garrison any more than they would have already been as well as prevent any unrest which capitulation might have caused among the rank-and-file. The dialogues between the envoys that followed reveal the limited nature of negotiation and foreign policy of the early Islamic State.

When night came, al-Muqawqis and the envoy made their way out to the Island of Raudah. Al-Araj, the general in charge of the Babylon garrison probably stayed behind. Butler added that "Cyrus removed all the pontoons, so that, in case a panic

⁷² Bernard Lewis, The Middle East: A Brief History of the Last 2000 Years, (New York: Scribner, 1995), 210-11.

⁷³ Butler, 253-4.

seized the garrison they would be unable to leave the fortress.”⁷⁴ Following their arrival on the island, an envoy departed for the Arab camp. The argument made by the Byzantine envoy was simple and arrogant. They confidently warned the Arabs that besieging the castle was a mistake on their part because of their inferior numbers and ability. They should sue for peace before the Byzantine reinforcements (which would inevitably arrive) came and destroyed the whole of their army. The Arabs decided to deliberate on the issue for a couple of days, and in the meantime the envoys were given freedom to walk around the camp and observe. The Arab response was hardly what the Byzantines wanted to hear. In a tradition recounted by Ṭabarī, it was explained that al-Muqawqis had three options:

*...we call upon you to embrace Islam. He who is willing to do so will be like one of us. To him who refuses, we suggest that he pay the jizyah [tribute tax] and we will give him ample protection...If you accept our proposition, we will give you constant protection...[if not] I shall fight you.*⁷⁵

A similar account was given in Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s Futuh Misr:

[And so it was] upon them, ‘Amr and his message: “Between me and you all there are these three conditions only: (1) enter into Islam so that we are brothers and [so that] what was to you is what it is to us, (2) [or] for you all who refuse we offer the jizyah in exchange for protection with subservience. (3) Either these

⁷⁴ Butler, 255.

⁷⁵ Ṭabarī, 167-8.

or we will fight against you with patience and fight 'until Allah judges between us, and He is the Best of Judges.' ⁷⁶

The choices were clear: convert, pay tribute, or fight. This formulaic set of options represents the extent of wartime negotiation during the early age of Islamic expansion, and it was this message that the envoy relayed to a very displeased al-Muqawqis.

The messengers returned not only with information regarding negotiation, but also with observations which provide an interesting view into the world of the besieging Arab army. Butler's account of al-Muqawqis speaking with his negotiators, the details of which he derived from the account of historian al-Maqrizi (d. 1442), had the members of the party explain as follows:

'We have seen...a people who prefer life and humility to pride. They sit in the dust, and take their meals on horseback. Their commander is one of themselves: there is no distinction of rank among them. They have fixed hours of prayer at which all pray, first washing their hands and feet, and they pray with reverence.' ⁷⁷

This dialogue, which is likely nothing more than an interpretation of an imagined conversation, nevertheless helps us to put into perspective the nature of Arab warfare during this early period of Islam. Although the army is clearly effective in battle, organized under a militaristic hierarchy, and capable of moving long distances, it

⁷⁶ عليهم عمرو مع رساله انه ليس بيني وبينكم إلا احدى ثلاث خصال إما ان دخلتم في الاسلام فكنتم إخواننا و كان لكم ما لنا ان و أبيتم Torrey 65. , فأعطيتم الجزية عن يد و انتم صاغرون إما و ان جاهدناكم بالصبر القتال و حتى يحكم الله بيننا و هو خير الحاكمين

The last sentence is a reference to 7:87.

⁷⁷ Butler, 256 & the story is likewise told by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, (Torrey, 65).

retained its Arab-Islamic character. That is to say, the centrality of religion was not be compromised and a kind of tribal equality was extended to all of its members. Not surprisingly, Cyrus's colleagues were less than intimidated by the envoy's description of their foes and were certainly in agreement that none of the options offered would suit their position. Still the Patriarch requested that another party be sent in hopes of further negotiation. 'Amr responded by sending a group of representatives headed by a dark-skinned man named 'Ubadah across to the island of Raudah. What followed demonstrates the way that the Byzantines in Egypt might have perceived skin color and its relationship with cultural superiority. Al-Muqawqis was amazed that a black man had been chosen to lead the discussion, and demanded that he be removed from his presence, exclaiming, "Remove this black man from my presence! Bring me another."⁷⁸ The response of the Arab envoy was one of equal astonishment. A member of the group replied, "'Amr has chosen and entrusted this matter to him above us and has ordered us not to contradict it."⁷⁹ 'Ubadah then proceeded to explain to al-Muqawqis that there was no distinction made between men within Islam, regardless of the color of their skin. His words surprised the patriarch, but while al-Muqawqis acknowledged the devotion and piety of the Muslims, he remained firm in insisting that the Roman forces would overwhelm the Arab army. He offered payment for each head in the army, and more for 'Amr and the caliph, in exchange for the withdrawal of the Arab forces.⁸⁰ No doubt somewhat annoyed at the patriarch's negotiation tactics, 'Ubadah

⁷⁸ Abdussalam Al-'Ashari, *'Amr ibn al-'Ās: Conquistatore dell'Egitto*, Alessandro Coletti, ed. (Roma, 1981), 93.

⁷⁹ *ibid*

⁸⁰ Butler, 257-8.

proclaimed that no options existed other than those already presented. This time, however, he made clear that if they surrendered

*...both their persons and their property would be respected; that they would retain full control over their possessions and all existing rights of inheritance; that their churches would be left uninjured, and the practice of their religion unmolested.*⁸¹

These conditions are again part of the larger strategy of the early conquests, in which the Arab armies would leave the government and social institutions intact, and simply reap the economic benefits of victory.⁸² This approach ensured stability and contributed significantly to the ability of the Arab armies to conquer vast amounts of territory in a short period of time.

Al-Muqawqis may have been willing at this point to yield to these terms, but his contemporaries were clearly not. Although Butler despairingly described the ‘silence’ of his most trustworthy source, John of Nikiu, on this subject, little information is needed to understand that the envoy was sent away without an answer. Instead, there was a request by the Byzantines for an armistice so that the issue could be debated.⁸³ As a result of this second envoy, the Byzantines were given three days to come to a decision.⁸⁴ When the emissaries returned to al-Muqawqis for the second time and the same terms were offered, the generals of Misr, like their Arab counterparts, remained

⁸¹ Butler, 259.

⁸² Examples of this practice are noted in “Military Organization, Migration, and Settlement” in Donner, The Early Islamic Conquests, 221-50.

⁸³ Ṭabarī, 168.

⁸⁴ Butler gives 3, but Ṭabarī’s account (168-9) says that ‘Amr awarded them an extra day (making 4)- which logically corresponds with subsequent events. Ṭabarī’s account also read in reference to *Ayn-Shams*, but it seems clear from the context and the treaty listed later that the event being described is the siege of Babylon.

unmoved in their refusal to negotiate. Ṭabarī wrote that the people of Misr were told by their leaders:

*As for us, we shall do our best to defend you and we would not return to the Muslims—after all, four days have passed by now during which you came to no harm—were it not for the fact that we hope that therein might lie immunity for you.*⁸⁵

Regardless of its authenticity, this quotation provides us with an ominous foreshadowing of events to come. Negotiation had failed; all that remained was to fight.

What came next was a final desperate effort by the Byzantines. On the fourth day following the Arab envoy's departure, "the Byzantines sallied out over their drawbridges and fell upon the camp of their unsuspecting enemy."⁸⁶ Ṭabarī may have been referencing this attack when he said, "Nothing surprised 'Amr and al-Zubayr more than the sudden attack...one night, but 'Amr was prepared."⁸⁷ Even with the element of surprise on their side, though, the Byzantine forces were dramatically outnumbered, and a greatly depleted force retreated back into the fortress.⁸⁸ Following the devastating failure, it was agreed that negotiations for surrender should be re-opened. This time the Byzantines were in no position to bargain, and the previous option of subjection and tribute was chosen, and a treaty was drawn up. The purpose of it was less to end the hostilities as it was to determine the fate of the city of Misr under Islamic rule.⁸⁹ This document was then brought to Alexandria, by al-Muqawqis himself, where it was then

⁸⁵ Ṭabarī, 169

⁸⁶ Butler, 261.

⁸⁷ Ṭabarī, 169.

⁸⁸ Ṭabarī notes this attack on the 4th day, but follows it with the explanation that *al-Muqawqis* is killed with his soldiers during the attack, which is improbable because it is he who later sends the treaty to Constantinople for ratification.

⁸⁹ See Appendix C for the entire Treaty.

relayed to Emperor Heraclius in Constantinople. It is interesting that the conditions following this last effort by the Byzantines did not alter the terms of negotiation -- the Arab army still offered the same conditions for surrender. Although the Byzantines were clearly weakened, the fact remained that the besiegers still did not possess the equipment necessary to take the fortress.

As is evidenced by his reaction to the letter, Heraclius remained convinced the Byzantine could maintain their defense. Several negotiations with the Arabs had hitherto been made independently without the consent of Heraclius in Mesopotamia by figures comparable to al-Muqawqis, and they had ended in “crushingly expensive agreements to pay tribute in return for holding off raiding and invasions.”⁹⁰ Heraclius was determined not to allow such a negotiation to take place without his approval, and in this case he was not going to allow it to happen at all. Surrender of the key site of Babylon would have caused quite a disturbance in Constantinople because of the chief fiscal importance of Egypt to the Empire at that time.⁹¹ The emperor appears to have reacted ferociously to the request, and various sources described the public humiliation of al-Muqawqis in Constantinople. Upon receiving the message in mid-November, Heraclius

recalled to Byzantium Kyros [al-Muqawqis], the bishop of Alexandria, and held him under severe accusation of having surrendered to the Saracens the affairs of all of Egypt. He pursued these charges at the time in front of a large gathering of

⁹⁰ Walter Kaegi, --Heraclius Emperor of Byzantium, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004),282.

⁹¹ --, *Egypt on the eve...*, 36. Here he suggested that close to 30 percent of taxes from the eastern empire and describes Egypt at as “integral part of the broader Byzantine and Mediterranean economy and its financial contributions were essential to Byzantine fiscal integrity at the start of the seventh century.” It is interesting, though, to note that the Empire survived a confiscation of the province by the Persians in the first decade of the 7th century.

citizens...[Following al-Muqawqis's explanation, the emperor became] incensed with him and threaten[ed] him with death, [and then] handed him over to the prefect of the city for punishment.⁹²

Cyrus's rationale in offering monetary tribute was unacceptable and had apparently infuriated the Emperor. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam wrote that the Emperor called the patriarch's suggestion "shameful, [and] called him impotent...."⁹³ Heraclius saw the payment of tribute to the Muslim armies as only exacerbating the economic problems of the empire. Not surprisingly, he was confused as to how such an initially small number of Arab forces could just appear out of nowhere and defeat the Egyptian armies of Byzantium. Following his interview with the emperor, al-Muqawqis was effectively removed from negotiations with the Arabs, and the fortress was left on its own.

It would not have taken long, probably by early December, for word of the rejection of the treaty to make its way back to the garrison. Although supplies and morale must have been at an all-time low, the Byzantine soldiers were still unwilling to surrender. As the waters of the Nile receded, exposing more of the fortress to land, the defenders cast iron spikes down into the muddy trench in an attempt to deter an attack. But the problem of disease, which would easily have escalated into an epidemic, soon fell upon the garrison. Meanwhile, the Arab army responded by filling in portions of the trench to make land bridges right up to the castle walls in preparations for an assault on the city.⁹⁴

⁹² Nikephoros, 71-72. Quoted in Kaegi, *Heraclius*, 286.

⁹³ Quoted in Kaegi, *Heraclius*, 286. Translated from Torrey, 71.

⁹⁴ Butler, 265.

During the months of January and February, the water which had previously protected the fort was all but dried up, exposing the castle to a land-based attack and thereby eliminating the biggest obstacle to victory for the Arab, their lack of siege equipment. The Byzantine garrison made a few minor sorties against their besiegers. These likely took place at night and during prayer, when the Muslim army would have been most vulnerable.⁹⁵ It is possible that by conducting these sorties the Byzantines were attempting to hold off a major attack because they had received word of reinforcements from Alexandria. General Theodorus was in command of a sizable force marching southward towards Misr to engage the Arab army. 'Amr was not interested in waiting around for a Byzantine army to disrupt his siege, and so he moved a portion of his army across the river and struck northwards for the city of Samanud, on the western bank of the Damietta branch of the Nile. Theodorus sent a force to protect the city, and the Arabs suffered significant losses.⁹⁶ A series of minor battles followed which brought little advantage to either side. What the battles did do, however, was prevent Theodorus's arrival in Misr. The garrison was left without its reinforcements, and it was clear that very soon the fortress would fall.

The final blow to troop morale came in early March when "a great shout went up in the Muslim camp."⁹⁷ Soon after, the garrison received news that Emperor Heraclius had died. Because succession to the throne was complicated, there was fear of revolution. As a result, the focus of the Empire shifted away from Egypt and toward

⁹⁵ Butler, 266.

⁹⁶ John of Nikiu, 182.

⁹⁷ Butler, 269.

Constantinople, leaving the province to fend for itself.⁹⁸ Yet even then the Byzantine troops were unwilling to surrender, and the siege trudged on for two more months.

The two dramatically different psychological mindsets of the opposing armies during the siege should also be considered. The Arabs had just conquered vast amounts of territory, and the psychological effects of momentum and troop morale would not have been insignificant. The religious fervor of the Arabs should also not be underestimated. On the minds of the Muslims “was the drive towards the existence as a great state...[which] derived its moral justification from the Koran, in the summons to fight the unbeliever.”⁹⁹ Byzantine troops, by contrast, had suffered severe food shortages, disease, and failed sorties, all of which would have dealt some serious blows to their confidence by the last days of the siege. Also, they would have known that the Arab armies had shortly before annihilated Byzantine forces in Syria and Palestine. What sort of chance could one fortress expect to have against an army with such force? If all of these factors are added to the fact that the garrison was made up of poorly trained Egyptians who were watching their homeland become overrun, it is difficult to see how the psychological state of the soldiers could not have played some role in the ultimate loss of the fortress as well as in the larger success of the Arab conquest of Egypt.

If this was indeed the mindset of the Byzantine soldiers at this point, their fears would have been duly confirmed on the night of 6 April 641, Good Friday, when the famous scaling ladder of al-Zubayr was placed against the wall of the fortress,

⁹⁸ Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples*. Trans, J. Carmichael & M Perlman. (New York: Capricorn Books, 1960), 58.

⁹⁹ Grunebaum, 56.

ultimately resulting in the Arabs gaining possession of the castle.¹⁰⁰ The ladder is said to have been placed against the south-eastern wall of the city,¹⁰¹ probably near the Suk al-Hammam (Market of the Bath).¹⁰² The explanation for how the attack itself happened became an issue of great debate among Arab historians. The importance of the event is significant beyond the basic historical record of the event. The early system of taxation in the Islamic empire distinguishes carefully between territories that had become Muslim peaceably, that is to say by voluntary surrender (*sulhan*) and those that had been acquired by force (*'anwatan*). The former retained their property and paid a collective levy which could not be arbitrarily increased by the government....the latter had forfeited their property rights but held their land against payment of a tax assessed by the government.¹⁰³

In most major chronicles or histories, there are traditions speaking of two basic versions of the story. The first describes the historical scaling of the wall by al-Zubayr and his triumphant declaration, "Allahu Akbar!"¹⁰⁴ This is then quickly followed by the surrender of the fortress to the Arab army, thus making it a victory "by force."¹⁰⁵ Another tradition describes the same deeds of al-Zubayr, but at almost the same moment the people of the city are said to have opened the gates to 'Amr and agreed to a treaty. This would, by contrast, make it capitulation "by way of peace."¹⁰⁶ It appears that where al-Zubayr entered the fort, there were walls which prevented him and his men from moving onto the rest of the castle and conquering it. The inhabitants of

¹⁰⁰ Butler, 270.

¹⁰¹ *See Appendix A.*

¹⁰² Butler, see *Footnote 3* on pages 270-1 for a detailed description of the location of the scaling itself.

¹⁰³ Grunebaum, 56.

¹⁰⁴ Baladhuri, 336.

¹⁰⁵ ذكر من قال فتحت مصر عنوة Torrey, 88.

¹⁰⁶ --84. ذكر من قال ان مصر فتحت بصاح.

Babylon, upon seeing the Arab soldiers within the walls of the fortress, finally agreed to capitulation and opened the gates.

Indeed, the fall of Babylon was no typical medieval conquest. Almost any citizen who wished to depart from the city was allowed to do so,¹⁰⁷ and a tax of two dinars was applied to all who wished to remain.¹⁰⁸ Such freedom would indicate that the treaty which was originally offered to al-Muqawqis to relay to the Emperor was more or less the same offer given at the time of the fall of the fortress. In any event, the Byzantines who chose to leave were allowed to gather what they could by the evacuation date, which was set for the following Easter Monday, 9 April 641.¹⁰⁹ Presumably, the citizens of the city would have held their final church services in the city that Sunday before leaving the city.

With Lower Egypt firmly in the hands of the Arabs, 'Amr and his forces were able to move northwards toward Alexandria. Babylon had served as a key site to military success in the Delta, and with its surrender came the conquests of Nikiu in May and Alexandria in November.¹¹⁰ The symbolic importance of Babylon was again seen on 8 November, 641,¹¹¹ when it served as the site of official political surrender of Egypt to the Arab army.

CONCLUSION & SUMMARY

The success of the Arab conquests and the development of the Early Islamic State during the 7th century are to be attributed to numerous historical factors, each of

¹⁰⁷ Baladhuri, 339.

¹⁰⁸ --, 338.

¹⁰⁹ John of Nikiu reads, "And it was in this way that the citadel of Babylon in Egypt was taken on the second day after the (festival of the) Resurrection." CXVII.

¹¹⁰ Butler, 544-45. *See also* Butler, Appendix D for an analysis of the chronology of the conquest.

¹¹¹ --, 329.

which is deserving of a great deal of research and explanation. The intention here has not been to attempt to explain, but rather to identify major themes in the formation of the Islamic State during a crucial period in its history. These themes – the struggle of the caliphate for control, the role of religion, the development of the military and early approaches to foreign policy and warfare—have been identified through the use of one of many events in the period of expansion, the siege of Egyptian Babylon.

The controversial accounts of the entrance of General ‘Amr b. al-Ās into Egypt give insight into the caliphate’s attempt to assert itself in a time of rapid expansion. The swift and effective retreat from the Fayyum and the subsequent rendezvous with a reinforcement army are demonstrations of tactical sophistication by both ‘Amr and his army. Likewise, the successful engagement at the Battle of Ayn-Shams confirmed the ability of the Arab army to hold its own against the armies of the Byzantines. The eight month long siege, lasting from September of 640 to April of 641, was an impressive show of tenacity by both the Arabs and the Byzantines. The role of religion was seen in two ways. First, the religious persecution of the Coptic Church by al-Muqawqis likely helped to weaken what little allegiance it might have had to Byzantium as well as contributing the Copts’ later submission to Islamic rule as a beneficial alternative. Second, faith in the Islam served as both a motivation to fight and a reassurance of victory with every Muslim soldier believing that theirs was the cause of God. The negotiation between al-Muqawqis and the Arab envoy portrays the classic scenario of expansion period negotiation with its uncompromising choices of conversion, payment, or death. Surrender of Babylon came following the heroic storm of the castle by al-Zubayr, though that is to be attributed less to his actions than to the decisions of the

Byzantines that they had had enough. The surrender of Babylon on Good Friday of 641 was completed with a treaty, which confirmed the promises of 'Ubadah and the Arab envoys. From Babylon, the Arab army aimed itself toward Alexandria and the conquest of Egypt continued until the surrender of that city in November of 641.

A history of the Arab Siege of Egyptian Babylon therefore serves as an excellent example for observing four of the most significant elements of early Arab expansion and the formation of the early Islamic State.

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APPENDIX A

SKETCHES, PLANS, PHOTOS

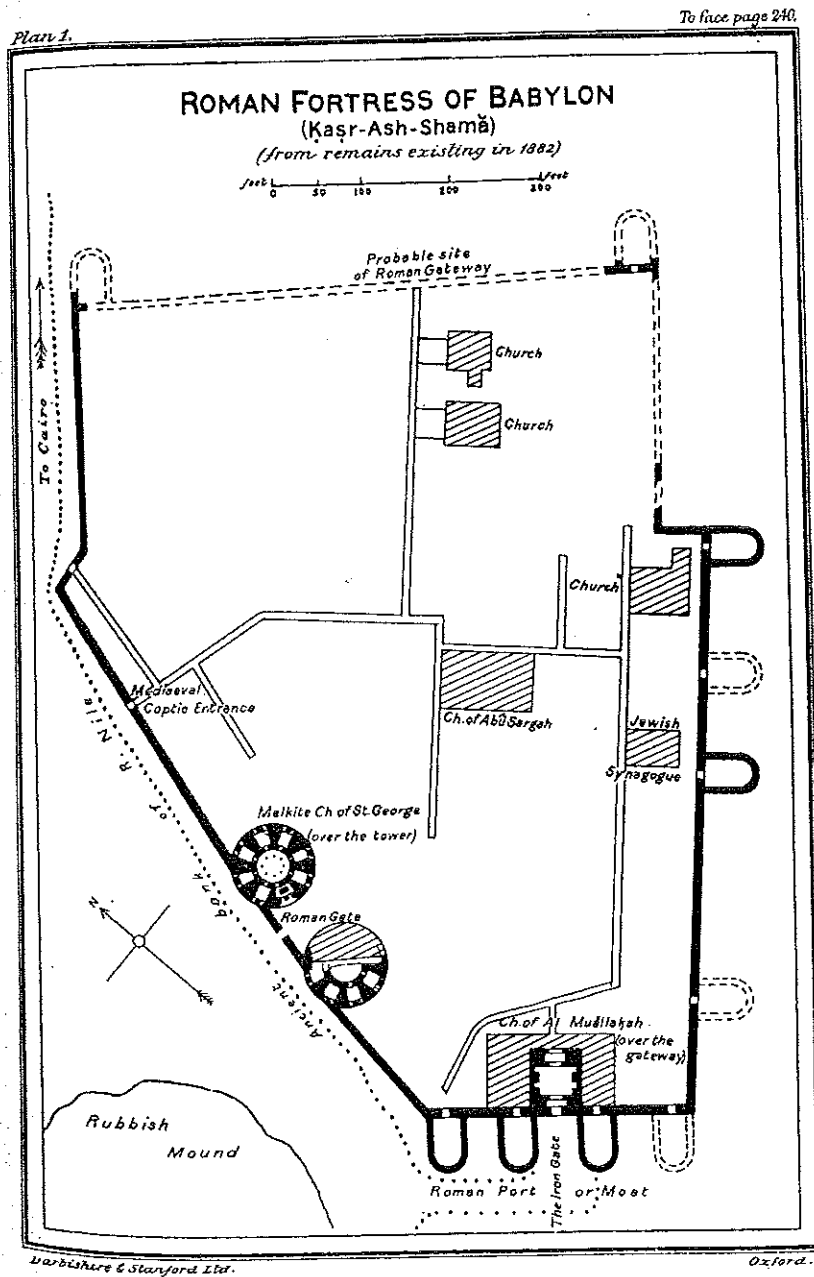


Figure 1. This plan was drawn as part of Alfred Butler's study 'Babylon of Egypt' (1914).

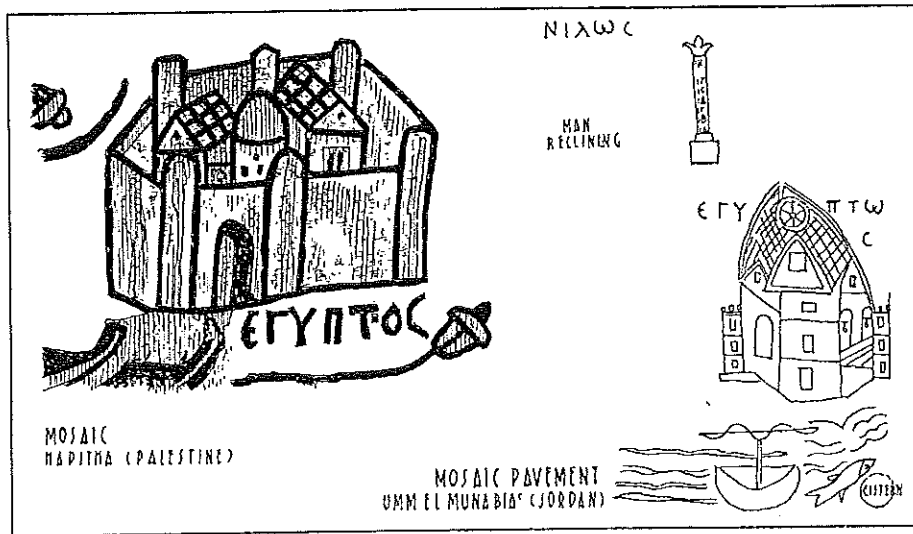
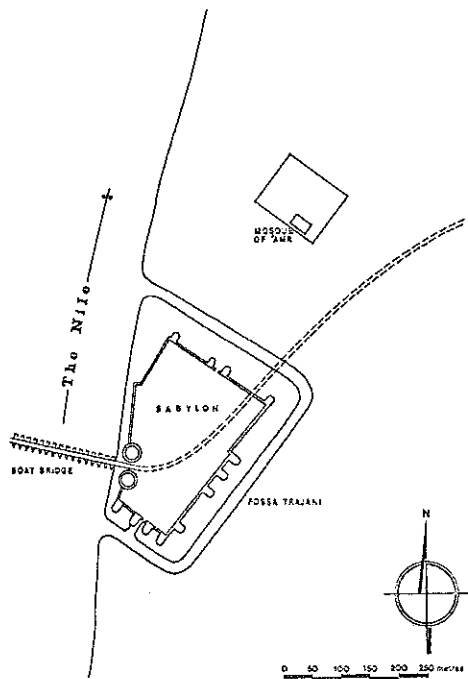


Figure 2. These drawings come from two separate sources, but both appear in Badawy, Alexander. Coptic art and archaeology : the art of the Christian Egyptians from the late antique to the Middle Ages. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1978), 107



Plan 3. Babylon at the Conquest

Figure 3. Map of Babylon, from Kubiak, Wladyslaw Al-Fustat: Its Foundation and Early Urban Development. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press), 1987.

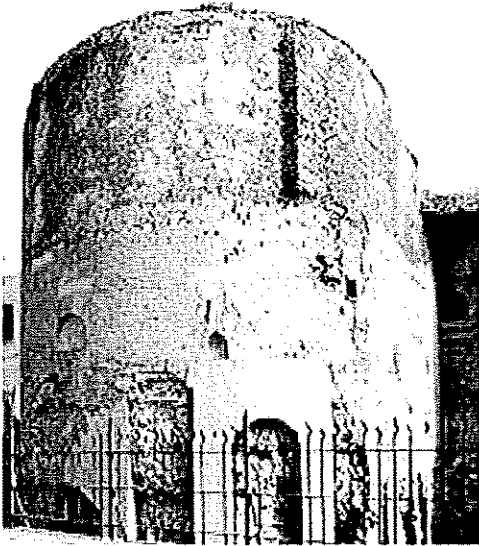


Figure 4. *Photography of a tower from the fortress. James Aldridge. Cairo. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), 26.*

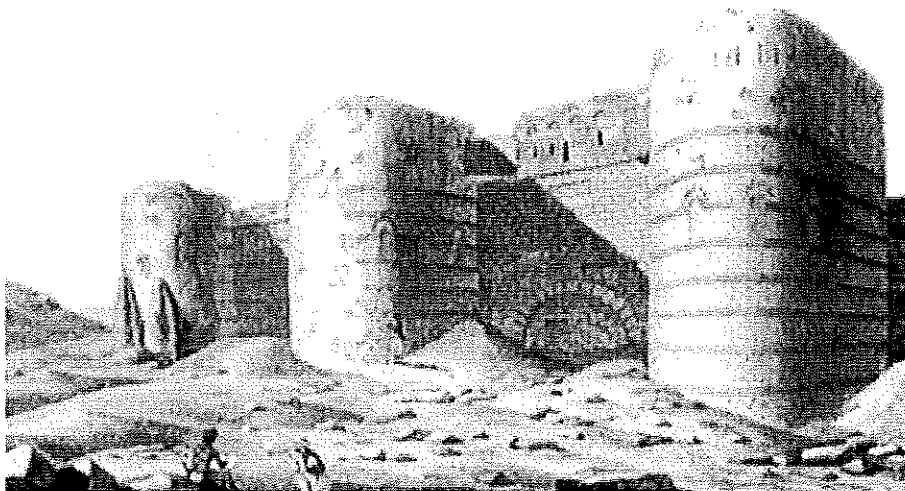


Figure 5. *Artist rendering of the Fortress of Babylon. Available online at: <http://touregypt.net/featurestories/babylon.htm>*

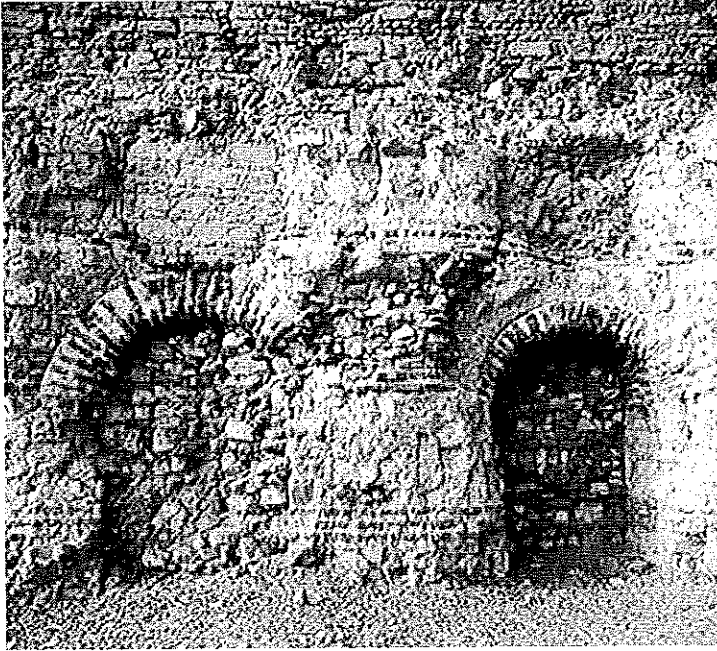


Figure 6. Photograph of Babylon. Available online at: <http://touregypt.net/featurestories/babylon.htm>

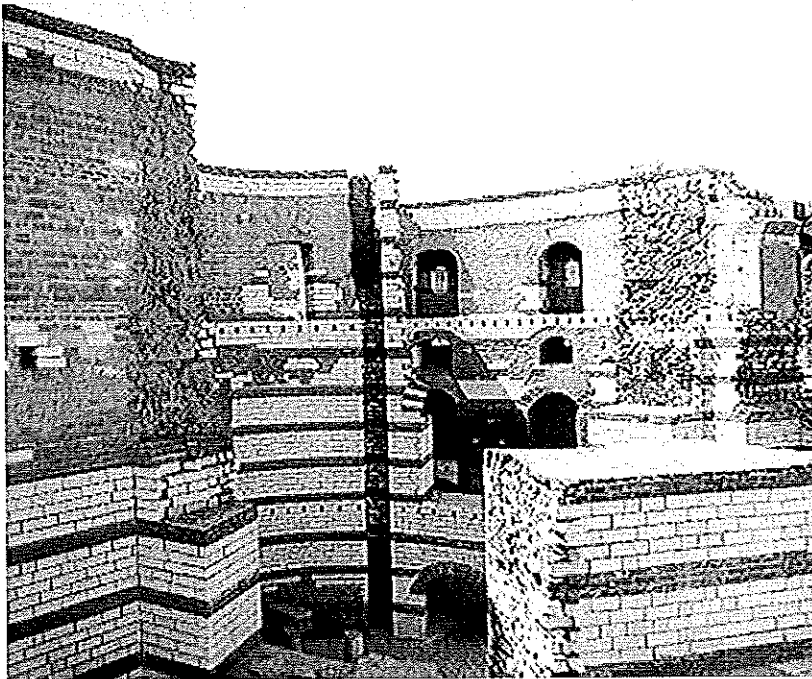
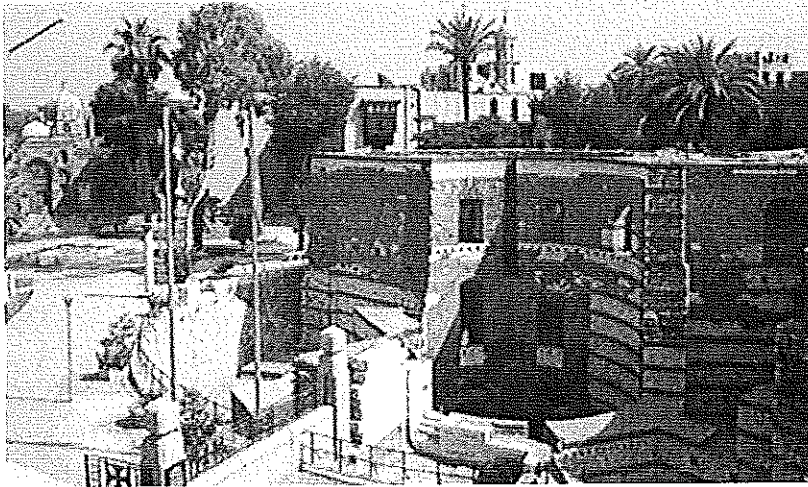
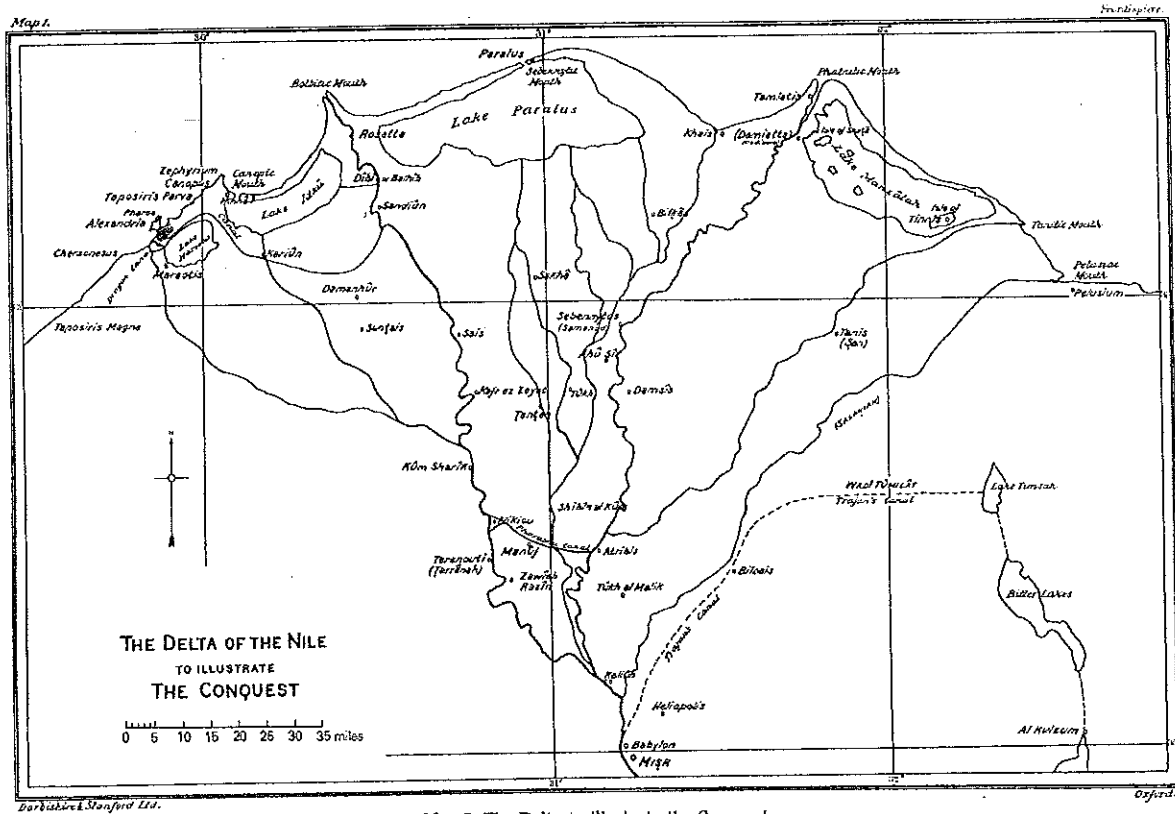


Figure 7. Inside Babylon today from Dino Sassi, *Al-Qahira*. (Cairo: Al Ahrām/Elsevier, 1992), 65.



*Figure 8. Modern Day Babylon. Available online at:
<http://www.copticmuseum.gov.eg/English/internal/babylon.asp>*

APPENDIX B AREA AND CITY MAPS



MAP I. The Delta to illustrate the Conquest.

Figure 1. The Nile delta map from Alfred J. Butler, The Arab Invasion of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion. Containing also the Treaty of Misr (1913) and Babylon of Egypt (1914), 2nd Ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

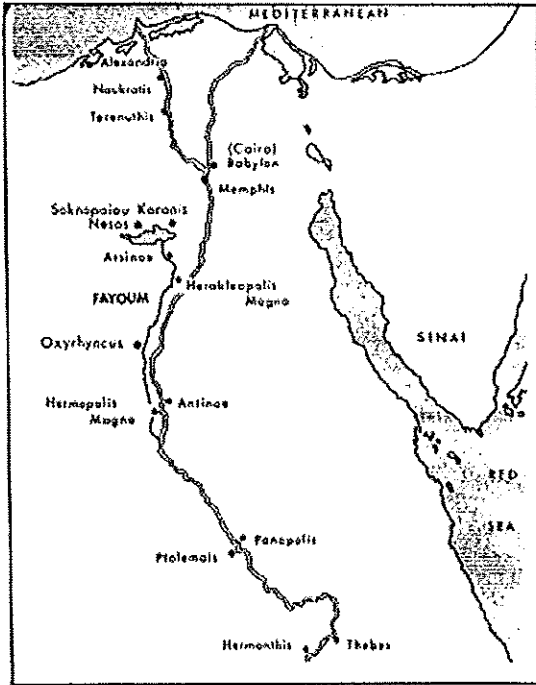


Figure 2. Map of Egypt. (Website Unknown)

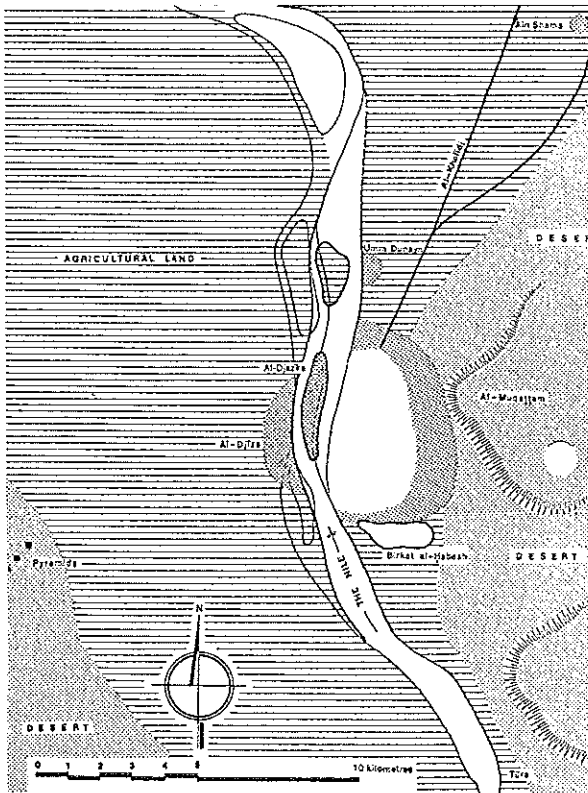


Figure 3. Map of the geographical region of the city of Misr from; Kubiak, Wladyslaw B. Al-Fustat: Its Foundation and Early Urban Development. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1987).

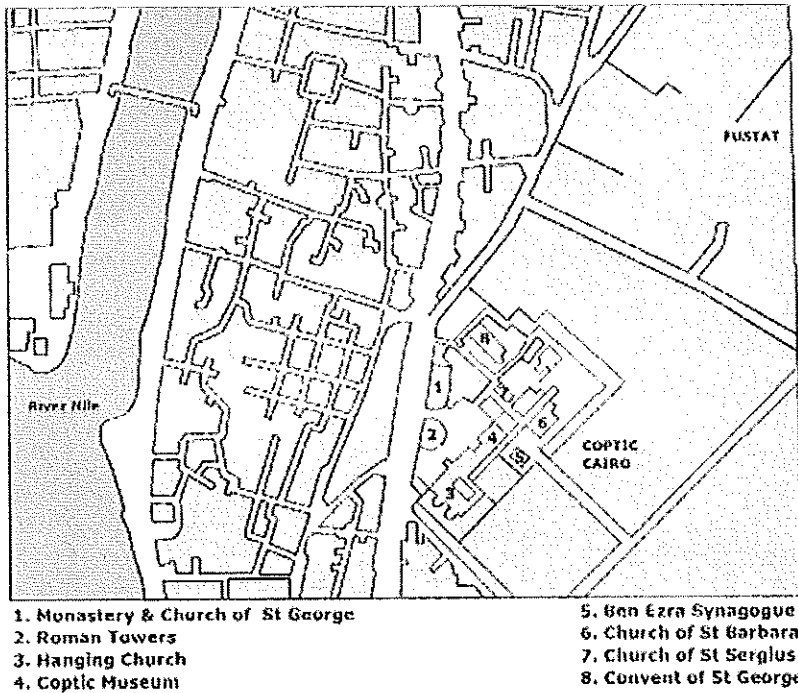


Figure 4. Modern day Cairo. Available online at: http://www.egyptvoyager.com/pics/oldcairo_map.gif

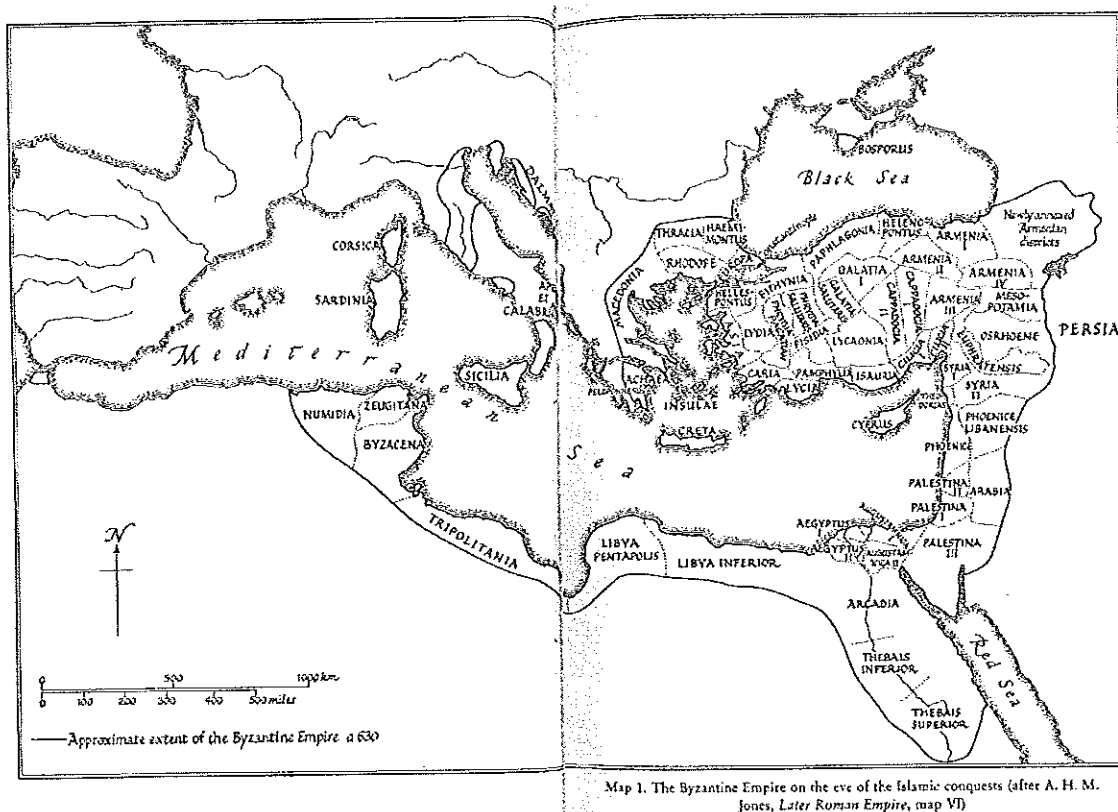


Figure 5. Map of the Byzantine Empire prior to the Conquest from Walter Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

APPENDIX C

TREATY OF TABARI I

*The following is the treaty of Tabari as translated by Gautier H. A. Juynboll. Other translations exist, including the two others by Goeje and Zotenburg, which Butler used for his book.*¹¹²

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.

This is the text of the covenant that Amr b. al-'Asi has granted the people of Misr concerning immunity for themselves, their religion, their possessions, churches, crucifixes, as well as their land and their waterways. Nothing of these will be interfered with or decreased.

Nubians are not allowed to share their homesteads. It is incumbent upon the people of Misr, if they agree on the terms of this covenant and when the rise of the Nile water comes to a half, to afford the *jizyah*, to wit fifty million (dirhams).

They will have to account for the crimes committed by robbers from among them.

If anyone refuses to comply with the terms of this treaty, jiza' obligations will be lifted from them commensurate with their numbers, and we will be exempt from awarding protection to those who do so. If their river fails to reach the highest point when the rise of the water has come to a half, then, commensurate with the losses suffered, their jiza' payments will be reduced.

Those Byzantines and Nubians who are willing to accept the same terms as in the covenant with the people of Misr will have the same privileges and duties as the latter.

He who refuses to accept these terms and chooses to part will enjoy immunity, until he has reached his destination where he can be safe, or has moved out of the territory where our authority prevails.

It is incumbent upon them to comply with the following terms: in three installments, every third part of the years, they will have to afford one third of what they have to pay.

¹¹² Butler, *Babylon of Egypt*, 7.

For the terms of this document the covenant of God and His protection, as well as that of His Messengers, that of the Caliph, the Commander of the Faithful, as well as the protection awarded by all the Muslims, are guarantees.

It is incumbent upon the Nubians who have accepted the terms of this treaty that they help (sc. The local government) with so many men and so many horses, in the understanding that no raids will be mounted against them and that they will not be prevented from trade, export or import.

Al-Zubayr, his sons 'Abdallah and Muhammad, have witnessed the concluding of this covenant, Wardan has put it down in writing and was present.¹¹³

¹¹³ The History of al-Tabari, Vol XIII: The Conquest of Iraq, Southwestern Persia, and Egypt. Trans, Gautier H. A. Juynboll. (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989), 170-172.

APPENDIX D

TREATY OF TABARI II

Below is my own translation of the Treaty of Misr found in Tabari. When creating my own version, I made note of Butler's translation as well the translation of Gautier H. A. Juynboll¹¹⁴ from his edition of Tabari's History (found above).

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

This is what 'Amr ibn al-'Ās gave the inhabitants of Misr for security upon their persons, faith, property, churches, crosses, land and river: There shall be no interference with or decrease in these things.

There shall be no living of the Nubians¹¹⁵ among them (the inhabitants of Misr).

If they gather upon this settlement and if the final swelling of their river is 50 millions, the *jizya* (poll-tax) shall be levied upon the inhabitants of Misr.

Upon them is the choice of (how to deal with) criminals.

It shall be up to their discretion to pay the tax, and those who refuse shall have the tax lifted from them "in proportion."¹¹⁶ Those who refuse, however, shall not receive our protection.

If their river does not reach its limit, the tax shall be lifted from them "in proportion."¹¹⁷

Upon those from Rome or Nubia who enter this agreement in peace there shall be granted rights like what they (the inhabitants of Misr) have.

Upon those who refuse this agreement there shall be granted peaceful passage until they arrive to safety or have exited from our power (domain).

Upon them there shall be three payments. One-third of this is what shall be paid each time.

¹¹⁴ Gautier H. A. Juynboll. *The History of Tabari, Volume XIII: The Conquest of Iraq, Southwestern Persia, and Egypt*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 170-172.

¹¹⁵ See Butler, *Treaty of Misr*, 38.

¹¹⁶ --, 34. Juynboll used the phrase "commensurate with their numbers," which is perhaps more fitting (See Juynboll, 171)

¹¹⁷ *ibid*

The contents of the agreement are observed by God and shall receive his assurance, the assurance of His Prophet, the assurance of the Caliph, the Commander of the Faithful, as well as the assurance of the believers.

Upon the Nubians who choose to enter this agreement shall be the obligation of number of heads¹¹⁸ and sheep in exchange for no raids against them and no restraining of their merchant trade, whether it be importing or exporting.

This agreement was witnessed by al-Zubayr, as well as by his sons, ‘Abdullah and Muhammad. It was written by Wardan, who was present.

¹¹⁸ This is an interesting place for the appearance of the word رأس (“heads”). It would be assumed that it would either be the heads of slaves or soldiers which are being referenced. The word is immediately followed, though, by a request for sheep which suggests that the ‘heads’ refer to those of another animal. Butler interpreted this as the ‘heads (of cattle),’ 34. Juynboll chooses to translate this, perhaps more appropriately, as “so many men,” 171.

APPENDIX E

FUTUH MISR OF IBN 'ABD AL-HAKAM

The following is a translation in progress of a chapter from Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's "Futuh Misr wa Akhbaruha." The passage is entitled "The account of the entrance of 'Amr b. al-'As into Egypt," and describes the story of how the Arab general became acquainted with Egypt. The translation was made from the 1922 edition of the text compiled from several manuscripts by Charles C. Torrey.¹¹⁹

He then returned to the report of 'Uthman b. Salih who said that it was in the 18th year [18 AH] that 'Umar al-Khabiya finished with 'Amr b. al-'As and so he ['Umar] permitted him to march to Egypt. 'Amr had already entered Egypt in the *jahiliya* (the Age of Ignorance). He knew its routes and had seen much of what was in it.

The reason for 'Amr's entrance into it [Egypt] was told to us by Yahya b. Khalid al-'Adawi from Ibn Lahi'a and Yahya b. Ayub from Khalid b. Yazid. It reached him that 'Amr proceeded to Jerusalem for trade with a band from the Quraysh. Suddenly, they were with a Byzantine priest from the people of Alexandria. He had proceeded to pray in Jerusalem so he went out into some of its mountains and roamed around them. 'Amr was feeding his camel and the camels of his companions. The grazing of the camels was done in shifts between them. 'Amr was feeding his camel when that priest passed by. An intense thirst then came upon the priest, and it was an intensely hot day. So he stopped by 'Amr to ask him for a drink. 'Amr gave him a drink from his water skin and the priest drank it until his thirst was quenched and he slept in his place.

Beside where the priest slept there was a hole and from it came a terrible snake. 'Amr noticed it so he struck it with an arrow and killed it. When The priest awoke he saw the terrible snake and how God had kept it from him. And the priest said, "What is this?" but then he understood that 'Amr had thrown it (the dart) and killed the snake so he kissed his forehead and said, "Twice already God has saved my life by you: one time from vigorous thirst, and another time from this serpent! So I will proceed with you through these lands."

And so he proceeded with the companions. 'Amr said, "We desire bounty in our trade." So the priest said to him, "How many camels do you all hope that you procure in your trade?" 'Amr said, "My hope is that I will procure enough to buy one camel so that I do not own only two camels, but will have another one and so there will be three." And so the priest asked him, "How much blood money is their between us?"

'Amr said to him, "100 camels." So the priest said to him eloquently, "My people are not the companions of the camel, we are the companions of Dinars. 'Amr said, "It will be 1000 dinars." But the priest said to him, "I am a strange man in these lands. I proceeded to pray in the Church of Jerusalem and I roamed into these mountains. For one month that was solemnly designated upon me. I have finished, and I now desire to return to my country. Will you follow me to my land? You have the protection of God and his covenant as an oath from me that I will give you two diyyat, because by the glory of God I have life by you twice!"

'Amr said, "Where is your country?"

¹¹⁹ Charles C. Torrey. The history of the conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain: Known as the Futuh Misr of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922).

The priest said, "Egypt, in a city called Alexandria."

'Amr said, "I don't know it and have never before entered it."

The priest said, "If you had entered it you would not have entered anything like it before."

'Amr said, "Will you keep with what you said and be true to the oath and covenant?"

The priest said, "By God, I will keep this oath and covenant and return you to your companions."

'Amr said, "How long will my stay be there?"

The priest said, "You will need to have a month free to go with me for 10 days. [Because] I estimate we will depart and travel for 10 days and you will return in 10 days. And I must remember that you will need to go [in that amount of time] and I will dispatch with you someone who remembers [the way to return]."

'Amr said, "I am unsure until I ask my companions about it."

So 'Amr proposed it to his companions. The oldest of them gave the priest his word and The priest said to them, "May you all judge me until I return to you all and you all have upon me the oath that I gave you. Will you [also] divide a man from you all to keep company with me? I will keep him company." And they consented and searched for a man among them.

'Amr and his companion left with the priest for Egypt until they reached Alexandria. 'Amr perceived from its architecture and a lot of its people great wealth and wonder. He said, "I have never before seen anything like its wealth in Egypt." He looked to Alexandria and the architectural quality of its building and its great population. From the wealth in the city his amazement increased.

'Amr stopped at the entrance of Alexandria where there was a celebration. There was a great throng wherein there were kings and elders. They had also one other who went adorned with a crown and he threw a ball to their kings and they received it with their sleeves. And from this they found out whoever dropped it would leave and whoever caught it would own them all until he died.

When 'Amr proceeded to Alexandria, the priest's generosity increased and he gave 'Amr a silk robe of (Basa?) and 'Amr and The priest sat with the people in the sitting room where they were throwing a ball and catching it with their sleeves. A man from among them threw it so that it fell until landing in the sleeve of 'Amr. On account of that, they were amazed. They said, "This ball never lies except this one time, for this Arabian will never rule over us."

The priest walked into the people of Alexandria in order to tell them that 'Amr saved his life twice and that he already guaranteed him 1000 dinars and he asked them to collect it among themselves. So they did and it was paid to 'Amr.

'Amr and his companion left. The priest sent a guide and a messenger with them and they continued to be generous with them until 'Amr and his companion returned to their companions. So it was by this that 'Amr knew the entrance and exit of Egypt. And from what he saw he learned it was one of the most bountiful and wealthy countries.

When 'Amr came to his companions he distributed 1000 dinars among them, keeping 1000 for himself. He said, "It was the first money of his compact and I became rich by it."

CATALOGUE OF DOCUMENTS

The majority of my sources were obtained through the Interlibrary Loan Service provided by the WKU Helm-Cravens Library in Bowling Green, KY. I have attached a few primary and secondary sources which I believe would be relevant to any reader of this document or those which are particularly difficult to obtain. I regret that I am not able to include a copy of all of my sources in their original languages. The documents contained are as follows:

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Entire Text

CATALOGUE OF DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENT 1

AL-IMAM ABU-L 'ABBAS AHMAD IBN-JABIR AL-BALāDHURI, KITAB FUTUH AL-BULDAN (THE ORIGINS OF THE ISLAMIC STATE), TRANS. PHILIP KHURI HITTI.
(NEW YORK: COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1916)
ENGLISH ONLY
PAGES 335-345

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Volume LXVIII]

[Whole Number 163

THE ORIGINS OF THE ISLAMIC STATE

BEING A TRANSLATION FROM THE ARABIC
ACCOMPANIED WITH ANNOTATIONS
GEOGRAPHIC AND HISTORIC NOTES OF THE

KITÂB FUTÛH AL-BULDÂN

OF

al-Imâm abu-l 'Abbâs Ahmad ibn-Jâbir al-Balâdhuri

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CHAPTER I

THE CONQUEST OF EGYPT AND AL-MAGHRIB [MAURITANIA]

'Amr moves against Egypt. After the battle of al-Yarmūk, 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣi laid siege to Caesarea [Kaisāriyah]. When Yazīd ibn-abī-Sufyān assumed power, 'Amr left his son in his place at Caesarea and led, all of his own accord, an army of 3,500 to Egypt. 'Umar was angry because of it and wrote to him, rebuking and reprimanding him for following his own opinion, without consulting 'Umar, and ordering him to return home in case the message was received before his arrival in Egypt. 'Amr, however, received the message in al-'Arish.¹ It is asserted by others that 'Umar wrote to 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣi, ordering him to proceed to Egypt. 'Amr received the message as he was besieging Caesarea. The one who delivered the message was Sharik ibn-'Abdah, to whom 'Amr gave 1,000 *dinārs*, which Sharik refused to accept. 'Amr asked him to conceal the matter and not disclose it to 'Umar.

Al-Fusṭāṭ. The advance of 'Amr against Egypt took place in the year 19. He first stopped at al-'Arish and then proceeded to al-Faramā,² in which were troops ready for the fight. 'Amr fought and defeated them, taking possession of their camp. Thence he advanced straight on to al-

¹ Al-Makrizi, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. ii, p. 63 (Cairo, 1325): "Rafj"; Zaidān, *Ta'rikh Miqr al-Hadith*, vol. i, p. 77; "Rafh . . . modern Raf", ten hours' journey from al-'Arish."

² Pelusium. Maḥāsin, vol. i, p. 8.

Fustât and camped at the myrtle gardens, as the people of al-Fustât had dug moats. The name of the city was *Al-Fustât*,¹ but the Moslems called it *Fustât* because they said, "This is the meeting place [Ar. *fusât*] of the people, and the place where they assemble." Others say that 'Amr pitched a tent [also *fusât*] in it, and it bore its name from it."

As 'Amr ibn-al-'Âsi was besieging al-Fustât, he was joined by az-Zubair ibn-al-'Auwâm ibn-Khuwâlid at the head of 10,000—others say 12,000 men—among whom were Kharrîjah ibn-Hudhafa-h-l-'Adawi and 'Umar ibn-Wahb al-Jumali. Az-Zubair was on the point of leading an incursion and wanted to go to Antioch; but 'Umar said to him, "Abn-'Abdallâh, wouldst thou like to take the governorship of Egypt?" To this az-Zubair replied, "I do not care for it; but would like to go there on a holy war and co-operate with the Moslems. If I find that 'Amr has already reduced it, I would not interfere with his affairs, but would go to some sea-coast and keep post at it; but if I find him in the struggle, I shall fight on his side." With this understanding, he left.

Az-Zubair led the attack on one side, and 'Amr ibn-al-'Âsi on the other. Finally az-Zubair brought a ladder and climbed on it until, with his sword unsheathed, he looked down upon the fort and exclaimed, "Allah is great!" and so did the Moslems exclaim and follow him up. Thus he took the fort by assault, and the Moslems considered it legal to take all that was in it. 'Amr made its holders *dhimmis*, imposed a poll-tax on their person and *kharrâj* on their land, and communicated that to 'Umar ibn-al-Khattâb who endorsed it. Az-Zubair marked certain lots in Misr [Old

¹ *Yâkût*, vol. i, pp. 355, 450.

² *Maqrizî*, vol. ii, pp. 75-76.

Caro] for himself [*ikhtatâ*] and built a well-known mansion in which 'Abdallâh ibn-az-Zubair resided when he invaded Ifrîkiyah² in the company of ibn-abi-Sarh. The leader which az-Zubair used is still in Misr.

'Affân ibn-Muslim from Hishâm ibn-'Urwah.—Az-Zubair was sent to Misr; and when he was told there were in it warfare and pest, he replied, "We have come here only for warfare and pest." The Moslems put ladders up and climbed on them.

'Amr an-Nâkid from Yazîd ibn-abi-Habîb.—'Amr ibn-al-'Âsi entered Egypt with 3,500 men. When 'Umar ibn-al-Khattâb heard about the situation in Egypt, he was affected with solicitude and fear and despatched az-Zubair ibn-al-'Auwâm at the head of 12,000 men. Az-Zubair took part in the conquest of Misr and marked out in it certain lots.³

The division of the land. 'Amr an-Nâkid from Sufyân ibn-Wahb al-Khawlânî.—When we conquered Misr without making a covenant with it, az-Zubair rose and said to 'Amr, "Divide it," but 'Amr refused. Then az-Zubair said, "By Allah, thou shouldst divide it as the Prophet divided Khaibar." 'Amr wrote that to 'Umar who wrote back, saying, "Leave it as it is, so that the descendants of the descendants⁴ may profit by it."

A tradition to the same effect was communicated to me by 'Abdallâh ibn-Wahb on the authority of Sufyân ibn-Wahb.

'Amr and az-Zubair conquer Egypt. Al-Kâsim ibn-Salâm from Yazîd ibn-abi-Habîb.—'Amr ibn-al-'Âsi entered

³ Africa = Tunis. Ibn-'Adhârî, *al-Bayân al-Maghrib*, vol. i, pp. 3-5.

⁴ *Ar. Khilaf*. See *Maqrizî*, vol. ii, pp. 76 seq.

⁵ *Ar. hebal al-Abdalah*. See *Muarrizî*, p. 105; *Caetani*, vol. iv, p. 247; *Maqrizî*, vol. ii, p. 72, line 23; p. 73, line 23; *an-Nidâyah*, vol. i, p. 108.

Egypt at the head of 3,500 men. Just before that, 'Umar al-'Awwām at the head of 12,000 men. Az-Zubair took part with 'Amr in the conquest of Egypt and marked out for himself two lots in Miṣr and Alexandria.

Ibrāhīm ibn-Muḥsin al-Khawārizmī from 'Abdallāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣī:—The latter said, "There is a disagreement regarding the conquest of Miṣr: some say it was conquered by force, and others by capitulation. The fact is that my father ['Amr ibn al-'Āṣī] arrived in it and was resisted by the people of Alyūnah. He finally took possession of it by force and led the Moslems in. Az-Zubair was the first to climb its fort. The chief of Miṣr said to my father, 'We have heard of what ye did in Syria and how ye assessed poll-tax on the Christians and Jews, leaving the land in the hands of its owners to utilize it and pay its *kharāj*. If ye treat us the same way, it would do you more good than to kill, capture and expel us.' My father consulted with the Moslems and they all advised him to accept the terms, with the exception of a few men who asked him to divide the land among them. Accordingly, he assessed on every adult, excepting the poor, two *dīnārs* as poll-tax and on every land-owner, in addition to the two *dīnārs* three *irdābs* of wheat, two *ḥisṭs* of oil, two *ḥisṭs* of honey and two *ḥisṭs* of vinegar, to be given as a subsistence allowance to the Moslems, and gathered in the public house of provision [*ḥār-ar-rīq*], where it is divided among them. A census was taken of the Moslems, and the inhabitants of Miṣr were required to provide every one of the Moslems with a woollen upper gown, an upper cloak or turban breeches and a pair of shoes¹ per annum. Instead of the woollen gown, a Coptic robe would do. To this end, a strike

¹ Dary, *Noms des Vêtements*, c. v. *jubbah, burnus, amānah, shawl* and *khuff*.

ment was written, in which it was stipulated that so long as they lived up to these terms, their women and children would neither be sold nor taken captives, and their possessions and treasures would be kept in their hands.² The statement was submitted to 'Umar, the 'Commander of the Believers,' who endorsed it. Thus, the whole land became *ḥarāj*-land. Because, however, 'Amr signed the contract and the statement, some people thought that Miṣr was taken by capitulation."³

After the king of Alyūnah had made arrangements for himself and for the people in his city, he made terms on behalf of all the Egyptians similar to the terms of Alyūnah. The Egyptians consented, saying, "If those of us who are protected by fortifications have accepted such terms, and were content with them, how much more should we be content who are weak and have no power of resistance." *Kharāj* was assessed on the land of Egypt to the amount of one *ḥisṭ* and three *irdābs* of wheat on every *ḥarīb*, and two *dīnārs* on every adult. The statement was submitted to 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.

The terms made with 'Amr. 'Amr an-Nakid from Yazid ibn-abī-Habīb:—Al-Mukankis⁴ made terms with 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣī, stipulating that 'Amr should let those of the Greeks go who wanted to leave, and keep those who wanted to stay, on certain conditions, which he specified, and that he would assess on the Copts, two *dīnārs* per head. Hearing this, the king of the Greeks was enraged and sent his

² Gattell, "Dhimmi and Moslems in Egypt", O. T. and Semitic Studies, vol. II, p. 363.

³ *Maghrib*, vol. II, pp. 72-74.

⁴ Ibn-Kurayb al-Yūnāni—perhaps Cyrus, the viceroy and archbishop of Alexandria under Heraclius. See Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 508, 521; *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, year 1903, p. 1606; Casanova, *Mohammed et la Fin du Monde*, p. 26.

troops, who, closing the gates of Alexandria, announced to 'Umar their readiness for war. Al-Mukaukis presented himself before 'Amr and said, "I have three requests to make: do not offer to the Greeks the same terms thou hast offered me, because they have distrusted me; do not violate the terms made with the Copts, for the violation will not start by them; and when I die, give orders that I be buried in a church at Alexandria (which he named)." 'Amr answered, "The last is the easiest: for me."

Billit, al-Khais, Sultais and Alexandria. Certain villages in Egypt resisted the advance of the Moslems, and 'Amr carried away some of their inhabitants as prisoners. These were the following: *Billit*,² *al-Khais*,³ and *Sultais*.⁴ Their captives were carried away to al-Madinah. 'Umar ibn al-Khattab sent them back and made them, together with the Coptic community, *dimmis*. The covenant they had, they did not violate. The following is the report of the conquest of Alexandria made by 'Amr to 'Umar: "Allah has given to us the possession of Alexandria by force and against its will, without covenant or contract." According to Yazid ibn-abi-Habib, however, the city was taken by capitulation.

The tax of Egypt. Abu-Aiyub ar-Rak'î from Yazid ibn-abi-Habib:—The *khawâj* and poll-tax which 'Amr raised from Egypt amounted to 2,000,000 *dinars*; but that raised by 'Abdallâh ibn-Sa'd ibn-Abi-Sarh, 4,000,000. When 'Uthmân remarked to 'Amr, saying, "After thee the much camels have yielded more milk," 'Amr replied, "This is because ye have emaciated their young".

In the year 21, 'Umar ibn-al-Khattab wrote to 'Amr ibn-

¹ Makrizi, vol. i, p. 263.

² Cf. "Bahib" in Yâqût, vol. i, p. 713.

³ Butler, p. 289, and note; Ibn-Dukmak, *Kutub al-Intisâf li-Hawâshî* '183, al-Azhar, vol. v, p. 318 (Bulaq, 1893).

⁴ Cf. Dukmak, vol. v, pp. 118-119.

al-'Asi, informing him of the straits in which the inhabitants of al-Madinah were, and ordering him to transport by sea to al-Madinah all the food he had collected as *khawâj*. Accordingly, the food with the oil was carried there; and when it reached al-'Jar,¹ it was received by Sa'd al-'Jar.² Later it was kept in a special house at al-Madinah and distributed among the Moslems by measure. At the time of the first insurrection, the supply was cut off. In the days of Mu'awiyah and Yazid, it was again carried to al-Madinah. Then it was cut off until the time of 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Murwân, after which it was carried until the caliphate of abu-Ja'far, or a little previous to that.

Bar ibn-al-Haitham from Yazid ibn-abi-Habib:—After the first peace was made, the tax-payers in Egypt made new terms in the caliphate of 'Umar, stipulating that instead of the wheat, oil, honey and vinegar they offered, they would pay two *dinars* in addition to the other two *dinars*. Each one thus was bound to pay four *dinars*; and they consented to that and preferred it.

Ain Shams, al-Fayyûm and other places reduced. Abu-Aiyub ar-Rak'î from al-Jaishani:—The latter said, "I heard it stated by a number of those who witnessed the conquest of Egypt that when 'Amr ibn-al-'Asi reduced al-Fustât, he despatched to 'Ain Shams' 'Abdallâh ibn-Hudhâfah as-Sahmi, who took possession of its land and made terms with the inhabitants of its villages similar to those of al-Fustât. Likewise 'Amr despatched Kharijah ibn-Hudhâfah al-'Adawi to al-Fayyûm,³ al-Ushmunain, Ikt-

¹ Hamdani, *Sifat Ja'fari al-'Arab*, p. 47, line 17 (ed. Müller).

² Sa'd al-'Jari mentioned in Dhahabi, *al-Mustathab*, p. 81; cf. Ibn-Sa'd, vol. III, p. 240; Yâqût, vol. II, p. 6.

³ Heliopolis; confused by some historians with Bab al-Yunah (Babylon). Butler, p. 212, note.

⁴ Makrizi, vol. i, pp. 402-403.

mim, al-Basharūdāt¹ and the villages of upper Egypt, which he reduced on the same terms. 'Amr also sent 'Umar ibn-Wahb al-Jumālī to Tinnīs, Dimyāt, Tinnīs, Damirah, Shatā, Dikālah, Bana and Būṣīr, which he reduced on the same terms. 'Amr also sent 'Uqbah ibn-'Amr al-Juhānī (others say 'Amr's freedman, Wardān after whom Sūḵ [market] Wardān in Egypt is named) to the rest of the villages in the lower part of the country and he did the same. Thus did 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣī effect the conquest of all Egypt and make its land *kharāj*-land."

The Copts have no covenant. Al-Kāsim ibn-Sallām from Aiyūb ibn-abi-l-'Āliyah's father.—The latter said, "I heard 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣī say from the pulpit, 'I have occupied this position and am bound to none of the Egyptian Copts by covenant or contract. If I want, I can kill; if I want, I can take one-fifth of the possessions; if I want, I can sell captives. The people of Antībulus are excluded because they have a covenant which must be kept.'"

Al-Maghrīb and Egypt taken by force. Al-Kāsim ibn-Sallām from Mūsā ibn-'Alī ibn-Rabāh al-Lakhmī's father.—All al-Maghrīb was taken by force.

Abu-'Ubayd from as-Salt ibn-abi-'Āsim, the secretary of Ḥaiyān ibn-Shurāih.—The latter said that he read the letter of 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azīz to Ḥaiyān, his *amīl* over Egypt, stating that Egypt was taken by force, with no covenant or contract.

Poll-tax of the Copts not to be increased. Abu-'Ubayd from 'Ubaydallāh ibn-abi-Ja'far.—Mu'āwiyah wrote to Wardān, a freedman of 'Amr, ordering him to increase the poll-tax of every Copt by one *dirḥam*, but Wardān wrote back, "How can I increase it while it is stated in their covenant that their tax should not be increased?"

¹ Cf. Bakri, vol. i, p. 166.

² Yāqūt, vol. ii, p. 587.

Egyptians overtaxed. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from 'Abd-al-Ḥamid ibn-Ja'far's father.—The latter heard 'Urwah ibn-az-Zubair say, "I spent seven years in Egypt and was married in it. I found its people exhausted, being burdened with more than they could bear. The country was conquered by 'Amr through capitulation, covenant and something assessed on the inhabitants."

The statement of 'Amr. Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from 'Uqbah ibn-'Amr al-Juhānī.—The Egyptians had a covenant and a contract. 'Amr gave them a statement to the effect that they were secure with respect to their possessions, lives and children, and that none of them would be sold as slaves. He imposed on them a *kharāj*, not to be increased, and promised to expel all fear of attack by an enemy. 'Uqbah added, "And I was a witness thereto."

The division of the land. Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from Suḥayb ibn-Wahb al-Khawlānī.—The latter said, "At the conquest of Misr by us, which was effected without covenant, az-Zubair ibn-al-'Auwām rose and said, 'Amr, divide it between us!' 'Amr replied, 'By Allah, I will not divide it before I consult 'Umar.' He wrote to 'Umar, and the latter wrote back, 'Leave it as it is, so that the descendants of the descendants may profit by it.'"

Is kharāj. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from Usamah ibn-Zaid ibn-'Aslam's grandfather.—In the year 20, 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣī, accompanied by az-Zubair, subdued Egypt. When Egypt was conquered, the people made terms, agreeing to pay something he imposed on them, which was two *dirḥams* on every man, excluding women and boys. The *kharāj* of Egypt during his governorship amounted to 2,000,000 *dirḥams*; but later it reached 4,000,000.

Two dirḥams on each Copt. Abu-'Ubayd from Yazid ibn-abi-Ḥabbāb.—Al-Mukaulis, the chief of Egypt, made terms with 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣī, stipulating that each Copt pays two

Amirs. Hearing this, Heraclius, the chief of the Greeks was enraged with anger and sent the troops to Alexandria and closed its gates; but 'Amr reduced the city by force. *The poll-tax of the native village of umm-Ibrâhîm, cancelled.*

Ibn-al-Kattâb, i. c., abu-Mas'ûd, from ash-Sha'îbî.—Ali ibn-al-Rusain, or al-Rusain himself, interceded with Mu'awiyah regarding the poll-tax of the fellow-villagers in al-Egypt of the mother of Ibrâhîm, the Prophet's son; and it was cancelled. The Prophet himself used to recommend that the Copts be favorably treated.

The Prophet recommends the Copts. 'Amr from Malik and al-Laith from a son of Ka'b ibn-Mâlik:—The Prophet said, "If ye conquer Egypt, treat the Copts favorably, because they have *dîmneah* and blood-relationship." It is stated by al-Laith that umm-Ismâ'il¹ was a Copt.

'Umar confiscates 'Amr's possessions. Abu-l-Hasan al-Madâ'ini from 'Abdallâh ibn-al-Mubarak:—'Umar ibn-al-Khattâb used to record the possessions of his *'amils* at the time of their appointment; and whatsoever was later added was partly or wholly confiscated by him. He once wrote to 'Amr ibn-al-'Âsî, "It has become revealed that thou ownest commodities, slaves, vases and animals which thou ownest possess when thou wert made governor of Egypt." 'Amr wrote back, "Our land is a land of agriculture and trade; we, therefore, get as income more than what is necessary for our expenses." To this, 'Umar replied, "I have had enough experience with the wicked *'amils*. Thy letter is the letter of one disturbed because justice has been meted out to him. Therefore, my suspicion has been aroused against thee, and I have sent to thee Muhammad ibn-Maslamah with a view to dividing with thee what thou hast. Reveal to him thy secret."

¹ Mâ'iyah, the Copt; Nawâwî, p. 852.

² The reference is to Hagar.

and give out whatever he demands of thee; thereby thou wouldst be spared his severity. What is concealed has been revealed." Thus were 'Amr's possessions confiscated by 'Umar.

Al-Madâ'ini from 'Isa ibn-Yazîd.—When Muhammad ibn-Maslamah divided with 'Amr ibn-al-'Âsî his possessions, 'Amr made this remark, "An age in which the son of Han-namah² treats us in this manner is certainly an evil age. Al-'Âsî used to put on silk garments with brocade borders!"

"Hush," said Muhammad, "had it not been for this age of ibn-Han-namah which thou hatest, thou wouldst be found bending in the courtyard of thy house, at the feet of a goat, whose abundance of milk would please thee and scarcity would displease thee." "I beg thee by Allah," exclaimed 'Amr, "report not what I have just uttered to 'Umar. A conversation is always confidential." Muhammad replied, "So long as 'Umar lives, I shall not mention anything that took place between us."

Egypt taken by force. 'Amr an-Nâkid from 'Abdallâh ibn-Hubairah:—Egypt was taken by force.

'Amr from ibn-An'am's grandfather (who witnessed the conquest of Egypt):—Egypt was taken by force without covenant or contract.

¹ Freytag, *Prov.*, vol. i, p. 166, number 33.

² 'Umar ibn-al-Khattâb's mother; Nawâwî, p. 447.

³ Gâtani, vol. iv, pp. 618-619.

DOCUMENT 2

JOHN OF NIKIU, THE CHRONICLE OF JOHN: COPTIC BISHOP OF NIKIU. BEING A
HISTORY OF EGYPT BEFORE AND DURING THE ARAB CONQUEST, ROBERT
HENRY CHARLES, TRANS. (AMSTERDAM: PHILO PRESS, 1981),
ENGLISH ONLY
PAGES 176-197

ROBERT HENRY CHARLES

THE CHRONICLE OF JOHN

(c. 690 A.D.)

COPTIC BISHOP OF NIKIU

BEING A HISTORY

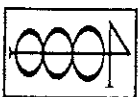
OF EGYPT BEFORE AND DURING THE ARAB CONQUEST

TRANSLATED FROM

HERMANN ZOTENBERG'S EDITION OF THE ETHIOPIC VERSION

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION, CRITICAL AND LINGUISTIC NOTES,
AND AN INDEX OF NAMES



APA - PHILO PRESS
AMSTERDAM

and the Illyrians devastated Christian cities and carried off their inhabitants captive, and that no city escaped save Thessalonica only; for its walls were strong, and through the help of God the nations were unable to get possession of it. But all the province was devastated and depopulated. 19. Then the armies of the east¹ arose against Rome, and they took the Egyptians prisoners, who were there, and who had fled from Egypt from fear of Bonosus. These were Sergius the Apostate and Cosmas who had delivered up his city. 20. Now these had denied the Christian faith and had abandoned holy baptism, and had followed in the paths of the pagans and idolaters.

21. And (the Persians) made themselves masters of the river Euphrates and of all the cities of Antioch, and they plundered them and left not a soldier surviving at that epoch. 22. And likewise the inhabitants of the district of Tripolis in Africa brought blood-eating barbarians (into the country) out of affection to Heraclius. 23. For they detested Phocas, and they attacked the general Mardius and sought to slay him, and likewise two other generals named Ecclesiarius and Isidore. 24. And when these barbarians arrived they made war on the province of Africa, and proceeded to join Heraclius the elder. And the great prefect of the district of Tripolis, named Kisil, went to Nicetas with large supplies in order to help him against Bonosus.

25. And Heraclius the elder sent his son Heraclius the younger to the city of Byzantium with ships and a large force of barbarians in order to attack Phocas. And when he touched at the islands and the various stations on the sea coast, many people, notably those of the Green Faction, went on board with him. 26. And Theodore the Illustrious, together with a large number of wise senators, deserted Phocas and submitted to Heraclius. 27. And seeing this the civilians and the soldiers who were with him followed his example and submitted to Heraclius and Cappadocian. And all the people assailed Phocas with angry invectives, and none stayed them. And all these matters fell out in the city of Constantinople. 28. And when Phocas was apprised of these facts, and had learnt that everybody had made his submission to Heraclius, he sent the imperial chariots to Bonosus in order that he might march against him (Heraclius). 29. And other prefects

¹ Zotenberg emends the text and reads 'west'.

of the emperor got ready the Alexandrian ships in which corn had been brought from the land of Egypt to Constantinople. For Phocas had had these seized because of the revolt of the inhabitants of Alexandria.

CHAPTER CX. 1. And when at the suggestion of Nicetas, the patrician, the people accepted Heraclius as their emperor, the people of Africa lauded Heraclius in these terms: 'The emperor Heraclius will be like Augustus.' And all the people of Alexandria also and of the camp¹ spake in the same fashion. 2. And thereupon they began an engagement on the seashore, and the men of the chariots slew Bonosus. And they all with one voice in the Greek language cried aloud in praise of Heraclius the younger, the son of Heraclius the elder, and abused Phocas and Bonosus. 3. And, hearing these demonstrations, the Green Faction and the inhabitants of the city of Byzantium, who were on the sea, assembled their ships and pursued the 'Blues'. Now these latter were disquieted because of the accusation made against them, and subsequently took refuge in the church of S. Sophia. 4. And all the officers and senators had taken up a position near the palace, and they were lying in wait for Phocas. But when Phocas and Leoncius the chamberlain became aware that they sought with evil intent to slay them as they had slain the depraved Bonosus, the two arose and seized all the money that was in the imperial treasury which had been amassed by Maurice, and likewise that which had been amassed by (Phocas) himself from the Roman nobles whom he had put to death, and whose property he had confiscated, and likewise the money of Bonosus, and they cast it into the waves of the sea, and so thoroughly impoverished the Roman empire. 5. And thereupon the senators and the officers and soldiers went in and seized Phocas, and took the imperial crown from his head, and (they seized) Leoncius the chamberlain likewise, and conducted them in chains to Heraclius to the church of S. Thomas the Apostle, and they put both of them to death in his presence. 6. And they cut off the puffy parts of Phocas, and tore off his skin right down to his legs because of the dishonour and shame he had brought on the wife of (Photius) because she was consecrated to the service of God, for he had taken her by force and violated her, although she was of an illustrious family. 7. And next they took the bodies of

¹ So manuscripts. Zotenberg emends and renders 'au château'.

Phocas and Leontius and Bonosus and they conveyed them to the city of Constantinople, and they burnt them with fire, and scattered the ashes of their bodies to the winds; for they were detested by all men. 8. And thus the vision was accomplished which Benjamin of the city of Antioch had received from God, and the inhabitants of Byzantium did not slight a detail in it. 9. On the contrary, they conducted Heraclius against his will to the church of S. Thomas the Apostle and placed the imperial crown on his head. When he had completed his prayers, he went and entered into the palace, and all the fwiseſ congratulated him.

10. And after his accession to the imperial throne Heraclius wrote a letter to Heraclius, his father, to inform him of all that had happened, and likewise of his accession to the imperial throne. 11. Now Heraclius, his father, had seized the city of Carthage, the imperial capital of Africa, and he was much concerned for his son who had gone to Byzantium. But when he heard this news, he rejoiced (thereat). 12. Now great uncertainty prevailed in the churches because of the long duration of the war, and every one was full of apprehension over the victory which had been won over Bonâkîs, and the disquietude which had been occasioned in regard to his (Heraclius's) son.

13. And subsequently Heraclius fell ill and quitted this world, while he was at his post in his government. God alone knows whom He appoints, and unto God be glory for ever.

CHAPTER CXI. 1. Now Theodore was commander-in-chief in Egypt. And when the messengers of Theodosius the prefect of Arcadia informed him regarding the death of John,¹ general of the local levies, he thereupon turned with all the Egyptian troops and his auxiliary forces and marched to Lôkjôn, which is an island. 2. Moreover he feared lest, owing to the dissensions prevailing amongst the inhabitants of that district, the Moslem should come and seize the coast of Lôkjôn and dislodge the communities of the servants of God who were subjects of the Roman emperor. 3. And his lamentations were more grievous than the lamentations of David over Saul when he said: 'How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished?'² For not only had John the general of

¹ John, Duke of Barcen, who had been sent against the Moslem that had invaded Egypt (so Zotenberg, comparing Nicephorus, *Proc. Hist.*, p. 17). See, however, Butler's *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, p. 222 n.

² 2 Sam. i. 27.

the forces perished, but likewise John the general, who was of the city of Mâros, had been slain in battle and fifty horsemen with him.

4. I will acquaint you briefly with what befell the former inhabitants of Fajûm.

5. John and his troops, the warriors whom we have just mentioned, had been appointed by the Romans to guard the district. Now these posted other guards near the rock of the city of Lâhûn in order to keep guard continually, and to give information to the chief of the forces of the movements of their enemies. 6. And subsequently they got ready some horsemen and a body of soldiers and archers, and these marched out to fight the Moslem, purposing to prevent the advance of the Moslem. 7. And subsequently the Moslem directed their march to the desert and seized a large number of sheep and goats from the high grounds without the cognizance of the Egyptians. 8. And when they reached the city of Bahnasâ, all the troops on the banks of the river came (to the succour) with John, but were unable on that occasion to reach Fajûm.

9. And the general Theodosius, hearing of the arrival of the Ishmaelites, proceeded from place to place in order to see what was likely to befall from these enemies. 10. And these Ishmaelites came and slew without mercy the commander of the troops and all his companions. And forthwith they compelled the city to open its gates, and they put to the sword all that surrendered, and they spared none, whether old men, babe, or woman. 11. And they proceeded against the general John. And he took all the horses: and they hid themselves in the enclosures and plantations lest their enemies should discover them. Then they arose by night and marched to the great river of Egypt, to Abûlî, in order to secure their safety. Now this matter was from God.

12. And the chief of the faction who was with Jeremiah informed the Moslem troops of the Roman soldiers who were hidden. And so these took them prisoners and put them to death. 13. And tidings of these events were brought to the general Theodosius, and to Anastasius, who were then twelve miles distant from Nakus. And they betook themselves immediately to the citadel of Babylon, and they remained there, sending the general Leontius to the city

¹ So manuscripts.

of Abūt. 14. Now he was obese in person, quite without energy and unacquainted with warlike affairs. And when he arrived he found the Egyptian troops and Theodore fighting with the Moslem and making sorties every day from the city of Faijūm in order to (re)take the city.¹ And taking half the troops he returned to Babylon in order to acquaint the governors (with the state of affairs), and the other half of the troops remained with Theodore.

15. And Theodore sought with great diligence for the body of John, who had been drowned in the river. And with much lamentation he had the body drawn forth in a net, and placed in a bier and sent to the governors, who also (in turn) sent it to Heraclius.

16. And such (of the Romans) as were in Egypt sought refuge in the citadel of Babylon. And they were also awaiting the arrival of the general Theodore in order to join with him in attacking the Ishmaelites before the rise of the river and the time of sowing, when they could not make war lest their sowings should be destroyed (and) they should die of famine together with their children and cattle.

CHAPTER CXII. 1. Moreover, there prevailed great indignation between Theodore the general and the governors owing to the charges brought by the emperor. 2. And both? Theodosius and Anastasius went forth to the city of Ōn, on horseback, together with a large body of foot soldiers, in order to attack 'Amr the son of Al-Ās.² Now the Moslem had not as yet come to know the city of Misr.³ 3. And paying no attention to the fortified cities they came to a place named Tendūnias,⁴ and embarked on the river. 4. And 'Amr showed great vigilance and strenuous thought in his attempts to capture the city of Misr. But he was troubled because of his separation from (a part of) the Moslem troops, who being divided into two corps on the east of the river were marching towards a city named 'Ain Shams, i. e. Ōn, which was situated on high ground. 5. And 'Amr the son of Al-Ās sent a letter to Omar the son of Al-Khattāb in the province of Palestine to this effect:

¹ i. e. Bahnast (?).

² I have emended *ḥṭṭṭ*: (= 'all') into *ḥḏḏḏ*: = 'both'.

³ On 'Amr's parentage see Gibbon, v. 444 (ed. Bury).

⁴ This was the fortress, otherwise called Babylon.

⁵ Identified by Butler (*Arab Conquest of Egypt*, p. 217 n.) with Umm Dūnain.

'If thou dost not send Moslem reinforcements, I shall not be able to take Misr.' 6. And he sent him 4,000 Moslem warriors. And their general's name was Walwārjā. He was of barbarian descent. 7. And he divided his troops into three corps. One corps he placed near Tendūnias, the second to the north of Babylon in Egypt; and he made his preparations with the third corps near the city of Ōn. 8. And he gave the following orders: 'Be on the watch, so that when the Roman troops come out to attack us, you may rise up in their rear, whilst we shall be on their front, and so having got them between us, we shall put them to the sword.' 9. And thus when the Roman troops, unaware (of this design), set out from the fortress to attack the Moslem, these Moslem thereupon fell upon their rear, as they had arranged, and a fierce engagement ensued. And when the Moslem came in great numbers against them, the Roman troops fled and betook themselves to the ships. 10. And the Moslem army took possession of the city of Tendūnias; for its garrison had been destroyed, and there survived only 300 soldiers. And these fled and withdrew into the fortress and closed the gates. But when they saw the great slaughter that had taken place, they were seized with panic and fled by ship to Nākus in great grief and sorrow. 11. And when Domentianus of the city of Faijūm heard of these events, he set out by night without informing the inhabitants of (A)biūt that he was fleeing to escape the Moslem, and they proceeded to Nākus by ship. 12. And when the Moslem learnt that Domentianus had fled, they marched joyously and seized the city of Faijūm and (A)biūt, and they shed much blood there.

CHAPTER CXIII. 1. And after the capture of Faijūm with all its territory by the Moslem, 'Amr sent Abakiri¹ of the city of Dalās requesting him to bring the ships of Rif in order to transport to the east bank of the river the Ishmaelites who were upon the west. 2. And he mustered all his troops about him in order to carry on a vigorous warfare. And he sent orders to the prefect George to construct for him a bridge on the river of the city Galjūb with a view to the capture of all the cities of Misr, and likewise of Athrib and Kuerdis. And people began to help the Moslem. 3. And (the Moslem) captured the cities of Athrib and Manūf, and all their territories. And he had moreover a great bridge

¹ Butler (*Arab Conquest of Egypt*, p. 235 n.) has shown that Abakiri is the same as Apa Gyrus, pagarch of Herraopolis Magna.

constructed over the river near Babylon in Egypt to prevent the passage of ships to Nakius, Alexandria, and upper Egypt, and to make it possible for horses to cross from the western to the eastern bank of the river. And so they effected the submission of all the province of Misir. 4. But 'Amr was not satisfied with what he had already done, and so he had the Roman magistrates arrested, and their hands and feet confined in iron and wooden bonds. And he forcibly despoiled (them) of much of (their) possession, and he doubled the taxes on the peasants and forced them to carry fodder for their horses, and he perpetrated innumerable acts of violence. 5. And such of the governors as were in the city of Nakius fled and betook themselves to the city of Alexandria, leaving Domentianus with a few troops to guard the city. And they sent orders also to Dares the chief officer in the city of Samnûd to guard the two rivers. 6. Then a panic fell on all the cities of Egypt, and all their inhabitants took to flight, and made their way to Alexandria, abandoning all their possessions and wealth and cattle.

CHAPTER CXIV. 1. And when those Moslem, accompanied by the Egyptians who had apostatized from the Christian faith and embraced the faith of the beast, had come up, the Moslem took as a booty all the possessions of the Christians who had fled, and they designated the servants of Christ enemies of God. 2. And 'Amr left a large body of his men fin¹ the citadel of Babylon in Egypt, and marched in person towards the two rivers in the direction of the east against the General Theodore. 3. But the latter dispatched Jegbarî and Safârî to seize the city of Samnûd (and) fight with the Moslem. And when they came to the body of local levies,² they all refused to war against the Moslem. And they indeed gave battle and put to the sword many of the Moslem (and of those) who were with them. 4. And the Moslem were not able to inflict any injury on the cities which lay on the two rivers; because the water served as a rampart, and the horses could not enter them because of the deep water which surrounded them. 5. And so leaving them they marched towards the province of Rif and arrived at the city of Bûsir. And they fortified this city and likewise the approaches which they had previously seized.

¹ See Butler, p. 268 n.

² The Ethiopic word here bears sometimes, as in this passage, the meaning *milite*, *barba militaris*, as in Dillmann's Lex.

6. And in those days the general Theodore went to Kalâdjî, and besought him saying: 'Come back to us, come back to the side of Rome.' And Kalâdjî, fearing lest they should put to death his mother and wife, (who) were concealed in Alexandria, gave Theodore a great sum of money. 7. And the general Theodore prevailed on Kalâdjî, and the latter arose in the night, while the Moslem were asleep, and marching on foot with his men he came to the general Theodore. 8. And thence he proceeded to the city of Nakius and formed a junction with Domentianus in order to war against the Moslem.

9. And subsequently Sabendis devised an excellent plan and so escaped out of the hands of the Moslem by night. And he betook himself to Danielta to the prefect John. 10. And he indeed sent him to Alexandria with a letter . . . confessing his fault to the governors with many tears in these words: 'I have done this deed because of the blow and the ignominy which John inflicted upon me without showing any consideration for (my) old age. For this reason I joined the Moslem. Herebefore I was a zealous servant of the Romans.'

CHAPTER CXV. 1. And 'Amr the chief of the Moslem spent twelve months¹ in warring against the Christians of Northern Egypt, but failed nevertheless in reducing their cities. 2. And in the fifteenth year of the cycle, during the summer, he marched on the cities of Sakâ and Tûkû-Dâmsis,² being impatient to subdue the Egyptians before the rise of the river. But he was unable to do them any hurt. 3. And in the city of Danielta they also refused to admit him, and he sought to burn their crops. 4. And he began to march back to the troops that were in the fortress of Babylon in Egypt. And he gave them all the booty which he had taken from the city of Alexandria. 5. And he destroyed the houses of the Alexandrians who had fled f, and he took their wood and iron and gave orders for the construction of a road from the fortress of Babylon to the city of the two rivers, in order that they might burn that city with fire. 6. And the inhabitants of that city on hearing of this project took to flight with their possessions,

¹ So emended by Butler (p. 298 n.). Text = 'years'.

² So restored by Zotenberg. See Butler (p. 297, n. 2), who takes this word to be a compression of two distinct words, Tûkh (Mazid) and (Mî) Damis, which lies about nine miles due east of Tûkh Mazid in the Delta.

and abandoned their city, and the Moslem burned that city with fire. But the inhabitants of that city came by night and extinguished the fire. 7. And the Moslem marched against other cities to war against them, and they despoiled the Egyptians of their possessions and dealt cruelly with them. 8. But the generals Theodore and Domentianus were unable to do any injury to the inhabitants of the city on account of the Moslem who were amongst them.

9. And 'Amr left lower¹ Egypt and proceeded to war against Rîf. He sent a few Moslem against the city of Antioch. And when the Moslem saw the weakness of the Romans and the hostility of the people to the emperor Heraclius, because of the persecution wherewith he had visited all the land of Egypt in regard to the orthodox faith, at the instigation of Cyrus the Chalcedonian patriarch, they became bolder and stronger in the war. 10. And the inhabitants of the city (Antioch) sought to concert measures with John their prefect with a view to attacking the Moslem; but he refused, and arose with haste with his troops, and, having collected all the imposts of the city, betook himself to Alexandria; for he knew that he could not resist the Moslem, and (he feared) lest he should meet with the same fate as the garrison of Faijûm. 11. Indeed, all the inhabitants of the province submitted to the Moslem, and paid them tribute. And they put to the sword all the Roman soldiers whom they encountered. And the Roman soldiers were in a fortress, and the Moslem besieged them, and captured their catapults, and demolished their towers, and dislodged them from the fortress. 12. And they strengthened the fortress of Babylon, and they captured the city of Nakius and made themselves strong there.

CHAPTER CXXVI. 1. And Heraclius was grieved by the death of John the chief of the local levies, and of John the general who had been slain by the Moslem, as well as by the defeat of the Romans that were in the province of Egypt. 2. And in accordance with the decree of God who takes away the souls of rulers,² and of men of war as well as of kings, Heraclius fell ill with fever, and died in the thirty-first year of his reign in the month Yakâttî³ of the

¹ The text is a transliteration of an Arabic word (Zolenberg).
² 'The souls of rulers'—so the manuscripts.

³ Sixth Abyssinian month, beginning on Feb. 7 according to the Gregorian Calendar.

Egyptians, that is, February of the Roman months, in the fourteenth year of the lunar cycle, the 357th year of Diocletian. 3. And some said: 'The death of Heraclius is due to his stamping the gold coinage with the figures of the three emperors—that is, his own and of his two sons on the right hand and on the left—and so no room was found for inscribing the name of the Roman empire.' And after the death of Heraclius they obliterated those three figures.

4. And when Heraclius the elder died, Pyrrhus,¹ the patriarch of Constantinople, passed over Martina (the daughter of) his (i.e. Heraclius's) sister and her children, and nominated Constantine the son of the empress Eudocia, and made him head of the empire in succession to his father. And the two princes were treated with honour and distinction. 5. And David and Marinus seized Pyrrhus, the Roman Chalcedonian patriarch, and banished him to an island in the west of Africa, without any one being cognizant of what had been fulfilled; for no word of the saints falls (to the ground). 6. Now it happened that the great Severus, patriarch of Antioch, wrote to Caesaria the patrician to the following effect: 'No son of the sect of the Chalcedonians bears sway in the world.'

7. And Constantine, the son of Heraclius, on his accession to the empire mustered a large number of ships, and entrusted them to Krijûs and Salâkriûs, and sent them to bring the patriarch Cyrus to him that he might take counsel with him as to the Moslem, that he should fight, if he were able, but, if not, should pay tribute;² and that he should meet him in the imperial city on the festival of the holy Resurrection, and to cause all the inhabitants of Constantinople to assemble to carry out the same object. 8. And next he sent orders to Theodore³ to come to him and leave Anastasius⁴ to guard the city of Alexandria and the

¹ Ethiopic gives ḥ.Ḳ.Ḳ. owing to a faulty transcription of the Arabic.

² The words 'should pay tribute' occur in the text before 'as to the Moslem'. The Ethiopic is ungrammatical and unintelligible. I restore the text as follows: ለአስገሥ፡ ወይኩን፡ ሕመ፡ ይኩል፡ ተባብሮቲ፡ ወእመ፡ ሕይኩል፡ ወእእመ፡ ከ፡ ይኩል፡ ተባብሮቲ፡ ወሚመ፡ ሕይኩል፡

³ The text reads 'Anastasius . . . Theodore', but I have in concurrence with Butler's suggestion (op. cit. 303 n.) transposed them. He points out that Anastasius was actually governor of Alexandria prior to the return of Cyrus (see p. 573), and that Theodore was with Cyrus at Rhodes on his way back to Egypt (see cxx. 6 sq.).

cities on the coast. And he held out hopes to Theodore that he would send him a large force in the autumn in order to war with the Moslem. 9. And when in conformity to the command of the emperor they had prepared the ships for setting out, the emperor Constantine forthwith fell ill,¹ and was attacked by a severe malady, and he vomited blood, and when the blood was exhausted he forthwith died. And this malady lasted a hundred days, that is, all the days of his reign wherein he reigned after his father Heraclius. And people mocked at Heraclius and his son Constantine.

10. And the members of the party of Gainas assembled in the church in the city of Dafashir near the bridge of the Apostle S. Peter. Now Cyrus the patriarch had robbed the church of large possessions in the time of the persecution, without any authorization on the part of the magistrates. 11. And when the Gainites sought to lay hands on the patriarch Cyrus, Eudocianus, the brother of the prefect Domentianus, being immediately apprised (of their purpose), sent troops against them to shoot them with arrows and prevent them from carrying out their intention. Some of them were so severely smitten that they died, while two had their hands cut off without legal sentence. 12. And proclamation was made throughout the city by the voice of a herald in these terms: 'Let every one of you withdraw to his own church, and let no one do any violence to his neighbour in defiance of the law.' 13. But God, the Guardian of justice, did not neglect the world, but avenged those who had been wronged: He had no mercy on such as² had dealt treacherously against Him, but He delivered them into the hands of the Ishmaelites. 14. And the Moslem thereupon took the field and conquered all the land of Egypt. And after the death of Heraclius, the patriarch Cyrus on his return did not cease (his) severities and persecution against the people of God, but rather added violence to violence.

CHAPTER CXVII. 1. And 'Amr the chief of the Moslem forces encamped before the citadel of Babylon and besieged the troops that garrisoned it. 2. Now the latter received his promise that they should not be put to the sword, and on their side undertook to deliver up to him all the munitions of war—now these were con-

¹ Text reads $\omega\lambda\phi$; = 'he fell'. This I have emended into $\epsilon\omega\tau$; = 'fell ill'.
² Here I omit $\alpha\lambda\gamma\tau$; before H.

siderable.¹ 3. And thereupon he ordered them to evacuate the citadel. And they took a small quantity of gold and set out. And it was in this way that the citadel of Babylon in Egypt was taken on the second day after the (festival of the) Resurrection. 4. Thus God punished them because they had not honoured the redemptive passion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave His life for those who believe in Him. Yea, it was for this reason that God made them turn their back upon them (i. e. the Moslem). 5. Now on that day of the festival of the holy Resurrection they released the orthodox that were in prison; but, enemies of Christ as they were, they did not let them go without first ill-using them; but they scourged them and cut off their hands. 6. And on that day these (unhappy ones) wept and their tears poured down their faces and they were spurred, even as it is written regarding those unclean persons: 'They have defiled the Church by an unclean faith, and they have wrought apostasies and deeds of violence like the sect of the Arians, such as neither pagan nor barbarian has wrought, and they have despised Christ and His servants, and we have not found any that do the like amongst the worshippers of false idols. 7. But God has been patient with the apostates and heretics who have undergone baptism a second time in submission to despotic emperors. Yet it is the same God who recompenses every man according to his deeds and does justice to him that has been wronged. 8. How then, is it not far better for us to endure patiently the trials and punishments which they inflict upon us? They indeed think to honour our Lord Christ by so doing; whereas they are found to be perverted in their faith. They have not indeed voluntarily apostatized, but they persecute those who agree not with them in faith. God forbid (such agreement)! for they are not servants of Christ: yet they think they are such in their thoughts.' 9. And they have despised the Lord Christ and His servants, and we have not found any that do the like amongst the worshippers of false idols. 7. But God has been patient with the apostates and heretics who have undergone baptism a second time in submission to despotic emperors. Yet it is the same God who recompenses every man according to his deeds and does justice to him that has been wronged. 8. How then, is it not far better for us to endure patiently the trials and punishments which they inflict upon us? They indeed think to honour our Lord Christ by so doing; whereas they are found to be perverted in their faith. They have not indeed voluntarily apostatized, but they persecute those who agree not with them in faith. God forbid (such agreement)! for they are not servants of Christ: yet they think they are such in their thoughts.'

CHAPTER CXVIII. 1. Now the capture of the citadel of Babylon and of Nakius by the Moslem was a source of great grief to the Romans. 2. And when 'Amr had brought to a close the operations of war he made his entry into the citadel of Babylon, and he mustered a large number of ships, great and small, and anchored them close to the fort where he was.

3. And Menas, who was chief of the Green Faction, and Cosmas the son of Samuel, the leader of the Blues, besieged the city of Misr and

¹ I have emended the ungrammatical $\alpha\eta\tau$; into $\alpha\eta\tau$;

harrassed the Romans during the days of the Moslem. And fighting men had gone up with fear-inspiring boldness from the western bank of the river in ships, and these made expeditions by night.

4. 'Amr and the Moslem army, on horseback, proceeded by land till they came to the city of Kebrias of Abadja. And on this occasion he attacked the general Domentianus. 5. But when the latter learnt of the approach of the Moslem troops, he embarked on a ship and fled [in a ship] and abandoned the army and their fleet. And he sought to enter the small canal which Heraclius had dug during his reign. But finding it closed he returned and entered the city of Alexandria. 6. Now when the soldiers saw that their commander had taken flight, they cast away their arms and threw themselves into the river in the presence of their enemies. 7. And the Moslem troops slaughtered them with the sword in the river, and none escaped save one man only, named Zechariah, a doughty man and a warrior. 8. And when the crews of the ships saw the flight of the troops, they too took to flight and returned to their own country. And thereupon the Moslem made their entry into Nakius, and took possession, and finding no soldiers (to offer resistance), they proceeded to put to the sword all whom they found in the streets and in the churches, men, women, and infants, and they showed mercy to none. 9. And after they had captured (this) city, they marched against other localities and sacked them and put all they found to the sword. And they came also to the city of fSat,¹ and there they found Esqutaws and his people in a vineyard, and the Moslem seized them and put them to the sword. Now these were of the family of the general Theodore. 10. Let us now cease, for it is impossible to recount the iniquities perpetrated by the Moslem after their capture of the island of Nakius, on Sunday, the eighteenth day of the month Genbot,² in the fifteenth year of the cycle, and also the horrors committed in the city of Caesarea in Palestine.

11. And the general Theodore, who was in command of the city, even the city of Kiliânâs, quitted (this) city and proceeded to Egypt, leaving Stephen with the troops to guard the city and

¹ Since Sa = Sais, which being as far north as Damahûr was beyond the range of the Arabs at this time, Butler (*op. cit.* 285 n.) reads Sakhâ, which is given in the heading of the chapter.

² Ninth Abyssinian month, beginning on May 8 according to the Gregorian Calendar.

contend with the Moslem. 12. And there was a certain Jew with the Moslem, and he betook himself to the province of Egypt. And when with great toil and exertion they had cast down the walls of the city, they forthwith made themselves masters of it, and put to the sword thousands of its inhabitants and of the soldiers, and they gained an enormous booty, and took the women and children captive and divided them amongst themselves, and they made that city a desolation (lit. destitute). 13. And shortly after the Moslem proceeded against the country (city?) of fCoprôst and put Stephen and his people to the sword.

CHAPTER CXIX. 1. And Egypt also had become enslaved to Satan. A great strife had broken out between the inhabitants of Lower Egypt, and these were divided into two parties. Of these, one sided with Theodore, but the other wished to join the Moslem. 2. And straightway the one party rose against the other, and they plundered their possessions and burnt their city. But the Moslem distrusted them.

3. And 'Amr sent a large force of Moslem against Alexandria, and they captured Kariûn, which lies outside the city. And Theodore and his troops who were in that locality fled and withdrew into Alexandria. 4. And the Moslem began to attack them but were not able to approach the walls of the city; for stones were hurled against them from the top of the walls, and they were driven far from the city.

5. And the inhabitants of Misr were at variance with those of Lower Egypt, and their strife ran high, but after a short time they made peace. 6. But when their discord came to an end, Satan stirred up another in the city of Alexandria; for Domentianus the prefect and Menas the general were at variance with each other through lust for office and other motives. 7. Now the general Theodore took the side of Menas: he was moreover hostile to Domentianus because of his flight from Nakius and his abandonment of the troops. 8. And with Eudocianus, the elder brother of Domentianus, Menas was very wroth, because he had practised cruelties against the Christians during the season of the holy Passion in regard to the faith. 9. And Domentianus mustered a large force of the 'Blues'. And when Menas was apprised of this movement, he too mustered a large force of the 'Greens' and of the troops in the city. And thus these two kept up their hostility.

10. It was subsequently to this that Philades the prefect of the province of Arcadia arrived. Now Domentianus had become the foe of Cyrus the patriarch, and he showed him ill will, though he was his brother-in-law, and though previously they had been mutual friends. But subsequently he came to hate him without any good ground. 11. And Menas also who cherished a spiritual friendship¹ for Philades and was not neglectful of him but invited him frequently out of respect for the priesthood; for Philades was the brother of the patriarch George. Now (Menas) was merciful and Godfearing and was grieved on behalf of those that were oppressed. But Philades was not loyal in friendship, but acted unjustly, (and) cherished in secret evil designs. 12. Now in the days of the general Theodore, when a discussion was raised regarding the city named Mămînă, and regarding the pay of the troops and the lands on which it should be levied, this wicked man straightway spake and said: 'In place of twelve men, it will be better to have one; then there will be one man to receive pay instead of² twelve, and so the tax in kind and the pay of the troops will be lessened.' And in this incident Menas found an occasion against Domentianus. 13. And all the troops loved and trusted him: for Menas loved the esteem of all men—not in order to receive idle praise, but by reason of his wisdom and modesty. 14. Now while he was present in the great church of Caesaron with all the people, all the inhabitants of the city gathered together against Philades and sought to put him to death. But he took to flight and hid himself in a church. 15. And straightway the people proceeded to his dwelling and burnt it, and pillaged all his property, but they spared such persons as they found in the house, and did not slay them. 16. And when Domentianus was apprised (of these events) he sent a body of the 'Blues' to attack them. And a great strife ensued amongst them, and six men were killed and many wounded. 17. And with great efforts and exertions Theodore established peace amongst them. And he deposed the general Domentianus, and appointed Artână chief of ten orders, who is named a decurion. And all the property which had been carried off as pillage from the house of Philades was returned to him. It has been said that this strife and tumult originated in religious dissensions.

¹ I have transposed **ΑΓΓΛ**: **ωγλα**: before **ΑΓΓΛ**: Cf. text four lines lower.
² I have here added **ωγλ**: before **Ιωγ**:

18. And after the death of Constantine, the son of Heraclius, they brought forward Heraclius, his brother on his father's side, though but an infant. But his accession to the empire was as idle as had been that of his brother who died. 19. And the patriarch Pyrrhus, seeing that Heraclius, who was still a child, had become emperor through the intrigues of Martina his mother, whilst he Pyrrhus was still in exile¹. . . . 20. And after his accession to the empire he recalled Pyrrhus from exile by the advice of the Senate, and abolished the penal decree issued by his brother Constantine and his imperial predecessors; for they abolished it because of the unjust accusation of Philagrius the treasurer. 21. And it was through his agency that the churches were in tribulation: for he put an end to the gifts which the emperors were accustomed to make, and he confirmed the heavy charges (that were upon them).

22. And subsequently he appointed him (Cyrus) a second time to the city of Alexandria, and the priests who were with him. He gave him power and authority to make peace with the Moslem and check any further resistance against them, and to establish a system of administration suitable to the government of the land of Egypt. And he was accompanied by Constantine, a general of the army, who was master of the local levies. 23. And he had the army from the province of Thrace brought to the city of Constantinople, and he banished Philagrius the treasurer to the province of Africa where Pyrrhus had previously been in banishment. 24. And there were great dissensions, and the inhabitants of the city rose up against Martina and her children because of the banishment of Philagrius the treasurer; for he was greatly beloved.

CHAPTER CXX. 1. Now not only Cyrus the Chalcedonian patriarch desired peace with the Moslem, but also all the people and the patricians and Domentianus, who had enjoyed the favour of the empress Martina—(and so) all these assembled and took counsel with Cyrus the patriarch with a view to making peace with the Moslem.

2. And all the clergy began to stir up odium² against the empire of Heraclius the younger, declaring: 'It is not fitting that one derived from a reprobate seed should sit on the imperial throne: rather it is the sons of Constantine, who was the son of Eudocia,

¹ There is a lacuna here.
² Reading **εραά**: instead of **εραά**.

that should bear sway over the empire.' And they rejected the will of the elder Heraclius.

3. And when Valentinus was apprised that all men were united against Martina and her sons, he took large sums of money out of the treasury of Philagrius, and distributed them amongst the soldiers and officers, and prevailed on them to act against Martina and her sons. 4. And some of them gave over warring against the Moslem, and turned their hostilities against their own countrymen. 5. And thereupon they sent an envoy secretly to the island of Rhodes with this message to the troops with the patriarch Cyrus: 'Return to the imperial city and do not take sides with him.' 6. And they sent also to Theodore, the prefect of Alexandria, the following message: 'Do not hearken to the voice of Martina, and do not obey her sons.' And they sent likewise to Africa, and to every province under the sway of Rome.

7. And when Theodore the general heard this news, he was pleased and kept the matter secret, and set out by night without the cognizance of any, and purposed proceeding from the island of Rhodes to Pentapolis, and he told only the captain of the ship. 8. But the captain of the ship alleged (that he could not), saying: 'The wind is contrary to us.' And he entered Alexandria on the night of the seventeenth day of Maskaram,¹ on the day of the festival of the Holy Cross. 9. And all the inhabitants of Alexandria, men and women, old and young, gathered together to meet the patriarch Cyrus, rejoicing and giving thanks for the arrival of the patriarch of Alexandria. 10. And Theodore betook himself secretly with the patriarch to the Church of the monks of Tabenna and closed the door. And he sent for Minas and appointed him general, and banished Domentianus from the city. And all the inhabitants cried out: '(Begone) from the city.'

11. Now before the arrival of Cyrus the patriarch, George had been highly esteemed by the governor Anastasius; for he had received the dignity from Heraclius the younger (?), and, when he was advanced in years, he enjoyed universal authority: even the patriarch suffered him to enjoy his authority.

12. And when the patriarch Cyrus came to the great church of Caesaron, they covered all the way (with carpets) and chanted hymns

¹ First Abyssinian month, beginning on Sept. 10 according to the Gregorian Calendar.

in his honour (and the crowds increased) till the people trod each other down. And after great exertions they brought him to the Church. 13. Now he extolled highly the well in which the Holy Cross had been found. And he took also (to the Caesaron) the venerable cross from the Convent of the monks of Tabenna which he had received previously to his exile from the general John.¹ 14. And when they began to celebrate divine service on the day of the holy Resurrection, instead of chanting the psalm proper to the day of the Resurrection, which is: 'This is the day which the Lord has made; we will rejoice and be glad in it,'² the deacon, desiring to praise the patriarch and to congratulate him on his return, gave out another psalm that was not proper (to the day). 15. And when the people heard it, they said: 'This is not the proper psalm: it is an evil augury for the patriarch Cyrus: he will not see a second festival of the Resurrection in the city of Alexandria.' 16. And all the congregation and the monks made predictions after this fashion in public: 'He has acted contrary to what is ordained in the Canons.' But none who heard any of these sayings believed them.

17. And subsequently the patriarch Cyrus set out and went to Babylon to the Moslem, seeking by the offer of tribute to procure peace from them and put a stop to war in the land of Egypt. And 'Amr welcomed his arrival, and said unto him: 'Thou hast done well to come to us.' And Cyrus answered and said unto him: 'God has delivered this land into your hands: let there be no enmity from henceforth between you and Rome: heretofore there has been no persistent strife with you.' 18. And they fixed the amount of tribute to be paid. And as for the Ishmaelites, they were not to intervene in any matter, but were to keep to themselves for eleven months. The Roman troops in Alexandria were to carry off their possessions and their treasures and proceed (home) by sea, and no other Roman army was to return. But those who wished to journey by land were to pay a monthly (?) tribute. 19. And the Moslem were to take as hostages one hundred and fifty soldiers and fifty civilians and make peace.

¹ I have transposed the clause 'which he had . . . from the general John' from the close of the preceding sentence, in accordance with Butler's (*op. cit.* 314 sq.) suggestion. That sentence refers to the discovery of the Holy Cross by Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great.

² Ps. cxviii. 24.

20. And the Romans were to cease warring against the Moslem, and the Moslem were to desist from seizing Christian Churches, and the latter were not to intermeddle with any concerns of the Christians. 21. And the Jews were to be permitted to remain in the city of Alexandria.

22. And when the patriarch had concluded this negotiation, he returned to the city of Alexandria, and he reported to Theodore and the general Constantine (the conditions of peace), to the intent that they should report them to the emperor Heraclius and support them before him. 23. And straightway all the troops and the people of Alexandria and the general Theodore came together to him and paid their homage to the patriarch Cyrus. And he acquainted them with all the conditions which he had made with the Moslem, and he persuaded them all to accept them. 24. And while things were in this condition, the Moslem came to receive the tribute, though the inhabitants of Alexandria had not yet been informed (of the treaty). And the Alexandrians, on seeing them, made ready for battle. 25. But the troops and the generals held fast to the resolution they had adopted, and said: 'We cannot engage in battle with the Moslem: rather let the counsel of the patriarch Cyrus be observed.' 26. Then the population rose up against the patriarch and sought to stone him. But he said unto them: 'I have made this treaty in order to save you and your children.' And plunged in much weeping and grief he besought them. 27. And thereupon the Alexandrians felt ashamed before him, and offered him a large sum of gold to hand over to the Ishmaelites together with the tribute which had been imposed on them.

28. And the Egyptians, who, through fear of the Moslem, had fled and taken refuge in the city of Alexandria, made the following request to the patriarch: 'Get the Moslem to promise that we may return to our cities and become their subjects. And he negotiated for them according to their request. And the Moslem took possession of all the land of Egypt, southern and northern, and trebled their taxes.

29. Now there was a man named Menas, who had been appointed prefect of Lower Egypt by the emperor Heraclius: he was a presumptuous man, unlettered and a deep hater of the Egyptians. Now after the Moslem had got possession of all the country, they

established him in his (former) dignity: and a man named Sinóla they appointed prefect of the province of Rif: and another named Philoxenus as prefect of the province of Arcadia, that is, Iajim. 30. Now these three men loved the heathen but hated the Christians, and compelled the Christians to carry fodder for the cattle, and they forced them to [†] carry [†] milk, and honey, and fruit and leeks, and other things in abundance: Now all these were in addition to the ordinary rations. 31. (The Egyptians) carried out these orders under the constraint of an unceasing fear. (The Moslem) forced them to excavate (anew) the canal of Trajan, which had been destroyed for a long time, in order to conduct water through it from Babylon in Egypt to the Red Sea. 32. And the yoke they laid on the Egyptians was heavier than the yoke which had been laid on Israel by Pharaoh, whom God judged with a righteous judgement, by drowning him in the Red Sea with all his army after the many plagues wherewith He had plagued both men and cattle. 33. When God's judgement lights upon these Ishmaelites may He do unto them as He did aforetime unto Pharaoh! But it is because of our sins that He has suffered them to deal thus with us. Yet in His longsuffering our God and Saviour Jesus Christ will look upon us and protect us: and we also trust that He will destroy the enemies of the Cross, as saith the book which lies not.

34. And 'Amr subdued the land of Egypt and sent his men to war against the inhabitants of Pentapolis. And after he had subdued them, he did not permit them to dwell there. And he took from thence plunder and captives in abundance. 35. And Abuljânô the prefect of Pentapolis and his troops and the rich men of the province withdrew into the city of Dushera—now its walls were strongly fortified—and they closed the gates. So the Moslem after seizing plunder and captives retired to their own country.

36. Now the patriarch Cyrus was greatly grieved on account of the calamities which had befallen the land of Egypt. For 'Amr had no mercy on the Egyptians, and did not observe the covenant they had made with him, for he was of a barbaric race. 37. And on the festival of Palm Sunday the patriarch Cyrus fell ill of a fever owing to excessive grief, and he died on the fifth day of

[†] The word *ḡḡḡ* (= 'to carry', the same word as is used in the preceding clause) can hardly be right. Zotenberg renders it by 'fourrier', but it never has this meaning.

Holy Week, on the twenty-fifth of the month Magâbht.¹ 38. Thus he did not live to see the festival of the holy Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ as the Christians had predicted regarding him. Now this event took place in the reign of the emperor Constantine the son of Heraclius (II).

39. And after his (Heraclius II) death the Romans were plunged in war on account of the sons of the empress Martina; for they had excluded them from the imperial throne, and wished to make the sons of Constantine emperors (in their stead). 40. And Valentine who was leagued with Philagrius assisted them. And he drew over all the troops and marched to the city of Chalcodon; for he thought and said: 'Martina's strength lies in the fighting men which are with her sons.' And he prevailed on all to consent to the recall of Philagrius from exile. 41. And thereupon Heraclius the younger embarked on the imperial ships, accompanied by a great number of priests and monks and illustrious bishops, and passed over to Chalcodon. 42. And he made the following appeal to all the troops: 'Abandon not the duty of Christian integrity by becoming hostile to me; but make peace with God, and comply with the will of my father Heraclius; for he laboured much on behalf of this country.' 43. Moreover he alleged that he would take unto him his brother's son and make him his colleague in the empire and there would no longer be war or bloodshed between them. And he received the assent of all the patricians and said unto them: 'I will bring back Philagrius from exile.' 44. And when Valentine learnt that all the people had submitted to him and received his words in peace, he took Domentianus and other patricians with him and placed the imperial crown on the younger Constantine, one of the sons of Constantine, the son of Heraclius the elder, whom Heraclionas had taken unto him (as colleague). And all the people dispersed without strife. 45. But they (the rebels) did not suffer this peace to be permanent. Shortly after they had raised Constantine to the imperial throne, the hatred of the two emperors grew in strength, that is, of Heraclius II and Constantine the younger. For Satan sowed dissensions between Heraclius II and the army. 46. And straightway the troops in the province of Cappadocia began to commit atrocities: moreover they produced

¹ Seventh Abyssinian month, beginning on Mar. 9 according to the Gregorian Calendar.

a letter to the following effect: 'This letter was sent by Martinus and Pyrrhus the patriarch of Constantinople to David the Martargum (urging him) to make a vigorous war, and to take Martinus to be his wife, and to put down the sons of Constantine (II), who had been emperor with Heraclius (II) his brother.'¹

47. And when the inhabitants of Byzantium heard this news, they said: 'This project is concerned with Kibratos, chief of the Huns, the nephew of Organa, who was baptized in the city of Constantinople, and received into the Christian community in his childhood and had grown up in the imperial palace.' 48. And between him and the elder Heraclius great affection and peace had prevailed, and after Heraclius's death he had shown his affection to his sons and his wife Martina because of the kindness (Heraclius) had shown him. 49. And after he had been baptized with life-giving baptism he overcame all the barbarians and heathens through the virtue of holy baptism. Now touching him it is said that he supported the interests of the children of Heraclius and opposed those of Constantine. 50. And in consequence of this evil report all the soldiers in Constantinople and the people rose up, and Jitâlîjîs, the son of Constantine, named Theodore became the chief of their forces. And he was a doughty warrior like his father. 51. And when they had made preparations to fight with David the Martargum, the latter fled and took refuge in a fortress of Armenia. And (Jitâlîjîs) pursued him and, since none could render him aid, cut off his head and had it sent round all the cities of the east. 52. And next he marched with a large force to the city of Byzantium and he captured the palace, and he had Martinus and her three sons, Heraclius, David, and Martinus, escorted forth with insolence, and he stripped them of the imperial crown, and he had their noses cut off, and he sent them in exile to Rhodes. 53. And the patriarch Pyrrhus was deposed without having recourse to a council, and he was removed from the Church and sent in banishment to Tripoli where Philagrius was. And Philagrius indeed was brought back from banishment. 54. And the youngest son of Martina was castrated, through fear, as they said, of his becoming emperor when he grew up. But the child could not endure the great wound, and straightway died. And the second of her sons was a deaf-mute, and so was unfit for the throne. For

¹ MSS. to be followed here: text wrongly amended by Zaltanlu-19.

DOCUMENT 3

NIKEPHOROS. NICEPHORI, PATRIARCHAE CONSTANTINOPOLITANI:
BREVIARIUM HISTORICUM: TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY. TRANS.
CYRIL MANGO (WASHINGTON D.C.: DUMBARTON OAKS, 1990),
GREEK/ENGLISH
SECTIONS 20-28

παρέχουσαι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παρασκευάζει Κωνσταντῖνον
τὸν υἱὸν ὑπατεύουσαι, Ἡράκλειον δὲ τὸν ἀπὸ Μαρτίνης Καί-
σαρα προχειρίζεται.

dB23

20. Οὐ πολὺς δὲ χρόνος ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ Σαρακηνοὶ τὰ

περὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατέτρεχον. εὐθὺς δὲ Ἡράκλειος σὺν

Μαρτίνῃ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ παιδί πρὸς τοὺς τῆς

ἀνατολῆς χωρίους ἐπεξῆλθε. αὐτοὶ δὲ γενόμενος Θεοδώρῳ τῷ

ἀδελφῷ ὀργίζεται· ὑπεψευρίζετο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς

τῷ βασιλεὶ Μαρτίνῃ ἐνεκεν, λέγοντα ὅτι "ἡ ἀμαρτία αὐτοῦ

ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ διὰ παντός". καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀποστεί-
λει, γράψας τῷ υἱῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ τοῦτον ἐπ' ἀβραϊσμάτος

λαοῦ ἀτιμώσαντα ὡς ἐν φρουρᾷ κατέχεν. στρατηγὸν τε ἀνα-
τολῆς ἐκπέμπει Θεόδωρον, τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ταμίαν,

τὸ ἐπὶ κληρὸν Τριθύριον. Σέργιος γάρ ὁ κατὰ Νικίτην τελευτᾷ

πρόπῳ τοῦδε. κάμηλον οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ἀποδεδειραντες τοῦτον

ἐγκατακλείουσι τῇ δορᾷ καὶ ἀπέρραπτον. τῆς βύρσης οὖν

κατεσκληνικὸς συνασπείραιντο καὶ ὁ ἐντός ἀπειλημένος

ἄνθρωπος, καὶ οὕτως ἀπομαρυνθεὶς πικρῶς διώλετο. αὐτὰν δὲ

αὐτῷ ἐπὶ ἦγον ὡς αὐτὸς παλαιοσκεύλασεν Ἡράκλειον μὴ συγ-
χωρεῖν Σαρακηνοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμῶν γῆς ἐμπορεύεσθαι τὰς

(τε) συνήκους παρεχομένους αὐτοῖς τράκοντα χυρσίων λίτρας

δι' ἐμπορικῆς ἀμοιβῆς ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμῶν πολιτείας ἐκπέμ-
πειν· ἐντεῦθεν τε αὐτοὺς ἄρξαι τῇ Ῥωμῶν λυμῖναισθαι

χώρᾳ. ἐκ τούτου παρήγγειλε Θεόδωρος μὴ συμβάλλειν πρὸς

μάχην Σαρακηνοῖς. ὁ δὲ ὕπ' αὐτὸν στρατηγὸς τὰ κατὰ γνώ-
μην τῷ βασιλεὶ οὐκ ἔπραττεν, ἐπεὶ νεώτερα αὐτῷ βουλευ-
σάμενος ἦν, καὶ ἐπεὶ παρήγοντο πολέμειν ὡς ἀνελλιπῶς

25 περιέσσεσθαι τῶν πολέμων, καὶ συνέργον ὑπελάμβανον τὴν

νίκην τῆς κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπαναστάσεως. ἐπὶ τοῖνυν ἐν

τόπῳ καλουμένῳ Γαβίθα συγκρατήγισσι Σαρακηνοῖς, οἱ δὲ

10 δε] τε L. Suda

20: 2 εὐθὺς LV² εὐθὺς V || 4 ἐπεξῆλθε ... γενόμενος L || 5 ὑπεψευρίζετο ...
λυδοποιεῖσθαι αὐτῷ L || 6 Μαρτῖν sine accentu V -ης suppl. V² || Psalms 50:5 || 10 τῶν] τὸν supersect.
V² || 10-11 ταμίαν τό fort. ex τὸν ultima litt. enasa L || 11 ἐπὶ κληρὸν V || 13 ἐπὶ ῥάπτων
V || 14-15 ἀπειλημένος αὐτῷ. L om. V ἀπειλημένος om. V || 17 ἐκ τῆς ... ἐμπορεύεσθαι (sic) secl. dB ||
ἀπομαρυνθεὶς LV² ἀπομαρυνθέν V || 16 ἐπὶ τῶν V || 17 ἐκ τῆς ... ἐμπορεύεσθαι (sic) secl. dB ||
ἐμπορεύεσθαι L item ex ἐκπορεύεσθαι V² || 18 τε uelid || λίτρας V² in lacuna || 21 Θεοδώρῳ V²
ex Θεόδωρῳ vel Θεόδωρος sine accentu Θεόδωρος Ševčenko v. comment. || 22-27 ὁ δὲ ...
Σαρακηνοῖς om. V || 23 νικίτην αὐτῷ L corr. Ševčenko || 24 ἀνελλιπῶς stripi ἀνελλιπῶς L

it and to its clergy. After this he made arrangements for his son Constantine to
assume the consulship and appointed Herakleios, the son of Murtina, Caesar.

20. After a short lapse of time the Saracens overran the region round
Antioch. Straightaway Herakleios, together with his wife Martina and his son
Herakleios, went forth to the eastern parts. When he arrived there, he became
incensed at his brother Theodore, for it was rumored in some quarters that the
latter was railing at the emperor on account of Martina and saying that "His
sin is continually before him." So he dispatched him to Byzantium and in-
structed his son Constantine to have him dishonored in front of a public as-
sembly and to hold him in prison. And he appointed commander of the eastern
(forces) Theodore surnamed Trithyrios, the imperial treasurer. Now Sergios
(*kata Niketan*)¹² died in the following manner. The Saracens, having flayed a
camel, enclosed him in the hide and sewed it up. As the skin hardened, the
man who was left inside also withered and so perished in a painful manner.
The charge against him was that he had persuaded Herakleios not to allow the
Saracens to trade from the Roman country and send out of the Roman State
the 30 lbs. of gold which they normally received by way of commercial gain;
and for this reason they began to lay waste the Roman land. On this account
(Herakleios) ordered Theodore not to join battle with the Saracens; but his
subordinate commander did not act according to the emperor's wishes because
he had rebellion in mind and (the men) were induced to fight so as to overcome
the enemy unexpectedly: they believed that victory would be on the side of the
insurgents against the emperor. And so he joined battle with the Saracens
at a place called Gabitha. But they, having set ambushes beforehand and

¹² See Commentary.

προλογίσαντες και ὀλίγους τιτὺν ἐκροβολισάμενοι Ῥωμαί-
ους ὑπήγαγον. εἰσπίπτουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν ἐξαπι-
ναίως, και μέσων ἀπολαβόντες πολλοὺς ἐκτειναν στρατιώτας
τε και ἄρχοντας.

21. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον Μαρία ἡ ἀδελφὴ Ἡρα-
κλείου χρήματα πρὸς τὸν χαγᾶνον Ἀβάρων ἐπέμψε και τὸν
νιὸν Στέφανον ἀπέλαβε. τοῖς δὲ τοιοῦτοις δώροις ἡσθεὶς ὁ
Ἀβάρος ἡρέθισεν Ἰλιανὸν τὸν μάγιστρον, ὡς και αὐτὸς πέμ-
ψας δόρα ἀπολήψεται και τοὺς ἄλλους | οὕσπερ κατεῖχεν
ὁμηροῦς, και διὰ και ἐγένετο οὕτως.

22. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐπανέστη Κοῦβρατος ὁ
ἀνεψιὸς Ὀργανά ὁ τῶν Οὐνογονιδούρων κύριος τῷ τῶν Ἀβάρων
χαγᾶνῳ, και ὃν εἶχε παρ' αὐτοῦ λαὸν περιβρίσας ἐξ-
εδώκε τῆς οἰκείας γῆς, διατρεσβεύεται δὲ πρὸς Ἡράκλειον
και σπένδεται εὐρίηνῳ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἥνπερ ἐθύλαξαν μέχρι
τελοῦς τῆς ἐσπέρης ζωῆς· δωρὰ τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐπέμψε και τῇ τοῦ
πατρικίου ἀξίᾳ ἐτίμησεν.

23. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς μέρεσι διέτρεβεν Ἡρά-
κλειος, Ἰωάννην τὸν Βαρκαίνης στρατηγὸν προχειρίζεται
και πέμπει κατὰ Σαρακηνῶν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὡς συμβαλὼν
πίπτει και αὐτός, ἐπὶ και Μαρίνος ὁ τῶν Θρακικῶν ἐστρα-
τευμάτων ἡγμένων συμμίκας αὐτοῖς ἠτήθη, πολὺν τε στρατὸν
ἀποβαλὼν και αὐτὸς μόλις διασώζεται. μετ' ἐκεῖνον προ-
βάλλεται στρατηγὸν Μαριανὸν κουβκουλάριον παρὰ Ῥω-
μαίων τὴν ἀξίαν και πέμπει ἐκεῖσε, παραγγείλας ὡς ἀνα-
κουσῶσθαι Κύρῳ τῷ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἱεράρχῃ, και ὡς ἂν
καυῇ βουλευσούτο (και) τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Σαρακηνούς διάθωτο.

Κύρος δὲ ἦν δεδηλωκὼς βασιλεῖ στείσεσθαι ἐπὶ τελευτήμασιν
Ἀμβροῦ τῷ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν φυλάρχῳ. αἱ δὲ και ὑπέχεν δι'
ἐμπολαίου συνεισφορᾶς ἐσθίμανε, τὰ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ παρεχό-

28 ἐκροβολισάμενοι L || 29 ὑπήγαγον LV² υπαίγαγον V || δὲ V γε L || 29-30 ἐξαπηναίως VL

21: 2 χαγᾶνον V || 6 ὁμήρους, και διὰ αὐτῶς ἐγένετο L

22: 1 Κοῦβρατος L || 2 Ἀργανά... Οὐνογονιδούρων L || 3 περιβρίσας L || 5 μετ' αὐτοῦ
... φυλάξει L || 6 ἐσπέρων V αὐτοῦ L || γὰρ om. L

23: 5 τε L δὲ V || 10 καυῇ L || βολεῖσάουτο sect. dB || και addidi || 11 Κύρος V || 13 ἐμπολαίου

skirmished with a few men, advanced on the Romans. The ambushed men fell suddenly on the latter and, having surrounded them, slew many soldiers and officers.

21. At the same time Maria, the sister of Herakleios, sent money to the Chagan of the Avars and ransomed her son Stephen. Pleased with such gifts, the Avar (chief) urged Anianos the magister that he, too, should send gifts and ransom the other hostages he was holding; which, indeed, was done.

22. At about the same time Koubratos, the nephew of Organas and lord of the Onogundur, rose up against the Chagan of the Avars and, after abusing the army he had from the latter, drove them out of his land. He sent an embassy to Herakleios and concluded a peace treaty which they observed until the end of their lives. (Herakleios) sent him gifts and honored him with the title of patrician.

23. While Herakleios was dwelling in the eastern parts, he appointed John of Barkaina general of the army and sent him against the Saracens in Egypt. He joined battle with them and was himself killed. Likewise Marinos, commander of the Thracian contingents, engaged them in battle and was defeated: he lost many soldiers and himself barely escaped. In succession to him (Herakleios) conferred the army command on Marianos, who held the Roman rank of *cubicularius*, and dispatched him with instructions to consult with Kyros, archpriest of Alexandria, that they might take joint action with regard to the Saracens. Now Kyros had informed the emperor that he was going to conclude an agreement with Ambros, phylarch of the Saracens, and (pay him) tribute which, he stated, he would raise by a commercial levy, while the impe-

μενα | διδιώπτωα μένευν· κατεγγνηθήναι δὲ αὐτῷ Εὐδοκίαν
 5 τὴν Ἀνυούσαν, [ἡ] μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς
 ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τῷ θεῷ λουτρῷ βαπτισθισομένη καὶ Χρί-
 στιανῶ χρηματίζονται, ἐπειθετο γὰρ Ἀμβρος τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ ὁ
 0 τούτου στρατός· καὶ γὰρ ἡγάπων αὐτὸν λίαν, καὶ τούτων Ἡρά-
 κλειος οὐδένως ἠρεῖχτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ Μαριανὸς ταῦτα ἐξ-
 ἠπίστατο, διέτατο τῆς τοῦ Κύρου γνώμης, καὶ συμβαλὼν
 Σαρακηνοὺς πίπτει τε αὐτὸς καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατός ἱκανός.

V192^v

24. Τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀνέβηκε πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία Ἡράκλειος
 καὶ ἠγλίζετο ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ τῆς Ἱερίας· ἐδε-
 5 δει γὰρ ἐπιβῆναι θαλάσσης, πολλὰ τε ἀξιούντες αὐτὸν ἄρ-
 χοντες καὶ οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰσελθεῖν ἐπειθετο, καὶ
 5 αὐτοὺς ἐπιτελοῦντες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν θείαν λειτουργίαν εὐχὴς
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξήσαν. ὡσαύτως καὶ τοὺς ἱππικούς ἀγῶνας
 ἡνίκα ἐθεώοντο, πάλιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀπεχώρουν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ
 1) διέτριβεν ἐκεῖσε, ἀγγέλλεται αὐτῷ ὡς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀτελάρ-
 χος καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ τὴν ἀξίαν μάγιστρος, Θεόδωρον δὲ τοῦ
 βασιλέως ἀδελφοῦ υἱός, σὺν ἄλλοις πᾶσι ἐπιβουλῶν ἐν αὐτῷ
 ἤμελλον· καὶ τοὺς μηνύσαι πεισθεὶς | τούτων τὰς ῥίνας καὶ
 5 τὰς χεῖρας ἐξέτεμε, καὶ Ἀταλάρχον μὲν εἰς τὴν νῆσον τὴν
 λεγομένην Πρίγκιπτον ἐξόριστον ἐπέμψε, Θεόδωρον δὲ πρὸς
 τὴν νῆσον Γαυδομελέτην προσαγορευομένην, ἐπιτρέψας τῷ
 ἐκείσε δοικί, ἡνίκα πρὸς αὐτὸν καταλάβοι, καὶ τὸν ἔπερον
 τῶν ποδῶν ἀφελέσθαι. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς συγγνώμης
 αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐμωρήσατο.

L38^r

25. Χρόνου δὲ ἱκανοῦ διελεύοντος παρὰ σκευῶν οἱ
 τοῦ βασιλέως ἄρχοντες τὸν ἔπαρχον ὡς συναγαγεῖν πλεῖστα
 25 πλοῖα καὶ ἐχόμενα ἀλλήλους ἐξάψας ὥσπερ γεφυρώσει τὸν

dB26

ἡ scil. Sevdentko ἡ μία L || 16 τῷ om. L || 17 Κύρῳ L accentui a corr. add. || 19 δὲ V γὰρ L || 20 τοῦ
 son V¹ ex τούτου

24: 2 Ἱερίας, ἐδοδεῖγ L τὰ Ἱρία Suda s.v. Ἡράκλειος || 3 θαλάσση V || 5 τοὺς υἱούς ἐν
 πολεὶ ἐξέτεμε L || 6 αὐτοῖς L αὐτοὶ V || 7 ἐξέσαν αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ L || 8 ἐβόηοντο VL corr. vulg.
 ἡ μαγίστρος VL || 11 ἀδελφῶν υἱός om. L || 12 ἤμελλον, ... πεισθεὶς L || 14 Πρίγκιπτον VL corr.
 B || 16 τὸν ἔπερον L || 17 ταῦτα conl. dB || συγγνώμης L

25: 2-10 Cf. Suda s.v. Ἡράκλειος || 2 ἔπαρχον τῆς πόλεως L ἔπαρχον Suda || 2-3 συν-
 γνόν ... γεφυρώσει conl. dB

rial taxes would not be affected. (He also recommended) that the Augusta Eudokia or another of the emperor's daughters should be offered in marriage (to Ambros) with a view to his being consequently baptized in the holy bath and becoming a Christian; for Ambros and his army had confidence in Kyros and regarded him with great affection. But Herakleios would not brook any of this. Since Marianos, too, was aware of these matters, he rejected the policy of Kyros and, having attacked the Saracens, fell in battle as did many of his soldiers.

24. At this time Herakleios returned home and resided in the palace called Hieria; for he was afraid of embarking on the sea and remained unmoved by the noblemen and citizens who repeatedly begged him to enter the City. On feast days he would dispatch only his sons who, after attending holy liturgy in the church, immediately returned to him. And likewise, when they watched the hippodrome games, they went back to their father. While he was dwelling there he was informed that his son Atalarichos and Theodore, who had the rank of magister (the son of Theodore, the emperor's brother), together with some others, were about to plot against him. He was persuaded by the informants and cut off the noses and hands (of the conspirators). He exiled Atalarichos to the island called Prinkipos and Theodore to the island called Gaudomelete, with instructions to the local commander to amputate also one of (Theodore's) legs upon his arrival. He punished in the same manner those who were privy to the conspiracy.

25. After a considerable lapse of time the noblemen of the court caused the prefect to collect a great many ships and tie them one next to the other so

ρήσειν ἀπειλῶν, τῷ τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸν ὑπάρχω ὡς αἰκισο-
μένην παραδίδωσι.

27. Μετὰ τοῦτο ἐδικαίου τὸν υἱὸν Ἡράκλειον ὑπατεῦ-
σαι, Δαβίδ τε καὶ Μαρτίνον τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρας ἀν-
τγόρευσε. Ἀγνοοῦνται δὲ καὶ Μαρτίναν τὰς θυγατέρας ἀν-
5 Αἰγούστας, χρόνου δὲ | διελθόντος νόσῳ ὑδρωτικῇ περιήρπηται,
καὶ ἥνικα ἀποκυρεῖν ἤμελλε σανίδα κατὰ τοῦ ἥτρου ἐπιτεθεῖν·
ἐστρέφετο γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ αἰδοῖον καὶ κατὰ τοῦ προσώπου αὐ-
τοῦ τὰ ὄρα ἐπεμπευ. Ἐλεγχος δὲ ἦν τοῦτο τῆς παρανομίας
τῆς αὐτοῦ, ὑπὲρ ἧς ταύτην δίκην ὑστάτην ἐξέτισε τοῦ εἰς τὴν
1 ἀνεψιῶν τὴν οὐκείαν γάμου. διαθήκας οὖν ἐξετίθει, ὥστε
Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ Ἡράκλειον τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς ἰσο-
πίμων εἶναι, καὶ Μαρτίναν τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα τιμᾶσθαι παρ'
αὐτῶν ὡς μητέρα καὶ βασιλισσαν. ἐκ τούτου λοιπὸν ἐτελεῖται
ζήσας ἔτι ἕξ καὶ ἐξηκοντα, ἐν δὲ τῇ βασιλείᾳ διανύσας ἔτη
3 τριάκοντα μῆνας τέσσαρας ἡμέρας ἕξ. θάπτεται δὲ ἐν τῇ
ἐκρῷ τῶν πανευφήμων ἀποστολῶν, καὶ τριῶν ἡμέρας ἀσκε-
πες, ὥσπερ ἦν διατάξας ἐπὶ περιών, τὸ ὑποδεξάμενον αὐ-
τοῦ σῶμα διετέλει μνήμα, περικαθήμενον αὐτὸ εὐνούχων
ὑπηρέτων.

28. Μετὰ τοῦτο Μαρτίνα ἡ Αἰγούστα προσκαλεῖται
Πύρρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἀρχοντας, ἐκκλη-
σιάσασα καὶ τὸν περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον λαόν, τὰς τε διαθήκας
Ἡρακλείου ὑπεδείκνυ, ὡς περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων διέθετο.
; ὁ δὲ παρὼν ἄπας δῆμος Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ Ἡράκλειον | τοὺς
βασιλεῖς ἐπεζήτην· ἡ δὲ ἦγεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἅμα διελέγετο νομί-
ζουσα ὅτε βασιλισσα πᾶ πρώτα εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν φέρεσθαι.
τινὲς δὲ τοῦ συνεστῆτος λαοῦ ἀνεφώνουν πρὸς αὐτὴν ὅτι "στὶ

L39^r

dB28

22 ἐπάρχω . . . παραδίδωσι L

27: 2 δδδ . . . Μαρτίνον V Δαυιδ δὲ καὶ Μαρτίνον L || 5 ἐπετείνετο vulg. dB cf. ἐπεκτάθη
reg. Mon. 673.14 || 6 ἤμελλεν L cf. 24.12 ἤμελλε V || ἥτρου V Georg. Mon. 673.15 || ἐπετίθη L || 8
πέμψαν Georg. Mon. 673.16 || 9 ἐξέτισα V2 in lit. ex ἐξήτησε ut vid.: ἐξέτρησεν εὐνεκεν τοῦ
18 τὸ αὐτὸ σῶμα add. V || αὐτῶ L || 19 καθήμενον om. L

28: 2 [Πύρρον] Κύρον V || 6 πρὸς αὐτοὺς L || διελέγετο ex διελογίζετο V2 || 7 αὐτὴ βασιλείαν
φι(?) a V2 deleta || 8 συνεστῆτος litteris σν suprasset. V1

censed with him and threatening him with death, (Herakleios) handed him
over to the prefect of the City for punishment.

27. After this he thought fit that his son Herakleios should assume the
consulship. He proclaimed Caesars his sons David and Martinos, and his
daughters Augustina and Martina Augustas. Sometime later he fell ill with the
dropsy and realized that his disease was difficult to cure, for it grew to such an
extent that when he was about to urinate, he would place a board against his
abdomen: (otherwise) his private parts turned round and discharged the urine
in his face. This was in reproof of his transgression (namely, his marriage to
his own niece) on account of which he suffered this ultimate punishment. He
set forth a testament whereby his sons Constantine and Herakleios were to be
emperors of equal rank and his wife Martina was to be honored by them as
mother and empress. So he died of this (disease) at the age of sixty-six after a
reign of thirty years, four months, and six days. He was buried in the church
of the all-praised Apostles and for three days, as he had ordained while he was
still alive, the tomb containing his body remained uncovered and attended by
ministering eunuchs.

28. After this the Augusta Martina summoned the archpriest Pyrrhos
and the dignitaries of the court, and having gathered the people of Byzantium
in an assembly, showed the testament of Herakleios and the provisions he had
made concerning herself and her children. All the people who were present
clamored for Emperors Constantine and Herakleios; so she brought them out
while expressing her claim that she, as empress, would have the first place in
the empire. But some of the people present cried to her: "You have the honor

DOCUMENT 4

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XIII

*The Conquest of Iraq,
Southwestern Persia, and Egypt*

THE MIDDLE YEARS OF 'UMAR'S CALIPHATE

A.D. 636-642 / A.H. 15-21

and al-Wāqidi says, as transmitted from him to me by Ibn Sa'd, that Miṣr and Alexandria were conquered in the year 20 (641). Sayf says, according to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—himself: Alexandria was conquered in the year 16 (637).

The Events of the Year

20

(DECEMBER 21, 640—DECEMBER 9, 641)

The Campaigns of the Muslims and Other Matters

Tabarī said: According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq: Egypt⁵⁴⁷ was conquered in this year. It was conquered in the year 20 (641). Abū Ma'shar has the same [date]; according to Ahmad b. Thābit—his authority—Ishāq b. 'Īsā—himself: Egypt was conquered in the year 20 (641), the Muslim commander was 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī.

According to Ahmad b. Thābit—his authority—Ishāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: Alexandria⁵⁴⁸ was conquered in the year 25 (646),

⁵⁴⁷ In Arabic, the name of Egypt is Miṣr. This name has given rise to some confusion, since an ancient city, situated south of the fortress of Bāb al-Yūn (in Greek Babylon), but on the opposite bank of the Nile, was also called Miṣr [see Butler, 221 f.]. Bāb al-Yūn eventually became the name the whole settlement on the Nile was known by, including the city of Miṣr, which also comprised a part called al-Fuṣṭāṭ, or Fuṣṭāṭ Miṣr. It was here that the Arabs allegedly first set up camp, see Butler, *Babylon*, ch. 3. In the following I shall render the name Miṣr by Egypt when I think the country is meant (in which the city of Alexandria does not seem to have been included), and I shall leave it untranslated when I think this ancient city is meant. However, one cannot always be sure which interpretation is correct.

⁵⁴⁸ In the following I have preferred this name to the Arabic Iskandariyyah.

The Conquest of Miṣr and Alexandria⁵⁴⁹

Tabarī said: We have mentioned the different opinions of the historians concerning the year in which the conquest of Miṣr and Alexandria took place. Now we will mention the events leading to their conquest and at whose hands this occurred, including the historians' differences concerning this issue too.

As for Ibn Ishāq, according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—himself: When 'Umar had finished taking measures pertaining to all of Syria, he wrote to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī that he was to march upon Egypt with his army. So 'Amr departed and finally conquered Bāb al-Yūn⁵⁵⁰ in the year 20 (641).

Tabarī said: There is a difference of opinion about the date of the conquest of Alexandria. Some say that it was conquered in the year 25 (646), two years after the beginning of the caliphate of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān under the supervision of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq⁵⁵¹—al-Qāsim b. Quzmān, a man of Egyptian origin—Ziyād b. Jaz' al-Zubaydī, who reported that he was a fighter in the army of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī when Miṣr and Alexandria were conquered: We conquered Alexandria during the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in the year 21 (642) or 22 (643). He went on: When we had conquered Bāb al-Yūn, we advanced on all the villages in the countryside lying between Bāb al-Yūn and Alexandria, one after the other, until we ended up in Balḥib, one of those rural villages,

⁵⁴⁹ The conquest of Egypt has never been analyzed better, it seems to me, than by Alfred J. Butler in his *The Arab conquest of Egypt and the last years of the Roman dominion*. Here the second edition, printed together with two brief treatises that have also been drawn upon, is used. See the Bibliography.

⁵⁵⁰ Also called Babilūyūn, that is in Greek Babylon; see n. 547 above.

⁵⁵¹ The text reads as if the *isnād* ends in Ibn Ishāq and as if Tabarī mentions a new strand, but I think it more feasible to consider this as one *isnād* running from Tabarī via Ibn Ishāq to the eyewitness, Ziyād b. Jaz'. I therefore propose to delete *wa- preceding ḥaddathani* in l. 2. When verbs like *ḥaddathani* are preceded by *wa-* in the middle of an *isnād* the compiler of the tradition collection introduces a new *isnād* (strand), which is obviously *not* the case in the present context.

called the Village of Prosperity. In the meantime, the people we had taken prisoner had arrived in Medina, Mecca, and Yemen.

He went on: When we arrived in Balhīb, the ruler of Alexandria⁵⁵² sent a message to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī that ran, "[Listen,] you Arabs, in the past, I used to pay the *jizyah* to people who were more hateful to me than you, Persians and Byzantines.⁵⁵³ If you want me to pay you the *jizyah*, I am agreeable, on the condition that you will return to me all those people from our region whom you have captured.

The eyewitness went on: Then 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī sent that ruler a message that said, "Above me there is a commander without whose consent I cannot do anything. If you want me to suspend hostilities, while you do the same, so that I can write to him about the proposal you have made to me, (I shall certainly do that). If he accepts that condition from you, I will too, and if he orders me to do something else, I will carry out his order." The man agreed. He went on: So 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī wrote to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Our leaders never kept secret for us the letters they wrote. So in this letter he mentioned to him what the ruler of Alexandria had proposed. All the time, the remainder of the Egyptian prisoners had been in our care. Then we stopped at Balhīb and stayed there waiting for 'Umar's letter, which finally arrived. 'Amr read it out to us. In it were the words,

"Listen, I have received your letter, in which you mention that the ruler of Alexandria has proposed to give you the *jizyah* on the condition that you return to him all those prisoners of his region who have been captured. Upon my life, a fixed *jizyah* that comes to us, and will be coming to those Muslims who live after us, is in my view preferable to booty, which seems never to have been there once it is divided up. So you must propose to the ruler of Alexandria that he give you the *jizyah* in the understanding that those of their people who were taken prisoner and who are still in your care, be offered the choice between Islam and the religion of their own people. Should anyone of them opt for Islam, then he belongs to the Muslims, with the same privileges and obligations

⁵⁵². For more on this ruler, see n. 564 below.

⁵⁵³. That is, of course, very unlikely, since the ruler himself was a Byzantine. This is the sort of inconsistency that Butler analyzed so fully, see n. 549 above.

as they. And he who opts for the religion of his own people has to pay the same *jizyah* as will be imposed upon his coreligionists. As for those captives who have been scattered over Arabia and have arrived in Mecca, Medina, or Yemen, those we cannot return and we would not like to enter into a peace treaty with anyone on the condition of a pledge which we cannot fulfill for him."

'Amr sent a message to the ruler of Alexandria informing him of what the Commander of the Faithful had written, whereupon this ruler sent a message back that said, "I agree."

He went on: Then we assembled all those captives who were still in our care, and the Christians among them were grouped together. Then we began to bring forward every single man from among them and we gave him the choice between Islam and Christianity. When he chose Islam, we all shouted, "God is great," even louder than we had done when that village was conquered, and we gathered him within our ranks. When he opted for Christianity, the Christians would snort and pull him back into their midst, while we imposed the *jizyah* on him. All the time we were subject to great uncertainty as if one of us was about to cross over to the other camp. The eyewitness went on: This is how we went about it, until we had dealt with all of them. Among those who were thus brought forward was Abū Maryam 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān.⁵⁵⁴ (The transmitter of this eyewitness), al-Qāsim (b. Quzmān) added at this point: I have set eyes on this Abū Maryam; he was the 'arīf⁵⁵⁵ of the Banū Zubayd. The eyewitness went on: We positioned him (i.e., in front of the people) and offered him the choice between Islam and Christianity. Meanwhile, his father, mother and brothers had already opted for Christianity. But Abū Maryam chose Islam, so we made him step into our ranks. However, his father, mother and brothers pounced on him, struggling with us for control of him, until they tore his clothes from his body. Today he is our 'arīf, as you see. Then God conquered Alexandria for us and we could enter the city. This rubbish heap, which you see,⁵⁵⁶ Qāsim, is in the vicinity of Alex-

⁵⁵⁴. For more on him, see further down.

⁵⁵⁵. For this function, see n. 233 above.

⁵⁵⁶. It is indeed rare when the words via which an eyewitness directly addresses someone who listens to his story are preserved. We find it here twice. It seems as if 'Ziyād b. Jaz' pointed out the rubbish heap to al-Qāsim. It is also conceivable that,

andria. It is meant for garbage.⁵⁵⁷ It is enclosed within [a girdle of] stones, [so that] it has not grown or shrunk [in size]. He who says something else, for instance that Alexandria and the surrounding villages had no *jizyah* imposed upon them, or that its inhabitants had no pact with us, that man is a liar, by God!"

Al-Qāsim went on: This account did not fail to give rise to the story that the kings of the Banū Umayyah used to write to their governors of Egypt: "Egypt could only be conquered after we used force."⁵⁵⁸ Therefore, the inhabitants are no more than our slaves, whose taxes we can increase if we so desire and with whom we can deal as we want."

Ṭabarī said: As for Sayf, according to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—himself—al-Rabī' Abū Sa'īd, Abū 'Uthmān and Abū Ḥārithah: 'Umar stayed at Iliyā'⁵⁵⁹ after its inhabitants had been granted a peace treaty. He entered the city and stayed there a few days. He sent 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī to Egypt and appointed him governor over it, were God to conquer it for him. Then he dispatched al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām after him as reinforcement and he directed Abū 'Ubaydah to al-Ramādah,⁵⁶⁰ ordering him, in case God conquered it for him, to return to his province.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū 'Uthmān—Khālid and 'Ubbādah: 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī left for Egypt after 'Umar had returned to Medina. 'Amr journeyed until he arrived at Bāb al-Yūn. Al-Zubayr followed him in his tracks and joined up with him right at the spot where Abū Maryam,⁵⁶¹ the metropolitan of

at this point, Ziyād showed al-Qāsim a sketch he had made of the situation, if he and his audience were not standing in front of it.

⁵⁵⁷ In Arabic, *li-kunāsatin*. The Cairo edition of Ṭabarī, IV, 106, has *li-kunāsatin* "this rubbish heap is a pile of garbage in the vicinity of Alexandria."

⁵⁵⁸ This is a reference to the military customs of those days: enemies who surrendered and asked for peace had to pay the *jizyah* and were entitled to Muslim "protection" [*dhimmah*], but those who had been subdued by force had all their belongings confiscated, which were distributed as war booty. For a detailed account of this, see D. R. Hill, *The termination of hostilities in the early Arab conquest*, London-New York, n.d.

⁵⁵⁹ Another name for Jerusalem.

⁵⁶⁰ There are various places that bear this name, here the one near al-Ramlah seems to be meant, see Yaqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 813.

⁵⁶¹ Butler (513 f.) thinks this is a distortion of Benjamin. He abandons this surmise in *Treaty*, 60 f.

Misr,⁵⁶² met them, in the company of the bishop and some people of purpose.⁵⁶³ The Muqawqis⁵⁶⁴ had sent the metropolitan so that they might defend their land. When 'Amr reached them, they prepared to fight him. Then 'Amr sent them a message that read, "Do not prompt us to come down heavily upon you;⁵⁶⁵ in a moment you will realize what you can do best." Thereupon they held their fighters back. 'Amr sent them another message that said, "I shall come forward, let Abū Maryam and Abū Miryām⁵⁶⁶ approach me." They consented to this and they granted one another safe-conduct. Then 'Amr said to the two Christian prelates, "You two are the ecclesiastics⁵⁶⁷ of this region. Listen. God sent Muhammad with the truth and He ordered him to hold to it. Muhammad transferred to us every command he was given, then he passed away—May God have mercy upon him—having accomplished everything he had been told to do. The instructions that he left us are crystal clear: among the things he enjoined upon us is that we should do our utmost in admonishing the people with whom we come into contact.⁵⁶⁸ Therefore, we call upon you to embrace Islam. He who is willing to do so will be like one of us. To him who refuses, we suggest that he pay the *jizyah* and we will give him ample protection. Our Prophet informed us that we would conquer your lands and he has determined that we

⁵⁶² The Arabic term *jāthaliq* is arabicized from the Greek *katholikos*. According to Lane, 369, right column, he is the highest ranking in the Christian hierarchy. However, this title was given to the head of the Christian church under the Sassanids (see Vasiliev, I, 121) and should, strictly speaking, not have been given to an Egyptian Christian. See also Butler, *Treaty*, 58 f.

⁵⁶³ The Arabic reads *ahl al-niryāt*, literally "the people of the intentions." It is not clear who are meant here, but the "intentions" are probably military rather than religious. At any rate, the reading *niryāt* is dubious.

⁵⁶⁴ He is a controversial figure. It seems to me that the most authoritative information on him is given by Butler, 508–26, esp. 521. He identifies him as the viceroy and [Melkite] archbishop of Alexandria, appointed by Heraclius. See also his *Treaty*, 54–83.

⁵⁶⁵ I base this rendering on Lane's interpretation of *i'dhār* "taking extraordinary pains in exhortation" (1984, left column, below).

⁵⁶⁶ Presumably that is the name of the bishop present; this is suggested in note 5 of the previous page, 2584, of the edition. The vocalization is that of Ibn Hibaysh.

⁵⁶⁷ Literally, "the two monks"; perhaps the term is used here to humiliate those addressed.

⁵⁶⁸ See n. 565 above.

keep you from harm because of our family ties among you. If you accept our proposition, we will give you constant protection. Among the orders we received from our Commander [i.e., in Medina] was the order, "Take the interest of the Copts to heart, for the Messenger of God enjoined their best interests upon us, because they have ties of kinship⁵⁶⁹ with us and are therefore entitled to our protection."

"It is truly a distant relationship," the prelates answered, "one that only prophets can establish. [Hagar⁵⁷⁰] was a well-known and noble woman who was the daughter of our king. She belonged to the people of Manf⁵⁷¹ where the monarchy was established. Then the people of 'Ayn Shams⁵⁷² were granted victory over them; they killed them and wrested their kingdom from them, whereupon the people of Manf embarked on a vagrant life. As a result of that she became Abraham's property. He⁵⁷³ is heartily welcome! Grant us immunity, until we return to you."

'Amr answered, "A man like me cannot be deceived, but I will grant you a delay of three days so that you see how things stand with you and can discuss the matter with your people. If you do not promise to return in time, I shall fight you." "Give us more time," they pleaded, so he gave them one day longer. "Give us

⁵⁶⁹ Muslim tradition has it that Hagar, the maidservant of Sarah, by whom Abraham fathered Ishmael (that is, Ismā'īl, the ancestor of the Arabs), was of Egyptian origin. It is reported that, for this reason, the Prophet had enquired upon his followers to treat the Egyptians well after they had been subjugated, in particular because of this "kinship." The tradition collector Muslim b. Ḥajjāj (d. 261/875) has preserved a Prophetic *ḥadīth* to this effect in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, IV, 1970, see also Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 2 f. A variant of this report [see the same sources] has *sihr* "relationship by marriage" instead of "kinship," taken to be a reference to Māriyah, the Coptic wife of the Prophet and the mother of his son Ibrāhīm, see also Balādhuri, 219, and Maqrīzī, I, 24 f.

⁵⁷⁰ Although the context refers unmistakably to Hagar, the name itself is lacking in Ṭabarī, and was supplied from parallel versions of this story, for instance Ibn al-Athīr, II, 440.

⁵⁷¹ The arabicized name of the ancient city of Memphis, see *EI*², s.v. Manf [U. Haarmann].

⁵⁷² This is a place at three parasangs (18 kilometers) north of al-Fusṭāt, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 762 f.; it is probably identical with Heliopolis, which seems to have been bigger than the present-day suburb of Cairo bearing that name [see Butler, 231].

⁵⁷³ It is not clear who is meant. If we read *bi-ḥi* with the edition, the reference may be taken to point to Abraham, the Prophet or 'Amr. If we read *bi-kum* with Ibn Ḥubaysh [see apparatus, n. f], "welcome to you," gives an understandable text.

more time," they asked again, so 'Amr gave them one more day. Then they returned to the Muqawqis, who took 'Amr's proposition into consideration. But Artabūn⁵⁷⁴ refused to accept it and ordered an attack on the Muslims.

The two prelates addressed the people of Miṣr, "As for us, we shall do our best to defend you and we would not return to the Muslims—after all, four days have passed by now during which you came to no harm—were it not for the fact that we hope that therein might lie immunity for you."

Nothing surprised 'Amr and al-Zubayr more than the sudden attack of Farqab⁵⁷⁵ one night, but 'Amr was prepared. They confronted the Muqawqis, who was killed with his men. Then the Muslims pursued those who had fled. Thereupon 'Amr and al-Zubayr headed for 'Ayn Shams, where they had their assembly point, and he sent Abrahah b. al-Ṣabbāḥ to al-Faramā,⁵⁷⁶ where he duly arrived, and to Alexandria he sent 'Awf b. Mālik, who (also) duly arrived there. Each one of them said to the inhabitants of the city on which he was ordered to march, "If you surrender, you will be granted immunity." They agreed. Then the Muslims exchanged messages with them and waited there for the Muslim army, [which was at 'Ayn Shams at the time,] to arrive. In the meantime,⁵⁷⁷ they took prisoners.

'Awf b. Mālik said, "People of Alexandria, how beautiful is your city." They replied, "Alexander the Great once said, 'I shall build a city that is in need of God and can do without people.' Or he said, 'I shall certainly build a city that is in need of God and can do without people.' That is why its splendor has lasted."

Likewise, Abrahah said to the inhabitants of al-Faramā, "What a ramshackle town this is, people of al-Faramā." "Yes," they answered, "al-Faramā once said, 'I shall build a city that can do

⁵⁷⁴ He is the general of the Byzantines. He is described with a few qualities in vol. XII, 2398, of this series. Butler, 215, maintains that his name should read Arteton.

⁵⁷⁵ This is the name of the Muqawqis according to Sayf. Butler, 516 f. consistently calls him Cyrus, basing himself on Severus of Ushmunayn; see also his *Treaty*, 54–83. See also the literature cited in Prym's apparatus.

⁵⁷⁶ Al-Faramā is ancient Pelusium, a town on the Mediterranean shore near the outlet of the eastern branch of the Nile. Butler, 212, doubts the historicity of this mission.

⁵⁷⁷ Or possibly, "On their way [from 'Ayn Shams to these coastal cities]."

without God but not without people.' Thus its splendor has faded." Alexander and al-Faramā were brothers.

Tabarī said: Al-Kalbī said: Alexander and al-Faramā were brothers. Then he related a similar story in which both cities were associated with the two brothers. In al-Faramā, something collapsed every day and its outward appearance deteriorated, whereas Alexandria kept its gloss.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Hārithah and Abū 'Uthmān: When 'Amr descended upon the Egyptians at 'Ayn Shams, a place governed jointly⁵⁷⁸ by Copts and Nubians, and al-Zubayr had joined 'Amr there, the people of Miṣr said to their king, "What do you want to accomplish against warriors who defeated the armies of the Persian king and the Byzantine emperor and overpowered them in their own countries? Conclude a peace treaty with these warriors and enter into a pact with them. Do not resist them and do not order us to resist them." That occurred on the fourth day (since the Muslims' arrival). But (the king) refused.

So the Muslims attacked them and fought them. Al-Zubayr scaled the wall of the city. When those inside spotted him there, they opened the gate for 'Amr and rushed out, begging for a peace treaty, to which he agreed. But (inside the wall) al-Zubayr fell upon them with force. In the end he passed through the gate, making his way to 'Amr together with the Egyptians. After they had taken care⁵⁷⁹ of the casualties, they concluded a treaty. The Muslims took the same measures against those who were overpowered by force as they had taken in the case of those who had surrendered on the condition of a treaty. They were all placed under "protection."

The text of their peace treaty reads as follows:

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.

This is the text of the covenant that Amr b. al-'Āṣī has granted the people of Miṣr concerning immunity for themselves, their religion, their possessions, churches, crucifixes, as well as their land and their waterways. Nothing of these will be interfered with or decreased.

⁵⁷⁸ Or "alternatively?"

⁵⁷⁹ Or "taken stock of."

Nubians⁵⁸⁰ are not allowed to share their homesteads. It is incumbent upon the people of Miṣr, if they agree on the terms of this covenant and when the rise of the Nile water comes to a halt, to afford the *jizyah*, to wit fifty million (dirhams).⁵⁸¹

They will have to account for the crimes committed by robbers from among them.

If anyone refuses to comply with the terms of this treaty, *jizā'* obligations will be lifted from them commensurate with their numbers, and we will be exempt from awarding protection to those who do so. If their river fails to reach the highest point when the rise of the water has come to a halt, then, commensurate with the losses suffered, their *jizā'* payments will be reduced.

Those Byzantines and Nubians who are willing to accept the same terms as in the covenant with the people of Miṣr will have the same privileges and duties as the latter.

He who refuses to accept these terms and chooses to depart will enjoy immunity, until he has reached his destination where he can be safe, or has moved out of the territory where our authority prevails.

It is incumbent upon them to comply with the following terms: in three instalments, every third part of the year, they will have to afford one third of what they have to pay.

For the terms of this document the covenant of God and His protection, as well as that of His Messenger, that of the Caliph, the Commander of the Faithful, as well as the protection awarded by all the Muslims, are guarantees.

It is incumbent upon the Nubians who have accepted the terms of this treaty that they help (sc. the local government) with so many men⁵⁸² and so many horses, in

⁵⁸⁰ On the Nubians, see Butler, index s.v., especially 432; see also his *Treaty*, 37-46.

⁵⁸¹ Butler surmises on reasonable grounds that this amount is a later gloss not to be relied upon, see his *Treaty*, 46-8.

⁵⁸² Presumably slaves are meant. Butler, *Treaty*, 35, interprets *ra's* as heads [of cattle], but he does mention "contingents of horse and foot" as a possibility

the understanding that no raids will be mounted against them and that they will not be prevented from trade, export or import.

Al-Zubayr, his sons 'Abdallāh and Muḥammad, have witnessed the concluding of this covenant, Wardān⁵⁸³ has put it down in writing and was present.⁵⁸⁴

All the people of Miṣr entered into this covenant and accepted the peace treaty. Then the horses were rounded up.⁵⁸⁵

'Amr organized al-Fuṣṭāt as a garrison city, whereupon the Muslims took up residence there. Abū Maryām and Abū Miryām presented themselves and spoke to 'Amr about the prisoners captured after the battle. 'Amr said, "Have these prisoners a pact and a covenant with us? Did we not come to an agreement with you two, and were we not attacked the very same day?" Then he kicked them out, whereupon they returned saying, "Everyone you have captured up to the time of our return to you will be placed under your protection!" 'Amr replied, "Would you launch an attack against us while they are under 'protection'?" "Yes," they answered, "we would." Then 'Amr divided those prisoners among his men, who distributed them, whereupon they ended up in the lands of the Arabs.

After that, a messenger approached 'Umar with some fifth parts of the war booty.⁵⁸⁶ 'Amr sent emissaries [sc. to Medina]. 'Umar questioned them and they gave him a complete account, until they touched on the story of the metropolitan⁵⁸⁷ and his companion. 'Umar said, "Surely, I think that they showed sense, whereas you acted foolishly, without any sense at all. He who fights you has no immunity, but he who does not fight you, and is subsequently dealt with by you in the same way the villagers⁵⁸⁸ were

elsewhere. He quotes Caetani, who doubts the authenticity of the inclusion of terms concerning Nubians and labels them as anachronisms, *Treaty*, 51. On the whole, Butler, *Treaty*, 53, thinks that the treaty is possibly authentic in its main outline.

583. He was a client of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī, see Ibn Sa'd, VII 2, 201.

584. Presumably when it was signed. Butler, *Treaty*, 35, thinks that the subject of *ḥaḍāra* was left unmentioned and translates "and there were present."

585. The context does not seem to make clear why.

586. Presumably the fiftihs of more than one battle or conquest.

587. See n. 562 above.

588. A reference to the prisoners taken in the villages mentioned above on p. 2587.

treated, does have immunity during those five days until they have lapsed." Then he sent messengers in all directions, until all those prisoners who had been captured from among those who had not taken up arms during the five days were returned, except those who had engaged in fighting afterwards. Thus the Muslims sent those captives back to Egypt, one after the other, except those who belonged to that last category.⁵⁸⁹

Meanwhile, some Copts had come to 'Amr's living quarters. He was informed that they had been saying, "How worn out these Arabs look, how little care they take of themselves; we are of the opinion that people like us should not be obedient to people like them." So 'Amr feared that this appearance of the Arab warriors would prompt the Copts to rebellion. Therefore, he ordered that several camels be slaughtered and cooked in water and salt. Then he ordered the army commanders to assemble, after they had notified their troops to do likewise. 'Amr sat down and beckoned to the people of Miṣr to join him. Then the meat and the broth were served. (Servants⁵⁹⁰) handed it out to the Muslims, who began to eat in typically Arab fashion, tearing at the meat with their teeth and slurping the broth, dressed in their woolen cloaks and unarmed. After a while, the people of Miṣr dispersed with their ambitions and courage boosted.

The next day, 'Amr sent word to the army commanders to come [i.e. to his tent again] with their troops. He ordered them to come dressed in Egyptian clothes and footwear, bidding them that they order their troops to do likewise. They complied. Then 'Amr invited the people of Miṣr again who saw something completely different from what they had seen the previous day: erect figures⁵⁹¹ dressed in Egyptian colors standing by, the Arabs eating Egyptian food, behaving in an Egyptian manner. The Copts dispersed, perturbed this time, muttering, "We have been made fools of!"

'Amr sent word to his army that they had to arm themselves for the roll call to be held the next day. Then he went to the parade

589. Sc. those who had joined in the battle after the five days of truce.

590. The subject is not expressed. Grammatically, the Copts could be the subject, but I do not think that that is meant.

591. Presumably of servants. The dictionaries do not seem to list a connotation for *quwwām* that fits the present context. Conceivably, it could also be "banners" or "standards."

and permitted the Copts to be present. He showed his troops to them and said, "I am aware that you considered yourselves to have panache when you saw the frugality of the Arabs and their simple life style. But I fear lest you perish. Therefore, I wanted to show you what sort of people they really are, under what circumstances they lived in their own country, then what they have come to in yours, and how ready they are for war. They have defeated you, warfare is their life. They were anxious to take possession of your country even before they appropriated its customs as you saw on the second day. And I also wanted you to realize that those you saw on the third day will not abandon the life you saw depicted on the second day, nor will they resume the lifestyle you saw depicted on the first day." Thereupon the people of Miṣr dispersed saying to one another,⁵⁹² "The Arabs have smitten you with this one hero of theirs."

News of these events reached 'Umar, who said to his companions, "By God, 'Amr's military campaign has become truly easy, no more attacks or assaults like the ones in battles against others. 'Amr is indeed a crafty fellow!" Then he installed 'Amr as governor of Miṣr, where he stayed.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Sa'īd al-Rabī⁵⁹³ b. al-Nu'mān—'Amr b. Shu'ayb: When 'Amr and the Muqawqis came face to face at 'Ayn Shams and their respective cavalries began to do battle with one another, the Muslims started to swerve some way toward the far end (i.e. of the battlefield), but 'Amr urged them to attack. Then a certain man from Yemen said, "We are not made of stone or iron!" "Shut up, you dog!" 'Amr shouted, but the man retorted, "In that case you are the upper dog."⁵⁹⁴

The transmitter went on: When that contingent began to draw more closely together, 'Amr shouted, "Where are the Companions of the Messenger of God?" Then those Companions who had participated in the evasive action⁵⁹⁵ came along and 'Amr roared, "Advance, through you God will grant victory to the Muslims." So they went forward. Among them that day were Abū Burdah and Abū Barzah.⁵⁹⁵ The other warriors attacked the enemy, close

⁵⁹². Or, conceivably, "to their countrymen upon their return."

⁵⁹³. Literally, "the commander of the dogs."

⁵⁹⁴. Admittedly, a wordy rendering of *man shahidāhā*.

⁵⁹⁵. They could not be identified with certainty.

ly following the Companions. Then God granted victory to the Muslims who vanquished the enemy in a glorious manner. Miṣr was conquered in the month Rabī' I of the year 16 (April 637); there the authority of Islam stood firm.

On the whole, Islam began to spread over peoples and kings. Thus the people of Egypt started to engulf [Ifriqiyah⁵⁹⁶ and its ruler] al-Aḡall,⁵⁹⁷ likewise the people in Mukrān overran Rāsīl and Dāhir,⁵⁹⁸ the people in Sijistān overpowered the Shah and his nobles, and the people in Khurāsān and Bāb (al-Abwāb)⁵⁹⁹ their respective Khāqāns,⁶⁰⁰ as well as less powerful nations. 'Umar held the conquering armies back out of concern for the lives of the Muslims. Had he allowed them to go where they liked, they would have gone anywhere where water was available.⁶⁰¹

According to 'Alī b. Sahl—al-Walīd b. Muslim—('Abdallāh) b. Lahī'ah—Yazīd b. Ḥabīb.⁶⁰² When they had conquered Miṣr, the Muslims launched an attack on (northern)⁶⁰³ Nubia. But they returned having sustained injuries and with many people having been blinded because of the Nubians' superior bowmanship. That is why the Nubians were nicknamed "the eye shooters." When 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ governed Egypt, over which 'Uthmān b. 'Affān had appointed him, he concluded a peace treaty with the Nubians on the condition that they offer a gift, namely a number of people from among them (i.e., to be used as a labor force), whom they were to deliver into the hands of the Muslims. In exchange, every year the Muslims would present them with certain specific foodstuffs and equally well-specified garments.

According to 'Alī—al-Walīd—Ibn Lahī'ah: 'Uthmān and those governors and commanders who lived after him stuck to this

⁵⁹⁶. In this particular context, it is the name of the North African coastal regions west of Egypt; but see *Ep*², s.v. *Ifrikiya* (Talbi), for the many different definitions of this name.

⁵⁹⁷. According to a gloss in Ibn Hubaysh (Berlin), this is the title of the ruler of Ifriqyah; it means something like "the most noble." He is mentioned once more in a subsequent volume of this series.

⁵⁹⁸. These are the names of local rulers.

⁵⁹⁹. This is a city on the western shore of the Caspian Sea, north of Baku. Nowadays it is called Derbent. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 437–42.

⁶⁰⁰. This is the (Persian) title of local rulers.

⁶⁰¹. Literally, "they would have reached every watering place."

⁶⁰². On this important Egyptian historian, see *GA*², I, 341 f.

⁶⁰³. In Arabic, Nūbat Miṣr, probably that part of Nubia bordering on Egypt.

peace treaty and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz confirmed it out of consideration and concern for the well-being of the Muslims.

Sayf said: When the month Dhū al-Qa'dah of the year 16 (November–December 637) had begun, 'Umar stationed the armed forces of Egypt along all the coastal regions, the reason for this being that Heraclius was launching attacks on Egypt and Syria from the sea while he assaulted the people of Hims in person. That occurred after three and a half years of 'Umar's reign had elapsed.

Ṭabarī said: In this year, I mean 20 (641), Abū Bahrīyyah al-Kindī 'Abdallāh b. Qays made a raid into Byzantine territory. It is alleged that he was the first to invade it, but another opinion has it that Maysarah b. Masrūq al-'Absī was the first to do so and to return safely, laden with booty.

(Ṭabarī) said: Al-Wāqidi said: In this year, 'Umar dismissed Qudāmāh b. Maẓ'un as governor from al-Bahrayn and had him flogged for wine drinking. In the same year, 'Umar installed Abū Hurayrah⁶⁰⁴ as governor of al-Bahrayn and al-Yamāmāh.

Ṭabarī said: In the same year, 'Umar married Fātimah bt. al-Walid, the mother of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hārith b. Hishām.

He continued: Also in the same year Bilāl b. Rabāḥ⁶⁰⁵ passed away. He was buried in the cemetery of Damascus.

In the same year, 'Umar relieved Sa'd from the governorship of al-Kūfah on the strength of complaints filed against him. People said that he could not perform the *ṣalāt* properly.

In the same year, 'Umar divided Khaybar⁶⁰⁶ among the Mus-

604. He was reputedly a major Companion of the Prophet, whose role in the dissemination of prophetic *ḥadīth* has occupied scholars in East and West until the present day. For his biography, see the somewhat uncritical study of him by Helga Hemgesberg, *Abū Huraira, der Gefährte des Propheten*, Frankfurt/Main, 1965, and for his alleged role in *ḥadīth* transmission, see Juynboll, *Authenticity*, ch. VII, idem, *Muslim tradition*, 190–206.

605. He is described as a black Ethiopian slave who had embraced Islam very early. After Abū Bakr had bought him from his cruel Meccan master, he manumitted him. Bilāl later became Muhammad's official *mu'aththah*, the man who called the faithful to prayer. See Ibn Hajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 326 f.

606. Khaybar is an oasis comprising settlements, cultivated soil and palm-groves, ninety-six miles/154 kilometers north of Medina, captured by Muhammad in 7 (628), it used to be occupied by Jews. See *Et'2*, s.v. *Khaybar* (Veccia Vaglieni).

lims and expelled the Jews from it. He sent Abū Ḥabībah⁶⁰⁷ to Fadak,⁶⁰⁸ he granted them half⁶⁰⁹ the fruit produce and the value of the land in gold and silver and let them keep that. (The other half he confiscated), then he went to the Jews of Wādī al-Qurā⁶¹⁰ and (confiscated their property) to divide it. Also in this year, 'Umar drove the Jews out of Najrān to al-Kūfah, as al-Wāqidi has it.

Al-Wāqidi said: In this year, I mean the year 20 (641), 'Umar organized the *diwāns*.⁶¹¹ Ṭabarī said: We have already mentioned the accounts of those who disagree on this chronology.⁶¹²

In the same year, 'Umar sent 'Alqamah b. Mujazziz al-Mudliji overseas to Ethiopia, and this because it was rumored that Ethiopia had made a sudden attack on some border regions of the Islamic domain, but the Muslim forces were annihilated. Then 'Umar imposed upon himself that he would never send anyone again on a mission overseas. As for Abū Ma'shar, according to Ahmad b. Thābit—his authority—Ishāq b. 'Isā—himself: The campaign against the land of the blacks was one overseas, in the year 31 (651–2).⁶¹³

Al-Wāqidi said: In the same year, Usayd b. al-Hudayr⁶¹⁴ passed away in the month Sha'bān (July–August).

Also in this year, Zaynab bt. al-Jaḥsh⁶¹⁵ died.

607. Who this man was could not be established with certainty.

608. A village not far from Khaybar, see *op. cit.*, which surrendered to Muhammad when he marched on Khaybar, as it says in the sources.

609. Ṭabarī's text appears to have a lacuna; my translation is based upon Pryn's emendation, which is derived from Balādhuri, 29, 32. See also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 855, and Wāqidi, II, 721, which has *nakhl* "palms."

610. Wādī al-Qurā is a wādī running from Medina to Syria in which there were several villages. The Jews who lived there were said not to have been expelled, since Wādī al-Qurā is not part of the Hījāz but of Syria.

611. The registers in which stipends, etc. were entered, see the monograph of G. R. Puin.

612. In vol. XII of this series.

613. That is, during 'Uthmān's reign.

614. Usayd was a nobleman from the Jāhilyyah, who could write Arabic and was an excellent swimmer and archer. He who possessed these qualities was called *al-Kāmil* "the perfect one." He embraced Islam early, see Ibn Sa'd, III/2, 135–7.

615. This Zaynab was the wife of the Prophet's adopted son Zayd b. Ḥārithah. When the Prophet married her, after Zayd had repudiated her, it is reported that

In this year, 'Umar led the pilgrimage. His governors in the garrison cities were the same in this year as in the previous year with the exception of those whom I have mentioned as dismissed or replaced by others. The same applies to his judges, who were the same persons as in the previous year.

the Qur'ān abolished adoption. Thus Muhammad could not be accused of incest by marrying his "son's" wife. This episode has been analyzed by western as well as oriental scholars, but with quite different results. For an interesting account of both treatments, see Muhammad Husayn Haykal, *Ḥayāt Muḥammad* [first published Cairo 1935, now also in English translation] ch. XVII, latter half.



The Events of the Year

2 I

(DECEMBER 10, 641—NOVEMBER 29, 642)



Ṭabarī said: In this year the battle of Nihāwand occurred as related in the account of Ibn Ishāq according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—himself. Abū Ma'shar has the same according to Ahmad b. Thābit—his authority—Ishāq b. 'Isā—Abū Ma'shar. Al-Wāqidī says likewise. As for Sayf b. 'Umar, he has it that the battle of Nihāwand took place in the year 18 (639), in the sixth year of 'Umar's reign, according to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf.

*The Battle of the Muslims and the Persians at Nihāwand*⁶¹⁶

The beginning of this episode was as follows according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq: (A basic element) of the story of Nihāwand was that al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin was governor of Kas-

⁶¹⁶ For a detailed source analysis of this battle and a comparison with the accounts concerning the conquest of Isfahan, see the fundamental study of Noth, "Isfahan-Nihāwand," in *ZDMG*, CXVIII (1968):274-96.

DOCUMENT 5

TORREY, CHARLES C., THE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF EGYPT, NORTH AFRICA AND SPAIN KNOWN AS THE FUTUH MISR. OF IBN 'ABD AL-HAKAM. (NEW HAVEN: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 19_?)

INTRODUCTION IN ENGLISH/ TEXT IN ARABIC ONLY

INTRODUCTION & PAGES 44-91

INTRODUCTION

The *Futūḥ Miṣr* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam is the earliest surviving account, from Arab sources, of the Mohammedan conquest of Egypt and the West, the first Arab settlements in and about al-Fuṣṭāṭ and Alexandria, and allied topics concerning the occupation and early history of the land under the rule of Islam. The text here presented is published for the first time, on the authority of all the known manuscripts.

The author of the work, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam ibn Aʿyan ibn Laith, Abū ʿl-Qāsim al-Quraṣī, was born about 187 A.H. (*Tahdhīb at-Tahdhīb*), and died at al-Fuṣṭāṭ in the year 257 (A.D. 871). He was thus a contemporary of Belādhurī († 279) and Tabarī († 310), and a pioneer in the period in which the first comprehensive Mohammedan histories were constructed from the unwieldy mass of oral and written tradition. On the author and his work see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb at-Tahdhīb* (Haidarabad 1326), VI 208; Dozy, *Recherches*, 3^e éd., 36 ff.; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber* n°. 63; Ewald, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* III 3 (1840), 329-352; De Slane, *Journal Asiatique* 1844, pp. 335, 348, 351, 354 ff.; Rhuyon Guest, *Governors and Judges of Egypt*, Introduction, pp. 22 ff. Also Ibn Khallikān, nos. 322, 651 (Trans. Slane, II 14, 598); Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥādara* (lithogr.), I 134, 136, 206; Abū ʿl-Maḥasin I 629; Ḥajjī Halifa IV, p. 386; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arab. Litteratur*, I 148, II 692; The article "Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; and the editions and translations of portions of the *Futūḥ Miṣr* mentioned below.

Ibn Abd al-Ḥakam was by training and inclination rather an expert authority in the science of tradition than a historian. The family of which he was a member was renowned in Egypt and abroad, in its day, for its achievements in the various branches of ḥadīth and fiqh. The father of the family, ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, was one of the leading authorities in these fields. Himself a rāwī of high rank, he had also written books on tradition and jurisprudence, and was the head of the Mālikite school in Egypt. The four sons of ʿAbdallāh were all men of importance: Muḥammad,

INTRODUCTION

widely celebrated as a jurist and the author of numerous works, which have perished, his father's successor as leader of the Malikites of Egypt; 'Abd al-Ḥakam and Sa'īd, both renowned, especially the former, for their learning; and 'Abd ar-Rahmān, afterward generally known and quoted as "Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam," the author of the present work. The father died in the year 214 (830 A.D.), when about sixty years of age. Thirteen years later the sons, and especially Muḥammad, suffered in the inquisition ("miḥna") renewed by the caliph al-Wāthiq, since they, like most leaders of the orthodox schools, refused to subscribe to the doctrine of the created Koran. See the (incomplete) account in al-Kindī, pp. fof, and Guest's Introduction, p. 23. In the year 237 the family met with a disaster in which it lost permanently its reputation and influence. The account of the matter is given in al-Kindī, l^a, 14—16, 2; f^a, 12—13, 11; f^a, 13—16; f^a, 15—16, 4; f^a, 4—6, 12; f^a, 1—5; space is given to it here because it seems to have had an important bearing on the history of the transmission of the Futūḥ Miṣr and its material. The very considerable property of the former governor and military leader 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jarawī was confiscated by the government; in the meantime several of the prominent men of Egypt, and foremost among them the Banū 'Abdallāh ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, had taken temporary charge of the estate. When at length the emissaries of the caliph al-Mutawakkil arrived in Egypt to claim the money for the state treasury, it was not to be found. Legal proceedings were instituted, and the decision against the Banū 'Abdallāh ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam was for the sum of 1,404,000 dinārs (Kindī, f^a, 12). In the course of the proceedings one of the brothers, 'Abd al-Ḥakam, died under torture. The others were soon released from prison, and such property as rightfully belonged to the family was restored; but the fall of the once honored house was complete. "You have strange ways of dealing in your courts of law, here in Egypt," said a man of 'Irāq, some time after these events; "you give weight to the testimony of this negro slave Sulaim, while such a renowned lawyer as Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam is discredited as a witness (حجته)." Whereupon Sulaim, overhearing, exclaimed: "I, at any rate, never proved false to my trust, nor laid claim to what was not my own!" (Kindī f^a, 1 ff.).

The main purpose of 'Abd ar-Rahmān was to collect, excerpt, and

¹ There is a gap in p. fof, line 4, in which an interesting bit of narrative must originally have stood. This is one of numerous places in the Kindī Ms. where a passage of some length has fallen out by accident.

² In f^a, line 4, there is another of the vexatious gaps in the Kindī Ms.

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classify the voluminous Muslim tradition relating to Egypt. Others before him had made less ambitious collections; how much these included, and to what extent the material was already classified, we have no means of knowing, but it is evident that some of them were of very considerable volume and importance. The sources used by 'Abd ar-Rahmān were in part purely oral, for there were many in Egypt — his father 'Abdallāh was one — who prided themselves on their ability to report from memory a large body of ḥadīth in the time-honored way, and the frequent *أخبرني* and *حدثني* in the Futūḥ Miṣr can be taken at their face value. On the other hand, it is certain that a very large part of his material was derived from written collections. The distinction between the two modes of transmission, oral and written, cannot be sharply drawn, to be sure, for many authorities had been wont to write down, for convenience, the single traditions or the extended works which they at the same time held perfectly in memory; what already stood in a book might be, and still usually was, handed on by word of mouth. The Futūḥ Miṣr itself was presumably dictated by 'Abd ar-Rahmān to companies of his hearers, assembled for the purpose; and he had undoubtedly written much from similar dictation, in addition to perusing carefully the manuscript works of some of his chief authorities. He of course makes reference to persons, not to writings; we do, however, find in one or two places (160, 10; 161, 14) mention of a book of Yahyā ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Bukair — one of his principal authorities — which had been given to him by its author, a book containing historical material. The allusion to al-Wāthiq in 319, 10; 315, 15 is of course to a written work. In another place (294, 28—295, 2) he speaks of having found in the document on which he was relying (كتابي) a certain ismā which an expert in tradition had assured him was incorrect. By this "book" he presumably meant his own manuscript material, but there is some evidence that this also was the copy of a document, rather than the record of oral tradition, inasmuch as it is reported as from Ibn Lahfā, who died before our author was born, and whose materials were available in written form. In more than one place where 'Abd ar-Rahmān expresses his own doubt as to a word in the ḥadīth which he is reporting and gives an alternative, the ground of the uncertainty is very obviously graphic. See 255, 20 (ك) and 291, 22 (ج) and (د) and (هـ), in both of which cases the tradition is derived from Ibn Lahfā, who is generally believed, on good evidence, to have compiled books of ḥadīth. The frequency with which 'Abd ar-Rahmān, especially in the seventh division of his work, reports directly from Ibn Lahfā without any intermediate authority, is additional evidence at this point. Moreover, it is

under the former, and of Nubia and a portion of North Africa under the latter; the revolt and second conquest of Alexandria; and various matters which might be termed the "Fadā'il Misr," under early Mohammedan rule; carrying the history down to the death of 'Amr. Book V gives an account of the conquest of North Africa and Spain, down to the year 127 A.H.¹ Book VI is a concise special history of the qādīs (judges) of Egypt, carried to the year 246, i.e. about ten years before the author's death. Book VII, the most extensive of all the divisions, contains a selection of religious traditions derived from those Companions of the Prophet who came to Egypt, namely such traditions as are distinctively Egyptian and recognized as such among those learned in this science. Fifty-two Companions are named, beginning with 'Amr and his son 'Abdallāh, and under each name those traditions are given which are regarded as well attested. These are followed by a few anecdotes handed down, in Egypt only, from fourteen other Companions; and these in turn by incidents reported from three others whose sojourn in Egypt is known only through the traditionists of other countries. Finally those (seven in number) are named from whom neither tradition nor narrative is reported; together with still others (nine) who are said by Waḡḡid and other authorities to have entered the land. Thus Ibn 'Abd al-Hakām in his seventh Book takes some account of every member of the Saḡaba who is creditably declared to have set foot in Egypt.

The seven-fold division was made by the author himself, and was preserved unchanged by his successors; see especially the evidence furnished by the two appendices to Book I (Text, p. 43, note 17; 44, note 4),² in connection with what is said below. There is also a somewhat fortuitous and very incomplete subdivision into chapters indicated by brief titles. To what extent this represents Ibn 'Abd al-Hakām's own dictation is doubtful; in the cases where the mss. agree, we can only be sure that corresponding headings stood in the single imperfect copy which came into the hands of Ibn Quda'id, in regard to this, see further below. In one case the title of the chapter is in the wrong place, having been inserted carelessly, to all

¹ Translations of this part of the history have been published; see the references below.

² In the manuscript tradition represented by Codex B, the long seventh Division of the work was divided into two approximately equal parts. See p. 237, line 13, where B adds:

فصل في

³ Although it is quite obvious and certain where the two passages properly belong, I have left them in their present place because of the interesting testimony which they give. Many ancient writings have suffered permanently through similar accidents.

obvious enough from the large number of verbal variations, purely graphic in character, in the traditions as they circulated at the end of the second century A.H., that imperfect written transmission had already played its important part. For other examples in this book see 300, 10; 302, 20 f., and the Glossary s.v. فخر.

I had originally intended to give here some account of the traditionists most frequently cited by our author, but the very full and accurate treatment of this whole subject by Mr. Guest, in the admirable Introduction to his edition of al-Kindī, renders the task superfluous. The reader of the *Futūḥ Misr* will find all the most necessary material conveniently tabulated and thoroughly discussed there. The names of the rāwīs on whom Ibn 'Abd al-Hakām chiefly relies can be seen by consulting the Index of the present volume, where every occurrence of each name is tabulated.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakām's work is ordinarily cited as *فتوح مصر*, but the title also appears in several expanded forms, the chief of which are *فتوح مصر وأخبارها*, that is, the Conquest of Egypt, with some account of the land and its history (thus, regularly, Mss. B and C, and the title page of A), and *فتوح مصر والغرب والأندلس* (thus for example Ms. A, fol. 17e). Even these expanded titles do not cover the contents of the work. The material is divided into seven Books, or Divisions (أجزاء), corresponding to divisions of the subject matter which are obvious or even necessary. The principal contents are as follows (for further detail see the Table). Book I deals with the characteristics and excellences of Egypt (مصر), and the history of the land from the beginning down to the time of the Muslim conquest. The episode of the Children of Israel, the history of the kings and queens of ancient Egypt,¹ the Persian-Byzantine conflict for possession of the land, and the origins of Alexandria, are the chief topics of the historical portion. Book II treats in detail of the Mohammedan conquest under 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ. Book III, which is of especial interest, deals mainly with the khitāas, or primitive settlements, of the Muslim invaders in al-Fustāt and Gizeh; also with the history of the numerous fiefs and similar grants, and with the Muslim holdings in Alexandria. Book IV describes the organization and administration of Egypt under 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ and 'Abdallāh ibn Sa'd; the invasion of the Fayyūm, Barca, and Tripoli

¹ For the names of these kings in the Arab tradition, for which our text of the *Futūḥ Misr* is not always to be relied on, see Ahmad Kamil, "Rectification des noms Arabes des anciens rois d'Égypte," in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 1903; and Blochet in the *Revue de géol. stud. orientale* II (1909), 717 ff.; III (1910), 177 ff.; IV (1911), 47 ff., 267 ff.

appearance, by the author or owner of the manuscript from which ours are derived; see 169, note 14; 170, note 3. Occasionally single mss. have added their own rubrics, thus for example 192, 19 f. (Ms. A, an important heading); 229, 10, note 11 (Ms. C). Even so, there are many places where Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam himself, if he gave names at all to the successive chapters, must have provided titles which have been lost; so for example at 4, 19; 33, 18; 177, 18. I have supplied numerous chapter-headings where they are indispensable.

The form of the tradition with full isnāds is of course generally employed throughout the work. As has already been said, this form of citation does not necessarily imply the use of oral sources. The material at Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's disposal, partly written and partly oral, was certainly abundant, but also very miscellaneous, consisting in considerable part of popular tales and legends. It does not appear that any one of his predecessors had been capable of sifting the mass of testimony with the instinct of a historian, recognizing the things which were of chief importance and making thorough search for the facts while they could still be ascertained. What criticism there was had been applied mainly to the chains of tradition, and even this had apparently not been carried very far. The *rāwī* through whom the largest part of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's material had come (as also, later, much of al-Kindī's; *Guest*, p. 32) was Ibn Lahī'a († 174), a collector who seems always to have placed quantity above quality, besides being notoriously untrustworthy. His very voluminous collections had been put in writing, largely if not wholly; see above. As a matter of course, the famous Egyptian authority, al-Laith ibn Sa'd († 175), is very extensively drawn upon in every part of the work. Though far more reliable as a *rāwī* than Ibn Lahī'a, the value of his collections by no means corresponds to their bulk. We know that much of his material had been reduced to writing. A traditionist of value for the early history of Mohammedan Egypt is the son of a Nubian freedman, Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb († 128), and the Futūḥ Miṣr, which cites him very often, has profited by his industry. A book compiled by Yahya ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Bukair († 231), from which our author tells us that he took material, contained the transcript of letters and similar documents (see 60, 9 ff.), and doubtless much besides that was valuable for such a history as this. Ibn Bukair had been at some pains to record the dates of events generally obtained from al-Laith ibn Sa'd, and those contained in the Futūḥ Miṣr are very largely given as from him.

In the chapter dealing with the Khittas, isnāds rarely appear, since the material consisted mainly of information derived from popular tradition — the common property of the people of al-Fustāt — supplemented by the author's own information. A considerable part of this interesting and important

material could be fully understood only in the author's own day, or at least, while the city retained substantially the features which it had in the first half of the third century A.H. The later discussions of this subject, such as those in Ibn Duqmāq, Maqrīzī, and Suyūṭī, while largely based on Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, are obliged to omit as no longer comprehensible a large part of what he had given, and to revise other portions in accordance with later conditions. In the narrative portions of the history, also, it is usually the case that the chains of tradition are dispensed with, the variegated material being worked over into a continuous account, with mention, time to time, of the principal authorities on whom the author is relying. Thus in the second juz, treating of the invasion and reduction of Egypt, 'Uthmān ibn Ṣāliḥ († 219), who is Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's main authority for the history of events (see Ibn Lahī'a for the hadith), is most commonly named at the beginning of the successive paragraphs. Often, indeed, when others are named, 'Uthmān ibn Ṣāliḥ is the immediate source. So, for example, in the narratives given on pages 64—90 Yahyā ibn Ayyūb († 168) and Ḥālid ibn Humaid († 169) are repeatedly mentioned as the authorities, though their traditions, as used by our author, had first been brought together by 'Eḥād ibn Najīb, and then further digested by 'Uthmān (64, 13 f.). In the fifth juz, dealing with the conquest of North Africa and Spain, it is even more noticeable how deep is the debt to this *rāwī*. Again and again our historian, dictating to his pupils, is said to have returned to the narrative of 'Uthmān ibn Ṣāliḥ. The other chief authorities named here are Ibn Bukair and 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslama. The latter, though of no great renown as a traditionist, had made collections which evidently were very extensive and well digested. To what extent, if at all, they had been put in writing by him is not known. Our author seems to have found them especially useful, and cites 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslama constantly in every part of the Futūḥ Miṣr. It is very noticeable that his name does not occur at all in al-Kindī. As for 'Uthmān ibn

A very useful copy of the *al-Fustāt*, with location of the primitive settlements of the Arab tribes, is furnished by *Guest*, in his article on the Khittas, *Journ. of the Royal Asiatic Soc.*, Jan., 1907.

There are three other well-known authorities in tradition, cited at first hand by our author on a large part of his material, who are unused, or used scarcely at all, in these works of al-Kindī which have come down to us. These are: 1. 'Asad ibn Mu'az († 212); 2. 'Abdallāh ibn Sa'd († 223), the secretary of 'Uthmān ibn Sa'd; and 3. 'Asar-Najīb ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar, 'Abu-l-Aswad († 210). The last-named was at one time secretary to the qadi 'Jam ibn al-Munkadir; see al-Kindī, p. 78. Al-Kindī gives only one tradition from him; the two other *rāwīs* he employs not at all.

The manuscripts of the Futūh Misr now known to be in existence are four in number, of which one is in London in the British Museum, two are in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the fourth is in the Library of the University in Leyden.² The following is a brief description of them.

There is also in Göttingen a transcript of a portion of the work, made by Pöhl from

The two Paris Mss. See Meyer's *Verzeichniss der Handschriften im Preussischen Städt. u. Univ. Bibliothek*, I. Hannover, 1838, Göttingen, 343; (Arch. No. 78). Berlin, 1894. On the two partial editions of the text made from this transcript see below.

line 6, the formula in foll. 17b, 97b has كُتِبَ إِلَيْهِ. A note at the end of the codex (fol. 121a) states that the ms. was collated with the "ms. of the Ḥaḡīf," by Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Yūsuf al-Anṣārī, who according to the samā' had also read the whole work before the Sheikh Abū-l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn Sa'ūd ibn Thabit al-Anṣārī. The latter died in the year 598. There is also an interesting samā', transcribed from the ancestor of our ms., repeated in varying form at the end of each juz', with the exception of the last. This states that the whole codex was read before the Sheikh Abū Ṣādiq Muṣṣid ibn Yahyā by its owner, as-Silafi, in accordance with a license given him by Muṣṣid, who in turn had received a similar license from the Sheikh 'Alī ibn Munir (see below). The reading took place in al-Fuṣṭāṭ, in the year 516. The names of those who were present, at each of the successive sittings, are also given.

The authorities through whom this text of the *Futūḥ Miṣr* was transmitted are therefore the following: 1. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥalaf ibn Qadaid Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Jauharī al-Aẓaḥī + 312; 2. Muḥammad ibn Ḥalaf ibn al-Faraj Abū Bokr al-Qammūḥ; 3. 'Alī ibn Muṇir ibn Aḥmad Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥallāl + 439; 4. Muṣṣid ibn Yahyā ibn al-Qāsim ibn 'Alī Abū Ṣādiq al-Madīnī + 517; 5. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm Abū Ṭāhir as-Silafī al-Iṣbahānī + 576. It is to be observed that the same authorities are given for the text of codices C and D (but not for B), as well as for the text of the *Futūḥ Miṣr* quoted by Abū-'l-Maḥṣin, I 6. The transcriber of our London codex, as he himself tells us in a marginal note (see p. 99, note 2), had been present when the *Futūḥ Miṣr* was read before the Sheikh as-Silafī, and apparently also had seen the manuscript which was read on that occasion, as well as one which had been read before Ibn Qadaid. It may well have been he who added the somewhat hasty appendix to Book VI, which certainly was not included in as-Silafī's text, giving the names of the qādis down to the year 320 (pp. 247 f., note 18). Possibly he undertook other slight revision, of which there is evidence in this ms., such as the removal of repetitions and the restoration of an intelligible order in the chapter dealing with the *Qatā'i* (pp. 133—139), where Mss. B and C repeat a long passage because of the accidental displacement of the leaves of a codex; see further below.

2. The older manuscript (B) of the two in the Bibliothèque Nationale, n° 1686 in Slane's Catalogue, is dated, at the end of the first juz', three days before the end of the month Dhū-l-Hijja of the year 585 (1190 A.D.).

¹ There is a good biography of the last-named scholar, as-Siāfi, in the *Tadhkirat al-Huffaz* (Haidarabad, 1897), IV, 93-99.

[illegible]

8. The second Paris manuscript (C) is numbered 1687 in Slane's catalogue

1. In the former case, the word (كبرى) has been cancelled in the ms., apparently by the original hand. This would hardly be worth mention if it were not for the noticeable fact that the same cancellation has taken place in another old Egyptian ms. of high importance. See Nicholas Keesee, *History of the Governors of Egypt, by al-Kināhī*, New York, 1908, Introduction p. 2, where it is remarked that in the (anonymous) biography of al-Kināhī on fol. 134a of the Brit. Mus. Ms. Arab. 29,324 the name has been cancelled three times. Apparently there was a time when the correctness of the gentile was doubted.

of the Arabic Mss. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and is dated in the year 776 A.H. (1375 A.D.). It is a large and magnificently executed codex, the work of a calligraphist of no ordinary skill. The scribe gives his name at the end, in the colophon (p. 447), as Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Azhari al-Hanafi. The text is full of errors, and needs the constant control of the other mss. It is plain that the codex from which it was copied was very carelessly written, often hardly legible, and the scribe of C in the troublesome places seemingly makes no attempt to understand his text, but puts down the characters which he thinks he sees before him, even if they make a meaningless combination. The ms. thus often gives us mere nonsense, carefully written in a beautiful hand. As it could serve no useful purpose to record these monstrosities, I have not burdened the notes with them. See however the notes on 85, 3; 88, 10; 107, 10; 114, 2; 174, 6, for specimens of the more common variants. In the parent ms. final و must have been written like an elongated و , whence those variants in C of which the notes on 48, 18; 77, 9; 123, 2; 217, 20; 317, 11 give examples. The و is very commonly written where it is not in place; و (plur. constr.) is frequently written و or و . The consonants are very often left unpunctuated, evidently because the points were lacking in the parent ms.; vowels are used sparingly, and are likely to be incorrect. Chapter headings and other superscriptions are in red. It seems frequently to have been the case that red ink was not at hand, hence numerous titles are lacking, blank spaces being left for them. This ms. has quite a number of superscriptions of its own; thus 118, note 16; 119, note 1 (?); 220, 11; 231, note 14; 233, note 4, etc.

[illegible]

4. The Leyden manuscript (D) is fully described in the *Catal. Codicum Arabicorum Biblioth. Academ. Lugduno-Batav.*, ed. 2, 1888—1907, prepared by de Goeje, Houtsma, and Juynboll. It forms part of a composite volume (Ms. N^o 705), in which it occupies pages 159—313. The colophon, p. 313, too, bears the date 973 A.H. (1566 A.D.) Thanks to a false title, the true nature of the work had remained for some time concealed. The title page reads: *كتاب بُعِثَ الطالب وَتَهَيَّجَ السالك في اخبار مصر والقوى والملل ايام ختمه* (Abridgment of the *Pathfi* Misr, as the catalogue recognizes. Every division of the original is represented to some extent. The abridgment is at first, comparatively slight, then increases progressively until in all the latter part of the work only scattered fragments of the original text remain. The writing is a good, easily legible neskh, generally well supplied with the diacritical points, and the text is in the main correct.

The beginning is as follows:

اخبرنا الشيخ الفقيه الامام الحافظ العالم شيخ الاسلام ابو طاهر احمد بن محمد بن احمد بن ابراهيم السلفي الصفي رضي الله عنه وارواه قراة عليه وانا اسمع في منزلة بالاسكندرية في شهر رمضان العظيم سنة سبع وخمسة مائة قال اخبرنا مشهد بن يحيى ابن القسم المديني بمصر اخبرنا ابو الحسن علي بن منير بن احمد الخلال في كتابه سنة خمس ولاثين واربعمائة اخبرنا ابو بكر محمد بن احمد بن الفرخ القلاح اخبرنا ابو القسم علي بن الحسن بن خلف بن قلندر الاذري حدثنا ابو القسم عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله ابن عبد الحكم حدثنا محمد بن اسماعيل الكعي حدثني ابي عن جرملة بن عمران التميمي عن ancestor of the manuscript from which this abridgment was made was read before the scholar as-Silafi, in his own house in Alexandria, in the year 570 A.H., the writer of the ms. being among those present. This brings it very near to the ancestor of Ms. A (see above); and, in fact, there is a noticeable relationship between the text of D and that of A, as will appear; not, however, extending to many details, nor at all such as to constitute a distinct type of text.

The nature of the abridgment of the *Furūḥ Miṣr* exhibited in Ms. D can best be seen from a perusal of the footnotes appended to the text. The notes take full account of the material contained in this ms. from the beginning of the book as far as the paragraph devoted to the Companion Qaṣṣ ibn Saʿd ibn ʿUḥād in Division VII; see p. 273, note 8. Divisions I and II are not very extensively abridged. Of Division III (the *Khittas*) only the introductory portion is retained, everything being omitted after p. 94 of the printed text. There is nothing to show where Division IV begins, but a considerable part of its material is used. All of the latter part of Division V is omitted, the main facts being condensed into a sentence

statement of the writer of Ms. A (see above), that he had seen and consulted a codex which had been read before Ibn Qudaïd, and we can also be sure that he found its readings practically identical with those of the Silafi codices. On the other hand, it is certain that Ibn Qudaïd did not receive his text of the Futūh Miṣr directly from Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, nor from any authoritative intermediate source. Some good fortune put into his hands the only surviving copy of this important work. The reasons for drawing this conclusion, and the grounds for conjecture as to the origin of this unique and faulty copy, will appear from the facts presently to be set forth.

The evidence at hand seems to show that the manuscript which came into the possession of Ibn Qudaïd had been carefully written, preserving faithfully in general the words of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam. Either this manuscript, however, or one from which it was derived had been handled carelessly, so that chapter-headings were either omitted or misplaced; marginal notes or corrections, and longer supplementary paragraphs, were not always inserted in the right place; and in one case the accidental misplacement of a leaf had led to the transposition and verbal repetition of extended passages.

A striking example of misplaced supplementary matter is to be seen in the two addenda to Juz' I, pp. 43, 18—44, 17; see the footnotes there. They are utterly out of place where they stand, have no connection with each other, and contain no direct indication of the contexts to which they belong. They were probably additions made on loose pieces of paper. A similar example is the paragraph at the foot of p. 145, at the end of the chapter entitled *ذكر خبر مصر*. It has no connection whatever with either the preceding or the following context, and doubtless originally stood at the end of the chapter entitled *ذكر الفلاح*, p. 139, top. Its displacement was probably connected with the accidental transposition of leaves in pp. 133—139, already mentioned. An excellent example of a misplaced clause, found in all our mss. and attested elsewhere as the reading of the Futūh Miṣr, is p. 14, lines 15 f.; see note 14. Another instance, even more striking, is shown on p. 201, note 12. A most interesting illustration of a gloss inserted in the wrong place is 172, 1 f.; see note 5. We find the same false order in Yaḥyā, who quotes the passage, and, what is more, tells us that he is using an old and uncommonly excellent ms.; see the Glossary s.v. *مصر*. (What is true in this case seems to be true everywhere else: the only known text of the Futūh Miṣr is the text of Ibn Qudaïd.) A less important instance of the same kind is the clause in 253, 17, which has gone astray; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam cannot be made responsible for its present position. In 76, 6 we probably have an example of a single word brought in from the margin into the wrong place; see note 2. Another

itself, that A and D represent a line of descent in which the original form of the chapter has been preserved, while B and C represent a different line in which the accidental corruption had taken place, cannot be accepted as the true explanation. In the first place, B and C do not otherwise bear the marks of such an immediate common origin; secondly, there is the very early date of B, joined to the fact that C is a manuscript of the Silafi text; and thirdly, the facts which will presently be set forth render another explanation virtually certain, namely, that the superior text of A and D at this point is the result of editing. We have seen that the Futūh Miṣr received considerable study in Egypt in the sixth century A.H. Some learned Muslim of Alexandria — whether the writer of A, or of the ancestor of D (about the year 570), or of some other codex — rectified the very obvious and disturbing blunder in the chapter mentioned, and perhaps also made some of the improvements in the orthography which are not only conspicuous in A but also show their traces in D. That this was not as-Silafi himself appears from the fact that in the ancestor of C, which also represents the Silafi text, the revision had not taken place.

Study of the evidence afforded by our four manuscripts of the Futūh Miṣr reveals a very interesting and somewhat surprising fact, namely, that the text of Ibn Qudaïd, from which all our witnesses come, was derived from a single faulty codex, whose manifestly defective and disarranged text he had no means of rectifying, or rather, no authority to rectify. It cannot seriously be doubted that the remarkably uniform text which we have before us is in reality what it professes to be, the text of Ibn Qudaïd, transmitted from him with care by the four scholars who are named as having vouched for its accuracy. We have no reason to question the

from the Kindī Ms., in pp. 131—134, of Guest's edition, which evidently escaped the notice of the editor. Three of the *qūṭis* are here dealt with twice over, in a very confusing way, and in the case of each the second chapter, or section, of treatment evidently should precede the first; thus, the second introduction of the *qūṭi* 'Uḥmīn ibn Qais begins: "Then 'U. ibn Q. took the office of *qāṭi*," although he held the office but once. The explanation is, that the single leaf containing the section 13, 12—13, in the parent codex, was accidentally transposed with the next following leaf. If this section is inserted between lines 7 and 9 on page 13 (omitting, of course, the false heading which constitutes line 8), the original order is perfectly restored. At the close of this section there is a gap, i.e., the second page of the transposed leaf ended in the middle of a sentence. The editor remarks (p. 134, note 1): *سقط الرواية من الأصل*. This is not the case, however; nothing has been lost. The sentence which is broken off at the end of line 13 is continued without any break in line 9 of p. 134.

example is *وَالْجَبَابِ* in 84, 1 and 86, 19. A doubtful instance is the remark in 107, 13 f.; not that there is any doubt as to its being out of place, it certainly belongs immediately after 104, 21, but its insertion where it now stands might possibly have been an oversight on the part of the author himself. Finally, there is the remarkable disarrangement in pp. 133—139, which has already been mentioned. It was observed, above, that the seemingly correct version given by Ms. A, which has been followed in the printed text, is in reality the result of a conjectural emendation of the version given by B and C. Strong corroborative evidence of this is furnished by two brief passages which are now isolated, evidently by reason of the mischance which befell this portion of the codex from which ours were all derived. The first of the passages in the one just mentioned, 145, 14—18, which is out of place not only in Mss. B and C but also in A and D. As was remarked above, it must originally have stood at the end of the chapter containing the transposed pages, i.e., immediately after the paragraph 137, 4—139, 2. The other passage is the remark which now is found only in B and C, printed here on p. 139, note 3, where the correct reading is *خَيْرُ عَمَاءِ بَنِي الرَّبِيعِ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ مُسْلِمَةَ وَالْبَاقِ كُلِّ لَانِي*: (see the Errata). It is from Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam — it could *غير* see 133, 12 ff. and 134, 16). In its original place, just after the long paragraph ending with the word *الْقَطْ*, 134, 15, served an important purpose. But where it stands in B and C (and therefore presumably stood in the Ibn Quda'id ms.) it is meaningless; hence it was left out of the improved text represented by A and D.

In addition to the transpositions and misplacements there are numerous minor errors and omissions, common to all the mss. and testifying to the same effect. The following are the principal examples. 22, 17 and footnote 5, 10 and note 7, the false insertion of two words. 58, 21, 107, 11 and note 12, *فَكَبَّ* for *أَشْرَ* the proper name *مِيَامِينَ* for *بَنِيَامِينَ* (unpointed). 107, 11 and note 12, of course Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (and Ibn Quda'id!) knew better than this, and in 262, 6 *عَمْرِي* for *عَمْرٍ*. 115, 16, given correctly. 115, 16, *فَكَبَّ* instead of *فَكَبَّ* (same tradition) the *isnād* is given because of 123, 19. 135, note 8, unpointed which is very noticeable because of 123, 19. 135, note 8, unpointed consonants which yield no sense, because of the accidental transposition of two letters. Such instances as this seem to show that Ibn Quda'id (and therefore his authorized successors) regarded the text as fixed, and would make no alteration in it. 140, 13, the insertion of *وَلَمَّا*. 162, 3, *بَنِيَامِينَ* for *مَنَابِيهِ*. 164, 11, *عَمْرٍ* and *عَمْرٍ* very carelessly transposed in spite of the

immediate context. 229, 13 and note 15, *عَمْرٍ* instead of *عَمْرٍ*. See also 270, note 10, and 292, note 1.

Examples of omission are the following. 196, 4, the proper name. 201, 14, the date (there are other examples of such omission). 218, 11, the accidental omission of at least several words. 286, 6, where it is evident that a passage of some length has fallen out, leaving a text that is incomprehensible. 314, 13 (cf. 92, 8), where the suffix *ت* presumably refers to a *خُتْمَةٍ* or *نَارٍ* originally belonging to Abū Muslim.

The fact that some of the most palpable and certain of these purely scribal errors are found also in the citations from the Futūḥ Miṣr in Yāqūt, Abū-l-Ma'āsin, Maqrīzī, and Suyūfī's *Ḥisn al-Muḥādara* must not be overlooked. It remains to find probable answers to the questions, how Ibn Quda'id came into possession of this one faulty codex, and why he transmitted it to his pupils in this imperfect state, without correction. It is to be observed, in the first place, that there is no good evidence that Ibn Quda'id was ever a pupil of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam or received traditions from him orally. The best native biographical treatises do not claim this for him, and in the few cases where the assertion is made it is undoubtedly due simply to his transmission of the Futūḥ Miṣr. His attitude, throughout this work, is plainly that of an editor who occasionally adds his own marginal notes (such as those given in note 16 on pp. 107 f., in 247, 15 ff., 300, 14 f., etc.), rather than that of a pupil transmitting a work received from his master. There is a noticeable absence of any indication that he had himself heard Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam; in the one passage where this has the appearance of being the case, namely 63, 7 and note 10, where Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam is said to have prescribed the reading *بَابِ الْجَبَابِ* instead of *بَابِ الْجَبَابِ*, the explanation is furnished by the parallel passage, p. 280, in which 'Abd ar-Rahmān remarks (lines 16 f.) that Abū-l-Aswad, from whom he received the tradition, used to pronounce the name with final *nīm*! It was in the year 237, when Ibn Quda'id was eight years old, that the family of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam fell into the disgrace from which it never recovered. It is not likely that 'Abd ar-Rahmān, who at that time was about fifty years of age, gained any new adherents after that date, but it may well be that a few of his former pupils remained by him. It would seem that after the death of the master his history was not circulated, but was allowed, by those of his own gene-

¹ These marginalia of Ibn Quda'id are sometimes reproduced in all the mss., sometimes in only one or two. Thus, the one just cited is found only in B; 62, note 12, gives one which is preserved only in C. See below.

ration and their immediate successors, to drop out of sight. Even after it was rescued from oblivion, and its material began to be used extensively in other works, the discredit attaching to the name of its author seems to have lingered for some time. The way in which al-Kindi, in writing of the qāḍis of Egypt, makes frequent and direct use of the Futūḥ Miṣr, while avoiding the appearance of doing so, is highly significant. He bases his treatise on that of his predecessor even to the extent of making it end with the year 246, and yet, as Guest remarks (Introduction, p. 24), in using the same traditions he prefers not to cite Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, but instead employs, wherever possible, another chain of authorities. We may suppose that not long after the death of our author Ibn Qudā'id came into possession of a ms. of the Futūḥ Miṣr which was either the work of one of the pupils of the discredited historian or else the copy of such a work. He had nothing more authoritative with which to compare it and by which to correct it, and therefore handed it on as he found it, like a true rāwī.

We have seen that the edition of the Futūḥ Miṣr which was delivered by Ibn Qudā'id to his own pupils, with his numerous brief additions and comments, was transmitted from him by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Qammāḥ; and also, that in the older Paris manuscript it is repeatedly asserted that its text was handed down from Ibn Qudā'id by his more famous pupil, al-Kindi. The question of the authenticity of this latter information at once suggests itself, since the text of Ms. B is practically identical with that of the other witnesses, and we have no other direct testimony that al-Kindi was concerned with the transmission of this work. It is intrinsically probable, however, that this should have been the case, seeing that his teacher and chief authority (Guest, *Introd.*, p. 18) gave out an edition of it¹ with his own comments and slight additions. It is a work of just the sort which would be most likely to interest al-Kindi; we know that he was acquainted with it (he could not possibly have been ignorant of its existence!) and even that he made use of it — probably much more extensively than we are able to recognize. The claim made in Codex B, moreover, is not found in a marginal note, colophon, or title, but in the body of the work, four times over, in varying form. There is additional internal evidence, slight, but not to be disregarded. In spite of the inconsiderable variation in the mss. of our history, and the comparatively small number of cases in which al-Kindi professes to be following Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, it is possible to observe that the B text agrees more closely than its fellows with al-Kindi. An example

¹ Guest, *ibid.*, was inclined to question this, while waiting for the evidence to be furnished. The mss. of the Futūḥ Miṣr, however, put the matter beyond the reach of doubt.

is the tradition p. 192, 3 ff., of Kindi ٣٣, 10 ff. The traditionist's habit of repeating the word *قال* after each member of the chain of authorities may also be admitted as evidence. This habit is everywhere followed in B, but not in the other three mss., and is also regular in the Kindi codex. Cf. for example 90, 10 f. (in a tradition found only in B) with Kindi ١٨, 9 f.; ٣٣, 6 f., etc. Again, what is still more significant, B shows a certain independence in reporting the comments of Ibn Qudā'id. There is a series of brief notes by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam himself, among those which Ibn Qudā'id must either have found in the margin of his codex or have received orally from a former pupil of the historian, preserved in Ms. B, but nowhere else. These are the following: 63, note 10; 161, note 13; 291, 7 f.; 301, 18 ff.; 307, note 8; 308, note 5; 310, note 2. These seven notes form a group which is especially worthy of notice when it is observed that no other manuscript of the four contributes even one note of this particular sort which is not preserved also by the rest. On the other hand, there are two instances in which editorial remarks of this general nature are present in the other mss. but wanting in B. One of these, 316, 14 f., is a note of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, like those just mentioned, but of less consequence; the other, 174, note 2, is an interesting annotation by Ibn Qudā'id, which A, C, and D give in slightly varying form.¹ In 300, 5 (see note 3) B simply adopts the correction of Ibn Qudā'id without noticing the older reading (given by the other mss.). The evidence at hand thus seems to support the assertion of Ms. B, that its text came from Ibn Qudā'id through al-Kindi.

From the facts here stated it is evident that from our four manuscripts of the Futūḥ Miṣr we can restore the text of Ibn Qudā'id's codex with remarkable certainty, and in so doing can make a very close approximation to the text of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam himself. From the time when Ibn Qudā'id published this important book, it was extensively used by other writers and made the basis of numerous works dealing with the history and traditions of Egypt, some of which works soon supplanted the pioneer collection. Al-Kindi made it the basis of his own monograph on the Qāḍis, and unquestionably also of his treatise on the Khitāṣ.² As Guest (p. 24) suggests, his *Al-ḥikma Masīd al-dīn* probably had the same origin. Ibn 'Abd

¹ In 107, note 10, Ms. A gives a bit of narrative by Ibn Qudā'id which has no direct connection with the Futūḥ Miṣr. In 92, note 12, Ms. C has an alleged remark by Ibn Qudā'id which looks like a mere blunder.

² We read in Hajji Iṭīfā, II 146, No. ٣٣٣: *تاريخ مصر منها اخبار خطتها قال من صنف فيها على ما قاله القزويني أبو عمر محمد بن يوسف الكندي* claim (p. 168) in regard to al-Kindi's work on the Qāḍis, and similar statements are found elsewhere.

al-Hakam's chapters on the Faḍā'il Miṣr (see above) furnished the younger Kindī much material for his work bearing this title.¹ Muḥammad ibn ar-Rabī' ibn Sulaimūn al-Jizī († 324) wrote a work on the Companions who entered Egypt (extensively quoted in the *Ḥusn al-Mulādāra*), and also one on the Qādis, for both of which works the Futūḥ Miṣr must have been a chief source. Such writers as Ibn Zūlāq and Qudā'ī still further expanded and continued the works of their predecessors.² In regard to other early historians, such as Ibn Yūnus, we have no basis for conjecture as to the extent to which they were indebted to the Futūḥ Miṣr. The debt cannot have been small. Yāqūt quotes the work in extenso for a large part of his Egyptian and North African material. Suyūfī's *Ḥusn al-Mulādāra* is to a considerable extent a transcript of it, or of others who have incorporated it, and it furnishes Maqrīzī with many chapters. It not infrequently happens, in all these works, that long extracts are given, in more or less altered form, without mention of their source. One of the very early histories of which the Arabic text has been lost, but which is preserved in translation, is *L'Égypte de Murtadī fils de Gaphāp*, translated by Pierre Vattier in 1666, a work of which we are told that the original text was edited by as-Silafī. The book is rare, and I have not seen it; my only knowledge of it comes from Mr. A. G. Ellis.

Former editions and translations of portions of the Futūḥ Miṣr are the following: 1. Ewald, *Zeitschr. f. Kunde d. Morgenl.* III, 3, pp. 336—352. 2. Mac Guckin de Slane gave a French translation of a portion of the chapter dealing with North Africa in his *Histoire des Berbères*, I, (1852) 301—312. 3. J. A. Karle, *Ibn Abdollakami libellus de historia Aegypti antiqua*, Göttingue, 1856. Arabic text, much abridged, of the first Division of the book, with Latin translation. 4. John Harris Jones, *Ibn Abū El-Hakem's History of the Conquest of Spain*, Göttingen, 1858. The Arabic text, with an English translation, critical and exegetical notes, and a historical introduction. A good piece of work, for the time. Both Karle and Jones used for their text the Göttingen transcript of the Paris mss. which was mentioned above. 5. La Fuente y Alcántara, a Spanish translation of a small portion of the work (see Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.* II, 692). I have not seen this. 6. C. C. Torrey, "The Story of King John and the Abbot," in the *Journal of the Am. Or. Society*, Vol. 20, 1899, pp. 209—216. Text and translation

¹ J. Oestrup, *Unser Ibn al-Muḥammad al-Kindī's Beschreibung von Aegypten*, in the *Verhandl. der K. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Kopenhagen*, 1896, No. 4. It is an interesting fact that this book also was reduced by as-Silafī.

² See, for example, the material of the Futūḥ Miṣr cited from Qudā'ī in Ibn Iyās I 18.

of the story of King Paula (present ed., pp. 29, 13—30, 14), with discussion of literary parallels. 7. C. C. Torrey, *The Mohammedan Conquest of Egypt and North Africa*, in the volume entitled *Biblical and Semitic Studies* (Yale Bicentennial Publications), New York, 1901, pp. 279—330. A translation of a considerable part of the Fourth and Fifth Divisions of the history (present ed., pp. 169, 5—204, 12).¹ 8. Henri Massé, *Le Livre de la Conquête de l'Égypte, du Magreb et de l'Espagne*, Le Caire, 1914. Arabic text of the first two Divisions of the work; an eclectic text based mainly on the two Paris manuscripts, with occasional readings from the London codex, and others adopted from the extracts in Maqrīzī or Suyūfī. Finely printed, but very incorrect and altogether inadequate.

Since the present edition has been often promised and announced, during the past thirty years, and especially since it was for some time announced as one of the publications to be issued in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, a few words as to its history may be in place.² The task was begun in 1895, with the copying and photographing of the greater part of the older Paris manuscript. In another summer vacation in 1898 this transcript was completed, and the collation of Mss. C and A (made known to me in the meantime by Rieu's Catalogue) was accomplished. In 1901 a visit to Leyden made possible the collation of Ms. D. Some years later, when the Trustees of the Gibb Fund offered to publish the work, the text and notes were still based on Ms. B, but it seemed important to revise the whole on the basis of the text of A. Other labors, which could neither be neglected nor postponed, prevented, however. In March, 1914, the last installment of the revised text and notes, in final form, was sent to London. Before the printing could be begun, however, the European war, combined with an unusual and unexpected drain on the resources of the Fund, rendered publication in the near future unlikely. At about this time the Yale Oriental Series was instituted, and, glad to publish under its auspices if arrangements could be made, I suggested to the Gibb trustees in 1916 the transfer of the material. They very courteously consented, and undertook,

¹ The translation, which was made while the writer was on a journey, with no books of reference except Suyūfī's *Ḥusn* (which very frequently gives proper names incorrectly), contains many errors. I hope to improve upon it at some future time.

² It was announced, for example, in the *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* 1890, p. 209 (referred to in Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arab. Literatur*, II 692); the *Leyden Catalogue of Arabic Mss.*, in the description of our Ms. D. A. J. Butler's *Mohammedan Conquest of Egypt* (1902), Preface, p. 171; Oestrup's edition of *al-Faḍā'il* (1912), Introduction, p. 22; and for several years (1906—1915) in the publications of the Gibb Memorial Fund.

through Mr. Ellis, the task, at that time precarious, of getting the proofs of manuscript safely to the printers in Leyden.

In editing the text, the readings of Ms. A have been preferred wherever they could reasonably be regarded as the original. The same principles of vocalization have been observed as those adopted by the editors of Tabari's great work. The notes, which might easily have been considerably increased in volume, are intended to supply only what is most necessary. There is probably no need to apologize for the amount of space given to the glossary. The great age and comparative certainty of the text, the influence which the book exerted in the learned Muslim world, and the need of sifted material, of definite date and undoubted authenticity, for an Arabic dictionary compiled on scientific principles, constitute a sufficient excuse for discussing unusual words at some length, and for including usage already recorded in Dozy's *Supplément* (generally, it is true, from works much later in date than the *Futūḥ Miṣr*). The reader who compares our text with the extensive excerpts from it given by Suyūṭī, Maqrīzī, and other writers of the later period will be interested, and perhaps surprised, to see how often the words and phrases listed in this glossary are either omitted altogether or else replaced by others which are more usual. The reader is urged to consult the table of Errata, before making use of the book, and to enter in the text the corrections there indicated.

The editor takes this opportunity to thank those who have assisted, in one way or another, in the preparation of this edition: the officers of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the British Museum, and the Library of the University of Leyden, for the aid so readily and unreservedly given; the Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Fund, for their uniform courtesy and consideration; the managers of the Yale University Press, and the publishing house of E. J. Brill in Leyden, for the care which they have bestowed on all the details of printing and publication; Mr. A. J. Ellis, formerly of the British Museum, afterward of the India Office, for his unfailing helpfulness in many ways; Professor Shouck Hurgonje, of the University of Leyden, for generously offering to read a proof of the work, and for some valuable corrections of the text which I have included, accompanied by his name, in the table of Errata. To my colleague, Professor Clay, to whose energy the inception of the Yale Oriental Series is due, I am indebted for much help and encouragement. Dr. George Alexander Kohut, of New York City, has shown a keen personal interest in the publication of this volume, and it is especially fitting that it should appear under the auspices of the fund established in memory of his father.

CHARLES C. TORREY.

New Haven, Conn., September, 1921.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Abdallatif = Relation de l'Égypte par Abdallatif, tr. de Sacy. Paris 1810.
 Abulf. = Avulfæ historia Antislamica, arabice ed. Fleischer. Lipsiæ 1831.
 Abū Shāh = Abū Shāh, The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt, ed. and trans. by E. P. A. Evetts. Oxford 1895.
 Adhari = Al-Bayān al-Magrib, par Ibn Adhari, ed. Dozy. 2 vols. Leyde 1849—1851.
 Agh. = Khat al-Aghani 20 vols. Bulaq 1285.
 Anasib = The Kitab al-Anasib of al-Sam'ani, reprod. in facsimile from the Ms. in the British Museum. London 1912.
 Aḥm. = Ibn al-Aḥm. Chronicle, ed. Tornberg. 14 vols. Lugduni Bat. 1871—1878.
 Baladh. = Liber de regionibus regnum auctore al-Baladisi, ed. de Goeje. Lugduni Bat. 1866.
 Balat-Shar = Description de l'Afrique septentrionale, texte arabe publié par le Baron de Slane. Alger 1857. (Transl. in Journal asiatique 1858—1861.)
 Balh. = Le Recueil des traditions musulmanes par al-Bokhārī, publié par E. Krahl. I—III. Leyde 1862—1868.
 Brooks, Chronol. = E. W. Brooks, On the chronology of the conquest of Egypt by the Saracens, Byzantinische Zeitschrift 1895, 435—444.
 Candel. Invasions = Les premières invasions Arabes dans l'Afrique du nord. Paris 1910.
 Gotziba = Ibn Gotziba's Handbuch der Geschichte, hrsg. von Wüstenfeld. Göttingen 1850.
 Doreid = Ibn Doreid's genealogisch-etymologisches Handbuch, herausg. von Wüstenfeld. Göttingen 1854.
 Duqm. = Description de l'Égypte par Ibn Doukma. Parts IV and V. Le Caire 1893.
 Edr. = Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrisi, ed. Dozy and de Goeje. Leyde 1856.

فُتُوحُ مِصْرٍ وَأَنْجِبَارُهَا

تأليف

أَبِي الْقَاسِمِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْحَكَمِ

يُطْلَبُ مِنْ مَكْتَبَةِ الشُّعْبَةِ الْفَيْدَادِ

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Professor of the Semitic Languages in Yale University

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MDCCLXXII

بذكر السرير فلما أن أغرى الله فرعون وجنوده كنا حدثنا علي بن المتوكل عن
ابن لبيعة عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب عن شبيب عن استيكان الدمين كانوا آمنوا من
السحرة موسى في الرجوع إلى * أعلم وماله * مصر فأتى لهم ونما لهم فترقبوا في رؤس
الجنال وكلوا أول من ترقب وكان يقال لهم الشيعة وبقيت طائفة منهم مع موسى عم
حتى نوافه الله عز وجل ثم انقطعوا الرهبانية بعدهم حتى ابتدئها بعد ذلك
أصحاب المسيح عم

حدثنا عبد الله بن صالح حدثنا معاوية بن صالح عن علي بن أبي طلحة
عن ابن عباس في قوله أمر غلبت الروم في أدنى الأرض * وهم من بعد غلبهم سيفليون
في بضع سنين قال غلبتهم فارس ثم غلبت الروم فارس في أدنى الأرض يقول في طرف
10 الأرض الشام وقد اختلف في البضع فحدثنا للحارث بن مسكين حدثنا ابن
القاسم عن مالك بن انس قال البضع ما بين * الثلاث إلى سبع * حدثنا اسد
حدثنا عبد الله بن خالد 10 عن الكلبي عن أبي صالح عن ابن عباس 11 قال بضع 12
سنين * ما بين خمس إلى سبع 13 حدثنا اسد حدثنا ابراهيم بن سعد عن أبي
الخير ان رسول الله صلعم قال البضع سنين ما بين خمس إلى سبع ويقال البضع
14 ما لم يبلغ العدد ما بين الواحد إلى اربع ويقال إلى سبع وتسع وعشر 15 ويقال
البضع ما بين العشرة إلى العشرين وكذلك كل 16 عقد إلى المائة فلا زاد على المائة
القطع البضع * وصار نيفا 17

which, having been displaced by some accident, have now been copied at the end
of the chapter. The first of the two was written by the author himself as the con-
tinuation of page 28, line 18. The other was designed by him as the continuation
of page 35, line 3. See also the Introduction, D om. the following, as far as the
حدثنا before the name المتوكل. 1) The following is quoted from Ibn
Abd al-Hakam in Huen 1: 29, below middle. 2) B om. 3) ACD
أعلم وماله. 4) On this addendum, originally written as the continuation of
page 35, line 3, see the note above. 5) D om. to this point. 6) BC om.
7) C repeats this passage. 8) D simply قال مالك بن انس. 9) B إلى سبع. 10) AC سبع. 11) B original but
corrected; D البضع سبع. 12) ACD om. 13) BD عشرة. 14) C عشرة. 15) B om.
16) B om. At this point the first main division of the book ends, in all the mss.

ذكر¹ كتاب رسول الله صلعم الى المقوقس²

حدثنا هشام بن اسحاق وغيره قال لما كانت سنة ست³ من هجرة⁴ رسول الله صلعم رجع رسول الله صلعم من الحبشية⁵ بعث الى الملوك⁶ حدثنا اسد بن موسى حدثنا عبد الله بن وهب اخبرني يونس بن يزيد عن ابن شهاب قال حدثني عبد الرحمن بن عبد القاري ان رسول الله صلعم قال ذات يوم على المنبر فحمد الله والى عليه ونشهد ثم قال اما بعد فاني اريد ان ابعث بعضكم الى ملوك العجم فلا تختلفوا علي كما اختلفت بنو اسرائيل على عيسى بن مريم ولذلك ان الله تبارك وتعالى اوحى الى عيسى ان ابعث الى ملوك الارض فبعث للثوارتين فلما القريب مكانا فوصى واما البعيد مكانا فكره وقال لا احسن كلام من تبعني اليه فقال عيسى اللهم امرت الثوارتين بالذي امرني فاختلفوا علي فاوحى الله اليه الى ساكنيك فاصبح الى انسان منهم يتكلم بلسان الذي وجه اليهم فقال المهاجرون يا رسول الله والله لا تختلف عليك ابدا في شيء ففرنا وابعثنا فبعث حاطب بن ابي بلتعنة الى المقوقس صاحب الاسكندرية ومجمل بن وهب الاسدي الى كسرى وبعث ربيعة بن خليفة الى قنصر وبعث عمرو بن العاص الى ابي الجندب¹⁰ امير عمان ثم ذكر الحديث¹¹ ثم رجع الى حديث هشام بن اسحاق وغيره قال¹² فصى حاطب بكتاب رسول الله صلعم فلما انتهى الى الاسكندرية وجد المقوقس في مجلس مشرف على البحر فركب البحر

- 1) Here begins, in all the Mss., the second main division (جزء) of the History.
- 2) This superscription is wanting in C, but space is left for it.
- 3) B prefixes حدثنا ابو عمر محمد بن يوسف بن يعقوب بن حفص بن يوسف الكندي قال حدثنا
- 4) من الهجرة + D. 5) All mss. and Maqr. (I 29, 8) على بن الحسن النخعي.
- 6) C om. following, to يزيد بن. 7) C om. following, to يزيد بن. 8) B يختلف
- 9) O اليه. 10) A (fully pointed) and C have final I, B الجندب, D اللندب.
- 11) The following is in Hsbn I 47 ff., Maqr. I 29 f.

الغيرة يركب الخمار ويلبس الشملة ويجترى بالتمترات¹ والكشر لا يسأل من لاقى من
 عم ولا ابن عم قلت هذه صفته قال قد كنت أعلم أن نبياً قد بقي وقد كنت
 أظن أن يخرج الشام² وهناك كنت يخرج الانبياء من قبله فأراه قد خرج في العرب³
 في أرض جهنم وبؤس والقيط لا تطاوعني في أتباعه ولا أحب أن أعلم بمخاوري
 أناك وسيظهر على البلاد وينزل⁴ أصحابه من بعده بساحتنا هذه حتى يظهروا على⁵
 ما همنا⁶ وأنا لا أذكر للقيط من هذا حرفاً فأرجع إلى صاحبك⁷ فرجع إلى
 حديث هشام بن (18b) اسحق قال ثم دعا كاتباً يكتب بالعربية فكتب. لمحمد بن
 عبد الله من المقوقس عظيم القبط 7 سلام⁸ أما بعد فقد قرأت كتابك وفهمت ما
 ذكرت وما تدعو إليه وقد علمت أن نبياً قد بقي وقد كنت أظن أنه يخرج
 بالشام وقد اكتمت رسلك وبعثت إليك جارينين لهما مكان في القبط عظيم وبكسوة¹⁰
 وأحدثت إليك بغلة لتركبها والسلام⁹ حدثنا أسد بن موسى حدثنا عبد الله بن
 وهب أخبرني يونس بن يزيد عن ابن شهاب عن عبد الرحمن بن عبد القاري قال
 لما مضى حطبت بكتاب رسول الله صلعم قبل¹⁰ المقوقس الكتاب وأكرم حاطبها
 وأحسن ثوبه ثم سرحه إلى رسول الله صلعم وأهدى له مع حاطب كسوة وبغلة
 يسرجها وجارين أحداً أم إبراهيم وهب الأخرى لجهنم بن فيس العبدري فهي
 أم زكرياء بن¹¹ جهنم الذي كان خليفة عمرو بن العاص على مصر ويقال¹² بل وهبها¹³
 لحسان بن ثابت فهي أم عبد الرحمن بن حسان ويقال بل وهبها رسول الله صلعم
 لمحمد بن مسلمة¹⁴ الانصاري ويقال بل لذيخبة بن خليفة الكلي¹⁵ حدثنا النضر
 ابن سلمة السامي¹⁴ عن حاتم بن إسماعيل عن أسامة بن زيد الليثي عن المنذر
 بن عبيد عن عبد الرحمن بن حسان بن ثابت عن أمه سيرين¹⁶ قالت حضرت

1) بالتمترات. 2) بالشام. 3) D. 4) مغرب الأرض. 5) C. 6) شيئا. 7) D. 8) بالشم. 9) D. 10) قبل. 11) قبل. 12) قبل. 13) قبل. 14) قبل. 15) قبل. 16) قبل. 17) قبل. 18) قبل. 19) قبل. 20) قبل. 21) قبل. 22) قبل. 23) قبل. 24) قبل. 25) قبل. 26) قبل. 27) قبل. 28) قبل. 29) قبل. 30) قبل. 31) قبل. 32) قبل. 33) قبل. 34) قبل. 35) قبل. 36) قبل. 37) قبل. 38) قبل. 39) قبل. 40) قبل. 41) قبل. 42) قبل. 43) قبل. 44) قبل. 45) قبل. 46) قبل. 47) قبل. 48) قبل. 49) قبل. 50) قبل. 51) قبل. 52) قبل. 53) قبل. 54) قبل. 55) قبل. 56) قبل. 57) قبل. 58) قبل. 59) قبل. 60) قبل. 61) قبل. 62) قبل. 63) قبل. 64) قبل. 65) قبل. 66) قبل. 67) قبل. 68) قبل. 69) قبل. 70) قبل. 71) قبل. 72) قبل. 73) قبل. 74) قبل. 75) قبل. 76) قبل. 77) قبل. 78) قبل. 79) قبل. 80) قبل. 81) قبل. 82) قبل. 83) قبل. 84) قبل. 85) قبل. 86) قبل. 87) قبل. 88) قبل. 89) قبل. 90) قبل. 91) قبل. 92) قبل. 93) قبل. 94) قبل. 95) قبل. 96) قبل. 97) قبل. 98) قبل. 99) قبل. 100) قبل. 101) قبل. 102) قبل. 103) قبل. 104) قبل. 105) قبل. 106) قبل. 107) قبل. 108) قبل. 109) قبل. 110) 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قبل. 811) قبل. 812) قبل. 813) قبل. 814) قبل. 815) قبل. 816) قبل. 817) قبل. 818) قبل. 819) قبل. 820) قبل. 821) قبل. 822) قبل. 823) قبل. 824) قبل. 825) قبل. 826) قبل. 827) قبل. 828) قبل. 829) قبل. 830) قبل. 831) قبل. 832) قبل. 833) قبل. 834) قبل. 835) قبل. 836) قبل. 837) قبل. 838) قبل. 839) قبل. 840) قبل. 841) قبل. 842) قبل. 843) قبل. 844) قبل. 845) قبل. 846) قبل. 847) قبل. 848) قبل. 849) قبل. 850) قبل. 851) قبل. 852) قبل. 853) قبل. 854) قبل. 855) قبل. 856) قبل. 857) قبل. 858) قبل. 859) قبل. 860) قبل. 861) قبل. 862) قبل. 863) قبل. 864) قبل. 865) قبل. 866) قبل. 867) قبل. 868) قبل. 869) قبل. 870) قبل. 871) قبل. 872) قبل. 873) قبل. 874) قبل. 875) قبل. 876) قبل. 877) قبل. 878) قبل. 879) قبل. 880) قبل. 881) قبل. 882) قبل. 883) قبل. 884) قبل. 885) قبل. 886) قبل. 887) قبل. 888) قبل. 889) قبل. 890) قبل. 891) قبل. 892) قبل. 893) قبل. 894) قبل. 895) قبل. 896) قبل. 897) قبل. 898) قبل. 899) قبل. 900) قبل. 901) قبل. 902) قبل. 903) قبل. 904) قبل. 905) قبل. 906) قبل. 907) قبل. 908) قبل. 909) قبل. 910) قبل. 911) قبل. 912) قبل. 913) قبل. 914) قبل. 915) قبل. 916) قبل. 917) قبل. 918) قبل. 919) قبل. 920) قبل. 921) قبل. 922) قبل. 923) قبل. 924) قبل. 925) قبل. 926) قبل. 927) قبل. 928) قبل. 929) قبل. 930) قبل. 931) قبل. 932) قبل. 933) قبل. 934) قبل. 935) قبل. 936) قبل. 937) قبل. 938) قبل. 939) قبل. 940) قبل. 941) قبل. 942) قبل. 943) قبل. 944) قبل. 945) قبل. 946) قبل. 947) قبل. 948) قبل. 949) قبل. 950) قبل. 951) قبل. 952) قبل. 953) قبل. 954) قبل. 955) قبل. 956) قبل. 957) قبل. 958) قبل. 959) قبل. 960) قبل. 961) قبل. 962) قبل. 963) قبل. 964) قبل. 965) قبل. 966) قبل. 967) قبل. 968) قبل. 969) قبل. 970) قبل. 971) قبل. 972) قبل. 973) قبل. 974) قبل. 975) قبل. 976) قبل. 977) قبل. 978) قبل. 979) قبل. 980) قبل. 981) قبل. 982) قبل. 983) قبل. 984) قبل. 985) قبل. 986) قبل. 987) قبل. 988) قبل. 989) قبل. 990) قبل. 991) قبل. 992) قبل. 993) قبل. 994) قبل. 995) قبل. 996) قبل. 997) قبل. 998) قبل. 999) قبل. 1000) قبل.

موت ابراهيم فولدت رسول الله صلعم كلنا صحت انا واخوتي ما بينهما فلما مات لهما
 عن الصياح ٥ حدثنا عبد الملك بن هشام ١ حدثنا زياد بن عبيد الله البكائي عن
 محمد بن اسحق عن يعقوب بن عتبة ان صفوان بن المعطل ٢ ضرب حسان بن
 ثابت بالسيف قال ابن اسحق لحدثني محمد بن ابراهيم التيمي ان ثابت بن قيس
 ٥ ابن شماس وثب على صفوان بن المعطل حين ضرب حسان فجمع يديه ٣ الى عنقه
 فحبل فلقبه عبد الله بن راحنة فقتل ما قذا فقال ضرب حسان بالسيف والله ما
 اراه الا قد قتله قال هل علم رسول الله صلعم بشيء مما صنعت قال لا قال لقد
 اجترأت اطلق الرجل فاطلقه ثم اتوا رسول الله صلعم فذكروا ذلك له فدعا حسان
 وصفوان بن المعطل فقال اذاني يا رسول الله وهما جالي فاحتلمني الغضب فضربته فقتل
 10 رسول الله صلعم احسن يا حسان في الذي قد اصابك قال في ذلك فلفظاه رسول الله
 صلعم عرضا منها بترحاء ٤ وفي قصر بني حنظلة اليوم كنت ملا لابي طلحة تصدني
 فيها الى رسول الله صلعم فلفظاه حسان في ضربته واعطاه سيرين ٥ امة قبطية
 فولدت له عبد الرحمن بن حسان ٥ حدثنا علي بن المثنى حدثنا ابن لهيعة
 قال حدثني يزيد بن ابي حبيب ان المقوقس لما اتاه كتاب رسول الله صلعم منه
 15 الى صدره وقال هذا زمان يخرج فيه النبي الذي تجد نعتة ٦ (19a) وصفته في كتاب
 الله واتا لتجد صفته انه لا يجمع بين اختين ٧ في ملك يمين ولا نكاح وانه يقبل
 الهدية ولا يقبل الصدقة وان جلساء المساكين وان خاتم النبوة بين كتفيه ثم دعا
 رجلا غفلا ثم لم يفتح مصر احسن ولا اجمل من مارية واختها ولها من اهل حق ٨
 من كورة انصتا فبعث بهما الى رسول الله صلعم واحدا له بغلة شهيد وجارا اشهب
 20 وثيلا من قباطي مصر وعسلا من عسل تبها وبعث اليه مال صدقة وامر رسوله ان
 ينظر من جلسائه وينظر الى ظهره هل يرى شامة كنبه ٩ ذات شعر ففعل ذلك الرسول
 فلما قدم على رسول الله صلعم قدم اليه الاختين والدائنتين والغسل والثياب واعلمه

1) Hs. I. 737 ff. 2) Mas. معطل, also in the sequel. 3) Mas. يديه.

4) A. بترحاء, O. بترحاء, but see Yaqut. 5) A. سيرين. 6) C + ابن.

7) B. بعته. 8) B. الاختين. 9) C. حفر. 10) C om., B + بين كتفيه.

أن ذلك كله عذبة فقبل رسول الله صلعم الهدية وكان لا يردّها من أحد من
القبائل. فلما نظر إلى مارية واختها انجنتاه وكره أن يجمع بينهما وكانت إحداها
تسبّه الآخرى فقال اللهم اختر لنبيك فاختار الله له مارية وذلك أنه قلّ لهما قولاً
تشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وأن محمداً عبده ورسوله فبدت مارية فتشهدت وآمنت
وقبل اختها ومكثت اختها ساعة ثم تشهدت وآمنت فوجه رسول الله صلعم اختها ٥
لحميد بن مسلمة الاتصاري وكل بعضهم بل وهما لخيرية بن خليفة الكلبي ٥
قال لحدثنا هاني بن المتوكل * حدثنا عبد الله ٥ بن لبيعة عن يزيد بن أبي
حبيب عن عبد الرحمن بن شماسه الهجري * أحسبه عن عبد الله بن عمرو بن
الغضن قال دخل رسول الله صلعم على أمّ إبراهيم أمّ * ولده القبطية فوجد عندها
نسيجا * كان لهما * فقدم معها من مصر وكان كثيراً ما يدخل عليها فوقع في نفسه ١٥
شيء فرجع فلقبه عمر بن الخطاب فعرف ذلك في وجهه فسأله لغيره فأخذ عمر
السيف ثم دخل على مارية وقربها عندها فأهوى اليه بالسيف فلما رأى ذلك
كشف عن نفسه وكان محبوباً ليس بين رجله شيء فلما رآه عمر رجع إلى رسول الله
صلعم فأخبره فقال رسول الله صلعم إن جبريل أتاني لأخبرني أن الله قد برأها وقربها
وأن في بطنها غلاماً مني وأنه أشبه الخلف في وأمرني أن أستبني إبراهيم وكفائي بابي ١٥
إبراهيم ٥ وحدثنا نعيم * عبد الرحمن بن إبراهيم حدثنا ابن وهب عن ابن لبيعة
عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب عن الزهري عن أنس قال لما ولدت أمّ إبراهيم إبراهيم كأنه
وقع في نفس النبي صلعم * منه شيء * حتى جاءه جبريل فقال السلام عليك يا
إبراهيم ٥ ويقال إن المقوقس بعث معها خضني فكان يأوي إليها ٥ حدثنا أحمد بن
سعيد الهجري * حدثنا مرد بن يحيى اللطبي حدثني إبراهيم بن عبد الرحمن بن ٢٥
(١٩٥) أنسج قال حدثني عبد الرحمن بن زيد بن أسلم عن أبيه قال ١٥ حدثني
يحيى بن عبد الرحمن بن حاطب عن أبيه عن جدّه حاطب بن أبي بلتعنة قال
بعثني رسول الله صلعم إلى المقوقس ملك الاسكندرية فبحثته بكتاب رسول الله صلعم

1) D على. 2) شهد. 3) CD عن. 4) CD المهدى. 5) B om.
6) لها كان. 7) D om. following tradition. 8) B رحيم عن (secunda manu).
9) C om., B om. منه. 10) D om.

فلو كنت في منزل واقفت عنده ليالي ثم بعثت إلى وقد جمع بطارفته فقال إلى
 ساكنك بكلام وأحب أن تفهمه عني قال قلت هل علمت قال أخبرني عن صاحبك اليس
 هو بنيتي قال قلت بلى هو رسول الله قال فما له حيث كان هكذا * في يدع على
 قومه حيث أخرجه من بلده إلى غيرها قال قلت له فعبسى بن مريم تشهد أنه
 رسول الله فما له حيث أخذه قومه فأرادوا أن يصلبوه ألا يكون دعا عليهم بأن
 يهلكهم الله حتى رفعه الله إليه في السماء الدنيا فقال انت حكيم جاء من عند حكيم
 هذه عذابي ابعت بها معك إلى محمد وأرسل معك * متذرفا يندرفونك إلى
 ماتك¹⁰ قال فأهدى لرسول الله صلعم ثلاث جوار منهن أم إبراهيم وواحدة وهبها
 رسول الله صلعم لابي جهم بن خديفة¹¹ العبدري¹² وواحدة وهبها لحسان بن ثابت¹³
¹⁰ وأرسل إليه بذياب مع طرف من طرف فولدت مارية لرسول الله صلعم إبراهيم فكان
 من أحب الناس إليه حتى مات فوجد به رسول الله صلعم

حدثنا¹⁴ عبد الملك بن مسلمة حدثنا حفص بن سليمان عن كثير بن شطيير
 عن أبي نصر¹⁵ عن أبي سعيد الخدري أن رسول الله صلعم صلى على ابنه
 إبراهيم وكثر عليه أربعة قال ورث الماء على قبره كما حدثنا ابن بكير¹⁶ وحدثنا
¹⁵ عبد الملك بن مسلمة حدثنا فريش بن حبان عن ثابت البناني عن أنس بن
 مالك قال دخلنا مع رسول الله صلعم على أبي سفيان قيس¹⁷ كان بالمدينة وكان ظفر
 إبراهيم ابن رسول الله صلعم ثلثة بلبراهيم فشمه في نخلنا عليه وهو في الموت فذرفت
 عيناه فقال له ابن عوف وأنت يا رسول الله قال إنها رحيمة وأنبعها بالأخرى تدمع
 العين وجوز القلب ولا نقول ما لا نرضى ربنا وحدثنا أبي¹⁸ عبد الله بن

1) B لي. 2) BOD نبي. 3) ما يدعوا B. 4) حين O. 5) D تشهد.
 6) D ماتك. 7) O om. 8) D om. 9) متذرفا يندرفونك O. 10) B. 11) The narrator confuses جهم بن قيس العبدري (see 47, 14) with
 العبدري (see. man.). 12) B (see. man.). 13) In the remaining traditions of this chapter, D abridges and omits very
 extensively. 14) B. 15) I. e. 16) B. 17) B. 18) In C altered to جهم. The tradition in somewhat
 improved form in Bokh. I 828. 19) B om.

عبد الحكم حدثنا مسلم بن خالد الزنجي¹ عن عبد الله بن عثمان بن خثيم عن
 شهر بن حوشب عن أسماء ابنة يزيد أنها حدثته قالت لما توفي ابراهيم بكى رسول
 الله صلعم فقال ابو بكر وعمر انت احق من علم الله² حقه قال تدمع العين وجزن
 القلب ولا تقول ما يسخط الرب ولولا أنه وعد صادق وموعده جامع وأن الآخر
 منا يتبع الأول لوجدنا عليك يا ابراهيم أشد³ منا (20a) وحدثنا وإنا بك لحزونون⁴
 حدثنا علي بن معبد حدثنا عيسى بن يونس عن محمد بن أبي ليلى عن
 عطاء بن أبي رباح⁵ عن جابر بن عبد الله قال اخذ رسول الله صلعم بيد عبد
 الرحمن بن صوف فالتفت به الى النخل الذي فيه ابنة ابراهيم فوجده يجود بنفسه
 فاحده فوضعه في حجره ثم بكى فقال له عبد الرحمن⁶ تبيكى أولم تكن نهيت عن
 البكاء قال لا ولكي نهيت عن صوتين أحق⁷ين فاجري صوت عند مصيبتك خمش
 وجوه وشق جيوب ورتة شيطان وصوت عند نعمة لهم ومزامير شيطان وهذه رحمة
 ومن لا يرحم لا يرحم ولولا انه امر حَق⁸ ووعد صادق⁹ وانها سبيل مائتة لحزننا
 عليك حزنا هو أشد¹⁰ من هذا وإنا بك يا ابراهيم لحزونون يجزن القلب وتدمع العين
 ولا تقول ما يسخط الرب¹¹ حدثنا الضر بن سلمة حدثنا ابراهيم¹² بن عبد الرحمن
 الشامي¹³ حدثنا حاتم بن اسمعيل حدثنا اسامة بن زيد عن المنذر بن عبيد¹⁴
 عن عبد الرحمن بن حسان بن ثابت عن أمه سيرة بنت اخت مارية¹⁵ قالت رأت
 رسول الله صلعم فرجته في القبر يعني قبر ابراهيم فأمر بها فسدت فقبل يا رسول الله
 فقال¹⁶ أما إنما لا تضمر ولا ترفع ولكن تقر بعين الحق وان العبد اذا عمل عبلا
 احب الله ان يتقنه¹⁷ حدثنا نجيم¹⁸ حدثنا مروان بن معاوية عن اسرائيل عن
 زيد بن علاقة عن النخعي¹⁹ بن شعبة قال كسفت الشمس يوم مات ابراهيم ابن²⁰
 رسول الله صلعم فقام²¹ رسول الله صلعم فقال ان الشمس والقمر آيتان من آيات الله
 لا يكسفان²² لموت احد ولا لحياته فاذا رايتموها²³ فعليكم بالدعاء حتى ينكشفاه²⁴

1) Nawawi 552. 2) B (prima manu) الله. 3) O وموعود. 4) O رباح. 5) Marg.
 6) A. 7) D اثبت. 8) D صادق. 9) D اجتمعين. 10) A. 11) بن عوف. 12) A. 13) A. 14) A. 15) A. 16) A. 17) A. 18) A. 19) A. 20) A. 21) A. 22) A. 23) A. 24) A.

قال ولما ولدت أم إبراهيم كما حدثنا القعنبى عن حسين بن عبد الله بن عبيد
الله بن عباس عن عكرمة عن ابن عباس قال لما ولدت مارية قال رسول الله صلعم
لصنمها ولدها وكان سن إبراهيم ابن رسول الله صلعم يوم مات كما حدثنا على بن
معيذ عن عيسى بن يونس عن الأعمش عن رجل قد سباه¹ عن البراء بن
عازب سنة عشر شهرا فقال رسول الله صلعم إن له طمرا في الجنة يتم رضاعه² وحدثنا
يزيد بن أبي سلمة عن عبد الواحد بن زياد حدثنا الجراح بن ارطاة عن أبي
بكر بن عمرو عن يزيد بن البراء عن أبيه قال لما تولّى إبراهيم قال رسول الله صلعم
إن له مَرَضًا في الجنة يتم ببقية رضاعه³

ثم رجع إلى حديث يزيد بن أبي حبيب (206) قال وكانت البغلة والمار احب
10 دوائيه اليه وسمى البغلة ذكلك وسمى المار يقفور واحميه العسل فدحا في عسل بئها
بالبركة وبقيت تلك الثياب حتى كفن في بعضها صلعم⁴ حدثنا محمد بن عبد
المبار حدثنا موسى بن داود عن سلم عن عبد الملك بن عبد الرحمن عن الحسن
العرى⁵ عن اشعث⁶ بن طريف عن مرة بن المطلب او الطيب⁷ عن عبد الله بن
مسعود. وحدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة حدثنا القسم بن عبد الله عن عبيد الله
15 ابن عمر عن الثقة عن ابن مسعود قال قلنا يا رسول الله فيم تكفلك قال في ثيابي هذه
او في ثياب مصر. قال محمد بن عبد المبار في حديثه او في ثياب مصر او في خلة
قال احدهما او في ثيابه قال ابن ابي مريم قال ابن لهيعة وكان اسم اخت مارية
قيصرا⁸ ويقال يل كان اسمها سبيرة⁹ وحدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة حدثنا ابن
لهيعة عن الاعرج قال بعث المقدس صاحب الاسكندرية مارية واختها حنة فاسكنها
20 رسول الله صلعم في صدقته في بني قريظة وحدثنا هاشم بن النوكل حدثنا ابن
لهيعة عن يزيد بن ابي حبيب وابن هبيرة ان الحسن بن علي كتم معوية بن ابي
سفيان في أن يضع للزينة عن جميع قرية أم إبراهيم لحرمتهما ففعل ووضع الخراج
عندهم فلم يكن على احد منهم خراج وكان جميع اهل القرية من اهلها واقربائها فلنقطعوا

1) B + عن أمه. 2) B om. 3) The following chain of authorities is
omitted in CD and cancelled in B. 4) A العرى, B unpointed. عبد الحسن بن عبد
الله العرى, Tahdhib II 290, Anab 388b, Hazr. 5) B الاشعث. 6) I, o, مزلة
7) الطيب الهمداني. 8) قصيرا O. 9) سبيرة A.

الا نبينا واحداً¹ قد بقي منهم اثنا عشر حدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة حدثنا اسمعيل
ابن عياش عن ابي بكر بن ابي مريم عن راشد بن سعد ان رسول الله صلعم قال
لو بقي ابراهيم ما تركت قبطيناً الا وضعت عنده الجزية وكانت وفاة مارية في المحرم
سنة خمس عشرة وخمست بالبيع وصلى عليها عمر بن الخطاب. وكان الرسول بها من
قبل القوقس كما حدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة ابن جابر ثم ان ابا بكر الصديق
بعد وفاة رسول الله صلعم كما حدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة عن ابن لبيبة عن
الحريث بن يزيد عن علي بن رباح² اللخمي بعث حاطباً الى القوقس بمصر فمر
على ناحية في الشرقية³ فهاهم واعطوه فلم يزالوا على ذلك حتى دخلها عمرو بن
العاص فقاتلوه فقتلوا ذلك العهد. قال عبد الملك وفي اول هجرت كانت (21a)
مصر قال ابن هشام اسم⁴ ابن بلنتنة عمرو وحاطب⁵ لخمى وفي ذلك يقول حسان
ابن ثابت كما حدثنا وثيمة بن موسى

قال لرسول النبي صاح الى النسا من شجاع وخيعة بن خليفة⁶
ولعمرو وحاطب وسليط⁷ ولعمرو وذلك رأس الضحيفة
في ابيات ذكر فيها رسول النبي صلعم الى الملوك

ذكر سبب دخول عمرو بن العاص مصر

قال فرجع الى حديث عثمان بن صالح قال فلما كانت سنة ثمان عشرة⁸ وقدم
عمرو الجاني⁹ خلا به عمرو بن العاص فاستأذنه في المسير الى مصر وكان عمرو قد دخل
مصر¹⁰ في الجاهلية وعرف طرفها ورأى كثرة ما فيها وكان سبب دخول عمرو ايها كما
حدثنا يحيى بن خالد العدوي عن ابن لبيبة ويحيى بن ايوب عن خالد بن
ليث انه بلغه ان عمرو قد قدم الى بيت المقدس لاجارة في نفر من قريش فلما هم
بشمال من شمامسة¹¹ الزوم من اهل الاسكندرية قدم للصلاة في بيت المقدس فخرج

1) D + B. 2) رباح. 3) شرقية. 4) بزلوا. 5) B. 6) بيت واحد. 7) B. 8) عشر. 9) C. 10) B. 11) C. 12) C. 13) A. 14) B. 15) C. 16) D. 17) B. 18) A. 19) B. 20) C. 21) D. 22) E. 23) F. 24) G. 25) H. 26) I. 27) J. 28) K. 29) L. 30) M. 31) N. 32) O. 33) P. 34) Q. 35) R. 36) S. 37) T. 38) U. 39) V. 40) W. 41) X. 42) Y. 43) Z. 44) AA. 45) AB. 46) AC. 47) AD. 48) AE. 49) AF. 50) AG. 51) AH. 52) AI. 53) AJ. 54) AK. 55) AL. 56) AM. 57) AN. 58) AO. 59) AP. 60) AQ. 61) AR. 62) AS. 63) AT. 64) AU. 65) AV. 66) AW. 67) AX. 68) AY. 69) AZ. 70) BA. 71) BB. 72) BC. 73) BD. 74) BE. 75) BF. 76) BG. 77) BH. 78) BI. 79) BJ. 80) BK. 81) BL. 82) BM. 83) BN. 84) BO. 85) BP. 86) BQ. 87) BR. 88) BS. 89) BT. 90) BU. 91) BV. 92) BW. 93) BX. 94) BY. 95) BZ. 96) CA. 97) CB. 98) CC. 99) CD. 100) CE. 101) CF. 102) CG. 103) CH. 104) CI. 105) CJ. 106) CK. 107) CL. 108) CM. 109) CN. 110) CO. 111) CP. 112) CQ. 113) CR. 114) CS. 115) CT. 116) CU. 117) CV. 118) CW. 119) CX. 120) CY. 121) CZ. 122) DA. 123) DB. 124) DC. 125) DD. 126) DE. 127) DF. 128) DG. 129) DH. 130) DI. 131) DJ. 132) DK. 133) DL. 134) DM. 135) DN. 136) DO. 137) DP. 138) DQ. 139) DR. 140) DS. 141) DT. 142) DU. 143) DV. 144) DW. 145) DX. 146) DY. 147) DZ. 148) EA. 149) EB. 150) EC. 151) ED. 152) EE. 153) EF. 154) EG. 155) EH. 156) EI. 157) EJ. 158) EK. 159) EL. 160) EM. 161) EN. 162) EO. 163) EP. 164) EQ. 165) ER. 166) ES. 167) ET. 168) EU. 169) EV. 170) EW. 171) EX. 172) EY. 173) EZ. 174) FA. 175) FB. 176) FC. 177) FD. 178) FE. 179) FF. 180) FG. 181) FH. 182) FI. 183) FJ. 184) FK. 185) FL. 186) FM. 187) FN. 188) FO. 189) FP. 190) FQ. 191) FR. 192) FS. 193) FT. 194) FU. 195) FV. 196) FW. 197) FX. 198) FY. 199) FZ. 200) GA. 201) GB. 202) GC. 203) GD. 204) GE. 205) GF. 206) GH. 207) GI. 208) GJ. 209) GK. 210) GL. 211) GM. 212) GN. 213) GO. 214) GP. 215) GQ. 216) GR. 217) GS. 218) GT. 219) GU. 220) GV. 221) GW. 222) GX. 223) GY. 224) GZ. 225) HA. 226) HB. 227) HC. 228) HD. 229) HE. 230) HF. 231) HG. 232) HH. 233) HI. 234) HJ. 235) HK. 236) HL. 237) HM. 238) HN. 239) HO. 240) HP. 241) HQ. 242) HR. 243) HS. 244) HT. 245) HU. 246) HV. 247) HW. 248) HX. 249) HY. 250) HZ. 251) IA. 252) IB. 253) IC. 254) ID. 255) IE. 256) IF. 257) IG. 258) IH. 259) IJ. 260) IK. 261) IL. 262) IM. 263) IN. 264) IO. 265) IP. 266) IQ. 267) IR. 268) IS. 269) IT. 270) IU. 271) IV. 272) IW. 273) IX. 274) IY. 275) IZ. 276) JA. 277) JB. 278) JC. 279) JD. 280) JE. 281) JF. 282) JG. 283) JH. 284) JI. 285) JJ. 286) JK. 287) JL. 288) JM. 289) JN. 290) JO. 291) JP. 292) JQ. 293) JR. 294) JS. 295) JT. 296) JU. 297) JV. 298) JW. 299) JX. 300) JY. 301) JZ. 302) KA. 303) KB. 304) KC. 305) KD. 306) KE. 307) KF. 308) KG. 309) KH. 310) KI. 311) KJ. 312) KL. 313) KM. 314) KN. 315) KO. 316) KP. 317) KQ. 318) KR. 319) KS. 320) KT. 321) KU. 322) KV. 323) KW. 324) KX. 325) KY. 326) KZ. 327) LA. 328) LB. 329) LC. 330) LD. 331) LE. 332) LF. 333) LG. 334) LH. 335) LI. 336) LJ. 337) LK. 338) LL. 339) LM. 340) LN. 341) LO. 342) LP. 343) LQ. 344) LR. 345) LS. 346) LT. 347) LU. 348) LV. 349) LW. 350) LX. 351) LY. 352) LZ. 353) MA. 354) MB. 355) MC. 356) MD. 357) ME. 358) MF. 359) MG. 360) MH. 361) MI. 362) MJ. 363) MK. 364) ML. 365) MN. 366) MO. 367) MP. 368) MQ. 369) MR. 370) MS. 371) MT. 372) MU. 373) MV. 374) MW. 375) MX. 376) MY. 377) MZ. 378) NA. 379) NB. 380) NC. 381) ND. 382) NE. 383) NF. 384) NG. 385) NH. 386) NI. 387) NJ. 388) NK. 389) NL. 390) NM. 391) NO. 392) NP. 393) NQ. 394) NR. 395) NS. 396) NT. 397) NU. 398) NV. 399) NW. 400) NX. 401) NY. 402) NZ. 403) OA. 404) OB. 405) OC. 406) OD. 407) OE. 408) OF. 409) OG. 410) OH. 411) OI. 412) OJ. 413) OK. 414) OL. 415) OM. 416) ON. 417) OO. 418) OP. 419) OQ. 420) OR. 421) OS. 422) OT. 423) OU. 424) OV. 425) OW. 426) OX. 427) OY. 428) OZ. 429) PA. 430) PB. 431) PC. 432) PD. 433) PE. 434) PF. 435) PG. 436) PH. 437) PI. 438) PJ. 439) PK. 440) PL. 441) PM. 442) PN. 443) PO. 444) PP. 445) PQ. 446) PR. 447) PS. 448) PT. 449) PU. 450) PV. 451) PW. 452) PX. 453) PY. 454) PZ. 455) QA. 456) QB. 457) QC. 458) QD. 459) QE. 460) QF. 461) QG. 462) QH. 463) QI. 464) QJ. 465) QK. 466) QL. 467) QM. 468) QN. 469) QO. 470) QP. 471) QQ. 472) QR. 473) QS. 474) QT. 475) QU. 476) QV. 477) QW. 478) QX. 479) QY. 480) QZ. 481) RA. 482) RB. 483) RC. 484) RD. 485) RE. 486) RF. 487) RG. 488) RH. 489) RI. 490) RJ. 491) RK. 492) RL. 493) RM. 494) RN. 495) RO. 496) RP. 497) RQ. 498) RR. 499) RS. 500) RT. 501) RU. 502) RV. 503) RW. 504) RX. 505) RY. 506) RZ. 507) SA. 508) SB. 509) SC. 510) SD. 511) SE. 512) SF. 513) SG. 514) SH. 515) SI. 516) SJ. 517) SK. 518) SL. 519) SM. 520) SN. 521) SO. 522) SP. 523) SQ. 524) SR. 525) SS. 526) ST. 527) SU. 528) SV. 529) SW. 530) SX. 531) SY. 532) SZ. 533) TA. 534) TB. 535) TC. 536) TD. 537) TE. 538) TF. 539) TG. 540) TH. 541) TI. 542) TJ. 543) TK. 544) TL. 545) TM. 546) TN. 547) TO. 548) TP. 549) TQ. 550) TR. 551) TS. 552) TT. 553) TU. 554) TV. 555) TW. 556) TX. 557) TY. 558) TZ. 559) UA. 560) UB. 561) UC. 562) UD. 563) UE. 564) UF. 565) UG. 566) UH. 567) UI. 568) UJ. 569) UK. 570) UL. 571) UM. 572) UN. 573) UO. 574) UP. 575) UQ. 576) UR. 577) US. 578) UT. 579) UY. 580) UZ. 581) VA. 582) VB. 583) VC. 584) VD. 585) VE. 586) VF. 587) VG. 588) VH. 589) VI. 590) VJ. 591) VK. 592) VL. 593) VM. 594) VN. 595) VO. 596) VP. 597) VQ. 598) VR. 599) VS. 600) VT. 601) VU. 602) VV. 603) VW. 604) VX. 605) VY. 606) VZ. 607) WA. 608) WB. 609) WC. 610) WD. 611) WE. 612) WF. 613) WG. 614) WH. 615) WI. 616) WJ. 617) WK. 618) WL. 619) WM. 620) WN. 621) WO. 622) WP. 623) WQ. 624) WR. 625) WS. 626) WT. 627) WY. 628) WZ. 629) XA. 630) XB. 631) XC. 632) XD. 633) XE. 634) XF. 635) XG. 636) XH. 637) XI. 638) XJ. 639) XK. 640) XL. 641) XM. 642) XN. 643) XO. 644) XP. 645) XQ. 646) XR. 647) XS. 648) XT. 649) XU. 650) XV. 651) XW. 652) XX. 653) XY. 654) XZ. 655) YA. 656) YB. 657) YC. 658) YD. 659) YE. 660) YF. 661) YG. 662) YH. 663) YI. 664) YJ. 665) YK. 666) YL. 667) YM. 668) YN. 669) YO. 670) YP. 671) YQ. 672) YR. 673) YS. 674) YT. 675) YU. 676) YV. 677) YW. 678) YX. 679) YZ. 680) ZA. 681) ZB. 682) ZC. 683) ZD. 684) ZE. 685) ZF. 686) ZG. 687) ZH. 688) ZI. 689) ZJ. 690) ZK. 691) ZL. 692) ZM. 693) ZN. 694) ZO. 695) ZP. 696) ZQ. 697) ZR. 698) ZS. 699) ZT. 700) ZU. 701) ZV. 702) ZW. 703) ZX. 704) ZY. 705) ZZ. 706) AA. 707) AB. 708) AC. 709) AD. 710) AE. 711) AF. 712) AG. 713) AH. 714) AI. 715) AJ. 716) AK. 717) AL. 718) AM. 719) AN. 720) AO. 721) AP. 722) AQ. 723) AR. 724) AS. 725) AT. 726) AU. 727) AV. 728) AW. 729) AX. 730) AY. 731) AZ. 732) BA. 733) BB. 734) BC. 735) BD. 736) BE. 737) BF. 738) BG. 739) BH. 740) BI. 741) BJ. 742) BK. 743) BL. 744) BM. 745) BN. 746) BO. 747) BP. 748) BQ. 749) BR. 750) BS. 751) BT. 752) BU. 753) BV. 754) BW. 755) BX. 756) BY. 757) BZ. 758) CA. 759) CB. 760) CC. 761) CD. 762) CE. 763) CF. 764) CG. 765) CH. 766) CI. 767) CJ. 768) CK. 769) CL. 770) CM. 771) CN. 772) CO. 773) CP. 774) CQ. 775) CR. 776) CS. 777) CT. 778) CU. 779) CV. 780) CW. 781) CX. 782) CY. 783) CZ. 784) DA. 785) DB. 786) DC. 787) DD. 788) DE. 789) DF. 790) DG. 791) DH. 792) DI. 793) DJ. 794) DK. 795) DL. 796) DM. 797) DN. 798) DO. 799) DP. 800) DQ. 801) DR. 802) DS. 803) DT. 804) DU. 805) DV. 806) DW. 807) DX. 808) DY. 809) DZ. 810) EA. 811) EB. 812) EC. 813) ED. 814) EE. 815) EF. 816) EG. 817) EH. 818) EI. 819) EJ. 820) EK. 821) EL. 822) EM. 823) EN. 824) EO. 825) EP. 826) EQ. 827) ER. 828) ES. 829) ET. 830) EU. 831) EV. 832) EW. 833) EX. 834) EY. 835) EZ. 836) FA. 837) FB. 838) FC. 839) FD. 840) FE. 841) FF. 842) FG. 843) FH. 844) FI. 845) FJ. 846) FK. 847) FL. 848) FM. 849) FN. 850) FO. 851) FP. 852) FQ. 853) FR. 854) FS. 855) FT. 856) FU. 857) FV. 858) FW. 859) FX. 860) FY. 861) FZ. 862) GA. 863) GB. 864) GC. 865) GD. 866) GE. 867) GF. 868) GH. 869) GI. 870) GJ. 871) GK. 872) GL. 873) GM. 874) GN. 875) GO. 876) GP. 877) GQ. 878) GR. 879) GS. 880) GT. 881) GU. 882) GV. 883) GW. 884) GX. 885) GY. 886) GZ. 887) HA. 888) HB. 889) HC. 890) HD. 891) HE. 892) HF. 893) HG. 894) HI. 895) HJ. 896) HK. 897) HL. 898) HM. 899) HN. 900) HO. 901) HP. 902) HQ. 903) HR. 904) HS. 905) HT. 906) HU. 907) HV. 908) HW. 909) HX. 910) HY. 911) HZ. 912) IA. 913) IB. 914) IC. 915) ID. 916) IE. 917) IF. 918) IG. 919) IH. 920) IJ. 921) IK. 922) IL. 923) IM. 924) IN. 925) IO. 926) IP. 927) IQ. 928) IR. 929) IS. 930) IT. 931) IU. 932) IV. 933) IW. 934) IX. 935) IY. 936) IZ. 937) JA. 938) JB. 939) JC. 940) JD. 941) JE. 942) JF. 943) JG. 944) JH. 945) JI. 946) JJ. 947) JK. 948) JL. 949) JM. 950) JN. 951) JO. 952) JP. 953) JQ. 954) JR. 955) JS. 956) JT. 957) JU. 958) JV. 959) JW. 960) JX. 961) JY. 962) JZ. 963) KA. 964) KB. 965) KC. 966) KD. 967) KE. 968) KF. 969) KG. 970) KH. 971) KI. 972) KJ. 973) KL. 974) KM. 975) KN. 976) KO. 977) KP. 978) KQ. 979) KR. 980) KS. 981) KT. 982) KU. 983) KV. 984) KW. 985) KX. 986) KY. 987) KZ. 988) LA. 989) LB. 990) LC. 991) LD. 992) LE. 993) LF. 994) LG. 995) LH. 996) LI. 997) LJ. 998) LK. 999) LL. 1000) LM. 1001) LN. 1002) LO. 1003) LP. 1004) LQ. 1005) LR. 1006) LS. 1007) LT. 1008) LU. 1009) LV. 1010) LW. 1011) LX. 1012) LY. 1013) LZ. 1014) MA. 1015) MB. 1016) MC. 1017) MD. 1018) ME. 1019) MF. 1020) MG. 1021) MH. 1022) MI. 1023) MJ. 1024) MK. 1025) ML. 1026) MN. 1027) MO. 1028) MP. 1029) MQ. 1030) MR. 1031) MS. 1032) MT. 1033) MU. 1034) MV. 1035) MW. 1036) MX. 1037) MY. 1038) MZ. 1039) NA. 1040) NB. 1041) NC. 1042) ND. 1043) NE. 1044) NF. 1045) NG. 1046) NH. 1047) NI. 1048) NJ. 1049) NK. 1050) NL. 1051) NO. 1052) NP. 1053) NQ. 1054) NR. 1055) NS. 1056) NT. 1057) NU. 1058) NV. 1059) NW. 1060) NX. 1061) NY. 1062) NZ. 1063) OA. 1064) OB. 1065) OC. 1066) OD. 1067) OE. 1068) OF. 1069) OG. 1070) OH. 1071) OI. 1072) OJ. 1073) OK. 1074) OL. 1075) OM. 1076) ON. 1077) OO. 1078) OP. 1079) OQ. 1080) OR. 1081) OS. 1082) OT. 1083) OU. 1084) OV. 1085) OW. 1086) OX. 1087) OY. 1088) OZ. 1089) PA. 1090) PB. 1091) PC. 1092) PD. 1093) PE. 1094) PF. 1095) PG. 1096) PH. 1097) PI. 1098) PJ. 1099) PK. 1100) PL. 1101) PM. 1102) PN. 1103) PO. 1104) PP. 1105) PQ. 1106) PR. 1107) PS. 1108) PT. 1109) PU. 1110) PV. 1111) PW. 1112) PX. 1113) PY. 1114) PZ. 1115) QA. 1116) QB. 1117) QC. 1118) QD. 1119) QE. 1120) QF. 1121) QG. 1122) QH. 1123) QI. 1124) QJ. 1125) QK. 1126) QL. 1127) QM. 1128) QN. 1129) QO. 1130) QP. 1131) QQ. 1132) QR. 1133) QS. 1134) QT. 1135) QU. 1136) QV. 1137) QW. 1138) QX. 1139) QY. 1140) QZ. 1141) RA. 1142) RB. 1143) RC. 1144) RD. 1145) RE. 1146) RF. 1147) RG. 1148) RH. 1149) RI. 1150) RJ. 1151) RK. 1152) RL. 1153) RM. 1154) RN. 1155) RO. 1156) RP. 1157) RQ. 1158) RR. 1159) RS. 1160) RT. 1161) RU. 1162) RV. 1163) RW. 1164) RX. 1165) RY. 1166) RZ. 1167) SA. 1168) SB. 1169) SC. 1170) SD. 1171) SE. 1172) SF. 1173) SG. 1174) SH. 1175) SI. 1176) SJ. 1177) SK. 1178) SL. 1179) SM. 1180) SN. 1181) SO. 1182) SP. 1183) SQ. 1184) SR. 1185) SS. 1186) ST. 1187) SU. 1188) SV. 1189) SW. 1190) SX. 1191) SY. 1192) SZ. 1193) TA. 1194) TB. 1195) TC. 1196) TD. 1197) TE. 1198) TF. 1199) TG. 1200) TH. 1201) TI. 1202) TJ. 1203) TK. 1204) TL. 1205) TM. 1206) TN. 1207) TO. 1208) TP. 1209) TQ. 1210) TR. 1211) TS. 1212) TT. 1213) TU. 1214) TV. 1215) TW. 1216) TX. 1217) TY. 1218) TZ. 1219) UA. 1220) UB. 1221) UC. 1222) UD. 1223) UE. 1224) UF. 1225) UG. 1226) UH. 1227) UI. 1228) UJ. 1229) UK. 1230) UL. 1231) UM. 1232) UN. 1233) UO. 1234) UP. 1235) UQ. 1236) UR. 1237) US. 1238) UT. 1239) UV. 1240) UW. 1241) UX. 1242) UY. 1243) UZ. 1244) VA. 1245) VB. 1246) VC. 1247) VD. 1248) VE. 1249) VF. 1250) VG. 1251) VH. 1252) VI. 1253) VJ. 1254) VK. 1255) VL. 1256) VM. 1257) VN. 1258) VO. 1259) VP. 1260) VQ. 1261) VR. 1262) VS. 1263) VT. 1264) VU. 1265) VV. 1266) VW. 1267) VX. 1268) VY. 1269) VZ. 1270) WA. 1271) WB. 1272) WC. 1273) WD. 1274) WE. 1275) WF. 1276) WG. 1277) WH. 1278) WI. 1279) WJ. 1280) WK. 1281) WL. 1282) WM. 1283) WN. 1284) WO. 1285) WP. 1286) WQ. 1287) WR. 1288) WS. 1289) WT. 1290) WY. 1291) WZ. 1292) XA. 1293) XB. 1294) XC. 1295) XD. 1296) XE. 1297) XF. 1298) XG. 1299) XH. 1300) XI. 1301) XJ. 1302) XK. 1303) XL. 1304) XM. 1305) XN. 1306) XO. 1307) XP. 1308) XQ. 1309) XR. 1310) XS. 1311) XT. 1312) XU. 1313) XV. 1314) XW. 1315) XX. 1316) XY. 1317) XZ. 1318) YA. 1319) YB. 1320) YC. 1321) YD. 1322) YE. 1323) YF. 1324) YG. 1325) YH. 1326) YI. 1327) YJ. 1328) YK. 1329) YL. 1330) YM. 1331) YN. 1332) YO. 1333) YP. 1334) YQ. 1335) YR. 1336) YS. 1337) YT. 1338) YU. 1339) YV. 1340) YW. 1341) YX. 1342) YZ. 1343) ZA. 1344) ZB. 1345) ZC. 1346) ZD. 1347) ZE. 1348) ZF. 1349) ZG. 1350) ZH. 1351) ZI. 1352) ZJ. 1353) ZK. 1354) ZL. 1355) ZM. 1356) ZN. 1357) ZO. 1358) ZP. 1359) ZQ. 1360) ZR. 1361) ZS. 1362) ZT. 1363) ZU. 1364) ZV. 1365) ZW. 1366) ZX. 1367) ZY. 1368) ZZ. 1369) AA. 1370) AB. 1371) AC. 1372) AD. 1373) AE. 1374) AF. 1375) AG. 1376) AH. 1377) AI. 1378) AJ. 1379) AK. 1380) AL. 1381) AM. 1382) AN. 1383) AO. 1384) AP. 1385) AQ. 1386) AR. 1387) AS. 1388) AT. 1389) AU. 1390) AV. 1391) AW. 1392) AX. 1393) AY. 1394) AZ. 1395) BA. 1396) BB. 1397) BC. 1398) BD. 1399) BE. 1400) BF. 1401) BG. 1402) BH. 1403) BI. 1404) BJ. 1405) BK. 1406) BL. 1407) BM. 1408) BN. 1409) BO. 1410) BP. 1411) BQ. 1412) BR. 1413) BS. 1414) BT. 1415) BU. 1416) BV. 1417) BW. 1418) BX. 1419) BY. 1420) BZ. 1421) CA. 1422) CB. 1423) CC. 1424) CD. 1425) CE. 1426) CF. 1427) CG. 1428) CH. 1429) CI. 1430) CJ. 1431) CK. 1432) CL. 1433) CM. 1434) CN. 1435) CO. 1436) CP. 1437) CQ. 1438) CR. 1439) CS. 1440) CT. 1441) CU. 1442) CV. 1443) CW. 1444) CX. 1445) CY. 1446) CZ. 1447) DA. 1448) DB. 1449) DC. 1450) DD. 1451) DE. 1452) DF. 1453) DG. 1454) DH. 1455) DI. 1456) DJ. 1457) DK. 1458) DL. 1459) DM. 1460) DN. 1461) DO. 1462) DP. 1463) DQ. 1464) DR. 1465) DS. 1466) DT. 1467) DU. 1468) DV. 1469) DW. 1470) DX. 1471) DY. 1472) DZ. 1473) EA. 1474) EB. 1475) EC. 1476) ED. 1477) EE. 1478) EF. 1479) EG. 1480) EH. 1481) EI. 1482) EJ. 1483) EK. 1484) EL. 1485) EM. 1486) EN. 1487) EO. 1488) EP. 1489) EQ. 1490) ER. 1491) ES. 1492) ET. 1493) EU. 1494) EV. 1495) EW. 1496) EX. 1497) EY. 1498) EZ. 1499) FA. 1500) FB. 1501) FC. 1502) FD. 1503) FE. 1504) FF. 1505) FG. 1506) FH. 1507) FI. 1508) FJ. 1509) FK. 1510) FL. 1511) FM. 1512) FN. 1513) FO. 1514) FP. 1515) FQ. 1516) FR. 1517) FS. 1518) FT. 1519) FU. 1520) FV. 1521) FW. 1522) FX. 1523) FY. 1524) FZ. 1525) GA. 1526) GB. 1527) GC. 1528) GD. 1529) GE. 1530) GF. 1531) GH. 1532) GI. 1533) GJ. 1534) GK. 1535) GL. 1536) GM. 1537) GN. 1538) GO. 1539) GP. 1540) GQ. 1541) GR. 1542) GS. 1543) GT. 1544) GU. 1545) GV. 1546) GW. 1547) GX. 1548) GY. 1549) GZ. 1550) HA. 155

في بعض جبالها يسبح¹ وكان عمرو يرى ابله وابل احبابه وكانت رغبة الابل نوباً
 بينهم فبينما عمرو يرى ابله ان مر به ذلك الشمس وقد اصابه عطش شديد في يوم
 شديد الحر فوقف على عمرو فاستسقاء فسقاء عمرو من قرينة له² فشرب حتى روى ولم
 الشمس³ مكانه وكانت الى جنب الشمس حيث لم حفره فخرجت منها حية عظيمة
⁴ فيصر بها عمرو فنزع لها بسماً فقتلها فلما استيقظ الشمس نظر الى حية عظيمة قد
 اجهه الله منها فقال لعمرو ما هذه فاجابه عمرو انه رماها فقتلها فاقبل الى عمرو فقبل
 رأسه وقال قد احبالي⁵ الله بك مرتين مرة من شدة العطش ومرة من هذه⁶ بلية فما
 اقدمك هذه البلاد قال قدمت مع احباب لي تطلب الفضل في تجارتنا فقال له
 الشمس وكم تراك ترجو ان تصيب في تجارتك قال رجائي ان اصيب ما اشتهى به
 10 بعيراً فالي لا املك الا بعيرين فاملى ان اصيب بعيراً اخر فتكون⁷ ثلثة ابعرة فقال
 له الشمس ارايت دية احدكم بيلكم كم في (215) قال مائة من الابل قال له الشمس
 نسنا احباب ابل اما نحن احباب دليهم قال يكون الف دينار فقال له الشمس الى
 رجل غريب في هذه البلاد واما قدمت اعلني في كنيسة بيت المقدس واسبح في
 هذه الجبال⁸ شهراً جعلت ذلك تذكاراً على نفسي وقد قضيت ذلك وانا اريد الرجوع
 16 الى بلادى فهل لك ان تتبعني الى بلادى ذلك عهد الله وميثاقه ان اعطيك دينتين⁹
 لان الله تعالى احبالي بك مرتين فقال له عمرو اين¹⁰ بلادك قال مصر في مدينة يقال
 لها الاسكندرية فقال له عمرو لا اعرها ولم ادخلها قط فقال له الشمس لو دخلتها
 لعلمت انك لم تدخل قط مثلها فقال عمرو وتفي لي بما تقول وعليك¹¹ بذلك العهد
 والميثاق فقال له الشمس نعم لك الله على بالعهد والميثاق ان اتي لك وان اردك
 20 الى احبابك فقال عمرو وكم يكون مكثي في ذلك قال شهراً تنطلق¹² معي ذاهبا عشراً¹³
 وتقيم عندنا عشراً وترجع في عشر ولك على ان احفظك ذاهباً¹⁴ وان ابعث¹⁵ معك
 من حفظك راجعاً فقال له عمرو انظرني حتى اشارك احبالي في ذلك فلنطلق عمرو الى

1) C شبح. 2) D om. 3) D سبها. 4) C احبالي. 5) C شدة. 6) A واين. D
 6) B + في (see, man.). 7) C البلاد. 8) B (orig.) دليهم. 9) A واين. D
 om., with following eleven words. 10) BC عليك. 11) C ينطلق. D ينطلق.
 12) B وابعث. 13) B عشرة ايام. D om., with following eleven words.

اصحابه فاحبرهم بما عاهد¹ عليه الشمس وقتل لهم تقيموها على حتى ارجع اليكم ولكم على العهد ان اعطيكم شطر ذلك على ان يصحبني رجل منكم آتس به فقالوا نعم وبعثوا معه رجلا منهم فانطلق عمرو وصاحبه مع الشمس الى مصر حتى انتهى الى الاسكندرية فرأى عمرو من عمارتها وكثرة اهلها وما بها من الاموال والخير * ما اعجبه² وقال ما رأيت مثل مصر³ قط وكثرة ما فيها من الاموال ونظر الى الاسكندرية⁴ وعمارها وجودة بنائها وكثرة اهلها وما بها من الاموال فازداد عجباً. ووافق دخول عمرو الاسكندرية عيداً فيها عطيماً يجتمع فيه ملوكهم وأشرافهم ولهم أكثر⁵ من ذهب مكللة ينترامى بها ملوكهم وهم ينلقونها باكماسهم وفيها اختبروا من تلك الاكره على ما وضعها من مصى منهم انها من وضعت الاكره⁶ في كتمه واستقرت فيه لم يمت حتى يملكهم. فلما قدم عمرو الاسكندرية اكرمه الشمس الاكرام كله وكساه ثوب ديباج البسه¹⁰ آياه وجلس عمرو والشمس مع الناس في ذلك المجلس حيث ينترامون بالأكره وهم ينلقونها باكماسهم فرمى بها رجل منهم فقبلت نهوى حتى وقعت في كم عمرو فحبسوا من ذلك وقالوا ما كذبنا هذه الاكره قط إلا هذه المرة أتت هذا الاعرابي يملكنا هذا ما لا يكون أبداً. وان ذلك الشمس مشى في اهل الاسكندرية واعلمهم أن عمرا احياه مرتين وأنه قد ضمن له الف دينار وسألهم ان يجمعوا ذلك له فيما بينهم¹⁵ ففعلوا؟ ودفعوها الى عمرو فانطلق عمرو وصاحبه * وبعث معهما الشمس دليلاً ورسولاً (22a) وزودهما واكرمهما حتى رجع وصاحبه⁸ الى اصحابهما فبذلك عرف عمرو مدخل مصر ومخرجها ورأى منها ما علم انها افضل البلاد وأكثر¹⁰ ملا فلما رجع عمرو الى اصحابه دفع اليهم فيما بينهم الف دينار وامسك لنفسه الف قال عمرو فكان أول مال اعتقدته وتأثنته¹¹

ذكر فتح مصر¹²

حدثنا عثمان بن صالح حدثنا ابن نبيعة عن عبيد الله بن ابي جعفر وعبيد

1) BC عاهد D عاهد. 2) C اعجبه. All Mss. and Husn + ذلك. 3) A عمرو. 4) B marg. + والخير. 5) B راعف. 6) C om. 7) B + ذلك. 8) D om. 9) A + ما. 10) D وأكثر. 11) C وتأثنته D وتأثنته. 12) Husn I 51 ff., Maqr. I 288 ff., Wud. II 168 ff. (abridged), Mah. I 6 ff., Yaq. III 893 ff.

ابن عباس القشيري وغيرهما يريد بعضهم على بعض قل فلما قدم عمر بن الخطاب
 للجيزة لم اليه عمرو لخله به وقال: يا عمر المؤمنين أئذن¹ لي أن أسير إلى مصر وحرسه
 عليها وقال إنك إن فتحها كنت قوة للمسلمين وعونا لهم وفي أكثر الأرض أسولا
 وأعجزها عن القتال ولرب فتخوف عمر بن الخطاب على المسلمين وكره ذلك فلم يزل
 عمرو يعظم امرؤا عند عمر بن الخطاب ويجبره حالها ويهين عليه فتحها حتى ركن²
 لذلك عمر فعقد له على أربعة آلاف رجل³ * كلفهم من عاق⁴ * ويقال بل ثلثة آلاف
 وخمسمائة⁵ * حدثنا أبو الاسود التميمي بن عبد الجبار⁶ حدثنا ابن لهيعة عن يزيد
 ابن أبي حبيب أن عمرو بن العاص دخل مصر بثلثة آلاف وخمسمائة⁷ حدثنا
 عبد الملك بن مسلمة عن ابن لهيعة عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب مثله إلا أنه قل
 10 قلتم غلب⁸ * قل ثم رجع إلى حديث عثمان⁹ قال فقال له عمر سر¹⁰ وأنا مستخير
 الله في مسيرك وسبائك كنتي سريعا أن شاء الله فإن أدركك كنتي أمر¹¹ فيه
 بالانصراف عن مصر قبل أن تدخلها أو شيئا¹² من أرضها فتصرف وإن انت دخلتها
 قبل أن ياتيك كنتي قاتص لوجهك واستعن بالله واستنصره فسار عمرو بن العاص
 من جوف الليل ولم يشعر به أحد من الناس واستخار عمر¹³ الله فكأنه يخوف على
 15 المسلمين في وجههم ذلك فكتب إلى عمرو بن العاص أن ينصرف عن معه من المسلمين
 فذكر الكتاب عمر¹⁴ وهو يرفح فتخوف عمرو بن العاص إن هو أخذ الكعب وفتح¹⁵ * أن
 يجد¹⁶ فيه الانصراف كما عهد اليه عمر فلم يأخذ الكتاب من الرسول ودافعه وسار
 كما هو حتى نزل قرية فيها بين رفح والعريش فسأل عنها فقيل إنها¹⁷ من مصر

1) Marginal note in A: يختلف في قديم عمر بن الخطاب للجيزة فقيل أنه قدم
 بيت المقدس في سنة ست عشرة وفيها قدم للجيزة وقيل بل عام بعد فتح
 بيت المقدس حتى أتى للجيزة في سنة ثمان عشرة بعد عوده من سرغ في سنة سبع
 عشرة وقال البخاري (Ms. p.) أن عمر قدم للجيزة سنة ثمان عشرة والتحقيق أن
 عمر قدم الشام أربع مرات مرتين في سنة ست عشرة ومرتين في سنة سبع عشرة لم
 Gloss 5) B 4) B 3) B 2) AD 1) يدخلها في الأولى
 حدثنا عبد الرحمن بن أخيرا على قل B 6) من تجد كلف B بلد في اليمن in O
 في B 11) B 10) O 9) O 8) O 7) O pref. 12) B + أرض
 12) B + أرض

فدعا بالكتاب فقرأه على المسلمين فقال عمرو بن معد الأسنم نعلمون أن هذه القرية
من مصر قلوا بلى قل فإن¹ أمير المؤمنين عهد إلى وأمرى أن لحقني كتابه ولم يدخل
أرض مصر أن أرجع ولم يلحقني كتابه حتى دخلنا أرض مصر فسيروا وامتصوا على
بركة الله² ويقال بل كان عمرو بفلسطين فتقدم بأصحابه³ إلى مصر⁴ بغير إذن⁵ فكتب
فيه إلى عمر⁶ فكتب إليه عمر وهو دون العرش فحس الكتاب فلم يقرأه حتى بلغ⁷
العرش فقرأه فلما فيه من عمر بن الخطاب (226) إلى العاص بن العاص أما بعد
فذلك سرت إلى مصر ومن⁸ معك وبها جموع الروم وإنما معك نفر يسير ولعمري لو
كانوا⁹ تكلم أمك ما سرت بهم فإن لم تكن بلغت مصر فأرجع. فقال عمرو الحمد لله
أنت أرض قلوا من مصر فتقدم كما هو. حدثنا ذلك عثمان بن صالح عن ابن
لهيعة عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب¹⁰ ويقال بل كان عمرو في جنده على فيسارية مع من¹¹
كان بها من أجناد المسلمين وعمر بن الخطاب إذ ذاك بالجزيرة فكتب سرًا فاستلن إلى
مصر وأمر أصحابه فتنتحوا للقوم الذين يريدون أن ينتحوا من منزل إلى منزل فربط
في سار بهم ليلاً فلما فقه أمراء الأجناد استنكروا الذي فعل ورأوا أن¹² قد غرر
فرفعوا ذلك إلى عمر بن الخطاب فكتب إليه عمر. إلى العاص بن العاص أما بعد فذلك
قد غررت عن معك فإن أدركك كتابي ولم تدخل مصر فأرجع وإن أدركك وقد¹³
دخلت¹⁴ فامض وأعلم إلى ممدك. فيما حدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة وحيى بن
خلد عن الليث بن سعد¹⁵ قال ويقال إن عمر بن الخطاب كتب إلى عمرو بن العاص
بعد ما فتح الشام أن أتدب الفلاس¹⁶ إلى المسير¹⁷ معك إلى مصر فمن خف معك
فسير به وبعث به مع شريك بن عبد¹⁸ فندبهم عمرو فأسرعوا إلى الخروج مع عمرو ثم
أن عثمان بن عفان دخل على عمر بن الخطاب فقال عمر¹⁹ فكتب إلى²⁰ عمرو بن العاص
يسير إلى مصر من الشام فقال عثمان يأمير المؤمنين إن عمرًا لمَّا جُر²¹ وفيه إقدام
وحب للامارة فخشى أن يخرج في غير ثقة ولا جماعة فيعرض المسلمين للهلكة

1) D أن. 2) B + وعونه. 3) C om. 4) B om., C om. فيه. 5) B. 6) B. 7) D + ذلك. 8) D + مصر. 9) A om., B كان. See Gloss. تكل (Mss. تكل). 10) Beladhi. 212. 11) D om. 12) Thus pointed in AD; B لجرى (cor. to لجرى), C لجرى.
دخلتها. 13) D om. 14) Thus pointed in AD; B لجرى (cor. to لجرى), C لجرى.

رجاء فؤمة لا يدري¹ تكون أم لا فندم عمرو بن الخطاب على كتابه إلى عمرو إشفافاً مما قال عثمان فكتب إليه إن أدركك كتابي قبل أن تدخل مصر فارجع إلى موضعك وإن كنت دخلت فأمص لوجهك.

وكانت صفوة عمرو بن العاص كما حدثنا سعيد بن عفير عن الليث بن سعد وقصيرا عظيم الهامة تالتى الحبيبة واسم الفم عظيم الحبيبة عريض ما بين المنكبين عظيم الكفين والقدمين. قال الليث بلاء هذا المسجد.

قال فلما بلغ القوقس قدوم عمرو بن العاص إلى مصر توجه إلى القسطنطينية وكان يجهر على عمرو الجيوش وكان على القصر رجل من الروم يقال له الأعرج² والبا عليه وكان تحت يده القوقس وأقبل عمرو حتى إذا كان بجبل اللؤلؤ³ نفرت معه راشدة⁴ 10 وقبائل من لحكم فتوجه عمرو حتى إذا كان بالعريش أدركه النحر فحدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة حدثنا ابن لبيبة عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب قال فضحى عمرو عن أصحابه يومئذ بكين⁵ وكان رجل من كان خرج مع عمرو بن العاص حين خرج من الشام إلى مصر كما حدثنا هاني بن النضر عن أبي شريح عبد الرحمن بن شريح عن عبد الكريم بن الحارث أصيب بجمل له قال إلى عمرو (28a) يستحمه فقال له عمرو تخطئ⁶ مع أصحابك حتى تبلغ⁷ أوائل العام فلما بلغوا العريش جاءه فام⁸ له جملتين⁹ فرأى له لن ترأوا خير ما رمتكم أمتكم فلا ترجموكم فلكتم وحلوا¹⁰ قال فرجع إلى حديث عثمان بن صلح قال فتقدم عمرو بن العاص فكان أول موضع قوبل فيه القرما قتلته الروم قتالا شديدا نحو من شهر فر فتح الله على يده¹¹ وكان عبد الله بن سعد كما حدثنا سعيد بن عفير على ميمنة عمرو بن العاص منذ توجه من قيسارية إلى أن فرغ من حربه¹² وقال غير ابن عفير من مشايخ أهل مصر وكان بلاسكندرية أسقف¹³ للقيط يقال له أبو ينيامين¹⁴ فلما بلغه قدوم عمرو ابن العاص إلى مصر كتب إلى القبط يعلمهم أنه لا تكون للروم دولة وأن ملكهم قد انقطع وأمرهم بقتل عمرو. فيقال إن القبط الذين كانوا بالقرما كانوا يومئذ لعمرو

1) تدري C. 2) الأعرج C. 3) وكانت C. 4) Yaq. II: 802. 5) B om.

6) CD وحمل. 7) تبلغ CD. 8) بحيلان AD. 9) بخدم B. 10) BC استفا.

11) Mss. and texts ميامين; but see Severus, ed. Seybold, 98, 9 ff., 99, 21 ff., 101, 6 ff.

1) BC بالعواصر. 2) C لاهل. 3) BD قرب. 4) B فكنت. 5) A بليس.
6) BC om. 7) A اندب. 8) D اقبينها. 9) B لاسك. 10) B حتى.
11) AD فغانلوم. 12) B (orig.) C وانكحت. 13) Maqr. I 298, 33 ff.

عن عبد الرحمن بن شريح فسار عمرو بن معمر حتى نزل على الحصن فحاصروهم حتى
سألوه أن يسير * منهم بضعة¹ عشر * اعل بيت² ويفتحوا له الحصن ففعل ذلك
ففرص³ عليهم عمرو لكل رجل من اصحابه ديناراً وجبة وبرنسا وعمامة وخقين وسألوه
أن يأذن لهم أن يهيموا⁴ له ولاصحابه صنيعاً ففعل⁵ فحدثني ابي عبد الله بن عبد
الحكم أن عمرو بن العاص امر اصحابه فتهيموا ولبسوا البرود ثم اقبلوا⁶ قال ابن وهب
في حديثه فلما فرغوا من طعامهم سألهم عمرو كم انفقتم قلوا عشرين الف دينار قال
عمرو لا حاجة لنا بصنيعكم بعد اليوم اذوا⁷ البنا عشرين الف دينار فجاءه النفر
من القبط فلستأنوه الى قراهم واهليهم فقال لهم عمرو كيف رأيتم امرنا قلوا لم نر الا
حسناً فقال الرجل الذي قال في المرة الاولى ما قال لهم انكم لن تزالوا تظهرون⁸ على
10 كل من لقينتم حتى تقتلوا خيركم رجلاً فغضب عمرو وامر به فطلب اليه اصحابه
واخبروه انه لا يدري ما يقول حتى خلتوه فلما بلغ عمر بن الخطاب ارسل
في طلب ذلك القبطي فوجده⁹ قد هلك فعجب عمرو من قوله قل غير ابن وهب
قال عمرو بن العاص فلما طعن عمر بن الخطاب قلت هو ما قال القبطي فلما حدثت
انه انما قتله ابو لؤلؤة رجل نصراني قلت لم يعن هذا انما عني من قتله المسلمون
15 فلما قتل عثمان عرفت ان ما قال الرجل حق قل ابي في حديثه فلما فرغوا من
صنيعهم امر عمرو بن العاص بطعام فصنع لهم¹⁰ وامرهم ان يحضروا لذلك فصنع لهم
الثريد والعراق وامر اصحابه بلبس الاكسية واشتمال الصماء والقعود على الركب فلما
حضرت الروم وضعوا كرامتي الديباج¹¹ فجلسوا عليها وجلست (24a) العرب الى جوانبهم¹²
فجعل الرجل من العرب يلتقم اللقمة العظيمة من الثريد ويتنفس من ذلك اللحم
20 فيتطلمر على من الى جنبه من الروم فبشعت الروم بذلك وقلوا¹³ أين اولئك الذين
كانوا اتونا قبل فقبل لهم اولئك اصحاب المشورة وهؤلاء اصحاب الحرب قل وقد سمعت
في فتح القصر¹⁴ وجهاً غير هذا

حدثنا عثمان بن صالح اخبرنا ابن لهيعة عن عبيد الله بن ابي جعفر وعياش

- 1) معام بضعة C. 2) الى بيت المقدس B. 3) فرص C. 4) يهيموا C.
5) B om. 6) اداوا ACD. 7) فوجده A. 8) تظهرون B. 9) ادوا B.
10) الروم B. 11) حواليهم C. 12) ويقولون B. 13) القصير C.

ابن عباس وغيرهما: يزيد بعضهم على بعض أن عمرو بن العاص حصرهم بالقصر¹
 الذي يقال له بابليون² حيناً وقتلهم قتلاً شديداً يصيحهم ويمسيهم فلما انطلق الفتح
 عليه كتب إلى عمرو بن الخطاب يستنجد³ ويعلمه ذلك⁴ فمذه عمرو⁵ بأربعة آلاف رجل
 على كل ألف رجل منهم رجل وكتب إليه عمرو بن الخطاب إلى قد امددتك بأربعة
 آلاف رجل⁶ على كل ألف رجل منهم رجل مقام ألف⁷ الزبير بن العوام والقداد⁸
 ابن عمرو وعبدان بن الصامت ومسلمة بن مخلد. وقال اخرون بل خارجة بن خذافة
 الرابع لا يعدون مسلمة. وقال عمرو بن الخطاب أعلم أن معك اثني عشر ألفاً ولا
 يغلب⁹ اثنا عشر ألفاً من قتلهم¹⁰ قال عثمان قال ابن وهب لمحدثي الليث بن سعد
 قال بلغني عن كسرى أنه كان له رجال إذا بعث أحدهم في جيش وضع من عنده
 الجيش الذي كان معه¹¹ ألفاً مكانه لاجزاء¹² ذلك الرجل في الحرب وإذا احتاج إلى
 أحدهم فكان في جيش لمحبته لمجتمعة إليه وأدم ألف رجل. قال¹³ الليث فانزلت
 الذي صنع عمرو بن الخطاب في بعثته بالزبير والقداد ومن بعث معهم ما كان
 يصنع كسرى حدثنا أبو الاسود النخعي¹⁴ بن عبد الجبار حدثنا ابن لهيعة عن
 يزيد بن أبي حبيب قال كان عمرو بن الخطاب قد اشفق على عمرو فارسل الزبير في
 أثره¹⁵ في اثني عشر ألفاً فشهد معه الفتح¹⁶ حدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة حدثنا¹⁷
 ابن وهب عن عمرو بن لث عن ابن لهيعة عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب أن عمرو بن
 الخطاب بعث الزبير بن العوام في اثني عشر ألفاً وقال غير عثمان فكانوا قد خندقوا
 حول حصنهم وجعلوا للخندق أبواباً وجعلوا سلك¹⁸ الحديد مؤتدة بأفندية الأبواب
 وكان عمرو قد قدم من الشام في عدة قليلة¹⁹ فكان يقرى أصحابه ليرى العدو أنهم
 أكثر منا ثم فلما انتهى إلى الخندق (246) نأوه أن²⁰ قد رأينا ما صنعت وإنا معك
 من أصحابك كذا وكذا فلم يخطتوا²¹ برجل واحد فأتهم عمرو على ذلك أيها يغدو في
 السحر قبضت أصحابه على أفواه الخندق عليهم السلاح فبينما هو على ذلك إذ جاءه

1) BCD وغيرهم. 2) باب لبون O, (باب D om.) باب البين AD. 3) بالقصير O. 4) يستنجد D. 5) بذلك B. 6) BCD om. 7) A om. 8) BC. 9) تغلب D. 10) B cor. to فيه. 11) لا جرى O. 12) Following trad. om. in D. 13) C. 14) نصير. 15) BC. 16) C om. 17) قاله O. 18) BC om. 19) بخطوا D. 20) بخطوا.

خبر الربيع بن العولم * ثم قدم الربيع بن العولم¹ في اثني عشر الفا فسلقوا عمرو ثم
اقبلوا يستبرأون ثم لم يلبث الربيع ان ركب ثم طاف بالهند في قرن الرجال حول
الهند.

ثم رجع الى حديث عثمان عن ابن الهيثم قال فلما قدم الهند على عمرو بن
الغاص النج على القصر² ووضعه عليه المتخيل³ وقتل عمرو يومئذ
يوم الهندان ويوم الهند⁴ والمتخيل في يني تختلف⁵
عمرو ثم قال ثم قال الشيخ الخرف⁶

وكان عمرو لما يقف تحت راية يني فيها يومئذ

وقد كان عمرو بن الغاص كما اخبرني شيخ من اهل مصر قد دخل الى صاحب
الحصن فنظروا في شيء مما في فيه فقال عمرو اخرج استشير اصحابي وقد كان صاحب
الحصن اوصى الذي على الباب اذا مر به عمرو ان يلقى عليه صخرة فيقتله فمر
عمرو وهو يريد الخروج برجل من العرب فقال له قد دخلت فانظر كيف اخرج فخرج
عمرو الى صاحب الحصن فقال له اني اريد ان آتيك بنفر من اصحابي حتى يسمعوا منك
مثل الذي سمعت فقال العلي في نفسه قتل جماعة أحب الي من قتل واحد وارسل
الى الذي كان امره بما امر به من قتل عمرو * ألا تعرض⁷ له رجاء ان يأتيه باخيه
فيقتله وخرج عمرو هذا او معناه حدثنا عيسى بن حماد قال لما حصر⁸
المسلمون الحصن⁹ كان عباد بن الصامت في ناحية يصلي وفرسه عنده فراه قوم من
الروم فخرجوا اليه وعليهم¹⁰ جليبة وبرز فلما دنوا منه سلم من صلته ووثب على فرسه
* ثم حمل¹¹ عليهم فلما رأوه غير مكذب عنهم ولوا راجعين واتبعهم فجعلوا يلقون منطلقهم
ومتلغهم ليشغلوه بذلك عن طلبهم ولا يلتفت اليه حتى دخلوا الحصن ورعى عباد
من فوق الحصن بالحجارة فخرج ولم يعرض¹² لشيء مما كانوا طرحوا من متلغهم حتى
رجع الى موضعه الذي كان به فاستقبل الصلاة وخرج الروم الى متلغهم يجمعونه¹³

1) A om.; O سرأ قد in place of ثم. 2) Cor. in O to القصر. 3) O الشيف.
4) BO تختلف. 5) All Mes. عمرو; BD ارفل; C والخرف; and om. الشيخ.
6) B فيها. 7) عليه B. 8) B قتل, vocalized, O قتل, AD unpointed.
9) B لا تعرض D, لا تعرض B. 10) حصن O. 11) بالحصن O. 12) عليه B.
13) BC حمل. 14) B لجمعونه.

حدثنا أبو الاسود النخعي¹ بن عبد الجبار حدثنا الفضل بن فضالة أخبرنا عباس
ابن عباس القمي عن شبيب² بن يثبان عن شيبان بن أبي عمير عن ربيعة بن ربيعة
قال كان أحدنا في زمان رسول الله صلعم³ يأخذ نضو أخيه⁴ على أن يعطيه النصف
عما يعطيه وله النصف حتى أن أحدنا ليظهر له النصف والريش⁵ والآخر القديح⁶ : وإن
رسول الله صلعم قال من استنحى برجيع⁷ دابته أو يعظم فإن محمداً منه⁸ بي⁹ * قال¹⁰
عباس بن عباس¹¹ وأخبرني شبيب¹² بن يثبان عن أبي (25a) سائر الجيشتاني أنه سمع
عبد الله بن عمرو وهو مرابط حصن بابل¹³ حدث¹⁴ عن رسول الله صلعم بهذا
الحديث¹⁵

قال عثمان في حديثه فلما أنطا الفتح على عمرو بن العاص قال الزبير إلى أهب
لنفسى الله أرجو أن يفتح الله بذلك على المسلمين فوضع سُلماً إلى جانب الحصن¹⁶ من
أحده سؤف التحام في سعد وأمر¹⁷ إذا سمعوا تكبيره أن يجيبوه جميعاً¹⁸ قال غير
عنه فما شعروا إلا والزبير على رأس الحصن يكتر معه¹⁹ السيف وتحامل الناس على
السلم حتى نهزم عمرو خوفاً من أن ينكسر²⁰ قال فرجع إلى حديث عثمان قال
فلما أقمهم الزبير وتبعه من تبعه وكثر وكثر من معه واجباهم المسلمون من خارج
في يشك أهل الحصن أن العرب قد اقتحموا جميعاً فهربوا فهد الزبير وأصحابه إلى باب²¹
الذين ففاجروا وأقمهم المسلمون الحصن فلما خاف المقوقس على نفسه ومن معه فحينئذ
سأل عمرو بن العاص الصلح وهد إليه على أن يفرص للعرب على القبط²² دينارين
دينارين على كل رجل منهم²³ فاجابه عمرو إلى ذلك²⁴ حدثنا سعيد بن عفير قال

1) Mss. نصر. 2) always شبيب A (see Doreid 118), B unpointed, O (see manu) شبيب, so Hazr.; D omits this isanad. 3) B (sic) بصاحبه. 4) B om. 5) B om. 6) A om. 7) شبيب A, B un-
pointed, O شبيب, D om. 8) AD باب البيون; BC have لبيوم in B. 9) D يحدت. 10) B adds here.
cor: from لبيون (see the note below). 11) قال عبد الرحمن اجعل هذه بالميم (نالم م).
i. e., a marginal note (concerning the writing of لبيوم see above) has been in-
corporated in the text of B. 12) B القصر. 13) BC ومع. 14) B + دينارين. 15) B + دينارين, C + دينارين, A + دينارين. 16) in B transposed; A + دينارين, C + دينارين.

وصعد مع الزبير الحصن محمد بن مسلمة وملك بن ابي سلسلة السلامي ورجال من
 بني خزام¹ وان شرحبيل² بن حبيب³ المرائي نصب سُلَماً آخر من ناحية [رقف]
 الزمام⁴. اليوم فصعد عليه فكان بين الزبير وبين شرحبيل⁵ شيء على باب او مدخل
 فكان شرحبيل⁶ نال من الزبير بعض ما كره فبلغ ذلك عمرو بن العاص فقال له استعد⁷
 "معد ان شئت ففعل الزبير" ⁸ اثن ثقة⁹ من تغيب اليمن استعبد اليمن النابغة¹⁰
 وكنت صفة الزبير بن العوام كما حدثنا هشلم بن اسحق فيما يروون انبئ حسن
 القعدة ليس بالقطول قليل شعر الاحبة اقلب كثير شعر الجسد¹¹ وكان مكثهم كما
 حدثنا عثمان بن صالح عن عبد الله بن وهب عن الليث عن باب القصر حتى¹²
 فاجرو سبعة اشهر. وقد سمعت في فتح القصر وجهها اخر نخالفا للحديثين جميعا.

10 والله اعلم.

حدثنا عثمان بن صالح اخبرنا خالد بن تميم عن يحيى بن أيوب وخالد بن
 حبيب قلا حدثنا خالد بن يزيد عن جماعة من التابعين بعضهم يزيد بن علي بعض
 ان المسلمين لما حضروا بلبيون¹³ وكان به جماعة من الروم والكبر القبط ورؤسائهم
 وعليهم المقوقس¹⁴ فقاتلوه بها شهراً فلما رأى القوم النجدة منكم على فتحه والحرص
 16. رأوا من صيرون على القتال ورغبتهم فيه خافوا¹⁵ ان يظهروا عليهم فتناحى المقوقس
 وجماعة من الكبر القبط وخرجوا من باب القصر القلبي ودونهم جماعة يقاتلون العرب
 (255) فدخلوا بالجزيرة موضع الصلعة اليوم وأمرؤا بقطع الجسر وذلك في حربي النيل
 ورغم بعض مشايخ اهل مصر ان الأعرج¹⁶ كان مخلف في الحصن بعد المقوقس فلما
 حاف فتح الحصن ركب هو واهل القوة والشرف وكانت سفنهم¹⁷ ملصقة بالحصن فلاحقوا¹⁸
 20 بالمقوقس بالجزيرة.

(61) صوابه شرحبيل. Marg. note in A. repeated: شرحبيل. 2) Mas. شرحبيل. 3) شرحبيل. 4) شرحبيل. 5) شرحبيل. 6) شرحبيل. 7) شرحبيل. 8) شرحبيل. 9) شرحبيل. 10) شرحبيل. 11) شرحبيل. 12) شرحبيل. 13) شرحبيل. 14) شرحبيل. 15) شرحبيل. 16) شرحبيل. 17) شرحبيل. 18) شرحبيل.

فرجع الى حديث يحيى بن أيوب وخلق بن حميد. قل فارسل المقوقس الى عمرو
ابن العاص إنكم قوم قد ولجتم في بلادنا وألحجتم على قتالنا وطال مقامكم في أرضنا
وأما انتم عصابة يسيرة وقد اطلنكم الروم وجنّوا اليكم ومعهم من العدة والسلاح وقد
احاط بكم هذا النيل وأما انتم أسارى في أيدينا فليعتوا اليها رجلا منكم نسمع من
كلامكم¹ فلعله ان يأتى الامر فيها بيننا وبينكم على ما تحبون وحسب² وينقطع عنا³
وعنكم هذا القتال قبل ان تغشاكم جموع الروم فلا ينفقنا الكلام ولا نقدر عليه
وعلتكم ان تندموا ان كان الامر مخالفا لطلبكم ورجاتكم فابعث اليها رجلا من
اصحابكم⁴ نعاملهم على ما نرضى نحن ولم به من شيء. فلما اتت عمرو بن العاص
رسل المقوقس حيسم عنده يومئذ وليلتين حتى خاف عليهم المقوقس فقال لاصحابه
اتروا انهم يقتلون الرسل ويجدونهم⁵ ويستحلون ذلك في دينهم وأما اراك عمرو بذلك¹⁰
ان يروا حال المسلمين ثم عليهم عمرو مع رسله انه ليس بيني وبينكم إلا إحدى
ثلاث خصال إما ان دخلتم في الاسلام فكنتم إخواننا وكان لكم ما لنا وإن أبيتم
فأعطيتكم الجزية عن يد ولتكن صلفرون⁶ وإما ان جاهدناكم بالصبر والقتال حتى يحكم
الله بيننا وهو خير الحاكمين⁷. فلما جاءت رسل المقوقس اليه قل لهم كيف رأيتموه
قلوا رأينا قوما الموت أحب الى احدثهم من الحياة والتواضع أحب اليه من الرفعة ليس¹⁵
لاحدثهم في الدنيا رغبة ولا تهبة⁸ إنما جلسهم على التراب واكلهم على ركبهم واميرهم⁹
كواحد منهم ما يعرف ربيعهم من ضيعهم ولا السيد فيهم من العبد والذا حضرت
الضلاة لم يخلف عنها منهم احد يغسلون اطرافهم بالله ويتخشعون في صلاتهم. فقال
عند ذلك المقوقس والذي يخلف به لو أن هؤلاء استقبلوا الجبال لأزالوها وما يقوى
على قتال هؤلاء احد ولئن لم نغتنم صلاحهم اليوم ولم محصورون بهذا النيل لم²⁰
ياحبونا بعد اليوم الا أمكنهم الأرض وقروا على الخروج من موضعهم. ثم اليهم¹¹
المقوقس رسله أبعثوا اليها رسلا منكم نعاملهم ونتدلى نحن ولم الى ما عساه¹² أن
يكون فيه صلاح لنا ولكم. فبعث عمرو بن العاص عشرة نفر احدثهم عبادة بن

1) كلامكم BD. 2) O om. 3) BC احبلك. 4) O ويسجنونهم.
5) Sura 9, 29. 6) AD + ويمنهم. 7) Sura 7, 85. 8) AD om. 9) D في.
10) A واميرهم. 11) B عليهم. 12) BC عسى به.

الصلامت ٥ حدثنا سعيد بن عفير قال أدرك الإسلام من العرب عشرة نفر طول كل رجل منهم عشرة أشتار (28a) عبادة بن الصامت أحد ٥ ثم رجع إلى حديث عثمان قال وأمره عمرو أن يكون منكم القوم وألا يجيبهم إلى شيء دعوه إليه إلا ٥ إحدى هذه الثلاث حصل فإن أمير المؤمنين قد تقدم إلى في ذلك وأمر أن لا ٥ أقبل ٥ شيئا سوى حصلت من هذه الثلاث حصل ٥ وكان عبادة بن الصامت أسود فلما ركبوا السفن إلى القوقس ودخلوا عليه تقدم عبادة فبسط القوقس لسواده فقال تحول عني هذا الأسود وقد مر غيره بكنيتي فقالوا جميعا إن هذا الأسود افضلنا رأينا وعلمنا ٥ وهو سيدنا وخبرنا والمقدم علينا واما نرجع جميعا إلى قوله ورأيه وقد أمره الأمير دوننا بما أمر به وأمرنا بأن لا نخالف رأيه وقوله كل وكيف رضيت أن يكون 10 هذا الأسود افضلكم واما ينبغي أن يكون هو دونكم قالوا كلا إنه وإن كان أسود كما ترى فله من افضلنا موضعاً وافضلنا سلباً وعقلاً ورأياً وليس يكثر السواد فيها فقال القوقس لعبادة تقدم يا أسود وكلمني برفق فلي أهاب سوادك وإن اشتد كلامك على أريدت لذلك هبة فتقدم إليه عبادة فقال قد سمعت مقالته وإن فيمن خلقت من احمق ألف رجل أسود كلمت أشد سواداً مني واقطع منظرًا ولو رأيتم ٥ لكنت 15 أقيب لهم منك لي وأنا قد وليت وأثير شياقي وإلى مع ذلك حمد الله ما أهاب مائة رجل من عدوي لو استقبلوني جميعا وكذلك احمق وذلك أنا اما رغبتنا وهمتنا للجهاد في الله واتبع رضوانه وليس غزوًا عدوًا ممن حارب الله لرغبة في دنيا ولا طلبًا للاستكثار منها إلا أن الله قد أحل ذلك لنا وجعل ما غنينا من تلك جلالا وما يبذل احدنا أكان له فنظار من ذهب أم كان لا يملك إلا درهماً لأن غاية احدنا 20 من الدنيا أكله يأكلا يسد بها جوعته الليل ونهاره وشمله يلاحقها فإن كان احدنا لا يملك إلا ذلك كله وإن كان له فنظار من ذهب الفقه في طاعة الله واقصر على هذا الذي بيده ويتلوه ما كان في الدنيا لأن نعيم الدنيا ليس ينعم ورخاءها ليس برخاء اما النعيم والرخاء في الآخرة وبذلك أمرنا ربنا وأمرنا به نبينا وعهد اليها أن لا تكون هبة احدنا من الدنيا إلا ما يمسك جوعته ويستر عورته وتكون هبته

للحصل BC 5) منم + B 4) إلى + BCD 3) إلا BC 2) B om. 1)

نظرتهم B 7) واعلمنا علمًا B marg. 6)

وشغلته في رضاء ربه وجهاد عدوه. فلما سمع المقوقس ذلك منه قل لمن حوله هل
سمعتم مثل كلام هذا الرجل قط لقد هببت منظره وأن قوله لأهيب عندي من
منظره أن هذا واحداً أخرجه الله لخراب الأرض ما اظن منكم إلا سيعلب على
الأرض كلها. ثم أقبل المقوقس على عبادة بن الصامت فقال¹ أيها الرجل الصالح قد
سمعت مقاتلتك وما ذكرت عنك وعن أخيك ولعمري ما بلغتكم² ما بلغتكم³ إلا بما
ذكرت وما ظهرتم على من ظهرتم عليه إلا (26b) لحبهم الدنيا ورغبتهم فيها وقد
نوجه البنا لقتلتكم من جمع الروم ما لا يخصى عدده قوم معروفون بالندبة
والشدّة ما يبالي أحدكم من لقي ولا من قاتل وأنا لنعلم انكم لن تقفوا عليهم
ولن تطبقوهم لضعفكم ولتكم وقد افتمت بين اظهرا شهراً وانتم في ضيق وشدة من
معاشكم وحلكم ونحن نرفق عليكم لضعفكم وقتلناكم وقتلنا ما بأيديكم ونحن تطيب¹⁰
انفسنا ان نضاحكم على ان نفرض لكل رجل منكم دينارين دينارين ولا ميركم مائة
دينار ولجلبتكم الف دينار فتقبضونها وتنصرفون الى بلادكم قبل ان يغشاكم ما لا
قولم لكم به. فقال عبادة بن الصامت يا هذا لا تغرن نفسك ولا اخاك أما ما
مخوفنا به من جمع الروم وعددهم وكثرتهم وأنا لا نعرف عليهم فلعمرى ما هذا
بالذي مخوفنا به ولا بالذي يكسبنا عما نحن فيه إن كان ما قلتم حقاً فذلك والله¹⁵
أرغب ما يكون في قتالهم واشدّ لحزبنا عليهم لأن ذلك أعذر لنا عند ربنا اذا
قدمنا عليه إن قتلنا من آخرنا كان امكن لنا في رضوانه وجنته وما من شيء أقر
لأعيننا ولا أحبّ البنا من ذلك وأنا منكم حينئذ لعلي إحدى الخسيتين إما أن
نعظم لنا بذلك غيبته الدنيا إن ظفروا بكم او غيبته الآخرة ان ظفروا بنا وإنها
لأحبّ للصالحين البنا بعد الاجتهاد منا وإن الله عز وجل قل لنا في كتابه كم من²⁰
قته قليلة غلبت قته كثيرة بالذن الله والله مع الصابرين⁴ وما منا رجل الا وهو يدعو
ربه صباحاً ومساءً أن يرزقه الشهادة وألا يرزقه الى بلده ولا الى ارضه ولا الى اهله
ولده وليس لاحد منا هم فيما خلقه وقد استودع كل واحد منا ربه اهله ولده

1) BD + ل.

2) B (sec. man.) ملككم.

3) AC + لا.

4) B قوه.

5) BC جميع.

6) AC يكون لنا B يكون.

7) B عن.

8) Sura 2, 250.

9) Thus pointed in A; BC خلقه الله تعالى.

وَأَمَّا هُنَا مَا أَمَلْنَا. وَأَمَّا قَوْلِكَ أَنَا فِي صَيْفٍ وَشَتَاءٍ مِنْ مَعَاشِنَا وَحَالِنَا فَلَحْنٌ فِي
 أَوْسَعِ السَّعَةِ لَوْ كُنْتَ الدُّنْيَا كُلَّهَا لَنَا مَا أَرَدْنَا! مِنْهَا لَانْفَسْنَا أَكْثَرَ مِنْهَا لَحْنٌ عَلَيْهِ.
 فَظَنَرُ الَّذِي تَرِيدُ فَيَبْتِنُ لَنَا فَلَيْسَ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَكُمْ خَصْلَةٌ نَقْبُلُهَا مِنْكَ وَلَا تَجِيبُكَ إِلَيْهَا
 إِلَّا خَصْلَةٌ مِنْ ثَلَاثٍ فَاخْتَرِ أَيُّهَا شَتَّى وَلَا تُطِيعْ نَفْسَكَ فِي الْبَاطِلِ بِذَلِكَ أَمْرِي الْأَمِيرُ
 6 وَهِيَ أَمْرُهُ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَهُوَ عَهْدُ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ قِبَلِ الْبَيْتِ، إِمَّا أَجَبْتُمْ إِلَى الْإِسْلَامِ
 الَّذِي هُوَ الدِّينُ الَّذِي لَا يَقْبَلُ اللَّهُ غَيْرَهُ وَهُوَ دِينُ أَنْبِيَائِهِ وَرُسُلِهِ وَمَلَائِكَتِهِ أَمَرْنَا اللَّهَ
 أَنْ نَقَاتِلَ مَنْ خَالَفَهُ وَرَغِبَ عَنْهُ حَتَّى يَدْخُلَ فِيهِ فَإِنْ فَعَلَ كَانَ لَهُ مَا لَنَا وَعَلَيْهِ مَا
 عَلَيْنَا وَكَانَ اخْتِلَافًا فِي دِينِ اللَّهِ فَإِنْ قَبِلْتَ ذَلِكَ أَنْتَ وَاجْتَلَيْتَ فَقَدْ سَعَدْتُمْ فِي الدُّنْيَا
 وَالْآخِرَةِ وَرَجَعْنَا عَنْ قِتَالِكُمْ وَلَمْ نَسْتَحِلْ أَذَاكُمْ وَلَا التَّعَرُّضَ لَكُمْ، فَإِنْ أَبَيْتُمْ إِلَّا
 10 لِلْجُزْيَةِ فَأَدُّوا إِلَيْنَا الْجُزْيَةَ عَنْ يَدٍ وَأَنْتُمْ صَاحِبُونَ نَعَامُكُمْ عَلَى شَيْءٍ تَرْضَى بِهِ لَحْنٌ وَأَنْتُمْ
 فِي كُلِّ عَامٍ أَيْدِي مَا بَقِيََا وَبَقِيَتُمْ وَنَقَاتِلُ عَنْكُمْ مِنْ ثَلَاثٍ وَأَكْثَرُ لَكُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ مِنْ أَرْضِكُمْ
 (274) وَمَتَاكُمْ وَأَمْوَالَكُمْ وَنَقُومُ بِذَلِكَ عَنْكُمْ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ فِي لَيْمَتِنَا وَكَانَ لَكُمْ بِهِ عَهْدٌ عَلَيْنَا،
 وَإِنْ أَبَيْتُمْ فَلَيْسَ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَكُمْ إِلَّا الْحَاكِمَةُ بِالسَّيْفِ حَتَّى يَمُوتَ مِنْ أَخْرَانَا أَوْ تُصِيبَ مَا
 تَرِيدُ مِنْكُمْ هَذَا دِينُنَا الَّذِي نَدِينُ اللَّهَ بِهِ وَلَا يَجُوزُ لَنَا فِيمَا بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَهُ غَيْرُهُ فَظَنُّوا
 15 لَانْفَسَكُم. فَقَالَ لَهُ: الْقَوْسُ هَذَا مَا لَا يَكُونُ أَبَدًا مَا تَرِيدُونَ إِلَّا أَنْ تَتَّخِذُوا تَكُونُ
 لَكُمْ عَيْنَانِ مَا كُنْتَ الدُّنْيَا. فَقَالَ لَهُ عِبَادَةُ بْنُ الصَّامِتِ هُوَ ذَاكَ فَاخْتَرِ مَا شِئْتَ فَقَالَ
 لَهُ الْقَوْسُ أَفَلَا تَجِيبُونَا إِلَى خَصْلَةٍ غَيْرِ هَذِهِ الثَّلَاثِ؟ خَصْلَةُ فَرْعِ عِبَادَةِ يَدِيهِ فَقَالَ
 لَا وَرَبِّ هَذِهِ السَّمَاءِ وَرَبِّ هَذِهِ الْأَرْضِ وَرَبِّ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ مَا لَكُمْ عِنْدَنَا خَصْلَةٌ غَيْرَهَا
 فَاخْتَارُوا لَانْفَسَكُم. فَتَبِعَتِ الْقَوْسُ عِنْدَ ذَلِكَ إِلَى أَصْحَابِهِ فَقَالَ قَدْ فَرَعَ الْقَوْمُ فَمَا تَرَوْنَ
 20 فَقَالُوا أَوْ لِيَرْضَى أَخَذَ بِهَذَا الذِّلِّ أَمَّا مَا أَرَادُوا مِنْ دُخُولِنَا فِي دِينِهِمْ فَهَذَا مَا لَا يَكُونُ
 أَبَدًا أَنْ تَتْرَكَ دِينَ الْمَسِيحِ ابْنِ مَرْيَمَ وَتَدْخُلَ فِي دِينِ غَيْرِهِ لَا نَعْرِفُهُ وَأَمَّا مَا أَرَادُوا
 مِنْ أَنْ يُشْبِهُوا وَجْهَ عِبِيدِهِ فَاَلْمُوتُ أَيْسَرُ مِنْ ذَلِكَ لَوْ رَضُوا مِنَّا أَنْ نَضَعَفَ لَهُمْ
 مَا لِنَطْلُبَنَّهُمْ مَرَارًا كَمَا أَقْوَمَ عَلَيْنَا فَقَالَ الْقَوْسُ لِعِبَادَةِ قَدْ رَأَى الْقَوْمُ * كَمَا تَرَى *

1) B (marg.) O. 2) B. 3) BC. 4) BC om.
 5) BC. 6) BOD. 7) Om. B, O. 8) B. 9) B (marg.) O.

فراجع صاحبك على ان تعطيتكم في مروتكم هذه ما ينبغيتم¹ وتصرفون. فقام عبدة
واصحابه فقال المقوقس عند ذلك لمن حوله اطيعوني واجيبوا القوم الى خصلته من هذه
الثلاث فوالله ما لكم بهم طاعة ولئن لم تجيبوا اليها طائعين لا نجيبتم الى ما هو اعظم
كارهين فقالوا ولى خصلته نجيبهم اليها قال اذا اخبركم امنا دخولكم في غير دينكم فلا
امركم به واما قتالهم فلما اعلم انكم لن تغفروا عليهم ولن تصبروا صبرهم ولا يبد من²
الثلاثة قالوا ائتمرون لهم عبيدا ابدا قل نعم نكونوا عبيدا مستطعين في بلادكم آمين
على انفسكم واموالكم وذرائعكم خيرا لكم من ان نموتوا من آخركم وتكونوا عبيدا
نذاعوا ونموتوا في البلاد مستعبدين ابدا انتم واهلوكم وذرائعكم قالوا فلو انهم
علينا وامروا بقطع الجسر من القسطنطينية والجزيرة³ والقصر من جمع القبط والروم
جمع كثير فالتج عليهم المسلمون عند ذلك بالقتال على من في القصر حتى طغروا بهم⁴
وامكن الله منهم فقتل منهم خلف كثير واسر من اسر⁵ واحارت السفن كلها الى
الجزيرة وصار المسلمون قد احدث بهم الله من كل وجه لا يقدرون على ان ينفذوا⁶
(276) نحو الصعيد ولا الى غير ذلك من المداين والقرى والمقوقس يقول لاصحابه ائ
عليكم هذا واخافه عليكم ما تنتظرون فوالله لا نجيبتم الى ما ارادوا طوعا او لاجبيتم⁷
الى ما هو اعظم منه كرها لطيعوني من قبل ان تتدمروا فلما رأوا منهم ما رأوا وقال⁸
لهم المقوقس ما قل اذعنوا بالجزيرة ورضوا بذلك على صلح يكون بينهم يعرفونه وارسل
المقوقس الى عمرو بن العاص الى ازل حريصا على اجابتك الى خصلته من تلك
الصلح التي ارسلت الي بها فالى ذلك على من حضري من الروم والقبط فلم يكن
في ان ائتمت عليهم في اموالهم وقد عرفوا نصحي لهم وحيي⁹ صلاحهم ورجعوا الى
قولنا فاعطى امنا اجتمع انا وانت في نفر من اصحابك وانت في نفر من اصحابك فان¹⁰
استسلم الامر بيننا تم ذلك لنا جميعا وان لم ينتم رجعا الى ما كنا عليه فاستشار
عمرو اصحابه في ذلك فقالوا لا نجيبهم الى شيء من الصلح ولا للجزيرة حتى يفتح الله

1) O شيتتم. 2) Mod. apoc., and so Mah. I 17 (bottom); B تكونون, and
so Huen, Maqr. 3) BC om. 4) BC واعليكم. 5) A ب. وامروا وانقطع. 6) D om.
6) D الجسر. 7) BC الجزيرة والقسطنطينية. 8) B جميع. 9) D om.
10) BCD plur. 11) BC جهة. 12) BC يتقدموا. 13) O لنجيبتم.
14) HCD قال. 15) D خير. 16) A om.

عليها ونصير [الأرض] 1 كلها لنا قُبَاً وغنيمةً كما صار لنا القصر وما فيه قتال عمرو قد علمتم ما عهد إلي أمير المؤمنين في هذه ثلث اجابوا الى خصلته من لفصال الثلث التي عهد التي فيها اجتمع اليها وثبتت منهم مع ما قد حال هذا الماء بيننا وبين ما نريد من قتالهم فاجتمعوا على عهد بينهم واسطلخوا على أن يُقرض على 6 جميع من عزم على اطلاقها واسفلها من القبط 7 ديناران ديناراً عن كل نفس شريفهم ودميهم من بلغ الحكم منهم ليس على الشيخ الفاك ولا على الصغير الذي لم يبلغ الحكم ولا النساء 8 وعلى أن للمسلمين عليهم النزل لجماعتهم 9 حيث نزلوا ومن نزل عليه صيف واحد من المسلمين او اكثر من ذلك كانت لهم ضيافة ثلاثة ايام مفترضة عليهم وان لم ارضهم واموالهم لا يُقرض لهم في شيء منها فشرط 7 هذا كله 10 على القبط خاضعة وحصولا عدد القبط يومئذ خاضعة من بلغ منهم الجزية وفرض عليه 11 الديناران 12 رفع 10 ذلك عفاؤهم بالأيمان المؤكدة فكان جميع من أُحصى يومئذ بمصر اطلاقها واسفلها من جميع القبط فيما احصوا وكتبوا ورفعوا 11 اكثر من ستة آلاف الف نفس فكانت فريضتهم يومئذ اثني عشر الف الف دينار في كل سنة 13

حدثنا 14 عبد الملك بن مسلمة حدثنا ابن لهيعة عن يحيى بن ميمون الضرير 15 قال لما فتح عمرو بن العاص مصر صالح عن جميع من فيها من الرجال من القبط ممن راعى الحكم الى ما فوق ذلك ليس فيهم امرأة ولا شيخ ولا صبي فاحصوا بذلك 16 على دينارين دينارين فبلغت عدتهم ثمانية الف الف 17 كل واحد من عبد الله بن صالح حدثنا الليث بن سعد عن يزيد بن ابي حبيب ان القوقس صالح عمرو بن العاص على ان يفرض على القبط 18 (28a) دينارين دينارين على كل رجل منهم 19

في ربيع الى حديث يحيى بن ايوب وخلق بن حميد كل بشرط القوقس الزوم ان يحرقوا فمن احب 20 منهم ان يقيم على مثل هذا اقم على ذلك لازماً له

1) Mss. om. Of. Maqr. 2) C. يُنصر. 3) Mss. دينارين دينارين. 4) BO. 5) D. جماعتهم. 6) Mss. مفترض. 7) B. مشترط. 8) B. عليهم. 9) Mss. الدينارين. 10) BD. دفع. 11) BD. ودفعوا. 12) D. om. foll. tradition, substituting for it: وفصل احصوا العدة فبلغت ثمانية الف الف. 13) B. om. 14) B. بخير.

مفترضاً عليه متى اتم بالاسكندرية وما حولها من ارض مصر كلها ومن اراد الخروج
منها الى ارض الروم خرج وعلى ان للمقوقس الخيار في الروم خاصة حتى يكتب الى
ملك الروم يعلمه ما فعل فان قيل ذلك ورضيه جاز عليهم ولا كانوا جميعاً على
ما كانوا عليه. وكتبوا به كتاباً وكتب المقوقس الى ملك الروم كتاباً يعلمه على وجه
الامر كله فكتب اليه ملك الروم يفتح رأيه ويعجزه ويرد عليه ما فعل ويقول في
كتابه: إنما أتاك من العرب اثنا عشر الفا ومصر من بها من كثرة عند القبط ما لا
يحصى لان كان القبط كرهوا القتال واحبوا أداء الجزية الى العرب واختاروا علينا لان
عندك مصر من الروم بالاسكندرية ومن معك اكثر من مائة الف معهم الغنى والقوة
والعرب وجالهم وضعفهم على ما قد رأيت فخرجت عن قتالهم ورضيت ان تكون انت
ومن معك من الروم* في حال القبط أدلاء ألا تقاتلهم انت ومن معك من الروم حتى¹⁰
تموت او تظهر عليهم فاتهم فيكم على قدر كبريتكم وقوتكم وعلى قدر قلتهم وضعفهم
كأكله فانهضهم القتال ولا يكون لك رأى غير ذلك. وكتب ملك الروم عند ذلك
كتاباً الى جماعة الروم فقال المقوقس لبا انك كتاب ملك الروم والله انهم على قلتهم
وضعفهم أقوى واشد منا على كبريتنا وقوتنا ان الرجل الواحد منهم ليعدل مائة
رجل منا وذلك انهم قوم الموت احب الى احدهم من الحياة يقاتل الرجل منهم وهو¹⁵
مستقل يفتنى ألا يرجع الى اهلته ولا بلده ولا ولده ويرون ان لهم اخراً عظيماً
فيمس قتلوا منا ويقولون انهم لمن قتلوا دخلوا الجنة وليس لهم رغبة في الدنيا ولا
لده الا قدر بلغة العيش من الطعام واللباس ونحن قوم نكره الموت وحب الحياة
ولذلك فكيف نستقيم نحن وهؤلاء وكيف صبرنا معهم وأعلموا معشر الروم والله اني لا
اخرج مما دخلت فيه ولا صالحت العرب عليه والى لأعلم انكم سترجعون غداً الى²⁰
رأسي وقول وتبينون* لمن لو كنتم اطعتموني وذلك اني قد علمت ورأيت وعرفت (28b)
ما لم يعاين الملك ولم يره ولم يعرفه. وتحتكم اما يرضى احدكم ان يكون آمناً في
دوره على نفسه وماله وولده يدينارين في السنة. ثم اقبل المقوقس الى عمرو بن العاص
فقال له ان الملك قد كره ما فعلت وعجزني وكتب الي والى جماعة الروم ان لا يرضى

1) BO. 2) B. ما. 3) السلاح والعدة B. 4) B. om. 5) BCD
وتبينوا. 6) ليعدل B. 7) لا أعلم O. 8) D om. 9) Mss.

بمصلحتك¹ وأمرهم بقتالك² حتى يظفروا بك أو تنظفهم³ بهم ولم يكن لأخرج مما دخلت فيه وقد كنت عليه وإنما سئل على نفسي ومن اطلعني وقد تم صلح القبط فيما بينهم ولم يأت من قبلهم نقص وأنا متم لك على نفسي والقبط متمون لك على الصلح الذي صالحهم عليه وهدتهم وأما الروم فلما منهم بئى⁴ وألا اطلب اليك أن تعطيني ثلاث خصال كل له عمرو ما حتى كل لا تنقص بالقبط وأدخلني معهم وأرمني ما أريهم وقد اجتمعت كلمتي وكلمتهم على ما عاهدتك عليه فلم متمون لك على ما عبت⁵ وأما الثانية أن سألك⁶ الروم بعد اليوم أن تصالحهم فلا تصالحهم حتى تجعل قنبا وعسيدا لهم أهل ذلك لاى تصالحهم فستعششون ونظرت لهم فأنهيتهم⁷ وأما الثالثة اطلب اليك أن ألامسك⁸ أن تأمرهم⁹ يذهبون في لى يكتسب¹⁰ بالاسكندرية. فلاعم له عمرو بن العاص بذلك وأجابه الى ما طلب على أن يضمنوا له الجسر بين جميعا ويقبضوا لهم الأنوال والضيافة والاسواق والجسور ما بين القسطل الى الاسكندرية ففعلوا¹¹ وقال غير عثمان وصارت لهم القبط اعوانا كما جاء في الحديث¹² ويقال أن المقوقس أما صالح عمرو بن العاص على الروم وهو محاصر الاسكندرية. حدثنا يحيى بن خالد العدوي عن الليث بن سعد أن عمرو بن العاص لما فتح¹³ الاسكندرية حضر أهلها ثلثة اشهر والرح عليهم وخلفوه وسأله المقوقس الصلح عنهم كما صالحه على القبط على أن يستنظر رأى الملك¹⁴ قال فحدثنا¹⁵ عبد الله بن صالح حدثنا الليث بن سعد عن يزيد بن ابي حبيب أن المقوقس الرومى الذى كان ملكا على¹⁶ مصر صالح عمرو بن العاص على أن يسير من الروم من أراد المسير ويقر من أراد الإقامة من الروم على أمر قد سمياه فبلغ ذلك فمزل ملك الروم فتمسخته¹⁷ استبد السخط¹⁸ وانكروا أشد الانكار وبعث الجيوش فغلقوا الاسكندرية وأكثروا عمرو بن العاص بالحرب فخرج اليه المقوقس فقال اسلك فلانا كل ما حتى كل لا تبدل للروم ما دخلت¹⁹ لى فلى فلك تصالحتم لهم فستعششوا تصالحى²⁰ ولا تنقص²¹ بالقبط ثلث النقص

1) B. 2) BCD. 3) O. 4) D +. 5) D. 6) B. 7) B. 8) B. 9) B. 10) B. 11) C. 12) B. 13) B. 14) B. 15) B. 16) B. 17) B. 18) B. 19) B. 20) B. 21) B.

See also below. 6) BCD. The following in Maqr. I 168f. 7) Quoted in Duqm. V 118. 8) B. 9) B. 10) O. 11) C. 12) B.

در يات من قبلهم وان تأسر في النار مئة فادفنى في ابي يحسن! فقال عمرو هذه
أقربهن علينا ٥

ثم رجع الى حديث عشرين كل فخرج عمرو بن العاص بالمسلمين حين امكنهم
الخروج وخرج معه جماعة من رؤساء القبط وقد اصلحوا لهم الطريق واتموا لهم الجسر
والاسواق وصارت لهم القبط اعوانا على ما ارادوا من قتل الروم وسكنت بذلك الروم
لستعنت واسجلت وخدمت عليهم مراكب كثيرة من ارض الروم (290) فيها جمع
من الروم عظيم بالعدة والسلاح فخرج اليهم عمرو بن العاص من القسطنطينية متوجها الى
الاسكندرية فلم يلف منهم احدا حتى بلغ ترونت فلقى بها طائفة من الروم فقاتلوه
قتلا خفيفا فهرمهم الله ومضى عمرو بن معمر حتى لقي جمع الروم يكوم شريك
فقتلوا به ثلثة ايام ثم فتح الله للمسلمين وولى الروم اسلافهم ٥ ويقال بل ارسل عمرو 10
ابن العاص شريك بن سفيان في اثارهم كما حدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة عن ابن
لهيعة عن يزيد بن ابي جبيب فادركهم عند الكوم الذي يقال له كوم شريك فقاتلهم
شريك فهرمهم ٥ قل غير عبد الملك بن مسلمة فلقبهم شريك يكوم شريك وكان على
مقدمة عمرو بن العاص وعمرو بترنوط فالتجوه الى الكوم لتعصم به واحاطت الروم
به فلما رأى ذلك شريك بن سفيان امر ابا نعمة ملك بن ناعمة الصديقي ٥ وهو صاحب 15
الفرس الاشقر الذي يقال له اشقر صديق وكان لا يجارى سرعة فاحط عليهم من
الكوم وطلبته الروم فلم تدركه حتى الى عمرا ٥ فاجبره فقتل عمرو متوجها نحو
وسمعت به الروم فقتلوه والفرس الاشقر سميت خوذة الاشقر التي ٥ مصر وذلك
ان الفرس لفق 10 بدفنه صاحب ههناك 11 فسمي المكان به ٥ ثم رجع الى حديث
يحيى بن ايوب وحمد بن حميد كل في القوا بسلاطين 12 فقتلوا بها قتلا شديدا 20
ثم هزمهم الله ثم القوا بالكربين فقتلوا 13 بها بضعة عشر يوما وكان عبد الله بن
عمرو على المقدمة وحامل اللواء 14 يومئذ وزدان مول عمرو ٥

1) A with *tabdid*. 2) B cor. to *لم يهن*. 3) Om. BD. 4) Ysq.
وان يذهب الى عمرو فاجبره ٥ B marg. +. 5) BC واحاط. 6) B marg. +. 7) B سحادا. 8) Mas. الى عمرو. 9) BD الذي. 10) A دفتى.
plainly secondary. 11) In B after لفق. 12) A بسلاطين. 13) B فقتلوا. 14) B اللوى.

فحدثنا طلق بن السَّمْعِ ١ ويحيى بن عبد الله بن بكر قال حدثنا ضمام بن اسمعيل التَّعَافُري * حدثنا ابو قَبِيل ٢ عن عبد الله بن عمرو انه لقي العدو بالكُرَيْشِ وكان على المقدمة وحامل اللواء ٣ وزياد مولى عمرو ٤ فصابحت عبد الله بن عمرو جراحات كثيرة فقال يا زياد لو تقهرت ٥ قليلا نصيب ٦ الروح ٧ فقال وزياد الروح تريد ٨ الروح أمملك وليس هو خلدك فتقدم عبد الله فجاءه رسول أبيه يسأله عن جراحه فقال عبد الله

أقول * إذا ما خاشت النفس أصبري - فغن ما ٩ قليلا تحبكي أو تلامي لرجع الرسول إلى عمرو فخبيره بما قال فقال عمرو هو ابني حقا ١٠ حدثنا ١١ عمن بن ضام. أخبرنا ابن لهيعة عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب أن عمرو بن العاص صلى يومئذ صلاة الخوف ١٢ حدثنا ١٣ أن عبد الله بن عبد الحكم والنضر ١٤ بن عبد الجبار قال حدثنا ابن لهيعة عن بكر بن سواد أن شيخنا حدثهم أنه صلى صلاة الخوف بالاسكندرية مع عمرو بن العاص بكل طائفة ركعة وسجدتين ١٥

ثم رجع إلى حديث يحيى بن أيوب وحمد بن محمد قال فر فتح الله للمسلمين ١٦ وقتل منهم المسلمون مقتلة عظيمة وأتبعوه ١٧ حتى بلغوا الاسكندرية فحضر بها الروم وكانت عليهم حصون مبنية لا ترام حصن دون حصن فنزل المسلمون ما بين حلوة ١٨ إلى قصر فارس إلى ما وراء ذلك (296) ومعهم رؤساء القبط يمدونهم بما احتاجوا اليه من الاطعمة والعلوفة ١٩ قل فحدثنا هاني بن المتوكل حدثنا ابن لهيعة عن بكر بن عمرو الخولاني أن عبد العزيز بن مروان حين قدم الاسكندرية سأل عن فتحها فقيل له لم يبق من أدرك فتحها إلا شيخ كبير من الروم فأتوه به فسأله

1) B الشَّعْخ، O الشَّعْخ. 2) D om. 3) B اللوى، O والوى، D om. وحامل. and the four following words. 4) A + بن العاصي. 5) BC تقهرت. 6) D نصب. 7) O الروح، in all three places. 8) C يريد. 9) ABD إذا خاشت النفس وجالت أصبري عن، plainly a corrupted *faial*. O saves the meter, perhaps by mere conjecture. Maqr. I 164 is from another source. 10) D condenses the two following traditions into صلاة الخوف. 11) D كل وصلى عمرو يومئذ صلاة الخوف. 12) Maq. نصر. 13) B وأخبرنا. 14) B بكل طائفة ركعة وسجدتين. 15) BCD على المسلمين. 16) O حلوة (ان in red ink). 17) B وأتبعوه. 18) C حلوة. 19) BCD على المسلمين.

عما حضر من قنح الاسكندرية فقال كنت غلاما شابا وكان لي صاحب ابن بطريق¹
 من بطارقة الروم فأتاني فقال ألا تذهب بنا حتى ننظر الى هؤلاء العرب الذين
 يقاتلوننا؟ فليس ثياب ديبالج وعصاية ذهب وسيفا مأخوذين وركب برؤونا سبينا كثير
 اللحم وركبت انا برؤونا خفيفا فخرجنا من الحصون كلها* حتى برزنا* على شرف*
 فرأينا قوما* في جيلام لهم عند كل خيمة فرس مربوط ورمح مركز وراينا قوما* صغافا*
 فعجبنا بن صغافهم وقلنا كيف بلغ هؤلاء القوم ما بلغوا فيبنا نحن وقوف ننظر اليهم
 ونعجب إذ خرج رجل منهم من بعض تلك الجيلام فنظر* فلما رأنا حل فرسه فنعكس
 في مسحة ووثب على ظهره وهو عري وأخذ الرمح بيده وأقبل* نجونا فقلبت
 لصاحبي هذا والله يريدنا فلما رايناه مقيلا البنا لا يريد غيرنا إندنا مولين نحو
 الحصن وأخذ في طلبنا فلحقنا صاحبي لأن برؤونه كان ثقيلًا كثير اللحم فطعنناه¹⁰
 برمح فصرعه في خصم الحصن الرمح في جوفه حتى قتله في أقبيل في طلي وادرت وكان
 برؤون خفيف اللحم فندجوت منه حتى دخلت الحصن فلما دخلت الحصن أمنت
 فصعدت على سور الحصن انظر اليه فإذا هو لنا ايس* منى رجوع فلم يبال بصاحبي*
 الذي قتله ولم يرغب في سلبه ولم ينزعه عنه وقد كان سلبه ثياب الديبالج وعصاية
 من ذهب ولم يطلب دابته ولم يلتفت الى شيء من ذلك وانصرف من طريق أخرى¹⁵
 وأنا انظر اليه واسمعه يتكلم بكلام ويرفع¹⁰ به صوته فظننت انه اما يقرأ بقران العرب
 فعرفت عند ذلك انهم اما قروا على ما قروا عليه وظهروا على البلاد لانهم لا يطلبون
 الدنيا ولا يرغبون في شيء منها حتى بلغ خيمته فنزل عن فرسه فربطه وركب راحته
 ودخل خيمته ولم يعلم بذلك احدا من اصحابه. فقال عبد العزيز صف لي ذلك
 الرجل وقبضته¹¹ وحالته¹¹ فقال¹² نعم هو قليل دميم ليس بالنائم من الرجال في قمته²⁰
 ولا في لحمه رفيق آدم كوسج فقال عبد العزيز عند ذلك انه ليصف صفة رجل
 ياتى⁵ قال وجدنا هالي بن المتوكل حدثنا محمد بن يحيى الاسكندراني قال نزل
 عمرو بن العاص بخلوه فقام بها¹³ شهرين ثم تحول الى القفس فأخرجت عليه الليل

1) ليطريق BC. 2) يقاتلوننا B. 3) صابرونا O (from). 4) B.
 cor. to مشرف. 5) O om. 6) B + البنا. 7) B. 8) في أقبيل B.
 9) بصاحبه O. 10) يرفع O. 11) وحالته B. 12) O.
 13) B. 14) نحو O.

من ناحية البحيرة مستنزة بالحصن فوقعوه فقتل من المسلمين يومئذ بكنيسة الذهب
اثني عشر رجلاً ٥

ثم رجع إلى حديث يحيى بن أيوب وخلق بن حميد قل ورسل ملك الروم يختلف
إلى الاسكندرية في المراكب ثلاثة الروم. وكان ملك الروم يقول لئن ظهرت العرب على
الاسكندرية أن ذلك انقطع ملك الروم وفلاهم لأنه ليس للروم كنائس أعظم من
كنائس الاسكندرية وإنما كان عيد الروم (80a) بالاسكندرية ٥ حيث غلبت العرب
على الشام فقال الملك لئن غلبوا على الاسكندرية لقد هلك الروم وانقطع ملكها
فامر جهازه ٥ ومصلحته لخروجه إلى الاسكندرية حتى ٥ يباشر قتالها بنفسه إعظاماً لها
وامر أن لا يختلف عنه أحد من الروم وقال ما يقام الروم بعد الاسكندرية فلما فرغ
10 من جهازه صرعه الله فمات ٥ وكفى المسلمين مؤنة ٥ وكان مؤنة في سنة تسع عشرة
فكسر الله مؤنة شوكة الروم فوجع جمع كثير ممن كان قد توجه إلى الاسكندرية ٥
حدثنا يحيى بن عبد الله بن بكير عن الليث بن سعد قل مات عرقل في سنة
عشرين وخميساً فاحت ٥ قيسارية الشلم ٥

قل ثم رجع إلى حديث يحيى بن أيوب وخلق بن حميد قل واستأذنت العرب
15 عند ذلك والاحت بالقتال على أهل الاسكندرية فقاتلوه قتلاً شديداً ٥ حدثنا عبد
الله بن صالح حدثنا الليث بن سعد عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب قل خرج طرف من
الروم من باب حصن الاسكندرية فحلبوا على الناس فقتلوا رجلاً من مشهورة فاحتزوا
رأسه وانطلقوا به فجعل المهرجون يتغصنون ويقولون لا ندفعه أبداً إلا برأسه فقال عمرو
ابن العاص يتغصنون بكم يتغصنون على من يباي بعضكم أجلا على القوم إذا
20 خرجوا فقتلوا ملك رجلاً ثم أرموا برأسه برؤوس أصحابكم فخرجت الروم إليهم
فاحتلوا فقتل من الروم رجل من بطارتهم فاحتزوا رأسه فرموا به إلى الروم فمرمت الروم
برأس ١٥ المهرج إليهم فقال دونكم الآن فاحتلوا صاحبكم ٥ وكان عمرو بن العاص كما
حدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة عن ابن لهيعة عن لحرث بن يزيد يقول ثلاث قبائل

1) C + عند. 2) Mas. after الشام. 3) C جهازها. 4) D om. from here
to the end of the trad. 5) C فلهذه. 6) B om. 7) C افتحت. 8) BC
بالشام. 9) B رجلا. 10) B + صاحبكم.

من مصر أما مهرة فقوم يقتلون ولا يقتلون وأما صانف فقوم يقتلون ولا يقتلون وأما
 بلقي فأكثرها رجلاً صاحب¹ رسول الله صلعم وافضلها فارساه حدثنا عبد الملك بن
 مسلمة حدثنا صميم بن السعيل حدثنا عيش بن عيسى انه قال لما حاصر المسلمون
 الاسكندرية قال لهم صاحب المقدمة لا تعجلوا حتى آمركم برأى فلما فتح الباب
 دخل رجلان قتلاً فبكي صاحب المقدمة فقيل له لم بكيت وها شهدان² قال ليت
 أتيها شهدان ولكن سمعت رسول الله صلعم يقول لا يدخل الجنة من³ وقد⁴
 أمرت ألا يدخلوا حتى يأتهم رأى فدخلوا بغير رأى حدثنا عبد الملك بن
 مسلمة حدثنا الليث بن سعد عن موسى بن علي أن رجلاً قال لعروة بن العاص
 لو جعلت المناجيف⁵ ورميتهم به⁶ لهدم منه⁷ حائطهم فقال عمرو أتستطيع⁸ أن
 تفعل⁹ مقامك من الصنف¹⁰ قال الليث وقيل لعروة لمن العدو قد غشوك ونحن نخاف
 على رانطة¹¹ يريدون امرأتك قال أيا تجدون رانطاً كثيرة¹²
 فرجع إلى حديث عن بن صلح قال حدثني خالد بن نجح قال أخبرني النقة
 أن عمرو بن العاص كان الروم بالاسكندرية يوماً من الأيام قتلاً شديداً فلما استقر
 القتال بينهم بارز رجل من الروم مسلمة بن مخالد فصرعه الرومي¹³ (806) والقلة عن
 فرسة وقوى¹⁴ إليه ليقتله حتى سماه رجل من اخبايه وكان مسلمة لا يقام لسبيله¹⁵
 ولكنها مقلبة ففرحت بذلك الروم وشق ذلك على المسلمين وغضب عمرو بن العاص¹⁶
 لذلك وكان مسلمة كثير اللحم ثقيل البدن فقال عمرو بن العاص عند ذلك ما بال
 الرجل النسوة¹⁷ الذي يشبه النساء يعرضن مدخل الرجال ويعشيه بهم فغضب من
 ذلك مسلمة ولم يراجع¹⁸ في اشتد القتال حتى انحصوا حصن الاسكندرية فقاتلهم¹⁹
 العرب في الحصن ثم جاشت²⁰ عليهم الروم حتى اخرجهم جميعاً من الحصن إلا اربعة
 نفر بقوا في الحصن واغلقوا عليهم باب الحصن احدهم عمرو بن العاص والآخر مسلمة²¹

1) صاحب O. 2) Following tradition omitted in A; wanting also in Maqr. 164. 3) سعيدان. 4) D om. 5) O المناجيف. 6) B بالمناجيف O. 7) Pointed in A. B has أن تعني O. 8) D om. this clause. 9) O رانطة and رانط below. 10) B om. 11) CD وأعوى. 12) BOD بسبيله. 13) So pointed by AB. 14) BCD هائلهم. 15) D استجاشت.

ابن مَخْلَدٍ ولم يحفظ الاخرين * وحالوا بينهم وبين احبابهم ولا تدرى الروم من م
 فلما رأى ذلك عمرو بن العاص واحببه التجوا الى دبلس من حباياتهم فدخلوا فيه
 فاحتجزوا به فامروا روميا ان يكلمهم بالعريضة فقال لهم انكم قد صرتم بايدينا اسارى
 فاستأثروا ولا تقتلوا انفسكم فامنعوا عليهم ثم قال لهم ان في ايدي احبابكم منا رجلا
 6 اسروهم ونحن نعطيكم العهد فعلى بكم احبنا ولا تقتلكم فلبوا عليهم فلما رأى
 ذلك الرومى منهم كل لهم كل لكم الى خصلة وفي نصف * فيها بيننا وبينكم ان
 نعطيكم العهد ونعطىكم مثله على ان يبرز منكم رجل ومنا رجل فان غلب صاحبنا
 صاحبكم استأثروا لنا وامكنتمونا من انفسكم وان غلب صاحبكم صاحبنا خلبنا
 سبيلكم الى احبابكم فوضوا بذلك وتعاهدوا عليه عمرو ومسلمة وصاحباهما في الحصن
 10 في الدبلس فتداعوا الى البراز فبرز رجل من الروم قد وثقت الروم بناجذته وشنته
 وكذا يبرز رجل منكم لصاحبنا فارك عمرو ان يبرز فنعده مسلمة وكل ما هذا فخطى
 مرتين تشبث عن احبلك وانت امير واما قوامك بك وتلويهم معلقة بحرك * لا يدرون
 ما لمرك ثم لا تعرض حتى تسارز وتعرض للقتل فان قتلت كان ذلك بلاء على
 احبلك مكافئك وانا اكفئك ان شاء الله فقال عمرو دونك فربما فرجها الله بك فبرز
 15 مسلمة والرومى فاجابا ساعة ثم اعفاه الله عليه فقتله فغضب مسلمة واحببه ووقى لهم
 الروم بما عاهدوهم عليه ففاحوا لهم باب الحصن فخرجوا ولا تدرى الروم ان امير القوم
 فيهم حتى بلغهم بعد ذلك فاستقوا على ذلك واكبلوا ايديهم تغيطا على ما فانهم
 فلما خرجوا استخفى عمرو منما كان كل لمسلمة حين غضب فقتل عمرو عند ذلك
 استغفر في ما كذب قلت لك الاستغفر له وكل عمرو ما 10 احشيت قط الا ثلاث مرار 11
 20 مرتين في المأهنة وهذه الثالثة وما منهم مرة الا وقد ندمت واستحييت وما
 استحييت من واحدة منهم ابدا ما استحييت مما قلت لك (31a) ووالله اني لأرجو
 ان لا اعود الى الرابعة ما بقيت 12
 كل ثم رجع الى حديث عثمان عن ابن لبيبة عن يزيد بن ابي حبيب قال اقام

1) D. om. 2) Different order in B. 3) A. om. 4) BOD صاحبها
 5) C خطى 6) Mas. من. 7) O متعلقة 8) Road لا يدرى 9) D فرج
 10) BOD prof. والله 11) BD مرات 12) BD om.

عمرو بن العاصي لخمير الاسكندرية اشهرها فلما بلغ ذلك عمرو بن الخطاب قال ما ابطوا
 بفاتها الا لما احدثوا حدثنا يحيى بن خالد عن عبد الرحمن بن زيد بن اسلم
 عن ابيه قال لما ابطا على عمرو بن الخطاب فتح مصر كتب الى عمرو بن العاصي
 اما بعد فقد عرفت لابطالكم عن فتح مصر انكم تقاتلونهم منذ سنتين وما ذاك
 الا لما احدثتم واخبتهم من الدنيا ما احب عدوكم وان الله تبارك وتعالى لا ينصر
 قوما الا يصدقوا نياتهم وقد كنت وجهت اليك اربعة نفر واعلمتك ان الرجل
 منهم مقام الف رجل على ما كنت اعرف الا ان يكونوا غير ما عتبر غيرهم فلما
 اتاك كتابي هذا فاطلب الناس وحضهم على قتال عدوهم ورغبهم في الصبر واللين
 وقدم اولئك الاربعة في صيدور النبل وسير الناس جميعا ان يكون لهم ضمة
 كضمة رجل واحد وليكن ذلك عند الزوال يوم الجمعة فلها * ساعة تنزل * الرحمة 10
 وقت الاجابة وليبعث الناس الى الله ويسألوه النصر على عدوهم فلما اتى عمرو
 الكتاب جمع الناس وقرأ عليهم كتاب عمرو ثم دعا اولئك النفر فقدمهم امام الناس
 وامر الناس ان يتطهروا ويصلوا ركعتين ثم يرغبوا الى الله عز وجل ويسألوه النصر
 ففعلوا ففتح الله عليهم ويقال ان عمرو بن العاص استشار مسلمة بن مخلد كما
 حدثنا عثمان بن صالح عن ابن جندب قال اشير على في قتال هؤلاء فقال له مسلمة 15
 ارى ان تنظر الى رجل له معرفة وتجارب من اخذ رسول الله صلعم فتعقد له على
 الناس فيكون هو الذي يبشر القتال ويكفيك كل عمرو ومن ذلك قال عبادة بن
 الصامت قال فلما عمرو عبادة فأتته وهو راكب على فرسه فلما دنا منه اراد النزول
 فقال له عمرو عزمت عليك ان توليت ناوحي سنان رجلا فتأوله اليه فخرج عمرو بعمامة
 عن رأسه وعقد له وولاه قتال الروم فتقدم عبادة مكانه فصاف الروم وقتلهم ففتح 20
 الله على يديه الاسكندرية من يومهم ذلك حدثنا ابن عبد الله بن عبد الحكم
 قال لما ابطا على عمرو بن العاص فتح الاسكندرية استلقى على ظهره ثم جلس فقال
 اني فكرت في هذا الامر فلا هو لا يصلح اخو الا من اصلح اوله يريد الانصار

1) لا تصدق C. 2) BC om. 3) BC وحظهم 4) D يكونوا. 5) B
 secondary, as in Hunn 67) فيها الساعة تنزل فيها 6) Mas. ويسلونه. 7) BC
 لمن. 8) A. يده

Cairo

stone, three of brick, which give the surface a striped look. It is possible that the Arabs, who were not builders when they came to Egypt, borrowed this construction technique from this fort and eventually developed it into a beautiful and sophisticated architectural decoration of their own — the striped walls which you can find in hundreds of mosques from Samarkand to Casablanca.

When we had returned to the top of the wall I asked Victor Girgas if there was any real relic of the Arab conquest left in the fort, since this was the place where Moslem Egypt began.

"No," he said. "Nothing monumental anyway. The Arabs preferred to start afresh, so they built their own little city just outside the walls of Babylon. Just over there." He pointed vaguely northward.

He was talking about Fustat — the town of the tent. Fustat became the Arab capital of Egypt, and the more fabulous part of Cairo's history begins almost from the moment that Amr Ibn el 'As decided on the site and began to build his modest but very famous mosque, which is still standing, just outside the walls of Babylon.

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ENTIRE TEXT

THE TREATY OF MİŞR
IN ṬABARĪ

AN ESSAY IN HISTORICAL CRITICISM

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CHIEF REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

1. Ṭabarī, *Annales*. Ed. De Goeje. (Lugd. Bat., 1879, &c. 8vo.) *De Goeje*.
2. *The First Mohamadan Treaties with Christians*. By Stanley Lane-Poole, in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*. Vol. XXIV. Sec. C, no. 13 *P. R. I. A.*
3. *Al Maḥṣnā : Livre des Admonitions etc. ou Description Historique et Topographique de l'Égypte* : traduit par M. Paul Casanova : 3^{me} partie. (*Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire* : Tome iii, 1906.) *Casanova*.
4. *Annali dell' Islam* per Leone Caetani, Principe di Teano. t. iv. (Milano, 1911) fol. *Caetani*.
5. *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church in Patrologia Orientalis*. t. i, fasc. 4 *Hist. Pat.*
6. *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*. Evetts and Butler (Anecdota Oxoniensia). Oxford, 1895 *Abū Ṣāliḥ*.
7. *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*. By A. J. Butler. (Oxford, 1902.) *Arab Conquest*.

THE TREATY OF MIṢR IN ṬABARĪ

IN returning to the very obscure and difficult subject of the Mohammedan conquest of Egypt, I desire generally to correct any important error proved against my former work¹ by well-founded criticism, to deal with, and if possible overthrow, certain objections which seem to be ill-founded, and to set out revised conclusions based on later reflection and research.

But the scope of this essay must be limited : and I cannot hope or pretend to give here such a list of corrections and additions as would be required if a second edition of *Arab Conquest* were demanded. No such demand is likely to come in my lifetime : and, the wider field of travel being forbidden, all I can do is to select some area which seems rich in opportunities for the kind of excursion which I propose. Such an area seems to be provided by the traditions which Ṭabarī has recorded in his great work, and to which I have not hitherto devoted the detailed study which possibly they merit, and in particular by the Treaty of Miṣr.²

¹ *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1902.

² The reference is to de Goeje's well-known edition of Ṭabarī. I have been justly criticized for using Zotenberg's edition, and that

It may tend to clearness if these various traditions—or the chief of them—are set out in the order of Ṭabarī, although that does not correspond to any order of chronology. As a rule a rough paraphrase or mere outline will suffice: where questions of importance arise, a literal translation will be given: and for the actual treaty the Arabic text must accompany its English rendering. The traditions are mainly seven in number—A, B, C, D, E, F, G—which I will give, each with its exordium.

A. *Ibn Ishāq says, as said Ibn Ḥumaid, that Salamah said on his authority, that:*

Omar after subjugating the whole of Syria wrote to 'Amr ibn al-'Aṣī to march to Egypt with his army. So he set out, and captured Bāb al Yūn (Babylon) in the year A.H. 20. There is a difference of opinion concerning the date of the taking of Alexandria, some giving the year as A.H. 25.

B.¹ *Ibn Ḥumaid says that Salamah says thus, on the authority of Ibn Ishāq, who says that Al-Kāsim (an Egyptian) ibn Kuzman told him—on the authority of Ziyād ibn Fazl, who said he was in 'Amr's army when he took Mişr and Alexandria—the following story:*

We took Alexandria in the Caliphate of Othman in the year A.H. 21 or 22.

error will not be here repeated: nor would it avail to explain the reason for using Zotenberg originally.

¹ De Goeje, pp. 2580–83. Ibn Ḥumaid died 248 A.H., and Salamah after 190 A.H.

After the capture of Bāb al Yūn we captured gradually those villages of the Delta which were between us and Alexandria, one after another, till we reached Balḥib. Our prisoners had already reached Mecca, Medina, and Yemen at the time when we reached Balḥib: when the commander of Alexandria sent to 'Amr, saying, 'I have already paid tribute to Persian and Roman,¹ whom I hate more than you Arabs. I will pay you tribute, if you please, provided that you restore the prisoners of Egypt whom you have taken.'

'Amr answered, proposing in effect an armistice² till he could consult Omar and get his reply upon the question: and this was agreed. They stayed at Balḥib till Omar's answer came, when 'Amr read it out. It refused to restore the prisoners who were already in Arab lands, as impracticable, but offered to allow all prisoners in 'Amr's custody a free choice between Christianity and Islam. These terms were accepted by the commander of Alexandria.

Thereupon the captives were all mustered, and each one had to pronounce in presence of the Arab army and a large gathering of Christians. Every decision was followed by shouts on one side or the other, the Arab cheers being louder than the cheers

¹ How could any Roman governor of Alexandria speak of having paid tribute to the Romans? That would imply that he was in revolt against the emperor. There is further no evidence whatever to connect any one occupying the position of governor or commander at this time with the period of Persian domination in Egypt.

² This may be a reminiscence of the eleven months' armistice recorded by John of Nikiou.

when a village is taken. The Arabs claimed that the great majority chose Islam.

Al Kāsim (the contemporary soldier) says: 'Among the prisoners was 'Abdallah ibn 'Abd ar Raḥmān abū Maryām, who in my lifetime became chief of the Banū Zubaid. When we gave him the choice between Islam and Christianity, though his father, mother, and brothers were among the Christians, he chose Islam, and we transferred him to us. Then his father, mother, and brothers sprang out upon him, assailing us with abuse, and they tore his garments. But he became our chief, as you may see this day.'

'After this Alexandria surrendered and we entered it. . . . He who thinks otherwise, viz. that Alexandria and the cities round about were not brought under tribute, and that there was no treaty with the inhabitants, by Allah he is a liar.'

Note. This tradition claims to be derived from a soldier of the conquest. It insists that Alexandria was surrendered under treaty, and it has some points of correspondence with the history of John of Nikiou. But it begins with the capture of Babylon and says nothing about any treaty there.

C.¹ *Ṭabarī writes that Saif says in the letter which As Sarī wrote to me (Ṭabarī) that Shu'ayb informed him on [Ibn Isḥāq's] authority and that of Ar Rabī' and that of Abū 'Uthmān and that of Abū Hārithah, as follows:*

¹ De Goeje, p. 2584.

Omar remained at Jerusalem after making the treaty of peace there, and sent 'Amr to Egypt. He also sent Zubair in support.

Note. Here the authorities go back from Sarī, contemporary with Ṭabarī, to Abū 'Uthmān, who died some seventy to eighty years after the subjugation of Egypt. It is obvious that very many links in this chain of tradition are missing: nor is there anything to show what documentary evidence, if any, was available to Sarī when he made his communication in writing, or to what extent he relied on mere oral tradition.

D. *As Sarī has written to me on the authority of of Shu'ayb on the authority of Saif, who says Abū 'Uthmān has told us on the authority of Khālīd ibn Mi'dān and 'Ubadah,*¹ as follows:

'Amr set out to Egypt after Omar returned to Medina,² and marched till he came to Bāb al Yūn. Zubair followed, and they joined forces. Here Abū Maryām, the katholikos of Miṣr, met them, with him being the bishop [Abū Maryām] and the officials, he [the katholikos] having been sent by Al Muḥaukis to protect their country.'

There was fighting then between these people and 'Amr, who proposed a parley, details of which are given by Ṭabarī.³ But the dialogue is too lengthy for useful quotation, and the next words seem to

¹ Khālīd died 102 or 103 A.H., and 'Ubadah 118 A.H.

² This obviously disagrees with C.

³ pp. 2585-6.

record a story of treachery as follows: 'Quite suddenly a raid was made on 'Amr and Zubair at night by Farkab. 'Amr was prepared, and met him: he and all his followers were killed.' Ibn al Athīr says 'the tribune was killed', which implies that Farkab was the military tribune.¹ But the story is very confused, and continues thus:

'Amr and Zubair marched straight for 'Ain Shams: in it were a large number of them (the enemy). 'Amr sent Abrahah ibn as Sabbāḥ to Al Faramā, and 'Aūf ibn Mālik to Alexandria, and he encamped against it. Then each of them said to the men of his city, "If you capitulate, you shall have the status of protection at our hands,"²—and so forth.

Note. This tradition like the last appears to hang upon the evidence of Ṭabarī's contemporary Sarī, and a weak chain behind him. The same is true of the following traditions, E and F.

E. *As Sarī has written to me (Ṭabarī) on the authority of Shu'aib, on the authority of Saif, on the authority of Abū 'Uthmān and Abū Hārithah, that these two said as follows:*

'When 'Amr encamped against the people at 'Ain Shams, the rule was between the Copts and the Nubians. Zubair came with him. Then said the people of Mişr to their king, "Why do you go out

¹ Ibn al Athīr distinctly says that the tribune was called *Arṭabān*, which, as I have shown, should be read *Arṭūn*. *Arab Conquest*, p. 215, n. 2.

² The parley with these two cities by envoys sent during the Arab march to Babylon is clearly legendary.

against a people which has smitten Chosroes and Caesar (Heracius) and vanquished them in their countries? Make terms with the people and get a treaty from them and do not expose yourself to them nor us to them."

'And this was on the fourth day.'

What is meant by the fourth day is not clear: probably the fourth day of a truce, which seems to be referred to above (pp. 2586-7). Fighting followed: Zubair mounted the wall of the fortress and descended among them by force, while the people from within the fortress are described as issuing out of the gate to make terms with 'Amr.

The terms of the treaty of peace are now given textually: and—

'All the people of Mişr accepted this treaty, and the horses were collected: 'Amr founded Fuṣṭāṭ, and the Muslims stayed there. Abū Maryām and Abū Maryām appeared and spoke to 'Amr about the prisoners captured after the battle' (? Heliopolis).

Then follows the well-known story of the Muslim meal and the Egyptian banquet, with other matter neither clear nor important.

F. *As Sarī¹ has written to me on the authority of Shu'aib on the authority of Saif on the authority of Abū Sa'id ar Rabā' ibn an Numān on the authority of 'Amr ibn Shu'aib, as follows:*

'When 'Amr and Al Muḥaukis met at 'Ain Shams and their cavalry began to fight', there were signs of insubordination in the Muslim ranks, and the Muslims

¹ p. 2592.

were very hard pressed for a while, though in the end they won a complete victory. . . . 'Miṣr was captured during the first Rabī' in the year 16 and the sovereignty of Islam rose therein.'

G. 'Alī ibn Saḥl¹ informs me saying, *Al Walīd ibn Muṣlim has related that Ibn Laḥī'ah told him on the authority of Yazīd ibn Ḥabīb that:*

'When the Muslims had conquered Egypt, they sent an expedition to Egyptian Nubia':—and the expedition clearly was a failure.

¹ p. 2593.

HAVING now sketched out the main traditions with which we are concerned, I come to a discussion of the treaty. The tradition in which it occurs depends on the letter of Ṭabarī's contemporary Sarī, who got it from Shu'aib, Shu'aib from Saif (who died about 180 A. H.), and he from Abū 'Uthmān (who died about 100 A. H.). But these narrators can hardly have repeated the text of the treaty, which Sarī professes to give and which he may have got from an independent source. It is even possible that he or some informant may have seen an original document or a copy. On the other hand, there are certain obscurities and difficulties, both in the form and in the substance of the treaty, which suggest that it has suffered from a process of handing down, whether by word of mouth or by written record. Dr. Stanley Lane-Poole thinks that, broadly speaking, the treaty bears on its face the seal of its own authenticity: but the words giving the total of the poll-tax and the method of its payment, as well as some other points, seem by their uncertainty to denote at least the hand of a copyist. We know that some early treaties were preserved: Omar is said to have had a box full of them. They were probably executed in duplicate, so that one copy at least remained with the conquered people: and in this case either the original or a copy may conceivably have been seen by Ṭabarī, or rather by Sarī his informant, 300 years later. But it requires a somewhat robust faith to believe, as Dr. Lane-Poole seems to believe, in the verbal inspiration of the text.

However, if the Treaty of Mişr is genuine, I must grant that Ṭabarī associates it very closely with the fall of Babylon and not with the surrender of Alexandria. Consequently, if Ṭabarī is right, I was wrong, as Dr. Lane-Poole alleges,¹ in calling it the Treaty of Alexandria and in identifying it with the very important Treaty of Alexandria given by John of Nikiou.

I propose, however, to reserve this question of the genuineness of the treaty in Ṭabarī to a later stage in the argument: to take Ṭabarī's version of events as it stands: and to discuss

- i. The time and place of the treaty:
- ii. The parties to the treaty:
- iii. The meaning of the treaty:
- iv. The authenticity of the treaty:
- v. The identity of Al Muḩaukis.

I. *The moment at which the treaty was made and the place.*

On these matters there is little room for doubt, if Ṭabarī is to be believed. Ṭabarī's story is as follows. There had been at some point a parley between the belligerents and a truce for four or five days, which ended in the decision of the Romans to reject the Muslim terms: and there is some evidence that the truce was broken on the fourth day treacherously. Fighting was renewed: but how long the siege lasted after this rupture Ṭabarī does not record. Victory, however, determined in favour of the Arabs at a moment when Zubair scaled the walls and

¹ *P. R. I. A.*, p. 240.

fought his way down into the fortress. At the same moment tokens of surrender had been made, and some of the defenders were on their way out to arrange a capitulation. Zubair and his victorious following joined the envoys of the garrison, and accompanied them through the fortress gate to 'Amr's presence. Thereupon the brief but solemn treaty of peace was drawn up and attested by Zubair himself and his two sons, 'Abdallah and Muḩammad. Such is the somewhat unconvincing story.

There can be no question that the incident is described as relating to the surrender of the Castle of Babylon or Ḳaṣr ash Shama'. Dr. Lane-Poole in his account of the matter remarks¹ that Ṭabarī does not name the fortress or city wall which Zubair scaled. True; but other Muslim writers leave no shadow of doubt. They name the fortress Babylon: they give the point at which the assault was made: and Zubair's scaling-ladder was long preserved at Fustāt as a relic of the siege. Moreover, Dr. Lane-Poole himself, in citing Maḳrīzī's account, says²:— 'Fighting with the garrison of Babylon was accordingly renewed: but finally Al Muḩaukis persuaded the people that resistance was hopeless, and 'Amr's terms were accepted.' He urges, however, that 'the capture of the fort, القصر, must be distinguished from the fall of the castle, القصر, i.e. Babylon. He bases this conclusion upon the supposed discrepancy between the date given by John of Nikiou for the surrender of the fortress of Babylon, i.e. 9 April, 641 (which date is unimpeachable), and Maḳrīzī's statement that the negotiations between

¹ *P. R. I. A.*, p. 242.

² *P. R. I. A.*, p. 245.

'Amr and Al Mukaukis began at Raḍāh at the time of high Nile, which would be about six months earlier. But I think the discrepancy does not lie here. We know that the negotiations failed and the war continued: but there is no warrant for compressing the duration of the renewed struggle into a few days instead of six months. The endeavour is made in order to identify the negotiations as described by Makrīzī with the four days' truce mentioned by Ṭabarī. But this truce almost certainly occurred shortly after the arrival of the reinforcements under Zubair.¹ It is true that just before this event the fact is recorded that 'Amr set out for Egypt and marched till he came to Bāb al Yūn': but this, taken as a general description of the march, is not inconsistent with the insertion of detail which follows, nor with the fact (which seems established) that Zubair joined 'Amr's army before it had reached Babylon. I therefore regard this parley and the four days' truce as a quite distinct incident from the Raḍāh negotiations at the time of high Nile, and as having occurred some weeks earlier, and prior to 'Amr's arrival at Babylon. So I disagree with Dr. Lane-Poole's statement where he says²: 'According to Ṭabarī, after the Arabs had reached Babylon, there came to meet them on the part of Al Mukaukis a patriarch (*gāthaltik* catholicus) and a bishop. . . . This was before reinforcements had reached the Muslims.' On the contrary, Ṭabarī says³: 'Zubair followed, and they joined forces. Here Abū Maryam, the katholikos of Mişr, met them,

¹ Trad. D above, pp. 11-12.

² *P. R. I. A.*, p. 241.

³ De Goeje, p. 2584.

with him being the bishop,' and again¹ 'Amr and Zubair marched straight for 'Ain Shams'.

But the accounts, both in Ṭabarī and in Makrīzī, are so wanting in clearness and precision that the construction of any continuous narrative or orderly sequence of events must admittedly be largely a matter of remote inference or even conjecture.

Dr. Lane-Poole, however, in order to uphold his theory has to connect the treaty, not with the fall of Babylon, i.e. Kaşr ash Shama', but with the fall of a fort on the ridge of rocky ground to the south, on which, according to Strabo, there stood in his day a fort originally erected by the Persians some 500 years earlier. This attempt to deprive Trajan's fortress of its well-known name of Babylon assumes the survival of the old original Persian fort in the seventh century, an assumption which rests upon no proof whatever, but is contradicted by explicit evidence of the Arab historians. It might suffice to say that Abu 'l Maḥāsin definitely calls the fortress Kaşr ash Shama',² while Makrīzī agrees with other writers in stating that the fortress was opposite the island of Raḍāh, as Dr. Lane-Poole himself admits.³ No other fortress but Trajan's (or Kaşr ash Shama') corresponds in any way with this description, and the suggested identification of the fortress in Ṭabarī with the *Istabl Anlār*⁴ is altogether impossible. Indeed, it is a mistake into which no one familiar

¹ De Goeje, p. 2586.

² *Annales*, edd. Juybnoll et Matthes, vol. i, p. 8 (Lugd. Bat., 1855-61).

³ *P. R. I. A.*, p. 244.

⁴ This identification occurs in Dr. Lane-Poole's *Cairo Fifty Years Ago*, pp. 146-7, to which he refers (Murray, 1896).

with the topography of the region could possibly fall; and Lane's evidence proves at most the existence of a Roman embankment at the foot of the ridge. There is not a single trace of any ancient building upon the ridge. Severus, too, expressly says¹: 'The Arabs... arrived at a fortress built of stone, situated between Upper Egypt and the Delta and called Babylon.... Then the Arabs called that place, namely the fortress, Babilūn al Fusrāṭ and that is its name to this day.' Severus uses the terms قصر and حصن indifferently, and I venture to say that there is no warrant whatever for distinguishing them. Dr. Lane-Poole says²: 'The capture of the fort, الحصن, must evidently be distinguished from the fall of the castle القصر'. . . . Makrīzī mentions another fortress besides Kaşr ash Shama' . . . and this other fortress which was situated on a rocky hill to the south-east of Kaşr ash Shama', and was within the city, was particularly called the fortress or palace قصر of Babylon.' What is the authority for this statement? It may rest on the mistaken evidence of Al Kudā'i, which Makrīzī cites, but admits to be at variance with the much higher authority of Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam.³

But M. Casanova, in his learned edition of Makrīzī lends countenance to a theory at once similar and dissimilar to that of Dr. Lane-Poole. Commenting on the statement in Makrīzī's text that the Muslims laid siege to Bāb al Yūn, in which were Romans, Copts, and the Muḥaukis, Casanova

¹ Brit. Mus. MS., 26100, p. 105.

² See M. Casanova's *Makrīzī*, part iii, p. 109 (Imprimerie de l'Institut Français au Caire, 1906).

writes:—'Cette tradition, en effet, semble en contradiction avec la première. Mais il est à remarquer qu'il s'agit cette fois de Bāb aliūn, et puisque ce nom subsiste encore, il faut en conclure qu'il y a eu deux sièges distincts, celui de Kaşr ash Cham' et celui de Bāb aliūn'¹: and he goes on to say that Strabo's description excludes the Kaşr ash Shama', while it fits the height of the modern Babilūn, 'qui est très escarpée du côté du Nil', thus assuming the existence of the old fort at the conquest. So he makes two sieges and two forts: but whereas Dr. Lane-Poole says that the ḥiṣn was Kaşr ash Shama', while the kaşr was on the rocky ridge, Casanova says that the ḥiṣn was the fortified enclosure of the town, while 'le kaşr désigne tout particulièrement la forteresse de Babylone'. But I confess that I find his reasoning hard to follow. For at one moment he says that Kaşr ash Shama', 'qui représentait la ville, fut prise de vive force', and the next that 'le ḥiṣn répondrait mieux à la ville même': and when he charges me with failing to see the difference between the two forts² and the two Arab traditions, and of error in describing Kaşr ash Shama' as 'the Roman fortress of Babylon', I stand not only impenitent but more convinced than ever that my description is correct, that the name Babylon was applied to Kaşr ash Shama' as well as to the town of Mişr, that Bāb al Yūn or Bāb aliūn is a mere blunder for 'Babylon',

¹ Casanova, p. 121 n.

² Casanova, p. 121 n. I pointed out the difference between Strabo's fort and Kaşr ash Shama' built by Trajan, at least twenty years before Casanova's work was published, viz., in my *Ancient Coptic Churches*, vol. i, pp. 171-4. The charge against me there is not very well founded.

and that in all the hazy and confused statements about the fortress made by the Arab historians, the reference is to Kaşr ash Shama' and not to the early Persian fort, *of which no trace remained at the conquest*.

For Makrizi himself definitely calls the fortress hişn.¹ He identifies the site, rightly or wrongly, with that of an early Persian fort, which, he says, lay in ruins 500 years before the Romans rebuilt it.² Moreover, he quotes Ibn 'Abd al Hakam in the same connexion as saying that 'the Persians founded the fortress (hişn) which is to-day at Fustāt Mişr': and he further cites Al Kuḏā'i as remarking of the Kaşr ash Shama' that it was begun by the Persians, but finished by the Romans, *who held it till the Arab conquest*.

Now two things are clear from this: (1) that at the date of the conquest, i.e. some seven centuries after Strabo's time, all trace of the original Persian fort had vanished, and (2) that Arab writers identify, however mistakenly, the site of the two fortresses, the Persian and the Roman, and not only fail to distinguish them, but are not conscious that any question of a distinction could arise. That Zubair's exploit is connected with Kaşr ash Shama' by them, is certain: and if, as Casanova urges, the fortress in question were Strabo's fortress on the steep ridge,

¹ Casanova, p. 121.

² This, of course, is wrong. Something at least of the old Persian fort survived in Strabo's time, and Kaşr ash Shama' was built by Trajan. Yet it is quite possible, indeed very probable, that Trajan found Persian remains, whether of temple or fort, on the site of Kaşr ash Shama', as the stories of Murādī and Yākūt indicate.

the incident of 'Ubāḏah,¹ which turns on Roman horsemen issuing from the fortress gate and being chased back to it, would be impossible even of invention—it would be too ludicrous. Makrizi, however, not only connects the fortress of the conquest with the island of the arsenal or Rauḏah, but he says that boats were moored against this fortress. It is absolutely impossible to apply such a description to any fortress but Kaşr ash Shama':² that it was true of Kaşr ash Shama' is proved by the whole tenor of the Arab stories of the siege, and the proof has been confirmed and rendered visible lately by the excavations which have revealed the channel or waterway and small quay at the very foot of the Iron Gate of the fortress. Lastly, I would urge that even if a detached fort existed on the ridge, the capture of such a secondary position could not be the determining factor in the operations round Mişr, so long as the huge and immensely powerful fortress erected by Trajan—the fortress in which the Roman commander had his head-quarters—still defied the Muslim arms.

Both the military exigencies of the case, therefore, and the records of the Arab historians point to Kaşr ash Shama' as that castle of Babylon which they represent as capitulating under the Treaty of Mişr. Indeed the evidence of their intention is so

¹ Casanova, p. 119.

² Casanova remarks, in objecting to my contention:—'Il serait étrange qu'une forteresse fût en plaine et immédiatement dominée par une hauteur.' To this I reply, that the strangeness does not alter the fact, and that it would be much more strange if boats were moored to a fortress on the top of a hill.

overwhelming, that any other theory is untenable: although I must assert with emphasis that the question what the Arab historians intended to represent is totally different from the question whether their representation of the facts is correct. And while I think Ṭabarī's opinion very clear, I think it no less mistaken, as will be shown.

II. *The Parties to the Treaty.*

Granted that the treaty is genuine, it bears its own witness to the fact that it was made between 'Amr, the commander of the Arab forces, and the people of Mişr in general.

It is also clear that, according to Ṭabarī, the treaty was made on the side of the people of Mişr by plenipotentiaries who came out of the fortress, in other words by the defenders of the fortress. Unfortunately in the early Muslim treaties it was not the practice for both parties to set their hand to the instrument. The signing, sealing, and delivering was all done by the Muslims: and the treaty is rather a grant of security and protection conditional upon terms to be observed than a deed of mutual covenants solemnly entered into and executed between two parties. Hence in this case there is nothing in the document to show who actually negotiated the treaty on behalf of the people of Mişr, and the question can only be settled by external evidence.

Dr. Lane-Poole says boldly: 'It is abundantly evident that this is a treaty with the Copts, not with the Romans. . . . The people of Mişr, not the Roman army of occupation, still less the emperor

¹ *P. R. I. A.*, p. 239.

Heraclius, were the contracting parties on the other side. As there is no indication in the treaty itself that the Romans were consulted in the matter, we must conclude that this treaty was made behind their backs; that it was a compact between the Copts and the Arabs without the authority of the Roman garrison, though these last had the option of accepting the same terms.' Again,¹ 'It was, as is evident, a treaty with the Copts of the city of Mişr as against the Romans:' once more:² 'Ṭabarī's story fits perfectly with the contents of the treaty, which is thus shown to be a treaty with the Egyptian people against the wish of the Roman army of occupation:' and finally,³ 'In each story' (i.e. Ṭabarī's and Makrīzī's) 'it is essentially a treaty with the Copts, not with the Romans.'

Now what is the justification for all this? It is neither more nor less than the fact that to the *people of Mişr* was conveyed the grant of security under the treaty. Starting with that fact, Dr. Lane-Poole lays down the proposition that the people of Mişr were Copts: he then argues that the Copts were hostile to the Romans, and that consequently the treaty was made in favour of the Copts: and he concludes that the treaty, being in favour of the Copts, was not only 'without the authority of the Romans', but 'against the Romans' and 'behind their backs'. Such is the logical process, which now has to be examined.

Who were the people of Mişr? In the first place, as Dr. Lane-Poole remarks, the term *Miṣr* has a double meaning—the capital city and the country of Egypt

¹ p. 241.

² p. 243.

³ p. 245.

—and we do not even know for certain which was intended. But he adduces the analogy of other early Muslim treaties—those of Damascus, Lydda, and Jerusalem—and argues that the practice of the Arabs was to make a treaty upon the capture of a chief town, with the townsfolk. Accordingly Mişr in the present case should be taken as meaning the city of Mişr, which lay over and spread beyond the region now misnamed Old Cairo, though it seems to have been identified loosely at times with the ancient Memphis¹ and its environs on both banks of the Nile. How far the city of Mişr extended at the time of the conquest, and what fortifications it had besides Kaşr ash Shama', cannot be known. But there is evidence that it extended somewhat widely. The outpost of 'Umm Dunain (the Tendounias of John of Nikiou) lay at a point now represented by the Esbekiah in Cairo, and the very ancient churches in the Hārat ar Rūm and Hārat az Zuwaitah were apparently considered within the old city of Mişr, as Abū Ṣāliḥ² seems to indicate; and the same writer also describes the city of 'Ain Shams as lying outside the city of Mişr. But there is no evidence of any wide circumvallation: for the battle of 'Ain Shams and the fall of Tendounias seem to have been followed quickly by the Arab occupation of Mişr and the siege of the formidable fortress of Babylon.³ Here the resistance of the Romans was concentrated: but it is quite

¹ Makrizī, *Sultans Mamlouks*, t. ii, p. 119 (ed. Quatremère, Paris, 1845).

² pp. 86–7, and notes: but the matter is not clear of doubt.

³ Note that John of Nikiou in his chapter-headings clearly distinguishes the capture of Mişr from the fall of Babylon.

certain that there was also a large population in the city of Mişr.

Of what race or creed was this population? The answer is plain—Egyptian—though there was doubtless some small admixture of Jews, Arabs, Berbers, and Nubians. But it must be remembered that the Egyptians at this time, though all Christian, were of two races and two creeds, viz. by race either Copts or Graeco-Romans (Byzantines), by creed either monophysites or melkites. But the racial cleavage by no means coincided with the religious division: in other words a Roman might hold the Coptic form of faith, and a Copt might hold the melkite (or Roman or Chalcedonian) form.

Now if there is one thing indisputable in all this tangled story, it is that for the ten years preceding the time of the Arab invasion, and at that time, the Copts suffered the severest persecution at the hands of Cyrus, the nominee of Heraclius as patriarch of Alexandria and governor-general of Egypt. It is certain also that the Copts had neither bishop nor leader in the city of Mişr, since their patriarch and all their prominent men had been driven into exile into the mountains and deserts. Whatever the relative number of the Copts might have been—even if they were as numerous at this military centre as the Romans and Roman sympathizers—it is not conceivable that there should have existed then in the city of Mişr a body of Copts in a position to enter upon a treaty with the victorious Arabs.

Apart from this, however, one must not exaggerate the distinction between Copt and Roman. It must be remembered that the Graeco-Romans at this time

were not an alien army of occupation, as Dr. Lane-Poole seems to imagine them. The country had been Graeco-Roman for 700 years, and for centuries longer if we date the mixture of race, as is right, to the early Greek settlements and trace it through Ptolemaic times. It was the Hellenes, and not the Italians, who contributed and maintained that element of the population which came to be called in later times Roman or Byzantine. And during all those centuries there had been a continuous mingling of the two races; so that although the Egyptian racial type probably prevailed by reason of that unchangeable and invincible vitality which has ever marked it, yet the dominant civilization of the country at this time was Hellenic, whether called Byzantine or Graeco-Roman; and from Pelusium to Barca, from Alexandria to Syene and Meroë, the land was covered with cities bearing Graeco-Roman names—cities in which the arts, the architecture, the language and the letters were far more Graeco-Roman than Coptic.

Nor is there any reason to think that the city of Mişr or city of Babylon, as it was also called,¹ presented any exception to the rule.

To say therefore that by the term *people of Mişr* only the Copts could be meant, is to make a quite baseless and unwarranted assumption.

But there are other obvious objections. A good

¹ Ptolemy, for example, calls it City of Babylon; so does Palladius. It is frequently so called in the Aphrodito papyri, and the name may be traced onwards to the middle ages. Thus Sir J. Mandeville speaks of Egypt as 'the land of Babylon', and the term 'Soldan', 'Sultan', or 'Sowdone' (i.e. Sultan) 'of Babylon', was commonly used in English, and its analogue in continental literature up to the sixteenth century to denote the ruler of Egypt.

deal of the confusion caused by the use of the term *Copts* in the Arab historians springs from the fact that the term did not originally bear the precise and limited meaning which it now bears in common parlance. There is no doubt that at the time of the conquest the Arabs frequently used the term *Copts* as synonymous with *Egyptians*, i.e. as denoting the people of Egypt generally, and that a distinction between the Coptic and the Graeco-Roman elements in the population was not ordinarily present to their minds. Of course if a special reinforcement of imperial troops entered Egypt at any time by order of Heraclius, those troops would be called distinctively Roman by the Arabs, and are perhaps so referred to in the Treaty of Mişr, in which—be it remarked—the Copts are not even mentioned. But that the Graeco-Roman inhabitants, as well as the Coptic, were often included under the term *Copts* is unquestionable.

This fact explains much that is otherwise inexplicable. For instance, Dr. Lane-Poole quotes Makrizi as saying that Al Muḥaukis 'left the fortress of Babylon in company with the leaders of the Copts', and crossed to the island of Raudah. Whoever Al Muḥaukis was, he was the Roman governor of Egypt: and it is certain from John of Nikiou that the Copts within the fortress during the siege were actually in prison, and were barbarously treated by the Romans. Again Tabarī records a representation in favour of peace made *by the people of Mişr to their king* (بشرفهم). This *king* cannot possibly mean Heraclius, who is called *Caesar* in the same passage, and can only mean *ruler*, i.e. the viceroy Al

Muḳauḳis. And that meaning is placed beyond doubt by the words of Maṣūḏī,¹ who calls Al Muḳauḳis king of Mişr and lord of the Copts, and says that he used to spend part of the year in Alexandria, part in the city of Menf or Memphis, part in Ḳaṣr ash Shama'. Now it is clearly ridiculous to speak of Al Muḳauḳis as king or ruler of the Copts as opposed to the Romans, or in any other sense than as ruler of the *Egyptians*. Indeed that supposition is refuted by Dr. Lane-Poole's own words, where he gives Maḳrīzī's story as follows: ²

'Fearing that the fortresses would fall, he (Al Muḳauḳis) opened negotiations with the Arabs. He urged that the *Romans* were far more numerous and better equipped than the Muslims. . . . But Al Muḳauḳis could obtain no modification of the terms. Fighting with the garrison of Babylon was accordingly renewed: but finally Al Muḳauḳis persuaded the people that resistance was hopeless, and 'Amr's terms were accepted—a poll-tax of two dinars a head, &c.'

Clearly here Al Muḳauḳis was speaking as representative not of Copts but of Romans. I need not labour the point: but I pass on to another of even greater importance. If the treaty is genuine, it was a military convention between belligerents marking the surrender of a great Roman stronghold: and it is sheer absurdity to imagine that the Copts, who had no separate existence as a belligerent party, could have arranged such a convention in their own favour 'behind the backs of the Romans' and 'against the Romans'.

¹ ii. 412, ed. Barbier de Meynard.

² *P.R.I.A.*, p. 244.

To put the matter quite plainly, I would ask the following questions:—

(1) Is it denied that Al Muḳauḳis was himself a Roman as distinguished from a Copt, and was Roman governor of Egypt?

(2) Is it denied that the military governor of the fortress of Babylon was a Roman in the same sense? ¹

(3) Is it denied that the garrison of the fortress was Roman and under Roman officers to the exclusion of Copts?

(4) Is it denied that the defenders of the fortress capitulated and entered into the Treaty of Mişr?

On one and all of these points denial is impossible, whether regard be had to Dr. Lane-Poole's own admissions or to the whole evidence of Coptic and Arabic chronicles.

But if this is so, if the Treaty of Mişr was negotiated by the Roman commander or ruler and the Roman defenders of the besieged fortress of Babylon on behalf of the people of Mişr; how is it possible to maintain that the treaty was made 'with the Copts and not with the Romans', 'behind the backs of the Romans', 'between the Copts and the Arabs without the authority of the Roman garrison', and finally that it was 'a treaty with the Copts of the city of Mişr as against the Romans'? Clearly such a theory is absolutely untenable; and if there is any truth in Ṭabarī's story, the treaty was made with the Romans on behalf of the people of Mişr, whether Graeco-Roman or Coptic.

¹ Dr. Lane-Poole is wrong in calling the governor of the fortress Aretion (p. 242). I do not know what his authority for this statement is: but it would seem that Aretion was the tribune killed in the night attack upon the Arabs. v. *supra*, p. 12, n. 1.

III. *The Meaning of the Treaty*

It remains now to give the text of the treaty and to consider its interpretation. Dr. Lane-Poole points out very justly its close correspondence with the earlier treaty, which was granted by the Caliph Omar at the capitulation of Jerusalem, and he remarks that 'Amr ibn al 'Aṣī, who made the Treaty of Miṣr, was present and subscribed the Treaty of Jerusalem as witness: moreover the two treaties 'contain not only practically identical clauses but even absolutely identical words and phrases': 'Amr therefore modelled the Treaty of Miṣr on the Treaty of Jerusalem. I propose further to follow Dr. Lane-Poole in setting out both the treaties, though on the comparison I shall have to base some conclusions quite at variance with his.

The Arabic text is as follows (De Goeje, p. 2588):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا ما اعطى عمرو بن العاصي اهل مصر من الامان على انفسهم ومالهم واموالهم وكنائسهم وضيئهم ويترهم ويحرمهم لا يدخل عليهم شئ من ذلك ولا ينقص ولا يساكنهم النوب وعلى اهل مصر ان يعطوا الجزية انا اجتمعوا على هذا الصلح وادتهيت زياره نهرهم خمسين الف الف وعليهم ما جني لصونهم فان ابى احد منهم ان يجيب رفع عنهم من الجزاء بقدرهم ونةتنا ممن ابى بدينة وان نقص نهرهم من غايته اذا ادتهى رُفع عنهم بقدر ذلك ومن

دخل في صلحهم من الروم والنوب فله مثل ما لهم وعليه مثل ما عليهم ومن ابى واختار الذهاب فهو آمن حتى يبلغ مأمنه او يخرج من سلطاننا عليهم ما عليهم الاثلاثا في كل ذلك جباية ذلك ما عليهم

على ما في هذا الكتاب عهد الله ونهته ونهته رسوله ونهته الكليفة امير المؤمنين ونهته المؤمنين وعلى النوبة الذين استنجابوا ان يعينوا بكنا وكنا رأسا وكنا وكنا فرسا على ان لا يغفروا ولا يمنعوا من تجماع صادق ولا واردة شهد بذلك الزبير وعبد الله ومحمد ابنا وكتب وزان وحضر

One may translate as follows:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

1. This is what 'Amr ibn al 'Aṣī granted the people of Miṣr—to wit, security for their persons and their religion and their property, their churches and their crosses, their land and their water. In none of these things shall there be any encroachment nor any abatement of their rights.¹

¹ Dr. Lane-Poole translates doubtfully 'There shall not be taken from them anything of this nor diminished'. He quotes De Sacy's rendering: 'On n'attentera à leurs droits relativement à aucune de ces choses et on ne leur fera éprouver aucun tort,' *Mémoires de l'Institut* (Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres), v. 35. Caetani renders, 'In niuna di queste cose entrerà (il governo Arabo) e nulla sarà tolto' (*Annali dell' Islam*, vol. iv, p. 304). I am following Caetani in numbering the clauses of the treaty for the sake of convenience, just as he follows my numbering for the Treaty of Alexandria given by John of Nikiou.

2. The Nubians¹ shall not settle among them.
3. The people of Mişr are bound to pay the poll-tax, if they agree upon this treaty of peace and the inundation of their river has reached full level—fifty millions.
4. They are responsible for any acts of their brigands.
5. If any of them refuse [the terms of the treaty], the total of the poll-tax shall be reduced for them in proportion; and we are free of obligation to protect those who refuse.
6. If their river does not rise to its usual level, then the sum [of taxation] shall be reduced for them in proportion.
7. Whosoever of the Romans or the Nubians enters into their treaty, for him are the same rights as for them (i. e. the people of Mişr) and the same obligations.
8. Whosoever refuses [these terms] and chooses to depart, he shall be safe until he reaches his own place of security or quits our dominion.
9. The tribute imposed is to be paid by three equal instalments, one-third at each payment.
10. For what is written in this treaty stands the pledge and warranty of God, the warranty of His Prophet, the warranty of the Caliph, the Commander of the Faithful, and the warranty of the Faithful.
11. For the Nubians who come under this treaty, it is prescribed that they shall furnish so

¹ I totally reject Dr. Lane-Poole's translation of *garrisons*, with which Caetani dallies needlessly, though he decides against it in the end. My reasons will be given below.

many head (of cattle) and so many horses; and in return¹ they shall not be plundered nor hindered in their trade, coming or going.

Witnesses, Az Zubair and 'Abdallah and Muḥammad,² his sons. Wardān wrote the treaty, and there were present ... (so and so—names omitted).

Such is the Treaty of Mişr. I now give the Treaty of Jerusalem, mainly in Dr. Lane-Poole's translation:

In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful.

1. This is what the servant of God, Omar, Commander of the Faithful, gave to the people of Jerusalem in pledge of security. He gave them security for their persons and their goods and their churches and their crosses, and its³ sick and its sound, and all of their religion: their churches shall not be impoverished or destroyed: nor shall [aught] of it be diminished, neither of its appurtenances nor of its crosses nor of anything of its provisions. And they shall not be forced against their faith, and not one of them shall be harmed.

2. None of the Jews shall dwell with them in Jerusalem.

3. The people of Jerusalem are bound to pay the poll-tax as the people of Madain (Ctesiphon) pay it.

4. They are bound to expel the Romans and brigands from [the city].

¹ The Arabic ^١ denotes the other side of the bargain: i. e. they gain immunity from plunder and freedom to trade.

² No son of Zubair named Muḥammad is known to history.

³ The use of pronouns here and elsewhere is irregular, but the sense is generally clear.

5. Whosoever [of the Romans, &c.] goes away, shall be safe in person and property until they reach their own place of safety; and whoever remains shall be safe and under the same obligation as the people of Jerusalem to pay the poll-tax.

6. Whosoever of the people of Jerusalem prefers to take his goods and to depart along with the Romans, and leave their churches and crosses, they shall be safe in person until they reach their own place of security.

7. Whosoever of the people of the country was in Jerusalem before the fighting, if he wish to settle, on him are binding the same terms as on the people of Jerusalem, the poll-tax; and if he wishes to depart with the Romans or to return to his own people [he may do so].

8. Nothing shall be taken from them (i.e. the people of the treaty) until the harvest is gathered.

9. For what is in this treaty stands the pledge and warranty of God, the warranty of His Prophet, and the warranty of the Caliph, and the warranty of the Faithful, provided that they pay the due amount of the poll-tax.

Witnesses, Khālid ibn Walid, 'Amr ibn al 'Asī, 'Abd ar Raḥmān ibn 'Aūf, and Mu'awīyah ibn Abī Sufān.

Though on the whole I have taken Dr. Lane-Poole's translation, I have thought it better to arrange and number the clauses, and in cl. 1 to 6 I have made verbal changes; but in cl. 7 and 8 I have given what I think is the right translation in correction of Dr. Lane-Poole's rendering, which seems

to miss the sense completely—indeed to make no sense at all. He renders:

'And whoso of the people of the land was in it [Jerusalem] before the fighting, if he wish to settle, on him is binding the like as what [is binding] on the people of Jerusalem, a poll-tax, and if he wishes to depart with the Romans or to return to his own people, nothing shall be taken from them [i.e. in poll-tax] until the harvest is reaped.'

Either the words 'and if he wishes to depart with the Romans or to return to his own people' are redundant and should go out of the text; or after them must be understood words like 'he is free to do so'; or, as I think better, the text must be rendered in the way I have rendered it. In any case a break is required before the words about the collection of the poll-tax, which must be marked off and stand apart, because they obviously apply not to those who depart, *but to all who come under the treaty*. And this provision for collecting the tribute after harvest clearly corresponds to the provision in the Egyptian treaty for the collection after high Nile.

Returning now to the Treaty of Mişr, one may note that the first clause grants security for the persons, property, and religion of the Christians, thus agreeing with the first clause in the Treaty of Jerusalem.

In cl. 2 I read a similar agreement: for just as the Treaty of Jerusalem prohibits the Jews from dwelling in the Holy City, so the Treaty of Mişr prohibits the Nubians from settling in Mişr. But Dr. Lane-Poole will have none of this agreement. He destroys the obvious correspondence by banishing

the Nubians altogether from the treaty, reading the Arabic مِشْر (which means *Nubians*) as مِشْر and giving it the entirely novel meaning of *garrisons*:¹ so that he renders cl. 2, 'The garrisons shall not settle among them.' I shall try to show that this rendering is not only wrong but impossible.

Of course I admit that the analogy between the case of the Jews at Jerusalem and that of the Nubians in Egypt at the date of the respective treaties is not very striking. When the Treaty of Jerusalem was concluded, it was but twenty years since the Christians had suffered the massacre by thousands of their women and children, and the plunder and destruction of their churches, at the hands of the Persians; and they remembered that in all this work the Jews had sided with the Persians and had goaded them on to deeds of ferocity. The Christians, therefore, had good reason to bargain for the expulsion of the Jews from the city. Now it cannot be shown that the people of Mişr had the same reason to bargain for the exclusion of the Nubians from their city; but it can be shown that they had quite sufficient reason to claim protection against the Nubians, and to debar Nubians from settling in the country. Nothing more is required for my argument.

¹ On the mere question of grammar مِشْر may be accented as مِشْر, but there is no authority for its use in the sense of *garrisons* at so early a date, even if it was ever used with that extended meaning. It means literally *times* or *turns*, and so *turns-about*, 'à tour de rôle' and then in later usage something like a change of guard, or finally a guard-post subject to relief at stated times. But Dozy, whom Dr. Lane-Poole cites in support of his rendering, is altogether against it: q. v.

Dr. Lane-Poole refers to Ṭabarī's statement (or rather tradition) that 'when the Arabs reached 'Ain Shams, the rule was between the Copts and the Nubians',¹ and contends that it is unintelligible: whereas if it be rendered 'between the Copts and the garrisons', and if the garrisons are identified with the Romans, then all is lucid.

Now in the first place I see no difficulty whatever in accepting the obvious sense, 'between the Copts and the Nubians.' One has only to remember that politically Nubia at this time was a powerful and populous kingdom under its own rulers and practically independent of the Roman dominion: while geographically it was continuous and continuous with Egypt and formed an essential part of the Nile country, with undefined frontiers, or frontiers defined only at a single frontier post, Syene. Nubia even to-day is called the Egyptian Sudan, and what is more likely than that it was pictured in the mind of the early Arab historians as part of Egypt? Indeed, that Ṭabarī so looked upon Nubia is absolutely proved by his own language in this very account of the conquest of Egypt; for he says later—'When the Muslims had conquered Egypt, they sent an expedition against *Egyptian Nubia*.'² This corresponds to our phrase the Egyptian Sudan. Clearly to Ṭabarī then as to us Nubia formed part of Egypt: and he or his informant might say with perfect accuracy that the rule in Egypt was divided between the Egyptians and the Nubians.³

¹ See Trad. E, p. 12 supra.

² p. 2593. See Trad. G, p. 14 supra.

³ There is abundant evidence to show that in Roman times even

It may be asked, were the relations between Nubia and Egypt proper at this time such as to justify the expression? Upon this point Dr. Lane-Poole makes a most astounding statement. 'We read', he says, 'nothing in history about Nubian influence or Nubian settlements in Egypt at least since the Ethiopian dynasty of thirteen hundred years before.'¹ *Aliquando bonus dormital Homerus*; but of all the extraordinary statements ever made by a scholar and historian surely this is one of the strangest and the farthest from the truth.

In making it Dr. Lane-Poole apparently is thinking of the Meroitic dynasty of about 750 B.C., when Nubia was the centre of a great empire, in which Egypt was a mere province. But then and through a long series of reigns 'the culture and religion of the royal family and of the priests was derived from Egypt'.² The Meroitic era proper began in the third century B.C., when the king Ergamenes threw off the bondage of the Egyptian religion and adopted Hellenic culture, as Diodorus relates. Friendly relations with the Ptolemies generally prevailed, and we read of Blemmyes or Nubians born in Egypt and holding much the same position as Greeks born in Egypt.³ 'One of the last acts of Cleopatra was to send Caesarion and her two

the Thebaid was constantly distinguished from Egypt, and that Egypt was described as divided into three provinces, called Egypt proper, the Thebaid, and Libya. See *Accad. dei Lincei, Rendiconti*, 1903, p. 315, and the classical authorities there quoted.

¹ *P.R.I.A.*, p. 236.

² *Oxford Excavations in Nubia: Catalogue of Exhibition of Antiquities*, pp. 1, 2 (Oxford, Holywell Press, 1911).

³ *Karanög, the Romano-Nubian Cemetery*, by C. Leonard

children by Antony down to the south in the hope that in Aethiopia they would find shelter.'¹

But we are concerned mainly with the Roman empire in Egypt. Has Dr. Lane-Poole never heard of Cornelius Gallus at Philae in 29 B.C.? of Queen Candace's expedition to Elephantine? of Gaius Petronius's victories in Nubia and annexation as far as Primis or Kaşr Ibrim? About A.D. 250 the Blemmyes invaded Egypt and were not driven back till A.D. 261 by Julius Aemilianus. They soon returned, and actually occupied Coptos and Ptolemais in the Thebaid by a settlement which lasted till their expulsion by Probus in A.D. 276. A few years later Diocletian had the sense to abandon the country south of Syene, and at the same time he transferred the troublesome Nobatae and Nubae from the oasis of Khargah to Nubia, and agreed to pay tribute to both the Blemmyes and the Nobatae. Peace was thus secured for a long time; but in the days of Constantine raids as far north as Sabenna are mentioned. In the fourth century the edict of Theodosius united Nobatae and Blemmyes against the Shenouti and the Coptic Christians of Upper Egypt; and from this time onwards they are constantly found raiding Upper Egypt and the Thebaid² and harrying the Christians; while in the middle of the fifth century 'the Blemmyes were now more than raiders; they were definitely settled in the Thebaid and assumed Woolley and D. Randall-MacIver, text, p. 88 (University Museum, Philadelphia, 1910), and references to the Rylands Papyri there quoted.

¹ *Karanög*, p. 85.

² See *Egyptian Exploration Fund Report*, 1903-4: *Christian Egypt*, p. 81. The MS. of Shenouti in the Cairo Museum (8006 in Crum's Catalogue) shows that these invasions were frequent.

فدنا عبيدة بن الصامت بعقد له ففتح الله على يديه الاسكندرية في يومه ذلك ٥
 ثم رجع الى حديث يحيى بن أيوب وخالد بن حميد قال حاضروا الاسكندرية
 تسعة اشهر بعد موت هرقل وخمسة قبل ذلك وفجئت يوم الجمعة لمستهزئ الحرم سنة
 عشرين ٥ حدثنا (81b) ابو الاسود النضري بن عبد الجبار حدثنا ابن لهيعة عن
 ٥ بكر بن عبد الله عن بشر بن سعيد عن جندب بن أبي أمية قال دخل عبيدة
 ابن الصامت يوم الاسكندرية وكان على قتالها فلما القار العدو على طائفة من الناس ولم
 يذنب لهم بقتالهم فسمعوا فيعتري أجور بينهم فانيهم فاجتورت بينهم ثم رجعت
 اليه فقال أقتل احد من * الناس هتلك قلت لا قل لحمد الله الذي لم يقتل
 احد منهم طيبا ٥ قل وحدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة عن ملك بن أنس أن مصر
 10 فحكت سنة عشرين ٥ قل فلما هزم الله نيرك وتعالى الروم وفتح الاسكندرية كما
 حدثنا عبد الله بن صالح عن الليث وهرب الروم في البصرة والبحر خلف عمرو بن
 العاص بالاسكندرية الف رجل من اصحابه ومضى عمرو ومن معه في طلب من هرب
 من الروم في البحر فجمع من كان هرب * من الروم في البحر الى الاسكندرية فقتلوا من
 كان فيها من المسلمين الا من هرب منهم وبلغ ذلك عمرو بن العاص فكر راجعا
 15 فاجلها واقام بها وكتب الى عمر بن الخطاب ان الله قد فتح علينا الاسكندرية عنوة
 بغير عقد ولا عهد فكتب اليه عمر بن الخطاب يفتح رأيه وياهم ان لا يجاوزها
 قل ابن لهيعة وهو فتح الاسكندرية التالى وكان سبب فتحها هذا كما حدثنا
 ابراهيم بن سعيد التالى ان رجلا يقال له ابن بسملة كان يواي فسأل عمرو بن
 العاص ان يؤمنه على نفسه وارضه واهل بيته ويفتح له الباب فلججه عمرو الى ذلك
 20 ففتح له ابن بسملة الباب فدخل عمرو وكان مدخله هذا من ناحية القنطرة
 التي يقال لها قنطرة سليمان وكان مدخل عمرو بن العاص الاول من باب المدينة
 الذي من ناحية كنيسة الذهب وقد بقي لابن بسملة عقيب * بالاسكندرية الى
 اليوم ١٥ حدثنا هاشم بن المتوكل حدثنا صمام بن اسمعيل المعافري قال قتل من

1) BCD يده. 2) Mas. نصر. 3) C om. 4) BC om. 5) BC
 6) B الجراير. 7) O البلول. 8) B بسملة, also below.
 9) BC om. 10) D om.

المسلمين من حين كان من امر الاسكندرية ما كان الى ان قُتحت اثنتان وعشرون رجلاً ٥

وبعث عمرو بن العاص كما حدثنا عثمان بن صالح عن ابن ابي عمير بن
 حديد ١ وانما الى عمر بن الخطاب بشيراً ٢ بالفتح فقال له معاوية ألا تكتب معي ٣
 فقال له عمر ما اطلع بالكتاب ألتى رجلاً عربياً ٤ تبلغ الرسالة وما رأيت وحضرت ٥
 لنا تميم على عمر اخبره بفتح الاسكندرية فخر عمر ساجداً وقال الحمد لله ٦ وحدثنا
 عبد الله بن يزيد النقي ٧ حدثنا موسى بن علي عن ابيه انه سمعه يقول سمعت
 معاوية بن حديج ٨ يقول بعثي عمرو بن العاص الى عمر بن الخطاب بفتح الاسكندرية
 فدخلت المدينة في الظهيرة ٩ فأخبت ١٠ راحلي بباب المسجد فر دخلت المسجد فبينما
 انا قاعد فليد ان خرجت جارية من منزل عمر بن الخطاب فأتني شاحباً علي ١١ ثياب ١٢
 السفر فأتني فقلت من انت قل فقلت انا معاوية بن حديج ١٣ رسول عمرو بن العاص
 فلصرفت عني فر اقبلت تشتد ١٤ سمع ١٥ خفيف لزارها على ساقها او على ساقها حتى
 دنت مني فقلت قم (82a) فأجبت امير المؤمنين بدعوى فتبعها ١٦ فلما دخلت فلما
 يعمر بن الخطاب يتناول رداءه ١٧ باحدى يديه ويشد ازاره بالآخرى فقال ما عندك
 فقلت خير يا امير المؤمنين ففتح الله الاسكندرية فخرج معي الى المسجد فقال للمؤمنين ١٨
 ان في الناس الصلاة جامعة فاجتمع الناس فر قل لي قم فأخبرني اهلكك فقلت
 يا عمر بن الخطاب فدخل منزله واستقبل القبلة فطأ بدعوات فر جلس فقال يا جارية
 هل من طعام فأتني ١٩ خبز وزيت فقال كل فأكلت على خبائه فر قل كل فان
 انصافاً فأتني الطعام فلو كنت آكلت لأكلت معك فأصبت على خبائه فر قل يا
 جارية هل من تمر فأتني بتمر في طبق فقال كل فأكلت على خبائه فر قل ما ذا ٢٠
 فأتني يا معاوية حين أتيت المسجد قل فقلت ٢١ امير المؤمنين قاتل قل بئس ما قلت
 او بئس ما طمنت لئن تمت النهار لأضيقن الرعية ولئن تمت الليل لأضيقن نفسي
 فكيف بالنوم مع هذين يا معاوية ٢٢

١) حديج B. ٢) D + له. ٣) D + كتبا. ٤) O عربياً. ٥) O
 دلت. ٦) O فأتني. ٧) B فأتني. ٨) O سمع. ٩) O عن. ١٠) B + ان.
 ١١) B + ان.

ثم كتب عمرو بن العاص بعد ذلك كما حدثنا ابراهيم بن سعيد البلوي¹ الى عمرو بن الخطاب اما بعد قال فاحت مدينة لا اصف ما فيها غير ان اصبحت فيها اربعة آلاف مئة اربعة آلاف خيل واربعين الف يهون عليهم الجزية واربعة مائة لليلة² قال حدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة حدثنا ضمام بن اميريل عن ابي قبيل ان عمرو بن العاص لما فتح الاسكندرية وجد فيها الف الف يهون عليهم الجزية واربعة مائة لليلة³ قال حدثنا يحيى بن عبد الله بن بكير حدثنا ابن مقلان⁴ عن يحيى بن عبد الله بن خالد قال اراه عن حنيفة بن شريح ان عمرو بن العاص لما فتح الاسكندرية وجد فيها الف الف يهون عليهم الجزية واربعة مائة لليلة⁵ قال حدثنا محمد بن سعيد الهامسي قال ترجم⁶ بن الاسكندرية في الليلة التي دخلها عمرو بن العاص او في الليلة التي خلتها فيها دخول عمرو سبعون الف يهون عليهم⁷ حدثنا هاني ابن المتوكل عن موسى بن ايوب ورشدين⁸ بن سعد عن الحسن⁹ بن قزبان عن حسين بن شقيق بن عبيد قال كان بالاسكندرية فيها اخصى من الخنايا اثنا عشر¹⁰ دبلنا اصغر دبلنا منها يسع الف مجلس كل مجلس منها يسع جماعة نفر وكان عده من بالاسكندرية من الروم مائة الف من الرجال فالحق بارض الروم اهل القوة وركبوا السفن وكان بها مائة مركب من المراكب الكبار فحمل فيها ثلثون الفا مع¹¹ ما قدروا عليه من المال والمتاع والاهل وبقي من بقي من الاسارى ممن بلغ للخراج فاحصى¹² يومئذ ستمائة الف سبع النساء والصبيان فاختلف الناس على عمرو في قسمهم وكان اكثر الناس يريدون قسمها (326) فقال عمرو لا أقدر على قسمها حتى اكتب الى امير المؤمنين¹³ فكتب اليه¹⁴ يعلمه بهاها وشأنها ويعلمه ان المسلمين طلبوا قسمها فكتب اليه عمر لا تقسمها وتزعم يكون خراجهم طبقا للمسلمين وثمة لهم¹⁵ على جهاد عدوهم فأقرها عمرو واحصى اهلها وفرض عليهم الخراج فكانت مصر ضلخا كلها بفرصة دينارين دينارين على كل رجل لا يراى على احد منهم في جزية رأسه

1) البلوي C. 2) B + الف. 3) D om. foll. tradition. 4) BO مقلان. 5) Mas. om. 6) B + الف. 7) C الحسن. 8) B + الف. 9) Mas. om. 10) D احصوا. The following also in Maqr. I 295, Yaq. III 897, cf. Baladh. 114, 115. 11) B + كتابا. 12) B om.

البحر من ديارين إلا أنه يلزم بقدر ما يتوسع فيه من الأرض والزروع إلا أن الاسكندرية
 باقية كذا يؤيدون الحجاج واليزيد على قدر ما يرى من وثيق لأن الاسكندرية فتحت
 عليه بغير عهد ولا عقد ولم يكن لهم صلح ولا ذمة وقد كانت قري من قري
 مصر لما حدثنا عبد الله بن صالح عن الليث بن سعد عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب
 قال سمعت منها قريه يقال لها بلهيب^١ وقريه يقال لها الخيس^٢ وقريه يقال لها
 سلطيس^٣ توضع سبلهم بالدينه وغيرها فقدم عمر بن الخطاب إلى قراهم وصبرهم^٤ وجماعه
 القبط أهل ذمة^٥ حدثنا عثمان بن صالح أخبرنا ابن لهيعة عن يزيد بن أبي
 حبيب أن^٦ عمر بن أبي لهيب^٧ وسلطيس وقريه وسخا فتفرقوا وبلغ أولهم
 الدينه حين^٨ نقصوا ثم كتب عمر بن الخطاب إلى عمرو بن عبد الله بن جند منهم^٩
 حدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة عن ابن لهيعة عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب أن عمر بن
 الخطاب كتب^{١٠} في أهل سلطيس خاتمة: من كان منهم في أيديكم فخيروه بين الاسلام
 فإن أسلم فهو من المسلمين له ما لم وعليه ما عليهم وإن اختار دينه فدخلوا بينه
 وبين قريته فكان التلبيط^{١١} خير^{١٢} يومئذ لاختار الاسلام^{١٣} ثم رجع إلى حديث
 عثمان عن يحيى بن أيوب أن أهل سلطيس ومصيل وبلهيب^{١٤} طاهروا الروم على
 المسلمين في جمع كان لهم فلما ظهر عليهم المسلمون أسلموا وظلوا هؤلاء لنا قري^{١٥} مع
 الاسكندرية فكتب عمرو بن العاص بذلك إلى عمر بن الخطاب فكتب إليه عمر بن
 الخطاب أن نخضع الاسكندرية وهؤلاء^{١٦} الثلاث قريه ذمة للمسلمين ويصبرون^{١٧}
 عليهم الحجاج ويكون خراجهم وما صالح عليه القبط قوة للمسلمين على عدوهم ولا
 يجمعون^{١٨} قنما ولا عبيد ففعلوا ذلك^{١٩} ويقال^{٢٠} إنما ردهم عمر بن الخطاب لعهد
 من تقدم لهم^{٢١} حدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة حدثنا ابن لهيعة وابن وهب عن
 عمرو بن الحارث عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب عن عوف بن حطان أنه كان لقريه من

1) B + أهل. 2) BO بلهيب. Cf. Baladh. Rof. 3) A regularly points
 4) A سلطيس, D + وسخا (see below). 5) O الخيس (Yaq. II 507). 6) D om. foll. tradition. 7) B om. to below.
 8) C بلهيب. 9) C حي. 10) C كبس, and om. في. 11) BO التلبيط.
 12) BO om. 13) C ومصيل. 14) C بهؤلاء. 15) B يصبرون. 16) D
 17) D om. to end of chapter.

مصر منهم أم تكتين * وبلهيب عهد¹ وأن عمر لما سمع بذلك كتب إلى عمرو بن العاص يأمره أن يجبرهم فإن دخلوا في الاسلام فذاك وإن كرهوا فأرددهم إلى قراهم² قل * وكان من (83a) انباء السلطانيات * عمران بن عبد الرحمن * بن جعفر بن ربيعة * وأم عياض بن عقبة وأبو عبيدة * بن عقبة وأم عون بن خارجة القرشي ثم العديلي وأم عبد الرحمن بن معاوية بن حديج³ وموالي اشراف بعد ذلك وقعوا عند مردان بن الحكم منهم كان وعنه أبو عياض وعبد الرحمن البلهبي⁴

ذكر من قال أن مصر فتحت بصلح

قل * ثم رجع إلى حديث موسى بن أيوب ورشدين بن سعد عن الحسن بن قنوان عن حسين بن شفي أن عمرًا لما فتح الاسكندرية بقي من الاسارى بها ممن بلغ الخراج وأحصى يومئذ ستمائة الف سوى النساء والصبيان، فاختلف الناس على عمرو في قسمهم فكان أكثر المسلمين يريدون قسمها فقال عمرو لا اقتدر على قسمها حتى أكتب إلى أمير المؤمنين فكتب إليه يعلمه بفتحها وشأنها وأن المسلمين طلبوا قسمها فكتب إليه عمر لا تقسمها وذرفم يكون خراجهم فيما للمسلمين وقوة لهم على جهاد عدوهم نظرها عمرو وأحصى أهلها وفرض عليهم الخراج فكانت مصر كلها صلحًا تقريبه دينارين دينارين على كل رجل⁵ لا يراى على أحد منهم في جزيرة رأسه أكثر من دينارين إلا أنه يلزم بقدر ما يمتنع فيه من الارض والزرع إلا الاسكندرية فذهبوا لكونهم يرون الخراج والجزية على قدر ما يرى من ولهم لأن الاسكندرية فتحت عنوة بغير عهد ولا عقد ولا يكن لهم صلح ولا قوة⁶ حدثنا عثمان بن أخيها الليث قل كان يريد بن أبي حبيب يقول مصر كلها صلح إلا الاسكندرية لأنها فتحت عنوة⁷

1) B + عهد, and om. عهد below. 2) O عهد وبلهيب (see 86, 19). Cf. Huen 80, 12, Maqr. 294, 4 a. f. 3) The following in Yaq. III 117. 4) BC السلطانيات. O inserts here قل, in red ink. 5) BC om. 6) Marginal note in 'A: واسم مرة بن عقبة قاله ابن يونس. There is also here a long note on عقبة and عياض بن عقبة, on the authority of سعيد بن عقبة. 7) B حديج. 8) B البلهبي. 9) D om. the four following traditions. This chapter in Maqr. I 294 f., Huen I 60 f. 10) C + منهم.

حدثنا عن ابن صالح عن بكر بن مضر عن عبيد الله بن أبي جعفر قال حدثني رجل من بني النضر عمرو بن العاص قال التقى عبيد عند فلان * وعبيد عند فلان * فسمي * ثلاثة نوره حدثنا عبد الله بن صالح حدثنا يحيى بن أيوب عن عبيد الله بن أبي جعفر عن شيخ من كبراء الجند أن عهد أهل مصر كان عهد كبرائهم * حدثنا هشام بن إسحق العامري عن الليث بن سعد عن عبيد الله بن أبي جعفر * قال * سألت رجلاً من القدامى عن فتح مصر فقال هاجرتنا إلى المدينة أيام عمر بن الخطاب وأنا محتل فشهدت فتح مصر. قلت له فإن لنا يذكرون أنه لم يكن لهم عهد فقال ما يقال ألا يصلي من قال أنه ليس لهم عهد فقلت فهل كان لهم كتاب فقال نعم كتب * ثلاثة كتاب * عند طلباء صاحب إختا * وكتاب عند قرمان * (88b) صاحب رشيد وكتاب عند يحنس * صاحب البرنس. قلت كيف كان منافعهم 10 قال دينارين على كل إنسان. حربة وأرض المسكين قلت فتعلم ما كان من الشروط قال نعم ستة شروط لا يخرجون من ديارهم ولا تنزع * نساوم ولا كفورهم 10 ولا أرضهم ولا يواد عليهم * وحدثنا يحيى بن عبد الله بن بكر حدثنا ابن لهيعة عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب أنه حدثني عن أبي جعدة مولى عقبة قال كتب عقبة بن عامر إلى معاوية بن أبي سفيان يسأله أرضاً يسرق فيها 11 عند قرية عقبة 12 فكتب له 13 معاوية بلف ذراع في ألف ذراع فقال له مولى له كان * عنده أنظر اصلحك الله 14 أرضاً ضالحة فقال عقبة ليس لنا ذلك إن في عهدهم شروطاً ستة ألا يؤخذ من أنفسهم شيء ولا من نساوتهم ولا من أولادهم ولا يواد عليهم وينزع 14 عنهم موضع 15 الخوف من

1) Repeated a third time in A. 2) O كسبها (sic). 3) The following trad. in Mahab. I 20, Yaq. III 897, 10 ff. 4) O فلانه. 5) The vowel in A. Cf. Yaq. I 166, 15. The same name above, p. 19, 14, and mention of the same man below, fol. 69a. 6) A أجنأ; see the words of Yaq. *ibid.* 10 f. وحدثنا. 7) Fully pointed in A; of. Hüb. 359, 578. O قرمان, B قرمان. 8) The *tasdid* in A. The same name above, p. 78. 9) O تنزع. 10) Yaq. *loc. cit.* كفورهم. 11) BO بها. D om. three following words. 12) O على (sic). 13) C عند ما نظر أهله. 14) D وندفع. 15) D مواضع.

حدثنا ابن أبي عمير عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب عن يحيى بن ميمون الحضرمي قال لما
 دخل عمرو بن العاص مصر صولج على جميع من فيها من الرجال من القبط * معن
 رافع * الأحكم إلى ما فوق ذلك ليس فيهم * امرأة ولا صبي ولا شيخ على دينارين
 دينارين فأحصوا لذلك فبلغت عدتهم ثمانية آلاف الف *
 حدثنا عثمان بن صالح حدثنا ابن وهب قال سمعت حنيفة بن شريح قال سمعت *
 الحسن بن محبوب الهمداني يقول حدثني هشام بن أبي ربيعة اللخمي أن عمرو بن
 العاص لما فتح مصر كل القبط مصر أن من كتبني كثرا عنده فذكرت عليه فخلته
 وأن تبتليها من أهل الصعيد يقال له بطرس ذكر لعمره أن عنده كنزا فإرسل إليه
 بحاله فذكر وجعلت تحبسه في الساجن وعمرو يسأل عنه هل يسمعونه * يسأل عن
 أحد * فقالوا لا إنما سمعناه يسأل عن رافع في الطور فإرسل عمرو إلى بطرس فخرج¹⁰
 حاشاه * من يده * ثم كتب إلى ذلك الراهب أن أبعث إلي بما عندك وختمه خاتمه
 حاشاه رسوله بقله شاميده محتومة بالرمضان ففتحها عمرو فوجد فيها صحيفة مكتوب فيها
 ما لم تحت الفسقية الكنية فإرسل عمرو إلى الفسقية تحبس عنها الماء ثم قطع البلاط
 الذي تحتها فوجد فيها اثنين وخمسين إزدنيا ذهبيا مصروبة فصرع عمرو رأسه عند
 باب المسجد وذكر ابن أبي ربيعة أن القبط أخرجوا كنوزهم شققا أن يبقوا على¹⁵
 * أحد منهم * فيقتل كما قتل بطرس * حدثنا عثمان بن صالح حدثنا ابن أبي عمير
 عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب أن عمرو بن العاص استحل ما قبطني من قبط مصر لأنه
 استقر عنده أنه يظهر الروم على عورات المسلمين ويكتب إليهم بذلك فاستخرج منه
 صبعة وخمسين إزدنيا ذهبيا *
 قال ثم رجع إلى حديث يحيى بن أيوب وخلد بن حنيد قال ففتح الله أرض²⁰
 مصر كلها بصلح غير الاسكندرية وثلاث قربات طاهرت الروم على المسلمين سلطيس
 وقبيل ونهلب * فله كان للروم جمع فظاهر الروم على المسلمين * فلما طهر عليها
 المسلمين استأخروها * وكثروا هؤلاء لنا في مع الاسكندرية * فكتب عمرو بن العاص
 بذلك إلى عمر بن الخطاب فكتب إليه عمر أن تجعل الاسكندرية وهؤلاء الثلاث قربات

1) Yaq. III 897f. 2) ورافع C. 3) فيها B. 4) Huan I 597.
 5) D. يذكر أحدنا. 6) A. om. 7) B. + لي. 8) B. أحدنا. 9) D. om.

نعمه للمسلمين ويضربون¹ عليه الخراج ويكون خراجهم وما صلح² عليه القبط كله³
قوة للمسلمين لا يجعلون⁴ قيسا ولا عبيدا ففعلوا ذلك الى اليوم⁵

ذكر من قال فتحت مصر عنوة⁶

وقال آخرون بل فتحت مصر (846) عنوة بلا عهد ولا عقد⁷ حدثنا عبد الملك
ابن مسلمة وعثمان بن صالح كلا حدثنا ابن لهيعة⁸ عن يزيد بن ابي حبيب عن
من سمع عبيد⁹ الله بن المغيرة¹⁰ بن ابي ثور¹¹ يقول سمعت سفين بن وهب الخولاني
يقول انا لما فتحتنا مصر بغير عهد¹² قام الزبير بن العوام فقال اقسّمها يا عمرو بن
العامر فقال عمرو والله لا اقسّمها قل الزبير والله لتقسّمها كما قسم رسول الله صلعم¹³
خبير قال عمرو والله لا اقسّمها حتى اكتب الى امير المؤمنين فكتب اليه عمر اقرعنا
10 حتى * يغزو منها¹⁴ حبيل الحبل¹⁵ قال ابن لهيعة وحدثني يحيى بن ميمون عن
عبيد¹⁶ الله بن المغيرة¹⁷ عن سفين * بن وهب¹⁸ بهذا الا انه قال فقال عمرو له
اكن لأحدث فيهم شيئا حتى اكتب الى عمر بن الخطاب * فكتب اليه¹⁹ فكتب
اليه بهذا²⁰ قال عبد الملك في حديثه وان الزبير صولج على شيء ارضى به²¹
حدثنا²² عبد الملك بن مسلمة وعثمان بن صالح كلا حدثنا ابن لهيعة عن عبيد
16 الله بن خبيرة²³ ان مصر فتحت عنوة²⁴ حدثنا عبد الملك²⁵ حدثنا ابن وهب عن
عبد الرحمن بن زباد بن ابي انعم قال سمعت اشيخنا يقولون ان مصر فتحت عنوة
بغير عهد ولا عقد²⁶ قال ابن انعم من اني جئنا عن ابيه وكان * مقن شهد فبح²⁷
مصر²⁸ حدثنا عثمان بن صالح حدثنا ابن وهب عن ابن انعم قال سمعت اشيخنا

1) يجعلون B. 2) صالحو C. 3) كله B. 4) يضربون C. 5) ويضربون B. 6) عبيد C. 7) وهب C. 8) Huen I 60f., Maqr. I 295; cf. Beladh. IV ff. 9) عبد الله C. 10) Wrongly given as الله in Tah., Hazr., and الشيباني in Mahus. I 20. 11) Huen I 60, bottom. 12) D om. 13) ولا عقد + D. 14) Cf. the passages mentioned above, and also Mahus. I 27. 15) A om. 16) O om. 17) D om. 18) A om. 19) D om. 20) This trad. in Beladh. IV., top. 21) بن مسلمة + B. 22) شهد. This trad. in Beladh. IV., top. 23) من قري C. 24) A om. 25) بن مسلمة + B.

يقولون فاحت مصر عنوة بغير عهد ولا عقد حدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة
حدثنا ابن لهيعة عن ابي الاسود عن عروة ان مصر فاحت عنوة حدثنا عبد
الملك بن مسلمة حدثنا ابن لهيعة عن ابي قتبان¹ اتوب بن ابي العائبة عن ابيه
واخبرنا عبد الملك * بن مسلمة * عن ابن وهب عن داود بن عبد الله الحضرمي
ان ابا قتبان حدثه عن ابيه انه سمع عمرو بن العاص يقول لقد فعدت مقعدى
هذا وما لأحد من قبط مصر على عهد ولا عقد إلا اهل أنطابلس فان لم عهدا
يؤتى لهم به. قال ابن لهيعة في حديثه ان شئت فقل² وان شئت فقل³ وان
شئت فقل⁴ حدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة حدثنا ابن وهب عن عياض بن
عبد الله الفهري عن ربيعة بن ابي عبد الرحمن ان عمرو بن العاص فتح مصر بغير
عقد ولا عهد وان عمر بن الخطاب حبس * ذرها وصرفها⁵ أن يخرج منه شيء نظرا⁶
للاسلام واهله حدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة حدثنا ابن وهب عن عبد الرحمن
ابن شريح عن يعقوب بن * مجاهد عن زيد بن أسلم قال كان يلوث لعمري بين
الخطاب فيه كل عهد كان بينه وبين أحد ممن عهده⁷ فلم يوجد فيه لاهل مصر
عهد قال عبد الرحمن بن شريح فلا أدري أكن زيد حدث أم شيء قلده. فمن أسلم
منهم فأنه من أقم منهم فذلهم حدثنا ابو الاسود النخعي⁸ بن عبد الجبار وعبد
الملك بن مسلمة فلا حدثنا ابن لهيعة عن عبد الملك بن جندب كاتب حبان بن
شريح⁹ من اهل مصر بن مولى قريش قل كتب حبان الى عمر بن عبد العزيز
يسأله (85a) أن يجعل جزية موتى القبط على أحيائهم فسأل عمر عراك بن مالك
فيقال عراك ما سمعت لهم بعهد ولا عقد وإنما أخذوا عنوة بمنزلة العبيد فكتب عمر
الى حبان * بن شريح¹⁰ أن يجعل جزية موتى القبط على أحيائهم قل وسمعت¹¹

1) O قتبان (cor. to قتيان); so also below. 2) B om. 3) O + على.

4) C فعلت. 5) Boladh. IV, Yaq. III 898. 6) D om. seven following

traditions. 7) So B, Huen, and Yaq. III 898. A ذرها وصرفها (i. e. ذرها).

as in Maqr. O ذرها وحرفها (cor. from orig. ذرها). See Glossary. 8) O منها.

9) Here begins a long passage omitted in C. 10) BC عهد. 11) Mss. نصر.

12) Thus A; unpointed in B. Huen, Maqr., and Boladh. IV, 27 have شريح. See Mu'talif vi. 13) A om.

يحيى بن عبد الله بن بكير يقول خرج أبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن يريد الإسكندرية
في سفينة فاحتاج إلى رجل يقدف به فاستأجر رجلا من القبط فكلّم في ذلك فقال
لما هم بمنزلة العبيد إن احتاجنا إليهم ٥ حدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة عن ابن
لهيعة عن الفيلسوف بن أبي عاصم أنه قرأ كتاب عمر بن عبد العزيز إلى حبان بن
"سريح" أن مصر فاحت عترة بغير عهد ولا عقد ٥ حدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة
حدثنا ابن وهب عن عبد الرحمن بن سريح عن عبد الله بن أبي جعفر أن
كتب حبان حديثا أنه احتجج ٥ إلى خشب لصناعة الخزيرة فكتب حبان إلى عمر
يدكر ذلك له وأنه وجد خشبا عند بعض أهل الدمة وأنه كره أن يأخذ منهم حتى
يعلمه فكتب إليه عمر خذها منهم بغيره فخذل فلي لا يأخذ لأهل مصر عهدا ٥ في لهم
10 ٥ حدثنا عبد الرحمن قال حدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة قال حدثنا ابن لهيعة
عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب قال كتب عمر بن عبد العزيز إلى حبان بن سريح أن
مصر فاحت عترة بغير عهد ولا عقد ٥ حدثنا عبد الله بن صالح حدثنا يحيى
ابن أنس عن عبد الرحمن بن كعب بن أبي لمية أن عمر بن عبد العزيز قال لسلار
"من عبد الله" أنت تقول ليس لأهل مصر عهد قل نعم ٥ حدثنا أسد بن موسى
15 حدثنا ابن لهيعة عن عمرو بن شعيب عن أبيه عن جده أن عمرو بن العاص
كتب إلى عمر بن الخطاب في رقيعان يترقبون بمصر فيبوت أحدهم وليس له وارث
فكتب إليه عمر أن من كان منهم له عقب فادفع ميراثه إلى عقبه ومن ٥ لم يكن
له عقب فاجعل له في بيت من المسلمين فإن ولاه للمسلمين ٥ حدثنا يحيى بن
خلاد عن رشدين ٥ بن سعد عن عقيل بن خالد عن ابن شهاب أنه قال كان
40 فتح مصر بعضها بعهد ودمعة وبعضها عترة فجعلها عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه
جميعا نعمة وتعلم على ذلك فيصلي ذلك فيم إلى اليوم ٥

- 1) A تتسحر. 2) B شرح. 3) End of the long omitted passage
in C. 4) B عبد. 5) C احتاج. 6) The following tradition
only in B. 7) Ma. شرح. 8) D resumes here. 9) A om.
10) A وان. 11) B ارشد, as in Huen. 12) C + والله اعلم.

ذكر الخطط¹

قال حدثنا عثمان بن صالح حدثنا ابن لهيعة عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب أن عمرو بن العاص لما فتح الاسكندرية ورأى بيوتها وبنائها مفروغا منها ثم أن يسكنها بجان مساكن قد كفيهاها² فكتب إلى عمرو بن الخطاب يستأذنه في ذلك فسلك عمرو الرسول فل يحول بيوت بين المسلمين منه قال نعم يا عمر المؤمنين إلى جري النيل³ فكتب عمرو إلى عمرو بن العاص لا أحب أن تنزل المسلمين منزلا يحول الماء بيني وبينهم في شتاء ولا صيف. فاحول عمرو بن العاص من الاسكندرية إلى القسطنطينية⁴ حدثنا عبد الله بن صالح حدثنا الليث بن سعد عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب * وحدثنا عثمان بن صالح حدثنا ابن وهب * عن الليث عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب أن عمرو بن الخطاب كتب إلى سعد بن أبي وقاص وهو نازل بمداين كسرى وإلى عامله بالبصرة وإلى عمرو بن العاص وهو نازل بالاسكندرية أن لا تجعلوا بيني وبينكم ماء متى أردت أن أركب اليكم راحتي حتى أقدم عليكم قدمت. فاحول سعد بن أبي وقاص من مداين كسرى إلى الكوفة وحول صاحب البصرة من المكان الذي كان فيه فنزل بالبصرة⁵ وحول عمرو بن العاص من الاسكندرية إلى القسطنطينية⁶ قال وإنما سببت القسطنطينية كما حدثنا أبي عبد الله بن عبد الحكم وسعيد بن جعفر أن عمرو بن العاص لما أراد التوجه إلى الاسكندرية لقتال من بها من الروم أمر بنوع قسطنطينية⁷ فذا فيه يعلم قد فرج⁸ فقال عمرو بن العاص لقد تحرم مني ما تحرم فامر به فأمر كما هو وأوصى به صاحبة القصر فلما فعل المسلمون من الاسكندرية فقاتلوا أين نزلوا القسطنطينية لقسطنطينية عمرو الذي كان خلفه وكان مضروباً في موضع الدار التي تعرف اليوم بدار الحصى⁹ عند دار عمرو الصغير¹⁰ اليوم في عمرو بن العاص المسجد كما حدثنا عبد الملك بن مسلمة عن الليث بن

1) Here begins, in all the Mss., the third main division (جزء) of the History. The following Hsbn I 62, Maqr. I 296. 2) The usual introductory formulae prefixed in A, B and C (see Introduction). 3) O كفيهاها. 4) AC حدثنا. 5) B cancels this passage, and om. following *tenad*. 6) A + ما. 7) BGD هو وأوصى به صاحبة القصر فلما فعل المسلمون من الاسكندرية فقاتلوا أين نزلوا القسطنطينية لقسطنطينية عمرو الذي كان خلفه وكان مضروباً في موضع الدار التي تعرف اليوم بدار الحصى. 8) D الفرخ. BC + فيه. Of. Yaq. III 896, 4 ff. 9) O لخطا. 10) بالبصرة.

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CHAPTER V, "BABYLON"

CAIRO

by James Aldridge



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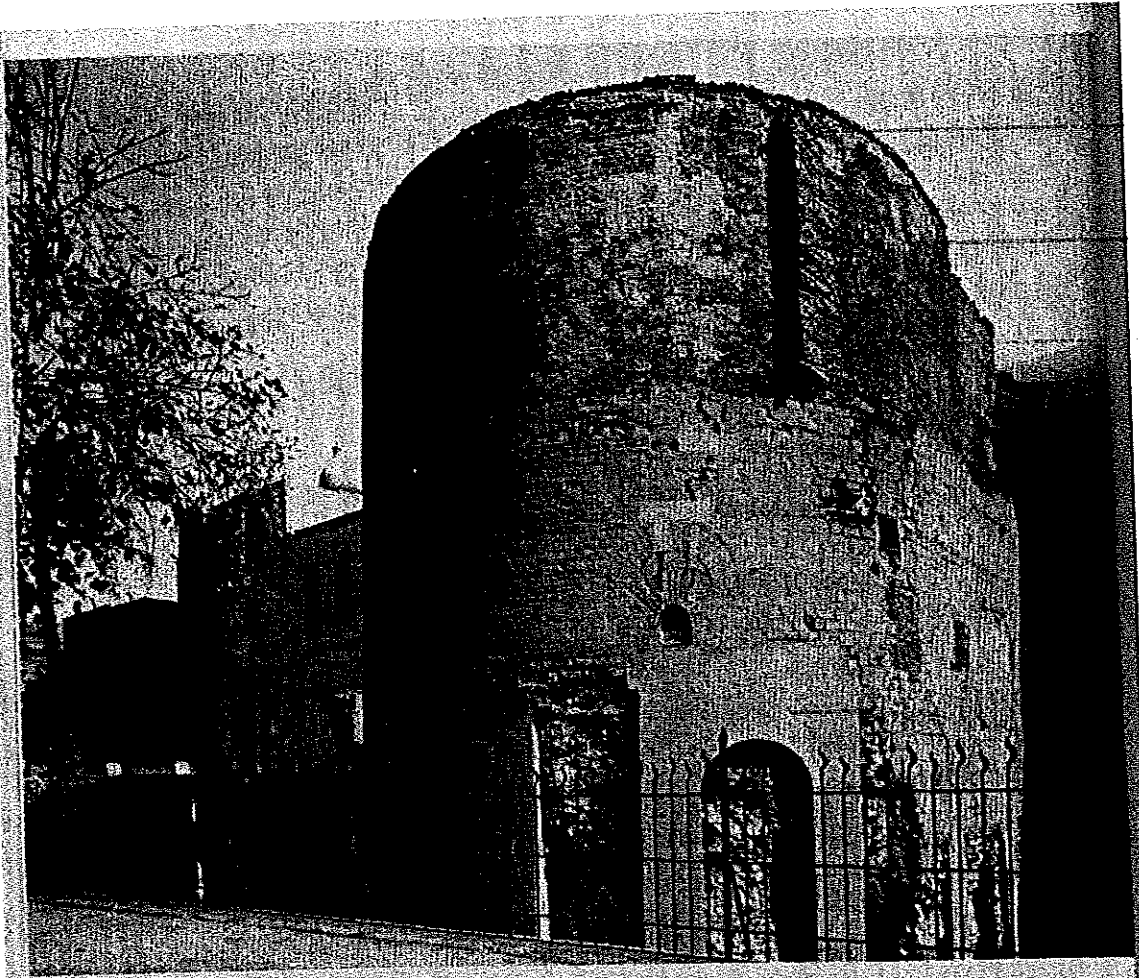
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Babylon

UP till a few years ago you could still take a tram from the middle of Cairo and ride it almost all the way out to the Roman fortress that founded the city. Nobody in Cairo except the very interested has ever known much about the old fort, and many educated Cairenes have never even heard of it. Christian Egyptians know it far better than Moslems because their most ancient Coptic churches are built into its walls. What all Egyptians now call this curious little corner of their city is simply Masr el Atika, Old Cairo, which is exactly what it is — the oldest part of Cairo, and it was here that Rome lost Egypt to the Arab conquerors, and here too that Egypt's unique form of Christianity somehow survived the persecutions of Rome and Byzantium.

The first fort was built in the sixth century B.C. by the Persians on a rocky ledge above the river, and you can still see where it was, high on the cliffs above Old Cairo. The Romans used the Persian fort for a while, but they soon found that it was far too vulnerable up there on the cliff. All the water for the fort had to be raised by a complicated and exposed system of screws and buckets, and a hundred and fifty men were permanently employed at it, so they abandoned the cliffs and came down to the river's edge. The Roman Emperor Trajan built the present fort, which is no longer attached to the river because in the last six hundred years the Nile has changed its course and left it high and dry.

The Romans obviously chose the river site for its military advantages, but there was already an old Pharaonic settlement thriving in the same place, probably as a Nile port for the grain and tropical goods which arrived from Upper Egypt. This older riverside settle-



One of the towers of the gateway to the Roman fortress of Babylon in Old Cairo. It adjoins the Coptic church of al Mu'allaka.

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ment was called Babylon, a name it kept until the Arab invasion, and Cairo was still called Babylon by Europeans for a long time even after that. Why the older settlement was called Babylon has always been in dispute. Almost certainly it is a corruption of the ancient Egyptian *per-hapi-n-On* which means the House of the Nile of On, the Egyptian name for the nearby island of Roda. But Diodorus the Sicilian says that some prisoners whom Sesostris had brought back from Babylon in Mesopotamia revolted when they had to work too hard. In Egypt they were probably quarrying stone at Tura, nearby, and the revolt was so successful that the Pharaoh gave them the present site as a free colony, which thereafter they called after their own city — Babylon.

Rome had complicated needs of Babylon. Trajan dug out the old Pharaonic canal, dating from about 2000 B.C., which linked the Red Sea to the Nile, and he brought it out on the Nile near the fort. Trajan thus opened up a maritime link between the Mediterranean and Arabia, between Rome and India, and Babylon became a big port. In this sense the Amnis Trajanas, as it came to be called, was the first Suez Canal, because ships coming up the Red Sea from Aden, Arabia, India and Africa could turn into the canal at Kulzum (now Suez) and sail across the desert to Babylon on the Nile and then continue the journey downstream to Alexandria, into the Mediterranean and across to Rome.

What used to be so pleasant about riding down to Babylon in Tram No. 1 was that the tramline had been laid over the filled-in bed of the Amnis Trajanas, which was still full of dirty water as late as 1899. Now you can only ride down Shari' el Khalig (Canal Street) by bus or taxi, but it isn't quite the same thing because Cairo trams are built like galley ships and they dip and fall and roll and smack as they plow along the streets in permanent storm. Sailing down the Amnis Trajanas by tram was part of the old maritime tradition of the city.

Babylon itself was never the capital of Greek or Roman Egypt. As long as the occupying power of Egypt was a Mediterranean power it was Alexandria which had to be the capital. Alexandria literally tied Egypt to the European skin, to the European sea. All Greek and Roman roads in Egypt led to Alexandria, all authority led there, all art, all politics, all trade, all wheat and money and religion and corruption and pleasure led there. What came nearer to Babylon were the revolts of the Egyptian peasants and artisans, which were partly the reason for the fort's being there, because Rome needed Egyptian wheat, and at one moment in her history she would have starved without it.

The fort is all that is left of Babylon, because none of the dilapi-

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dated streets around it in Old Cairo contains a remnant of Babylon township. And today, when you walk into the neat little gateway of the fort that is used as its ground-level entrance, you are really standing on top of the walls, not at the bottom of them. The walls themselves have been buried under thirty feet of debris, sand and mud, on top of which the surrounding buildings and roads of Old Cairo are built. But once you step through the gateway you have come visibly upon something that is no longer Roman at all and not even Arab, and if you have a little imagination here you can easily see how Egypt's hatred for conquerors is impressed in every grain of sand and in every flower in the gardens and in every brick of the old Coptic churches built into the fort.

Coptic Christianity came to Egypt illegally during Roman occupation, but only after Rome had broken the back of the older Egyptian religion, which was always the center of popular resistance. One of Rome's first decrees in Egypt took all property away from the temples and gave it to the state, thus breaking the last vestiges of real power which the pagan Egyptian priests had. Rome also laid down strict laws for Egyptian life, and legions were sent to forts like Babylon to put these laws into effect. The point was, of course, that Rome needed everything Egypt could produce. But Egyptian revolts staggered the Romans, and the ideology that finally brought Egyptian resistance to the very walls of this fortress was not the old native religion but a new Egyptian version of it — the subversive cult of Christianity.

Under pagan Rome the secret cult of Christ was the cult of the impoverished colonial artisan, the revolting slave, the rebellious peasant and the viciously treated minorities, all of whom found in pre-Platonic Christianity a simple creed that might help them support their miseries and unify their resistance. But as a religion it was not exactly new to Egypt. J. G. Milne, in Volume V of *The History of Egypt* (1898), has written: "It is not improbable that the conception of the Trinity, which formed no part of the original Jewish Christianity, may be traced to an Egyptian origin; the whole of the older Egyptian theology was permeated with the idea of triple divinity." Not only the trinity, but the old Egyptian ideas of resurrection, judgment, redemption, hell and heaven, life after death, the cross (the Egyptian ankh), Isis with her child Osiris, Horus attacking a crocodile (dragon) — all these Egyptian concepts go so far back into their Pharaonic past that they cannot even be traced. Christianity was therefore at home in Egypt.

About A.D. 323 a Rome in decay adopted Christianity as its own religion, and suddenly there were two Christianities in Egypt: the

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Coptic Christianity of the downtrodden Egyptian and the Melchite (orthodox) Christianity of their oppressive Roman rulers. In this situation a schism between the Christianity of the rulers and the older Christianity of the oppressed was inevitable, since the Egyptians still hated Rome. The superficial character of the split concerned the nature of Christ. The Copts said Christ had "one nature" and one nature only — a divine one "separate but inseparable." Their orthodox rivals, the Melchites, said Christ had two natures — the divine and the human. This was no more than a tiny doctrinal difference but it was excuse enough for the orthodox Roman Church to set about annihilating the Egyptian Copts. Technically, Coptic Christianity was now legal, and even orthodox, but Roman executions of Copts went on more viciously than ever before, only now they were done in the name of Christian dogma.

For three hundred years Roman and Byzantine orthodoxy tried to suppress the Egyptian mind and the Egyptian peasant, and Egyptians went on resisting them bitterly with their own unique Coptic dogma as a national ideology. The old fort was one of the places where the conflict was sharpest, because Babylon was still Rome's principal stronghold in central and southern Egypt. The old canal fell into disuse, but the town itself continued to be a vital port for the transshipment of grain downstream to Rome and Constantinople, and it was always full of the Egyptian traders, artisans, peasants and boatmen who organized resistance to Rome.

The conflict with Rome came to an end only when Arab horsemen, with the little green pennants of their new religion fluttering on their lances, crossed the northern borders of Egypt and made straight for Babylon. The Arab force was a small one, about thirty-five hundred horsemen, whereas Roman soldiers in the Babylon region alone numbered more than twenty thousand. Late A.D. 640 there were battles all around Babylon and Heliopolis, but finally the fort itself was besieged and the Arabs demanded its surrender.

Inside the fort was the Roman viceroy of Egypt, a Melchite orthodox bishop named Cyrus, and for the last ten years Bishop Cyrus had been persecuting the rebellious Copts of Egypt as no one had ever done before. In the name of his Byzantine orthodoxy he had ordered thousands of them to be whipped, burned, drowned and mutilated. In his ten years of power all Coptic churches were closed, the priests dispersed, the religion driven underground, and the ordinary follower of the Coptic ideology cut down wherever he stood up to announce his defiance of Rome. It was Cyrus who was in charge of Babylon's defense.

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The story of the Arab conquest of the fort has always been complicated by a mysterious figure called "the Makaukus," who seemed to be a Coptic traitor inside the walls trying desperately to surrender it to the Arabs. But A. J. Butler, an English scholar who came to Egypt in the 1880s to tutor the khedive's sons, proved brilliantly that the Makaukus was in fact none other than Bishop Cyrus himself, who wanted desperately to save what he could from inevitable defeat by talking his way out of abject surrender.

The Arab commander, Amr Ibn el 'As, offered Cyrus the classic Moslem alternatives: accept Islam or pay tribute or fight to the death. At first Cyrus tried to avoid all three, but there was no way out. One of the envoys whom Amr Ibn el 'As sent to negotiate with Cyrus was a Negro called Ubadah Ibn al Samit, and Cyrus the Christian was so shocked by the sight of a Negro that he said: "Take away that black man. I can have no discussion with him." The other Arabs pointed out that Ubadah (one of the select body called the Companions of the Prophet) was Amr's chosen negotiator, and that black and white were equal among Moslems. Ubadah himself said: "There are a thousand blacks as black as myself among our companions," and expressed his passionate devotion to God, and to the cause of Islam. Cyrus was so shaken that he turned to one of his followers and said: "Do you hear this? I very much fear that God has sent these men to devastate the world."

Bishop Cyrus reluctantly agreed to the Arabs' second alternative, tribute, and Amr Ibn el 'As allowed him to go down to Alexandria and on to Constantinople to get it from Heraclius, the Roman Emperor. Heraclius refused, exiled Cyrus, and told the legions in the fort to fight on, which they did until April 641, when the Arabs stormed the fort behind a romantic hero called Zubair. It was the excitable Zubair who first scaled the difficult walls of Babylon. He reached the top shouting "Allahu akbar," only to find that the part of the wall he had chosen happened to be bricked up at each end, and there was no way to reach the steps leading down to the inside of the fort. While Zubair was fuming helplessly at the top, the Roman commandant calmly walked out and surrendered the fort to Amr, to the disgust of Zubair, who later complained to Amr: "If you had only waited a little I would have been able to get down the wall inside the fort and then it would have all been over anyway."

There was one last tragedy for the Copts in the capture of Babylon. Even when they were about to surrender their fort, the orthodox Melchite Romans dragged out all the Coptic prisoners they had kept in jail for years. They were all scourged and their hands were cut off,

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and then they were turned loose at the gates. The Coptic historian John of Nikiou describes the groans and tears and cries and misery of these mutilated Copts, who literally walked out of the fort and into the arms of their Moslem liberators. On this sort of evidence there can be little wonder that the Copts had immediately welcomed the Moslem Arabs in Egypt, and Amr and his thirty-five hundred horsemen could never have operated so freely and effectively in Egypt without the help of the Coptic peasants and townspeople.

Babylon was now Moslem and Arab, and in effect so was Egypt. But the fort was never an attractive place for the Arabs, who hated to be shut up inside defensive walls, and what is still curious about Babylon today is its lack of any Moslem influence. It was the non-Moslems of Egypt who eventually reoccupied the fort and used it, and now it is a tight little island of the three main religious minorities of Egypt: Orthodox, Copt and Jewish. They all huddle together in this old compound as if clinging to the lost memories of their faded youth.

It is ironic that the first church you see as you step into the main west gate is an Orthodox church which is built on top of one of the Roman towers. It is ugly inside and out, and it was recently rebuilt in the worst possible taste. Over the southern gateway, and built into the walls of the fort, is the beautiful little fourth-to-sixth-century Coptic church of Mu'allaka, called the Hanging Church because it literally hangs across the bastions. Its ceiling is ribbed and shaped like an up-turned boat, an upside-down ark in fact. The third of the minorities, the Jews, have a dark but rather domestic little synagogue called the Ben Ezra. It used to be the Coptic Church of St. Michael, but the Jewish community bought it from the Copts in the twelfth century. There are other Coptic and Orthodox churches and monasteries hugging each other in the narrow alleyways inside the fort, and there is a village of sorts with streets, cemeteries, gardens, a museum and an avenue of eucalyptuses.

When I was last in the old fort, in 1966, I went there specifically to do three things: to find some of the mysterious passageways and cells that A. J. Butler, with schoolboy fascination, found in the tower churches when he was here in the 1880s; to see the main south gate, because the old Roman walls there were clear and visible; and to look once more at the Coptic Museum.

But following in Butler's Victorian footsteps was not easy because so much rebuilding had gone on. Like Butler I had a little difficulty getting into the Orthodox Church of St. George, which was locked. Relations are still not perfect between Copt and Orthodox (although the Copts now call themselves Orthodox), but a whistle down a side

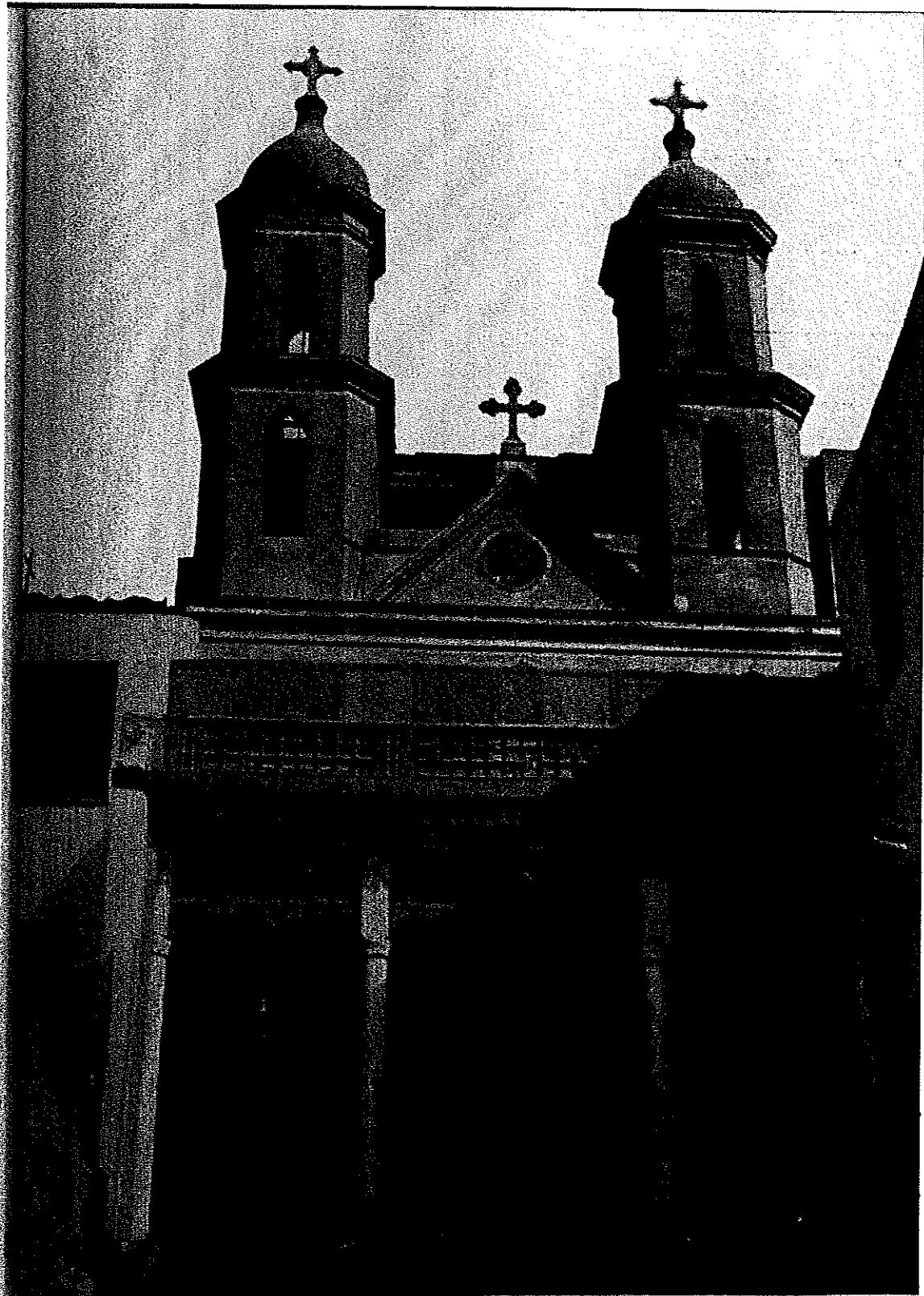
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street, a man's head at the window of a mud house, a few words in Arabic, and the guardian took me up the main steps and opened the big doors of the modern Greek façade. I wasn't much interested in the new church itself, but I wanted to find the staircase in the Roman tower under the church which Butler had persuaded a priest to open up for him in the 1880s. Butler had described the tower as "a place of mystery and horror, said to be peopled by devils, and is unknown and undiscovered — happily even by the whitewashers."

At first I couldn't find any sign of the entrance, but then I realized I was looking too mysteriously for something that was now too obvious. What Butler had seen in 1882 was a boarded-up hole. What I saw in 1966 was a neat cellar doorway in the middle of the floor of the new church, with steps leading deep down into the tower underneath. Butler had plunged down here into darkness and mystery, stumbling over debris and neglect. He was "glad to escape from the thick black dust and spiders and centipedes and other noisome creatures." What I saw was a clean staircase lit by electric lights, and a clean descent to the very bottom of the tower. The noisome creatures, the centipedes, the dark mystery, the horror and the devils had unfortunately gone away.

Without the mysteries the Church of St. George had little else to offer, so I walked across the sanded interior of the fort to al Mu'allaka, the Hanging Church. I was very lucky there; the resident priest himself was sitting under one of the little windows in black robes, one swollen leg propped up on a cushion. This was the Reverend Father Shenouda Hanna, Chief Priest of the Church, and I arrived in the middle of his conversation with two handsome Egyptian women who were asking him just how credible any of the numerous Christian relics in Cairo really are.

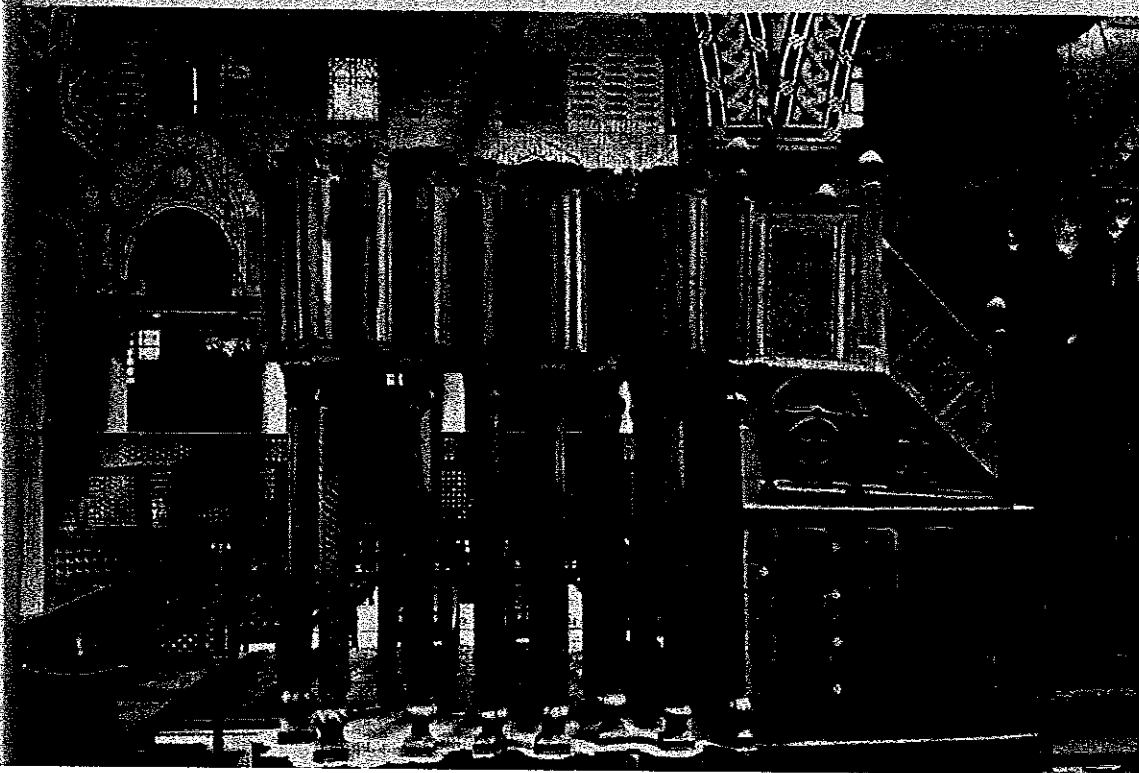
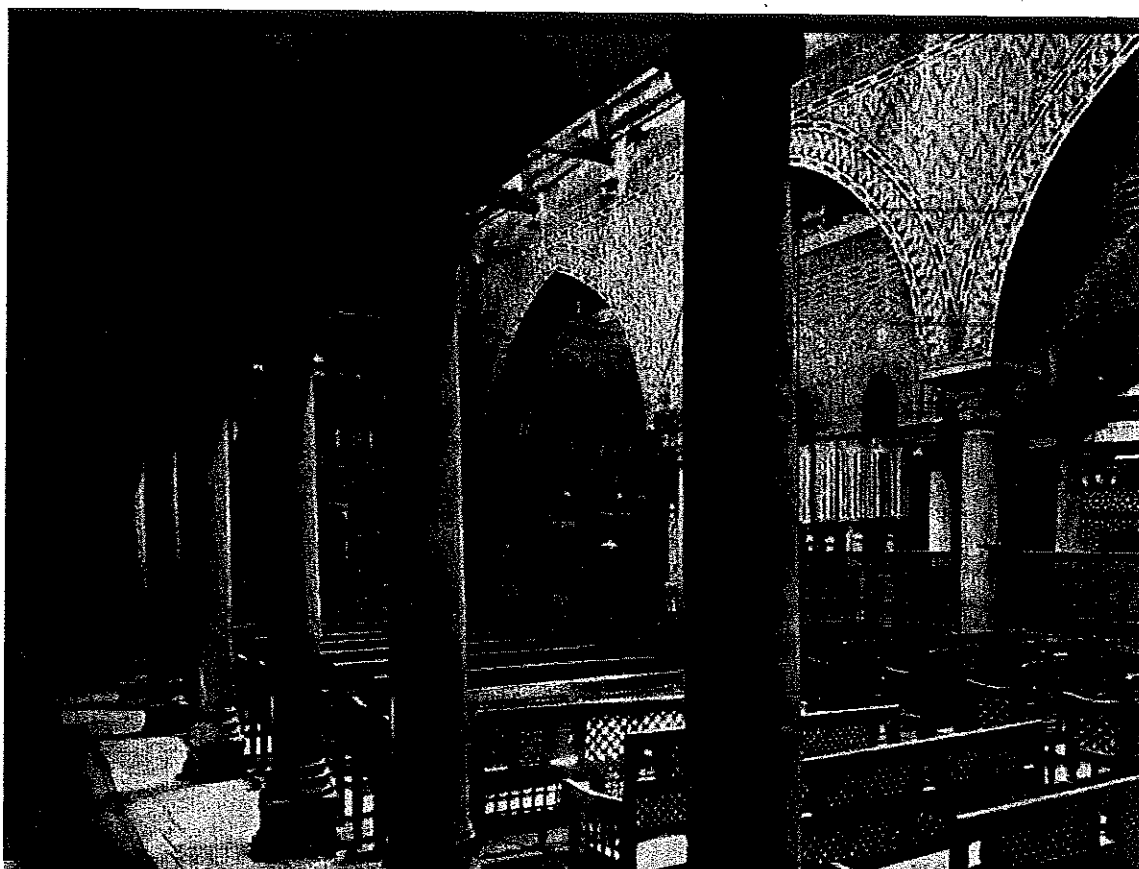
This was a useful subject for me, because Egypt is the only foreign country the Holy Family visited, and Cairo is full of associations which make some claim on Christ and his family. Matariya (near the Heliopolis obelisk) has a sycamore tree called the Virgin's Tree which the Holy Family supposedly rested under in their flight into Egypt, and near it is a well which Christ the Child is reported to have brought from the earth. Fifty years ago Christian souvenir hunting was so bad that the angry owner of the sycamore tied a knife to the tree and put up a notice begging people not to hack at it any more with axes, and to leave some of it for others. Babylon itself is also full of Christian relics. There was once a date stone in al Mu'allaka, which had the Virgin's tooth mark on it. The bones of St. George himself (demoted by the Vatican in 1969) are in the Convent of Mari Girgis, where the old prioress in a dusty black dress took off her shoes and



Coptic church of al Mu'allaka (the Hanging Church), built into the walls of Babylon.



Coptic Church of al Mu'allaka. ABOVE: Doors. OPPOSITE
 ABOVE: Interior from the north aisle.
 OPPOSITE BELOW: Pulpit.



Cairo

led me into a chapel which was littered with old newspapers and took a green bundle out of a niche, unwrapped it, and offered me the cedar casket of St. George's bones to be kissed. St. George smelled rather sweet. The crypt of Abu Sagha, a Coptic church, is where the Holy Family "rested" or "slept" or "waited" for days. Even the Ben Ezra Synagogue proudly claims Christian associations. In the little booklet outlining its history, the Communauté Israelite du Caire says: "The Virgin Mary, Joseph and the Child Jesus fled to Egypt and sheltered in this crypt [in the synagogue] for three months. It is positively known that Joseph was a Jew, and that the logical thing for him to do was to go to his own people for a refuge for his family and himself."

Quite right, I decided.

It was therefore something of a small surprise to hear the Reverend Father Shenouda Hanna saying to his Egyptian friends: "Nobody knows where the Holy Family was in Egypt, or what they did. There is no historical support of any of these Christian claims." Father Shenouda Hanna is a cultured man and a strikingly handsome one. He has written a short history of the Copts, and as the ladies and I helped him to his feet he thanked us and then showed the ladies his Hanging Church, which looks so stubbornly Coptic and still stubbornly Egyptian. Everything in this fortress, in fact, looks stubbornly Egyptian and Coptic. Even the Ben Ezra Synagogue just across the courtyard looks Egyptian and Coptic, which is not surprising because these two religions were always minorities together here and got on very well. There have always been Jews in Babylon, and in the last count a few years ago there were still forty-two Jewish families among the 133,000 Mohammedans and 10,000 Copts in the town of Old Cairo itself.

I wasn't too sure what to expect in the synagogue of Babylon these difficult days, but I needn't have worried too much, because a very excitable guardian pushed his little cap back on his head and referred me to Jeremiah in the Old Testament to support the Jewish claim that this synagogue is built on the site of the original synagogue of Jeremiah. The Christians got the site, he said, by a mistake when the Romans were defeated and Amr handed back all seized properties to churches and synagogues. It was the famous Rabbi Abraham Ben Ezra who, in the twelfth century, he said, bought it back from the Copts and rebuilt it. Not only is Jeremiah himself supposed to be buried underneath the synagogue, but Moses had something to do with the rock of its foundation.

The enthusiastic old guardian of Ben Ezra gave me the old Torah to touch "for luck." The original Torah of this synagogue was very fa-

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mous, one of the oldest in existence, dating back to Ezra the Scribe; this one was a very modern copy of it. All the documents of the synagogue, as well as a huge number of books and Torahs, had been "taken off" to America in the last century by American-Jewish historians for safekeeping, just as so many Coptic furnishings and ikons and books from Babylon's Coptic churches had been "taken off" to Europe by European-Christian historians for safekeeping (which made A. J. Butler furious.) But the original old Torah of Babylon has been cut up and sold and scattered all over the place. Parts of it are in Columbia University, the British Museum and the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

There is one other historical collection in this old fortress which I always dread going into—the Coptic Museum. The whole place opens up so many new avenues for speculation on Egypt's role in the history of religions that it would require a lifetime to follow up any single one of them, so I always leave feeling frustrated and ignorant. The mythologies of ancient Egypt, Greece, Rome and Christianity are so thoroughly entwined with each other in the artifacts of this museum that sometimes the origins of one religion in another seem almost crude.

In the year 300 Egypt was mainly (officially) pagan, but by 330 it was predominantly Christian. These were the thirty vital years when Rome was changing sides. In this Coptic Museum all the little altars for Egyptian shrines and temples up to the first half of the fourth century are pagan, but then suddenly like a biblical clap of thunder a little pagan Aphrodite shell substitutes the beautiful goddess for a deeply cut Christian cross—still in the shell.

Official Christianity had thus arrived in the pagan shrines of Egypt.

Victor Girgas, the museum's chief curator, took considerable pride in showing me a sixth-century niche of Jesus being suckled by Mary, just as Isis had suckled Osiris three thousand years earlier. It was a modest boast of the continuity of his own Coptic ancestry from ancient Egypt into modern Christianity. Even Father Shenouda Hanna was proud of the origin of the Christian cross in the Egyptian ankh rather than in the crucifix.

It was Girgas who took me twenty-four feet down into the excavated bastion of the south gate of the fort, which had been cleaned up about fifty years ago. Down here one finally comes to the thick damp walls of Rome, the only part of the fort which does any kind of justice to Babylon's foundation in a powerful empire.

"There are the stripes," Girgas told me.

The construction of its walls was in the classical Roman five rows of

in a measure its civil government; the Roman troops that had garrisoned the frontier were prisoners in their hands, and Ptolemais seems to have been the regular base from which their forces terrorized the country to the north.¹ Maximinus crushed these Nubians in A.D. 453 and concluded a peace which lasted more or less till the time of Justinian; but an extant letter, dated about A.D. 540, to John, Prefect of the East, from a landholder in Upper Egypt complains of two invasions by the Blemmyes in three years. Then followed the well-known missions of Justinian and Theodora which evangelized the Nubatae, whose king Silko warred against the Blemmyes and destroyed them. But Christianity did not change the habits of the Nubians. About A.D. 580 Aristomachus was sent by Tiberius II to chastise the Nubians;² and in the time of the emperor Maurice we find either Nubian troops or troops from Nubia employed in Egypt proper.³

So all through the Roman dominion the relations of Egypt and Nubia were relations of continual hostility, of war and plunder, of invasion and counter-invasion.⁴ And the Muslims in their turn found that the conquest of Nubia did not follow upon the con-

¹ *Karanög*, p. 96.

² *John of Nikiou*, p. 525 (*Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, &c., t. xxiv, Paris, 1883).

³ *Id.*, p. 531.

⁴ See J. Leipoldt's article written as preface to Rudolph Haupt's *Katalog* 5 (Aegyptologie, &c.), pp. viii, ix (Halle a. S., 1905): 'Am allerhässlichsten benahmen sich aber die reichen Herren, wenn ein Einfall der Egoosh (Nubier) drohte. In diesen Zeiten höchster Gefahr pflegten alle nordwärts zu fliehen . . . Die ägyptische Regierung schon im vierten und fünften Jahrhundert recht machtlos war: nicht einmal ihre Soldaten hatte sie in der Gewalt, und die Verhinderung von Nubiereinfällen gelang ihr nur selten.'

quest of Egypt; for Ṭabarī himself relates the failure of the expedition which 'Amr made against Nubia, as soon as Egypt was subjugated.

I claim therefore to have shown that, during the whole of the thirteen hundred years in which Dr. Lane-Poole alleges that Nubian influence and Nubian settlements were unknown in Egypt, the tide of war had rolled over the land between Nubia and Egypt, ebbing and flowing at irregular intervals but with ceaseless recurrence; that Nubia was a thorn in the side of the Romans all through their dominion in Egypt, as it was a thorn in the side of the Muslims long after they had conquered Egypt; and that, so far from Nubian settlements being unknown in Egypt, it had been the regular policy and practice of the Nubians to crown a successful invasion by a settled occupation in Upper Egypt. It was therefore perfectly natural that at the time of the Arab invasion the people of Mişr should bargain for protection against Nubian settlements.

If this is not enough to prove that *Nāb* in the treaty has its ordinary sense of *Nubians*, let us consider the consequences of adopting Dr. Lane-Poole's rendering *garrisons*. I have already taken the broad ground that, as the Roman Empire had been established in Egypt for at least seven hundred years, it is a mistake to speak of Egypt in A.D. 640 as a country held by alien Roman 'garrisons' and an alien 'Roman army of occupation'. Such phrases fly in the face of history.¹ But further: if 'Amr

¹ The Roman army in Egypt was largely recruited from the native inhabitants: see *The Garrison of Egypt under the Roman Empire*, by Mr. Cheeseman in *Karanög*, pp. 106-114.

meant *garrisons*, why did not he use the common Arabic word for *garrison*, حَرَسِيَّة? Again, if the Romans in Egypt are described as garrisons in the Treaty of Mişr, why are they not so described, and why is the term *Nūb* not used, in the Treaty of Jerusalem? And if the term *garrisons* in the Treaty of Mişr is equivalent to *Romans*, why does that treaty speak of 'Romans and garrisons', thus making a distinction between them? But the climax of absurdity is reached when we come to the last clause (11) in the treaty, which provides that the 'garrisons' are to furnish so many head of cattle or sheep¹ and so many horses, and are to receive in return full freedom for trade to and from Egypt. What can this mean if the 'garrisons' are the Romans?

Dr. Lane-Poole sees the difficulty. 'The last clause relating to the garrisons', he remarks, 'is not very intelligible,' and he proceeds to quote what he calls Weil's translation as follows: 'And (it is binding) on the *garrisons* who consent (to this treaty) that they shall help the Muslims with so many men and so many horses that they (*the Nūb*) be not hindered from trade, coming or going.' Notice that Dr. Lane-Poole takes upon himself to substitute 'garrisons' for Weil's 'Nubians', and yet does not hesitate to change that inconvenient word back to 'Nūb' or Nubians in his own gloss explaining the pronoun 'they'! We may correct this procedure, and see what results. The clause will then run, according to the *garrisons* theory, as follows: 'The

¹ This rendering is more probably correct than 'head of men', i. e. soldiers.

garrisons who come under this treaty are bound to furnish so many head (of cattle or men) and so many horses, so that the garrisons may trade freely, coming and going'—which is very like nonsense. Dr. Lane-Poole argues that 'the clause may be understood to provide for a limited escort of friendly Romans to protect the caravans trading between Egypt and Syria; but such a provision appears extremely improbable'. Not only improbable, but impossible: it is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the *garrisons* theory.

But if, as I contend, *Nūb* means *Nubians*, then it is the Nubians in Egypt who have to furnish cattle and horses (possibly a contingent of horse and foot) and who are to be protected in their trade across the desert to Nubia. The trade in ivory and other products of the Sudan was much the same then as now, and as much exposed to danger from Beduin and brigands.¹ The Arabs too were strangers to the country, and they may have foreseen the requirement of a corps of local guides to aid in patrolling the southern and western deserts. So interpreted therefore the provision in the treaty is both intelligible and natural. Last but not least, the other Muslim historians who quote or comment on the

¹ Juvenal, for example, mentions the ivory trade: 'Dentibus ex illis quos mittit porta Syenes.' See also *England in the Sudan*, by Yakūb Pasha Arūn, p. 8 (Macmillan, 1911): 'All these temples and fortresses, whose ruins alone remain, could not have been constructed in deserts such as we see to-day. There must have existed from remotest times a considerable trade, at least a transport trade, between the Sudan and Egypt. Certain it is that there were wars both of a defensive and of an aggressive nature from at least the time of the twelfth dynasty.'

treaty never doubt for a moment that *Nāḥ* means *Nubians*. Thus Ibn al Athīr says, 'In this treaty even the Romans and Nubians inhabiting Egypt were included as forming part of the population of the country.'¹

So much for the strange theory of the 'garrisons'.

It remains to notice one or two other points in the treaty. Clause 2 seems to fix the total amount of poll-tax, 'provided that the people of Mişr accept the treaty and the river reaches its full level,' at 50,000,000—but the coin is not specified. I can hardly think Dr. Lane-Poole correct in taking this as *dirhems*. The evidence of practically all the Arab writers agrees that the tax was stated in *dinars*—two dinars a head, old men, women, and children being excluded. Clearly, however, 50,000,000 dinars cannot have been intended: that would imply 25,000,000 able-bodied men in the population, which is absurd. But if 5,000,000 be substituted for 50,000,000 by a very slight change in the text (دسيسة for دسيسة), that would imply a taxable population of 2,500,000, which might be a fair rough estimate of numbers for the whole of Egypt at the time of the treaty. But whichever way the total of tribute be taken (*dirhems* or *dinars*), a great difficulty arises: because it is certain that any such total must refer not to a section but to the whole population of Egypt. In other words, 'the people of Mişr' in this clause must mean, not the people of the city of Mişr, but the people of Egypt. Yet

¹ Ibn al Athīr, *Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, Leyden, 1868-74, p. 441.

we have seen that it was the people of the city who were parties to the treaty; and أهل مصر cannot mean two different things in the same document. The only solution is to regard the numeral 50,000,000 (or 5,000,000) as a marginal gloss which has crept into the text. This solution commends itself the more as there is no total of poll-tax specified in the Treaty of Jerusalem. Caetani (p. 309) says that the omission of any capitation tax is one of the points in favour of the treaty, because under Omar the two dinars per head was not known—only a lump sum being fixed. It also seems *a priori* most unlikely that the Arab commander would bind himself to accept an off-hand estimate furnished by the Romans, who would have every motive for reducing the total. It must further be remembered that Ṭabarī's words immediately following the treaty run:—'So the people of Mişr, all of them, entered into those covenants and accepted the treaty, and the horses were collected.' It is quite certain that the whole population of *Egypt* did not enter upon this treaty. Moreover, the collection of horses is recorded as an incident in close connexion with the acceptance of the treaty; and whether it refers to horses which the Nubians had to furnish, or, as seems more probable, to horses at once available and supplied by the people of the city, it shows the limited scope of the treaty at the moment. It obviously cannot refer to a collection of horses from all quarters of Egypt: for it is absolutely beyond question that, at the time when the Treaty of Mişr was concluded, the Muslims had effected next to nothing in Upper Egypt, while the whole

of the Delta was still Roman and could not be described as coming under the treaty. Tabari's own words¹ make doubt on this point impossible, apart from the overwhelming evidence of other Arab writers and of John of Nikiou: and Dr. Lane-Poole virtually agrees.² Everything therefore seems to support the theory that the '50,000,000', which hangs very loosely on the text, is a gloss which should be removed.

One other point. The position of cl. 11 is curious and obviously suggests some kind of afterthought. Yet if this provision were a mere interpolation by a later writer, why should it be placed between the warranty clause and the attestation clause? It would have been more natural, and just as easy, for an interpolator to insert his fictitious addition somewhere in the body of the treaty. Indeed it might be argued, that the abnormal position of the clause is actually a point in its favour: though the same cannot be said of its obscurity.

Leaving, however, all criticism of the text, one may now sum up the conclusions reached about the treaty. It was a treaty made not with the Copts but with the Romans: it concerned primarily the population of the city of Mişr, whom it ruled out as belligerents and brought under tribute, giving in return protection and religious liberty: it secured to the Arabs possession of the largest city in Egypt after Alexandria: it released their forces for the campaign

¹ See Tradition B, p. 9 supra.

² *P.R.I.A.*, p. 235: 'At the time of the treaty only a small part of the country was subdued, and most of the country was in Roman hands.'

in the Delta: and it gave to the still unconquered towns and provinces of Upper and Lower Egypt a model of the conditions under which the Muslims were ready to grant peace together with security for life, property, and religion.

IV. *The Authenticity of the Treaty.*

UP to this point I have assumed the genuineness of the treaty, with some reserve, in order to deal with Dr. Lane-Poole's arguments as founded on that assumption. But while Dr. Lane-Poole regards the treaty as textually accurate and unquestionably authentic, it must not be concealed that other oriental scholars regard it as for the most part spurious. Contrast the almost sacrosanct regard in which Dr. Lane-Poole holds the document with what Wellhausen says of the whole Saifian traditions.¹ Indeed, Wellhausen in his brief study of the conquest, written before my work and Dr. Lane-Poole's article, does not directly mention this treaty; while Caetani, the latest, fullest, and most searching writer on the subject, definitely decides that both the Treaty of Jerusalem and the Treaty of Mişr are in the main apocryphal.²

The truth probably lies somewhat short of this extreme opinion. But one thing is certain: either the Treaty of Mişr is spurious or its historical setting is wrong. It is absolutely impossible that the treaty as it stands can have been concluded by Al Muḥauḍis upon the surrender of Babylon and by him referred

¹ *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 94. See also his general remarks on the early Mohammedan writings in iv. of the same series.

² Caetani, pp. 300, 306-8.

to Heraclius. Every modern authority agrees that John of Nikiou's evidence upon the date of the surrender is final. That date is 9 April, 641, and at that date Al Mukaukis was not in Egypt and Heraclius was dead.

If, therefore, the treaty is genuine, it must have got into a wrong context. For in its present form it cannot possibly be identified with the Treaty of Alexandria, which John of Nikiou records: and alternatively, if it can be identified as a confused reminiscence of that treaty, the text cannot be regarded as authentic. To what then could it relate, if genuine? John of Nikiou shows clearly that the capture of the city of Mişr was anterior to the fall of Babylon, though all details of that capture are lost with the lost chapter of which the heading alone remains. Balādhuri also makes it clear that in the conquest of Egypt there were two treaties,¹ one merely local and temporary, the other marking the final triumph of the Arabs and settling the terms for the surrender of the country by the Romans. If Tabari's treaty can be identified with the minor treaty recorded by Balādhuri, it would not run counter to anything in John of Nikiou, and in spite of some

¹ Caetani, p. 251, where Balādhuri is quoted, and Caetani comments as follows: 'In questa tradizione si osservino due cose: in primo luogo che s'ignora il nome di al Muqawqis e che lo si chiama il signore di Al-yūnah senz'altre specificazioni. Si paria poi di due trattati ben distinti, e qui noi scorgiamo memoria dei due trattati, l'uno concluso alla presa di Babilonia con il signore della fortezza (Sahib Al-yūnah), e l'altro non specificato ulteriormente, ma senza dubbio quello di Alessandria, stipulato da Ciro.'

The term *Al Yūnah* comes of course from Bab-al-yūn (Gate of Al Yūn), the form of Babylon which Arab writers got from a mistaken etymology.

difficulties might claim at least a measure of authenticity.

But the conclusions of Caetani are too important to pass over lightly. Dr. Lane-Poole, he remarks,¹ does not avail himself of the precious information of Balādhuri: he ignores Wellhausen's criticisms and he regards all the authorities as of equal value. We find Saif displaying very imperfect knowledge of events in Egypt as in Syria, and arbitrarily filling the gaps with elements in part only good and flung together in wild disorder. The treaty, therefore, appears in bad company, and we may suspect that the text of the treaty is as disordered as the text of the narrative. The last article, no. 11, is a rock on which the theory of absolute authenticity must split. Nubians in the treaty are an anachronism, and this article must be an interpolation taken from a subsequent treaty between Arabs and Nubians after the conquest of Upper Egypt. 'Hence the treaty', continues Caetani, 'is not the authentic text of the Treaty of Mişr, but a text in which authorities of the Persian school are mingled with elements, in part ancient and perhaps contemporary with the conquest, of different provenance.' He proceeds to argue that article 2 cannot be of the time of the conquest: apart, however, from articles 2 and 11 the treaty has some genuine character. Moreover, the omission of the amount of the poll-tax per head is against it: but while some of the conditions recall those of the treaty of Alexandria as given by John of Nikiou, the main terms for the surrender of Egypt have little or nothing in common.

¹ *Id.*, p. 308.

Finally he concludes that the Treaty of Jerusalem and Treaty of Mişr are both mainly apocryphal, though parts may be taken from ancient and authentic documents. In both we have to note the intermixture of authentic conditions with apocryphal and with others which, being common to all treaties, have no special value. 'Generally these two treaties are artificial compositions of a later age with elements of various origin and diverse value. The historian must not ignore them, but must not found upon their slender support any important conclusion.'¹

Such is Caetani's opinion. I do not agree with his sweeping judgement, nor does it seem founded so much upon argument as upon assertion. The articles 2 and 11, which are cited in condemnation of the Treaty of Mişr as anachronistic, I have already shown above to be justified historically; and though I agree that the sum total of the poll-tax given in the treaty must be wrong, no great stress can be laid upon an error in arithmetic in Arab documents. It seems to me also that both the points of agreement and the points of difference in the two treaties (Jerusalem and Mişr) suggest a higher measure of authenticity in the text than Caetani is disposed to admit, although I fully concur with him in thinking the whole narrative in Ṭabari, or in the Saifan tradition, hopelessly disordered.

Beyond that, sure ground does not lie. Wellhausen accuses Saif of filling the gaps in his narrative with idle romancing (Kannegiesserei) and calls his narrative legendary. But the story of Zubair's escalade, for example, which Caetani would place

¹ Caetani, p. 310.

in that category, seems well enough attested, though the setting is doubtful. On the whole I am unable to accept Caetani's criticisms except in so far as I have here admitted their justice, or to base upon them any subversive modifications of the general narrative of events as set out in my eighteenth chapter of the *Arab Conquest of Egypt*.

But while I am disposed to think the treaty possibly in its main outline authentic, I confess that its exact position in the history is exceedingly difficult to determine. I have already shown that Ṭabari intended beyond all question to associate the treaty with the surrender of Babylon, i.e. Kaşr ash Sham'a: Balādhurī seems also to associate his first treaty with the surrender of Babylon or Kaşr ash Sham'a. It is reasonable to suppose, and unreasonable to doubt, that these two treaties refer to the same event. Either then the Treaty of Mişr must be regarded as that made in October at the time of high Nile—the abortive treaty which I have described in the *Arab Conquest*¹—or it must be taken as relating to the capitulation of the city of Mişr, as opposed to that of the fortress of Babylon—the capitulation which is barely recorded in a chapter-heading by John of Nikiou, but of which the whole description and detail are lost. The balance of evidence is perhaps in favour of the latter hypothesis: but no historian has yet issued from that inextricable labyrinth which the Arab writers have built around the central facts of the conquest with a key to its mysteries.

¹ p. 262.

V. *The Identity of Al Muḩauḩis.*

IN dealing above with the parties to the treaty I have mentioned Al Muḩauḩis many times without diverting the argument to discuss the question of his identity. But Dr. Lane-Poole challenges my identification of him with Cyrus, the imperial patriarch and viceroy, and it is time to take up the challenge. Though most competent scholars both in Europe and in Egypt have accepted my theory at least in part, I have no wish to take shelter under their authority, or to regard it as outweighing Dr. Lane-Poole's criticisms: which I now proceed to examine.

After citing my evidence on the Coptic side (Severus, the Synaxarium, the Life of Samuel of Ḳalamūn) Dr. Lane-Poole says:

'Supposing these translations to be accurate, and supposing the MSS., which are chiefly late, to be faithful transcripts of early authoritative documents—a matter which I am not qualified to decide—these extracts taken together show that Cyrus and the Muḩauḩis were one and the same person in the opinion of the writers. This can hardly be contested. The only question is whether the writers were authoritative.'¹ 'The whole question turns on the relative credibility of two or three Coptic authorities and the whole series of Arabic historians.'² If we had nothing but these Coptic and Ethiopic data to

¹ *P. R. I. A.*, p. 250.

² *Id.*, p. 252.

go upon, the identification might perhaps be taken as proved. But when we look at the long series of Arabic writers, not only those who survive, but many who are cited by survivors but whose original writings are lost, and when we fail to find the slightest hint that any one of them suspected Al Muḩauḩis and Cyrus to be the same person, I confess that their evidence, negative as it is, seems to me overwhelming. How is it that not one of them says that Al Muḩauḩis was a priest, much less an archbishop? Why do they give him the name of George, son of Minā, or son of Ḳurḩub, if his real name was Cyrus?¹ Why does Abū Ṣaliḩ, who was a Christian, and wrote about A. D. 1200, state that Heraclius placed the government of Egypt under "George, the son of Minā, Al Muḩauḩis", and also cite the book of Janāḩ for the fact that "the bishop of the Romans at Mişr and Alexandria was named Cyrus"? How is it that not a single historian of Egypt, Muslim or Christian, has said in so many words "Al Muḩauḩis was a title or nickname given to the patriarch Cyrus"?²

I have set out these extracts at some length because I am anxious to present Dr. Lane-Poole's argument fairly and fully. Briefly, then, he seeks to discredit the very positive evidence from Coptic sources, and he sets against it the negative results from Arabic sources—the silence and the confusion on the subject among Arabic historians.

Now first of all as to the Arabic writers. Of course this negative argument has a good deal of

¹ جرجس George, and قيروس Cyrus are not very unlike.

² *Id.*, p. 253.

plausibility about it, but it does not prove much more than that among Arabic historians there exists on the question the greatest uncertainty and perplexity, and in their statements they show the greatest inconsistency: the one is the result of the other. But if there is anything certain, it is that the Arab writers caught the name Al Muḥauḳis by hearsay or tradition one from another without understanding it; that the name prevailed among them to the exclusion, or the confusion, of the personal name of the official to whom it belonged; and that the name was a vague title of non-Arabic origin denoting the ruler of Egypt. They call the ruler of Egypt in the time of Mohammed Al Muḥauḳis, and they call the ruler of Egypt at the time of the conquest Al Muḥauḳis. It matters little for my argument whether the name was first used by the Arabs in connexion with Mohammed's mission and applied by analogy to the governor-general at the time of the conquest; or whether (as I think) it was first heard at the time of the conquest and applied by error to the governor-general who received Mohammed's mission. In either case the term denoted the viceroy of the Roman emperor or the governor-general in Egypt. Seeing the consequences which would flow from an admission of this fact, Dr. Lane-Poole tries to escape them in the following manner:

'Such is Dr. Butler's positive evidence. The coincidences upon which he also relies are the statements on the one hand that Cyrus, on the other that Al Muḥauḳis, was governor of Egypt under Heraclius; the statements of the Greek historians and John of Nikiou that Cyrus made peace with the Arabs, and

those of the Arabic historians that Al Muḥauḳis made peace with them. But these coincidences may be explained by the hypothesis that Al Muḥauḳis was the sub-governor who made the peace, and Cyrus the patriarch and supreme governor who accepted his subordinate's arrangement and reported it to the emperor.'¹

In order, therefore, to avoid the identification of Al Muḥauḳis with Cyrus, Dr. Lane-Poole has to identify him, not with the governor-general of Egypt, but with some sub-governor: and this hypothesis he further develops to the conclusion that 'So far as the Arabic evidence goes, except for his name, Al Muḥauḳis may have been Theodore', i.e. the military governor at Alexandria. Clearly if the Muḥauḳis's name was Theodore, he was not 'George, son of Minā': but the fact is that 'George, son of Minā' fits no person and fits no theory in this strange eventful chronicle, and must be regarded as erroneous. But let us examine the Arabic writers' evidence, and see in what language they describe Al Muḥauḳis. Now dealing first with Ṭabarī, it cannot be denied that he distinguishes in one tradition² between Al Muḥauḳis and the *katholikos of Mişr*. The question is what the latter phrase means. The term *katholikos* is not and never was a term rightly applicable to any church dignitary in Egypt. It is an Armenian, or Syrian, or Nestorian term, made familiar to Ṭabarī in Ṭabaristān or in Baghdad, and misapplied to Egypt. No doubt it means 'metropolitan', but it does not necessarily

¹ *P. R. I. A.*, p. 252.

² See Tradition D supra, p. 11.

mean 'patriarch'.¹ Further, we have seen that *Miṣr* has the double sense of *Egypt* and the *city of Miṣr*. It follows that the phrase *katholikos of Miṣr*, for which Dr. Lane-Poole and others usually give the impossible rendering *patriarch of Egypt*, may mean nothing more or less than *metropolitan of the city of Miṣr*. That there was a metropolitan of Miṣr distinct from the patriarch is probable: for it is known that there was a bishop of Miṣr, and the title frequently occurs in Coptic history.² There was also a bishop of Babylon, or 'bishop of the Castle of Babylon',³ a bishop of Memphis, a bishop of Hulwān; and the bishop of Miṣr doubtless had precedence over all bishops in the locality. Moreover, the title of metropolitan was given to the bishop of Damietta; and it is difficult to conceive that the bishop of Miṣr—the capital city after Alexandria—was of less importance and lower dignity, as would be the case, if he had not the rank of metropolitan. I may add that I have spoken of *patriarch of Egypt* as an impossible rendering, because it is an impossible title. The patriarch was patriarch of Alexandria: that was the invariable title. Such a title as *patriarch of Miṣr* or *patriarch of Egypt* is absolutely unknown, and to use it is as

¹ Al Brūnī, speaking of the melkite Syrian Christians, defines *Katholikos* thus: Arabic *ḡāḥāṭik*. The residence of the *katholikos* of the Melkites in Muslim countries is Baghdad. He is *under the patriarch of Antioch* (ed. C. E. Sachau, London, 1879, pp. 283-4). So the *katholikos* of the Armenian Church was appointed originally from Caesarea, and had not even the specific rank of metropolitan. To-day there are four *katholikoi* in Armenia.

² See for example, *Abū Ṣāliḥ*, pp. 92, 121, 138.

³ *Arab Conquest*, p. 173.

absurd as to speak of the archbishop of England. On the other hand, the title *metropolitan of Miṣr* does not rest on mere conjecture. I have found it actually used about A.D. 750, when one Theodore is described as the metropolitan bishop of Miṣr.¹

If this explanation is adopted, all difficulty arising from the distinction between the *katholikos* and Al Muḥaukis vanishes: they were two different persons, and no one has ever contended that the bishop of Miṣr was Al Muḥaukis. And the difficulty about the name Abū Maryām also vanishes. I would no longer say that the name is impossible—an erroneous assertion in which Dr. Lane-Poole follows me:² all I would say is that it is doubtful in this context. I would point out—that has not been noticed before, I think—that the same name is given to the Christian pervert at Balḥ in Ṭabarī's own story of the surrender of Alexandria—'Abdallah 'Abd ar Raḥmān *Abū Maryām*, where the forenames are clearly the Islamic additions.³ The name therefore is possible: but the fact that we have Abū Maryām the metropolitan, Abū Maryām the bishop, and again Abū Maryām the pervert, unquestionably establishes a confusion which renders the whole of this nomenclature very uncertain. But if it was the metropolitan of Miṣr and another bishop who met 'Amr, there is nothing inconsistent with my theory in Ṭabarī's statement that they were sent by Al Muḥaukis and returned to him: indeed the story then fits together admirably.⁴

¹ *Ṭabarī*, *Ḥisṭ. Pal.* (Patr. Orient. t. v. fasc. 1), p. 106.

² *P. R. I. A.*, p. 243.

³ See Trad. B, p. 10, supra.

⁴ I should say that I have frankly abandoned the explanation of

Before quitting Ṭabarī, however, I must point out a discrepancy in his evidence. For whereas in the one tradition he says that when 'Amr, reinforced by Zubair, met Abū Maryām and Abū Maryām, they fought with him;¹ in the other he says 'When 'Amr and Al Muḥaukis met at 'Ain Shams, their armies began to fight'.² That these two statements refer to one and the same incident, does not in my opinion admit of reasonable doubt. It is one more illustration of the necessity of considering the various traditions in Ṭabarī in their isolation as well as in their union. But if the incident is the same, and if one tradition alleges that it was the katholikos of Mişr, while another alleges that it was Al Muḥaukis, whose meeting with 'Amr was followed by the battle at 'Ain Shams, or the battle of Heliopolis, then it follows that the Muḥaukis may be identified with the katholikos of Mişr, and the katholikos of Mişr may be the metropolitan of Egypt, or in other words the Patriarch Cyrus. In that case, however, the tradition which separates Cyrus from Al Muḥaukis must be so far mistaken. And it must be remembered that equal authority cannot attach to inconsistent traditions. One must choose between them on a balance of evidence.

the name Abū Maryām which I gave in the *Arab Conquest* (p. 513). It cannot be identified with the name Benjamin. Historically it is certain that Benjamin was in retreat in the desert till after the Muslim power was established in Egypt: and philologically I accept Caetani's objection that the names *Ibn Yāmīn* and *Maryām* were both so well known to the Arabs that confusion between them is very improbable. I may add that the very name Abū Maryām is found, in the Aphroditō papyri (MS. 1448, Brit. Mus. Catalogue), dating from about A.D. 700.

¹ p. 2584.

² p. 2592.

Ṭabarī's testimony, however, rightly interpreted, not only harmonizes rather than clashes with my theory, but actually supports it. I may add that there is not a word in his whole story suggesting or justifying the identification of Al Muḥaukis with any subordinate officer of the empire whatever.

Let us now see whether other Arabic historians bear out Dr. Lane-Poole's contention. There is an important passage in Ibn 'Abd al Hākam (c. A.D. 850) which, so far as I know, has not been noticed in this connexion:

فوجّه هرقل ملك الروم كما دنتى شيخ من اهل مصر
المقوقس اميراً على مصر وجعل اليه حربها وجباية
خراجها وذل الاسكندرية¹

Which means that Heraclius, the Roman emperor, deputed Al Muḥaukis as viceroy over Egypt with full military power and with control of the revenue or taxes. What can such a position mean but one of supreme authority? In naming Al Muḥaukis as controller of the revenue Ibn 'Abd al Hākam is not only supported by Eutychius² (A.D. 876-939) among Arabic writers, but he is in most remarkable agreement with the seventh-century Coptic document,³ which in recounting the visit of πρῶτος πνευματικός (i.e. the Muḥaukis, the

¹ This is in the part published by Karle, p. 55 of the Arabic text (Göttingen, 1856, 4to).

² For quotation and reference see below, p. 80.

³ *MSS. Copt.*, Clar. Press, p. 5, published in Amélineau's *Vie de Samuel de Kalamim*. See *Arab Conquest*, p. 518; but I did not know of the passage in Ibn 'Abd al Hākam when that page was written.

sham archbishop), to the monastery of Kalamūn makes the archbishop claim the title of 'controller of the revenue of the land of Egypt'. Such a coincidence must carry great weight. Now this same incident is also recounted in the Arabic version of Coptic Synaxarium,¹ and there the person who tried to make Samuel confess the Chalcedonian or melkite form of belief is called definitely Al Muḥaukis—a clear proof that $\mu\eta\alpha\chi\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is the Coptic original of $\mu\eta\alpha\chi\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ — and one MS. adds to the name Al Muḥaukis 'the patriarch'. The person then who claimed the title of Controller of the Revenue is proved by these two Coptic documents to be the Muḥaukis just as Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam alleges, and is also proved to be the melkite archbishop and patriarch—or Cyrus.

But there is a further striking correspondence

¹ *Synaxaire Arabe Jacobite*, par René Basset, in *Patrol. Orient.* . iii. fasc. 3, p. 406. The authority of this Arabic version has been impugned by Dr. Lane-Poole on the ground of its lateness. The truth is that it embodies traditions and records from the earliest times, with late additions. I may perhaps give one example proving its remarkable accuracy. On p. 326 of t. i, in Basset's edition, is an account of an eclipse which occurred in 958 of the era of the Martyrs (29 Aug. 1241–28 Aug. 1242), and which, being on 6th October, fell in 1241, and not, as Basset says, in 1242. The description of the eclipse is such as to preclude any other than a total eclipse, and the writer clearly depicts totality at Alexandria. When I asked the astronomers to verify the statement, I was told that Oppolzer's chart shows the line of totality along the north of Asia Minor, and therefore far away from Alexandria. But the description of totality at Alexandria was so unmistakable, that I had the matter referred to Greenwich Observatory, where a rough calculation was made, correcting Oppolzer, and showing the line of totality as passing through Alexandria. Thus the historical accuracy of this record in the *Synaxarium* is completely vindicated.

between Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam and another quite independent authority. The Arabic historian makes two statements about Al Muḥaukis, the one emphasizing his military, the other his fiscal authority. On the fiscal side, we have clear confirmation from Coptic documents; on the military side I now give a curious confirmation from a seventh-century Syriac document which has not very long come to light. The *Chronicon Anonymum*, translated and edited by Guidi and published among the *Chronica Minora*,¹ was written in the seventh century shortly after the subjugation of Egypt, and it declares that the Arabs were deterred at first from the invasion because the frontiers of Egypt were defended with a large and powerful army *by the patriarch of Alexandria*. Such a statement would sound almost incredible, if it stood alone: how could an archbishop control these purely military measures? But if the patriarch at this time was Cyrus, as is not denied, and if Cyrus was Al Muḥaukis, then the assertion of the very early Syriac document exactly tallies with Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam's description of the viceroy as clothed with full military power.

So much, then, for Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam. It is obviously impossible to deny that he represents Al Muḥaukis as sent to Egypt by Heraclius with

¹ *Corpus Script. Hist. Orient.—Scriptores Syri: Ser. iii, t. iv, p. 31* 'Potiti sunt Arabes tota regione Syriae et Palaestinae. Aegyptium quoque ingredi in animo erat, sed non valuerunt: custodiēbantur enim fines exercitū magno et vi, a patriarcha Alexandrino'. Guidi remarks that the Chronicle as it stands may be dated with certainty A.D. 670–80, though parts seem older, and that it was the work of a Nestorian monk.

full civil and military power; that such a description cannot conceivably apply to any subordinate official; and that the evidence of this Arabic writer is most remarkably confirmed by independent Coptic and Syriac documents almost or actually contemporary with the conquest.

Al Balādhurī (A.D. 806-93) is not very definite about Al Muḥaukis. But he represents him as having concluded peace with 'Amr under a treaty which Heraclius repudiated—presumably the treaty of Miṣr; as subsequently in command at Alexandria during the siege; and as again negotiating with 'Amr for the surrender of that city. There is no word in this writer to support the assumption that the Muḥaukis was a subordinate official: indeed Balādhurī's account is in close agreement with John of Nikiou's account of Cyrus.

Al Y'akūbī (died A.D. 873), who was not an Egyptian, makes the Muḥaukis conclude peace with 'Amr—a peace which Heraclius repudiated.

Ibn al Athīr (A.D. 1160-1232) seems to follow Ṭabarī; but he describes Abū Maryam, who was sent by Al Muḥaukis to meet 'Amr, as *katholikos of Memphis*, clearly showing that he understood the expression *katholikos of Miṣr* as referring to the bishop of the city of Miṣr and not to the patriarch of Alexandria. There is therefore nothing inconsistent in Ibn al Athīr's evidence with the theory identifying Al Muḥaukis with Cyrus. I may add that bishop and archbishop were not very clearly distinguished by Arab writers. Thus Abū 'I Maḥāsin, who speaks of Abū Maryam as *katholikos of Miṣr*, also speaks of Benjamin as bishop of

Alexandria. So the phrase *bishop of Rome* is not unknown in history. But Ibn al Athīr represents the Muḥaukis as ordering battle to be given at 'Ain Shams on the advice of the military tribune; as negotiating later at Alexandria; and as making peace with the Arabs. This Arabic historian then in no way countenances the theory that the Muḥaukis could be a subordinate officer.

Yakūt (A.D. 1178-1229) makes the Muḥaukis the author of the peace on behalf of Copts and Romans and subject to the emperor's approval—evidence that he was in the writer's opinion viceroy of Egypt.

Al Makīn (A.D. 1205-73) says that Al Muḥaukis was 'governor of Egypt in the name of Heraclius', i.e. viceroy.

Ibn Duḡmāk (c. A.D. 1350-1406) cites Ibn Wahb as quoting Al Laith ibn S'ad as follows: 'Al Muḥaukis, the Roman, who was viceroy (وکیل) of Egypt, made terms of peace with 'Amr.'

Maḥrizī (A.D. 1365-1442) quotes Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb as saying that 'Al Muḥaukis, the Roman, being governor of Egypt, made peace with 'Amr'; and 'the fort', i.e. Babylon, 'was commanded by Al U'airig under the authority of the Muḥaukis'; and of the Muḥaukis again 'he governed the country for the emperor Heraclius'. He also made the Treaty of Miṣr, which the emperor repudiated, 'reproaching his *representative* with imitating the cowardice and meanness of the Egyptians,' &c. There is no shadow of doubt that Al Maḥrizī regarded Al Muḥaukis as viceroy of Egypt.

Abu 'I Maḥāsin (A.D. 1411-69) says that 'the

commander of Kaşr ash Sham'a (i.e. fortress of Babylon) was 'Ughairig, who was subordinate to Al Muḳauḳis'.¹ The same writer says again, 'Then began the siege of the fortress, which was commanded by Al Mandafūr² on behalf of Al Muḳauḳis, ibn Qarḳab al Yunānī.' Again he speaks of 'the principal Egyptians with their governor Al Muḳauḳis'. There was no question of an inferior official in the judgement of Abu 'l Maḥāsīn.

With him As Suyūṭī (A.D. 1445-1505) is in general agreement: 'The emperor Heraclius repudiated the agreement made by Al Muḳauḳis with the Arabs,' and so forth.

In order to meet Dr. Lane-Poole's statement that, so far as the Arabic evidence goes, Al Muḳauḳis might be 'sub-governor' or some official under the governor-general of Egypt, I have reviewed the evidence and selected definitions of his authority and position from the principal Arabic historians from Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam down to As Suyūṭī. And what is the result? They one and all either describe him as *ملك* king or viceroy, and *مستأمر*, prince or governor-general, or else they describe his office in terms which cannot possibly apply to any but the supreme authority in Egypt. The Arabic historians, therefore, can only be taken to prove that the Muḳauḳis was Heraclius' viceroy in Egypt; and they totally fail to support any theory which would

¹ Two MSS. give the name of the Muḳauḳis as *عج* or *عج* ibn Mīnā. Clearly the name has been transferred from the commander of the fortress to the Muḳauḳis by error.

² Probably *μανδάτωρ*, as I have shown. See *Arab Conquest*, p. 513.

assign to him any subordinate position. He was ruler of the country, deputed by the emperor, exactly as Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam alleges.

So much seems fairly established. But if Dr. Lane-Poole was driven to the theory that Al Muḳauḳis held a subordinate position as the only way of avoiding the identification of Al Muḳauḳis with Cyrus, and if that theory has been proved totally irreconcilable with the evidence of the Arabic historians on which he relied, then Dr. Lane-Poole's position has become altogether untenable.

But his argument had two divisions—one, that the Arabic evidence told against the identification of Cyrus with the Muḳauḳis, the other that the Coptic evidence was unworthy of credit. On the first I have rebutted his contention: I now will deal with his attempt to discredit the Coptic authorities. It is quite true that I said in the *Arab Conquest of Egypt*¹ that the historical value of certain Coptic documents which I named is not very great; but the saying is quoted somewhat unfairly against me. The reason I gave was that the writers, 'where they might have told us so much, furnish only a few scanty and incidental allusions to contemporary history'; but it is obviously most unjust to reject the historical material which Coptic authorities do afford on the ground that they do not afford more. In these documents the allusions to matters of history are clearly unstudied, and when they relate to contemporary events, they are of unquestionable value. I have already dwelt on the Bodleian seventh-century Coptic MS. recounting the visit of

¹ Pref. p. x.

the melkite archbishop to the monastery of Kalamūn, and I have shown how it agrees with the story of the same event (in which the visitor is called Al Muḩaukis) in the Arabic Synaxarium. Is this evidence to be rejected? On the contrary, I have shown that the identification of Cyrus as military ruler of Egypt is further confirmed by the seventh-century Syriac document, and I may now add that there is a distinct precedent for the union of the supreme secular and ecclesiastical power in a single person to be found in the sixth century. For Justinian offered the patriarchate of Alexandria coupled with the viceroyalty to Theodosius, if only he would accept the tome of Leo;¹ and, this being so, there is clearly nothing remarkable in the fact that Heraclius united both offices in the person of Cyrus.² Both these statements are made by, or at least occur in, Severus: whose history with its later additions is a compilation the value of which is now admitted by scholars. I spoke somewhat slightly of it, no doubt;³ but I spoke on imperfect acquaintance with the work, which then existed only in MS., but has since been in large part published. Mr. Evetts, who is editing the text with a translation, thus speaks of the work: '*L'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie* est le *Libër Pontificalis* de l'Église Copte. La première partie est une compilation faite . . . par Sévère, évêque d'El Eshmoucin dans la Haute-Égypte, d'après des documents grecs et coptes qu'il a trouvés dans les monastères de son pays et qu'il a traduits

¹ *Hist. Pal.*, p. 462.

² *Id.*, p. 489.

³ *Arab Conquest*, Pref., p. xiv.

avec l'aide de quelques clercs. . . . Dès le septième siècle et surtout dès l'époque de la conquête arabe, l'histoire des patriarches devient beaucoup plus complète et plus intéressante. *Nous avons ici une série de vraies biographies écrites par des auteurs contemporains.*' With this verdict no one who has carefully studied the work of Severus can fail to agree; but as I have not seen any reasoned discussion of the question, I may venture to give some of the grounds which justify a high estimate of Severus' authority as a historian.¹

From the earliest times the records of the Coptic Church seem to have been written mainly in the form of biographies, and to have been preserved in the library of the well-known monastery of Macarius at Waḩī Naṩrūn. No better place of security could have been found than within the walls of this remote convent fortress in the desert; and here were stored the MSS. on which Severus founded his history. A note dated June 1, A.D. 1081, and added to the text runs as follows²: 'Here ends the sixteenth chapter wherein the history of the fathers is completed as far as Abba Simon, the forty-second patriarch. . . . Hereafter will follow that which we have translated from the documents in the monastery of St. Macarius, viz. the history of the patriarchs from Michael the Last to Sinuthius the First. We

¹ Renaudot in his preface has some remarks on the value of Severus, and gives reasons for not publishing the whole text; but he does not deal with the internal evidence which the text affords for its historic authenticity (*Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum*, Paris, 1713, 4to).

² *Hist. Pal. Alex. in Patrol. Orient.*, t. v, fasc. 1, p. 47.

also translated in this monastery the lives of nine other patriarchs in the year 796 of the Martyrs (A.D. 1080). This is written by Apacyrus the deacon and Michael, son of Apater, of Damanhūr, through the grace of God which enabled us to find the histories in the monastery of St. Macarius, with the help of the brother Theodore, the steward, son of Paul, on Sunday the 6th of B'āunah in the year 797 of the righteous martyrs. We have compared the MSS. one with another and found them corresponding to our copies, and so we assured ourselves of their authenticity.

This is a record of the careful and conscientious study of original sources, and the same process can be traced nearly four centuries earlier. For we learn from another passage¹ that events up to the time of Chalcedon and Dioscorus (c. A.D. 450) were 'written down in the twelfth part of the histories of the Church'. Next, for the chronicle from Cyril down to Alexander 'we may consult the teacher and scribe George, archdeacon and secretary to the patriarch Simon' (A.D. 689-701), who also wrote his history at the monastery of St. Macarius; and the writer adds, 'Therefore I, the vile sinner, beg you to pray the Lord Christ for me that he may loose the bond of my feeble tongue and open my darkened heart and give me knowledge of words, so that I may be able to show forth what you, my brethren and my father, ask of me, not as a teacher and guide above you but as a scholar, since I saw that of which I have written with mine own eyes and its importance imposes an obligation upon me, besides

¹ *Hist. Pat.*, pp. 90-93.

what I heard from friends older than myself such as I could trust and believe.¹ . . . Indeed the Lord Christ knows that *we have added nothing to the facts*, having related what took place down to the death of the blessed father Theodore, patriarch of Alexandria, and the affairs of state in his days to the end of the seventeenth chapter of the history, completed above, i.e. to A.D. 743. 'Now . . . we will write the eighteenth chapter of the history of the Church,' the historian proceeds, while to an assertion which he makes a few lines lower he adds, 'as we witnessed with our own eyes many times'; and again, 'They set up a king called Kyriakos (in Nubia) who has remained king to the day on which I write this history.'² Here is clear proof of a contemporary writer in the eighth century of our era. The writer was the secretary to Mūsā, bishop of Wasim, near Gīzah, who constantly writes in the first person—e.g. 'we attended at the palace,' 'there was with us Abba Theodore, bishop of Miṣr,' &c.—and he gives textually an extract of the patriarch Michael's memorandum (on the subject of the monastery of Minā by Mariūt) which was presented to 'Abd al Malik's secretary.'³ On the other hand he defends an omission of certain incidents by saying, 'I have related these matters

¹ This bears a close resemblance to the well-known passage in Thucydides i. 22 τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν προχθέρων . . . οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ τυχόντος συνθανόμενος ἡέλωτα γράψεν, οὐδ' ὡς ἐμοὶ ἰδοίκει, ἀλλ' οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσων δυνατόν ἀκριβερέα περὶ ἐκείνου ἐπεξέλεδον. It would have been well if Ṭabarī and other Arabic writers had shown the same critical spirit and the same regard for historical accuracy.

² *Hist. Pat.*, p. 143.

³ *Id.*, p. 122.

in the book of his (Michael's) biography apart from this history'.¹ But he again records historical events—the death of Marwān: 'they impaled Marwān head downwards, having taken him prisoner: and we were witnesses of this event'.²

In the seventh century the biographer of John III (A.D. 677–86), in recounting the story of John's last journey to Alexandria says, 'the writer of this history was with him, for he was his spiritual son,' and he gives many graphic details such as a contemporary writer alone could furnish.

Further, many historical allusions which occur in Severus and can be controlled, are obviously correct. Thus in the account of Simon I we read, 'On a Sunday news came to the Amīr that the army of the Romans had risen against the prince Justinian and deposed him, and had appointed Leontius in his stead'.³ Simon's patriarchate is dated A.D. 689–701 or rather 700, and Justinian II was deposed in A.D. 695. Again, 'Meanwhile the Roman monarchy was like a children's game'.⁴ For when the Romans had deposed Justinian their prince, they made Leo (or Leontius) their ruler in his place. But Leo was put to death before he had completed the third year of his reign, and after him reigned Apeimaros (called Tiberius)... After him reigned Philippicus. Then after two years Anastasius was made prince of the Romans and is still reigning. [By saying *still* the writer means at the time of composing the history.⁵]

¹ *Hist. Pat.*, p. 114.

² *Id.*, p. 187.

³ *Id.*, p. 35.

⁴ Such as that known as *King of the Castle*.

⁵ *Hist. Pat.*, p. 57. The words in square brackets are a note by

One other instance must suffice. When the tyrant Kūrah was governor of Egypt, we are told that he exercised the most violent extortion, seizing and confiscating private property, estates, revenues, and endowments, till the people were reduced to abject poverty, 'and men began to flee from place to place, but no place would harbour them.' For Kūrah sent his agent, 'who collected the fugitives from every place, and brought them back, and bound them and punished them'.¹ These events are recorded as happening in the patriarchate of Alexander II (A.D. 705–30). Now this account has been absolutely confirmed by the recently discovered Aphrodito papyri, where precisely the same story of the fugitives may be gathered from the Greek documents, which are dated A.D. 708–10.² This coincidence of the two versions is exceedingly strong evidence for the historical accuracy of the *History of the Patriarchs*.

It is no doubt difficult at times to distinguish the real author of any particular story in this work, for the reason that the biographies and other documents embodied in the history were written by several hands during the life or just after the death of the successive patriarchs; and the *ego* of the writer is constantly changing. Thus the compiler who says, at the end of the life of Michael I, 'he the translator or editor of the original Greek or Coptic record. Mr. Evetts ascribes the note to Mauhib.

¹ *Hist. Pat.*, p. 64.

² See two articles by Mr. H. I. Bell, (1) *The Aphrodito Papyri in Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xxviii, p. 98 (1908), and (2) *Translations of the Greek Aphrodito Papyri in the British Museum in Der Islam*, Bd. ii, Heft 2/3, p. 270 (Strassburg, 1911).

remained on the evangelical throne, according to the statement which we found in the library of the monastery of St. Macarius, twenty-three years and a half¹ (to A.D. 768), cannot be the same as the writer who speaks of Anastasius as Roman emperor still reigning, though he is doubtless the author of the comment on the word *still*. But the fact that the various MSS. found in the library were copied *verbatim et litteratim*, and that they go back to the earliest times and are contemporary for the most part with the events recorded, gives a very high value to the work. Of course, miraculous and fabulous elements as well as mistakes are found, just as they are found in all the Arab historians; but there would be little early history of any sort left, if every record tainted with legendary matter or error were rejected. And on the whole I say without fear that the general credibility of the patriarchal chronicles on matters of history is established beyond question.

This has been a rather long digression; but it was necessary to rebut Dr. Lane-Poole's assertion impugning Severus' authority. He makes a great point of the apparent admission by Severus that he did not know Greek or Coptic. This confession of ignorance is certainly made by the writer of the third preface to the history; but there is strong evidence that Severus' name was attached by the error of a copyist to that preface, which Severus cannot have written.² There proves therefore on examination to

¹ *Hist. Pal.*, p. 215.

² The share of Severus in the editorship of these histories is difficult to determine. If the third preface were written by him, it

be little or no warrant for the belief that Severus was ignorant of Greek and Coptic, and every warrant for the belief that his history was a careful compilation founded upon authentic documents. It is accordingly wrong to discredit his evidence; indeed, I am not aware of a single Arab historian whose work can be shown to be based in the same way upon a continuous series of written records, and records, for the most part, of contemporary writers. The Arab historians recount a great many traditions of early times, but they very seldom cite or even mention original documents.¹ In other words, Coptic history is based on a much more scientific and solid foundation of MS. authority.

These considerations justify such an estimate of the historical value of Severus' work, that its evidence on the question of Al Muḥaukis' identity cannot be

would mean that his collection went down to his own times, i. e. at least to A.D. 977, and that it included some biographies, composed by himself, of patriarchs his contemporaries. But the author or compiler of the ten biographies from Michael III (A.D. 881) to Simeon II (died A.D. 1047) was Michael, bishop of Tinnis; and in these Severus had no hand. It seems probable, according to the best opinion, that Severus' own work was the collection and compilation of the lives of the first forty-two patriarchs from St. Mark to Simon I, and that this is the work referred to as the *Book of Biographies* in the list of Severus' works given in the Life of Philotheus (A.D. 981-1005); and also the work which about a hundred years later was discovered at the monastery of the Lady at Nahyā by Maubūb, as he relates in his preface to the twenty-sixth chapter of the *History of the Patriarchs*, a chapter not yet published (Paris MS. 302, p. 135).

¹ Of course, it is common enough for one Arab writer to quote another, e.g. Maḥrīzī cites Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam and others. But Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam does not enlighten us with regard to his original MS. sources.

lightly set aside. Let us see then what Severus says—or rather the biographer of the patriarch Benjamin.

'Heraclius appointed Cyrus, governor of Egypt, to be both patriarch and governor together.' When Cyrus came to Alexandria Benjamin was warned and fled to a desert monastery in Upper Egypt, where he remained in hiding for ten years, and 'these were the years', he says, 'during which Heraclius and Al Muḳaukis reigned over Egypt.' He again speaks of Al Muḳaukis as having driven him away, and speaks of Cyrus as 'the misbelieving governor of Alexandria, who was both governor and patriarch under the Romans'.¹ This language establishes the identity of Cyrus and Al Muḳaukis very clearly, and, as I have shown,² it completely agrees with the language of the Arabic Synaxarium.³ —'Al Muḳaukis was head of the faith of Chalcedon, and had been made governor and patriarch over Egypt',—and with the Ethiopic Synaxarium, 'Al Muḳaukis, i. e. the governor and archbishop of the city of Alexandria and all the land of Egypt.' I have also shown the exact correspondence of the language with that of the contemporary Bodleian MS., which makes the Muḳaukis hold the two offices of archbishop (or patriarch) and controller of finance in Egypt; and I have shown how a nearly contem-

¹ *Hist. Pat.*, pp. 490, 491, 495.

² *Arab Conquest*, p. 521.

³ The fact that the story of Benjamin at Kalamūn and the visit of Al Muḳaukis is confirmed by the contemporary Bodleian MS., is good evidence for the authority of the Synaxarium on this question.

porary Syriac MS., the *Chronicon Anonymum*, makes the patriarch of Alexandria responsible for the military defences of Egypt against the Arabs; while on the other hand the Arab historian Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam describes the viceroy of Heraclius in Egypt as possessing full military power and as controller of finance, and calls him Al Muḳaukis.

The Greek historians also use language tending to the same conclusion. Nicephorus¹ says that Heraclius sent Marianus to Alexandria to act in concert with Cyrus, the patriarch of Alexandria, and to settle together some arrangement with regard to the Arabs; and again he speaks of Cyrus as bishop of Alexandria.²

Theophanes is more explicit. He says, 'on the death of George (melkite or Chalcedonian patriarch) Cyrus was sent as bishop to Alexandria,'³ and speaking of the Arabs he says: 'They invaded Egypt. Now Cyrus was charged before the emperor with having made over the gold of Egypt to the Arabs, and the emperor sent an angry message for his recall.'⁴

The facts to which these Greek writers testify are as follows. Both agree that Cyrus was patriarch of

¹ Nicephorus Constantinopolitanus, *De Rēbus post Mauriciū gestis*, *Corp. Script. Hist. Byzant.*, p. 28 παραγγέλλας ὡς ἀνακοινῶσθαι Κύρῳ τῷ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπάρχῃ καὶ ὡς ἐν κοινῇ βουλευέσονται τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Σαρακενοὺς διαβούρῃ.

² *Id. ib.*, p. 30.

³ See *Corp. Script. Hist. Byzant.*, *Theophanes*, t. i, p. 507.

⁴ *Id. ib.*, p. 518 Στρατεύουσι κατ' Αἰγύπτου. κατηγορεῖτο δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς τὸ χρυσίον τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοῖς Σαρακενοῖς δοῦν. καὶ ἀποστείλας μετ' ὀργῆς τοῦτον μετεπέμψατο.

Alexandria. Nicephorus also represents Marianus,¹ the military commander, as sent by Heraclius under orders to act with Cyrus in reference to the Arabs—a statement which implies that Cyrus had secular as well as ecclesiastical authority in Egypt; while Theophanes asserts that Cyrus, having undertaken to pay tribute to the Arabs, was angrily recalled by Heraclius. This again implies that Cyrus was armed with secular power as Heraclius' viceroy, and the allusion is clearly to the treaty of Mişr made by Cyrus and its angry repudiation by the emperor.²

¹ The names Marinus and Marianus are both given in Theophanes, but to separate persons; and I cannot help wondering whether these names lie concealed under the Arabic Abū Maryām and Abū Maryām. Marianus also is found in the biography of Benjamin in Severus. It is of course true that these Graeco-Roman names are given to generals and not to bishops, as in Tabari's story; but the confusion is quite possible. The name Aretianus is also found, and some confusion with Aretion certainly exists here; while Arrianus seems to be another variant.

² Caetani (pp. 244-5) has a long note criticizing what he calls my reconstruction of the conquest in connexion with this incident. He is persuaded that the Copts, literally so called as distinct from the Romans, entered into the treaty of Mişr—a view which I have endeavoured to refute above—and he remarks: 'Non è logico che i Copti, nel fare un trattato con gli Arabi, si riserbassero di sentire il parere ed avere l'approvazione di Eraclio. È chiaro che Eraclio l'avrebbe respinto. Nel testo di Ibn 'Abd al Hakam si parla d'un solo trattato e non di due. Ciro al principio dell'assedio di Babilonia era forse in Alessandria, e le fonti bizantine ignorano questo trattato respinto da Eraclio e la deposizione di Ciro per effetto di esso.' Apart from the fallacious assumption that the Copts, as such, were in a position to make any treaty, it seems a sufficient answer to say that the learned Italian writer must have forgotten Theophanes. For the rest, I cannot agree that the recall of Cyrus was caused by his general mismanagement of the war, or by a sudden outburst of wrath on Heraclius' part, or that his

But how closely this evidence of the Greek historians tallies with that of the Arab writers in all but this one point—that the Arabs use the term *Al Muḥaukis* where the Greeks write *Cyrus*! For the Arab writers agree generally that the treaty with 'Amr was made by Al Muḥaukis, that it had to be submitted by him for approval to Heraclius, and that Heraclius repudiated it with anger; and though they do not mention the recall of Al Muḥaukis, the recall of Cyrus is confirmed by the contemporary writer John of Nikiou.

It remains briefly to notice the testimony of two Christian Arabic historians—Abū Ṣāliḥ, and Sa'īd ibn al Bāṭriḳ or Eutychius. Abū Ṣāliḥ, while agreeing that Al Muḥaukis was made governor of Egypt by Heraclius,¹ also says that the ten years of banishment suffered by the patriarch Benjamin were the ten years during which Al Muḥaukis was ruling in Egypt.² I do not blink the fact that Abū Ṣāliḥ makes the Muḥaukis bear the name of George, son of Minā,³ and that other writers give

mission to Egypt after Heraclius' death proves that he was not regarded as a traitor. It merely proves that the surrender advocated by Cyrus was no longer thought impossible. One more point. Yāqūt expressly says that though the Muḥaukis generally resided at Alexandria, yet that he was at Babylon at the time of the siege, as Caetani (p. 254) records: how then can Caetani justify the assertion that he was *perhaps* at Alexandria?

¹ Caetani, p. 81.

² Id., p. 230.

³ I have not much to alter in the views expressed by me in the *Arab Conquest* (pp. 522-3), though I doubt now whether Al 'Arāj (which means 'the cripple') was suggested in any way by Jurij or Jurajj. It looks more like a nickname to which we have no further clue; while Jurajj doubtless, as Caetani remarks, corresponds to Gregory rather than to George. In that case it = Ẕarḳar. Caetani,

other names; but it is sufficient to say that no name whatever is attached to the title in any early authority, and that a name first occurring five or six centuries after the death of Al Muḥaukis cannot stand for a moment against the cumulative force of the arguments identifying Al Muḥaukis with Cyrus. Abū Ṣāliḥ the Armenian then agrees with the Coptic and Greek and with the Egyptian historians as to the office which Al Muḥaukis held, and he agrees with Severus that Al Muḥaukis was the Chalcedonian persecutor of the Copts who drove Benjamin into exile.

Euty chius (A.D. 876-939) wrote about three centuries before Abū Ṣāliḥ, and it must be remembered that he was not merely a Chalcedonian himself, but actually melkite patriarch in Egypt. He says, 'After the flight of George, Cyrus became patriarch of Alexandria. He was a Maronite, of the same creed as Heraclius';¹ but in another place² he says:

وكان العامل على الخراج بمصر الموقوس من قبل هرقل الملك

The controller of the revenue in Egypt on behalf of the emperor Heraclius was Al Muḥaukis, 'who was', he adds, 'a Jacobite (or Copt) hating the Romans, but not daring to betray his Jacobite opinions, lest he should be put to death by the Romans'!

Of course Euty chius as melkite patriarch was anxious to remove from the memory of Cyrus the

p. 91: cf. also his note on p. 94 with reference to my explanation of the term *Ḳarḳar*.

¹ *Euty chii Annales*, ed. Pococke, t. ii, p. 267 (Oxon., 1654, 4to).

² *Id. ib.*, p. 302.

odium of the surrender of Egypt to the Arabs; but he is driven to strange shifts. Thus having declared that Cyrus came as patriarch on Heraclius' appointment to Alexandria, he avers on the same page that there was no melkite patriarch of Alexandria for ninety-seven years after the flight of George—a very daring perversion of history. Apparently, therefore, Euty chius at once refuses to recognize Cyrus as melkite patriarch and at the same time charges Al Muḥaukis with being a Copt at heart. The very charge is an admission that Al Muḥaukis was professedly a melkite: and though Euty chius does not say that Cyrus and Al Muḥaukis were one, this coincidence is very significant; while his further statement that Al Muḥaukis was made controller of the revenue by Heraclius brings him into line with Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam and with the Bodleian Coptic MS. Like the Arab writers too Euty chius represents Al Muḥaukis as present in the fortress of Babylon at the siege, as retiring to Raḍḍah, as negotiating with 'Amr, and as concluding peace by the Treaty of Mişr. But I attribute Euty chius' failure to identify Cyrus with Al Muḥaukis in terms rather to ignorance than to disingenuousness—an ignorance which leads him to speak of Al Muḥaukis as alive at the time of Manuel's rebellion.¹

¹ Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam has been quoted as supporting this statement; but the fact is that there was no one alive at the date of Manuel's rebellion (A.D. 645) to whom the name could apply, and Arab writers persistently confuse the peaceful surrender of Alexandria by the Muḥaukis with its subsequent recapture from the rebel Manuel.

I have now shown what an extraordinary concurrence and convergence of evidence there is from original and sometimes contemporary documents—Greek, Coptic, Syriac, and Arabic—establishing the identity of Al Muḳauḳis with Cyrus, Patriarch of Alexandria, Controller of the Revenues, and Governor-General of Egypt at the time of the conquest. It is no answer to say that the title Al Muḳauḳis is sometimes given by Arab historians to this or that person who cannot have been Cyrus. I admit the fact, but totally deny the conclusion that, because the term is misapplied in particular cases and bestowed on different persons, therefore it does not properly belong to any single person. That seems to be Caetani's argument.¹ But the truth rather is that while the Arab historians for the most part wrote with only a vague notion of the Muḳauḳis as

¹ p. 342. 'Nella narrazione della resa di Babilonia presso le fonti Arabi noi crediamo perciò possibile che sotto il nome di Al Muḳawqis siano da intendersi due persone distinte e diverse, le quali nullo hanno che fare con Ciro ossia il comandante militare greco che consegnò la rocca di Babilonia, e un qualche vescovo copto che ottenne un accordo provvisorio per la protezione degli Egizii sino alla fine della campagna contro i Greci. Siccome Ciro infine riappare sicuramente nei cronisti musulmani come Al Muḳawqis alla resa di Alessandria, è evidente che sotto un solo nome si ascondono per lo meno tre persone distinte.' Again on pp. 244-5 he speaks of my 'erroneous theory that Al Muḳauḳis is always Cyrus'. That of course is an unfair presentation of the case. I admit fully that actions and situations are ascribed by Arab historians to an Al Muḳauḳis who cannot always be Cyrus; but their erroneous application of the name does not render my theory erroneous. But I hope it is not presumptuous to say, in differing from Caetani, that I have the profoundest respect and admiration for his monumental *Annali dell' Islam* and the amazing amount of scholarly labour and research which it contains.

governor of Egypt, they not unnaturally represent him at times as concerned in actions or incidents in which he had no direct part or presence. They were undeniably bewildered on the subject of his name and personality, and thus make mistakes about it. But the problem remains amid their discrepancies to discover the true personality—to identify the real Muḳauḳis. No Arab writer has said or could say that there were three different persons all rightly bearing that title: nor is it logical to argue that the existence of discrepancies renders the riddle of the title insoluble. It is the business of historical criticism to sift discrepancies and to get at the underlying truth. And I venture to think that an impartial survey of the evidence establishes beyond question the conclusion that Al Muḳauḳis must be identified with Cyrus and with no one else.

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DOCUMENT 8

COLETTI, ALESSANDRO, 'AMR IBN AL-'AS: CONQUISTATORE DELL'EGITTO.
(ROMA, 1981)
ARABIC/ITALIAN
SECTIONS XV-XVIII

عبد السلام العشرى

ABDUSALAM AL-'ASHARI

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'AMR IBN AL-'AS

Conquistatore dell'Egitto

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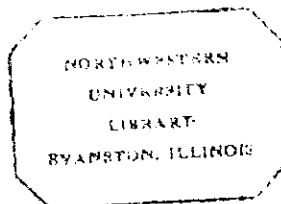
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Introduzione

Stile. Lingua. Criteri della traduzione.

Questa biografia di عمرو بن العاص 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ, il conquistatore arabo dell'Egitto (594-664), é apparsa nel 1957 al Cairo (collana مشاهير العرب della casa editrice دار المعارف). L'autore, عبد السلام العشرى 'Abd as-Salâm al-'Aṣarî, alto funzionario del Ministero dell'educazione e dell'insegnamento, é scrittore di talento che si distingue sia per visione poetica che per indagine storica (1). L'operetta nel delineare la carriera del grande generale spazia con scorcio efficace dall'ultimo periodo del paganesimo in Arabia, attraverso le lotte fra musulmani e idolatri, le grandi conquiste, la rivolta e i torbidi sotto il califfato di 'Utmân e di 'Alî, fino all'avvento degli Omayyadi. Animata d'entusiasmo etnico-religioso, trabocca d'ammirazione per il miracolo compiuto dall'Islâm: una gente fino allora nomade e solo avvezza alla pastorizia, al commercio, alla guerriglia, si è trasformata in una truppa di credenti che sbaraglia gli eserciti dei più potenti imperi in nome dei sublimi ideali di eguaglianza e libertà. Il ġihâd con i suoi martiri (شہيد = testimone della fede, come greco μάρτυς).

Suggestiva e vivida é la rievocazione iniziale della vita alla Mecca durante la ġâhiliyya con le sue rivalità gentilizie e commerciali. Suggestivi sono pure certi cenni descrittivi come quello che apre il cap.III con gli idoli della Ka'ba illuminati da quella aurora fatale; quello alla terra che germina fecondata dal Nilo (cap.XIX); quello che allude all'imminenza del primo albeggiare, quando i tre imâm escono per la preghiera, con l'espressione di origine coranica (al-baqara, 186):

وكاد الخيط الأبيض يتبين من الخيط الأسود "il filo bianco stava per distinguersi dal filo nero" (cap.XX).

La lingua é classicamente pura. Lo stile, pur modernamente sobrio, abbonda in procedimenti retorici, in immagini cariche tradizionali. Alcuni motivi sono ripetuti con predilezione come la vita rude e frugale dei primi musulmani e il loro principio d'uguaglianza descritti da un messo che ne ha visitato il campo;

1) Altra sua opera scritta in collaborazione con Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ġanî Ḥasan, è la vita di أمينة بنت وهب Āmina bintu 'Wahab, la madre del profeta, racconto agiografico pervaso da tenero e fresco sentimento religioso (موسسة المطبوعات الحديثة Cairo).

الصحراء : أما النهر فماء واسع متدافع شديد الروعة ، متصلون إليه بالصبر واليقين ، وسيمينكم ما شربتم من هذا الجدول .
ومضى شهر وقذائف الحصن تنثر في جوانبه ، والروم يخرجون فيدوقون سيوف المسلمين الماتية : ثم يفرون إلى حصنهم . حتى خارت قواهم ، ووجدوا ألا مفرّاً من التسليم .
وأشرق ضوء الصباح اخادئ على أبواب الحصن وقد تفتحت مستسلمة ، فاندفع فيها جيش الإسلام بلفه التكبير والتهليل والحمد ، وهرع المسلمون إلى الجدول يعينون منه ويمزجون مائه بإيمانهم . ثم استأنفوا المسير من القرى : تردد ألسنتهم آيات القرآن وبشارة الرسول ، وعمررو أمامهم ليثاً جسوراً : بقوى العزائم ويبشر بالنصر القريب : حتى بلغوا بلييس ، وكان الأرطيون قد استعد فيها للملاقاة المسلمين محتضياً بحصنها المنيع فالتفت المسلمون حوله وضيقوا عليه الحناق : وأذاقوا من خراج منه طعم الموت ، حتى يش المحاصرون وفتحوا الأبواب يطلبون الأمان .
وشد المسلمون على مقابض سيوفهم ، وهبوا في عاصفة من التكبير والتهليل إلى تلك الأبواب المتفتحة : وأمامهم عمرو مرفوع السيف باسم الثغر . يعلن دخول « بلييس » في أحضان الإسلام : ويبشر المسلمين بالفتح المبين : فقد أصبحوا على مسيرة يوم واحد من رأس الدلتا : حيث تنشب المعركة الفاصلة بين قوة الحق وعدة الباطل .

بين فكي الأسد

يوم واحد من رأس الدلتا ! يوم واحد من النيل ! النصر للحق والخذلان للباطل !
كانت هذه اختافات تدوى في وسط الصحراء : تشهد الله على ما في قلوب المؤمنين من الإخلاص لدينه ، والعمل لإعلاء كلمته ، وتخرج من أفواه المسلمين قوية حارة : فتلتقي بظلمات السيوف المتوهجة في أشعة الشمس فتزيد بريقاً ورونقاً . حتى بلغوا مكاناً على مقربة من النيل في حدود الصحراء يسمى « عين شمس » فاتخذوه عمرو قاعدة له .
وكان الروم يلقبون أكنفهم عجباً من هذا الجيش وقائده : وقد أجمعوا

vo scivolato via dal Nilo attraverso il deserto? Quanto al fiume, esso é un'acqua vasta, impetuosa, incantevole, alla quale giungerete con tenacia e fiducia e vi sarà d'aiuto quello che avrete bevuto da questo rivo.

Passò un mese e i proiettili della fortezza si sparpagliavano intorno ai suoi lati. I Rûm uscivano, assaggiavano le sciabole avvampanti dei musulmani, poi fuggivano nella fortezza, e ciò finché si spossarono le loro forze e capirono ch'era inevitabile la resa.

Spuntò sulle porte della fortezza la luce del quieto mattino in cui si aprirono per la resa. Si riversarono per esse i soldati dell'Islâm avvolti dalle grida di lode alla grandezza d'Allâh, all'Unico Dio. I musulmani accorsero al rivo a sorbire di quell'acqua e mescolarla con la loro fede. Allora, lasciata al-Farmâ, ripresero il cammino mentre le loro lingue ripetevano i versetti del Corano e l'annuncio del profeta, e 'Amr andava innanzi a loro, ardito leone, rinvigorendo la tenacia, annunciando la vittoria vicina. Andarono finché giunsero a Bilbîs. Là si teneva pronto Artabuno ad affrontare i musulmani, trincerato nella munita fortezza. I musulmani accerchiarono questa, le strinsero sopra il laccio che soffoca e a quanti ne uscirono fecero gustare il gusto della morte, finché gli assediati disperarono e aprirono le porte chiedendo di aver la vita salva.

I musulmani strinsero le impugnature delle sciabole e s'avventarono, vento d'una tempesta di lodi alla grandezza d'Allâh, all'Unico Dio, verso quelle porte aperte, con 'Amr innanzi a loro, la sciabola levata, il labbro sorridente, che proclamava l'entrata di Bilbîs nel seno dell'Islâm. Già erano giunti a una sola giornata di marcia dal vertice del delta, dove si sarebbe impegnata la battaglia decisiva fra la forza della verità e le armi della menzogna.

XV Tra le mandibole del leone

A una sola giornata dal vertice del delta, a una sola giornata dal Nilo! Vittoria alla verità! Disfatta alla menzogna!

Queste esclamazioni rintonanti in mezzo al deserto, testimoniando ad Allâh quanta pia devozione alla sua religione era nei cuori dei credenti e quanta energia per esaltare la sua parola, uscivano forti e calorose dalle bocche dei musulmani e s'incontravano con le lame delle sciabole fiammeggianti ai raggi del sole, le quali avevano più intenso lo sfolgorar dei lampi. Essi giunsero così ad un luogo nei pressi del Nilo, ai confini del deserto, che si chiamava 'Ayn Šams. (56) Amr lo scelse per suo quartiere.

I Rûm agitavano le mani dallo stupore per quell'esercito e

أمرهم على أن يضربوه الضربة القاصمة إذا تقدم إلى النيل ، وكانت كبرى حامياتهم في حصن منيع على النيل يسمى حصن بابلون ، فقرروا أن يفتنوا لهمرو في مكان حصين على النيل قبل بابلون يسمى « أم دين » ، وهو مكان تحمية الجيوش من البر ، وتحريمه السفن من النيل .
ورتب قائد الروم دفاعه ، ونظر إلى جيوشه في البر وفي الماء وقهقهه قهقهة عالية ، ولوى عنقه في كبرياء ثم صاح :
- عمرو ! أين عمرو ؟ ! أظن أن كل لقاء حرب ؟ ! هنا سيدفن !
في هذا الماء ستلقى جثث رجاله ! سوف تسجل أم دين ما لم تسجله أجنادين وبلييس ! .

ثم علت قهقهته وردد مرة أخرى :

- عمرو ! وأين هذا العمر ؟ !

وبعد أن اطمان القائد العربي إلى قاعدته في عين شمس ، استأنف مسيره حتى بلغ أم دين ، ونظر إلى حصونها وقلاعها ثم خاطب نفسه :
- يا لله ! حصونها منيعة وأسوارها محكمة ! والسفن تحرس بجانب النيل فكيف العمل ؟ . ولم يطل الوقوف بعمره ، وتقدم إليه جيش الرومان ، وتحركت سيوف العرب وعرفت طريقها إلى قلوب أعدائها وهاماتهم حتى أحس الروم بخوارتها وتذكروا ما سمعوه عن معونة السماء لهم ، فلولوا الأدبار واحتموا بالحصن ، ثم عاودوا الكرة مرة بعد مرة فأحس عمرو بضرورة المدد فكتب إلى الخليفة يستمده ليتم الفتح .

وانتضى اليوم إثر اليوم والشهر إثر الشهر وعمرو يصيد هجمات الروم ، ويرقب الطريق ليرى طلائع المدد الذي بعث به الخليفة فلا يرى مدداً ولا من يبشر بمدد . ونظر إلى قوة الروم الكبيرة وأعدادهم الكثيرة وجيشه القليل ، ولكنه لم يهن ولم يضعف ، واستمد من عزيمته مدداً ، ومن روحه جيشاً عرمرماً ، وآل أن يفتح حصن أم دين ، ونفخ من روحه في قلوب أصحابه وتقدم أمامهم فالتفت سيوف المسلمين براقب الروم ، وواصلت اقتلاع رؤوسهم يوماً وليلاً حتى تركوا سفنهم وعدتهم ، وأسرعوا إلى آخر حصن من حصونهم تاركين أم دين للمسلمين يدخلونها مكبرين مهللين ، فرحين بما آتاهم الله من فضله ، يستعدون لانتحام الملأ الأخير .

per il suo capitano. Avevano preso il consiglio di infliggergli il colpo che doveva stroncarlo, quando sarebbe avanzato fino al Nilo. Il grosso delle loro forze di difesa era stanziato nella munita fortezza del Nilo chiamata Forte di Babilonia, ma decisero di tener testa ad 'Amr nella piazzaforte sul Nilo che precedeva Babilonia (57) e si chiamava Umm Danîn, che difendevano gli eserciti dalla terra e le navi appoggiavano dal Nilo.

Il comandante Pûm mise in assetto la sua difesa. Guardò i suoi eserciti di terra e d'acqua, diede in una sonora sghignazzata, girò il collo con superbia e gridò:

- 'Amr! Dov'è 'Amr? Crede che ogni scontro sia una guerra? Qui sarà sepolto! In quest'acqua saranno scaraventati i cadaveri dei suoi uomini! Umm Danîn farà quello che non fecero Ağna-dayn e Bilbîs!

Sghignazzò più forte e ripeté:

- 'Amr! Dov'è questo 'Amr?

Il capitano arabo dopo che si fu assicurato del suo quartiere ad 'Ayn Šams, riprese il cammino finché giunse ad Umm Danîn. Guardò alle fortezze e cittadelle che c'erano e disse fra sé:

- Allâh, le loro fortezze sono ben munite, hanno mura massicce; le navi proteggono il lato sul Nilo. Come si ha da fare? Ma 'Amr non stette fermo a lungo ché le truppe dei Rûm avanzarono contro di lui. Vibrarono le sciabole degli arabi e conobbero la via loro ai cuori e alle teste dei nemici, tanto che i Rûm al provarne l'ardore, si rammentarono di quello che avevano udito, che il cielo le soccorreva. Volsero le spalle e si trincerarono nella fortezza. Poi ritornarono alla carica, una volta dopo l'altra, e 'Amr sentì la necessità di rinforzi. Scrisse al califfo chiedendogli ausili per portare a termine la conquista.

Passarono i giorni uno dopo l'altro e i mesi, mentre 'Amr stornava gli assalti dei nemici. Egli osserva la via, se mai veda spuntare la staffetta dei rinforzi che il califfo gli ha mandati, ma non vede rinforzi né alcuno che li annunci. Guarda la forza ingente dei Rûm, le loro caterve numerose; guarda il proprio piccolo esercito ma non geme, non si fiacca. Alla sua fermezza chiese rinforzi, al suo animo milizia sterminata e giurò d'espugnare il forte d' Umm Danîn. Il suo animo egli insufflò nei cuori dei compagni e, primo d'essi, avanzò.

Le sciabole dei musulmani avvolsero i colli dei Rûm, continuarono per un giorno e una notte a troncar le teste loro finché, abbandonate le navi e le armi, essi corsero all'ultima fortezza delle loro, lasciando Umm Danîn ai musulmani.

Vi entrarono questi chiamando grande, chiamando unico Allâh, lieti del favore concesso da Allâh, pronti ad espugnare l'ultima rocca.

وكان حصن بابلين ، متين البناء يحيط به خندق واسع ، قد وضع
الرومان فيه أسلاكاً من الحديد كالشوك تنشب في كل رجل أو حافر
يقع عليها ، ونظر عمرو إلى ماء النيل فرآه مائلاً إلى الحمرة ، ووجد به يزيد
كل يوم وحمرة تشتد يوماً بعد يوم ، فعلم أن مصر مقدمة على الفيضان ،
وخاف أن يملأ الماء الخندق فيعوق اقتحام الحصن ، وأن يفيض في الترع
والخلجان فيحصرهم في وسط مصر ، وتصبح قوة المسلمين مطوقة في هذه
البلاد الواسعة ، وود لو ^{هــ} له اقتحام هذا الحصن قبل بلوغ الفيضان
أقصاه ، وكان الروم قد دخلوا الحصن ومعهم أكابر القبط ورؤسائهم
والمقوقس عظيمهم ، فأحكم عمرو الحصار ، وشدد قبضته على أقوى
مقل من معقل الروم ، ثم أخذ يفكر فيما يصنع حتى ينحسر هذا الماء .
ولم يطل التفكير بعمره ، فقد خيل إلى قائد الروم أن يباغت العرب
ويقتضى عليهم فجمع عشرين ألفاً من الجنود المدربين ، وأحكم الخطة
تكون هذه الموقعة نهاية عمرو وخيل عمرو : وتأكد الجنود أن درة النجاح
معلقة على هذه الموقعة ، فإما كسبها ، وإما طارت من أيديهم وألقوا
بعيداً عن مصر ونيلها إذا ^{هــ} هم البقاء ، واختار القائد أن يهاجم العرب
في قاعدتهم بعين شمس .

كانت صورة مصر البديعة وخيراتها العجيبة تراءى أمام جنود الرومان ،
ثم يتخيلون أن العرب قد انتزعوها من أيديهم فتثور حماسهم ويشد عزيمتهم ،
وكانت هذه الصورة الجميلة تراءى أمام المسلمين ويتخيلون أنهم ينتزعونها
من أيدي الظالمين ، وأن ثواب الله سيفدق عليهم جزاء إنقاذها ونجدها :
فتشتد عزائمهم وتثور حماسهم كذلك . وسار الرومان إلى الجيش العربي في
عين شمس والآمال تضحك في قلوبهم : موقنين بالنصر على هذه القوة
القليلة التي لن تقف ولو حرسها الشياطين لهذا الجيش الذي يسد الأفق .
وكان عمرو قد علم ما بينته الروم ، ونظر إلى جيشه الصغير ثم أطرق
بفكر في خطة يقابل بها ذلك الجيش الضخم ، لا مدد يزيد العدد ،
ولا سلاح يضمه إلى السلاح ، ولا شيء إلا عون الله والخطة الحكيمة التي
تكفل لضعفة آلاف أن تهزم عشرين ألفاً ، وأسرعت الخطة تملأ فؤاد عمرو :

Il forte di Babilonia era di massiccia costruzione e lo circondava un vasto fossato nel quale i Rûm avevano disposto fili di ferro spinato perché si conficcassero in qualsivoglia piede d'uomo o zoccolo d'animale che vi cadesse sopra. 'Amr guardò l'acqua del Nilo e la vide che tendeva al rosso (58). Osservò che cresceva ogni giorno di più, che s'intensificava il suo rosso di giorno in giorno. Capì che l'Egitto andava verso la piena e temette che l'acqua riempisse il fossato e impedisse l'assalto della fortezza, che straripasse dai canali e dai rivi ed essi fossero bloccati nel mezzo dell'Egitto, la forza dei musulmani imprigionata in quelle vaste contrade. Volle tentare se gli riuscisse d'espugnare la fortezza prima che la piena giungesse al massimo. I Rûm erano entrati nella fortezza e con loro i capi dei Copti ed il Muqawqas, il loro principe. 'Amr pose l'assedio e promette con la sua stretta sulla fortezza più poderosa dei Rûm. Intanto pensò che cosa doveva fare finché le acque si fossero ritirate. Ma non stette a lungo a pensare, perché il comandante dei Rûm ritenne di cogliere gli arabi di sorpresa e di finirli ed assembrò perciò ventimila uomini di truppa esercitata, assestando il suo piano perché quel combattimento segnasse la fine di 'Amr e dei suoi stratagemmi. Le truppe sapevano bene che la perla della corona era in gioco nella pugna: o l'avrebbero guadagnata, o sarebbe volata via dalle loro mani ed essi sarebbero stati sbalestrati fuori dall'Egitto e dal suo Nilo, se pur fossero sopravvissuti. Il comandante risolse d'attaccare gli arabi al loro quartier generale di 'Ayn Šams.

L'immagine meravigliosa dell'Egitto e dei suoi beni universali appariva davanti ai soldati Rûm: si raffiguravano che gli arabi già l'avessero strappato dalle loro mani e s'eccitava il loro ardore, si moltiplicava la loro fermezza. Quell'immagine bella appariva davanti ai musulmani: si raffiguravano di strapparla dalle mani degli oppressori, che il premio d'Allâh sarebbe profuso su di essi a ricompensarli d'averlo salvato e soccorso, e altrettanto si moltiplicava la loro fermezza, s'eccitava il loro ardore. I Rûm marciavano contro l'esercito degli arabi con la speranza che rideva nei cuori, convinti che avrebbero vinto quella scarsa schiera che non poteva resistere, nemmeno se i diavoli la presidiassero, a quell'armata che ostruiva l'orizzonte.

'Amr seppe quello che i Rûm gli avevano preparato, guardò il suo piccolo esercito e stette silenzioso a meditare un piano con il quale affrontare quell'immensa armata. Nessun rinforzo che aumenti il numero, nessun'arma da aggiungere all'arma, nulla che l'aiuto di Dio e un piano sapiente che assicuri a poche migliaia la possibilità di sconfiggerne venti. Il piano ebbe tosto

فدعا أصحابه وأسر بها إليهم ، ثم أسرعوا خفافاً إلى خيولهم وعلى شفاهم
 سمات مشرقة تبشر بالنصر للفتة القليلة المؤمنة على الفتة الكثيرة الباغية .
 والتي الجيشان في نصف المسافة بين عين شمس وبابلين ، والتي
 الروم بكل قوتهم في وجه المسلمين . فتقهقر المسلمون قليلاً وتقدم الرومان
 قليلاً . وفهتة القائد كما يتهته الوحش الذي وثق من القريسة . واشتد به
 الزهو . وقوى تقهقر المسلمين قابض الرومان فزاد انحذارهم على جيش العرب .
 يزأرون ويستعجلون النصر . ولكن صراخاً عالياً واستغاثة حزينة أخذت
 تنبعث من ميمنة الروم . والتفت القائد إلى هذا الجناح فوجده يتحطم
 ووجد العرب قد انقضوا عليه من الشرق . كأن الجبل قد انشق عنهم فانحدروا
 صاعقة ماحقة ، تنصت نظام الجيش وأشاعت فيه اضطراباً شديداً . وكر
 عمرو من أمامهم فلم يجدوا إلا الغرب يلوذون به فراراً نحو أم دين . ولكن
 الأرض قد انشقت عن قوة أخرى من المسلمين أضقت عليهم من الغرب ،
 وأصبحوا بين ماضى الأسد . فريسة سائغة تطحن أنيابه ويلوكها لسانه
 كما يشاء . ولم يفلت إلا قليل كانوا في المؤخرة ، فألقوا بأنفسهم في النيل
 ساجدين لا يدرون أين يذهبون . وميد لبعضهم في الأجل فاستطاع أن
 يفر إلى حصن بابلين ، ويغلق عليه الأبواب ويتحسس مغاليقها .
 والجزع يدب من قلبه إلى قلوب من بالحصن . فيضاعفون إحكام الأبواب
 حتى لا تتخطفهم تلك الشياطين .

وكان عمرو قد بنى خطته على أن يقابل الروم ببعض جيشه ، ويضع
 كميناً قويا في الجبل من الشرق ، وكبنا آخر عند أم دين من الغرب حتى
 يندفع الروم فتطبق عليهم كماشته الثورية ، يسبق الروم إلى فخه ، وأعان
 الله الفتة القليلة فهزمت الفتة الكثيرة بإذنه . وتنفذ عمرو جيشه فلم يجده
 قد نقص إلا القليل ، ونظر إلى ما سبق إليه غنيمة من السلاح والعدة ثم
 رفع يديه إلى السماء . وتعالأت أصوات المسلمين بحمد الله ورجائه أن
 يعينهم على اقتحام الحصن المنيع . حتى يظهروا مصر من الروم وأدران
 الروم ، ثم استأنفوا المسير إلى حصن بابلين .

riempito l'animo di 'Amr. Chiamò i suoi compagni e lo rivelò loro. Allora corsero lesti ai cavalli con sulle labbra un sorriso radioso che prediceva per la piccola schiera dei credenti la vittoria sul grande stuolo degli iniqui.

I due eserciti si scontrarono a mezza distanza fra 'Ayn Šams e Babilonia. I Rûm si gettarono con ogni forza addosso ai musulmani. I musulmani ripiegarono alquanto, i Rûm avanzarono alquanto. Il loro comandante sghignazzò come sghignazza la belva sicura della preda e si gonfiò di nuovo orgoglio. Il retrocedere dei musulmani confortò i cuori dei Rûm che premetterono le truppe arabe con impeto maggiore, ruggendo impazienti di vincere.

Ma un gridare alto, un doloroso invocare aiuto si levò dall'ala destra dei Rûm. Il comandante si volse a quell'ala e vide che veniva infranta. Vide che gli arabi vi erano piombati da oriente, quasi che la montagna fendendosi li avesse eruttati e fossero calati, folgore distruttrice che ha spezzato lo schieramento, ha spanto fra le truppe atroce sgomento.

'Amr era il primo alla carica e non rimase ai Rûm che riparare ad occidente, fuggendo verso Umm Danîn. Ma la terra si spacchò vomitando altre forze musulmane che li investirono da occidente. Si trovarono fra le due mandibole del leone, facile preda da maciullare con le zanne, da triturare nelle fauci a sua voglia. Non ne scamparono che pochi che erano nella retroguardia: si gettarono nel Nilo, nuotando senza sapere dove. Certuni ebbero differito il loro fato e poterono rifugiarsi nel forte di Babilonia e sprangare le porte dietro a sé, sincerandosi dei catenacci. Lo spavento si insinuò dai loro cuori ai cuori di quelli che erano nella fortezza cosicché raddoppiarono le precauzioni alle porte, perché quei diavoli non le schiantassero.

Aveva 'Amr escogitato il suo piano con l'idea di affrontare i Rûm con una parte delle truppe, mentre appostava una forte imboscata sul monte ad oriente e un'altra imboscata ad occidente presso Umm Danîn, perché i Rûm fossero respinti e li serrasse quella sua potente tenaglia. I Rûm furono tratti nella sua trappola e Dio aiutò la piccola schiera sicché col suo permesso sconfisse il grande stuolo. 'Amr contò le perdite del suo esercito e trovò che ben poco esso aveva perduto. Guardò invece la preda che gli era toccata, d'armi e d'arnese, e alzò le mani al cielo. Le voci dei musulmani si levarono lodando Dio e pregandolo di aiutarli ad espugnare il forte ben munito, per purificare l'Egitto dai Rûm e dalla loro sozzura. Quindi essi ripresero il cammino verso il Forte di Babilonia.

المفاوضة

التف المسلمون مرة أخرى حول الحصن المنيع ، وانقضى شهر بعد شهر . وجاء المدد بضيف إلى جيش عمرو أربعة آلاف من صناديد المسلمين : فيهم أربعة كل منهم بألف ، ورأى المقوقس عظيم القبط ما سيبتى إليه ذلك الحصار بعد هزائم الروم : فخرج من باب الحصن الغربي وأقام بالخزيرة مع كثر من انصريين . وعزم على أن ينتهي مع المسلمين إلى شيء قبل فوات الفرصة . وأرسل رسله بكتاب إلى عمرو . ما هذا ؟ وماذا يضير لو أقبل الروم بكل ما يملكون ؟ وماذا يهنا من النيل وفيضانه ؟ ! أبعثنا ذلك التيفضان أسرى في يده كما يقول ؟ ! أبعثنا المقوقس ؟ ! ألم يعلم إلى اليوم سيف هذه القوة القليلة ؟ ! إنه لم ينف لها حتى نتحدث إليه بما تحدثت لغيره ! .

ولم يحب عمرو على الرسالة ، ولم يأذن للرسل بالعودة ، فظلوا يومين بين العرب ، ثم دعاهم وسلمهم رده وأذن لهم : وكان المقوقس قلقاً لإبطائهم قد حدثته نفسه بأن عمراً قتلهم رداً على تهديده ، وحار فيما يصنع إن كان عمرو قد فعل ذلك . ولكن الرسل قد عادت إليه عزيزة كريمة ، وقدمت إليه رد عمرو ففضه وتلاه مرة بعد مرة وأخذ يهيس بما فيه :

— ثلاث خصال تختارون إحداها ؛ الدخول في الإسلام فتكونون إخواناً للمسلمين لكم ما لهم وعليكم ما عليهم ، وإلا فالخزيرة عن يد وأنتم صاغرون ؛ وعلى المسلمين حمايتكم والدود عنكم ، وترككم أحراراً في أموالكم وأولادكم وأرضكم وأعمالكم ، وإلا فالحرب والجهاد حتى يحكم الله وهو خير الحاكمين . ثم التفت المقوقس إلى رسله وسألهم :

— كيف رأيتم هؤلاء المسلمين ؟

— رأينا قوما الموت أحب إليهم من الحياة والتواضع أحب إليهم من الرفعة ، ليس لأحدهم في الدنيا رغبة ، جلوسهم على التراب وأكلهم على ركبهم ، وأميرهم كواحد منهم ، ما يعرف رفيعهم من وضعهم ، ولا السيد فيهم من العبد . — غريب شأن هؤلاء القوم ! لو استقبل هؤلاء الجبال لأزالوها ! ولا بد من صاحبهم وهم محصورون بالتيفضان وإلا فلن يجيبوا بعده : ارجعوا إلى عمرو ليتتدب من يفاوضنا فر بما وصلنا إلى حل .

XVI Il colloquio

I musulmani circondarono di nuovo il forte ben munito. Passò un mese dopo l'altro. Arrivarono i rinforzi ad aggiungere allo esercito di 'Amr quattromila prodi musulmani, quattro di fra i quali contavano per mille ognuno. Il muqawqas, capo dei Copti, capì come sarebbe finito quell'assedio dopo le sconfitte dei Rûm. Uscì dalla porta occidentale del forte e si tenne sull'isola con un drappello d'egiziani. Decise di addivenire ad un accordo con i musulmani prima che l'occasione gli sfuggisse. Mandò ad 'Amr i suoi nunzi con un messaggio.

- Che é questo? O che ci nuocerebbe, se venissero avanti i Rûm con tutto ciò che posseggono? Che c'importa del Nilo e della sua piena? O che questa piena ci può dare prigionieri in mano sua, come egli dice? Ci intimorisce forse il muqawqas? Non ha fino ad oggi conosciuto le sciabole di questa piccola schiera? Ma invero egli non s'è trovato di fronte ad essa, perché gli parlasse il linguaggio che ha parlato ad altri!

E 'Amr non rispose al messaggio. E non permise ai messi che se ne tornassero, così rimasero due giorni fra gli arabi. Quindi li chiamò, consegnò loro la sua risposta e li congedò. Il muqawqas era inquieto per il loro ritardo; il cuore già gli diceva che 'Amr li aveva uccisi per tutta risposta alla sua diffida. Era perplesso sul da farsi se 'Amr avesse veramente fatto ciò. Ma i nunzi, trattati con tutto onore, tornarono a lui e gli presentarono la risposta di 'Amr. Egli la dissigillò, la lesse più volte, si mise a mormorarne il contenuto fra sè:

Di tre soluzioni sceglietene una. Entrate nell'Islâm! Sarete fratelli dei musulmani: per voi quello ch'è per loro; contro voi quello ch'è contro loro. Altrimenti, vi sottometterete al tributo e sarete minori e i musulmani si obbligano a tutelarvi e a proteggervi e lasciarvi fra i beni, i figli, la terra, i lavori vostri. Altrimenti, sarà la guerra e la lotta fino a che giudichi Iddio, ed Egli é il giudice migliore.

Allora il muqawqas si volse ai suoi messi e li interrogò:

- Come avete trovato quei musulmani?

- Abbiamo trovato una stirpe d'uomini cui la morte é più cara della vita, l'umiltà dell'esaltazione; fra i quali alcuno non pone il suo desiderio nel mondo. Si siedono sulla terra e mangiano sulle ginocchia. Il loro principe é come uno di loro. Non si riconosce fra loro l'elevato dall'umile, non il signore dal servo.

- Strani questi arabi! Costoro, se movessero contro le montagne, saprebbero annientarle! Bisogna proporre loro la pace, ora che sono stretti dalla piena, altrimenti, quando sarà cessata, non vi assentiranno! Ritornate presto da 'Amr perché deleghi

ودخل على المقوقس جماعة من المسلمين الذين انتدبهم عمرو ليفاوضوه
كما أراد ، يتقدمهم رجل أسود شديد السواد ، طويل فارغ الطول ، أقدامهم
ثابتة ، وقاماتهم مستقيمة ، وعيونهم مثلثة بالخدر . فارتفع صوت المقوقس
في اضطراب :

- تحروا عنى هذا الأسود الطويل . وقدموا غيره .
- ولكنه أميرنا والمقدم علينا !
- أما وجدتم غير هذا ليكون أميراً عليكم ؟
- هذا الأسود أفضلنا رأياً وعلماً ، وهو سيدنا وخيرنا . ونحن جميعاً
نرجع إلى رأيه !

- لن أستطيع الحديث معه فاختراروا غيره !
وارتفعت أصوات المسلمين حتى كادت تخلع قلب المقوقس :
- ولكن الأمير عمر هو الذى اختاره ، وجعل له الأمر دوننا ، وأمرنا
ألا نخالفه !

- وكيف رضيتم أن يكون هذا الأسود أفضلكم ، وكان ينبغي أن
يكون دونكم ؟ ! إنه يغبني ! أتصغيراً لشأنى صنع عمرو ذلك ؟ !
- الإسلام لا يفرق بين الأسود والأبيض أيها المقوقس ، كل الناس
أمام الإسلام سواء ، لا فضل إلا بالتقوى ، فلما قبلت أن تحدثه ، وإما
عدنا من حيث أتينا !

ولم يجد المقوقس بداً من الحديث إلى عبادة بن الصامت . وأشار إليه
ليبدأ ، فابتسم عبادة ابتسامة خلعت قلب المقوقس وأصحابه ثم قال ساخراً :
- أتخاف سوادى أيها المقوقس ؟ ! لماذا تصنع إذا انتقبت بجيش
المسلمين وفيهم ألف في مثل سوادى وأشد ؟ ! بل هم في شباب وفتوة .
أما أنا فقد فارقت الشباب ، اسمع أيها المقوقس . إننا لم نقصد مصر
ولا غيرها إلا لرضوان الله ونشر دينه . ولا حاجة لنا بالدنيا ونعيمها الزائل
وإن كان الله قد أحل لنا ما غنينا : لا يبالى أحدنا أن تكون له قناطر
من ذهب أم كان لا يملك إلا درهما ، لأن غايته من الدنيا أكلة يسد بها
جوعته ، وشملة يلحفها . وإن كان له قنطار من الذهب أنفثه في سبيل الله .

chi venga a conferire con noi, per giungere a una soluzione.

Al muqawqas si presentò un gruppo di uomini che 'Amr aveva delegato a conferire con lui, come aveva voluto. Primo veniva un uomo nero e alto, d'un nero intenso, di bella statura. Quegli uomini avevano le gambe ben piantate, i corpi eretti, gli occhi pieni di circospezione. La voce del muqawqas si levò turbata:

- Togliete via da me cotesto nero alto! Fatene avanzare un altro.

- Ma egli é il nostro capo, quegli che ci é stato preposto.

- Non ne avete trovato un altro perché sia il vostro capo?

- Questo nero é superiore a noi per consiglio e sapienza. E' il signore e il migliore di noi e tutti ci rimettiamo al suo avviso.

- Non potrò trattare con lui! Sceglietene un altro! Le voci dei musulmani si levarono tanto che rischiarono di schiantare il cuore del muqawqas:

- E' l'emiro 'Amr che l'ha scelto e gli ha affidato la direzione della faccenda al di sopra di noi e ci ha ordinato di non contraddirlo.

- E come avete acconsentito a che questo nero vi fosse superiore, quando invece si confaceva che vi stesse al di sotto? Costui invero mi fa spavento. Forse per farmi uno spregho 'Amr ha fatto ciò?

- L'Islâm, o muqawqas, non fa distinzione fra il nero e il bianco. Tutti sono uguali davanti all'Islâm senza precellenza se non in quanto alla devozione a Dio. O accetti di conferire con lui, o ce ne torniamo donde siamo venuti.

Il muqawqas non poté far altro che conferire con 'Abâdah ibn as-Sâmit e gli fece cenno che cominciasse. 'Abâdah sorrise in modo tale da schiantare il cuore del muqawqas e dei suoi compagni e disse con scherno:

- Temi la mia nerezza, muqawqas? E che farai, se ti incontri con l'esercito dei musulmani, quando fra essi ve ne sono mille altrettanto e più neri di me? Anzi quelli sono nel fiore degli anni, mentre io ho già lasciato indietro la giovinezza. Ascolta, muqawqas! Noi non per altro abbiamo teso all'Egitto o ad altro paese, che per compiacere a Dio e diffondere la Sua luce. Il mondo e i suoi effimeri beni non fanno d'uopo a noi, pur se Allâh ci lasciò per lecito quello che guadagniamo di bottino. Niuno di noi si cura d'aver quintali d'oro o di non possedere che un solo denaro, perché gli é sommo limite del mondo quel poco cibo di che contenere la fame, e un mantello di che avvolgere le membra. Ma se pur abbia un quintale d'oro, lo spende sulla via d'Allâh.

وسمع المتفوق حديث عبادة : ثم زفر زفرة حارة . وتكلفت ابتساماً باهتة ثم قال :

— إننا نعرف تفواكم وانصرافكم عن الدنيا . وأن صلاحكم قد أعانكم على ما بلغتم . ولكنكم لا تعلمون ما ينجي لكم القدر في بلادنا !
— خيراً وبركة إن شاء الله : أطلعت الغيب أيها المتفوق وعرفت ما يأتي به القدر ؟ !

— بل أخاف عليكم شراً أعلمه ، ولا أريد لأمثالكم من الصالحين أن يقعوا فريسة سهلة في أيدي الروم !
— الروم ؟ ! ومن الذين هزمتهم في كل موقعة حتى اليوم ؟ !

أفي دينك أن الله يعين الظالمين ويهزم الصالحين ؟ !
— ولكنهم أعدوا لكم ما لا يحصى من الصناديد الذين لا يبالون بالموت ، إنى خائف عليكم وأنتم في قلعة عددكم أن تقعوا في يد من لا يرحمون .
— خائف علينا من الروم . أم خائف على الروم منا ؟ !
— خائف أن تلتقي بكم تلك الجحافل فتسحروكم في ساعة من نهار ، ولو قدر لكم الصبر فإن مشورتكم ستفند . لأنى أعلم ما أنتم فيه من ضيق وشدة ، ولدى حل بريضكم ، الصلح يا عبادة !

— على الأولى أم على الثانية ؟

— لا على واحدة منهما .

— إذن فلا نتحدث ، فليس لدينا إلا واحدة منهما أو الثلاثة : أعرفتها جميعاً ؟ الإسلام ، أو الجزية أو الحرب !
— ولكن واحدة أخرى خير من هذه الثلاثة .

— لا شيء خير من هذه الثلاثة . فكر حتى نعود إلى عمرو .

— واحدة ترضيكم . وإني واثق أنها ستسرك وتسرع عمراً !
وهم عبادة بالعودة . فأخذ المتفوق يرجوه أن يستمع له حتى يعرف هذه الواحدة فلعلها تكون الشافية ، فوقف عبادة وقال والغضب بملأ وجهه :

— تحدث وإن كنت لا أقبل إلا واحدة من الثلاثة .

— نتصالح يا عبادة ، نتصالح على أن نفرض لكل رجل منكم دينارين

دينارين .

— ثم أيها المتفوق ؟ !

— ثم نفرض لأميركم مائة دينار !

— ثم ؟ !

— ثم نفرض للعلماء ألف دينار !

Il muqawqas udì il discorso di 'Abâdah e, tratto un profondo sospiro, tentò uno smorto sorriso. Disse:

- Ben conosciamo la vostra pietà e il vostro distacco dal mondo e che proprio cotesta virtù vi ha assistito nel conseguir successo. Tuttavia non potete sapere che vi riservi il destino nel nostro paese!

- Bene e benedizione, se Dio vuole! O forse, muqawqas, tu hai penetrato l'arcano e appreso che cosa rechi il destino?

- No, ma temo per voi d'una sventura che già conosco. Non auguro a uomini probi, quali voi siete, di cadere facile preda nelle mani dei Rûm!

- I Rûm? E chi mai sconfiggemmo in ogni incontro fino ad oggi? E' forse della tua religione che Dio venga in aiuto agli oppressori e dia sconfitta ai giusti?

- Ma essi hanno apprestato contro di voi tanti prodi quanti non si contano, che non si curano della morte. Temo per voi, poiché siete in numero esiguo, che non cadiate nelle mani di chi non avrà pietà.

- Temi dei Rûm per noi? Non piuttosto di noi per i Rûm?

- Temo che s'incontrino con voi quelle armate innumerevoli e vi spazzino via in un'ora della giornata. Ché, se anche la vostra tenacia la spunta, è certo che le vostre provviste verranno meno, poiché so in quali ristrettezze e angustie vi trovate. Ma io ho una soluzione che vi soddisferà. La pace, 'Abâdah!

- Alla prima condizione o alla seconda?

- A nessuna delle due.

- Se è così, non discorriamo, perché altro non v'è da parte nostra che una delle due ovvero la terza. Non le hai apprese tutte? L'Islâm o il tributo o la guerra!

- Tuttavia un'altra è migliore di quelle tre.

- Non v'è nulla di migliore di queste tre. Pensaci, affinché ritorniamo da 'Amr.

- Una che vi soddisferà. Sono convinto che essa vi allieterà e allieterà 'Amr!

Ma 'Abâdah si mosse per far ritorno. Il muqawqas lo pregò che lo ascoltasse per conoscere questa soluzione, se mai potesse essere quella buona. 'Abâdah si fermò e disse, il volto colmo di collera:

- Parla, anche se io non accetto che una delle tre.

- Concludiamo la pace, 'Abâdah. Concludiamola al patto che assegneremo ad ogni vostro uomo due denari.

- E poi, muqawqas?

- E poi che assegneremo al vostro emiro cento denari!

- E poi?

- E poi che assegneremo al vostro califfo mille denari!

— ثم ؟ !

— ثم تقبضون هذا المال كله مرة واحدة ، وتنصرفون إلى بلادكم قبل أن ينشاكم من الروم ما لا قوة لكم به ، فتخسروا المال وتخسروا الأنفس ! وصمت عبادة برهة ثم صاح صيحة عدا لها قلب المقوقس في صدره وهلس قائلا :

— أتخدعنا أيها الرجل أم تخدع نفسك ؟ ! لقد نسيت ! ألم أحدثك عن المسلمين وزعمهم في الدنيا ؟ ! ألا تعلم أن الشهادة أول مطلب لنا من هذه الحياة ؟ ! أين هذه الجموع التي تخوفنا بها ؟ ! لينها تكون كما زعمت فتعجل إلى الله ، ما من رجل فينا إلا وهو يدعو ربه صباحه ومساءه أن يرزقه الشهادة ، وألا يرده إلى أرضه ولا إلى بلده ولا إلى أهله وولده ، لسنأ في ضيق أيها المقوقس ، وإنَّ ما نحن فيه لأوسع السعة ، فلا تخدع نفسك ، فليس أمامك إلا واحدة من الثلاث : فانظر أيها أصلح لك ، ولا تتركب الشطط ، فالقلوب العامية بالإيمان لا تتخدع .

الفتح المبين

استندار عبادة بن الصامت ، واستندار أصحابه خلفه وتركوا المقوقس ومن معه في ذهول . ولم يكن عمرو في حاجة لأن يقص عليه عبادة ما دار بينه وبين المقوقس فقد أدرك ما أراد ، وأدرك ما سببته إليه أمره . أما المقوقس فتنبه من ذهوله وجعل ينصح بصلح المسلمين على الخزية ، إذ لا طاقة لهم بصبرهم وجهادهم . ثم خنقته العبرة فأطبق جفنيه وأمسك قليلا ثم عاد يذكر أصحابه بالرومان وعسف الرومان . وبعد عليهم تلك الصور القاتمة لأيامهم السوداء ، تلك الأيام البائسة التي سلبت فيها الأقوات وأربقت الدماء ومزق الأبرياء ، فحركت كلماته أوتار القلوب المخرجة . وبدأت أمام أعينهم صور القتل والجرح والحرق . وصور الأعراض التي فتك بها أولئك الظالمون . فوافقوا على الصلح ، وأسرع المقوقس إلى عمرو وعقد معه صلحا عنه وعن المنصرين . وأخذت الرومان العزة بالإثم فثاروا على ما أبرمه المقوقس ، ورفضوا الإذعان . وتنادوا بالمقاومة والنبات حتى يأتي المدد فيلقى بعمره وجيشه

- E poi?

- E poi che vi pigliate tutto questo denaro in una volta sola e partiate per i vostri paesi, prima che vi capiti addosso da parte dei Rûm tanto a cui non vi basta la forza e perdiate e il denaro e la vita!

- 'Abâdah tacque un attimo, poi eplose in un grido al quale sobbalzò il cuore del muqawqas. Disse ruggendo:

- Vuoi ingannar noi, muqawqas, o vuoi ingannar te stesso? Hai già dimenticato! Non t'ho forse parlato dei musulmani e del loro disprezzo del mondo? Non sai che il martirio é la prima cosa che chiediamo a questa vita? Dove sono questi stuoli coi quali vuoi spaventarci? Deh! Fossero come tu dici, sì che ne andassimo solleciti ad Allâh! Non v'è uomo fra noi che non preghi mattina e sera il suo Signore di accordargli il martirio, di non restituirlo alla sua terra, al suo paese, alla sua gente, a suo figlio. Noi versiamo in ristrettezze, muqawqas, ma invero lo stato in cui siamo é l'agio più abbondante! Non ingannar te stesso, dunque, perché non ti sta davanti che una delle tre soluzioni. Vedi quale ti convenga meglio e non commettere ingiustizia, ché i cuori ove alberga la fede non si lasciano ingannare.

XVII La chiara conquista

'Abâdah ibn as-Sâmit si girò e si girarono dietro a lui i suoi compagni e lasciarono il muqawqas e chi era con lui nello sbigottimento. Ad 'Amr non occorreva che 'Abâdah gli raccontasse che cosa era intercorso fra lui e il muqawqas, poiché già aveva capito che cosa quegli volesse e a quale partito avrebbe finito per appigliarsi. Quanto al muqawqas stesso, si riscosse dal suo stupore e si avvisò di far la pace con i musulmani alla condizione del tributo, attesoche nulla potevano i suoi contro la tenacia e la combattività di quella gente. Allora lo soffocò il pianto, abbassò le palpebre e tacque per un po'. Poi riprese a rammentare ai suoi compagni che cosa fossero i Rûm e la loro tirannia. Rievocò loro le tetre immagini dei loro giorni neri, quei loro giorni sventurati in cui si videro predare le derrate, spargere il sangue, trucidare gli innocenti. Le sue parole mossero le fibre di quei cuori feriti. Apparvero davanti ai loro occhi i simulacri degli uccisi, dei feriti, degli arsi, e quanti oltraggi all'onore quei tiranni avevano inferto. Acconsentirono alla pace. Il muqawqas corse da 'Amr e strinse con lui un patto di pace per sé e per gli egiziani.

I Rûm furono afferrati da una furia scellerata e insorsero sdegnati contro ciò che il muqawqas aveva compiuto, ricusando di sottostarvi. Proclamarono che avrebbero resistito e tenuto

إلى وادى الفناء . وطال الزمن وتبع الشهر الشهر ، والنبل يكف المسلمين عن الحصن ، وأمل الحامية يدفعها إلى المناوشة مع ما تعانیه من جوع فانتك ومرض حاصد . حتى انتقضت سبعة أشهر ، وانجسر ماء النيل وجف الخندق ودار المسلمون يبحثون عن المشد إلى قلوب الرومان . وجلس عمرو وأصحابه يقلبون الرأي . ويمدون أعينهم إلى الحصن ثم يعيدونها بالنسة من اقتحامه ، ويستعرضون ما غنموه من أدوات الحصار فيجدونها عاجزة عن أن تنال منه ، وما زالوا يقابون الأفكار حتى برق الأمل في عين القائد وصاح بهم : — لا فائدة من هذه العُدَّة ، لا بد أن تتقدم القلوب لتفسح الطريق . لا بد أن ينطرح بعضنا ويهب نفسه لله .

وارتفعت جميع الأصوات في حماسة دافقة :
— كلنا قد وهبنا أنفسنا لله .

ولكن صوتاً منها أراد أن يسبق إلى الجنة ، فهب صاحبه الزبير بن العوام يرجو النجوم أن يدعوا له هذا الاستشهاد ، لأنه في شوق إلى لقاء الله . وإن كان الأمل بملأ فؤاده بأن الله سيفتح الحصن على يديه . ووضعت الخطة على أن يصعد هذا الفدائي الجسور في سلم إلى رأس الحصن حتى يبلغه فيكبر : فإذا سمعه المسلمون كبروا تكبيرة واحدة نهز الأرجاء وتزلزل أفئدة الحامية . وصعد الفدائي وبلغ رأس الحصن وكبر فعلت تكبيرات المسلمين : وظنت الحامية أنها صادرة من جوف الحصن وأن المسلمين قد اقتحموه ففرت إلى مخابها تاركة الأبواب .

واستبق المسلمون السلم وانضموا إلى الزبير : ثم هبطوا إلى الأبواب التي غادرها حراسها الخائفون وفتحوها : فانساب المسلمون إلى داخل الحصن يبحثون عن رموس الروم : ولم يجد قائد الروم أمام هذا الحول الذي هبط عليه إلا أن يمد يده إلى عمرو ليرد الموت عما بقي من جيشه ، فانبعث صوت قائد المسلمين بأمر بالكف مردداً قول الله تعالى : وجنحوا للسلم فاجنح لها وتوكل على الله ، ويأمر قائد الروم أن يفرغ من الرحيل عن الحصن في ثلاثة أيام .

وفرغ الروم في يومين . ولم يتركوا الحصن : لأنهم أعدوا اليوم الثالث

duro, finché sarebbero giunti i rinforzi che annienterebbero 'Amr e i suoi uomini. Passò lungo tempo, al mese seguì il mese, mentre il Nilo tratteneva i musulmani dal forte. La speranza traeva i difensori a tener testa, per quanto provati dalla fame feroce e dalla malattia che li falciava. Passarono così sette mesi. L'acqua del Nilo si ritirò e il fossato si prosciugò. I musulmani si aggirarono cercando la via per penetrare fino ai cuori dei Rûm. 'Amr e i suoi compagni sedettero per prendere consiglio. Volgevano gli occhi verso il forte, poi li distoglievano disperando di poterlo espugnare. Esaminavano le macchine d'assedio che avevano tolto come bottino, ma le trovavano impotenti a conquistarlo. Continuarono a rivolgere i pensieri finché la speranza balenò negli occhi del capitano ed egli gridò loro:

- Non giovano questi apparecchi. E' necessario che i cuori vadano innanzi per aprire la via. E' necessario che uno di noi si offra e faccia dono di se stesso!

Tutte le voci si levarono traboccanti d'ardore:

- Noi tutti ci siamo donati ad Allâh!

Ma una di quelle voci volle giungere prima in paradiso, e az-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awâm, l'uomo a cui essa apparteneva, si mosse e pregò la moltitudine che a lui si lasciasse questo martirio, ch  egli era bramoso d'incontrare All h, pur se la speme gli empiva il cuore che All h per mano sua avrebbe aperto le porte della fortezza.

Fu deciso che questo volontario ardimentoso salisse per una scala alla sommit  del forte e, giuntovi, gridasse: "All h   pi  grande!" I musulmani, uditolo, griderebbero allora: "All h   pi  grande!" con un grido solo da scuotere la terra, da squassare i petti agli assediati. Quegli sal  e giunse alla sommit  e grid  e rintron  alto il grido dei musulmani. I difensori lo credettero venire dall'interno del forte, credettero che i musulmani gi  l'avessero preso e fuggirono ai loro ripari abbandonando le porte. I musulmani si slanciarono verso la scala e si riunirono a Zubayr. Quindi calarono sulle porte che i difensori terrificati avevano abbandonato e le aprirono. I musulmani si precipitarono dentro il forte cercando le teste dei R m. Non rimase al comandante dei R m, davanti a quella calamit  che era piombata su lui, che stendere la sua mano verso 'Amr per stornare la morte da ci  che rimaneva del suo esercito. Allora si lev  la voce del capitano dei musulmani a ingiungere che si fermassero, ripetendo la parola di Dio l'Altissimo: "E se vogliono la pace, accordala e abbi fiducia in Dio", e impose al comandante dei R m che sgomberassero il forte entro tre giorni.

I R m furono pronti ad andarsene in due giorni ma non abban-

ليقطعوا فيه أبدى الأتباط الذين كانوا معهم في الحصن ، ويبتروا أرجلهم ،
ويشوهوا وجوههم ، حتى يذكروهم في حالة لا يشمتون فيها بأعدائهم الذين
آذقوهم العذاب مئات السنين ، ولكن عمراً تقدم ليكنف الأبدى الظالمه
ويُدفعها خارج الحصن ، ثم استعد ليتم الفتح بالاستيلاء على عاصمة
البلاد الواقعة على بحر الروم في شمال مصر .

الجللاء

لَيْسَ هَذَا أَحَدٌ يَا عَمْرُو ! لَيْسَ هَذَا إِلَّا بَدْمَةٌ تَحْنُضُنْ بِيْضَهَا !
— هذه هي جاری الذي يخأ إلى فلسطين : فأتروها آمنة حتى
نعود من الإسكندرية !

وقوضت الحيام إلا خيمة القائد التي تركها بخاره ، وسار الجيش
يشق شمال مصر إلى العاصمة المخصصة من البر والبحر : ولم يستطع حصن
من الحصون في الطريق أن يثبت له ، ولم يستطع جيش الرومان أن يقف
للعرب إلا ريثما يدبر للفرار ، حتى لاحت أسوار الإسكندرية بعد اثنين
وعشرين يوماً . فعسكر العرب بعيداً عن مرمى قذائف الحصن ، ووقف
القائد يتيسر الأبعاد ويدبر الخطة ، ووقف قائد الروم بين جنده يحمسمهم
قائلاً : « إِنَّمَا الْمَعْرَكَةُ الْأَخِيرَةُ أَيْهَا الرُّومَانُ ، فَاتَّبِنُوا وَعَلِمُوا عَمْرَأَ ذَلِكَ الدَّرْسَ
الَّذِي لَمْ يَسْتَطِعْ غَيْرُكُمْ أَنْ يَعْلَمَهُ إِيَّاهُ . » .

وحركت كلمات قائد الرومان قلوب حاميه فتفتحوا الأبواب والتحموا
بالمسلمين ، ولكنهم أحسوا بعد قليل ببردوسهم تطير وأفلتتهم تنشق فنكصوا
على أعقابهم ، وغلَّقوا عليهم أبواب الحصن ، حتى إذا ذهب عنهم الروح
واضمأوا خلف الأسوار خيل إليهم أنهم قادرون على أخذ العرب ، فأقدموا
ليذوقوا البلاء ثم يولوا الأدبار .

ومضى أربعة أشهر والمسلمون والروم في شد وجذب ، والحصن يقف
بين سيوف المسلمين ورياب الروم إذا جده الجدد ، فاستبطأ عمرو هذه
المدة ، وعزم على اقتحام الحصن ، ودبر مع أصحابه خطة الهجوم .

واندفعت أفواج من المسلمين ذات صباح إلى فتك الحصن تحت
وابل من القذائف الثقيلة ، واندفع آخرون في البحر سابحين بين السفن
الرابضة حول المدينة ، وأطبقوا على الروم من البر والبحر ، وأخذت كداسة

donarono il forte, perché avevano destinato il terzo giorno a mozzare le mani dei Copti che erano con loro, a mutilare i loro piedi e a sfregiare i loro volti, in modo da lasciarli sifatti che non avessero a godere della sventura dei loro nemici i quali avevano inflitto loro una secolare tortura. Ma 'Amr s'avanzò e trattenne le mani scellerate e li scacciò fuori dal forte. Quindi si preparò a completare la conquista, assoggettando la capitale del paese situata sul mar dei Rûm nell'Egitto settentrionale.

XVIII L'evacuazione

- Non v'è qui alcuno, 'Amr! Non v'è qui che una colomba che cova le sue uova.

- Questa é la mia protetta che é venuta a rifugiarsi alla mia tenda (59). Lasciatela al sicuro finché siamo ritornati da Alessandria!

Si tolsero le tende, fuorché quella del capitano ch'egli lasciò là per la sua protetta, e l'esercito marciò attraverso il settentrione dell'Egitto verso la capitale ch'era fortificata per terra e per mare. Non vi fu fortezza sul suo cammino che gli potesse tener testa, né l'esercito dei Rûm poté fargli fronte, se non per assicurarsi la fuga. In capo a venticinque giorni spuntarono le mura d'Alessandria e gli arabi posero il campo lontano dal tiro dei proiettili della fortezza. Il capitano si fermò a misurare le distanze, a stabilire il piano. Il comandante dei Rûm si tenne fra le sue truppe, incitandole col dire: "Questa, o Rûm, é l'ultima battaglia. Tenete duro e date a questo 'Amr la lezione che gli altri non poterono dargli!"

Le parole del comandante dei Rûm mossero i cuori dei difensori. Essi aprirono le porte e si scontrarono coi musulmani, ma tosto si accorsero che le proprie teste volavano e che i cuori si fendevano. Perciò ritornarono sui loro passi e sprangarono le porte della fortezza dietro di sé. Ma quando il terrore li lasciò e si furono riconfortati dietro le mura, sembrò loro di avere la possa di superare gli arabi. Uscirono all'attacco ma fu solo per gustare il malanno e volgere le spalle.

Passarono quattro mesi e fu un tiramolla fra musulmani e Rûm mentre fra le sciabole dei primi e i colli dei secondi si metteva la fortezza quando l'ora era più grave. Ad 'Amr quel tempo parve lungo e decise di prender d'assalto la fortezza. Coi suoi compagni dispose il piano dell'attacco.

Un certo mattino frotte di musulmani si precipitarono contro quella fortezza sotto una pioggia di proiettili pesanti, mentre altri di loro si precipitarono nel mare nuotando fra le navi ancorate intorno alla città premendo i Rûm per terra e per mare

المسلمين تعصر قارب هذه الخامية الباقية في أرض مصر . فخالت قواها .
 وأسرع قائدها إلى عمرو يستغيث صائحا :
 - سرحل يا عمرو ! أوقف القتل والفرض ما تشاء !
 وأوقف عمرو سيوف المسلمين وهي تقطر من دماء الرومان . ورضى
 أن يمنحهم أحد عشر شهرا ينظمون فيها آخر خيط يرتبطهم بمصر .
 ويتزقون كل خاطر بخدشهم بالعودة إليها .
 وتحركت سنن الرومان بعد قليل تجلو بهم سنبنة بعد سنبنة . حتى
 نشرت الأخيرة أشعتها . ثم توقفت قليلا . ونظر من فيها إلى مئات
 السنين التي طالت حملت فيها سنن الرومان خيرات مصر . ونكمت أحبت
 بعيون العرب تنظر إليها في قوة واعتدلت ثم توارت عن الأنظار .
 وجلس التاج العربي على شاطئ البحر الأبيض مع صاحبه . وبد
 نظره في الأمواج المنيعة بيد القصرة بلا حق بعضها بعضا . ويرتطم بعضها
 ببعض فتعلو وهبط . وسبح في تفكير عميق ثم انبته هاما :
 - حطمتها الرومان وبصلحتها العرب ! رسالة لا بد أن يقوم بها
 الإسلام . ولكن بعد أن يتم الخلاء !
 - أبعد ما ابتلع البحر جيش الرومان جلاء يا عمرو ؟
 - كنت أتبع ماء البحر إلى الغرب يا عدنان .
 - حتى المحيط الأطلسي يا عمرو ؟
 - نيت يا عدنان ! لا بد من إجلاء الروم عن حدود مصر . حتى
 تأمن الغرب كما أمنت الشرق . ثم داخل مصر يا عدنان ! ألا تتوقع
 أن يكون في البلاد جيوب للروم ؟ إن الغاصبين يشكلون الخائنين من
 أبناء البلاد كما يشتهون . ويمكنهم من سؤوس قومهم ليظلموا الشعوب
 بأيديهم . أنظن أن هؤلاء الذين كانوا يحملون ظلم الرومان إلى قومهم
 سينقادون إلينا بسهولة ؟ ! إن أماننا جهاد في الداخل وجهاد في الخارج
 قبل جهاد العمران يا عدنان !
 وأصبحت جيوش المسلمين سابعة في جوانب مصر . وأصبح عمرو
 يجيش منها يخرق الصحراء حتى بلغ برقة على حدود مصر من الغرب
 فدانت له : ثم استأنف السير حتى نزل طرابلس .
 وشهد العام الثاني والعشرون للهجرة جيوش المسلمين ملتفة حول حصون

e la tenaglia serrò i difensori rimasti in terra d'Egitto. Questi ebbero le forze prostrate. Il loro comandante corse da 'Amr e lo scongiurò gridando:

- Ce ne andremo, 'Amr! Solo arresta la strage e imponi le condizioni che vuoi!

'Amr arrestò le sciabole dei musulmani grondanti del sangue dei Rûm e acconsentì ad accordare loro undici mesi, (60) entro i quali troncassero l'ultimo filo che li legava all'Egitto e dessero di taglio a qualsiasi velleità di ritornarvi.

Non passò molto che le navi dei Rûm si mossero a sgomberare trasportandoli via, una di seguito all'altra finché tutte ebbero spiegato le vele. Allora si fermarono un poco e quanti erano a bordo guardarono al lungo volgere di centinaia d'anni, durante i quali le loro navi erano partite cariche dei beni dell'Egitto. Ma le navi sentirono gli occhi degli arabi che le fissavano, sicché si allontanarono e scomparvero alla vista.

Il conquistatore arabo sedette sulla riva del Mar Mediterraneo col suo compagno. Protese lo sguardo sulle onde vaganti in balia del destino, che si susseguivano e si accavallavano le une sulle altre, ora sollevandosi, ora abbassandosi, e si perse in pensieri profondi. Poi si riscosse e mormorò:

- I Rûm le infransero, gli arabi le risaneranno! Missione che deve intraprendere l'Islâm ma non prima che sia completata l'evacuazione!

- Che evacuazione ormai, 'Amr, quando il mare ha inghiottito l'esercito dei Rûm?

- Stavo inseguendo l'acqua del mare verso occidente, 'Adnân.

- Fino all'oceano Atlantico, 'Amr?

- Piaccia a Dio, 'Adnân! E' indispensabile che i Rûm evacuino dai confini dell'Egitto, perché abbia sicurezza da occidente come l'ha da oriente. Poi l'interno dell'Egitto, 'Adnân! Ti aspetti forse che nel paese non vi siano braccia aperte ai Rûm? Gli oppressori fazzonano ben a loro voglia quanti sono traditori fra gli uomini del paese, e danno loro il potere sopra i capi della loro gente, per opprimere i popoli tramite le mani di costoro. Credi tu che quelli che tolleravano la tirannia dei Rûm sulla loro gente si ridurranno facilmente ad obbedire a noi? Invero davanti a noi sta una lotta all'interno e una lotta all'esterno, prima di lottare per la prosperità, 'Adnân!

Gli eserciti dei musulmani si sparsero per le parti dell'Egitto (61) mentre 'Amr con uno di essi attraversò il deserto, finché giunse a Barca, sui confini occidentali dell'Egitto, e questa gli si sottomise. Quindi riprese il cammino e si fermò a Tripoli.

L'anno ventesimo secondo dell'Egira vide i soldati musulmani

طرابلس شهراً كاملاً حتى فتحت كما فتحت غيره من الحصون المنيعه .
ثم عاد عمرو إلى مصر ليندأ جهاد العمران . ويبعث الحياة في مصر التي
تركها الرومان شعباً محطماً يستحق الرثاء .

جهاد العمران

تفتحت عيون المصريين على جمال بلادهم بعدما غشي عليها ظلم
الرومان ، فرأوا الشمس مشرقة والشمس متلاًثماً والنجوم لامعة ، وأحسوا
بعبير الأزهار بعطر جوانب الوادي . وأخذوا يمدون أنوفهم وينشقون هذا
العبير في هدوء شامياً وزفيراً منتظماً لا تسرع به فرجة ولا تعكوه هجمة ،
و يمدون أرجلهم في الطوق ثم يسرون إذا أشرق النهار وإذا أظلم الليل ،
و يملكون أعينهم من حفرهم ومناجرهم ، ويرفعون أصواتهم بندعواتهم وصلواتهم ،
مطمئنين في جناح الإسلام الرحيم الذي يتكرم العهود ويقدر المواقف .
وشغل النيل أنظار المسلمين ، فلاحظوه وهو يفيض ويغمر الأرض
ويحجر ماؤه بين القرى فلا تنصل إلا في خفاف القوارب وصغار المراكب ،
ثم يشتد فيضانه حتى يتكامل ، ثم يأخذ في الانخفاض حتى يعود كما
بدأ ، فيخرج المصريون ليحرثوا أعلى الأرض وأسافلها يبنون الحب
ويرجون الثمار من الرب ، حتى إذا ظهر النبات سقاها الندى من فوقه ،
وغذاه الثرى من تحته ، فبينما مصر درة بيضاء إذا هي عنبرة سوداء ثم إذا
هي زبرجدة خضراء .

هذه الأرض الطيبة الطائفة فيها صفات من صفات العرب ، كلما
أكرمتها ردت لك إكرامك شاكرة وزادت ، وكلما أهنتها غضبت عليك
وأخفت عنك درها ومنعت خيرها ، عنبدة إذا عاندتها ، منقادة إذا أحسنت
إليها ، وقد ولاك الله أمرها ، وجعل بيلك حياة أهلها ، وعهد إليك الخليفة
بها ، فأصبحت في عنقك أمانة مستحاسب عليها أمام الله ، فألحى هذه
الأرض ومنع أهلها بها ، وسبقتم إليك بيدها ما فاض عنها راضية باسمه !

cingere d'assedio per un mese intero i forti di Tripoli, finchè la conquistarono come avevano conquistato gli altri forti ben muniti. Allora 'Amr ritornò in Egitto a cominciare la lotta per la prosperità, a risuscitare la vita in quell'Egitto che i Rûm avevano lasciato a guisa di sagoma infranta degna di funebre lamento.

XIX La lotta per la prosperità

Si apersero gli occhi degli Egiziani sulla bellezza del loro paese, dopo che la tirannia dei Rûm li aveva bendati loro. Videro il sole rifulgere, la luna rilucere, le stelle scintillare. Sentirono la fragranza dei fiori profumare per ogni contrada la valle del Nilo, e cominciarono ad aspirare quella fragranza in pace, una boccata dopo l'altra, non colti da paure, non turbati da sorprese, mentre movevano il piede per le strade e le percorrevano, se il giorno splendeva o se la notte nereggiava, e si riempivano gli occhi dei loro campi e mercanzie. Essi levarono le voci in preghiere e orazioni, sicuri sotto l'ala dell'Islâm misericorde, che rispetta le promesse, che serba la santità dei patti.

Il Nilo occupò gli sguardi dei musulmani. Lo mirarono ed era in piena e sommergeva la terra e la sua acqua separava i villaggi, così che non comunicavano fra loro se non per mezzo di barche leggiere e piccoli battelli. Poi la sua piena cresceva finché giungeva al colmo. Poi prendeva a decrescere, finché il fiume tornava come era stato. Allora uscivano gli Egiziani ad arare le terre, le alte e le basse, a spargere il seme, a sperare il frutto del Signore. Ed ecco spuntare la pianta, che l'umidità abbeverò da sopra, che l'umo nutrì da sotto, e così l'Egitto, mentre era stato una bianca perla, eccolo farsi ambra nera, eccolo ancora di crisolito verde.

Questa terra buona, obbediente, in lei sono qualità di quelle degli arabi: se la onori, ti rende l'onore ringraziando e in sovrappiù, ma se la spregi, s'adira e ti riduce la sua larghezza, trattiene la sua grazia. Ostinata, se la contrari; se la benefichi, docile! Già t'investì Iddio del suo governo e rimise in mano tua la vita del suo popolo e il califfo te la affidò, sicché sul tuo collo é pervenuto un deposito di cui risponderai a Dio d'innanzi. Vivifica questa terra, fa che la sua gente ne goda. Essa di sua mano ti porgerà la profusione dei suoi doni, lieta e sorridente!

Così parlò 'Amr a sé stesso e così pose il suo disegno. Curò la spesa per i canali e i ponti, e destinò gran parte delle imposte alle opere di riforma. Installò un nilometro che determi-

'Amr ibn al-'As: Conqueror of Egypt

Alessandro Coletti, Editor

Introduction

This biography of 'Arabic conquering Amr of Egypt (594-664), and appeared in 1957 to the Cairo (necklace of the publishing house) author 'Abd as-Salam al- 'Asari, high civil employee of the Ministry of the education and the instruction and writer of talent that it distinguishes is for poetic vision that for historical surveying (I). Operetta in delineating the career of the great general spaces with effective end from the last period of the paganism in Arabia, through the fight between Muslims and idolaters, the great conquests, the revolt and the torrid ones under the caliphate of 'Uthman and 'Wings, until the advent of the Umayyad. Animated of ethnic-religious enthusiasm, trabocca of admiration for the miracle completed from the Islam: nomadic and then single people until it accustom to the pastoralist, to the commerce, all guerrilla, and transformed in a troop of believers whom sbaraglia the armies of più the powerful empires in name of the sublime ideals of equality and liberty. The jihad with its martyrdoms... (page 1)

The Talk (XVI)

The Muslims encircled of new the fort very fortified. Step a month after the other. They arrived reinforces to add to the army of 'four thousand Amr prodi Muslim, four of between which counted for thousands everyone. The Muqawqis, apo of the Coptic, heads as it would be ended that I besiege after the defeats of the Rome. Uscí from the western door of the fort and was kept on the island with a squad of Egyptians. Determined to reach before to an agreement with the Muslims that the occasion escaped to it. I send to 'Amr its nunzi with a message.

-Than and this? Or that nuocerebbe to us, if they came the Rum ahead with all ciò that posseggono? That there it imports of the Nile and its flood? Or that these floods captive us può dara in hand its, as it says? Us intimorisce perhaps the Muqawqis? It has not till now known the sabres of this small formation? But in truth not found it s'é of forehead to it, because spoke the language to it that has spoken to others?

And 'Amr did not answer to the message. And it did not allow the puttinges that were returned some, così remained two days between the Arabs. Therefore I call, I deliver them to they it its answer and them dismissal. The Muqawqis was restless for their delay; the heart già said to it that 'Amr had killed them for all answer all its injunction. It was perplexed on from makes if 'Amr really had made ciò. But the nunzi, it deals to you with all in, they returned to he and the reply introduced it of 'Amr. It dissigliillo, read più times to it, put itself to mormorarne the content between if:

Of three Entered solutions sceglierene one in the Islam! You will be siblings of the Muslims: for you that one ch'éper they; against you that one ch'e against they. Otherwise, you will submit yourselves to I pay and you will be ninori and the Muslims obligate

themselves tutelarvi and to proteggervi and leaving you between the assets, the sons, the earth, the jobs yours. Otherwise, sarà la guerra and the fight until that it judges Iddio, and He and the better judge

Then the Muqawqis was turned to its puttinges and I interrogate them:

- As you have found those Muslims?
- We have found one stirpe of men which the dead women and piu carra of the life, the umilta of the exaltation; between which some does not place its desire in the world. They are based on the earth and they eat on the ginocchia. Their prince and like one of they. The lofty one from the humble one does not acknowledge between they, not the gentleman from the servant.

Strange these Arabs! Costoro, if they moved against mountains, would know to destroy them! Peace must propose they it, hour who are tightened (of the? dalla) full, otherwise, when sara stopped, they do not consent to you! Returned soon from 'Amr so delegates (end Page 91)

to one solution. To the Muqawqis I introduce a group of men who 'Amr had delegated to confer with he, as it had vouto. First a black and high man came, of black an intense one, beautiful stature. Those men had the legs very planted, the erected bodies, the full eyes of circospezione. The upsotten voice of the Muqawqis levo:

- You remove via from high black cotesto me! It makes some you to advance an other.
- But he and our head, those that us and be preplace.
- Of it you have not found an other perche is your CAP?
- This black and advanced to we for council and wisdom. E'il gettlemen and the best one than we and all recover to its warning.

-Potro not to deal with he! Sceglietene an other! The voices of the Muslims levarono a lot who risked to break the heart of the Muqawqas:

- E' emiro 'the Amr that have it chosen and has entrusted it the direction of the matter above we and it has ordered to us not to contradict it.
- And cme you have consented to that this black one was advanced, when instead confaceva that same you to of under? Onvero Costui makes fright me. Porse in order makes spregio 'a Amr me has made cio?
- L'Islam, or Muqawqas, not ago distinction between black and the white man. All are equal in front of the Islam without precellenza if not in as far as the devozione to God. Or chip axes to confer with he, or we return some to us donde we have come.

The Muqawqis pote not to make other that to confer with 'Abadah ibn as-Samit and it made signal it that began. 'Abadah sorrise in such way to break the heart of the Muqawqis and its compoagni and said with scherno:

- Topics my nerezza, Muqawqis? And that you will make, if you meet to you with the army of the Muslims, when between they you of they are thousand and piu equally black ones of me? Indeed those are in the flower of the years, while I gia have left behind the

giovinezza. It listens, Muqawqis! We for other do not have stiff to Egypt or other country, than in order to feel sorry to God and to diffuse Its light. The world and its ephemeral assets do not make we of need, also if Allah I leave us for lawful which we earn of booty. Niuno of we cure to have quintals of gold or not to possess that a single money, perche and I add limit of the world little those food of that to contain the hunger and a cape of that to wrap the limbs. But if also it has a quintal of hours, it spends it on the way of Allah. (end page 93)

The Muqawqis udi the speech of 'Abadah and, drawn a deep sigh, I try one smorto smile. It said:

- *Very we know yours pieta and your separation from the world and that just cotesta virtu it has assisted in succeeded achieving. However you cannot know that you reservoirs the destiny in our country!*
- *Well and blessing, if God wants! Or perhaps, Muqawqis, you have penetrated the mysterious one and learned that what brings the destiny?*
- *Not, but I fear for you of a sventura who gia I know. I do not augur men probi, which you you are, of falling easy preda in the hands of the Rum!*
- *The Rum? And who never we defeated in every encounter till now? E' perhaps of your religion that God comes in aid to the oppressori and gives defeat the just ones?*
- *But they have prepared against of you many prodi how many are not available, than they are not cured of the dead women. I fear for you, poiche you are in meager number, than you do not fall in the hands of who not avra pieta.*
- *Topics of the Rum for we? Not rather than we for the Rum?*
- *I fear that s'incontrino with you those innumerevoli armys and you street sweeper via in an hour of the day. That, if also your tenacity dulls it, and sure that your supplies will come less, piche I know in which ristrettezze and found distresses. But I have one solution that you soddisfera. The peace, 'Abadah!*
- *To the first condition or the second one?*
- *To nobody of the two.*
- *If and cosi, we do not talk, perche other not v'e for our part that one of the two that is third. You have not learned them all? The Islam or I pay or the war!*
- *However an other and better than those three.*
- *Not v'e null of better than these three. It thinks to us, affinche we return from 'Amr.*
- *One that you soddisfera. They are convinced that it you allietera allietera 'Amr! But 'Abadah movements in order to make return. The Muqawqis I pray it that it listened to it in order to know queta solution, if never could be that good one. 'Firm Abadah and was said, the face temper overflow:*

- He speaks, even if I do not accept cheuna of the three.
 - We conclude the peace, 'Abadah. We conclude it to the pact that we will assign to every your man two money.

- And then, Muqawqis?
 - And then that we will assign to yours emiro one hundred money!
 - And then?
 - And then that we will assign to your caliph thousand money!

(end page 95)

- And then?
 - And then that you pigliate all this money in once single and you leave for your countries, before that understood to you I lean from part of the Rum a lot to which you enough the force and you do not lose and the money and the life!
 - 'Abadah tacque a moment, then eplose in a outcry to which hard jolt the heart of the Muqawqis. It said ruggendo:

- You want to trick we, Muqawqis, or want to trick same you? Forgotten Hai gia! T'ho perhaps not spoken about the Muslims and their depreciation of the world? You do not know that the martyrdom and the first coso that we ask this life? Where they are these coiquali stuoli you want to scare to us? Deh! They were like you you say, that we went some you speed up to Allah! Not v'e man between we that not reghimattina and evening its Getlteman of accordargli the martyrdom, not restituiorlo to its earth, its country, its people to its son. We pour in ristrettezze, Muqawqis, but in truth the state in which we are and the abundant comfort piu! Not to trick you same, therefore, perche you is not that one of the three solutions. You see to which it conviene you better and not to commit ingiustizia, than the hearts where it lodges the faith do not let to trick.

XVII The Clear Conquest

'Abadah ib a-Samit turn and turned behind he its companies left the Muqawqis and who was with he in the sbigottimento. To 'Amr it was not necessary that 'Abadah told to it that what was elapsed between he and the Muqawqis, poiche giaaveva understood that what those wanted and which left would have ended in order to get hold of. As far as the same Muqawqis, collected from its astonishment and warning to make the peace with the Muslims the condition of I pay, attesoche null the tenacity and the combattivita one of that people could suoicontra. Then soffoco the plant, I lower the eyelids and tacque for little. Then ripresea to remind to its companions who what were the Rum and their tyranny. I recall they them tetre immagii of their black giori those they days scenturati in which they were looked at to pregive the commodities to scatter the blood, to slaughter the innocents. Its words moved fibers of those wounded hearts. You appeared in front of their eyes the simulacri of the victims of a murder, the wounded, of the burned ones, and how many insults to the honor those tyrants had inferto. They consented to the peace. The Muqawqis run from 'Amr and tightened with he a pact of peace for if and the Egyptians.

The Rum was seized to you from a scellerata fury and rebelled sdegnati against cio that the Muqawqis had completed, ricusando submitting to you. Proclamarono that would have resistito and held (end page 97)

hard, finche they would be joints reinforces that they would destroy 'Amr and its men. {long ace time, to the month you follow the month while the Nilo withheld the Muslims from the fort. The hope drew the defenders to hold head, for how much it tries to you from the feracious hunger and the disease that cut with a scythe them. Seven months passed cosi. The water of the Nilo withdrawal and the ditch prosciugo. The Muslims went around themselves trying the way in order to penetrate until aicuori of the Rum. 'Amr and its companions seated in order to take council. They turned the eyes towards the fort, then distoglievano depriving of hope them of being able to storm it. They examined blots some to them of I besiege that they had removed like booty, but they found to them impotent to conquer it. They continued to turn the pensieri finche the hope lightning in ocvchi of the captain and he outcry they:

Not giovano these apparatuses. Necessary E' that the hearts go innanzi in order to open the way. Necessary E' that one of we offers and makes gift of if same! All the traboccanti voices levarono of ardor: - We all are we donate to you to Allah! But one of those voices wanted to reach before in paradise, and az-Zubary ibn al- 'Awam, the man to which it it belonged, movements and prays the multitude that to he let this martyrdom, than he was bramoso to meet Allah, also if speme the heart filled up it that Allah for hand its would have opened the doors of the fortress.

It was decided that this daring volunteer salted for one scale to the sommita one of the fort and, giuntovi, gridasse: "Large Allah and piu!" The Muslims, hearing it, griderebbero then: "Large Allah and piu!" with a outcry solo to shake the earth, to squassare the chests to he besieges to you. Those know them and reached sommita and the high outcry and rintrono the outcry of the Muslims. The defenders will believe it to come from the inside of the fort, will believe that the Muslims gia had taken it and escaped to their shelters abandoning the doors. The Muslims slanciarono towards the scale and gathered to Zubayr. Therefore they decreased on the doors that the defenders frighten to you had abandoned and they opened to them. The Muslims precipitell within the fort trying the witness of the Rum, in front of that magnet that was sealed with lead on he, than to spread its hand towards 'Amr in order to avert the dead women from cio that he remained of its army. Then levo the voice of the captain of the Muslims to ingiungere that they were stopped repeating the word of God the Highest one: "And if they want the peace, it comes to an agreement and has confidence in God", and imposed the commander of the Rum who cleared the fort within three days.

The Rum was ready to go itself some in two days but they did not abandon (end page 99)

the fort, perche had destined the third day to stump the hands of the Copti that were with they, to mutilare their feet and sfregiare their faces, so as to to leave them such whom they did not have to enjoy the scentura of their enemies s'avanzo and withheld the

scellerate hands and I drive away them outside from the fort. Therefore I prepare for
completarela conquest, subjecting the understood one them of the country situated on the
mar of the Rum in northern Egypt.

DOCUMENT 9

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BYZANTINE EGYPT DURING THE ARAB INVASION
OF
PALESTINE AND SYRIA: SOME OBSERVATIONS

The project which I undertook as an ARCE Fellow during the summer of 1979 is part of a larger study of Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests. The appearance of the second edition of Alfred J. Butler, The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of Roman Domination (edited with additional bibliography by P. M. Fraser) in 1978 revealed how much and yet how relatively little progress had been made in understanding the end of Byzantine Egypt. In addition to visiting as many sites as possible, I reexamined the extant literary sources in Greek, Latin, and Arabic in the light of recent researches in Late Roman and Byzantine military and nonmilitary history. Byzantinists have generally ignored untranslated Arabic texts, even Torrey's edition of Ibn 'Abd el-Hakam, Futūḥ Miṣr. My detailed conclusions will be part of a larger monograph on the collapse of the Byzantine defenses of Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, and the Byzantine intellectual reactions to those events.

Some basic conclusions: the Muslim conquest of Egypt did not happen in isolation; it was inextricably involved with events in Byzantine Palestine and Syria and Mesopotamia. The initial Muslim invasions, starting in 634, made great difficulty for the Byzantines by striking southern Palestine, including the vicinity of Gaza as well as the 'Arabah. Palestine was at the end, indeed the awkward end, of one long line of communications for the Byzantines; it was remote from the principal Byzantine bases in northern Syria and upper Mesopotamia (in the provinces of Mesopotamia and Osrhoene). The initial Muslim victories near Gaza and in the 'Arabah may not have resulted in the surrender of many towns and their occupation at first, but they did threaten, almost from the beginning of clashes, overland communication, transportation, and coordination of Byzantine forces in Egypt with those in Palestine, Syria, and beyond. This was a critical pressure point that exposed and soon resulted in the shredding of the entire structure of Byzantine defenses. Egypt was virtually isolated by land, except for supplies coming by sea or from distant areas of Byzantine Cyrenaica and North Africa. The need to maintain maritime contact with Egypt may have inhibited the diversion of Byzantine ships for the supply and relief of coastal towns in Syria and Palestine.

The Greek sources give no coherent explanation of the Byzantine defense and the Muslim invasion of Egypt. The Arabic sources, as well as the contemporary, John, Bishop of Nikiu, describe events in Egypt in isolation from the rest of events. Modern historians have followed that approach, without giving sufficient consideration to the larger historical context. The compartmentalization of the study of the Islamic conquests has tended to obscure the close interrelationship, not only the sequential order, of events and decisions in Palestine and Egypt. With the important exception of a tradition from Sayf b. Umar concerning the withdrawal of an Arṭabūn and his soldiers from Palestine to Egypt, there is no explicit information about movement of Byzantine troops and commanders between Palestine and Egypt. The identity of Arṭabūn is uncertain: Tribunus, Aretion, and Wardān (Armenian Vardan) are possible alternative explanations. Arṭabūn may or may not have been a commander at Jerusalem, at the earlier important battle of Ajnadayn. Equally unclear are his activities and location after any withdrawal to Byzantine Egypt, which contrasted with the withdrawal of most Byzantine commanders, soldiers, and prominent civilians to the north or to the Mediterranean ports. In any case, there is no evidence that Byzantine soldiers from Egypt contributed seriously to the defense of Byzantine Palestine. This is not surprising, because the best Byzantine soldiers had not been traditionally assigned to Egypt. There was no major precedent or experience for using troops from Egypt for the military emergencies in Palestine or Syria or vice-versa.

There are a number of plausible stories about ḌAmr b. al-ḌAṣ and his interest in Egypt and his efforts to persuade ḌUmar to allow him to lead an expedition to Egypt. Whatever the truth of ḌAmr's earlier experience with travelling to Egypt, it is certain that ḌAmr had engaged in repeated military operations in southern Palestine where he was in an excellent position to gain detailed information about the state of defense and general conditions in Byzantine Egypt. This has not been sufficiently noted by historians of the conquests. In addition to ḌAmr's operations near Gaza and in the ḌArabah, most authorities accept that he participated in some way in the siege or blockade of Caesarea Maritima. All of this chronology is controversial. An important Latin source has been ignored by Orientalists and Islamic historians in endeavors to sort out the chronology: the *Passio LX martyrum*, which is a hagiographic text on the sixty soldier-martyrs of Gaza, first edited by Hippolyte Delehaye (*Analecta Bollandiana* 23 [1904] 280-307), and carefully analyzed and amended by J. Pargoire ("Les LX soldate martyrs de Gaza", *Échos d'Orient* 8 [1905] 40-43). The information in this martyrology is so specific and so fits the historical circumstances of the third decade of the seventh century that its authenticity is beyond serious doubt. The text not only provides a precise date for the final capture of Gaza (June-July 637) but, equally important for

clarifying some of the background to the Islamic conquest of Egypt, it identifies the Muslim commander who captured Gaza as ^CAmr b. al-^CĀṣ ("Ambrus"), who also controlled Eleutheropolis (Bayt Jibrīn), to where he moved the Byzantine prisoners before sending them to Jerusalem for interrogation. The details of the execution of the small garrison from Gaza, sixty soldiers, is not of direct concern here. What is significant is that ^CAmr controlled Eleutheropolis and Gaza after he captured it in 637. Both towns were excellent points for marshalling supplies and troops for an invasion of Egypt, and for gathering information about the strengths and weaknesses of the defenses of Egypt, condition of the roads, factional strife in Egypt, and details of necessary supplies and potential allies for such an expedition. A glance at the map demonstrates the importance of Gaza and Eleutheropolis as listening posts and staging points. Whether or not ^CAmr participated in the siege of Caesarea before departing for Egypt, he had conquered the Palestinian towns closest to Egypt: Aila, Eleutheropolis, Gaza, and Raphia, and was in a position to know more about the opportunities and hazards of invading Egypt than any other Muslim commander.

Jean Maspero's L'Organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine remains the classic study of Byzantine military institutions in Egypt, although many fine specialized studies have since appeared. What one must remember is that although Heraclius was the first reigning Byzantine emperor to visit Jerusalem, no reigning Byzantine emperor, to my knowledge, visited Egypt. Heraclius had some familiarity with the terrain of Palestine and Syria (and he directed many operations from such cities as Emesa/Hims, Antioch, Edessa, and Samosata), but his communications with Egypt necessarily were more complex, the situation was less clear, and presumably much news came via the sea.

The surrender of various Byzantine ports on the Palestinian and Syrian coast, such as Gaza and presumably Askalon in 637, Caesarea in 640 (or even 641), made contact between Constantinople and Egypt more hazardous, although not impossible. The gradual loss of such ports probably dampened Byzantine morale in Egypt; troops--and some officials and civilians--probably feared being cut off.

Another contemporary problem that complicated the defense of Egypt was, after the Byzantine evacuation of Antioch and Chalcis (Qinnasrīn) and Berrhoea (Aleppo), the threat to and subsequent invasion of Byzantine Mesopotamia (cf. my unpublished paper, "Heraclius and Byzantine Mesopotamia", to be included in my book on Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests), and the commencement of Muslim raids into Anatolia. It is increasingly clear that after the Byzantine debacle at the Battle of the Yarmūk, Heraclius was desperately involved in trying to develop a viable southeastern defensive line to

prevent a threat to Constantinople and to his native Armenia and fellow Armenians. Constantinople, Anatolia, and Armenia were priorities for Heraclius, because they were respectively capital, heartland, and key source for military recruits for his empire. It was uncertain at that time whether any defensive line would hold. Heraclius' attention was riveted on Melitene, the Cilician approaches to the Taurus passes, and the upper Euphrates and Tigris. Egypt was not insignificant, but it was extremely difficult to devise a coherent defensive strategy for such widely scattered fronts as upper Mesopotamia and Egypt--at a moment when total military collapse threatened. Under these circumstances, the defense of Egypt became ever more difficult to coordinate with the military operations in defense of Anatolia.

The lack of a coordinated Byzantine defense for Egypt was underscored by another major failing, the unwillingness or unreadiness of at least some of the few Byzantine units to the west of Egypt to move east to participate in the defense of Egypt. A contemporary seventh-century source reports that Peter, the Byzantine commander in Numidia, refused to obey orders from the emperor to take his army to the assistance of beleaguered Egypt; but Peter refused to do so on the negative advice of the Chalcedonian leader Maximus the Confessor who told him "do not do this, because God does not wish to assist the Roman state during the reign of Heraclius and his offspring" (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 90: 112). The source is an unusual example of how at least some officials of the reigning Heraclian dynasty sought to use the issue of the cause for the Muslim conquest of Egypt against the Chalcedonians/Catholics, in order to justify the dynasty's Monothelite religious policies. It shows, furthermore, that the loss of Egypt was sufficiently serious in the eyes of seventh-century contemporaries that it was the subject of political controversy and that it required identifying a religious scapegoat, the Chalcedonians/Catholics. Egypt was sufficiently important that its loss was not quickly forgotten or easily explained away in Constantinople.

The accumulating evidence from different scholarly publications, and from scraps of information in a number of primary sources concerning Egypt as well as other regions of the Byzantine Empire, indicates conclusively that the institutional structure of Heraclius' empire at the moment of the Islamic conquests was still basically a Late Roman one, not, of course, an unchanged version of Constantinian and Justinianic structures. There is no evidence for any drastic or comprehensive transformation of Byzantine military institutions in Egypt, Palestine, or Anatolia, although experiences in the recent conflict with the Persians had shown Byzantine military institutions and finances to be strained to their limit.

By the time ḲAmr invaded Byzantine Egypt, the decisive battles against the Byzantines had already taken place, culminating in the battle of the Yarmūk. Despite some modern

scholars' conclusions to the contrary, there is no evidence that Christian sectarian strife was responsible for the failure of the Byzantines to develop an effective defense of Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia; in fact, the predominant Christian group in Heraclius' armies in Palestine and Syria probably were Monophysite Armenians and Arabs. The role of Monophysites had been perhaps passive in the towns, but that is not surprising, because townspeople and countryfolk had seldom resisted the Persians fiercely in the sixth century, in Syria. In fact, as the Late Roman historian E. A. Thompson has noted in his newly published book on Romans and Barbarians (Madison, Wisconsin 1982), civilians such as townspeople and countryfolk rarely offered violent resistance to "barbarians" in other regions of the Roman Empire in the Late Roman period. There is, therefore, no justification for ascribing any passivity necessarily to Monophysite or other Christian religious strife--it was rather typical behavior for civilians who lacked training in warfare. Nevertheless, the issue of religious politics in the particular case of Egypt and its surrender to CAmr does deserve closer scholarly investigation. But the controversial case of Patriarch Cyrus involves personal rivalries as well as Monophysite-Monothelite strife.

Ibn CAbd al-Hakam significantly identified Emperor Heraclius as the backbone of Byzantine resistance in Egypt (Futūh Miṣr, ed. C. Torrey, New Haven 1922, 76). This is an important recognition of the role of Heraclius in making strategy and in directing military operations; contrary to the supposition of some modern Byzantinists, the Arabic sources do not depict Heraclius as senile or incompetent at the moment of the Islamic conquest of Egypt. There is an implicit admission in Ibn CAbd al-Hakam's statement that is astute: the fate of Byzantine Egypt was not decided in Egypt, but at Constantinople and on the battlefields of Palestine and Syria.

My grant from the American Research Center in Egypt gave me the inestimable opportunity to pursue these researches in Egypt, to use various local facilities and to consult with scholars in Egypt, among whom I specifically wish to mention Marsden Jones, Jean Gascou of the French Insitute, and Leslie MacCoull of the Society for Coptic Archaeology. I am incorporating much more detailed conclusions in my larger manuscript on Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests.

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1979-80 ARCE Fellow
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HISTORIAE BYZANTINAE

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STUDIIS BYZANTINIS PROVEHENDIS DESTINATAE

EDITUM

VOLUMEN XIII

NICEPHORI PATRIARCHAE CONSTANTINOPOLITANI
BREVIARIUM HISTORICUM

EDIDIT, ANGLICE VERTIT,
COMMENTARIO INSTRUXIT
CYRILLUS MANGO

SERIES WASHINGTONIENSIS
EDIDIT IHOR ŠEVČENKO

In aedibus Dumbarton Oaks
Washingtoniae, D.C.
MCMXC

NIKEPHOROS
PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPOLE
SHORT HISTORY

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

by

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ENTIRE TEXT

Egypt on the eve of the Muslim conquest

WALTER E. KAEGI



Egypt's population in the early seventh century AD cannot be determined with any certainty, but it probably numbered less than the five million persons frequently attributed to the province at the height of the Roman Empire in the Early Principate. By the year 600, the population may have declined to three million; mortality resulting from plagues erupting during Justinian's reign in the sixth century cannot be accurately estimated.¹ Many Egyptians were designated "Chalcedonians" or "Monophysites," but this distinction did not represent a genuine cleavage of ethnic identity in Egyptian society.² An assumption that "Chalcedonian" referred exclusively to Greeks rather than to native Egyptians is erroneous. Greek remained an important spoken and written language in Egypt, although by the early seventh century Coptic was used increasingly in written records. Subliterary texts in Coptic dated back to the early third century.³

Many other aspects of Egypt's economy, social structure and spiritual outlook during Late Antiquity persisted into the early seventh century. But the privatization of public functions by owners of great estates intensified from the fourth century, a process that significantly altered institutional

¹ I wish to acknowledge the indispensable aid of a fellowship of the American Research Center in Egypt in 1979 and from valuable critical comments of Todd M. Hickey, and the help of Professor John F. Oates and the Papyrology Room, Perkins Library, Duke University. Fundamental is R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993). On population: Hans-Albert Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyrikunde* (Darmstadt, 1994), 158.

² Ewa Wipszycka argues against any nationalist thesis in "Le nationalisme a-t-il existé dans l'Égypte byzantine?" *The Journal of Hellenic Papyrology*, 22 (1992), 83-128, reprinted in Wipszycka, *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive*, Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 52 (Rome, 1990), 9-61.

³ L. S. MacCoull, *Coptic Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (Aldershot, 1993); E. M. Ishaq, "Coptic Language, Spoken," in A. S. Atiya (ed.), *Coptic Encyclopedia*, II (New York, 1991), 604-7; T. G. Willong, "Coptic," in E. M. Meyers (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology of the Near East*, II (Oxford, New York, 1997), 55-7.

structures during the remaining periods of Byzantine administration.⁴ Members of the social elite could still acquire some familiarity with the repertory of Greek authors of antiquity, as testified by the writings of the poet Dioskoros of Aphroditō in the sixth century or the historian Theophylact Simocatta in the early seventh.⁵ Theatrical performances in Alexandria during the early seventh century continued to entertain audiences that included high officials.⁶

The general population was probably quite young, its numbers restricted by plague epidemics and widespread infant mortality. Agriculture continued as the foundation of the economy.

The Patriarch of Alexandria, Egypt's largest city,⁷ controlled extensive properties and functioned as a prominent communal leader as well as head of the Church. The ecclesiastic institution itself changed over the period from the fourth to the seventh centuries. The Patriarchate, monasteries and religious foundations continued to mature, developing their institutional sophistication and acquiring more landed wealth through bequests and gifts. By the year 600, the ecclesiastic establishment was more elaborate than it had been in the fourth century. Forbidden to alienate its properties, the Church rarely lost its landed holdings. Many papyrological, hagiographic or historical narrative sources refer to the accumulation of vast wealth by ecclesiastical institutions in Egypt. The Patriarchate of Alexandria was the prime beneficiary, but several monasteries amassed large estates as well.⁸ Many civilian and military officials envied this growth in ecclesiastic wealth, and dispired its propriety.⁹

Among religious minorities, the Jewish community was prominent. However, Jews do not appear to have figured significantly in either the Persian or Islamic conquests. If they had, Byzantine apologists would probably have attempted to attribute the loss of Egypt to them. In contrast

⁴ J. Gascou, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Égypte byzantine," *Travaux et Mémoires*, 9 (1983), 1-90; J. G. Keenan, "Papyrology and Byzantine Historiography," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, 30 (1993), 137-44; cf. I. F. Fikhtman, "De nouveau sur la colonat du Bas-Empire," *Miscellanea papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana*, *Papyrologica Florentina*, 19 (Florence, 1990), 159-179.

⁵ L. MacCoull, *Dioscoros of Aphroditō: His Work and His World* (Berkeley, 1988); Julian Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit: Studien zur Topographie und Literaturrezeption* (Frankfurt, Bern, New York, 1990), 144-52.

⁶ *Miracles of St. Artemios*, ed. trans. V. S. Crisafulli and John Neshitt (Leiden, 1997), 108-113.

⁷ C. Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict* (Baltimore, 1997), 46-7.

⁸ Jean Gascou and Leslie MacCoull, "Le cadastre d'Aphroditō," *Travaux et Mémoires*, 10 (1987), 102-58; Gascou, *Un codex fiscal Harnopolite (P. Sorb. II 69)*, *American Studies in Papyrology*, 32 (Atlanta, 1994), 57; Wipszycka, *Études sur le christianisme*.

⁹ See the bibliographic additions of P. M. Fraser to A. J. Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt* (Oxford, 1978), xlv-xlviii.

with assignments of blame in Palestine-Syria, there were no allegations of Jewish complicity or incidents of anti-Jewish hostility mentioned as causes for the failure of Byzantine forces to bar the Muslims from Egypt.

Although the intellectual horizons of its rural population may have been narrow, Egypt had maintained extensive ties with the external world long before the seventh century.¹⁰ Egypt possessed renowned pilgrimage sites. Its Mediterranean ports of Alexandria and Pelusium were flourishing. Inhabitants of its coastal towns and river ports had access to news from around the empire, if on a delayed basis because of slow communications. Egypt possessed significant transportation hubs, even though the majority of its inhabitants were rustics who lived by agriculture and, to a lesser extent, pastoralism.¹¹ The remaining pagan elements on its periphery had probably been converted to Christianity by the late sixth century, and its cities no longer harbored pagans who were willing to declare their allegiances openly. Egypt's coasts and river shores provided opportunities for contact with travelers and merchants from other shores of the Mediterranean. Egyptians were still making pilgrimages in the early seventh century to venerate relics and religious sites in Palestine. Their visits contributed a measure of cosmopolitanism to the province. Those regions were still part of a larger late antique cultural world. Some rough and non-Christianized tribes still occasionally raided and terrorized communities such as Scete on the western edge of the desert as late as the 630s.¹²

While Egypt was not the catalyst for the seminal political and military events of the early seventh century,¹³ it did assume an important role in the broader Byzantine imperial economy in terms of agriculture, commerce and artisanal production. Egypt may have contributed as much as 30 percent of total imperial tax revenues from the Prefecture of the East.¹⁴ Egypt was an integral part of the broader Byzantine and Mediterranean economy, and its financial contributions were essential to Byzantine fiscal integrity at the start of the seventh century; its grain contributions were crucial to feeding Constantinople until about 617. During that year Emperor Heraclius

¹⁰ P. Oxy. LVI 3872 is an unusual documentary example of travel between Alexandria, Babylon (Old Cairo) and Constantinople; see J. G. Keenan, "A Constantinople Loan, AD 541," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 29 (1992), 175-82.

¹¹ J. G. Keenan, "Pastoralism in Roman Egypt," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 26 (1989), 175-98.

¹² Ugo Zanetti, "La vie de Saint Jean Higoimène de Scète au VII^e siècle," *Analecta Bollandiana* 114 (1996), ch. 20, pp. 338-45, 382-3; Anthony Alcock (ed., trans.), *The Life of Samuel of Kalamit by Isaac the Presbyter*, c. 17-18 (Warminster, 1983), 90-2. Pilgrimages: Papyrus 55, *Greek Papyri of the Byzantine Period*, ed. G. Fantoni (Griechische Texte, X, CPRF, XIV), 107-9.

¹³ For overviews, see A. Stratos, *Byzantium from 2nd to 10th century*, 6 vols. (Athens, 1965-1978); J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1997).

¹⁴ M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy* (Cambridge, 1985), 171-2, 613-18.

(610-41), reacting to the Persian conquest of Egypt, suppressed this ancient entitlement. The cancellation of the grain dole, following the loss of Egypt, inflicted hardships on Constantinople's inhabitants. There is no scholarly consensus as to whether Egyptian contributions of grain to Constantinople were temporarily restored after the Byzantine recovery of Egypt in 629 from the Persians.

The Byzantines did care about the fate of Egypt. If one looks at later seventh-century scapegoating, Egypt and its loss loomed large in their eyes. Whether everyone else of importance in the late 630s and 640s concurred is open to question. But a variety of sources attest to the significance of Egypt from Constantinople's point of view, and to acrimonious disputes about why and how it fell to the Muslims. There was, however, another perspective.¹⁵ The Byzantine Empire had already begun to learn what it was like to do without Egypt during the era of the Persian occupation. The empire had managed to survive, but at a great cost in terms of lost prestige, foodstuffs, population, intellectual life, commerce and craft wealth.

Egypt experienced widespread disruption in the final decades of Byzantine administration. The province had become aware of consequences of events outside its borders. First came news of the violent overthrow of Emperor Maurice in 602 by the usurper Phokas. According to the *Life of the Patriarch John the Almsgiver* by Leontios of Neapolis (Cyprus), the report allegedly took only nine days to reach Alexandria from Constantinople, its rapidity an indicator of its urgency. Egypt experienced more fighting and consequent loss of life and property by civilians as well as the military, in conflicts between the armies and partisans of the usurper Phokas and the rebel Heraclius, Exarch of Africa, and his son Heraclius, whose rebellion against Phokas commenced in 608, than did any other Byzantine province in the years 608-610.¹⁶ Only half a dozen years later the Persian invasion interrupted the restoration of stability in Egypt. Egypt returned to Byzantine authority in late 629 but in another five years the Muslim menace became apparent and cast its shadow over Egypt well before Muslim armies actually invaded the province.

A detailed review of the Muslim conquest of Egypt between late 639 and 645 is inappropriate here. The analysis of A. J. Butler is still valuable, but has been superseded with respect to Byzantine sources by new papyrological discoveries, and by a new understanding of the larger Byzantine context and of late Roman history overall. In the case of Arabic sources, many texts have been edited — such as the critical work of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam: *History of the*

¹⁵ W. E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (revised paperback, Cambridge, 1993), 203, 217. See also D. M. Olster, *Roman Defeat, Christian Response, and the Literary Construction of the Jew* (Philadelphia, 1994).

¹⁶ D. M. Olster, *The Politics of Usurpation in the Seventh Century* (Amsterdam, Las Palmas, 1993).

Conquest of Egypt, about which Butler and Leone Caetani had only imperfect knowledge – and newer critical methodologies in approaching the texts and their traditions have been developed.¹⁷

Egypt's Byzantine defense forces in the early seventh century, including irregulars, may have numbered 25–30,000 – roughly the same size as earlier Roman contingents stationed there. These were not elite troops; most were probably of Egyptian origin. Maritime communications were the principal means by which Egypt and Constantinople remained in contact. Byzantium controlled the Mediterranean and had the capacity to shift elite troops by sea to Egypt from districts surrounding Constantinople. Other strong forces might be sent from Numidia overland or from Syria-Palestine, either by land (the Via Maris) or by sea, in ships that skirted the Mediterranean coast.¹⁸ One may wonder how easily troops from the Balkans or Thrace could have adjusted to unfamiliar military service conditions in Egypt (climate, health, terrain, diet, availability and quality of water). Byzantine military forces garrisoned in Egypt had never been the empire's best troops, who were not recruited from or stationed there. Egypt was not a major center of Byzantine military unrest, which mostly occurred on its eastern frontier with Persia or in the Balkans.¹⁹

Echoes of spirituality in Egypt on the eve of the conquest appear in some writings of the hagiographer John Moschus, and in the biographies of Patriarch John the Almsgiver (610–19) and the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria, Benjamin (626–55). Scattered remarks by them indicate the founding of new churches and dedications in Egypt, and the appeal of Christian saints, festivals and bishops. At the end of Byzantine rule, Christian values still caused a banker to drop his career for an ecclesiastic calling.²⁰

The Heraclian dynasty (610–11), or some of its members, hoped for assistance from north Africa, just as Heraclians had previously resisted the usurper Emperor Phokas (602–10) and had stood firm against the Persians who had overrun Egypt (617–29). In Egypt it is possible that some might

¹⁷ Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Furthi Misr*, ed. Charles C. Torrey (New Haven, 1922). The absence until 1922 of this critical edition is significant. See esp. vol. 4 of L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, 10 vols. (Milan, U. Hoepli, 1905–26; reprint, Hildesheim, 1972).

¹⁸ Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, 40; J. Maspéro, *Organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine* (Paris, 1912), 117–18; Kaegi, "Byzantine Logistics: Problems and Perspectives," in J. Lynn (ed.), *Feeding Mars* (Boulder, 1993), 39–55; Jean Gascou, "L'Institution des bucellaires," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire*, 76 (1976), 143–36; O. Schmitt, "Die Bucellarii. Eine Studie zum militärischen Gefolgschaftswesen in der Spätantike," *Tyche*, 9 (1994), 147–74.

¹⁹ W. E. Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest, 471–843: An Interpretation* (Amsterdam, Las Palmas, 1981).

²⁰ Stephanos Eithymiadis, "Living in a City and Living in a Desert: The Dream of Eustathios the Banker," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 21 (1995), 11–29.

have regarded north Africa as a possible bulwark against invasion, because the Persians had not overrun that region. The Heraclian dynasty had, after all, emerged from north Africa to seize imperial power, and this last fact might have encouraged some observers to look west, however unrealistically, for military rescue.

With due regard for lacunae in the primary sources on the Islamic conquest, many scholars would argue that they are superior to those for the conquest of Syria or Mesopotamia. In some respects historians of the Arab conquest of Egypt are better informed because of more diverse primary sources than for Syria and Palestine; some papyri have survived, as have contemporary Christian sources such as John of Nikiu.²¹ On the other hand, the Muslim Iraqi traditions did not pay as much attention to Egypt as to Iraq.

²¹ Jean Gascou, "De Byzance à l'Islam," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 26 (1983), 97–109. It is inappropriate here to survey papyri in detail, but among the important ones of relevance, there are esp. P. Oxy. LVIII 3959, in J. R. Rea (ed.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Egypt Exploration Society, Graeco-Roman Memoirs, 78 (London, 1991), 58: 116–18, dated to 620 CE; but see also others in series 3940–62, esp. 74–129; also papyrus 1132 in T. Gagos et al. (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 61, Graeco-Roman Memoirs, 81 (1993), 137–38; P. Sorb. II 69 in Jean Gascou, *Un codex fiscal Hermopolite* (P. Sorb. II 69), American Studies in Papyrology, 32 (Atlanta, 1994); P. Hamb. 56 (on which see Roger Remondin, "P. Hamb. 56 et P. Lond. 1419) notes sur les finances d'Aphrodite du VI^e siècle au VII^e siècle), " *Chronique d'Égypte* 40 (1965), 401–30; early seventh-century archive of Makarios, Arsinoite nome, on which see Georgina Fantoni (ed.), vol. 10, *Greek Papyri of the Byzantine Period*, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri* (CPRF) XIV, 62–75 and papyrus 55, 107–8 (Vienna 1989); archive of Philemon and Thekla (622–47 CE), on which see A. A. Schiller, "The Budget Coptic Papyrus of Columbia University and Related Greek Papyri of the British Museum," *Actes du Xe Congrès International des Papyrologues* (Warsaw, 1964), 193–200; early seventh-century archive of John the apollitēs, Arsinoite nome, on which see Monika Hasitzka, Michael Müller, B. Palme et al., *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri* vol. 10, *Griechische Texte* 7 (1986), 21–56; early seventh-century archive of Aurelius Pachymios, Panopolis (Akhmim, in upper Egypt, north of Luxor), in Friedrich Preisigke et al., *Sammlung griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* (SB) 1: 4303–5, 374–376 (Strasbourg, 1935); and papyri from the Monastery of Epiphanius published by W. E. Crum, H. E. Winlock, *The Monastery of Epiphanius* (New York, 1926), 1–11; BCU 314 [Heraclopolis] 370 [Arsinoe] = *Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden* (Berlin, 1895–98), 1, II; P. Ross. iii, 57; SB 4662, 9461; P. Lond. i, 113, 6 (b); F. G. Kanyon (ed.), *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* (London, 1893), 1: 214–15; P. Flor. 306 in Girolamo Vitelli (ed.), *Papiri Greci Egizi*, 3: *Papiri Fiorentini* (Milan, 1915), No. 306, p. 40 [Oct/Nov 635] SB 4488; P. Lond. 1012, in Kanyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, 3: 265–267; P. Lond. 113, 10, in Kanyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, 1: 222–224; SB 6271 (Berlin, 1926): 44–45, which is dated 640/641, from Apollonios Magna [Idfu, in the Thebaid]; esp. P. Lond. 113, 10; CPRF 556; SB 9748=CPRF 553; SB 9749=CPRF 553; SB 9753=CPRF 554; SB 9751=CPRF 559; SB 9752=CPRF 560; SB 9753=CPRF 561, from Friedrich Preisigke, F. Bilabel, contd. by Emil Kessling, *Sammlung griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1965), 8: 86–9, 89–90; all of these last are from Heraclopolis Magna, or modern Iḥnāsīyat al-madīna, in the Fayyum area.

Similar problems emerge in evaluating Muslim traditions concerning Egypt as in other early Islamic traditions. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (d. 871) is a relatively early compiler, and his account depends on an Egyptian school of traditionists. As we learn from Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's *History*, Ibn Lahī'a (715–790) preserved early traditions of this school for the final moments of Byzantine Egypt.²²

Christian historians in Egypt were writing long after these events. John of Nikiu, a contemporary, was an exception, but his text has survived in a faulty Ethiopic transmission.²³ Byzantine chroniclers such as Nikephoros and Theophanes²⁴ do not draw directly on Egyptian sources, but instead use materials such as the work of Theophilus of Edessa that were probably compiled in northern Syria or Constantinople. These sources transmit traditions that tend to represent events in terms of personalities. Latin sources are of little assistance. However important they are for other aspects of seventh-century history, Armenian sources, such as Sebeos, barely mention Egypt. Greek hagiography provides broader information, but does not clarify aspects of the context of the Islamic conquests. Archaeology and its ancillary disciplines – epigraphy, sigillography, and numismatics – illuminate some of this context but do not clarify complex questions of chronology or historical interpretation. The result is an impressionistic picture. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam provides traditions that correlate with those of Theophanes (so-called Theophanes, or George the Syncellus).

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam claims that Heraclius stiffened Byzantine resistance in Egypt, while Theophanes reports that Heraclius had replaced civilian leaders such as John Kateas in Osrhoene with Prolemas and Patriarch Kyros with Manuel. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam provides names of traditionists who preserved that memory. His tradents from the Egyptian school provide a powerful group tradition, although the numbers of its practitioners do not necessarily insure its accuracy. These include Yahyā ibn Ayyūb, who died in 784, and Khālīd ibn Humayd, who died in 785/6. These last two are early and well regarded. The tradition that Heraclius sought to forbid civilian authorities from making separate peace terms with the Muslims without previous explicit approval from him is plausible. Such traditions, of course, also helped to preserve the prestige of the Heraclian dynasty, foisting blame on

others for the military reverses and disasters – and the loss of territory, and human or financial resources, but Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam was no tool of a Heraclian propaganda machine. Nevertheless, there may be some relevance of this tradition to later juridical claims that the Muslims acquired Egypt by conquest, making those territories subject to higher taxes.

The sources warrant caution. They do not give reliable statistics and are frequently vague. No direct archival material survives in Egypt, Constantinople or Cyprus that treats the critical communications between the Byzantine imperial government and its leaders in Egypt on the eve of the conquests. Nor are there archival materials that indicate policy decisions of 'Amr ibn al-'As, commander of the Muslim victors. Instead we have later compilations of traditions which often reflect the tradents' other agenda or their sources. These traditions are often overly simplistic and tend to attribute too much responsibility to personalities. There is also a tendency for Muslim sources to report, at a later date, events in a scheme of classification that makes sense only in terms of later juridical interpretations or disputes that were historically inappropriate for Egypt in the 630s and 640s. North plausibly believes that 'Amr invaded Egypt on his own initiative, not on the authorization of Caliph 'Umar.²⁵

Surviving Byzantine sources at Constantinople probably owe some of their information to Arab Christian traditions and transmission. They are so fragmentary in their coverage that it would be impossible to understand the Muslim conquests of Egypt by relying exclusively on them.²⁶ Nor do collections of Greek epistolography, sermons, speeches, or other literature fill in the gap. Muslim sources, for their part, do not rely on credible Christian or Byzantine sources. Coptic Christian sources reveal their own biases. John of Nikiu provides the most reliable account, which may be supplemented with the histories of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam and al-Tabarī, saints' lives or papyri. The Christian Arab historian Eurychius (Sa'īd ibn Barfīq) provides a late and confused version of the conquest. Although some hagiographic traditions exist, they do not celebrate any Christian martyrs who fought to the death defending Egypt against the Muslims. The only such traditions are from Gaza and they provide no new insights. In contrast to the Martyrs of Gaza, there is no record of Christian martyrs of the initial Muslim invasion of Egypt.²⁷

²⁵ A. Noth, with L. I. Conrad, trans. M. Bonner, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-Critical Study* (Princeton, Darwin, 1994), 183–4. Important also is Av. Cameron and L. I. Conrad (eds.), *Problems in the Literary Source Material, The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, 1 (Princeton, 1992), for many relevant papers.

²⁶ F. M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton, 1981).

²⁷ H. Delehayre, "Passio sanctorum sexaginta martyrum," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 3 (1904), 289–307; J. Pargoire, "Les LX soldats martyrs de Gaza," *Échos d'Orient*, 8 (1905), 40–3.

²² R. G. Khoury, *'Abd Allāh Ibn Lahī'a (97–174/715–790). Juge et grand maître de l'École égyptienne* (Wiesbaden, 1986).

²³ John, Bishop of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, trans. R. M. Charles (Oxford, 1916). On Oriental Christian sources see Micheline Albert, R. Beyerle, et al., *Christianismes orientaux. Introduction à l'étude des langues et des littératures* (Paris, 1993).

²⁴ Nikephoros, *Short History*, ed. and trans. C. Mango (Washington, 1990); Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883); *Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor*, trans. C. Mango and R. Scott (Oxford, 1997). L. I. Conrad, "Theophanes and the Arabic Historical Transmission: Some Indications of Intercultural Transmission," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 15 (1990), 1–45.

The Emperor Heraclius did not visit Egypt, nor had any of his recent predecessors. How did that fact affect Egypt's fate? Heraclius's family was of Armenian extraction, with some familiarity with conditions of service in northern Syria, Mesopotamia, the upper Euphrates and Africa Proconsularis, but not Egypt. Presumably, Heraclius's impression of Egypt would have relied in part on information from his cousin Niketas, who had reconquered it in 608-10, taking it from partisans of the usurper Phokas. Niketas presumably also reported to Heraclius his observations about the positive and negative features of Egypt with respect to war against an opponent from the east who occupied Syria-Palestine. Niketas's opinions derived from his recent experiences in winning a civil war against Bonosus, Phokas's general, and his own abandonment of Egypt to the Persian invaders.²⁸ Whether the historian Theophylact Simocatta, who hailed from Egypt and wrote at the court, spoke with Heraclius and his entourage about Egypt cannot be ascertained. But there were probably other Egyptians in Heraclius's entourage. Heraclius probably acquired better information from Niketas about Egypt than had his predecessors, who did not benefit from a trusted cousin's recent service there. Toward the end of his life, Heraclius was probably exercising his authority as emperor only intermittently: a worsening medical condition impeded his efforts to make rational decisions.

Egypt remained a vital source of revenues to Constantinople, despite the loss of grain for the city, but one ponders the accuracy of information to the government in Constantinople about Egypt's situation, political, military or ecclesiastical. How much the Byzantine leadership knew about the Muslim invaders and their leadership in Medina is speculative, and the predominant perceptions of the Byzantine leaders probably derived from rumors, fear and confused reports from refugees. The Senate emerged as an important institution at Constantinople during this era, but the nature of its members' knowledge about Egypt is a mystery.

The consequences of the Persian occupation are complex.²⁹ The initial invasion inflicted little physical damage. The Persians' evacuation of Egypt was peaceful, following the July 629 agreement at Arabissos (southeast Anatolia) between Heraclius and Shahrbarāz, the Persian general who had conquered Egypt but who then nurtured other ambitions in Persia. The Persians seem to have departed swiftly, perhaps within two months of the

629 agreement.³⁰ The dearth of primary sources prohibits a more precise date, and the size of the Persian military occupation force also defies estimation. The best Persian troops had probably left Egypt by July 629 to accompany Shahrbarāz to the Cilician Gates and the vicinity of Alexandria. No more than a skeletal occupation force of Persians remained in Egypt, even at the time of Shahrbarāz's meeting with Heraclius at distant Arabissos in that month. Impending friction between Shahrbarāz and the Sasanian monarch Khusrav II probably imperiled shipment of supplies to the Persian forces in Egypt, who feared reprisals or being cut off there, when their situation would have become untenable. Egyptians did not participate in any known effort to cast off Persian rule, and no fear of them caused Shahrbarāz to evacuate Egypt. His decision was part of his larger plan to seize control of Persia for himself and his partisans.

The Persian occupation was disruptive politically, interrupting the continuity of Roman-Byzantine rule, and causing some deterioration of the infrastructure. We have few details on the precise organization of the Byzantine army in Egypt after the Byzantines reoccupied the province. If the situation in Egypt parallels that in Palestine, there may have been an effort to restore the situation to what it was immediately before the Persian invasion, but not to reimpose any radical reorganization or reform. Unlike their presence in Syria or upper Mesopotamia, there are no reports of Persian troops remaining in Egypt, even as renegades. Egypt was physically more remote from Persia, and Persian soldiers would have been more vulnerable there if they had wished to remain.

No question persists over Shahrbarāz's conquest of Egypt, although many specifics are unclear. The chronology of his dispute with Khusrav II is poorly understood: in all likelihood tensions grew unbearable for Shahrbarāz after the end of the 626 siege of Constantinople by Avars and the Persians. It is also uncertain how Shahrbarāz's overtures to Heraclius and alienation from Khusrav II affected Egypt and its population, but they probably resulted in a reduction of violence on the part of Persian troops. This cannot be documented, however. While Shahrbarāz's actions probably aroused both Melkite and Coptic hopes, his eyes were on Heraclius and a return on his part to triumph in Persia rather than on local improvements in relations with Egyptians. No one claims that Egyptian geopolitical issues motivated Shahrbarāz's dispute with Khusrav II or his decision to cooperate with Heraclius. Heraclius could not easily ignore Shahrbarāz's overtures, although it is plausible that he remained skeptical of Shahrbarāz's sincerity or future decisions. Shahrbarāz shifted his tactics in the Byzantine-Persian

²⁸ On Niketas 7, sv. Niketas, see F. R. Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire III* (Cambridge, 1992), 940-943; C. Mango, "A Byzantine Hagiographer at Work: Leontios of Neapolis," *Sitzungsberichte, Österreichische Akad. d. Wiss., philosoph.-hist. Kl.*, 434 (1984), 25-41.

²⁹ I owe much to the 1992 University of Chicago seminar paper of T. M. Hickey, "Observations on the Sasanian Invasion and Occupation of Egypt," now being revised for publication.

³⁰ W. E. Kaegi and P. M. Cobb, "Heraclius, al-Tabari and Shahrbarāz," to appear in the proceedings of the 1995 University of St. Andrews conference on al-Tabari, ed. H. Kennedy.

conflict when he departed Egypt and drew near to the war's centers. Egypt remained important, but its strategic significance did not equal that of northern Syria or upper Mesopotamia for expeditionary armies of the two protagonists. The news of Shahrbarāz's assassination in Persia (633) probably evoked no reaction in Egypt, where he no longer wielded any power.

Egypt remained relatively prosperous after the Persian departure. The resumption of coastal trading and the end of the Persian depauperization helped to revive the economy of Alexandria and other coastal towns, and trade also facilitated the spread of news both true and false. Egyptians had not considered the Persians to be welcome masters. One can speculate that various Arabs, some of whom may have served as couriers and interpreters, had learned much about the Persian occupation and evacuation of Egypt. The Persian troops under Shahrbarāz who had formerly served in Egypt but subsequently moved to northern Syria and Mesopotamia, had probably disseminated information, exposing vulnerabilities and opportunities. Arab communities which lay astride the lines of Persian communications between Egypt and Mesopotamia probably learned about conditions in Egypt and passed on some of that information.³¹ It is uncertain whether tentative Byzantine efforts to open gold mines in the Eastern Desert (most notably, Bir Umm Fawākhir) in Justinian's reign had continued into Heraclius's. But the abortive efforts of the sixth century may have left some expectation of great mineral wealth in Egypt even after the mining ceased. Rumors about it could have added to the material temptations for a Muslim invasion.³²

The leading church officials in Egypt were Cyrus/Kyros, the Monothelite Patriarch of Alexandria, who arrived from Phasis in 630/31 – the Muqawqis of Arabic traditions – and Benjamin, the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria after 626. The two intensely disliked each other. Because he is remembered as an oppressor, it is difficult to assess Kyros accurately. There is no way to evaluate the veracity of later reports that the Prophet had summoned Kyros, among other political leaders, to Islam. However, it is plausible that Kyros, as Byzantine governor and patriarch, paid tribute to the Muslims to forestall invasion. It is also plausible that 'Amr ibn al-'Ās, who led the Muslim conquest, accepted such funds. Kyros's efforts to make peace with 'Amr necessitated commercial taxes. The fact that Kyros could contemplate raising so much money through these taxes is an indication of the vitality and volume of commerce in the 630s. Furthermore, the dozen or so years of Sasanian occupation had not irrevocably damaged such trade. Stories that 'Amr first saw Egypt while on a trading visit underscore the commercial

³¹ Fundamental on the Arabs on the eve of the Muslim conquests, including their roles as intermediaries: I. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1995).

³² Carol Meyer, "A Byzantine Gold-Mining Town in the Eastern Desert of Egypt: Bir Umm Fawākhir, 1992–1993," *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 8 (1995), 192–224.

importance of Egypt and the familiarity of some Arabs with it. Trade had revived sufficiently by the end of the 630s that Kyros believed he could garner substantial funds from it. In his own mind, raising taxes would not do undue damage to life, stability or values in Egypt. The later Christian Arab historians Agapius and Severus also claim that Kyros secured a truce for three years in return for tribute payments. Their source presumably derived from the work of Theophanes/George Syncellus. An early tradent, Hārith ibn Yazīd al-Ḥadramī (d. ca. 700), reports via Ibn Lahf'a, according to Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, that Abū Bakr made a peace arrangement with Kyros for Egypt immediately before the conquests of Syria.³³ This would not be inconsistent with other reports in the histories of Nikephoros, Theophanes, Michael the Syrian, and Agapius, who draw on Theophilus of Edessa.³⁴

It is significant that the Persian evacuation of Egypt did not result from any Byzantine campaign from north Africa or from any Byzantine naval actions against its coasts, let alone any naval landings. Instead it resulted from actions at the center of gravity – in upper Mesopotamia and northern Syria and the Caucasus – and a political revolution that brought the Emperor Heraclius and the Persian general Shahrbarāz together. So other than offering troops, supplies, and other resources from the defense of Palestine and Syria against the Persians, earlier historical precedents did not offer any clear indication as to how Egypt might defeat the new Muslim conquerors of Syria. There was no easy formula to grasp.

The role of religious strife in Byzantine Egypt deserves attention, especially given Kyros's prominence in it. Coptic memory of the end of Byzantine rule is filled with recollections of persecution during Benjamin's long patriarchate. Coptic literature contains hostile references to Arabs, before and after the conquest, indicating that not every Copt welcomed Arabs as deliverers. And some who originally did soon changed their opinions. It is risky to assume that later Coptic attitudes were also those of the time of the original conquest. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam includes a tradition in his history that the dissident Patriarch, Benjamin, made separate arrangements with 'Amr ibn al-'Ās. We know from him and from the Byzantine historians Theophanes and Nikephoros that Heraclius rejected the terms Kyros had made and deposed him, probably early in 640.³⁵ The inclusion of this tradition in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's history does not guarantee its truth, but merely that it was deemed worthy of reporting in light of the late ninth-century situation. Some Copts of this later period may have interpreted events in the same

³³ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 53.

³⁴ Nikephoros, *Short History* 23, 70–73, 189 (Mango); Theophanes, A.M. 6126 (De Boor 1, 338); 469–71 (Mango); Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, ed. trans. J.-B. Chabot, 4 vols. (Paris, 1899–1910), II, 425; Agapius of Mambij, *Patrologia Orientalis* 8: 471–74.

³⁵ Nikephoros, *Short History*, 189.

way, as the contemporary testimony by John of Nikiu suggests. Respective transmissions of traditions may have distorted what really happened.

As the Muslim conquest of Palestine progressed between 634 and 637, separation of Egypt by land from the core of Byzantine territory in western Asia only made it more difficult to devise a solid land defense. Such a tactic had not worked when the Persians overran Palestine and Syria in the early 600s, and while the Byzantines did not learn from this experience, the Muslims had. 'Amr had conquered Gaza in 637; if we believe the account of the Sixty Martyrs of Gaza. While in southern Palestine 'Amr had time to learn about Egypt and was strategically placed to take advantage of Persian vulnerabilities there. He could also prevent any other Muslim commander from exploiting the situation. It is conceivable that 'Amr had made a provisional arrangement with Kyros of Alexandria, and that in return for monetary payments he held off from invading or raiding Egypt. The logistical problems of maintaining communications and supplies for troops operating in Egypt were not insuperable when the Muslims controlled Gaza and its environs. Outposts such as Nessana on the edge of the Negev may no longer have been manned. Some of their occupants were of partial Arab background, if one can trust their known names. Possession of Palestine gave the potential initiative and a range of options to the Muslims.

Some Byzantine troops from Palestine fled into Egypt after the Byzantine defeat there at the hands of the Muslims between 634 and 637, but we neither know their precise numbers nor can identify their units. Given their defeat by the Muslims, those Byzantine troops and their leaders were too demoralized to repel the Muslims from Egypt, nor had they learned from their debacles in Syria and Palestine to make any significant contribution to their forces defending the province. Their behavior when they retreated into Egypt is unclear. The Muslim invasion itself followed the Byzantine loss of most of Palestine and Syria;³⁶ only a few coastal points were still holding out against the Muslims on the Syro-Palestinian coast at its inception. The invasion of Egypt made their retention even more perilous and ultimately irrelevant, and a dynamic of Muslim military success was already evident.

The Byzantine government faced another challenge. There was no great general whom it could trust to devise a successful defense. No officer emerged from the disarray of Byzantine forces to win renown or to show leadership potential. Admittedly, conditions in Egypt contrasted with those in Syria, nor were the soldiery similar. Armenians had served prominently in Syria and Mesopotamia, and friendly Arab tribesmen constituted a large portion of the Byzantine forces there. In Egypt, the ethnic mix seems to have differed. Many local levies were of dubious quality. Some troops from

36. For a summary of events see P. M. Fraser, "Arab Conquest of Egypt," in A. S. Ayya (ed.), *Coptic Encyclopedia*, 3 vols., 1 (New York, 1991), 183-89.

adjacent parts of north Africa served in Egypt, although not as many as the government had wished. Some forces were transported by sea from Thrace, but their adjustment to local conditions may have been difficult.

The overall effect of the Muslim successes in Palestine and Syria, especially the fall of Jerusalem and other holy places, cannot have been positive, especially after Heraclius had restored the presumed fragments of the Cross to their rightful places. Problems of morale were probably created within Egypt for both the army and civilians.³⁷

Byzantine military commanders were at odds personally, and disagreed over whether to make terms with the Muslims or to persist in violent resistance. Domentianus, brother-in-law to Kyros, concurred with him about the advisability of trying to reach an accommodation with the Muslims, but these commanders were occasionally inconsistent, or at least opportunistic. Domentianus was later inclined to honor General Valentinus and the advisors surrounding the eleven-year-old Emperor Constans II at Constantinople, who took a hard line. John of Barla, Marianos and others also favored resistance, as did Manuel when he was dispatched to Egypt.³⁸ The rationale within the military for Egypt's defense is not well understood. The existence of cleavage is clearly important because it drained support and strength for a coherent resistance, and also convinced Muslims that theirs was the winning side.

Disputes among civilian, ecclesiastical and military leaders did not account for all internal Byzantine divisions. Serious problems had emerged at the imperial capital, Constantinople. The death of Heraclius at the beginning of 641 paralyzed Byzantine resistance.³⁹ Even the Muslim tradents Yahya ibn Ayyub (d. 784) and Khalid ibn Humayd reported such a tradition. The regency of Heraclius's widow, Martina, preferred a more moderate stance toward the Muslims than did some other factions at the court. No confidential memoranda or archival materials survive from Constantinople or Egypt concerning this important policy issue. The position taken by Martina's faction can be explained by a fear that her regency was vulnerable to deposition at the hands of a soldier-emperor if fighting intensified or if the government suffered further defeats on the battlefield. Martina, her sons and partisans could ill afford another Yarmuk, yet there was a real danger of another occurring. The regency, in that dangerous period when there were minor children of a controversial union, needed an interval in which stability could be gained and consolidated. In addition the government did not want to be in the position of having to assume responsibility for the further loss of important territory. The personal

37. See B. Flusin, *Saint Anastase la Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VII^e siècle* (Paris, 1992), II, 151-72.

38. On these generals, see Marindale, *Prosopography*, 408-9, 704, 829, 837.

39. D. Misiu, *He diaitheke tou Herakleion* (Thessalonika, 1985).

opinions about Egypt on the part of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Pyrrhos, Empress Martina or her sons are unknown.⁴⁰ Martina's attitudes were probably formed in the circles of Heracius's family. She had personal knowledge of Syria, but not of Egypt.

Philagrios, the powerful Koubikoularios (imperial palace chamberlain) and Sakellarios (treasurer), urged support for Heracius's son, Heracius Constantine III, and grandson, Constans II (descending from his first marriage to the late Fabia/Eudocia).⁴¹ He used his financial influence to win support of critical military elements with the help of his aide, the ambitious Armenian officer Valentinos. This individual was based at Constantinople in the service of Heracius Constantine and Constans.⁴² The treasury of the *sacellum* was in the ascendant in the seventh century, following the disintegration of the old praetorian prefecture and its financial structure. The struggle for succession was acrimonious, and distracted the imperial government from any coherent effort to save Egypt.

It is unclear whether Philagrios ever managed to enforce a new census for the entire empire ordered by Heracius just before his death, or whether he even implemented it in Egypt.⁴³ Its likely date, 640, happens to coincide approximately with the recall of Kyros and his ensuing exile. The issue at hand was not simply the loss of revenues to the Muslims, but also a powerful internal bureaucratic quarrel about the effort to initiate a new census. Kyros claimed that he would impose a new commercial tax to compensate for the loss of revenues to the Muslims. However, any expedient would have weakened the bureaucratic controls of Philagrios in Constantinople, and so met resistance. There thus was a complex set of fiscal factors involved.

Heracius's wrath against Kyros may have been intensified by Philagrios pressing him, for his own reasons, to reject any initiatives devised by Kyros, since they would enable local officials in Egypt to gain more autonomy. If true, this perspective was myopic. But Kyros and other local officials might well have resented Philagrios's efforts to extend such an unfamiliar measure as a census to Egypt. The creation of a new census would have offered many opportunities for the central bureaucracy in Constantinople to consolidate its control over Egypt, and would have threatened many constituencies that extended beyond Kyros's circle. No Egyptian source mentions this measure. Philagrios and Kyros were opponents for reasons probably connected to

⁴⁰ On Martina see Martindale, *Prosopography*, 837–38; on Pyrrhos see J. L. Van Dieren, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I bis Johannes VI* (Amsterdam, 1972), 57–103.

⁴¹ F. R. Martindale, s.v. Philagrios, *Prosopography*, 1018.

⁴² Nikephoros, *Short History* 29, 78–81, 188–89.

⁴³ See *Synopsis Chronike*, ed. C. Sachas, in his *Mesavonike Bibliothekē* 7, VII (Paris, 1894) 110 (reprint Athens, 1972, VII, 1–556); Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, 257–258, 287. On Philagrios' support for Constans II see Nikephoros, *Short History*, 189.

rivalries over control of revenues and spheres of influence. There is no reason to doubt John of Nikiu's information about this antagonism. Philagrios supported members of the Heracian family whose support depended on military leaders who found it in their interest to advocate strong military resistance to the Muslims, especially in Asia Minor. These disputes in Constantinople distracted the government, and contributed to the failure of a sound defense strategy for Egypt.

Egypt's size and remoteness from Constantinople also complicated its defense. One may reasonably ask whether any strategy would have succeeded once the loss of Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia blocked contact by land between Egypt and Anatolia and Constantinople. That loss also deprived Byzantium of contact with friendly Arab Christian tribes who in the past had served as a shield against hostile Arabs. If Egypt was to be protected from Muslim Arab invaders, it would be necessary to find the right troops and to devise effective strategies. Judging from the Mauricius *Strategikon* of ca. 600, the extant military manuals provided no easy formulae.

The Blue and Green circus factions of Constantinople also existed in late Byzantine Egypt, as literary texts and inscriptions attest. Some scholars have emphasized religious sectarianism and the role of these factions, identifying the Greens with resistance to Islam and the Blues with readiness to avoid a military confrontation. These interpretations are simplistic and unpersuasive. An argument that those previous partisans of the Circus Factions explain the fall of Egypt is unconvincing.⁴⁴ It is incorrect to attribute to the factions any significant role; they may not have made any positive contribution to Egypt's defense, but they were not the cause of its failure.

It is incorrect to assume that all Monophysite Egyptians supported the Muslims against the Byzantines.⁴⁵ The situation was more complex. Some Egyptians did collaborate and rapidly converted to Islam, but Muslim victories cannot be simply ascribed to help from Egyptian collaborators. The Muslims possessed excellent military commanders and a coherent purpose, while everyone agrees that the Byzantine political, ecclesiastical and military authorities in Egypt and Constantinople were mired in bitter rivalries that proved ruinous to their chances. Previous massacres of Christians by the Persians, and the rapid surrender of many Palestinian towns to Muslims in

⁴⁴ J. Jarry, "L'Égypte et l'invasion musulmane," *Annales Islamologiques*, 6 (1966), 1–29; Z. Borkowski, *Alexandrie II: Inscriptions des factions* (Warsaw, 1981); A. Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford, 1977); but cf. Jean Gascou, "Les institutions de l'hippodrome en Égypte byzantine," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale au Caire*, 76 (1976), 185–212.

⁴⁵ Correct is F. Winkelman, "Ägypten und Byzanz vor der arabischen Eroberung," *Byzantinistica*, 40 (1979), 161–82, reprinted in his *Studien zu Konstantin den Grossen und zur byzantinischen Kirchengeschichte*, ed. W. Brandes and J. Haldon (Birmingham, UK, 1993).

the 630s probably induced the Byzantines to reach a peaceful settlement with the Muslims in Egypt. Rumors about possible atrocities may have intensified this propensity.

There was no coherent plan to arm the Egyptian population, or for rapid training in the use of arms so that the populace could resist. Acquiring sufficient wood for fashioning weapons itself posed problems. Civilians were most likely to participate in local defense by helping to repair canals or man walls against invaders. There were precedents in Palestine, Syria and Upper Mesopotamia of local authorities making separate peace during the Persian invasions of the sixth and early seventh centuries, as well as during the Muslim invasions of the 630s. It is not surprising that Egyptians behaved similarly. There was no desire among the local population for fighting to the death to save their town or district from occupation. One cannot trust later traditions about terms of surrender, which may involve post-hoc juristic reasoning rather than historical realities.

Their long-held conviction that the Arabs were unable to besiege walled towns may have blinded the Byzantines to their own vulnerabilities during the Muslim invasion. In Egypt, as in Syria, some walled towns held out longer against the invaders than did regions. The early fall of the fortress of Babylon (Old Cairo) to the Muslims placed them in a strong strategic position; they were able to cut off Upper Egypt from the Delta. Again by a process of "blinding," they made it virtually impossible for any defense of Upper Egypt to be conducted coherently, since those who might resist in the south could learn only with difficulty about the central government's efforts in Constantinople. Egypt had to attempt its defense in the absence of good communications with other Byzantine forces, except by land and sea with Numidia or other parts of north Africa.

Egypt had provided financial support for military operations in Syria and many earlier campaigns. The imposition of a heavy tribute on the province temporarily forestalled a Muslim invasion. But the payment of such a huge tribute deprived Byzantine Syria of the means previously available to aid its defense. In this way, the fortunes of Egypt and Syria were intertwined during the early Islamic conquests. Whether this was a conscious plan on the Muslims' part or not, its consequences were serious.

In May 655, the Monotheletic government of Emperor Constans II (641-68) accused the zealous Chalcedonian monk Maximus the Confessor, exiled in Africa since 633, of discouraging a Byzantine commander, Peter, from moving Numidian troops to rescue Egypt. He was held responsible for the loss of that great province to the Muslims.⁴⁶ Such scapegoating is a reminder of how important was Egypt's loss. It is plausible that the

government of Heraclius had attempted to move troops from Numidia against the Muslim invaders of Egypt in response to the first reports of restiveness among Arabs in nearby regions of the Arabian peninsula, on the eve of the more powerful Muslim penetrations into Palestine and Syria. This indicates that there was some perceived Arab threat to Egypt as early as 633, even though there was no substantial invasion until 639. This threat further reinforces the veracity of reports that Patriarch Kyros purchased some temporary relief from Muslim invasions.

The defeat and death of General John Barkaines (Barka was one Byzantine term for al-Mari, in Cyrenaica) early in the Muslim invasion may provide another indication that some troops from areas west of Egypt participated in its defense at the end of Heraclius's reign. John Barkaines died at the battle of 'Ayn Shams (Heliopolis), near modern Cairo, probably in July 640. The reported size of both Muslim and Byzantine armies are suspect. Some scholars doubt that John Barkaines came from Barka or that his presence indicated any participation of troops from Byzantine-controlled regions west of Egypt. But given the earlier Heraclian conquest of Egypt from coastal areas in Libya and Carthage, and given accusations that efforts to send relief forces from the west (with which Maximus the Confessor allegedly interfered) were sabotaged, that skepticism seems excessive.

Niketas had already quarreled with John the Almsgiver, Patriarch of Alexandria, about taking control of church funds to help the beleaguered empire and its government.⁴⁷ The quarrels between Kyros and Heraclius, or Kyros and Philagrios, seem to have been similar. Tensions were inherent between a wealthy church and a military with an unquenchable thirst for funds. Thus the tensions of 641 paralleled those during the Persian invasion. Niketas had directed the earlier defense of Egypt against the Persians. That had involved a battle at Caesarea, resulting in a truce (613). He had also fought the Persians in northern Syria, near Antioch. Such clashes were part of Syria's defense, but also outer skirmishes to protect Egypt. It was presumably after the failure of those actions that Niketas withdrew into Egypt and then fled by ship from Alexandria in the face of the Persian invasion. It is unclear what military lessons he learned from his experience.

The loss of Egypt to the Constantinopolitan government had twice negatively affected Syria's defense earlier in the seventh century, by diverting the attention of its protectors and by removing Egypt's financial resources from its support in 610 during Heraclius's revolt against Phokas. The occupation by Shahrbarāz and the Arab conquest soon followed. However, in neither case did the loss of Egypt permanently impair the defense of

⁴⁷ Leontios of Neapolis, *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, ed. trans. A. J. Festugière (Paris, 1974), 356; V. Deroche, *Études sur Léontios de Néapolis*, *Studia Byzantina Upsalliensia*, 3 (Uppsala, 1995), 33-36.

⁴⁶ *Relatio motionis factae inter dominum abbatem Maximum et socium eius atque principes in secretario*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 90, 112-113.

Anatolia. The Arab menace with respect to Egypt was always seen as a problem emanating from the Sinai Peninsula, and in addition there was the threat of nomadic incursions from Nubians in the south. Those had imperiled travel, overland commerce and agriculture in certain important regions, but they did not endanger the control of Egypt by the central government, except in the direct moments of the third-century crisis of the Roman Empire when the aggression of Palmyra was at its zenith. Egypt had long maintained contact with Arabs, including those from Sinai. Literary references to Arabs in religious texts do not reveal any new trend culminating in the late sixth or early seventh centuries.⁴⁸ Such references are often stereotypic and should be regarded with caution.

Control of the sea and of Egypt's waterways was always essential to the administration of Byzantine Egypt. The sea was the medium for dominating the church in Egypt, for recalling and communicating with patriarchs, for sending troops and supplies, and for extracting funds from Egypt to Constantinople. Egypt was navigationally linked to Cyprus, which remained in Byzantine hands even after Syria fell. That link progressed from Egypt through Cyprus to Rhodes, and from Rhodes to Constantinople. Control of the littoral and such ports as Alexandria/Alexandretta in Syria or western Asia were also of importance, permitting the Byzantines to strike at coastal areas in Egypt occupied by hostile forces. This control did not, however, secure the Egyptian interior very well, especially if a district were distant from Egypt's waterways, since the Byzantines do not appear to have developed techniques of large-scale warfare away from them.

Jean Maspero once observed that the Byzantines lacked unity of command in trying to devise a defense of Egypt.⁴⁹ Modern scholars' doubts about Maspero's thesis are unwarranted. There were poor coordination of relief forces, disagreements between their leaders and local defense levies. Maspero noted that the Byzantine forces in Egypt were sufficient for their normal military duties, but that they were inadequate for the task of securing it against the Muslims in the early seventh century. The fortresses and fortifications in themselves were satisfactory.

Modern historians have praised Heraclius for not risking the loss of his remaining armies by trying to retain Egypt. The emperor thus implicitly conceded that the loss of Palestine and Syria doomed the province. The perspective of those who give such praise is, of course, that of Constantinople – not that of Alexandria or Cairo. The Byzantine Empire's strategic needs caused it to concentrate its better troops in northern Syria and upper

Mesopotamia rather than in Egypt.⁵⁰ Ordinarily, few elite expeditionary troops of maneuver were stationed there. We know little about events along the Egyptian Red Sea coast in this period, and their significance for broader developments. It is unlikely, for example, that the early negotiation of terms with the Muslims at the northern Red Sea port of Ayla ('Aqaba) by its bishop would have escaped notice by some Egyptians, but there is no recorded evidence of this.⁵¹ Nor is there evidence about the movement of Byzantine troops or vessels along the Red Sea coast in response to the movement of Muslims in the northern Hijaz. Likewise, although the Red Sea could have been a conduit for valuable information about events in Arabia to reach Byzantine officials in Egypt, no record has survived that they received such reports and revised their policies accordingly.

Most material in Byzantine military manuals concerning maneuvers and battle formations was inappropriate for conditions in Egypt, especially the Delta.⁵² But it was equally so for other parts of the province, in particular the harsh, dry regions away from the Nile. We have no manuals on the use of canals, waterways, marshes or arid districts to deter invaders. On the other hand, the Muslims benefited from knowing more about the Byzantines than their opponents knew about them. Given their control of Palestine, the Muslims were able to keep the Byzantines guessing about their intentions, and whether they planned to strike against Egypt or against Byzantine outposts on the edge of northern Syria, or the route to Anatolia. Byzantium thus faced a strategic dilemma: where does one concentrate the limited supply of remaining troops that requires time and expense to deploy? In Syria-Palestine there is marginal evidence, some epigraphic or parenthetical anecdotes in literary sources, that local elites repaired walls or patrolled districts, activities continuing from the sixth century, but there is no similar evidence for Egypt. Egypt lacked raw materials, especially iron and wood, for manufacturing weapons and military machinery. Supplies of wood probably came from forested areas of the empire, such as southwest Anatolia, the Adriatic coasts, or the Black Sea littoral and its interior.

Urban unrest certainly contributed to the fall of Egypt to the Muslims. Yet what could such unrest have accomplished against them? There were Muslim traditions that the population of Alexandria had twice risen against

⁵⁰ Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, 26–87; see also the volume of papers from the 1992 conference on *States, Resources and Armies*, ed. A. Cameron (The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, vol. 3) (Princeton, 1996), esp. J.-M. Carrié, "L'Écart à la recherche de nouveaux modes de financement des armées (Rome et Byzance, IV^e-VII^e siècles)," 27–60.

⁵¹ P. M. Cobb and D. Whitcomb in their respective publications, including Whitcomb's excavations, are elucidating much about this important port.

⁵² See G. T. Dennis's editions of *Three Byzantine Military Treatises* (Washington, 1985), and the *Maurikios Strategikon*, trans. G. T. Dennis (Philadelphia, 1984), and his edition of the Greek original, published by the Austrian Academy, Vienna 1981.

⁴⁸ Michael Lapidus, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1994), 324–325. Hadrian may have been born in Cyrenaica in the late 630s.

⁴⁹ J. Maspero, *Organisation militaire*, 119–23.

the Arabs after the signing of peace terms. Some have imputed the settlement with the Muslims to fatigue on the part of Egypt's leadership stemming from the volatility of local public opinion and exasperation over shifting imperial policies. These views may be credible.

One may guess that, as in Syria, few in Egypt at the beginning believed that the Muslim conquest was irrevocable. But unlike in Syria, the possibility of flight by civilians was not easy. The swift Muslim conquest of the Pentapolis by 643 effectively eliminated the opportunity for overland flight west to Byzantine Africa. It was possible by sea but there was a limit to the number of those ready to take the risk. The earliest attitudes towards Arab Muslims took shape at all levels of Byzantine society in Palestine-Syria, not in Egypt, in the light of the initial contacts between Christians and Muslims. Whatever their accuracy, these attitudes would circulate rapidly in Egypt as well.

The Muslims' invasion of Egypt came at a propitious time for them, when the imperial government found itself rent by internal strife over the succession. Although unintended, the timing was perfect for the Muslims to apply maximum pressure with minimal troops. The conflict between the Treasurer Philagrius and Patriarch Kyros also worked to their advantage. While not causing the political crisis, they profited from it. The imperial postal system was still partially operative in Anatolia early in the seventh century, but whether it still linked Egypt with Constantinople is unclear.⁵³ There is no evidence for the creation of a new Byzantine "theme" system in Egypt during Heraclius's reign, even though the appointment of Manuel to replace Kyros signified a stronger Byzantine commitment to a military response during the crisis.⁵⁴

The sequence of events throughout the Muslim conquest poses some problems but is less ambiguous than that of the conquest of Syria. 'Amr led his troops past Pelusium (al-Faramā), which he took after a siege of one month, and then through Wādī Tumilat to the eastern side of the Delta. He sought to capture the strategically vital fortress of Babylon so that he could isolate the Delta. Copts reportedly aided him in his capture of Pelusium. After taking Bilbeis and Tendunias, he requested reinforcements from Caliph 'Umar, who sent him another 4,000 troops. (One should suspect reports of round numbers such as 4,000 in Arab historical traditions.) When they arrived, his forces totaled perhaps 15,000. 'Amr triumphed at the battle of 'Ayn Shams north of Tendunias and then besieged Babylon from August/

⁵³ Jean Gascou, "Les grands domaines," 53-59; Andrea Jördens, *P. Heidelberg V. in Verträge der Regelung von Arbeiten im späten griechischsprachigen Ägypten* (Heidelberg, 1990), 43-48.

⁵⁴ W. Kaege, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, 279-85. On the themes, see J. Haldon, "Military Service, Military Lands and the Status of Soldiers," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 45 (1993), 1-67.

September 640 until its surrender in April 641. The Patriarch Kyros made a provisional treaty with the Muslims that Heraclius rejected. 'Amr's initial raids into the Delta encountered problems, so he returned to the siege of Babylon. He then proceeded north along the western edge of the Delta, capturing Terenuthis, Nikiu, Kom Sharik and Sultays before reaching the suburbs of Alexandria at Hulwa. The city was placed under siege.

Meanwhile, Kyros returned from temporary exile to Babylon, via Rhodes. Kyros negotiated a general peace in return for payment of tribute and two dinārs per unconverted male. He was granted an armistice period of eleven months to evacuate all Byzantine troops. 'Amr then extended his control over upper Egypt as far as the Thebaid. Kyros died in March 642. Four years later, Manuel returned with troops to restore Byzantine authority in Alexandria, but he was slain. After their defeat, his troops were again evacuated, leaving the Muslims in permanent control.

It is impossible to estimate accurately the civilian or military casualties on either side during the operations resulting from the conquest. Massacres of civilians on a large scale are unlikely, but smaller ones surely spread terror. There were scattered reports of individuals accepting Islam.

It would be equally futile to attempt an estimate of financial and economic consequences. Intercity trade was surely affected negatively, as was the movement of agricultural products from region to region. No immediate health disaster ensued from refugees crowding into a few densely packed towns.

The Byzantines probably retained their best military units at Constantinople to protect the capital and confront the threat of civil war posed by the ambitious General Valentinos.⁵⁵ Other troops would have been concentrated in Anatolia, to stave off a Muslim invasion through the Taurus Mountains. Anatolia was more important to the Byzantine government than Egypt, and the retention of Anatolic and Armenian forces was essential for its defense, so that there could be no option of sending them to Egypt's rescue. Thus the Muslim push on to the Anatolian plateau in 644 may have deterred any serious effort to recover Egypt.

Internal strife in Egypt on the eve of the conquest cannot be ascribed to a single factor. Several sources testify to disagreements between the Melkite Patriarchate and military officials such as Niketas or General Isaakios, on the eve of the Persian invasion several decades previously. These conditions had worsened by the 630s and early 640s. Patriarch John the Almsgiver sought to negotiate a peace between the Persians and the imperial government, but encountered popular and military opposition. Leonios of Neapolis's *Life of John* was composed on Cyprus in 641/2 under Archbishop Arkadios, an ally of the embattled Patriarch Kyros.

⁵⁵ Martindale, *Prosopography*, 1354-55.

The *Vita* and its epitomes' information regarding events in 619 may contain not accurate reports but distortions that reflect the perspectives of Kyros and Arkadios in the early 640s. Then, as in 619 and the 650s, controversy flared over responsibility for the loss of Egypt. In both instances, the Patriarch of Alexandria was the object of hostility to at least one important military commander. John fled Egypt for Cyprus. He may have been accompanied by Niketas or Isaakios, who allegedly betrayed Alexandria to the Persians.⁵⁶ Kyros's abortive attempt to negotiate peace with the Arabs paralleled John's earlier approach to the Persians. One other epitome of the *Life of John* reports that Saracens (Arabs) fled to Alexandria when the Persians invaded.⁵⁷ One wonders whether they were Sinai Arabs or arrivals from Palestine. John also ransomed some families from Madianites who appear to have been Arabs from Trans-Jordan or somewhere east of the Dead Sea. Use of a Septuagint term like Madianites implies that they were Bedouin from the Dead Sea region. They were probably pursuing opportunities for enrichment in the aftermath of the chaos following the Persian defeat of the Byzantines.⁵⁸

Those negotiating the return of captives from the Bedouin raids in 619 were the Bishop of Rhinocolura (al-'Arish), the Archbishop of Constantia in Cyprus and the Abbot of St. Anthony's Monastery. Involvement of the Cypriot Archbishop on behalf of Patriarch John may indicate a coastal location for a meeting and return of ransomed captives. All of these texts depict friction between the Patriarch of Alexandria and its military leadership over money or willingness to negotiate peace. John is represented as accompanied by Niketas, Heraclius's cousin. In both cases, it seems that some inhabitants of Alexandria opposed their Patriarch's settlement with the respective invader.

The "Saracens" who had fled to Alexandria before the Persian advance were a source of information about the city to the Muslim Arabs two decades later. The inclusion of a reference to them may indicate that in the past their presence in Alexandria was unusual and thus worthy of mention in the *Vita* epitome composed by Sophronios. The presence of Saracens in Alexandria created a pool of personnel of whom some spoke Arabic and could serve as translators familiar with Arab negotiating techniques.

⁵⁶ H. Delehaye, "Une vie inédite de Saint Jean l'Aumônier," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 45 (1927), 5-74, esp. 25.

⁵⁷ E. Lappa-Zizicas, "Un épitomé inédit de la vie de S. Jean l'Aumônier," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 88 (1970), 272.

⁵⁸ Delehaye, "Une vie inédite de Saint Jean l'Aumônier," 23-24; Lappa-Zizicas, "Un épitomé inédit de la Vie de S. Jean l'Aumônier," 276. Dawes and Baynes's commentary on the translation (in their *Three Byzantine Saints*) referred to Mīdian, but not to Arabs, hence the reason why many scholars have probably overlooked this passage: E. H. Dawes, N. H. Baynes, commentary on *Vita of John in Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford, 1948), 265.

Finger-pointing over responsibility for the loss of Alexandria thus occurred at least twice in the seventh century. The accusations against Maximus the Confessor were another aspect of that controversy and its recriminations. A. J. Butler wrote his *Arab Conquest of Egypt* prior to the publication of either epitome of John's *Life*. He therefore could not assess its information in his otherwise competent history.

It is essential to consider the role of controversies about Kyros and Arkadios, Philagrios and Martina, and the imperial succession crisis in the composition of Leontios's *Vita* in its present form. These controversies also reinforce the need to contemplate events in Cyprus and their relationship to Alexandria and Constantinople. The earlier controversies about Patriarch John and the surrender of Patriarch Kyros to caution in his negotiations with 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ. The need to shield himself from allegations of treachery and betrayal may have complicated Kyros's role even further at the end of the 630s and early 640s.

An atmosphere of mistrust arose from more than differences about Christology. An earlier Patriarch was believed to have been the object of conspiracy and even murder by the military commander Isaakios. These controversies hampered decision-making. They also contributed to the breakdown of confidentiality. Heraclius's reaction to Kyros's unauthorized treaty with the Muslims was consistent with his deposition of John Kateas, curator of Osrhoene, for negotiating a similar truce with the Muslims after the battle of Yarmūk. There is a logic in Heraclius's policies of restraint over administrators attempting to make separate terms, whether in northern Syria, upper Mesopotamia or Egypt.⁵⁹

Patriarch John the Almsgiver played an uncertain role in negotiating an obscure peace settlement between the naval commander Asparguros and the Cypriot port of Constantia in 619. It is possible that dissident and disgruntled Byzantine military forces on Cyprus had considered the rejection of imperial authority in the wake of Persian victories and Byzantine defeats. That strife in 619 had further complicated Byzantine efforts to defend Egypt from the Persians.⁶⁰

The controversial stance of Archbishop Arkadios of Constantia towards the imperial succession crisis at the death of Heraclius could have made Egypt's lines of communication at the difficult moment of 641/2 even more tenuous. It probably discouraged the leadership in Egypt from taking further risks. It jeopardized communications and logistics at the worst possible moment for Egypt's security. Those who sailed between Constantinople and

⁵⁹ Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, 160-9, 202, 253.

⁶⁰ On ties with Cyprus see M. Rodziewicz, *Alexandrie I. La cité antique romaine tardive d'Alexandrie* (Warsaw, 1976), 55.

Egypt via Cyprus could not have been ignorant of these frictions. They adversely affected the Byzantine army's morale. The murky case of Asparthus thus underscores strife in Cyprus in the second decade of the seventh century, a prelude to difficulties stemming from Heraclius's death and the resultant succession crisis in the early 640s that compromised Egypt's security.

Three ecclesiastical leaders – Patriarchs John and Kyros of Alexandria, and Archbishop Arkadios of Constantia – died in the midst of the events of 639 and 641 respectively. General Isaakios, involved like John in the earlier controversy, also died in Cyprus during the course of events. Their deaths exacerbated the rapid turnover of imperial leadership at Constantinople and prohibited a continuity of leadership.

The precedent of negotiations with Arabs about captives does not in itself confirm the veracity of other reports about negotiations to forestall the Muslim invasion. But there is testimony that Patriarch John had planned to turn away the Persians by negotiation, and that General Isaakios, after betraying Alexandria to them, sought to murder John when he was fleeing to Cyprus. These events foreshadowed Kyros's actions. Butler doubted whether the Muslims would have accepted money in return for some temporary respite of three years. Yet the payment of a substantial sum to them would have denied it to the Byzantines for their defense of Syria and Anatolia. Thus a decision by the Muslims to accept it would be perceptive. It would reinforce their position while denying vital resources to their opponents at a critical moment. The strategic situations on these different fronts were interrelated.

The interest of Niketas, according to the *Vita* of John the Almsgiver, in associating John with Heraclius is noteworthy, if the account is accurate. By inference, Patriarch John may have sought to avoid implying his approval of Heraclius in those desperate moments of the emperor's reign that were clouded by questions over his imperial legitimacy and doubts over divine protection for the empire. Echoes of civil–ecclesiastical strife are discernible even in the story of Niketas and John. This story had odd resonances at the end of Heraclius's reign. The *Vita*'s author emphasizes the close relationship between Niketas and John, and subsequently between him and the dynasty. The author may have worried about new efforts by the government to seize still more ecclesiastical wealth. He accordingly invoked the prestigious names of both John and Niketas to discourage more expropriations or forced loans in the early 640s, even if they were to finance the restoration of Byzantine control over Egypt. Hagiographic memory reflected genuine ecclesiastical fears of further confiscations after 641.

As Nikephoros mentions in his *Short History*, the relationship between Niketas and his daughter, Gregoria, is significant. She married the Emperor Heraclius Constantine (III). Niketas was celebrated for victories over

Persians in Constantinopolitan statuary and one inscription, but there is no evidence that he defeated the Persians in Egypt. Presumably, he was long deceased. Whatever the genetic consequences of these ties, the nature of illnesses suffered by Fabia/Eudocia and Heraclius are unclear. The role of Empress Gregoria, who had strong ties with the neighboring Cyrenaican Pentapolis, is uncertain. She may have exerted influence at the imperial court in support of hardline policies that would protect Africa by seeking to prevent the Muslim conquest of Egypt (such as moving more troops to Egypt from other parts of Africa) or she may have reluctantly accepted the terms negotiated by Kyros in the hopes that peace in Egypt would protect Africa. Heraclius's north African heritage may have reinforced the already strong connection of Constans II to the remaining members of the Heraclian dynasty. The connection may also have reinforced his commitment to retain north Africa. Despite his limited resources, this relationship could have influenced Constans to travel west to Italy and Sicily. He murdered his brother some time after the loss of Egypt, but this act reflected the larger context of internal strife that had plagued the imperial house since Heraclius's later years.

Severus's late account of the patriarchs of Alexandria contains material on the seventh century that is compatible with Theophanes' and Nikephoros' versions. It also accords with the Christian Arab *History* of Agapius of Membij, despite religious differences. Severus also repeats the story that Egypt paid three years' tribute to stave off the Muslim invasion, an assertion made by Nikephoros and Theophanes. So even a Coptic tradition, or one passed down by a Monophysite tradent, accepts the tradition of an arrangement to buy off the Muslims from their invasion. It may have derived from what Theophilus of Edessa passed on to Nikephoros and Theophanes. These accounts were consistent with the activities of Patriarchs like John the Almsgiver, who also sought to make arrangements in lieu of warfare and the consequent loss of life and property.

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the Byzantines could have fashioned a better defense of Egypt than they did. The fall of Egypt was not inevitable, although at some point reversal of the process became difficult. Internal Byzantine strife was worse during the empire's attempts to defend Egypt than during its unsuccessful efforts to hold Syria. The initial capture of Alexandria in 641 marked a threshold, if that had not already been crossed when Babylon surrendered to the Muslims. The caliber of the generals sent to direct the resistance was low. The accession in late 641 of a leadership in Constantinople that favored resistance to the end did not substantially alter Egypt's position. That new leadership needed to consolidate its grip on power, and while seeking to deflect criticism, it could not afford to take big risks. It did send Manuel the Augustulus with a large force in a last attempt to retrieve the deteriorating situation. But that expedition

ended in ignominious failure, although there was no naval disaster comparable to that of 468 when the Byzantine fleet failed to recover Africa from the Vandals. The Byzantines suffered no serious losses from their Egyptian operations. Recriminations about the defeat reverberated for decades in many literary genres, but these charges did not illuminate the complex context of decisions and actions. There does not appear to have been any great longing for a return to Byzantine rule among Egyptians, and unlike in northern Syria, that was not an option since Byzantine power rapidly receded westward across north Africa.

From the perspective of the Byzantine regime, it was a success simply to have extricated its elite forces by sea after the likelihood of Muslim victory was obvious. Accordingly, there was little hope for a reversal of conditions that would allow a Byzantine recovery. In the early 640s, the government could afford the loss of no more elite troops to the Muslims. How much equipment they did abandon in the evacuation is unknown. Byzantine forces in Egypt suffered no battle of annihilation, nor were they trapped under siege and destroyed. Thus in conclusion, the Byzantines won no victory, but avoided a disaster that would have weakened their defenses in Anatolia and the Balkans. On balance, the Byzantines lamented the Muslim conquest as "the Egyptian destruction."⁶¹ For Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam and his sources, it was the Emperor Heraclius who was the backbone of Byzantine resistance and with him perished Byzantine power in Egypt.⁶²

A tentative chronology of important events during the Muslim conquest

- 633 Maximus the Confessor discourages the dispatch of troops from Numidia to Egypt to reinforce Byzantine defenses against real or perceived threats of Arab military action.
- 637 Patriarch Kyros agrees to pay 200,000 dinars or their equivalent in Byzantine gold solidi annually to the Muslims to deter them from invading Egypt.

⁶¹ Anastasius the Sinaite, *Sermo adversus Monotheletas* 3.1, 86-92, in: *Anastasii Sinaitae Opera. Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei necnon Opuscula adversus Monotheletas*, ed. Karl-Heinz Uthemann, Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 12 (Brepols-Turnhout, 1985), 60.

⁶² See Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futuh Misr*, 76, relying as always on Yahya ibn Ayyub, who died in 784, and Khalid ibn Humayd, for traditions about Heraclius stimulating resistance to the Muslims. These traditions are valuable, because only the Egyptian school has left identification of traditions about Heraclius's refusal to accept locally inspired peace treaties. Such treaties occurred in northern Syria, and were rejected by him, but Theophanes or his oriental source does not identify the Syrian source for such traditions in the north. In any case they were not unique to the last days of Byzantine Egypt.

- December 639 'Amr ibn al-'As commences his invasion, from southern Palestine.
- End of January 640 Pelusium falls to the Muslims after a one-month siege.
- July 640 The Muslims win an important victory at Heliopolis or 'Ayn Shams.
- 640 The Emperor Heraclius summons Patriarch Kyros to Constantinople and criticizes his negotiations with the Muslims.
- Late 640 or early 641 Misr or the town of Babylon (Old Cairo) falls to the Muslims. The Muslims begin to invade the upper delta of the Nile.
- February 11, 641 The death of the Emperor Heraclius.
- April 9, 641 The citadel of Babylon or Old Cairo falls to the Muslims.
- May 13, 641 Nikiu falls to the Muslims.
- May 24, 641 The death of Emperor Heraclius Constantine III, when power temporarily devolves to the regency of Empress Martina and Patriarch Pyrrhos of Constantinople; Philagrios is exiled to north Africa.
- September 641 The coronation of Constans II after the deposition of Martina and her sons; Philagrios is recalled from exile. Kyros returns to Alexandria.
- September 14, 641 Muslim troops enter Alexandria.
- September 29, 641 The Byzantine treaty, signed at Babylon, surrenders Egypt.
- November 28, 641 The first payment of tribute from Egypt to the Muslims after this treaty.
- December 10, 641 The death of Patriarch Kyros.
- March 21, 642 Byzantine troops under the command of Theodoros evacuate Alexandria, but leave a prefect, John, to coordinate the transition to Muslim rule.
- September 17, 642 There is an abortive effort by the eunuch Manuel to recover Egypt with the assistance of a Byzantine fleet. Manuel is slain.
- 644/45

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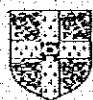
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AL-FUSTAT

Its Foundation
and Early Urban Development

Wladyslaw B. Kubiak

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Städtegründungen

E. Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islam*, Munich 1912.

Subh

Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Qalqa-shandi, *Subh al-A'sha fi Sina'at al-Insha* (repr. of the al-Amiriya ed.,) Vol. I-XIV, Cairo 1383 (1963).

"Topographie"

G. Salmon, "Etudes sur la topographie du Caire," *Mem. IFAO* VII, Cairo 1902.

Wulat; Qudat

Abu 'Umar Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Kindi, *Kitab al-Wulat wa Kitab al-Qudat*, ed. R. Guest, Leyden-London 1912.

1. The Source Material

The wealth of written sources for the medieval history of Egypt is certainly exceptional in the Islamic world. Local histories and chronicles, various encyclopaedias, collections of biographies and other scholarly treatises, especially in the later Middle Ages, shed abundant light on practically every aspect of human activity. Most of these works produced by the Muslim scholars reflect historical reality as viewed by a more enlightened stratum of Egyptian Islamic society, but at the same time they give us material which was common knowledge at that time, as well as inside and official information.

Other versions of the facts and events, different points of view and separate historical material are presented by the works that came from the non-Islamic Egyptian milieu, and particularly from Christian sources. These additional historical sources provide a valuable means for checking and supplementing more current traditions. To these must be added substantial sections in most of the important works on history and geography produced in other countries, in which Egypt is treated in considerable detail, as befitted a country which played such a prominent role in the economic and political life of the Islamic world. The authors of these "external" works normally view Egyptian affairs from a different perspective and often represent other spheres of interest. They may also have used sources other than those found in Egyptian works, and this allows us to verify some details.

The standard narrative sources for the medieval period in Egypt are supplemented by a unique group of historical documents which were practically unknown in other Islamic countries—that is, rich collections of papyri and documents on paper.

Documents

Collections of original records, both official and private, are estimated to contain about sixty thousand documents, many of them extremely valuable, especially for economic and social history. Of this number about sixteen thousand are on papyrus, most of them in Arabic,¹ but a number of early ones also in Greek or Coptic, or bilingual. About ten thousand belong to the famous group of Arab-Jewish manuscripts called the Geniza Documents. These, however, postdate the period we are interested in by at least two centuries and as such can only be used

as ancillary material.² Much of this source material on Egyptian history mentions al-Fustat. However, as far as the city itself is concerned—its development, quarters, buildings (particularly non-religious ones), streets and public services—the information is disappointingly meagre, imprecise and unreliable, especially for the early period with which we are concerned. Therefore, for our study, the body of documents is smaller than one would expect, although it provides occasional information not to be found elsewhere. Unfortunately, there are at present almost insurmountable difficulties in using this material, difficulties which will continue certainly for many years to come. The greater part of these documents have not been published or even catalogued, and those which have are dispersed over hundreds of volumes of periodicals and rare publications, most of which are unindexed.

Narrative Sources

Of about a dozen medieval works which are of real significance for our study, *Kitab Futuh Misr wa'l-Maghrib* (Book of the Conquest of Egypt and the Maghreb) by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (born c. A.D. 805 died A.D. 871) is the oldest and certainly the most important for the earliest period of the town. Its chapters on the foundation of al-Fustat and its topography and history appear to have served as the model for a whole series of subsequent treatises of this kind. Unfortunately, all these works prior to the well known fifteenth century compendia of Ibn Duqmaq and al-Maqrizi, *Kitab al-Khitat* of al-Kindi (+A.D. 961), *Kitab al-Mukhtar* of al-Qudari (+1062 or A.D. 1065), *Kitab al-Naqd fil-Khitat* of al-Djawwani (written after A.D. 1174/75) and *Kitab Iqaz al-Mutaghaffil* by Ibn Mutawwad (+A.D. 1330)³ are lost, and are known to us only from later quotations and excerpts.

'Abd ar-Rahman ibn 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Hakam came from an important family of al-Fustat, and his father was a distinguished scholar-theologian of the Malikite rite, also learned in history. He was held in high esteem throughout the Middle Ages as the true father of Egyptian-Arab history, though his importance in modern times suffered somewhat from the severe criticism of Charles C. Torrey, a twentieth-century editor of his work.⁴ However, from the excursus on Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's career included in the Introduction to a later edition of the text,⁵ it appears that during the twenty odd years which separate Torrey's two publications, he learned to appreciate the value of the work, and in the later one he only formally maintains his unfavourable earlier criticism. In recent years a group of Egyptian historians did justice to Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam by publishing a volume of studies devoted to various aspects of his work,⁶ but the unnecessarily apologetic tone of some parts of this collection interferes with its historical criticism and objectivity.

The exceptional value of the *Futuh Misr* is undeniable and needs no apology, although the modern historian must bear in mind the shortcomings which were common in this period. He must also keep in mind that its primary intention was

not to transmit knowledge of bygone facts and events to posterity or to apotheosize the warriors of the first generation of the Islamic conquerors, but to give a plausible historical explanation for a number of obscure juridico-religious traditions concerning the conquest of Egypt and North Africa.⁷

An interesting problem is raised by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's sources. For most of his historical or juridico-religious information he indicates his source in the form of an *isnad*, (list or 'chain' of successive transmitters), which was the normal usage of the time. This form implies an oral tradition, but we should assume that at least a part of his material came to him in written form, although there is no definite proof of it.⁸ There is however strong indirect evidence that there existed in Egypt from the first half of the eighth century a strong written historical tradition.⁹ The authors of some of these alleged historical works, whose names we often encounter in the *isnads* of the *Futuh Misr*, are Yazid Ibn Abi Habib (died A.D. 745),¹⁰ 'Ubaid Allah ibn Abi Dja'far (died A.D. 752),¹¹ Ibn Lah'i'a (died A.D. 790),¹² al-Laith ibn Sa'd (died A.D. 791),¹³ Yahya ibn Ayyub al-Ghafiqi (died A.D. 780),¹⁴ and Yahya ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Bukair (died A.D. 846).¹⁵ But it should be noted that with the exception of the last whom our author probably encountered personally and could draw from directly, only Yahya ibn Ayyub is named as a direct source, which could indicate the use of his written collection of traditions. Information from the others mentioned above is normally received through such authorities as 'Uthman ibn Salih 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslama, Abu al-Aswad an-Nadr, Yahya ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Bukair and others, who were direct informants (*rawis*) of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam. Al-Laith ibn Sa'd and Ibn Lah'i'a appear only a few times as direct informants and Yazid ibn Abi Habib or 'Ubaid Allah ibn Abi Dja'far never do, though they appear very often in the chains of *isnads*. But there is also a difficulty with Yahya ibn Ayyub: most of the information coming from him is cited with double authority, his own and that of Khalid ibn Humayd (died A.D. 786), whom we do not know as a historical writer.¹⁶ Since we do not know of any instance of a written historical work with a double authorship, we should assume that the information from both was transmitted orally or in writing by a later *rawi* whose name was omitted; that is, unless we take for granted the existence of a written account by Khalid ibn Humayd, which was to a large degree similar to the alleged work of Yahya ibn Ayyub.

All these observations make the theory of an extensive use of the written material by our author rather difficult to accept. But on the other hand, there is no reason to doubt a well founded hypothesis of the existence of historiography in Egypt before Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, and if such works existed, the author of the *Futuh Misr* must have been acquainted with them. However, according to the usage of the time, he probably relied on oral tradition whenever it was possible. During this period there was no sharp distinction between the historical tradition and the religious; the usage of the latter could be accepted, and an oral tradition with a complete *isnad* of *rawis* was considered more sound (*sahih*) than a written one, which could be incomplete and easily falsified. In any case, out of the more than forty *rawis* from whom Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam drew his information directly

(i.e., those whose names he gives at the beginning of the *isnads*) only a few were not his contemporaries and fewer still were authors of historical works. From these observations we conclude that the *Futuh Misr* was composed mainly from the oral tradition. When written material was used, it was checked carefully whenever possible against the oral information and presented in the *hadith* (attributable tradition) form accepted by the contemporary public.

The examination and analysis of the historical material in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam and its transmitters (*rawis*) is important not only for determining the reliability of this important source, but also for the early intellectual history of Islamic Egypt. Unfortunately, this examination and analysis has not been done. The scholars best equipped for this task, namely the editors of *Futuh Misr*'s text, strangely enough did not deal with this subject. 'Amir touches on it only very briefly and superficially,¹⁷ and C. C. Torrey refers the reader to the account of the authorities in al-Kindi's *al-Wulat* and *al-Qudat* by R. Guest.¹⁸ Though quite excellent, Guest's account is only partially relevant and even a summary examination of both works shows that they largely draw from different sources.

This problem cannot be entirely disposed of, but it is only marginally pertinent to our study, because most of the strictly topographical and archaeological material given by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam is quoted without reference to any authority. It comes, so to speak, directly from the author. Only when this information is mixed with information he considers to be of religious or juridical value, especially when it concerns some distinguished historical personality or one of the Sahaba or Tabi'um, is the authority given in the usual form of the *isnad* (with some exceptions, however).

Most of the topographical and archaeological information is limited to the first sixty or seventy years after the conquest, with only an occasional reference to the situation when Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam was writing. It is, then, roughly parallel to the chronology of the historical events. Therefore, one should assume that the sources were basically the same for both types of information. However, the topographical and archaeological material, presumably regarded as more secular in nature, was not considered worthy of the same careful attention as the semi-religious historical tradition. The author therefore thought it unnecessary to sanction this 'inferior' sort of information by a meticulous record of the accepted authorities. In addition to this, we can take for granted that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam included in his discussion of early al-Fustat, its famous buildings, tribal quarters, etc., some informal or unauthorized information based on current local tradition. This, as unendorsed by any accepted authority, could evidently not be presented in a *hadith*-like manner. Even if the author could have produced names of some informants, we can be fairly certain that no ordinary person would have been accepted by a scholarly public as an authority for any scientific fact. It was much better to put it vaguely and informally: "*yuqalu*" ("it has been said," "they say"), as is frequently the case.

There is some evidence in the text that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam collected his information carefully and verified it. Normally he is very definite and affirmative about related facts and gives them as if they were contemporary common

knowledge, which may very well have been the case. We can be fairly confident that about the middle of the ninth century, when Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam committed his information to writing, local memory concerning primitive *khiitas* (areas for settlement allotted to various groups—generally tribal groups—in the early days of al-Fustat; later simply 'quarter') buildings and the like was still alive and reasonably accurate. At that time some of the old buildings in a more or less modified form were certainly still standing, most thoroughfares followed their early courses and the town quarters had basically the same names and borders. Also, many descendants of the original settlers were still in the town and must have been aware of their history. Possibly Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's family itself was descended from original inhabitants of al-Fustat and was especially well versed in its history and traditions.¹⁹

As for the *Futuh Misr*'s text, there are several partial editions. The best complete edition is doubtless that of C. C. Torrey, which appeared in 1920 and was based on the British Museum twelfth-century manuscript and three others from European collections. Very carefully prepared and including an introduction, index and very useful dictionary, it provides an excellent working instrument.

In 1961 another edition appeared by 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Amir,²⁰ based on a manuscript from the Istanbul Fatih Collection dated A.D. 1136/37 (A.H. 531) and unknown to Torrey. The edition, although carelessly printed and without an index, gives us access to the earliest manuscript known so far.²¹

Before we discuss the topographical works of Ibn Duqmaq and al-Maqrizi, which will be of major importance to this study, a brief discussion of the secondary sources is in order. Of the long list of historical and geographical works written between the ninth and fourteenth centuries, in which al-Fustat and matters related to its history have been referred to in a more or less detailed way, only very few deserve our attention here. Most of the others either repeat the information known to us from better—that is to say, more reliable or older—works, or do not refer to the period we are interested in at all.

A small amount of original information is found in two other ninth-century works. One of them is a well known account of the Arab conquests by al-Baladhuri; the other, equally popular and reliable, is the geography of al-Ya'qubi. Although the latter was written in Egypt, both accounts refer to the country from a more detached viewpoint, treating it as a part of the Caliphate and not as the centre of attention as Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam does. This partly explains why there are few details, topographical or otherwise, in their works. Nevertheless, their general remarks still provide useful information on the early town and its people.

For al-Baladhuri's work the edition of al-Munadjjid²² was used. It is slightly better and is based on a collection of manuscript material larger than the well known standard edition by de Goeje.²³ Existing translations of this work, by P. Hitti and F. Murgotten,²⁴ and by O. Rescher,²⁵ were inaccessible to this author. For al-Ya'qubi's *Geography* the edition of de Goeje²⁶ and G. Wiet's translation²⁷ were used.

The work of al-Baladhuri (written about A.D. 869) follows the use of *hadith*, well established in his time, in the presentation of the historical material. For each piece of information he gives a chain of informants with which we are able to check the sources or compare the data with parallel material transmitted by other authors, especially by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam and, to a lesser degree, al-Kindi. On the whole, the three authors draw largely from the same sources, the Egyptian historical tradition. This fact, while perfectly understandable for the two Egyptian writers, is somewhat strange with al-Baladhuri, who composed his works in Baghdad and belonged to the Iraqi school of history.²⁸ It is not known whether he even visited Egypt. His study might easily have been written while he was studying in Damascus. It is more likely, however, that he had durable links with the country, as his grandfather had been employed in the administration there.²⁹

It is interesting to note that his main sources of information for the Egyptian campaign and related matters were either Ibn Lah'a or al-Laith ibn Sa'd, both alleged authors of early historical works. Since al-Baladhuri could not possibly have known Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's *Futuh Misr*, which he never mentions, it is possible that he somehow had access to written material by these other authors.

Al-Ya'qubi's presentation of his material differs from that of al-Baladhuri in every respect. In both his works, the *Geography* and the *History* (of which the latter is of less value for our study), he discarded the *isnads* and presented his material as a narrative without naming his sources.³⁰ Since Egypt was the country in which he spent much of his life and wrote his works,³¹ he certainly drew from the local written tradition as well, supplementing it with oral information and personal observation.

Next on our list are two important historical works of al-Kindi: *Kitab Tasmiya Wulat Misr*, often called *Kitab al-Wulat* or *Kitab al-Umara* for short, which is a history of the governors of Egypt from the Arab conquest up to the decline of al-Ikhshid rule (c. A.D. 640-961), and *Kitab al-Qudat*, which is a history of the judges of Egypt up to the year A.D. 860. Both works were published in one volume by Rhuvon Guest, the text of *al-Qudat* being supplemented with appendices which bring the text up to the beginning of the eleventh century.

The author of these works, Abu 'Umar Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn Ya'qub al-Kindi al-Tudjibi al-Misri (A.D. 897-961), was a native Egyptian, as is evident from his *nishbas* (surnames), and belonged to the South Arab tribe of Tudjib which had been prominent at al-Fustat since its foundation.³² His many-sided historical activity (unfortunately the majority of his books are lost) makes him the outstanding figure in Islamic Egyptian historiography of his time, especially since all his attention was focused on his native country.

The nature of the historical information that we can draw from both works is manifold. Although they were intended as chronicles for the chiefs of political and judiciary authorities, and the author was very careful to keep closely to his subject, the works naturally also referred to various facts of a military, administrative, social and economic nature. There is not much direct information on the physical aspect of the city of al-Fustat: our author evidently kept it for his

specialized treatise on the *khitat*.³³ Luckily for us, al-Fustat is often the main theatre of the events he is describing; therefore, incidental references valuable for the study of its topography are also included. Perhaps more important are numerous allusions revealing various aspects of the social structure of the early city as well as the main subject of the work, which gives detailed information on its political background.

The next early medieval historical work composed in Egypt is the *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*. Though mistakenly ascribed to a single author, Sawirus (Severus) ibn al-Muqaffa', the bishop of al-Ashmunein, in reality it was composed by various scribes whose names and dates are in many cases known to us. As for the bishop Sawirus, it is assumed that about the middle of the tenth century he translated earlier biographies written usually in Coptic, but sometimes in Greek, into Arabic and edited them.³⁴ From the note by the copyist Yuhanna ibn Sa'id ibn Yahya ibn Mina, known as Ibn al-Qulzumī, which was inserted at the end of the biography of Cyril II,³⁵ it would rather appear that it was he who edited (probably shortly after A.D. 1128) the earlier part of the *History* up to the eleventh century.³⁶ Of course this does not exclude the role of Sawirus, although Yuhanna's statement indicates that the problem of the authorship of this document should be reexamined.

The primary concern of the biographies is, of course, ecclesiastical history, but at the same time they give abundant information on the social, political and economic situation of the country. Some parts of the *History* are less valuable than others, which is understandable in a composite work which is dependent on the varying abilities of its multiple authors. For the early Islamic period it is uniquely valuable, as the biographies are quite often eyewitness accounts, an advantage which the contemporary Muslim sources do not possess.

For the study of al-Fustat, the *History* gives us considerable important information often not found elsewhere. The biographies for the first centuries of Islam, however, give relatively more information about Alexandria, as this city was the Patriarchal See. But the growing influence of the Arab capital, the interference of the central authorities in the affairs of the Christian community, and the simultaneous involvement of an influential Coptic secretarial class in the central administration of the province, changed this situation long before the See had been transferred to the capital. Closer relations of the Alexandrian Patriarchate with the seat of government could not but be reflected in the *History*, where, especially from the last decades of the seventh century, al-Fustat is frequently mentioned.

The first part of the text, up to the year A.D. 849, was edited and published with an English translation by B. Evetts in *Patr. Or.* A better edition of the text up to the year A.D. 767, based on the older manuscript from Hamburg, was published by C. F. Seybold. Evetts's edition has been supplemented by the Société d'Archéologie Copte in Cairo, which published other parts of the text based on various manuscripts, together with an English translation.³⁷ So far, the biographies of the patriarchs have been published only up to the thirteenth century.

Another author belonging to the Egyptian Christian milieu was a certain Abu Salih, the author of an interesting book on the churches and monasteries of Egypt (*Kitab Kana' is wa-Adiyira Misr*), edited from a unique copy in Paris by B. T. A. Evetts and translated by the same scholar. The author was an Armenian who settled in Egypt and somehow became associated with the Coptic creed, but of whose life nothing more is known except that he completed his work in the beginning of the thirteenth century (the last date mentioned in his work is A.D. 1208), when he must have already reached a considerable age.³⁸

The most valuable information in this work is probably based on the author's personal observations, which, however, chronologically exceed the scope of the present study. Of significance for us, therefore, are only those parts where the author draws from older sources. These are not very numerous and most of them have survived in a more or less complete form elsewhere. But there are a few quotations from a very important and lost work of al-Kindi entitled *Kitab al-Khitat*, which bear directly on our subject. They give us interesting details about some of the city's quarters, its original settlers and so on, which are not recorded elsewhere.

In most cases, when referring to events which were not contemporary, Abu Salih names his sources. Sometimes, however, his information remains unattributed. In such cases, especially when we cannot find parallels in the known texts, we can infer that they also come from al-Kindi, unless our author used other books of whose existence or contents we are still ignorant. Some local oral tradition may also have been used, but it will, of course, always remain untraceable. Examples of facts which cannot be paralleled elsewhere are the information he gives about the *zariba* built by the Arabs at the time of the siege of Babylon, or about the red banner which gave its name to the later quarter of al-Hamra, or al-Qarafa.

Important, although practically never used by students of the Egyptian capital's historical topography, is the famous geographical dictionary by Yaqt al-Hamawi. The work, completed and published in Halab in March A.D. 1224,³⁹ contains abundant material from Egypt, which at least in part was collected during the author's visit there in A.D. 1215. The material relevant to our study is contained in two large articles, "al-Fustat" and "Misr," and in a number of small entries devoted to the better-known topographical units in the town.⁴⁰ But on the whole, the author of this work provides little information which is unknown to us from other sources, especially from al-Maqrizi. However, since Yaqt's work is more than two centuries earlier than al-Khitat, it gives us a valuable means of checking the latter. For topographical details he used the works of al-Quda'i extensively and to a lesser degree that of al-Djawwani. For the early period and details of the conquest he used the works of Abu 'Umar al-Kindi (possibly including his *Kitab al-Khitat* and *Kitab Mawali Ahl Misr*) and the *Futuh Misr* of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, although he does not mention this work by name. Most likely the quotations referred to as coming from such authorities as Ibn Lahfa, al-Laith ibn Sa'd, and Yazid ibn Abi Habib, were taken from Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam and not directly from their works.⁴¹ However, certain details, such as the names

of four high-ranking officers of 'Amr's army who were appointed to supervise the distribution of lands at the foundation of al-Fustat, which are given by Yaqt⁴² but do not occur in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, would indicate that the former had at his disposal a fuller account of events, probably that of al-Quda'i. But on the whole, in his relation of the conquest and the foundation of al-Fustat, Yaqt follows Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's narrative, though presenting it in a more systematic manner (which is characteristic of his work).

With the exception of the *Futuh Misr* of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, whose significance for our study far outweighs that of all other written works, the largest amount of information is provided by the latest group of historical sources. As a rule, the information is fuller and more detailed here than in earlier authors and covers a wider range; at the same time, it is more methodically and logically arranged. This fact is seemingly paradoxical, since the historical material for this period available to later authors could not have been better or more extensive than that which their predecessors had at their disposal. On the contrary, time effaced a good deal of it. This paradox can be resolved in light of the extraordinary development of Islamic historiography and the encyclopaedic sciences in the later Middle Ages. The methods of collecting material and subsequently presenting it in a written form were perfected, the fields and scope of interest of particular scholars multiplied and expanded, and their scientific horizons widened. But these processes, advantageous as they doubtless were, often contained implicit dangers, especially in cases where a scholar dealt with facts and situations distant in time or space. Since there was a marked tendency to rationalize obscure points within the particular subjects covered, even though the supporting data lacked consistency, were insufficient or even unavailable, scholars were introducing their own theories and speculations. Occasionally they were right, as in the famous sociological generalisations of Ibn Khaldun, but more often the speculations were baseless, irrational, dictated by prejudice, or simply lacked a scientific basis. Of course, these deficiencies were not restricted to late medieval works. They characterized the medieval mind in general, but in this later period they seem more pronounced.⁴³

In the historical material useful for our study—i.e., that concerning the early city's physical form and in particular its topography—these drawbacks are not easily noticed. Non-controversial facts are usually presented with apparent objectivity, conforming to the best judgment of authors, and only with rigorous criticism and minute examination and comparison against other available sources does their inconsistency appear. Examples of such cases, which unfortunately have been accepted at face value by modern scholarship, are discussed in subsequent pages; and such cases are fairly common, even among our best authorities.

Of the numerous historical and encyclopaedic works composed in the late medieval period in Egypt (and almost every one gives a more or less detailed account of al-Fustat), two have a very special place in our source material. These are *al-Intisar* of Ibn Duqmaq and *al-Khitat* of al-Maqrizi. None of the others deserves close attention, except perhaps al-Qalqashandi's *Subh al-A'sha*, which

gives some new and significant information. For the early period these later sources contain either abridged repetitions of such sources as al-Tabari, al-Baladhuri, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, al-Kindi, et al. (as in the case of the famous chronicles of Ibn Dawadari, Ibn Taghri Birdi, and Ibn Iyas), or, as in *Husn al-Muhadara* of as-Suyuti, utilize material already collected by al-Maqrizi. There is also practically nothing of value, except for some marginal notes, in the voluminous work of Ibn Sa'id, though it is a useful source of information on later periods and on literary history.

Sarim ad-Din Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Aydukar al-Ala'i Ibn Duqmaq, an author of several historical works on Egypt, was also known as a jurist (a subject on which he also wrote).⁴⁴ But for posterity and especially for modern scholarship, his fame was primarily established by his historical and topographical study entitled *al-Intisar li Wasiat 'Iqd al-Amsar*. Of the entire work of ten volumes only the fourth and fifth parts are still extant.

The whole of the fourth part is devoted to al-Fustat, its topography and monuments. The single preserved manuscript is evidently the author's autograph,⁴⁵ (a view opposed by Casanova).⁴⁶ The handwriting supports this opinion, but more conclusive is the evidence that the manuscript is incomplete. On many pages of the text, places have been left blank, evidently with the intention of filling them in with details, dates, etc., which were not available to the author as he was writing. Since one would not expect an unfinished work to be given to a copyist, we can be reasonably certain that it is indeed the autograph, or at least a working copy. This may also explain why al-Maqrizi did not quote it among his sources, rather than, as Casanova suggests, that it was because Ibn Duqmaq literally copied large parts of Ibn Mutawwaj's work which al-Maqrizi had in the original.⁴⁷ The work being unfinished and unpublished at the time of the author's death in the year A.D. 1400 (A.H. 809), it was simply not available to al-Maqrizi when he composed his chief opus⁴⁸ (in spite of his being for a time Ibn Duqmaq's pupil). This question is important because it directly concerns the material essential for our study. However, we will leave it for the moment and discuss it together with *al-Khitat*.

Since only a part of the whole study has been preserved, we cannot evaluate it as a whole. Apparent gaps and deficiencies in historical interpretation were perhaps made up for in other volumes, but there is no way of knowing. From the volume that we have, the study appears to be a rather dry, unimaginative enumeration of facts and reminds one more of a concise topographical dictionary than a vivid historical narrative (such as that of al-Maqrizi). This is perhaps due to the juristic mind of an author trained in legal traditions. But this characteristic, although somewhat dull, inspires confidence in the work in spite of its lack of references to the sources used—and these are few indeed. For information concerning the early period, al-Quda'i, al-Kindi⁴⁹ and Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam are practically the only authorities mentioned. For later facts Ibn al-Mutawwaj is most frequently quoted. A few other authors, such as Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi, Ibn Yunus, and 'Ala' ad-Din Ibn Nablusi, are also occasionally named, but the amount of information ascribed directly to them is negligible.

The bulk of the material is related without any indication of authority. Some of it can, nevertheless, be traced to earlier sources which either have been preserved in their original form or are known to us from quotations in later works. In all such cases where it is possible to compare texts, the reliability of Ibn Duqmaq is apparent,⁵⁰ which makes his negligence in naming the sources even more inexplicable. Since the most important topographical works on al-Fustat, (namely *al-Khitat* of al-Kindi, *al-Khitat* of al-Quda'i and *an-Naqat* of Ibn al-Mutawwaj), are lost, we do not know to what extent the fourth part of *al-Intisar* depended on them—probably even more than al-Maqrizi's *al-Khitat*, which focused on al-Qahira rather than on al-Fustat. The context proves, however, that Ibn Duqmaq did not copy them slavishly, as Casanova suggests. He theorizes that *al-Intisar* depended almost totally on Ibn al-Mutawwaj,⁵¹ and whenever possible tried to improve a piece of information. Evidently, with a preconceived form of the study in mind, Ibn Duqmaq cut out unnecessary, inconsistent or untrustworthy details, supplemented his work with vital facts, dates, etc., and through his personal research made efforts to bring the history of the elements of the town's topography up to his own times.

Material useful for the study of the earliest period of al-Fustat is mostly contained in two early sections; that is to say, in the introduction relating the foundation of the town, and in the chapter on famous houses. Unfortunately, two cards of the manuscript are missing from the latter chapter, which may account for the lack of information on some important houses mentioned by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam. But on the other hand, we have here some information not to be found in other known sources. Additional early material is scattered throughout almost all the other chapters, especially those which describe different kinds of streets, famous places, hills, lakes, mosques and baths. However, since the primary task of the author was to describe the city in his own times, he neglected to discuss, for example, the quarters which were already abandoned and monuments and places unrelated to contemporary topography, although there are exceptions to this general rule. Apart from this there is a complete lack of any precise sense of geographical orientation in his work, but this is a common defect of all medieval source material. Dimensions, distances, and directions in reference to permanent landmarks are almost never mentioned, and this makes it extremely difficult or even impossible to locate most of the topographical elements to which Ibn Duqmaq refers.

Taqi ad-Din 'Ali al-Maqrizi is certainly the best known of all Egyptian medieval historians and one whose fame has spread far beyond the professional circles of orientologists and oriental scholars. His *Kitab al-Mawa'iz wa'l-I'tibar bi-Dhikr al-Khitat wa'l-A'har*, usually referred to simply as *al-Khitat*,⁵² is especially renowned and serves as the main reference work for the historical topography of Cairo and other Egyptian towns as well as for the country's institutions, social history, etc. The work is too well known to describe it in detail here.⁵³ The third part of it is devoted to al-Fustat and its suburb-cities, al-'Askar and al-Qata'i.⁵⁴ In addition to historical and topographical information it includes a summary of al-Kindi's history of governors from the Arab conquest to the foundation of al-

Qahira. The information on the early urban agglomeration of al-Fustat is not restricted, however, to this particular section. Much more is to be found in the geographical part, where the Nile, its bridge, the Canal and hills are treated; as well as in the sections on provincial towns, and especially in the section on al-Qahira and its history, famous monuments and surroundings. This is where we find information on al-Djiza, al-Qarafa, the Island of the Shipyard and Birkat al-Habash, important mosques, the general environs and many other details essential for our subject.

The sources that al-Maqrizi used approximate those of Ibn Duqmaq.⁵⁵ Both authors had access to the most important earlier works, which provided them with basic material. It seems, however, that each of them was looking for different things in the same sources. Ibn Duqmaq collected details about buildings and streets, and very little else was within the scope of his interest; on the other hand, al-Maqrizi was more interested in the town as a whole: its physical setting, territorial development, evolution and even social and hygienic conditions. For this material he utilized the accounts of al-Muqaddasi, Ibn Ridwan and Ibn Sa'id, which his older contemporaries had ignored. And here we return to the question of the relationship between *al-Khitat* and *al-Intisar*. Analyzing al-Fustat material in both works, one cannot help feeling that al-Maqrizi was well aware of the contents and form of his master's study, although he did not use it as his source. This might be due to the fact we pointed out above,⁵⁶ that it was incomplete and unpublished when al-Maqrizi wrote his main opus. One could also say (if it is possible to use such an expression with regard to the medieval method of scholarship) that he tried not to plagiarize his teacher's unpublished work, either out of loyalty or perhaps because of his high self-esteem and conviction that he too could create something original on the same subject (which in fact he did).⁵⁷

We have no means of proving our point without contemporary evidence, which we lack; but examination of the main part of *al-Khitat*, the one dealing with al-Qahira, seems to support it. The composition, arrangement of material and selection of subjects almost slavishly follow that of Ibn Duqmaq in his presentation of al-Fustat material in *al-Intisar*,⁵⁸ only the style is more vivid and the narration and details more interesting—but this is due to the differences of scholarly temperament in the two men. They also differ in the treatment of sources: al-Maqrizi is usually very careful to acknowledge authorship of quotations while Ibn Duqmaq, as stated above, largely neglected to do so.

For whatever reasons, al-Maqrizi did not limit himself in his narrative to the bare facts collected in earlier sources. He devoted considerable space to his own historical reconstructions, which were based on personal observations and probably also on oral information. But this tendency to attempt to give a full explanation for obscure historical phenomena led to the frequent use of his imagination. In this respect, *mu'atiz mu'andis*, we can compare him with Ibn Khaldun, though in a much more limited sense, in that he was restricted to the concrete subject of the topography and historical phenomena of one city. In a way, he had the mind of a modern man, but unfortunately lacked modern historical methodology and criticism.

In this respect his speculations and reconstructions, interesting as they might be, are often inconsistent with his own facts and are dangerous to follow without thorough checking against all available information. One of the best examples of this is his reconstruction of the course of the Nile within the town's boundaries at the time of the Arab conquest.⁵⁹ But still, such material should not be rejected *a priori* since it may be based on authentic and partially trustworthy historical tradition which is not preserved elsewhere. Still, the main value of his work for the study of the early periods rests with the meticulous transmission of information from sources which are long since lost and would otherwise have been totally inaccessible to modern science. Usually he quoted from them verbatim, and this can be verified in the instances where a given work has been preserved in its original form. Occasionally, however, he abridged the original text or replaced difficult or archaic words and expressions with more current ones. Only rarely did he evaluate or discuss the cited piece of information, though sometimes according to the usage of his times, he brought up two or more opposing views on one question. The author or title of a quoted source is normally given, although now and then he neglected to do so, even for long quotations, as for instance for an abridged account on the Tulunids taken from al-Kindi.⁶⁰ Other instances of carelessness, such as frequent citations from al-Quda'i using Ibn al-Mutawwaj as an intermediary for the original work, can be found. But on the whole, as we said, we can praise his care and exactitude.

The last work we must mention is the famous manual of secretarial composition known as *Subh al-A'sha fi Sina'a al-Insha* by Shihab ad-Din 'Ali ibn Ahmad al-Qalqashandi (died in A.D. 1418).⁶¹ A description of al-Fustat is included in the second Excursus on *Al-Masalik wa'l-Mamalik*.⁶² Comparatively short, it nevertheless includes some original information which supplements our other sources and allows for verification, especially of citations from al-Quda'i, al-Qalqashandi's main source of information on early al-Fustat.

Archaeological Sources

From the standpoint of archaeological research the site of al-Fustat was perhaps luckier than most other Egyptian mediaeval towns. For a long time it was a sad rule that whenever mediaeval remains overlay ancient sites and stood in the way of archaeologists looking for pharaonic remains they were recklessly removed with no record at all. With al-Fustat, this was not the case. The site did not promise to yield anything ancient and consequently was left alone. But because of its proximity to the capital and its suburb, Old Cairo, it has served since the abandonment of most of its quarters in the late eleventh century as a source of valuable building material, then as an enormous dump, as the location of industrial installations which were disagreeable in an urban environment, and for squatters. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it became an inexhaustible source of *sibakh*, a precious agricultural fertilizer, and at the same time, with the growing interest in objects of Islamic art, the domain of treasure

hunters.⁶³ In practice, the activities of treasure hunters, *sabbakhin*, and extractors of building materials were often combined. This large-scale exploitation not only did inestimable damage to the actual remains of the medieval city but also disturbed the stratigraphy and destroyed the archaeological context, so that much of the historical evidence is totally lost or beyond reconstruction. With this state of affairs, the large-scale systematic work commenced in 1912 by the Museum of Arab Art and directed by 'Ali Bahgat could not but be welcomed. He organized the *sabbakhin*, put them under the supervision of specially appointed guards, and through their industry unearthed an important portion of the town (about twelve hectares), and made a number of large soundings in different parts of the site. As the result of twelve years of excavation,⁶⁴ thousands of objects, some of them of considerable value, were saved for the Museum, and a report was published.⁶⁵ His method of excavation obviously did not allow for precise chronological differentiation of architectural remains, nor did it permit the dating of objects by archaeological methods.⁶⁶ Therefore, for the present study it can only be used tentatively, as a source of comparative material which must be interpreted on the basis of subsequent scientific research.

Baghat's excavation ended around 1924. In subsequent decades many other, although much smaller, excavations were undertaken in various parts of the site, but few have been published⁶⁷ and their results are therefore mostly unknown. In most cases, however, the unearthed portions of the town remain uncovered and are open for examination, and can serve as comparative material.

For a new large-scale scientific excavation, the site of al-Fustat had to wait another forty years. Excavation began in 1964 as a kind of emergency project to investigate areas destined by Cairo's town planners for modern construction. The work was carried out by a large scientific staff with modern equipment, trained archaeological workmen brought in from Upper Egypt, and the cooperation of various experts.⁶⁸ So far, about three hectares (in two sectors) of the town have been uncovered.

During the 1960s and 1970s archaeological research was also undertaken by various missions of the Egyptian Antiquities Department, in the course of which a considerable area was cleared and investigated by means of soundings.⁶⁹

One of the archaeological characteristics of the eastern part of al-Fustat, at least in the sections so far investigated, is that, wherever possible, foundation walls were laid directly on bedrock. This applies both to the earliest buildings as well as to others which were subsequently built in the same place. This practice, in addition to the disturbance of the archaeological stratification and context by generations of diggers mentioned above, accounts for the scarcity of remains datable to the first century of the Islamic era. Nevertheless, meticulous investigation of the rare undisturbed and stratified portions of the preserved fills, particularly of streets and under pavements within houses, led to the discovery of layers datable to the early period of the town's existence. Also, certain fragments of the sewage system and even some remains of actual houses could be dated back to Umayyad times. The results of this scientifically conducted excavation are derived from only a small part of the site, but given their similarity to other

portions of the town previously excavated, they can safely be applied to all of them; that is to say, to almost twenty hectares of urban area. Such a considerable portion of the town certainly allows for valid generalizations.

Archaeological material from the western part of the town inclusive of its pre-Islamic nucleus, the fortress of Babylon or Qasr ash-Sham', has a different character. Here the occupation was practically uninterrupted throughout the medieval period and modern times, and this has made any systematic archaeological research impracticable. The only extensive works conducted so far were recent excavations undertaken within and around the Mosque of 'Amr on the occasion of its last reconstruction. These results, of utmost importance for Islamic archaeology, are unfortunately unpublished and the material inaccessible. The same applies to other occasional works within this quarter or to random excavations. Thus, the only archaeological information for Old Cairo comes from the author's own observations.

The material on Qasr ash-Sham' is a little better. Although no scientific archaeological excavations were ever conducted in this quarter, some random work has been done and described, and, what is more important, the preserved architectural monuments have been investigated and recorded.⁷⁰

2. The Geography of the Site

The area of old al-Fustat has undergone considerable transformation in the more than thirteen centuries since the town's establishment. The changes differed in character and so did their causes and their chronology. Not all of them can be scientifically defined and proven today. However, a reconstruction of the main physiological features of the area from the period of the Arab conquest is desirable, because the relief and physical conditions of the area in which the town was founded influenced its subsequent development in a fundamental way (as is the case with every urban agglomeration). Obviously, in studies of this kind the present state of the site in question must be accepted as the starting point. In general, the historical sources only rarely provide information which is applicable for topographical purposes. This is also true in our case and therefore these sources are of secondary value. The more useful archaeological data are unfortunately very fragmentary; moreover, in the majority of cases they are chronologically uncertain. In addition, they are restricted to a relatively small part of the whole area in which we are interested; namely, to the area which has been scientifically investigated. That is why the basic information comes from geographical works, some geological studies, and cartographic data, as well as from the author's own observations made in the field between 1964 and 1978.

The area of the town proper is situated on the eastern bank of the Nile, just outside the Delta, whose southern border it defines. On the west bank the suburb of al-Djiza (Gizeh) with its adjoining plain and the islands in the Nile are more like a continuation of the Delta in a southerly direction.

The 31° N. latitude runs through the town. The approximate distance from the Mediterranean in a straight line is no more than 175 kilometres. It is enough, however, to intercept a considerable portion of the rain from the north. The long-term average rainfall is slightly less than thirty millimetres annually. Rain falls only during the winter months and normally there are only seven rainy days a year.

The temperature in January averages about 12° C and in July a little below 28° C. Because of the wide range of temperatures within twenty-four hours, both the night cold in winter and the heat in summer are sometimes strongly felt. But the low temperatures in winter usually do not last very long, while the summer heat is mitigated by relatively cold nights and refreshing northern winds. In the spring hot southern winds, the so-called *khamסים*, often turn into sand-storms and are very trying. However, on the whole the climate is fairly regular, the

weather stable, and cataclysms such as hurricanes, so frequent in other regions, are exceptional. Until the High Dam was built, a more immediate source of unexpected disaster was the Nile and its annual flood. Although the fluctuation of the water level was fairly regular (with its minimum in the spring, beginning to rise about the twentieth of June, and its maximum at the end of September, with the normal fluctuation in the water level of between 6 and 7.5 metres) it departed occasionally from this norm: either the flood did not reach a level which would adequately irrigate the fields and ensure sufficient crops, or there were excessive floods, submerging the country under water and causing destruction within the town as well. However, the damage caused by these floods, no matter how destructive, cannot be compared with that resulting from a low Nile and the subsequent bad crops. The situation was particularly severe when there were two or more years of low Niles (a not uncommon phenomenon), since food reserves were soon exhausted and famine spread throughout the country. In the big cities these conditions were usually accompanied by epidemics and unrest, resulting in political and economic chaos with far-reaching, long-term effects.

Although climatic factors and the Nile, coupled with the activity of man, had the greatest influence on the environment and resulted in most of the changes in the physiography of the area, one should not disregard tectonic movements, which were of some significance as well. Earthquakes, though not as frequent in this area as in other regions of the Mediterranean Basin, took place occasionally and resulted in considerable damage. Unfortunately, we have scant information about them and not all have been noted by the sources. Information for the early Islamic period particularly is lacking¹. However, on the basis of later data, we can assume that earthquakes seriously affecting the town occurred at least once a century.

The area relevant to our study is enclosed between the Nile and the steep scarps of al-Muqattam overlooking the town on its eastern side². The northern boundary can be delimited by a hypothetical line drawn between the westernmost spur of al-Muqattam, which in later times was occupied by the Citadel, and the Nile somewhere near the present-day Midan Sayyida Zaynab. To the south the area of the town reached the depression of Birkat al-Habash, which is equivalent to the plain belonging today to al-Basatin village and extending up to al-Ma'adi.

The greater part of the territory was occupied by a rocky plateau of varying height, which in the period under discussion was most probably barren and covered with loose blocks of stone, the residue of erosion. Only a relatively narrow belt close to the Nile was alluvial plain and could be used for cultivation. These two parts were clearly distinguished in medieval times, and according to their main physiographic features had different names. The one near the Nile was called 'Amal Asfal, and the other 'Amal Fauq, designations which can be translated approximately as "the Lowland" and "the Highland," respectively.³ These two areas housed the main part of the town of al-Fustat proper. There were suburbs situated outside this area, which, although they were directly connected with al-Fustat and inseparable components of the urban agglomeration, were also geographically distinctive regions, and as such they will

be discussed later. Another reason for this distinction is that the main physical features of the suburbs underwent far less significant transformation in the course of time than the area of al-Fustat proper.

'Amal Asfal

This narrow strip of lowland directly bordering on the Nile actually constitutes part of the valley floor which continues to the south for thousands of kilometres between the barren eastern desert and the river, and gradually expands into the broad plains of the eastern Delta in the north. The valley floor within the town varied considerably in width. Generally speaking, it was much wider in the north than in the south, where the plateau forming its eastern border was higher and descended steeply to the Nile. With the exception of some higher hills, in the north the plateau descended very gently towards the plain and was more distant from the river. But on the whole, some thirteen centuries ago the lowland was considerably less extensive than it is now, the Nile having receded several hundred metres to the west since that time. Also, its aspect differed from the present in many respects. First of all it was considerably lower than now and therefore far more sharply contrasted with the adjacent highland. Its rise and the resulting levelling of the town's contours was due to a twofold action of nature and man. The first is a phenomenon common to the whole floor of the Nile Valley, especially its lower sections, and results from the gradual sedimentation of alluvia. As the whole valley floor is rising, the river bed is also rising at a rate comparable with the elevation of the river banks by sedimentation and so, consequently, is the water level. According to our estimates, the valley in the neighbourhood of Cairo rose between one and one and a half metres during the last thirteen centuries.⁴ In the city itself, though, the rise in ground level through human action was much more important. This process, common to almost all ancient settlements, is the result of the accumulation of occupational layers, and these piled up especially fast in low and wet places near the Nile because of more intensive commercial and industrial activity. Observation in various places, mainly in the central part of 'Amal Asfal, indicates that the ground has risen between two and eight metres since Byzantine times, due in part to alluvial sedimentation, especially in originally lower places.⁵ The rise in ground level also resulted in the widening of the area of 'Amal Asfal as it encroached on the lower parts of the rocky edge of 'Amal Fauq. It goes without saying that the accumulation of occupational deposits and alluvia resulted in the disappearance of minor natural and artificial undulations of the ground. This process of levelling of the uneven earth surface is well-known both to archaeologists and geologists. Thus, what is nowadays almost a flat area might not have been so thirteen centuries earlier. Unfortunately, without special research, soundings, excavation and stratigraphic examination, one cannot precisely determine the original state of the area. Moreover, within 'Amal Asfal it would be almost impossible to carry out extensive archaeological research, since the area has been densely settled in modern times. Nevertheless,

'Amal Asfal

incidental observations and references in the medieval sources provide a number of useful indications. On the whole it appears that the area was comparatively level, although not devoid of some depressions and elevations. It was also quite low as compared with 'Amal Fauq. It has been suggested that this lowland was regularly flooded by the annual flood of the Nile,⁶ but this does not seem likely. Probably most of the area was just above the reach of the normal flood. Additionally it may have been protected by an artificially constructed embankment.⁷

There were a number of small ponds there such as Birkat Shata,⁸ Birkat Rumays,⁹ and others whose names have not been preserved,¹⁰ that probably dried up when the level of the Nile was low, and one large lake at the northern outskirts of the town, known later as Birkat Qarun.¹¹ During the flood some places were marshy.¹² These muddy depressions and ponds were evidently remnants of the river's meanderings which long ago had been separated from the main current. In the course of time they tended to disappear and today there is no trace of them. Likewise, the remains of the old navigation canal known earlier under the name of Amnis Trajanus,¹³ the moat which once protected Babylon,¹⁴ and a canal in the southern part of 'Amal Asfal which used to drain water from Birkat al-Habash, have all disappeared. This canal, known from later medieval sources as Khaliqj Bani Wail,¹⁵ in all probability also predated the conquest.

On the other hand, there is no written evidence of the existence of natural or artificial elevations. Three of them are indicated by archaeological observations, however incomplete and incidental they may be. The existence of some others, such as low tells which were the remains of pre- or early-historical settlements, are probable but cannot be proved, and they would have been totally absorbed in the increasing layers of river mud and town debris.

One elevation was the original site of the Mosque of 'Amr. It would certainly be logical to assume that the mosque of the principal town quarter was built on an eminence high enough to be safe from the flood. That it was really so can be inferred from observations of the mosque's environs.¹⁶ The elevation was based on a hump of solid bedrock, long in shape but not exceeding three hundred metres in length. It was probably a geological formation similar to Kaum al-Djarith (Kom al-Garh), which still exists, although much disfigured by recent earthworks.¹⁷ But the elevation on which the Mosque of 'Amr was built was considerably lower, not more than three or at most four metres above the surrounding plain.

Babylon was probably built on an analogous low elevation with a slight depression in the northeastern part. However, it is not known for certain if the base of this elevation is also formed of bedrock. The foundations of the powerful and heavy ramparts would be more solid and resistant if set on solid rock instead of soft alluvia impregnated with water, and such a bedding may have been the reason for the choice of this particular location for erecting the fortress. Be that as it may, it seems certain that on the eve of the Arabs' settlement in the area the ground level inside the fortress was considerably higher than that outside.¹⁸ Setting aside speculation about unproven geological formations, this could have

been caused by uninterrupted occupation within the enclosure for several centuries prior to the conquest, which inevitably resulted in the accumulation of several metres of occupational debris. As the area outside the fortress was subject to much less intensive occupation, the accumulation was slower there, although some extra growth must be allowed for the sedimentation of Nile deposits. The evaluation of the levels in absolute terms is very difficult; however, it seems reasonable to assume that the difference in level amounted to three metres, a very rough estimate.

Physical conditions in the region of 'Amal Asfal (although not perfect because of soil humidity), and its location in proximity to the Nile and along the main lines of communication, made it the most favourable area for settlement. This area was certainly further improved during the early periods of the Arab occupation; many of its natural depressions were filled in and the area rapidly rose and was protected against the annual flood. This process not only increased the area available for settlement, but also resulted in a more intensive occupation; the area eventually became the most densely populated, filthy, and unhealthy quarter of al-Fustat, whose hygienic conditions were deplored even in the Middle Ages.¹⁹ This was, however, a later development, with which we are not concerned here.

'Amal Fauq

This vast area includes all the rocky plateau east of the Nile valley and west of the Muqattam cliffs. In theory there should be excluded from this area some low spots located in several places between the rocky uplands. In fact, the denomination, which implies that the area was considerably more elevated in comparison to 'Amal Asfal, should not be taken literally, as the area includes several depressions, old *wadis* or natural cavities, whose level were no higher than the valley itself. The whole area can be divided into a number of sub-regions, such as: 1) the vast area bordering 'Amal Asfal from the east and consisting of two high hills and undulating rocky ground slightly higher to the east and cut through by broad low-lying valleys; 2) the upland of al-Qarafa as-Sughra, almost flat nowadays, stretching east of the former; and 3) the wide massif of al-Qarafa al-Kubra immediately south of it.

The first sub-region, which in early medieval times accounted for as much as about two-thirds of the densely built-up urban area on the east bank, is today additionally divided into two parts by a modern highway known as Shari' Salah Salim. The road runs almost perpendicularly from the Nile, passes Kaum al-Djarih on its north, continues to the point where the wall of Salah ad-Din meets the aqueduct of Sultan an-Nasir, then proceeds in a northeasterly direction along the wall towards the Citadel; which it encircles on the east side. Although the division of this area by the road is totally artificial, it is convenient for the sake of description. This sub-region was simply referred to as al-Kharab in later medieval works, a denomination which we can adopt as well in the absence of anything better.²⁰

The Northern Area of al-Kharab

The reconstruction of the original physical features of this large area, which at the time of the town's foundation constituted its whole northeastern part (about one-fourth of the territory taken for the settlement), is a most difficult problem. It was probably never totally abandoned, because of its relative proximity to Fatimid Cairo; furthermore, parts of it (such as the so-called site of Tilul Zaynham) were for centuries used by inhabitants of the nearby quarters as a convenient dumping ground for waste. Accumulation of rubbish and refuse from the city resulted in the formation of huge hills comparable to those called Qat' al-Mar'a situated north of the Citadel, or to the Montes Testacei in Rome.

The highest of these hills once reached the height of seventy-one metres above sea level, but recently the region underwent considerable change and levelling and was gradually occupied by public parks and modern buildings. This, of course, completely erased any possible remains of the older contours. The region extending farther south underwent even more drastic transformation. Part of it, the quarter called Sayyida Nafisa, adjacent to the cemetery of the same name, had been levelled and built over as early as the first quarter of this century. Then, in the 1950s and early 1960s, a large area of some fifteen hectares, situated at the bifurcation of Shari' Salah Salem and the Aqueduct of an-Nasir, was levelled and built over with blocks of low-cost flats. This new district is called Abu as-Su'ud. Thus, all this area, once cut by one of the most important and stable arteries of the medieval town (the Suq al-A'zam, connecting the Mosque of Ibn Tulun and the urban district surrounding it with the Mosque of 'Amr), is completely unavailable for systematic examination, and the details of its original contours are beyond reconstruction. Recently even the rubble heaps and ruins in the vicinity of the interesting architectural complex discovered in the 1930s, and mistakenly considered to be the remnants of al-'Askar, which are located between the Mosque of Abu as-Su'ud and Shari' Salim Zarifa, have been built over.²¹ The same has happened to the large area directly north of Shari' Salah Salim, east of the archaeological concession of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) called Fustat B.²²

One can only presume that the whole area to the north was once a big lowland bay, probably a plain slightly oriented towards the Nile and enclosing most of the area between the only two natural elevations appearing in this area—namely, the Kaum al-Djarih and Djabal Yashkur—and from the east limited by the elevations of the northern part of the Smaller Qarafa. The eastern edge of this area, in the place where the Aqueduct meets Salah ad-Din's wall twenty-one hundred metres from the bank of the Nile, is as much as thirty-three metres above sea level, a difference of eight metres in relation to the level of the present roads close to the Nile. On the north west, beyond Djabal Yashkur, the area is lower and is a continuation geographically of the Delta, which lies between the Nile and the already non-existent Khalidj and extends over the region of the large lakes once called Birkat Qarun and Birkat al-Fil, which have now disappeared. The area now comprises parts of the districts of Sayyida Zainab and

(to the east) al-Manshiya.

In ancient times the whole area was dominated by Djabal Yashkur, an eminence already mentioned, where in A.D. 879, Ahmad ibn Tulun built his famous mosque. This rocky hill, geologically the western prolongation of the Muqattam spur on which the Citadel was built in the Ayyubid period, overlooked the plain and the Nile (which at the time of the conquest flowed close to the foot of the hill). Its western slope must have descended to the valley fairly steeply; the difference in level between the summit of the Djabal and the floor of the valley was in the range of forty to fifty metres, and it must have been a conspicuous landmark in the city's landscape.

The Southern Area of al-Kharab

The east central part of the old town extends today south of Shari' Salah Salim for about one and a half kilometres up to the new road connecting Old Cairo with Imam al-Laith and 'Ain as-Sira.²³ This part of the town has been much less affected by modern town planning and therefore, at least in theory, its original physiography can be reconstructed better, despite the extensive quarrying of building stone in many parts of the area in the past. With the exception of its western fringes on the border of Old Cairo and recent building along Shari' Salah Salim, the area is still uninhabited and presents the vista of a vast field of waste, heaps of debris, ruins and the huge cavities of former quarries, extending for almost three hundred hectares. The only major contemporary feature affecting the area in the northern part of this region (between the above-mentioned highway and the depression and the excavations of the old quarries near 'Ain as-Sira and Batn al-Baqara) is a huge garbage dump. This dump is more than ten metres thick and covers an area of more than ten hectares, filling up the cavities left by the old quarries and natural depressions, but also obscuring still-unexplored areas of ruins. Between the rubbish dump and the mosque of Abu as-Su'ud there are now a number of new constructions erected in recent years, and several hectares have been levelled and prepared for a project of low-cost housing. Several streets have been laid out and other general preparations made.²⁴ South of this are areas excavated by the Department of Antiquities.²⁵

In the last ten years the area on the southern slope of Kaum al-Djarih has been greatly affected as well. This is the only natural eminence in this part of the old town, reaching a height of over forty metres above sea level. Large masses of rock have been removed from both sides of the road leading from the north eastern corner of the old Jewish cemetery to the west. These rocky massifs must have been in some places over five metres high, which indicates that Kaum al-Djarih extended much farther south and south west than it does now. The levelling of the ground and erecting of new buildings here and there can be observed all along the border in the built-over districts of Old Cairo. For the moment, building here is still sporadic, but one can expect that it will increase once the more advantageous areas are filled up. Unfortunately, the spontaneous

activity of the population has so far seldom been successfully restrained by administrative sanctions and the protest of archaeological authorities, and now it is seconded by more official actions.

Roughly half-way between Kaum al-Djarih and the rocky plateau where the ruins of the part of the town unearthed by 'Ali Bahgat²⁶ (the area was then called Halqum al-Djamil) are located, is a long natural valley which once probably opened onto the Nile somewhere in the vicinity of Qasr ash-Sham'. It seems probable that in the bottom of this valley the Amnis Trajanus was once dug out.²⁷

The valley extends to the north east and ends about two and a half kilometres from the Nile in a depression at the foot of the elevation known as Tilul 'Ain as-Sira. Before the High Dam was built, the valley was for the most part of the year dry, but is now swamp; small ponds and some vegetation appear, destroying vestiges of the medieval city. It is not possible today to determine if the valley spread farther to the north east. Big quarries north of the 'Ain as-Sira hills, which were still used until recent times and which also cut Salah ad-Din's wall at this point, and the modern rubbish dump mentioned above disfigured irreversibly this part of the old town.

The outline of the borders of the valley, even where it can still be distinguished in the terrain, disappeared under the heaps of rubble which amassed there in the late Middle Ages. However, it seems that its western part took on the form of a wide sunken basin. In its lowest part, near the old Jewish cemetery, there were until recently three ponds, largely due to water seepage from the Nile. It is significant that the valley was used in the latter part of the tenth century for building an aqueduct-pipeline, which was discovered in the area of the ARCE excavation.²⁸ Its continuation has been located, about one kilometre farther to the north east, by a team from the Egyptian Antiquities Department.²⁹ At the same time, this discovery proves the inclination of the valley in a north easterly direction. This, of course, allows for a conclusion that the depression is natural and not the product of contemporary stone quarrying like many other depressions in the area of the old town. Simultaneously, it provides evidence that the territory of 'Amal Fauq was not a uniform rocky plateau rising towards the slopes of al-Muqattam but had very pronounced natural contours. The differences in level of up to twenty metres were by no means exceptional, adding to the variety of the town but also causing additional technical problems for the architects.

East of the lowest part of the depression discussed above is a series of elevations ranging in height from fifteen to twenty metres, the aforementioned Tilul 'Ain as-Sira. These are the highest hills in this east-central part of the town, even higher than the Smaller Qarafa situated farther to the east (today a big necropolis and a residential district named after the well known Imam ash-Shafi's mausoleum). In their present state it is not easy to determine to what extent the hills are natural formations and to what extent they were formed by layers of the rubbish dump of a late medieval date. The fact that some of the artificial hills were of considerable height was proved by the ARCE excavations in 1971.³⁰ A hill ten metres high was dug up and the whole of it down to the very foot was formed of layers of rubbish amassed in the period from the twelfth to the

fifteenth century. In the case of Tilul 'Ain as-Sira this seems only partly true. The solid rock visible in the lower parts of the exposed profile is quite thick and indicates that differences of ten metres in level in the bedrock were not rare in that part of town.³¹ This is even truer in the south eastern part of the hills, where, between the deserted quarry and the mausoleum of Ibn Tabataba, there is a depression in the rocky ground which is occupied by a lake and a hot mineral spring after which the whole district gets its name, 'Ain as-Sira.³² West of that region the hilly area and the gentle slope of Great Qarafa is now covered with excavations of old quarries. These are continued a few hundred metres farther west by analogous stone pits in Batn al-Baqara, which stretches almost to the wall of Salah ad-Din. The old quarries disturbed the original relief of the surface in the south eastern part of the area of al-Kharab considerably. The unexploited parts of the rock allow one, however, to reconstruct approximately the original appearance of the ground surface here. It was a rocky plateau dropping steeply in some places, and in others sloping gently towards the north and north west from an average height of thirty metres above sea level below the ridge of al-Qarafa al-Kubra down to about eighteen to twenty metres in the depression of 'Ain as-Sira, and in the valley north west of 'Ain as-Sira rising again to a height of forty metres above sea level on the Kaum al-Djarih summit. In general, the area was naturally rugged, both as the result of erosion and tectonic movement and from the activity of man, who drew the stone he needed from the most easily exploited places. As urban development progressed, however, the activity of man had an opposite effect and led to a levelling of the area. All the small depressions were quickly filled in with organic and inorganic sediments. Sediments do not settle as easily on elevations, especially if the basement soil is laid on bed-rock. They are constantly removed by man and wind or washed away by occasional rains, and very often such places show bare rock even after many years of sedimentation.

Kaum al-Djarih, mentioned above, was a large rocky massif dropping steeply towards the alluvial valley on the north west, while its other slopes were long and gentle. Considering the fact that the urban area situated below rose, and assuming that the top of the hill remained the same or was even slightly levelled to make it more suitable for building, we can assume that at the time of the town's foundation it dominated the neighboring valley by as much as twenty-five metres, and was a prominent land-mark in the northern part of town. The only other nearby elevation was Djabal Yashkur, more than one and a half kilometres due north.

Al-Qarafa al-Kubra

The steeply sloping western part, which descends to the Nile valley south of the present day Misr al-Qadima, is usually called Istabile 'Antar after a huge unexplored ruin there. In the later Middle Ages it was called ar-Rasad after al-Hakim's astronomical observatory which was erected there, and still earlier it was known as ash-Sharaf or al-Djurf. On the map in the *Description de l'Egypte*³³ it is

designated "Hauteurs de St. George." The eastern part, crossed by Ibn Tulun's aqueduct, is normally called Qanatir Ibn Tulun. Finally, the central part is called Sab'a Banat because of a group of middle-Fatimid mausoleums preserved there. Some other names, derived chiefly from quarries operating until recent times and still occasionally used, have only limited local application.

The massif of al-Qarafa al-Kubra, as mentioned above, descends steeply to the flats of the Nile Valley, which it dominates by about thirty metres. Since the valley is considerably broader now than in the early Islamic period, it is evident that the slope at the time of the Arab settlement was much closer to the river. It was also steeper and more prominent, as the valley was lower at that time. The situation in the south was similar, where the slope is also steep and conspicuously dominates the depression of al-Basatin (once filled during the high Nile by the waters of Birkat al-Habash).

The situation is different in the east. The massif descends very gently in the direction of al-Muqattam, where at its lowest point Ibn Tulun built his aqueduct (the present elevation is thirty-one metres above sea level there). Farther on, the ground rises once more, to end at the al-Muqattam cliffs beyond the cemeteries of at-Tunsi and the village of al-Basatin.

The parts just described, and in particular the centre of the plateau, did not undergo serious transformation during the last thirteen centuries except for some changes in elevation and a progressive levelling. The contour of these quarters was more pronounced formerly than it is now. Some ruggedness has disappeared and a large amount of debris has accumulated, especially in sunken places; but on the whole the physical aspect of the region has remained the same. The northern confines of al-Qarafa al-Kubra, in the neighbourhood of the present-day highway going from Old Cairo to al-Imam ash-Shafi'i quarter, referred to above, have been more disfigured. Today almost the whole slope for more than two kilometres between Kaum (Kom) Ghurab and al-Imam al-Laith cemetery is honeycombed with the enormous cavities of disused quarries (some of them more than twenty metres deep and sharply cut), which make access from the north difficult. But observation of sections of these rocky walls and remains of the original surface, in some places still visible from the road, allow us to conclude that here again the transition from the low ground in the north to the upland of al-Qarafa al-Kubra was originally gradual and, although in some places the terrain rose quite steeply, it was everywhere fit for building.

Summing up, one can conclude that the area occupied in the early Arab period by the town and its suburban settlements was very diversified in its natural contours, soils and the level of the water table. Apart from the high rocky plateaus and hilltops, which were completely barren and dry, there was the humid alluvial plain, with rich vegetation and marshy depressions as well as cavities with natural hot springs which may have fed some halophytes. The surface of the rock was strewn with calcareous rubble and larger blocks,³⁴ the effects of erosion, similar to the top of al-Muqattam today.³⁵ In the depressions the soil was mostly alluvial mud and in dry *wadis* was probably composed of sand and gravel.

As differences in elevation only exceptionally exceeded twenty metres, there was no serious difficulty in delimiting town quarters and tracing out the street network within the town. About a quarter of the total area lies close to the Nile; namely, 'Amal Asfal. Mostly low and within the reach of the Nile flood, it included some valleys which were below the level of the high Nile and which were periodically filled by ground water, especially in years of high Niles. The margins of this area were marked out by a few higher elevations which dominated the neighbourhood. From the east, the natural boundary of the town was formed by elevations occupied in the course of the centuries by the vast necropolis of al-Qarafa as-Saghira. They were sparsely inhabited. Farther to the east the sheer slopes of al-Muqattam provided a natural defensive wall. Although the slopes have been exploited throughout the ages as a source of stone, which has altered their appearance, they must always have been very inhospitable and inaccessible. Only a small area on the northern side opened out onto the Delta plain, and when the lakes in this region dried up it was completely open to attack or could be used for transport. Also easily accessible was the narrow southern passage up the Nile Valley.

East Bank Environs

Except for the barren area of al-Muqattam, the massif to the east of the urban site (with its quasi-horizontal terraces and steps at different altitudes and a maximum height of 210 metres above sea level), the area to the north and south is flat, fertile alluvial plain.

Immediately south of the town site, overlooked by the heights of the present-day al-Qarafa al-Kubra, there was a large hollow depression called in the Arab sources Birkat al-Habash. Slightly sunken in the middle, its floor today is about nineteen metres above sea level and at the time of the conquest must have been about two metres lower. Being much below the highest point of the Nile flood, it was annually submerged, forming an extensive, shallow lake. In winter and early summer, when the water subsided, the area was one of the most fertile ones in the neighborhood of al-Fustat. The depression extends for about five kilometres along the Nile up to present-day al-Ma'adi and covers about a thousand hectares. The gentle slopes bordering on it on the east and north east were covered with orchards and semi-rural dwellings and there were probably other villages farther south.

South of this depression the Nile valley again narrows but with a few wider bays of agricultural land, such as the one near Tura and another near Hulwan. The latter bay, although some twenty kilometres distant, was still within easy reach of the capital and could be regarded as belonging to its orbit. Here for the first time in Islamic history a satellite residence town, Hulwan, was founded by 'Abd al-'Aziz, thus starting a custom which was to be repeated countless times by later rulers in various regions of the Islamic world.

To the north of the capital, flat agricultural lands were practically unlimited. The urban territory merged there into the vast expanses of the eastern Delta without any sharp dividing line. Resort homes, orchards and fields belonging to the city dwellers, if not from the very founding, certainly from a fairly early date, were mixed with typical rural estates, and these in addition to numerous villages or small towns must have occupied the eastern border of the Delta outside the reach of the annual flood or on some natural or artificial elevations within the flood plain. One of the most important of these was Umm Dunain, identified with the Byzantine stronghold of Tandunias, a place commemorated by the battle between the armies of 'Amr and the Byzantines. It was situated about three kilometres north of al-Fustat, probably in the neighbourhood of the present-day Midan Bab al-Hadid, on the Nile, which at that time flowed some two kilometres east of its present course at this point.

Another very important agricultural region north east of al-Fustat was 'Ain Shams, ancient Heliopolis. Conveniently linked with the capital by an old canal as well as by the Khalidj Amir al-Mu'minin, which was restored in the second year of Arab domination, it certainly supplied a great proportion of the city's agricultural products.

On the whole, these regions to the north (except for obvious changes resulting from intensive occupation in the last hundred years) have not changed their physical appearance. The immense plains remained the same; only water courses were altered.

The Nile

Attempts to reconstruct the physiography of the area under discussion would not be complete without considering the course of the Nile within the town. The river, no doubt the most important of all natural factors influencing the life of the town and its development, also played a significant role in its geography, and all changes in the course of the river were reflected in town planning activities.

The course of the Nile within the urban area of al-Fustat has undergone considerable change since the foundation of the town. This is certain and can be proven without difficulty from the written sources. The result of these changes was a gradual withdrawal of the river to the west. Their extent and chronology, however, are somewhat obscure, as the sources often disagree on particular details; moreover, they do not always coincide with data drawn from a study of the historical geography of the area.

The main source of information for the history of the Nile in Islamic times has been *al-Khitat*, whose author, al-Maqrizi, is the only known historical writer who tried to give a full account of changes in the river's course. The most significant passage on the subject reads: "At the time of the conquest of Misr all lands from Manshat al-Mahrani to Birkat al-Habash, along and from the bank of the Nile at Mawrada al-Halfa, the place opposite al-Djami' al-Djadid, to Suq al-Ma'aridj and what is in this direction down to the places opposite al-Mashhad ar-

Ra's, which is called ... today Zayn al-'Abidin—all this was the river. And nothing was between the Fortress, al-Djami' and what was in front of them to al-Hamra ad-Dunya, to which belongs now Khitt Qanair ad-Siba', and between Djazirat Misr, which is known today as ar-Roda, but water of the Nile."³⁶ This statement, supplemented with a few details also mostly drawn from al-Maqrizi's work, has been accepted by modern scholarship and is the basis of today's views on the medieval course of the Nile within the town.³⁷

The source of al-Maqrizi's account was most probably fragmentary and not very reliable information taken from earlier authors, as well as a vernacular tradition evidently still very much alive in his time. Both must have been quite imprecise chronologically and topographically, and require considerable analysis to make proper use of them. Obviously the author could not resist the temptation of devising a comprehensive theory on the subject, and to achieve this objective he combined the data mentioned above with his own views, which were based among other things on the correct observation of the Nile sediments within the town.³⁸ Unfortunately, when formulating his own opinions he overlooked, or even intentionally omitted, facts known to him which would contradict his theory. The same mistake was made by those modern scholars who took his words too literally. Consequently, many modern reconstructions are open to criticism and revision, especially those which were published in the form of plans.³⁹ However, since we are concerned here with the earliest period of Arab domination, only a fragmentary discussion is possible.

As a starting point let us examine the evidence for the position of the river bank in the central quarter of the town. There is a generally accepted opinion that the Mosque of 'Amr was erected on the bank of the Nile. The source of this questionable assumption is among others al-Maqrizi's account.⁴⁰ However, analysis of the information provided by the earliest sources, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam and Al-Kindi, does not support this opinion. On the contrary, the early sources seem to imply that the Mosque stood a considerable distance from the river. The earliest tradition related by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam says that the mosque was surrounded with gardens and vineyards.⁴¹ The word *hauila* used in this context implies that the mosque was surrounded by them on all sides, including the Nile side, and this in turn requires a certain distance. There is also other, more convincing evidence. At the time of the land allotment to the Arab settlers, when the town was established, there was enough space between the Mosque of 'Amr and the river both for an old ablution place, al-Midat, and for a road which seems to have been the most important transport route in al-Fustat (which implies a certain width), as well as for houses.⁴² First of all there was the Dar as-Silsila, a residence which 'Amr built for the Banu Sahm when they came to al-Fustat.⁴³ Also in the direction of the Nile Kharija ibn Hudhafa built a house for himself.⁴⁴ Most probably facing onto the road mentioned above. He was an official of high rank, the deputy governor of Egypt for military affairs and security, and we can easily imagine that as such he was allotted a considerably larger portion of land. This is also supported by the fact that his son received a substantial amount of money (ten thousand dinars) for his house from the later governor of Egypt 'Abd

al-'Aziz ibn Marwan.⁴⁵

The house of Kharija was probably included in the famous palace called Dar al-Mudhahhaba (the Gilded House), which 'Abd al-'Aziz built there in the year A.D. 686/87 (A.H. 67). It stood at the Suq al-Hammam west of the Mosque of 'Amr. The palace became an official residence of the Marwanid branch of the Umayyads in Egypt and must have been an imposing architectural complex. Its popular name, al-Madina (The City), by which it was known in contemporary sources,⁴⁶ gives certain indications as to its size. But even the palace complex did not take all the ground between the mosque and the Nile. Enough was left over for the same ruler to enlarge the mosque on all sides.⁴⁷

A comparable picture results from a study of the topography of the area around the mosque. As this will be discussed in detail later, let us only mention here that at the time of the conquest the Nile flowed close to the western side of Babylon, whose walls and huge drum towers protected the harbour and boat bridge located at the River Gate.⁴⁸ Another fixed point farther north is provided by the monastic complex known today as Abu as-Sayfayn. The first reference to one of the churches belonging now to the monastery, the church of Saint Mary, comes only from about the year A.D. 786/87 (A.H. 170), when it was destroyed by the order of the governor, 'Ali ibn Sulayman al-'Abbasi,⁴⁹ but the context of the reference gives the impression that this church had been built in the first or second generation after the Prophet, that is to say not later than the end of the seventh century. Therefore we can ascribe with all confidence the foundation of the adjoining church of Abu Shenuda and probably also that of Saint Mercurios to the pre-Islamic period. They stood then on the bank of the Nile, which later receded from them.⁵⁰

If we accept this as the state of affairs at the time of the foundation of al-Fustat, we can draw a straight line between these two pre-Islamic structures and the line would give us the hypothetical eastern bank of the river. If this reasoning is correct, the original mosque would have been erected not less than 350 metres from the river bank. This distance, compared with that of about one kilometre in al-Maqrizi's time, may account for his insistence on the proximity (relative, one can say) of the Mosque of 'Amr to the Nile at the time of the conquest.

The church of Abu Mina provides another fixed point which allows one to trace the eastern bank of the Nile farther north; that is, in the area of the later quarter of al-Hamra al-Wusta. This church was rebuilt several times and its foundations were still preserved in the nineteenth century⁵¹ and served as a basis for its reconstruction; therefore, we can fix its position within the town's topography with precision.

The first mention of the church of Abu Mina dates from the year A.D. 735 (A.H. 117), when the governor al-Walid ar-Rifa'a gave the Christians permission to build it.⁵² This resulted in serious disturbances in the city and the fighting, allegedly under a Yamani immigrant, al-Wuhayb, took quite a violent turn.⁵³ This contradicts to some degree Abu Salih's⁵⁴ and al-Maqrizi's assertion⁵⁵ that the church was restored (*uhdirat*), since normally only the building of entirely new churches caused violent protests by the Muslim public, while restorations were

usually tolerated. This, however, is of little consequence for our purpose here, since even if the church did not date to pre-Islamic times it fixes the course of the Nile for the very early period. Incidentally, there was an ancient tomb in the territory of the shrine in Abu Salih's times, in the place where the eucharistic bread was baked.⁵⁶ If in this context the word 'ancient' means pre-Islamic, we can push the dates back a few hundred years.⁵⁷ Anyway, there is no reason to draw the line of the river bank in this region as far east as the shrine of Zain al-'Abidin, which is precisely what al-Maqrizi and his modern followers did. Zain al-'Abidin, built in the ninth century, is situated roughly three hundred metres east of Abu Mina, and admitting for the sake of argument that al-Maqrizi was right, it would mean that this land was exposed by the receding river in less than a hundred years. This does not tally with at least three facts. First, the area of al-Hamra was well settled before this church was built (or rebuilt) in A.D. 735, which would hardly be possible if this area were freshly reclaimed. Second, we know from another example from roughly the same period that the new land exposed by the receding river was regarded as state property and was at the disposal of the Caliph. Third, it is hardly possible that not only the permission but also the land to build the church would be given to the Christians at the same time. The only known instance of such an occurrence concerns 'Amr's order and land outside the urban area.⁵⁸

The distance between Abu as-Sayfayn and Abu Mina is about one and a half kilometres. Unfortunately, there is no landmark which would allow us to fix precisely the shoreline in between; but since no natural obstacles are present, we can be reasonably certain that it was a roughly straight line. Today's street of Abu as-Sayfayn and its continuation to the north, called Shari' ad-Diyur, in all probability mark approximately the Nile bank in the first century of the Hijra. The changes in the course of the Nile north of Abu Mina were much more important, but they are also more difficult to establish. Two points only can be fixed with a reasonable degree of precision. These are the position of al-Maks-Umm Dunayn, a settlement on the river bank, which can be located in the neighbourhood of the present-day Midan Bab al-Hadid thanks to Salah ad-Din's wall and some information from written sources,⁵⁹ and al-Qantara of 'Abd al-'Aziz on the Canal.⁶⁰ Al-Qantara was certainly not far from the mouth of the Canal, near the late thirteenth century Qanatir as-Siba', nor was it far west of the present-day Mosque of Sayyida Zaynab.⁶¹ Taking into account the location of these two points, we can establish the most likely conjectural eastern shoreline of the Nile. It would have to run north-north-east from Abu Mina to the point where Shari' an-Nasriyya once reached the Canal, and then along this street and almost northward by al-Luk, roughly along the modern street of Muhammad Bey Farid and 'Imad ad-Din to Bab al-Hadid. Of course, in the flat, low terrain beyond Djabal Yashkur, where no natural elevations were present, even considerable deviations in the allegedly straight shoreline were possible, and local changes over the centuries are likely.

The course of the Nile underwent relatively fewer changes south of Babylon. In most places the border of the area was composed of natural escarpments up to

thirty metres above the floor of the valley, which were an efficient barrier against the flood waters and prevented them from interfering drastically with the shoreline. The tendency of the river to recede in a westerly direction, predominant in the early Middle Ages, could be observed already in the time of 'Abd al-'Aziz,⁶² but in the southern quarters of the urban area it was restricted to a gain of only about three hundred, exceptionally four hundred, metres of new land. The Nile receded this much in the region of al-Wa'il, west of the plateau of al-Qarafa al-Kubra. More important modifications may have occurred in the region of Birkat al-Habash, but since the area was very low and inundated by the flood waters every year, they could hardly have been of much duration. On the whole, the river bank and generally the course of the Nile was determined here by the relief of the eastern side of the valley. The heights of Tura to the south of the Birkat al-Habash basin and ash-Sharaf north of it prevented any major deviations of the river to the east, and since the depression of Birkat al-Habash (whose north-south length is only about five kilometres) is not large enough to allow the formation of any permanent meanders, the river's course must have been relatively stable here and approximately straight, notwithstanding ephemeral local changes.

Al-Djazira

A permanent feature in the Nile's topography which influenced its course to a considerable degree was al-Djazira (the Island), the predecessor of the present day ar-Roda (or ar-Rauda in classical Arabic), as it has been called since the twelfth century.⁶³ It was situated in the middle of the river, roughly in the same place as today; that is, opposite Babylon and the central quarters of al-Fustat. It has been suggested, however, that at the time of the conquest it extended farther south and was shorter on its northern side.⁶⁴ Although probable, this assumption is nevertheless unprovable since no irrefutable evidence can be found to support it. A possible indication might be sought in the history of the Nilometer which is located there. The first one was built by Usama ibn Zayd in the year A.D. 715 (A.H. 97)⁶⁵ and was later destroyed by a flood and replaced in A.D. 861/62 by another one⁶⁶ which still stands and functions today. The southern end of al-Djazira was the most likely place to install the first Nilometer, as was also the case with the later one, and its destruction may mean a change in the island's length. On the other hand, the survival of the present Nilometer for eleven centuries indicates the remarkable stability of the island's contours at the south end.

The extension of al-Djazira and its shore to the north were probably less stable. What we know about the history of al-Djazira in later times suggests this too. But the assumption advocated by Rhuvon Guest that it was much shorter at the time of the foundation of al-Fustat is contradicted by an interesting reference given by al-Maqrizi and taken from *Kitab al-Mawali*, the lost work of al-Kindi.⁶⁷ It says that al-Djazira could be seen from Dar al-Fil, the residence of a certain Abu Ghanim, *mawla* of Maslama ibn Mukhallad and for a time *wali* of the said al-Djazira under 'Abd al-'Aziz. Considering the respective positions of al-Djazira

and Birkat Qarun, on whose shore the residence was located, it is clear that it certainly could not be seen from there unless it extended northward almost as far as it does today. Since, however, the eastern bank of the Nile in the northern part of the urban area deviated from its present course by at least one kilometre, it is also likely that the northern end of al-Djazira curved considerably to the east.

The Western Channel of the Nile

According to tradition the main stream of the Nile in the early Islamic period was on the eastern side of al-Djazira, contrary to the present state, but it seems also that both branches were of roughly equal width even if the western one was shallower and tended to dry up at low Nile.⁶⁸ Judging from the distance from the walls of Babylon to the Nilometer, the width of the eastern branch was about 350 metres, and such must have been the western one; today they are eighty and six hundred metres, respectively.

About the al-Djiza branch of the Nile even less information has been preserved. We can only be certain that it ran much farther to the east. Probably as much as the river-bed lost in the east, it gained in the west. We have some general information proving this process; for instance, that concerning the church of Saint Peter, which once stood on the very edge of the river with its foundations in the water, but which later disappeared, washed away together with the ground it stood on.⁶⁹ But the exact shoreline is beyond reconstruction. Still more complicated was the situation to the north, where as late as the twelfth century the village of al-Bulaq (which since early Mamluk times has served as the main port for Cairo and was linked with it by road) was located on the western bank.

This shifting of the bed of the Nile westwards already appears in the early Islamic period. It is possible that such tendencies existed even earlier, and founding a large populous town such as al-Fustat in this area only aggravated these tendencies. The existence of an extremely busy port on the eastern bank not only protected the shoreline from the flow of the river, but may even have prompted the shift of the main current of the river westwards as well. Hundreds of anchored ships and boats, the building of even rudimentary embankments and quays for mooring, loading and unloading goods, and the accumulation of layers of port debris near the shore, which made the river shallower, certainly affected the river current, and consequently the sedimentation of mud. Another factor, even more important, no doubt, was the dumping into the river of the town's rubbish, both ordinary litter and all types of inorganic refuse as well as industrial byproducts in large quantities from the production of ceramics, glass, and building materials. This process of polluting the shore takes place in all periods and in all towns where the river or the sea provide a handy dump, even if it is actively opposed by efficient municipal authorities, and in al-Fustat such sanitary conditions were obviously not very active. We know that the disorder and poor sanitary conditions irritated even the contemporary authors. The accounts of al-Muqaddasi⁷⁰ and Ibn Ridwan⁷¹ both deal with this matter, and the latter one

expressly deplores the practice. Naturally, running water was an effective purifying agent, but only for light organic materials. All heavier inorganic particles settled at the river's edge and in the course of time rose together with the river mud and formed a new bank. This process (certainly unintentional and combined with natural forces) may be regarded as advantageous for the city, for it resulted in a significant growth of the habitable area. The process seems to have begun very early in the Islamic period, as we know that there was already construction going on west of Qasr ash-Sham' in the time of 'Abd al-'Aziz and Bishr ibn Marwan; that is, before the end of the first century of al-Hidjra.⁷²

The first important change in the course of the river, which uncovered a vast area adjacent to al-Fustat, took place just before A.D. 725, under the rule of the governor al-Hurr ibn Yusuf. The area exposed was between the fortress and the bridge, and a covered market (*al-qaysariya*) was built there in A.D. 726 by order of the Caliph Hisham.⁷³ Ground was also gained in the area south of the bridge, between the lands of the Banu Wa'il and the Nile. It was distributed among the people.⁷⁴ The process continued for over two centuries and eventually resulted in the complete silting up of the eastern arm of the Nile between al-Fustat and ar-Roda in A.D. 947, so that the channel had to be cleaned in order to provide water for the inhabitants.⁷⁵ But this does not concern us here.

The Western Bank

The west-bank suburb al-Djiza and its environs were located on a vast alluvial plain extending to the west for about eight kilometres to the hills of al-Mina and the borders of the desert in the neighbourhood of the Pyramids. Broad plains extend for a considerable distance in both directions, north and south, making it the largest agricultural area in the vicinity of the capital. Its geomorphology, except for changes caused by human industry and the action of the Nile, remains generally the same today as it was when the suburb was founded. The ground level, of course, has risen several metres as a result of the sedimentation of the Nile mud, and probably the network of canals for irrigation and drainage has been modified and augmented.

The whole region, since time immemorial, must have been one of the richest and most populous in the country. At the time of the conquest, Memphis, situated some fifteen kilometres south of al-Djiza, must still have been a considerable town, and several smaller ones have also been recorded, as well as a number of villages. But al-Djiza soon became dominant and overshadowed the others. Abu Salih speaks of thirty churches and a large number of monasteries⁷⁶ in the region, which bear witness to the density of population and its well-being.

The area of al-Djiza, thanks to its advantageous location just across the river from the main city quarters, and the ease of communication either by water or the bridge to al-Djazira and Babylon, made it the most important rural district on which the new town depended for its food supply and agricultural raw materials, and as such largely contributed to its future development. In turn, the capital provided a convenient market for the district's products.

even clearly states that it is the fortress (*al-hisn*) which exists in Fustat Misr today.¹² In another place the statement is almost equally explicit: "Amr laid siege to the fortress (*al-qasr*) which was then called Babylon (Babiyun)."¹³ As the authorities for this information Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam quotes 'Ubayd Allah ibn Abi Dja'far, Ayyad ibn 'Abbas and other informants quoting 'Uthman ibn Salih on the authority of Ibn Labi'a. Thus, it seems certain that at the turn of the seventh century there was a common opinion in al-Fustat that the fortified quarter existing in the town's centre, generally known as *al-qasr* or *al-hisn*, was identical with the old Babylon. The awareness of this fact can also be observed later when that district was generally called Qasr ash-Sham'. The best evidence for it is the above quotation of al-Mas'udi, who calls the fortress Qasr ash-Sham' Babilun.¹⁴ That point of view was preserved throughout the Middle Ages and appears both in Abu Salih's work¹⁵ and in that of the usually well informed and scrupulous Yaqt.¹⁶ It was only al-Quda'i's information which resulted in al-Maqrizi's doubts. Al-Quda'i refers to the remnants of a stone castle situated outside the town of al-Fustat, on the edge of the elevation called ash-Sharaf, as Qasr Babilun. On the strength of this statement al-Maqrizi declared that, contrary to what Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam said in his book, Qasr ash-Sham' and Qasr Bab al-Yun could not be the same thing because the former is located inside al-Fustat and the latter outside it.¹⁷

The problem of the identity of Babylon and Qasr ash-Sham' has been broadly dealt with by M. Herz.¹⁸ In discussion with P. Casanova, who denied the identity of the two strongholds,¹⁹ he convincingly proved his point. We will not go back to the arguments of Herz, since the evidence of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, based on information going back to the first generation of Arab settlers, leaves no room for doubt. Still, there is another problem to be solved, namely, whether apart from the Babylon fortress there existed any other town in the area of al-Fustat at the time of the conquest. Most scholars dealing with the problem believe that there was.²⁰ The opinion is on one hand based on the testimony of the ancient writers, who indicate quite explicitly the existence of a large town in the neighbourhood of the later al-Fustat and, on the other hand, on the late Arab authors such as Ibn Duqmaq²¹ and al-Maqrizi.²² However, the ancient information is not necessarily applicable to the period of the conquest, and the references in the late medieval sources usually cannot be traced to any reliable origin. In fact, they depend on some obscure local legends.²³ Of all early traditions, it is only al-Baladhuri who calls Babylon, to which he gives the name al-Yuna (without the first component, which he must have considered a common noun, *bab* or gate), a town.²⁴ However, from the text it cannot be inferred that the expression "Town al-Yuna" refers to the same fortress or another settlement outside it.

The evidence of John of Nikiu²⁵ had been considered as the strongest proof for the existence of the pre-Arab town in the area of the later al-Fustat until this hypothesis was successfully questioned by Else Reitemeyer.²⁶ Even if we reject her proposals of the amelioration of the Ethiopic text, one cannot disagree with the supposition that the name Misr (Mesr) was introduced into the Ethiopic text by the Arab translator in the period when it was already generally used for denoting

3. The Pre-Islamic Settlements

The undeniable advantages of the site on which the Arab capital was founded were particularly significant for the new masters of Egypt, but they were also well known and appreciated by their predecessors. The whole region on the border between Upper and Lower Egypt shows evidence of intensive town settlement from ancient times, and al-Fustat was in a way a continuation of the process under altered political conditions. The ancient settlements do not concern us here, but the problem of urban centres in this area in the period directly preceding the establishment of the Arab encampment, their location, character, and territorial extent deserve more meticulous study. This is important not only for purely historical reasons, but also because the previous settlements must have had a great influence on the structure and topography of the Arab town.

This question has been examined previously by such scholars as Butler,² Herz,³ Cactani,⁴ Reitemeyer⁵ and others,⁶ but because the sources do not agree on the subject, their conclusions are not unanimous. One fact is, however, unquestionable: the existence of the Byzantine fortress situated on the Nile, close to the central district of al-Fustat. This fortress was preserved more or less untouched throughout the Middle Ages and its remnants have survived to the present as a quarter in Old Cairo, sometimes obscurely called Qasr ash-Sham'.⁷ Many attempts were made even in the Middle Ages to explain the name, which must have been used by the Arabs quite early, but a satisfactory answer has not yet been found.⁸ Judging from references to it in the work of al-Mas'udi, *Kitab at-Tanbih*, already by the middle of the tenth century the name was generally used when referring to the fortress.⁹ There are indications that it was also current much earlier, although evidence for this is not conclusive.¹⁰

Qasr ash-Sham' is generally held to be identical with the Babylon often mentioned by the early Islamic historical tradition as the main stronghold which resisted the Arabs in the district of the future al-Fustat. The topography of the site and the analysis of the earlier source material leave little doubt of this.

In Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's work the fortress invested by the Arabs, and the focal point of his lengthy narrative of the siege, was usually called simply *al-qasr* or *al-hisn* (castle, fortress) without a more precise reference. Babylon is expressly mentioned only a few times,¹¹ but it seems that in reusing the older tradition of the conquest the author had no doubt that Babylon, *al-qasr* and *al-hisn* were three different names for the same stronghold. In one case, after quoting al-Laith ibn Sa'd's information that the fortress called Babylon was built by the Persians, he

the agglomeration of al-Fustat.²⁷ Anachronisms of this type are not rare. We come across them also in the Arabic texts: for instance, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam states in one passage of his work that al-Muqaqis, on hearing about the Arab invasion of Egypt, went to al-Fustat.²⁸ What our author had in mind as al-Fustat was no doubt the place which was called this in his time—not in al-Muqaqis'. Similarly, al-Baladhuri says that when 'Amr arrived in Egypt accompanied by his army the inhabitants of al-Fustat entrenched themselves with a moat.²⁹ In reality, there is not one mention of the existence of a town (Babylon or any other) as opposed to the fortress Babylon in the text of John of Nikiu. The same conclusion can be drawn on the basis of a careful analysis of the early Arab sources. A similar observation was made by L. Caetani,³⁰ according to whom the existence of any town outside the walls of Babylon was improbable.

The information passed on by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, which is the most substantial and reliable of all, since it was taken directly from the early indigenous historical tradition, leaves no room for doubt that it concerns the fortress Babylon and some mythical town outside its walls. The same can be maintained about the two references in al-Ya'qubi³¹ and al-Baladhuri.³² That Babylon (Alyuna) was called a town (*madina*) by the latter author may mean that he wishes to stress its urban character and not that he has made a mistake through lack of information about the African part of the campaigns, as Reitemeyer implies.³³

Within its walls—with its numerous churches, its civilian Coptic population (mentioned by the sources), its granaries and markets, and the harbour at the River Gate—Babylon must have had a very distinct urban character. The Arabs must have been well aware of that too. Therefore we should rather seek an explanation for why the early sources, both Muslim-Arab and Christian, firmly ascribe a military function to it, which is implied by terms like *al-hisn* and *al-qasr*, and why it was referred to as a town only a few times.

In order to solve this problem we shall try to reconstruct what Babylon was like at the time of the conquest. The information on the subject in the written sources is insufficient and ambiguous. Under the circumstances we have to look to archaeological material, for its analysis may help us to reach some conclusion. It may also help us answer the basic question of whether there had existed any other town apart from the fortress Babylon in the area of al-Fustat. Unfortunately, in spite of a large number of excavations carried out within the fortress at different times, especially during the construction work, the data are generally inaccurate or simply uncertain, mainly because of the lack of reliable records. Field-work was usually carried on without any scientific archaeological supervision; no reports were published.³⁴

In fact, there are only a few works of scientific value on our subject. They are S. Toy's 1937 analysis of the fragments of military architecture which have survived;³⁵ the study undertaken a little later by U. Monneret de Villard;³⁶ and most important, the pioneering research of A. Butler,³⁷ which was carried out at the time when the contemporary construction and the destructive activity of man had not as yet erased the remnants of the original defences surrounding the town on the east and north. It is thanks to Butler that we possess the complete plan of

the fortifications of Babylon.³⁸ Completed by the studies of Toy and by the pieces of more recent information, it enables us to draw at least approximate conclusions essential for our argument.

Butler's plan shows the extension of the defensive walls, bastions and other fortifications as it was possible to reconstruct them in the middle of the nineteenth century: it represents undoubtedly the last phase of construction. On the basis of certain wall remnants outside the enclosure, it can be presumed that at some earlier period its shape was more regular and that the walls stretched at least 180 metres farther to the north east. The latter observation is supported by Mahmud Ahmad. He states that his personal investigations, carried out in 1925, showed that the distance between the Mosque of 'Amr and the fortress did not exceed one hundred metres.³⁹ This implies that the fragments of the Roman defensive wall were found at that distance from the Mosque. Since the regular Byzantine wall enclosing the fortress from the north (which was still well preserved in Butler's time) was about 720 metres from the mosque, it seems that the fragments observed by Butler and the remains found by Mahmud Ahmad one hundred metres from the mosque belonged to the same northern wall of a bigger fortress of an earlier date. The fortress extended farther not only in a northerly direction but presumably also almost 120 metres to the west. As there can be little doubt that the original enclosure was rectangular in shape, there must have been a right-angle corner there. Of course, it would mean that at this early date the Nile flowed more to the west, possibly not far from its present course. At some unknown date, but prior to the reign of Trajan, to whom many fragments of the existing western line of fortifications were dated, the Nile moved to the east, destroying the hypothetical western corner. If this hypothesis is correct, it would explain the peculiar shape and perhaps the orientation of the fortress as recorded by Butler.⁴⁰

When Trajan rebuilt the fortress⁴¹ and erected the new oblique western wall alongside the Nile, it was reinforced with two huge drum towers built inside the enclosure. In later times they flanked the River Gate and perhaps helped to anchor the bridge of boats which connected the fortress with al-Djazira and the other bank of the Nile. These puzzling constructions, to the best of our knowledge unique in the whole of Roman military architecture, and especially their situation and intervening distance (which exceeds fifteen metres) can only be explained by another hypothesis: that they originally defended the entrance of the Canal. It seems reasonable that Trajan, the author of the reconstruction of Babylon and the renewal of the Canal which for centuries preserved his name, combined both ventures. Claudius Ptolemy, who wrote not very long after the time of Trajan, says that the Canal crossed Babylon,⁴² which seems to support this theory. The architectural analysis of the drum towers corroborates this to a certain extent too. Their internal construction, based on the system of radial, spoke-like walls, which according to Toy made the whole construction extremely resistant,⁴³ seems to have been intended to withstand water pressure rather than the attack of siege-engines, which would probably not be used on the side by the river and would hardly be expected from inside the town. Admitting that at a certain period the Canal crossed Babylon (not a mythical open city but a real and well documented

walled fortress town) one comes immediately to the question of whether it still existed at this location at the time of the Arab siege. At this point we shall not enter into lengthy arguments, because this problem will be discussed while dealing with Khalidj Amir al-Mu'minin.⁴⁵ Suffice it to state here that no written source at our disposal gives grounds for such an assumption. Evidently, in such a small town as Babylon, where land must have been very valuable, the disused and silted-up Canal would have been filled in and the area used for construction. Also the towers, completely reconstructed in the fourth or fifth century,⁴⁶ had been adapted to other needs⁴⁷ and the old mouth of the Canal sealed with a wall and provided with a strong gate known in later Arabic sources as the Bab al-Hadid.⁴⁸

The problem of the northern wall of the original larger enclosure of Babylon is more difficult. Was it really, as Mahmud Ahmad⁴⁹ seems to believe, only 100 metres from the site of the future Mosque of 'Amr at the time of the conquest? Or was the city's northern part cut away already in pre-Islamic times? In the latter case the northern wall, with two bastions at the corners, of the secondary phase recorded by Butler would have been the one the Arabs had met at the siege. On the contrary, if Mahmud Ahmad is right, that wall would have to have been built in Arab times.

Unfortunately, conclusive archaeological material is lacking, though Butler seems to have believed that all the walls which he recorded were approximately of the same period and certainly were constructed (or rather reconstructed) by the Byzantines. But by this time this secondary northern wall was almost totally destroyed and he had little chance to study it. Pococke, two hundred years earlier, had a much better opportunity. The wall was still preserved and provided with a gate, not unlike the southern one which still exists. Pococke's description does not imply any difference between particular walls, and it appears that they all were those of Nikopolis;⁵⁰ that is, Byzantine.

All this argues against Mahmud Ahmad's assumption and tallies with the general historical situation. It is unlikely that the Arabs would have allowed the Copts to erect a new defensive wall, a major military feature, in their quarter. Repairs, even total reconstructions, were permitted, but new building of not only religious but also military constructions was strongly resented by the populace. Consequently, Butler's wall had to be Byzantine, and the other one farther north, earlier still.

Apart from this it is also improbable that the Arab camp, in particular its vital part, the headquarters of the commander-in-chief (which all early traditions concerning the conquest invariably locate in the spot where later the mosque was built), could have been situated so close to the walls of the enemy stronghold; that is, within the reach not only of missiles from heavy siege engines but also of ordinary bows and arrows.

In view of the above considerations we can be reasonably sure that the walls reconstructed by Butler, whatever their original date, were basically the same as those which protected Babylon against the Arabs during the siege, that their essential layout remained unchanged throughout the Middle Ages, and that the remains discovered one hundred metres from the mosque belonged to older

defences which were already out of use by the time of the conquest.

The surrounding wall⁵¹ built of burned bricks was about 2.70 metres thick and twelve metres high from the ground to the walk at the top. The protecting parapet with crenellation would increase the height to about fourteen metres. The wall was strengthened by towers rectangular in shape and rounded into a semicircle at the outer end. They protruded about fourteen metres from the wall, affording considerable protection to the curtain wall in between. We see on Butler's plan ten such towers protecting *al-qasr* on the southern, northern and eastern sides. There were originally at least two more on the northern side, which flanked the gate. Possibly there were others, but no traces of them survived in Butler's time. There were no protruding towers on the western side; this wall, washed by the Nile, did not require extra protection. But as we have already said, inside the wall there were two extremely strong drum towers flanking both sides of the water gate. Built of stone blocks with bands of three regularly spaced layers of brick, they presented an impressive military feature. The walls of the drum towers, like those of the curtain wall, were 2.70 metres thick at the base and about one and a half metres thick at the top. The height of the towers was over sixteen metres without parapet and crenellation. They were four metres higher than the curtain walls. Opposite the western gate there was probably a boat bridge linking the fortress with the island in the middle of the Nile and with the western bank in the area known as al-Dijza. On the eastern end the bridge was protected by the fortress of Babylon, in particular by its two drum towers, and the other end was also protected by a fort. The island in the middle was walled too, both forts belonging to the formidable system of Babylon's fortifications. On both sides of the bridge, protected by the walls of the fortress and the towers, there was a harbour. Part of it probably extended as far as the southern gate. The southern gate, designed originally as a land gate, had been subsequently adapted as a water gate. The Nile was brought directly to its sill and part of its outside walk was turned into a quay.

Another gate analogous to the southern one existed probably also in the eastern wall.⁵² The whole structure was additionally protected by a ditch.⁵³ The ditch, evidently not cared for during peacetime and filled up with rubble, had been cleared on news of the Arabs' raid. It is possible that a part of an ancient bed of the Amnis Trajanus had been used for the ditch.⁵⁴

From the archaeological facts outlined above, it is clear that the external appearance of Babylon was that of an extremely strong fortress and its rather modest internal area (not exceeding five hectares) rather suggests the name 'fortress' or 'castle' than 'city.' In reality, however, it was a medium-size fortified town and not a purely military settlement.

Its area, and the number of religious buildings, which at this time amounted to some ten or more churches and monasteries,⁵⁵ suggests a fairly important civil population of several thousand souls. In addition to this there certainly was a permanent garrison there, probably stationed in the rampart bastions and drum towers, the latter very likely serving at the same time as a sort of keep. Twelve bastions (or more) with an inside lodging space of about 260 square metres each,

distributed between three floors, and two drum towers with lodging space on three floors of about 850 square metres each, provided at least 4800 square metres of lodging space and could have contained a fairly large garrison, perhaps a thousand men, which in case of emergency could easily have been doubled.

Was there another town outside the walls of Babylon-Qasr ash-Sham? As we have shown above, the sources give nothing positive in this respect. On the contrary, the mention of the ditch being dug around the fortress, several times repeated by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam,⁵⁶ and the total lack of information in the early sources concerning this mythical city indicate the opposite. L. Cactani, who probably examined the historical material more carefully than most of the other scholars dealing with the Arab conquest, came to the same negative conclusion.⁵⁷ For us an important additional argument against the theory of an *extra muros* town is of an archaeological nature: the remains of a larger enclosure point to some sort of crisis in the settlement at an earlier date. Since the size of the enclosure was certainly proportional to the number of inhabitants, the need to reduce it would mean that there were not enough people to dwell in it. And this was precisely the case with Babylon. Its past reduction does not tally with a large city outside the walls during the Arab siege. The remains recorded by Butler in the nineteenth century and Mahmud Ahmad some fifty years later must have been fairly well preserved thirteen centuries earlier; that is, at the time of the conquest. If they were not rebuilt to accommodate inhabitants of an unprotected city, it is because such a city did not exist.

On the other hand, we know, however, that there were many monasteries in the open country around Babylon and we can assume that there were also some farms. The low alluvial land, especially immediately north of the fortress, was fertile and cultivated. We know this from the well known tradition concerning the land owned by Qaysaba ibn Kulthum, which he granted for the future Mosque of 'Amr and which was occupied by gardens and vineyards.⁵⁸ Another tradition puts the original site of the Mosque of 'Amr in the garden ar-Rihan.⁵⁹ If there were cultivated lands, there were probably also country houses, if not actual villages nearby. Some of them may have been destroyed during the fighting but some others very likely survived. In fact, we seem to have an indication of this. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, quoting a very ancient tradition, says that 'Amr ibn al-'As allotted to the Caliph 'Umar a house (*dar*) near the Mosque al-Djami'.⁶⁰ It is significant that the tradition does not say that it was a *khiita* but a house, which may mean that it was actually standing there at the time of the conquest. There are some other places in the text of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam where there are references to houses being allotted to some individuals and not *khiitas*, as is normally the case; unless the expression is due to imprecise language and *dar* is substituted for *khiita*, which seems rather unlikely, the meaning would be just that.

Our arguments, we must stress here, concern the immediate vicinity of the fortress in the area on which the future city of al-Fustat would be built; certainly, a little farther away there were other settlements, villages or even towns. The existence of a rather important town, a main centre of a rich agricultural district, Heliopolis,—'Ain Shams, is known for certain.⁶¹ It is not possible to advance any

theories as to its real size but it may be supposed that its favorable geographical and economic position would account for a population equal to or greater than that of Babylon, whose position depended mostly on fiscal administration, commerce and military strength.

Somewhere not far away there was also Tandunias—a town and a castle commonly identified with the Arab Umm Dunain and al-Maks of later times⁶²—and certainly al-Djiza across the Nile,⁶³ not counting nearby settlements up-river.

Almost all modern historians maintain that apart from those settlements there was another large fortress on the top of the plateau to the south of Babylon, which is generally identified with the one referred to by Strabo.⁶⁴ Quite naturally both fortresses were often confused. As we know,⁶⁵ the confusion dates from the time of al-Qudai' and al-Maqrizi and certainly was helped by the fact that on top of the plateau there still exists a monastery called Dair Babilyun. Furthermore, there are also ruins of a large construction known locally as Istabl 'Antar, the Stables of 'Antar (undated and still unexplored), which were often taken for the remnants of this upper Babylon.

The evidence, except for that of Strabo, is by no means conclusive and even his cannot be used to prove reality some six hundred years later. The answer should be looked for in the archaeological record. Nevertheless, it may be assumed with confidence that in some place like the Sharaf eminence, commanding a view of a very large portion of the Nile Valley, there was a military establishment; a fort or at least a fortified watchtower, one in a chain of fortifications such as the forts at al-Djiza⁶⁶ and on the Nile Island,⁶⁷ of which Babylon was the central point. We could expect another post like that on the top of al-Muqattam. The Arabic sources record one such ruined stronghold called al-Qusayr, the Small Castle, which was somewhere on the summit of al-Muqattam plateau.⁶⁸ It should probably be distinguished from a group of Melkite monasteries situated on the top of the mountain ridge above Tura south of al-Fustat and also called al-Qusayr.⁶⁹ In a strategic place such as the mountainous ridge where the Ayyubid Citadel stands today, there might have been a fort too, but it is unlikely that there was another large *castrum* with a numerous garrison and civilian population near Babylon. The water supply would be inadequate and what could be done with the power of Rome—to supply permanently 150 prisoners of war to operate the hydraulic machinery⁷⁰—clearly could not be afforded by the Byzantines of Heraclius' time.

part of it a sort of aristocratic resort where only a lucky few possessed property. To have real estate on the island must have been very desirable, and the Muslims soon became the majority here; but for a long time it remained an important center of Coptic population as well.⁸⁶

In addition to being a military centre and leisure resort, the island played a significant role in the economic life of the town. Gardens produced fruits and vegetables, trees yielded timber for building and some firewood, and the Nile may have provided the livelihood of fishermen. There were also commercial establishments there, partially owned by the Caliphs;⁸⁷ but the main industry was certainly shipbuilding with its associated crafts, not all of which was military in character. On the whole, it seems that the island, predominantly a military stronghold in Byzantine times, was developing socially and economically into a regular town district. Indirect evidence for this may be the total abandonment of the Byzantine defences. Although already partially destroyed by 'Amr ibn al-'As, the defences had certainly been maintained and garrisoned in the early days of Arab rule.⁸⁸ But soon they disappeared, possibly dismantled or destroyed by the Nile, and were completely forgotten. Operation of the shipyard, the harbour for the warships and the necessary barracks for the crews must have given the island a different air as well as a special administrative status; but by the end of the Umayyad period, its basic functions were not drastically different from those of other quarters of the city.

Qasr ash-Sham' - Babylon

Investigating the early history of various districts, one invariably comes to the amazing phenomenon of Babylon. An alien body in the city's flesh, it retained its individuality and apparently its administrative separation for centuries, in spite of historical circumstances which should have induced if not justified opposite action by the authorities.⁸⁹ Its high walls and bastions, surrounded by the Muslim town on three sides over which it proudly towered, inevitably must have looked like a symbol of past Christian might.⁹⁰ It is true that at least in the earliest period there was a standing Arab garrison posted there,⁹¹ but certainly the Muslim population must have felt that the inhabitants of Babylon were in a far better position in case of an enemy attack. How was it that almost in the middle of the Muslim central quarter, which from the very beginning had suffered from a lack of unoccupied land, a large district with an alien population who, in the eyes of the Muslim majority, were devoid of legal rights, was tolerated? Why was no attempt made by the Muslims to dislodge them? Muslims do appear there in later times, but they were probably native converts. But before the conversion of the Christians gained momentum, which did not affect a tightly knit community like Babylon before the tenth century, there was not even a single mosque there.⁹² And for a long time, we hear of no Arab property within the walls.

Thus, the population was composed predominantly of Copts, although the presence of Melkite churches and a monastery, attested by later sources,⁹³ indicate

there was also a Greek Orthodox minority. There was also a small Jewish community associated with a synagogue of ancient date.⁹⁴

Numerous churches and two or three important monasteries attest to a large clergy and monastic community within the walls. But probably the most important and influential group of inhabitants was the secretarial caste, which was primarily occupied with the administration of taxes in specie and in kind and with the collection, storage and supervision of stocks, current correspondence, public works, etc. All this complicated bureaucratic machinery, which the Arabs in the beginning knew very little about and only gradually learned, was left entirely in the experienced hands of Coptic officials. And since the central administration was moved from Alexandria to al-Fustat, this group must have increased considerably. Quite soon, whether it was because Babylon became too small to house all these officials or because they were more comfortable in more spacious residences elsewhere, they began to move out into surrounding districts. There can be, however, little question that many remained, perhaps feeling safer behind its walls and in the midst of their own coherent community.

Besides the members of the central administration at all levels and its auxiliary employees, there must have been in Babylon the usual urban population engaged in various professions: handicrafts, commerce and services. They provided the surrounding Arab city with the necessary infrastructure and very soon expanded into other quarters, although close links were maintained not only with their Coptic kin but with the Arabs and their clients as well. Many of them certainly visited Babylon daily for various reasons and this contributed to the process of its integration with the rest of the town. For, in spite of its marked autonomy and the separation emphasized by its walls, it indubitably formed a part of one city.

Administratively, Babylon could not be regarded as a single unit. Each of its main communities—Coptic-Yacobite, Greek Orthodox and Jewish—were under their own jurisdictions. It is not entirely clear what was the role of the Arab official, the *sahib al-Qasr*, appointed for the first time when the bulk of the army moved off to invest Alexandria,⁹⁵ and probably maintained also in later times. Certainly, it was primarily a military post. The commander of the garrison had no administrative power over the civil population, so is not unlikely that the *sahib al-Qasr* was charged with maintaining order in public places among the civilian population and that he supervised the civil guards, tasks which later were taken over by commanders of the central *shurta* for the whole town. They, on behalf of the governors, probably supervised the conduct of the population in public; their duties in 'Abbasid times were taken by *muhatabs*. On the other hand, it is unlikely that Arab officials interfered with the economic life of alien communities unless it had a bearing on the fiscal interests of the state. Of course, conflicts with Muslims were tried by the *qadi*.

The equally important question of Babylon's physical aspect is even more difficult to answer. There is virtually no evidence regarding the internal arrangement of the quarter, its plan and architecture. Perhaps a plausible reconstruction could be worked out on the basis of analogous material from other

contemporary Egyptian Coptic sites, but this would be a purely theoretical undertaking.⁹⁶ We can be reasonably certain of a few points, however. Certainly in the first centuries of Arab rule, the quarter remained much the same as when it had been an independent Byzantine Coptic town: with its comparatively tall domestic architecture of two or three storeys, built of mud brick, narrow, relatively straight streets with main thoroughfares leading to the gates and crossing at right angles; and more ambitious public buildings, both religious and civil, built of baked brick or small, hewn blocks of stone but not particularly distinguishable from private residences because of their later Muslim counterparts, presenting to the street undecorated facades whose plain walls greatly contrasted with the usually rich interiors.

Besides the ordinary houses and a few more ambitious residences of local aristocrats and rich clergy, a considerable portion of the space available was covered with sacred constructions: churches and monasteries. There were also granaries, and we can also extrapolate state-owned textile factories and some administrative buildings. Baths, fairly popular since Roman times, were, because of the danger of fire, mostly built outside the walls. We know of two such establishments outside Babylon, apparently of pre-Islamic date.⁹⁷

The role of this quarter within the whole urban complex, regardless of its individuality, must have been enormous as a model of the urban way of life for the half-nomad original population of al-Fustat. It provided ready examples of houses and other architectural forms. What is possibly even more important, the population of Babylon, which survived intact and was not dispersed or alienated from its traditional social milieu (as were smaller social units that settled in predominantly Muslim quarters), served as a powerful force in transmitting the local civilization and cultural tradition.

The Necropolis

Although the necropolis at this early date was not yet a proper city quarter, it was undoubtedly an important element in al-Fustat's topography and played an important part in its development. The questions of its location, extent, division, and territorial evolution, and even its name (al-Qarafa), appear to be easy ones in light of its subsequent fame and frequent mention in sources, but for the early periods information is rather obscure and uncertain.

Later sources, most of them drawing from al-Qudā'i, call the necropolis al-Qarafa and derive the name from the alleged *khitta* of the Banu Qarafa, a clan of the important Yemenite tribe of al-Ma'afir.⁹⁸ There is, however, evidence which makes it difficult to accept this statement at face value. First of all, neither Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam nor other sources, which derive their early information from al-Qudā'i's work, mention this clan among the original settlers. One exception is Abu Salih, who probably quotes al-Kindi's lost work on the *khittas*.⁹⁹ But even he does not seem certain and gives an alternate explanation of the name Qarafa.¹⁰⁰ Also al-Maqrizi quotes a different opinion,¹⁰¹ and this suggests that there was no general agreement on the origin of the name.

Be that as it may, it is certainly improbable that the whole enormous area designated in later times as al-Qarafa could have been at the town's foundation the *khitta* of a single and certainly not very important clan, and it is even more improbable that there were two different *khittas* of this tribe, namely the Smaller and Greater Qarafa, as al-Maqrizi states.¹⁰²

If such were indeed the origin of the name, it must at first have been applied to a much smaller area, most probably the seat of al-Ma'afir, and only gradually have been applied to the whole necropolis. At any rate, it seems most unlikely that al-Qarafa was used as a collective name for the various parts of the Muslim burial grounds of al-Fustat before the tenth century. The first authors who used it with that meaning were al-Muqaddasi¹⁰³ and Ibn Hauqal,¹⁰⁴ in referring to the Djami' built there by the Fatimid princes. It is significant, in our opinion, that this name does not occur at all in the earliest Egyptian sources, including Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's and al-Kindi's *Kitab al-Wulat wa'l-Qudat*.¹⁰⁵

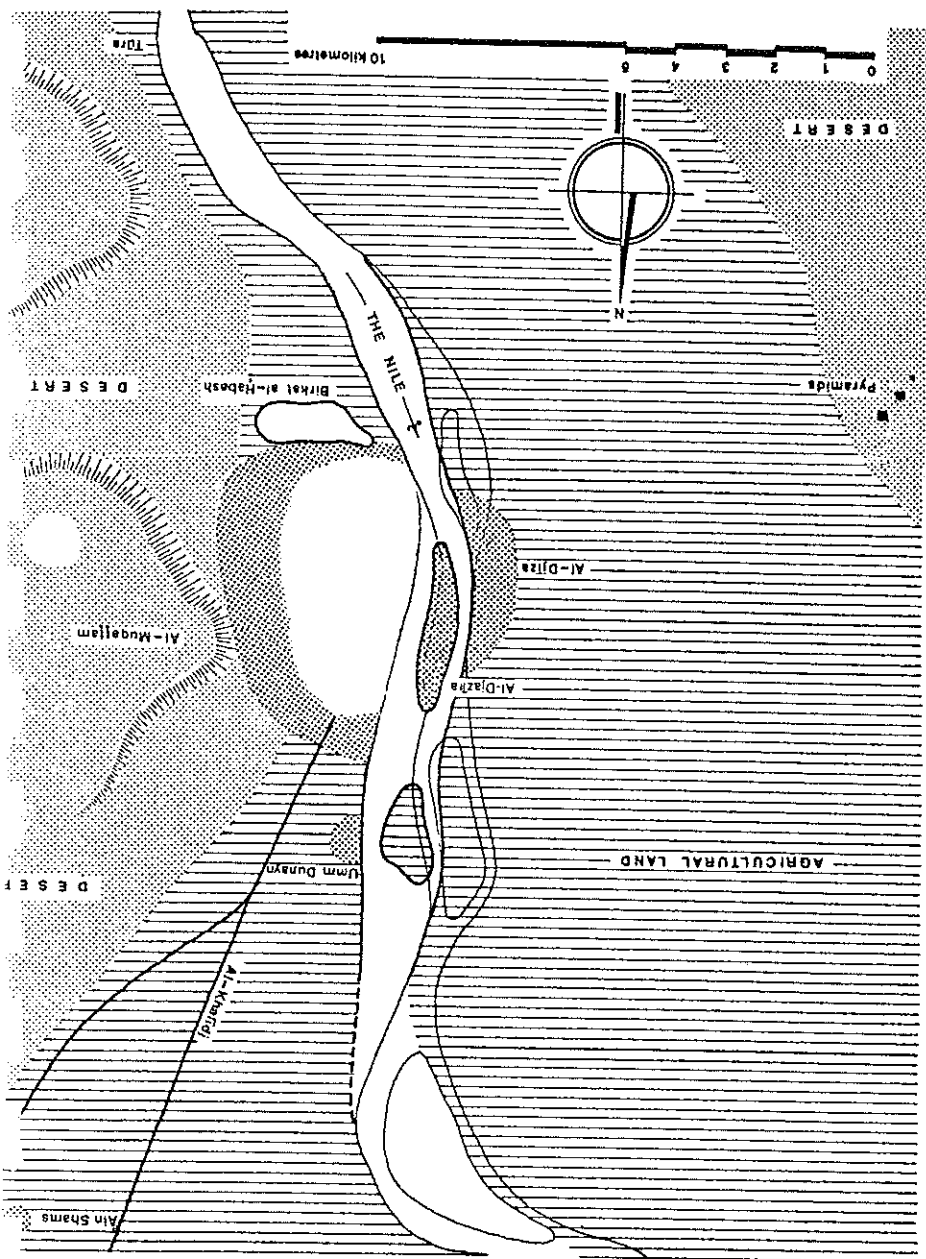
Later sources ascribe the name of al-Qarafa to two different areas. One of them was a vast area between the slopes of al-Muqattam and al-Fustat proper, extending from the Citadel hill south for about two and a half or three kilometres, and the second was located on the plateau east of ar-Rasad and north-east of Birkat al-Habash in the neighborhood of Ibn Tulun's aqueduct. The latter part was called al-Qarafa al-Kubra or al-Kabira, that is, Greater Qarafa; and the former part, north and south of the mausoleum of Imam ash-Shafi'i, was called al-Qarafa as-Sughra or as-Saghira, that is, Lesser Qarafa.¹⁰⁶ Also in early times, if we are to believe the tradition transmitted by al-Maqrizi,¹⁰⁷ there were two burial grounds for al-Fustat: one between the Mosque of al-Fath and the foot of al-Muqattam, which evidently gave rise to al-Qarafa as-Sughra; and the other between Musalla Khawlan and Khitta al-Ma'afir, which formed the nucleus of al-Qarafa al-Kubra. Unfortunately, we cannot precisely locate either of these places.¹⁰⁸

From our incomplete evidence, it appears that the Arabs in the early period were on the whole not very particular about where they buried their dead; but in al-Fustat the custom prevailed of carrying them outside the settled area,¹⁰⁹ which was contrary to the usage in al-Kufa, for instance, where tribes had their burial grounds within their *khittas*.¹¹⁰

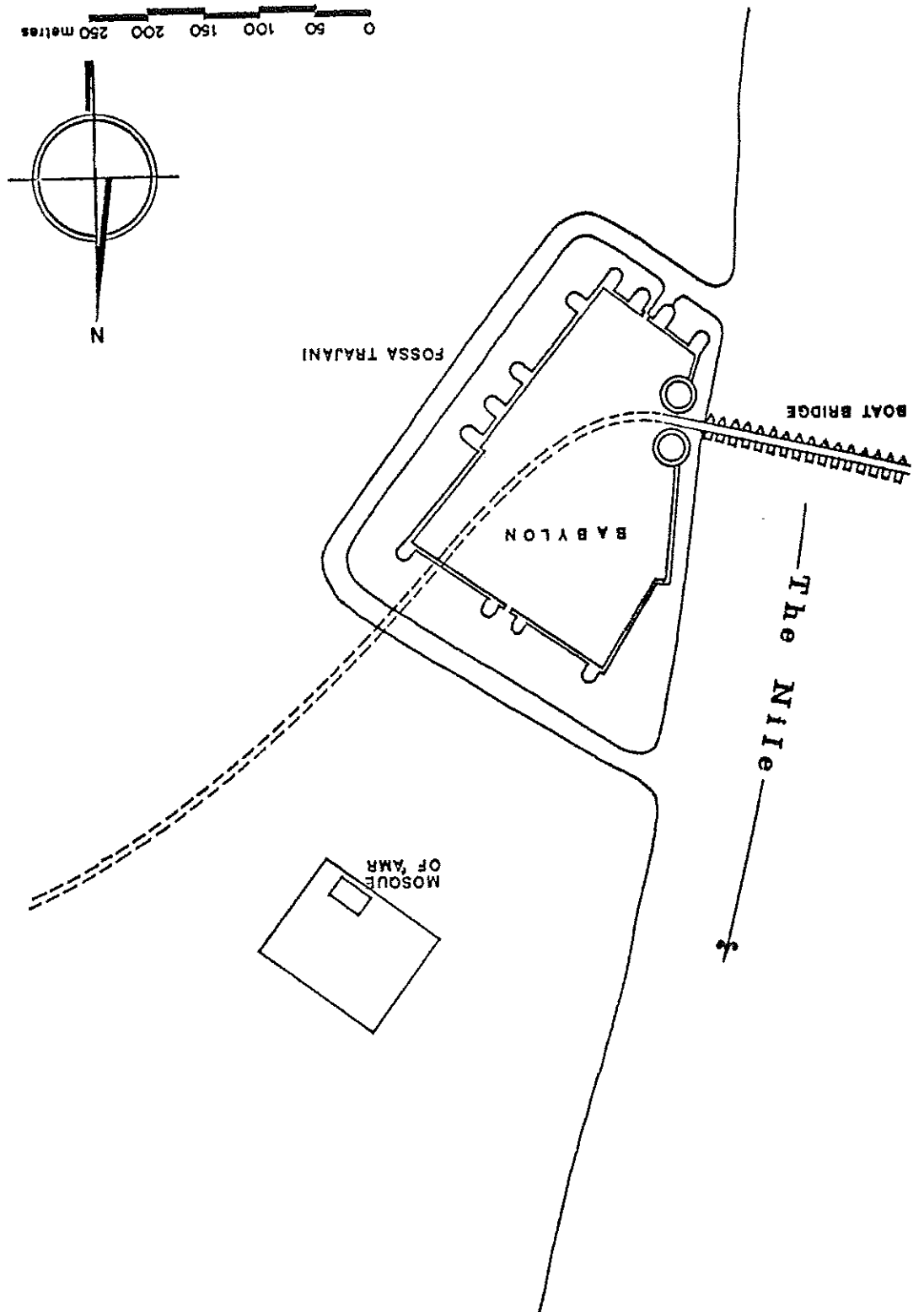
A long narrative related by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam,¹¹¹ which implies a belief in the very special significance of al-Muqattam in this respect, and the sanctity of this mountain, was doubtless fabricated in later times to give it the spiritual sanction of ancestral choice as a place for burials. But the tradition was not baseless, since the place had long been revered by the local populace. The tradition about numerous Christian shrines in the area of the later al-Qarafa, which were destroyed in the war of conquest,¹¹² clearly indicates this. All this suggests that for the pious, the preferable burial place was as near the sacred mountain as possible. But ordinary tribesmen probably had their burial grounds nearer to their *khittas*.

Each tribe evidently had a separate cemetery. These tribal burial grounds, which are confirmed for the fourteenth/fifteenth century,¹¹³ must have originated at a time when the tribal social structure was still strong in the town; that is, before

Plan 2. General Situation of al-Fustat



Plan 3. Babylon at the Conquest



DOCUMENT 12

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'AMR B. AL-'ĀṢ AND HIS CONQUEST OF EGYPT

Abu Nayeem Md. Raisuddin

AMR B. AL-'ĀṢ (AL-'ĀṢI) AL-SAHMI, who belonged to the Quraish, was a companion (Ṣahābi) of the Prophet. He embraced Islām in the year 8/629 before the conquest of Makkah. His *kunya* or surname was Abū 'Abd Allah. He was also called Abū Muḥammad.¹

His mother was Nābigha bint Ḥarmala of Banū Julān. 'Uqba b. Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Qays (d. 63/683) and 'Amr b. Athātha al-'Adwi (d. circ. 66/686) were his half brothers.² He was a short man with a big head and a wide forehead. He had a big mouth, long beard and broad shoulders. A man of long hands and legs 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ was very clever in reaching decisions and was brave in action.³

'Amr b. al-'Āṣ had a firm belief in Islām and sincere love for it. After his conversion the Prophet wanted to send him to a battlefield where he would be able to render good service to Islām and at the same time would get a huge amount of booty. 'Amr was keen to serve the cause of Islām but did not take any interest in worldly attainments. He informed the Prophet that he had accepted Islām with a genuine belief in that religion and not for any material gain. The Prophet was pleased with him for expressing such a sentiment.⁴ 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ was a traditionist or muḥaddith.⁵

He was a prudent diplomat, skilful politician and a valiant general. His military activities started during the lifetime of the Prophet.⁶ After he had participated in a few expeditions the Prophet sent him to 'Umān, where he could induce two rulers, named Ja'far and 'Abbād b. Julanda, to embrace Islām.⁷

The Prophet also deputed 'Amr to Bilā in Syria for the purpose of preaching Islām, where he was attacked by some non-believers. 'Amr sought help from the Prophet, who sent a contingent, including Abū Bakr and 'Umar. That battle was known as the battle of Salāsīl.⁸

'Amr won the battle. After that campaign was over the Prophet appointed him the Governor of 'Umān, and he remained in the post till the death of the Prophet.⁹

'Amr b. al-'Āṣ also played an important role in the conquest of Palestine, where he was sent by Abū Bakr with an army. During the caliphate of 'Umar (13/634-23/644) 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ proceeded for the first time towards al-Maghrib.¹⁰ Before him no "Ṣahābi" did dare to enter Africa.

Towards the beginning of 25/645 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ sent 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abi Sarḥ towards North Africa at the direction of Caliph 'Uthmān.¹¹ Africa was finally conquered by 'Abd Allāh, but 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ must be credited with the bold project of planning the conquest and of carrying it into effect militarily.¹²

'Amr's Interest in the Conquest of Egypt:

There were several reasons for 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ's interest in the conquest of Egypt.¹³ He had visited the land before his conversion to Islām. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam says that before embracing Islām 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ went to Bait al-Maqdis (Jerusalem) as a member of a group of Quraish merchants.¹⁴ Once as he was watching his camels graze on a nearby hill, he happened to meet a person named Shammās who belonged to Alexandria. He had come to Jerusalem to perform prayer at Bait al-Maqdis.

Shammās had reasons to be very much obliged to 'Amr as he had saved him twice from death, once by offering him water when he was about to die of thirst and later by killing a snake when it was about to bite him.¹⁵

Shammās invited 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ to visit Alexandria and promised to give him two thousand dinars as *diyyat* (blood money) for saving his life.¹⁶ In this connection 'Amr consulted his associates and accepted the invitation. His journey to Alexandria provided him with an opportunity to see for himself the beauty and richness of Egypt. In Alexandria he saw its magnificent buildings. He was deeply impressed by the fertile land of Egypt and its grandeur.¹⁷ In the course of this journey 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ not only got acquainted with the roads and highways of Egypt, but also learned how one entered and made exit from it.¹⁸

'Amr's Urge for the Conquest of Egypt:

'Amr b. al-'Āṣ wanted earnestly to bring forward the message of Islām to the Egyptian people.¹⁹ But, he was waiting for permission of the caliph 'Umar for this major campaign. Meanwhile, in 18/639 when the caliph came to Jābīah 'Amr met him and inspired him for the conquest of Egypt.²⁰

He argued that with the conquest of Egypt Muslim strength will be more and more consolidated.²¹ Thus he sought permission to proceed towards it. The caliph was convinced by the argument of 'Amr and sanctioned dispatch of about four thousand of Yamani soldiers.²² 'Umar permitted 'Amr to undertake the campaign but at the same time cautioned him that he would soon receive a letter of the caliph and if he received any retreat order before reaching Egypt, he must return from the expedition. But if he had already crossed the border of Egypt before receiving any letter, he might continue the campaign, and in that case he should seek help from Allāh, the Almighty.²³

In 18/639 (or 19/640) 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ started his Egyptian campaign at dead of night without informing anybody.²⁴ The caliph after giving his consent for the expedition was however greatly concerned about the fate of his

soldiers, because he thought that his army might not be a match for the well-equipped Romans. Accordingly, he wrote to 'Amr asking him to withdraw from the campaign.

In another report it was said that after the conquest of Syria the caliph himself wrote to 'Amr to prepare for an expedition to proceed to Egypt and this letter of the caliph was brought to 'Amr by Sharik b. 'Abduh. After the letter had been despatched Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān came to the caliph. The caliph informed 'Uthmān that he had sent a letter to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ directing him to proceed to Egypt.²⁶ 'Uthmān did not like 'Amr, for in his opinion the latter was an ambitious and unreliable person. He thought under 'Amr's leadership the Muslim army had no chance of a victory.²⁶

He then advised the caliph to call him ('Amr) back from the expedition. As a result, Caliph 'Umar wrote another letter to 'Amr directing him to come back from the campaign immediately. He was, however, given the option of continuing the campaign if he had already crossed the border of Egypt.²⁷ According to Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Balādhūrī and Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, the letter reached 'Amr while he was at Rafh.²⁸

'Amr showed his prudence and did not open the letter suspecting that it might contain an order not to proceed further. He continued his march till (in 18/639 or 19/640) he reached a village between Rafh and al-'Arīsh.²⁹ Here, when he came to know that he had already reached within the border of Egypt, he demanded the letter of the caliph. The letter was opened and he found that an order of retreat had been issued by the caliph. As he had already crossed the border of Egypt before receiving any order of retreat, he could continue his expedition. Hence he continued his campaign.³⁰ Had it not been for his prudence Egypt would not have been conquered so early.

As soon as Heraclius's agent, Cyrus (Ar. Muqawqis) received the news that the armies of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ were moving towards Egypt, he asked the Governor of Egypt, U'airij, to get ready with full arms and ammunition. And he (Cyrus) himself proceeded towards Fustāt. 'Amr got the news of Roman preparation, but he cared little for it. He continued his march armed with the strength of Imān (faith) in Allah, the Almighty.³¹ When he reached Jabal al-Hilāl (Mountain of Hilāl) some groups of people from Lukham tribe also joined his army. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, without any obstacle arrived at al-'Arīsh³² on the day of 'Id al-Aḍḥā, and sacrificed a sheep.

Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam in his book *'Futūḥ Miṣr wa Akhbāruḥā* recorded that the first battle (after the battle of 'Ayn al-Shams in July 20/640) which took place with the Romans was at al-Faramā' (Pelusium) in the middle of January 640.³³ This battle continued for about a month. Eventually 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ won the battle. But according to Maqrīzī, after the battle of 'Ayn al-Shams 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ sent one of his co-fighters, Abraha b. Ṣabbāḥ to Faramā' who concluded a treaty with the Faramāns. Maqrīzī did not make mention of the battle that took place there.

Here, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's version seems to be nearer to the truth, since it was an important Roman city of northern Egypt. From a naval point of view too it was dangerous, as it is located only at three miles distance from al-Baḥar Akḥḍar. Balādhūri also held the same view.³⁴

On receiving the news of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ's advance towards Egypt Abū Binyāmīn, who was the bishop of the Copts (Qibtis)³⁵ at Alexandria, informed his followers in writing that the Romans were going to lose Egypt very soon. He also directed them to meet and co-operate with 'Amr according to the direction of their priest (Abū Binyāmīn). The Copts not only made friendship with 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ but also helped him in his expedition.³⁶

From al-Faramā 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ proceeded towards Alexandria.³⁷ After a heavy fight of one month, Bilbays (Bilbīs) was conquered and then 'Amr reached Um-Danian.³⁸ Here he had to face fierce fighting. He informed Caliph 'Umar that victory was being delayed, and that he would require help in the shape of more soldiers. Accordingly, Caliph 'Umar sent 4000 soldiers with four leading commanding officers, Zubayr b. al-'Awwām (d. 36/656), Miqdād b. 'Amr (d. 33/653) 'Ubādah b. Ṣamit (d. 34/654) and Maslama b. Mukhallad³⁹ (d. 62/682).

'Amr b. al-'Āṣ continued his forward march towards Alexandria. In this direction he besieged the strong castle of Babylon (Babilūn).⁴⁰ The Romans dug ditches around the castle. The siege continued for one month. 'Amr appealed for additional soldiers to the caliph. The caliph sanctioned help of another 4000 soldiers. 'Amr conquered the castle and continued his expedition.⁴¹ Meanwhile, Cyrus (Ar. Muqawqis) sent a delegation to 'Amr and threatened him saying that if he ('Amr) further continued his expedition he would face its evil consequences.

But 'Amr turned a deaf ear to this threat. Thus Cyrus's diplomacy proved a failure. 'Amr placed before the Romans the following three conditions:

1. That they would be treated as friends of the Muslims if they accepted Islām.
2. In case they were not ready to accept Islām, they must pay a tribute.
3. If they were not ready to accept any of those two conditions then the Muslims would have no other alternative than to fight "till Allāh decides and He decides for the best"⁴²

When the delegation of Cyrus came back to him from the camp of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, he enquired about the character and conduct of the Muslim soldiers they met there. The delegation informed him that the Muslim soldiers had such self-confidence that they did not care for the enemies whatsoever their number might be. They could fight even with a handful of army.⁴³ Because they fought for the pleasure of Allāh, the Almighty, they took less interest in

the worldly life; rather they gave utmost importance to the life hereafter. The delegation also informed Cyrus that the Muslim soldiers were united and very punctual. They had equality and fraternity among themselves.⁴⁴

On receipt of the report about the Muslim soldiers, Cyrus realized that it would not be so easy to win over the Muslims,⁴⁵ and sent a message to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, requesting him to send a delegation to him (Cyrus) so that they could talk about an amicable settlement. 'Amr responded to the call of Cyrus and sent a delegation consisting of ten members with 'Ubādah b. Ṣāmit as the leader.⁴⁶ While talking to Cyrus, 'Ubādah placed before him the three conditions already communicated to him earlier. The conditions were: the Romans will have to accept Islam or to pay tribute, failing which, the Muslims will have no alternative but to fight.⁴⁷

Having talked to the Muslim delegation and noticed its attitude, Cyrus became nervous.⁴⁸ He informed the Roman emperor, Heraclius, of the whole situation namely that Muslim soldiers were very courageous though they were less in number. Each of them could fight with more than one hundred Roman soldiers. But Heraclius did not care for it. He ordered his army to continue the war, as he thought that the fall of Alexandria was as bad as the fall of Roman empire.⁴⁹

In the meantime, Caliph 'Umar wrote a letter to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ asking him why there was so much delay in the conquest of Egypt. He asked 'Amr to deliver a speech to the Muslim soldiers in the light of the contents of the letter in which he advised them to purify their hearts, because Allāh does not help those whose intentions (Niyyāt) are not clear. 'Amr carried out the order of the caliph on a Friday before sunset.⁵⁰

Heraclius, on the other hand, made preparations with full strength to go to Alexandria and fight personally against the Muslims. But all of a sudden, he had an attack of epilepsy and died. This occurred in the year 19/639.⁵¹ 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ had already besieged Alexandria five months before the death of Heraclius and continued the siege upto nine months after his death. After the long siege 'Amr contrived a new strategy. He, in consultation with Maslama b. Mukhallad, ordered 'Ubādah b. Ṣāmit to command the Muslim army for the conquest of Alexandria. His strategy proved fruitful. He won the battle. Thus 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ became successful in his expedition, and Alexandria was finally conquered on a Friday in the month of Muḥarram in 20/640.⁵²

Thus Alexandria became an integral part of the caliphate. With the fall of Alexandria the whole of Egypt and its frontier upto the border of Abyssinia in the south and Libya in the west became part of the Muslim dominions.⁵³ The so-called story about the burning of Alexandrian library by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ on the orders of Caliph 'Umar was nothing but a fabrication. According to P.K. Hitti, it was the great Ptolemaic library of Alexandria which was burnt by Julius Caesar as early as 48 B.C., but at the time of Muslim conquest there was no such library in Alexandria.⁵⁴

Historians differ about the year of the conquest of Egypt and Alexandria. According to Ṭabari, both Egypt and Alexandria were conquered in 20/640.⁵⁵ Maqrīzī differed about the year of the conquest of Alexandria. According to him, Alexandria was conquered in 21/641.⁵⁶ Balādhuri and Ibn al-ʿImād reported that Egypt was conquered in 20/640.⁵⁷ Balādhuri further reported that after the conquest of Egypt, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ wrote to Caliph ʿUmar seeking his permission to proceed to Alexandria, which the caliph granted. Thus ʿAmr proceeded towards Alexandria and conquered it in 21/641. Dhahābī also held the same view.⁵⁸ But Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam differed. According to him Alexandria was conquered in 20/640 on a Friday in the month of Muḥarram.⁵⁹

Here Balādhuri's report seems to be nearer to the truth that Egypt was conquered in 20/640 and Alexandria in the following year, 21/641. Those who reported that Alexandria was conquered in 20/640 might have reported so, due to the difference of a few days or months, that the fall of Alexandria occurred at the end of 20/640 and the take-over ceremony took place a few days later, which was the beginning of 21/641. Ibn al-ʿImād reported that some regions of Egypt were conquered in 20/640 but the complete expedition became successful (with the conquest of Alexandria) in 21/641.⁶⁰ After the conquest of Alexandria ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ sent Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudaij (d.52/672) to Caliph ʿUmar to give him the good news. On receipt of the news of the conquest of Alexandria ʿUmar became very glad. He bowed down his head in "sijda" and expressed his deepest gratitude and thankfulness to Allāh, the Almighty.⁶¹

ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ died in 42/662 or 43/663⁶² on the day of ʿĪd al-Fiṭr at the age of 90.⁶³ His son ʿAbd Allāh led the funeral prayer (Ṣalāt al-Janāza).

REFERENCES

- (1) His lineage (nasab) was recorded by the Arab historians as follows: ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Hishām b. Suʿaid b. Saham b. ʿAmr b. Ḥuṣayṣ b. Kaʿb b. Lūʾī al-Qarshī al-Sahmī. Cf. Ibn Jarīr, al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh al-Rusul Wa al-Mulūk*. M.J. DE GOEJE, Brill, 1893 (Prima series), Vol. V, pp. 2579-80; Ibn Ḥajar (ʿAsqalānī), *al-Isāba fī Tamʾiz al-Ṣaḥāba*, 1958, Vol. III, p. 2; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (Hyderabad, 1326 A.H.), Vol. VIII, p. 56; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Kitāb al-Istīʿāb fī Tamʾiz al-Aṣḥāb*, Hyderabad, 1536, Vol. II, p. 434; Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* (Jerusalem, 1936), Vol. V, pp. 17, 49, sqq; Ibn al-Athīr, *Tajrīd Asmāʾ al-Ṣaḥāba* (Hyderabad, 1315), Vol. I, p. 442; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (Beirut, 1377/1958), Vol. VII, p. 493; Dhahabī, 1397, Vol. II, pp. 235-40. It is reported that he embraced Islam in the period between the battle of Khaibar and the treaty of Ḥudaybiya. Cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 343; Ibn Ḥajar, *Isāba*, Vol. III, p. 2; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, pp. 254-59; Abū al-Fidā, *Taʾrikh* (Egypt, 1325 A.H.) p. 142; *Encyclopædia of Islam* (E.I.), ed. Gibb and others, Leiden, Brill, 1960, Vol. I, p. 451.
- (2) Cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 434; Ibn Ḥajar *Isāba*, Vol. III, pp. 2-3. ʿUqba b. Nāfiʾ b. ʿAbd al-Qays was born during the life-time of the Prophet, but since he did not see the Prophet, he could not attain the honour of a companion (Ṣaḥāba). He was a Ṭābiʿī and one of the earliest conquerors of Islām. Cf. Ziriklī (Zain al-Dīn), *al-Aʿlām* (N.D.), Vol. V, p. 37.

- (3) Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa Akhbārūhā* (ed. Charles C. Torrey, Brill, 1920), pp. 56-8; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Bulān* (Cairo, 1900), p. 219; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Ta'rikh al-Islām* (Cairo, 1953), pp. 250-51; Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Edinburgh, 1832) pp. 426-27; P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London, 1949), pp. 160-61; Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Vol. XXI (1976), No. 3, p. 124.
- (4) فقال (النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم) اني اريد ان ابعثك على جيش فيسلكك الله و يعينك
و أرغب لك من المال رغبة صالحة فقلت يا رسول الله ما أسلمت من أجل المال بل أسلمت
رغبة في الاسلام قال يا عمر نعم ما بالمال الصالح المرء الصالح.
Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, Vol. III, p. 3.
- (5) *Ibid*; Tahdhīb, Vol. VIII, pp. 56-57, Zirikī has recorded that 39 Traditions were narrated by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. Cf. al-'Ālām, Vol. V, p. 249.
- (6) Cf. Ibn Hajar, Tahdhīb, Vol. VIII, p. 56; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, Vol. II, p. 434.
- (7) Cf. JASB, Vol. XXI (1976) No. 3, p. 123.
- (8) Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, Vol. III, p. 2, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 435.
- (9) Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 435; Hitti, *op. cit.* p. 148.
- (10) Cf. Tabarī (Prima series) *op. cit.* pp. 2078-79; Ibn al-'Idharī, *Bayān al-Maghrib* (Leiden, Brill, 1948), Vol. I, p. 8; Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, Vol. II, p. 3; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, Vol. II, p. 434. Al-Maghrib includes a wide area, starting from Malayana, the last border of Africa upto the last mountain of Sūs, which is situated near the Atlantic Ocean. The Peninsula of Spain was also included in Maghrib. Maghrib was divided into two regions. The eastern part of Maghrib included Barqa, Africa, Tahart, (Tangier) Sūs, Zawīla and some other places while Spain was located in the western region. Cf. Yāqūt, Mu'jam (Tehran, 1965), Vol. IV, p. 583; Karkhī, *Masālik wa Mamālik*, p. 36.
- (11) Cf. Tabarī, *op. cit.* Vol. V, p. 2810; Ibn al-Athīr, *Ta'rikh Kāmil*, Vol. III, p. 42; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Bulān*, pp. 234-38; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, pp. 191-204. 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ al-Qurashī al-'Āmirī, who belonged to the Quraish, was a companion of the Prophet. His kunya or surname was Abū Yaḥyā but he was commonly called Ibn Abī Sarḥ. He was a foster-brother of Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān. Ibn Abī Sarḥ embraced Islam before the conquest of Makka and duly migrated to Madina. Cf. Tabarī, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, p. 2357; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, Vol. I, p. 381; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (Brill, 1332, A.H.), Vol. I, p. 169; Al-Kindī al-Miṣrī, (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf), *Kitāb al-Walāt wa Kitāb al-Qudāt*, (Beirel, 1908), p. 11.
- (12) According to some historians, there was some kind of misunderstanding between Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ originating from the killing of some Byzantine captives. Probably that was the cause of the appointment of 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ as Governor of Egypt and dismissal of 'Amr from the post.

وعزل (عثمان) عمرو بن العاص وولى عبد الله بن سعد بن أبي سرح و كان ذلك
بده الشر بين عثمان و عمرو بن العاص

Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 435; Tabari, *op. cit.* Vol. V, p. 2818; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab* (Cairo, 1350 A.H.), p. 36; Mu'in al-Dīn (Nadwī), *Siyar al-Ṣaḥāba* (A'zam Garh, 1933), Vol. p. 144 ff.

(13) Egypt, Arabic Miṣr. After the deluge of Noah (Nūḥ) Baiṣar b. Ḥām was the first man to settle in Egypt. That Baiṣar was a grandson of Noah, whose eldest son was Miṣr, and the land was named after him as Miṣr. *Cf.* Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* pp. 5, 9; Maqrizi, *Khitaṭ al-Khiṭaṭ* (Egypt, 1324 A.H.), Vol. I, pp. 206, 232, 240.

(14) *Cf.* Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* pp. 53-54. Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/8712) was a reputed historian. Of his many other contributions *Futūḥ Miṣr wa Akhbāruḥā* is an authentic and unique piece of work.

(15) *Ibid.*

(16) Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* pp. 54-5. Diyyat is to give blood money in exchange for a life. But here though Shammās did not take the life of any relatives of 'Amr, yet he gave blood money perhaps in return for saving his life, or there might have been a rule of that kind in their religion or that might have been a convention of that kind in those days.

وقال (عمرو) ما رأيت مثل مصر قط و كثرة ما فيها من الأموال و نظر الى اسكتندرية (17)
و عمارتها وجودة بنائها و كثرة أهلها و ما بها من الأموال فازداد عجباً

Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* p. 55.

(18) *Ibid.* Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London, 1949), p. 160.

(19) *Cf.* *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 53; Hitti, *op. cit.* p. 160.

(20) Historians differ about the arrival of 'Umar at Jābiah. It was said that in 16/637 Bait al-Maqdis (Jerusalem) was conquered and in that year Ḥaḍrat 'Umar arrived at Jābiah. But some historians said that Ḥaḍrat 'Umar came to Jābiah one year after the conquest of Bait al-Maqdis (i.e. after he returned from Saragh) i.e. in the year 18/639; Bukharī also confirmed this opinion. In this connection it was also confirmed that Ḥaḍrat 'Umar came to Syria four times, and in his last three journeys he came to Jābiah. It appears that during his last visit to Syria in 18/639 when he came to Jābiah, 'Amr b. al-Āṣ met him and sought permission for the conquest of Egypt. *Cf.* Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 56; Tabari, *Ta'rikh al-Rusul Wal Mulūk*, p. 2578; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 219.

وقال (عمرو) يا أمير المؤمنين ائذن لي أن أسير الى مصر انك ان فتحتها
كانت قوة للمسلمين و عوناً لهم .

(21) *Cf.* Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 56; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*,

Vol. I, p. 250; Tabarī, *op. cit.* p. 2577; Balādhurī, *op. cit.* p. 219. For many reasons the conquest of Egypt was essential, as it was dangerously near to both recently conquered Syria and Ḥijāz, its richness of grain producing soil, for which it was called the granary of Constantinople. Alexandria was the base of Byzantine navy. Egypt was also the gate way to North Africa. Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Ta'rikh*, Vol. I, pp. 366; ff.; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* (London, 1883), Vol. II, pp. 168-9; Najīb 'Ābādī, *Tā'rikh-i-Islām*, (ed. Karachi, 1966) Vol. I, pp. 388-89.

- (22) All of the soldiers were from 'Ak, a city of Yaman. Cf. *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 56; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, Vol. I, p. 250.
- (23) Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* p. 56; Cf. Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 250; Ya'qūbī, Vol. II, pp. 168-169; Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 166; Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. IX, pp. 426-427.
- (24) Probably 'Amr maintained this secrecy from a strategical point of view. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* p. 56.
- (25) Ya'qūbī, vol. ii, pp. 168-69; *op. cit.*, Hitti p. 160; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *op. cit.* p. 250. For Sharīk see Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, Vol. ii, p. 150.

أن عمر حين فرغ عن الشام كلها كتب الى عمرو بن العاص ان يسير الى مصر في جنده

Cf. Tabarī, *Ta'rikh al-Rusul Wa'l-Mulūk*, p. 2580.

- (26) فقال عمان يا أمير المؤمنين إن عمرا لمجرؤ و فيه إقدام و حب للامارة فاخشى أن يخرج
في غير ثقة ولا جماعة فيعرض المسلمين للهلكة.

Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 57, Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 219.

- (27) It appears that Caliph 'Umar wrote two letters to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, the first one directing 'Amr to proceed to Egypt and the second one at the advice of Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān asking him ('Amr) to come back from the campaign. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* p. 58; Balādhurī, *op. cit.* p. 219. Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *op. cit.* p. 251. We have got one more piece of information in this regard to the effect that Caliph 'Umar wrote to 'Amr directing him to proceed to Egypt when he ('Umar) was at Jerusalem, but after returning to Madina and consulting with 'Uthmān and other Ṣaḥābāz, he changed his decision and wrote a letter to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ asking him to come back from the campaign. Ya'qūbī, Vol. ii, pp. 168-69; Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* pp. 56-57 Hitti, *op. cit.* p. 160.
- (28) Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 56; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 219; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *op. cit.*, p. 251; Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 160; Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, p. 427. Rafḥ is a place adjacent to the border of Egypt. Cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, (Tehran, 1965), vol. ii, p. 796. It is now a town in South Ghazāl, sector. Cf. J. M. Cowen, *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* W. Esbeden. 1961), p. 348.

و سار (عمرو) كما هو حتى نزل قرية بين رفح و العريش فسأل عنها فقيل انها من مصر

- (29) Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* p. 56; Balādhurī, *op. cit.* p. 219; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *op. cit.* p. 251; Gibbon, *op. cit.* p. 429; Hitti, *op. cit.* p. 160. According to Ṭabarī 'Amr reached al-'Arish in 18/639. Cf. Ṭabarī, p. 2567; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *op. cit.* p. 251; Hitti, *op. cit.* p. 160. But according to Balādhurī, 'Amr reached al-'Arish in 19/640, Cf. *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 219.

فدعا (عمرو بن العاص) بالكتاب فقرأه على المسلمين فقال عمرو لمن معه أستم تعلمون أن هذه القرية من مصر قالوا بلى قال فان أمير المؤمنين عهد الى و امرنى ان لحقنى كتابه ولم أدخل أرض مصر أن أرجع ولم يلحقنى كتابه حتى دخلنا أرض مصر فسيروا و امضوا على بركة الله .

- (30) Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* p. 57; Balādhurī, *op. cit.* p. 219; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *op. cit.* p. 251; Gibbon, *op. cit.* p. 427; Hitti, *op. cit.* p. 160.

- (31) A Muslim is not afraid of any power except Allāh. One who fights in the path of Allāh, no matter whether he wins or loses the battle, he will get his rewards. 'To him who fighteth in the cause of God, whether he is slain or gets victory, soon shall We give him a reward of great (value)' al-Qur'ān, 4:74. (Tr. Abdullah Yūsuf 'Alī, Libya, 1973). As far as the conquest of Egypt is concerned, there is a Ḥadīth on the authority of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb that the Prophet himself gave hints that Egypt will once be conquered by his followers. According to his prophecy, Egypt, the beautiful land, was conquered by one of his Ṣaḥāba, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ.

و من أراد أن يذكر الفردوس أو ينظر الى مثلها فلينظر الى أرض مصر .

Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 5.

- (32) Al-'Arish or the 'Arish of Egypt, the Rhinokorura of the ancient world, a town on the Mediterranean coast, is situated in a fertile oasis surrounded by sand on the frontier between Palestine and Egypt. Cf. Butler, *Arabic Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 196-97; Ibn Ḥawqal vol. ii, p. 95 al-Maqdisi, vol. iii, pp. 54; 193; Ya'qūbi, vol. vii, p. 33; Yāqūt, vol. iii, pp. 660-661; Maqrizi, *Khiṭaṭ* (ed. IFAO) vol. iv, pp. 24-27; Maqrizi, (Egypt. 340; Encyclopædia of Islām, (1913), vol. i. p. 432.

- (33) Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* p. 58; Balādhurī, pp. 219-220; Ṭabarī, pp. 2592; Maqrizi, *op. cit.* p. 341; Hitti, *op. cit.* p. 161; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *op. cit.* p. 251; 1324. A.H.) vol. i. p. (Lit "the spring of the sun," ancient Heliopolis of the old Testament).

فتقدم عمرو بن العاص فكان أول موضع قوتل فيه الفرما قاتله الروم قتالا شديدا نحو

من شهر ثم فتح الله على يديه .

Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 58.

فقرل العريش ثم أتى الفرما و بها قوم مستعدون للقتال فخار بهم فهزمهم و حوى عسكرهم .

Cf. Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 220.

Ṭabari also did not mention the treaty of Abraha b. al-Ṣabbāḥ with the Faramāns. According to him, after the battle of 'Ayn al-Shams 'Amr sent Abraha to al-Faramā' and 'Awf b. Mālik to Alexandria. 'Amr might have sent them to collect information from those places. Ṭabari also mentioned that at Faramā' and Alexandria are two adjacent places named after two prominent brothers, "al-Faramā'" and "al-Iskandar"!

Cf. Ṭabari, pp. 2586-2587.

- (35) Qibṭi or Copt, a tribe of the oldest inhabitants of Egypt. They were literate, The Qibṭi language was a 'rich living language upto eighteenth century. This language is still used in their churches for religious ceremonies. Cf. *Ta'riḥ Miṣr Qadīm*, (Persian, Tehran), from *Intighārāt Dānishgāh*, Vol. i, 8.

و كان بالإسكندرية أسقف للقبط يقال له نيامين فلما بلغه قدوم عمرو بن العاص الى مصر كتب الى القبط يعلمهم انه لا تكون للروم دولة و ان ملكهم قد اقطع و يأمرهم بتلقى عمرو فيقال ان القبط الذين كانوا يومئذ لعمرو اعوانا .

- (36) Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, pp. 58-59; Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, p. 2586; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Ta'riḥ al-Islām*, p. 251; Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 165. The incident is similar to that of two priests, Daghatire and Ibn Naṭūr, during the lifetime of the Prophet. They only advised their people to accept the truth but they themselves accepted Islam. We were also informed that the Roman Emperor, Heraclius, after hearing all about the Prophet indicated that his country (the Roman empire, including Egypt) would one day be conquered by the Prophet or by his followers.

- (37) While proceeding towards Alexandria from al-Faramā', 'Amr b. 'Āṣ had to face a few abstracts at al-qawāṣir. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 59.

- (38) *Ibid.* Bulbays is situated north-east of Cairo. Cf. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 161.

- (39) In another report it was said that of the four commanding officers sent by Caliph 'Umar the fourth one was Khārīja b. Ḥuḍafa (d. 40/660) (and not Maslama b. Mukhallad). For Zubair b al-'Awām, see Zirikli, *al-A'lām*, vol. iii, p. 74. For Miqdād b. 'Amr, see *Ibid.* Vol. viii, p. 208. For 'Ubādah b. Ṣāmit, see *Ibid.* vol. iv, p. 30. For Maslama b. Mukhallad, see, *Ibid.* vol. viii, p. 123. For Khārījah b. Ḥuḍafa, see, *Ibid.* vol. ii, p. 332. As far as the strategy of war is concerned everyone of those four leading persons was equal to one thousand ordinary Roman soldiers. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 59. When those additional 4000 soldiers arrived 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ threw in all 4000 soldiers for that campaign. Cf. *Ibid.*

- (40) Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* p. 61; A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, (Oxford, 1902) pp. 245-7; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *op. cit.* p. 353.

- (41) Cf. Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*, p. 2580; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, pp. 223-21; Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 161; with that 4000 the number of 'Amr's soldiers reached 12,000. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 61.

- (42) Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* p. 65; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, p. 451; Ṭabari, p. 2582.

حتى يحكم الله بيننا وهو خير الحاكمين .

(al-Qur'ān : 9 : 29).

فلما جاءت رسل المقوقس اليه قال لهم كيف رأيتموهم قالوا رأينا قرما الموت احب الى
احدهم من الحياة والنواضع احب اليه من الرفعة ليس لاحدهم في الدنيا رغبة ولا نهمة
انما جلوسهم على التراب واكلهم على ركبهم واميرهم كواحد منهم ما يعرف رفيعهم من وضعيهم
و السير فيهم من العبر واذا حضرت الصلاة لم يتخاف عنها احد يغسلون اطرافهم بالماء
و يتخشون في صلاتهم -

Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 65; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *op. cit.*, p. 353. 'Allāma Iqbal also expressed the same sentiment while narrating the equality in Islam and the Muslims. Cf. Dr. Muḥammad Iqbāl, *Shikwa wa Jawāb Shikwa* (Urdu) p. 27.

- (44) *Ibid.*

كم من فئة قليلة غلبت فئة كثيرة باذن الله والله مع الصابرين -

(al-Qur'ān, 2 : 250).

- (45) On hearing what the character of the Muslim soldiers was, Cyrus realized the same truth which was expressed by Heraclius during the life-time of the Prophet that Alexandria (Egypt) will one day be conquered by the Muslims. Cf. Bukhārī, pp. 4, 5; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 65.

- (46) 'Ubādah b. Ṣāmit was black and when as the leader of the Muslim delegation he appeared before Cyrus, he got frightened and the latter ordered that somebody else should appear as leader. The other members of the Muslim delegation vehemently opposed this. They informed Cyrus that in Islam there is no difference between white and black. (The most righteous were the most honoured men, as it was mentioned in the Holy Qur'ān : - ان اكرمكم عند الله اتقاكم - "Verily the most honoured of you in the sight of God is he who is the most righteous of you," (al-Qur'ān, sura, 49 : 13 tr. 'Abd Allāh Yūsuf 'Alī, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, Libya, 1971). They also informed Cyrus that 'Ubādah was the most righteous of them, that was why he was made leader. And if Cyrus wanted to talk to the Muslim delegation he should talk to 'Ubādah as leader of the delegation. Thus Cyrus was compelled to talk to 'Ubādah as the leader of the Muslim delegation. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

- (47) Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* p. 66; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *op. cit.* pp. 253-54. The object of that fight was to establish the rule of Allāh and peace and tranquillity in the human society. Cf. *Ibid.*

- (48) Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 71. Due to his nervousness, Cyrus was accused of treason. Cf. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. ii, p. 5.
- (49) Cf. Maqrīzi, *Khīṭaṭ*, p. 265; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr* p. 76.
- (50) Cf. Maqrīzi *op. cit.* p. 266; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

فان الله تبارك و تعالى لا ينصر قوما الا بصدق نياتهم -

Cf. Maqrīzi, *Khīṭaṭ* p. 266.

Ḥaḍrat 'Umar advised 'Amr to deliver the said speech on a Friday before the sunset, because it was the time when Allah sends down His blessings (rahmat) and grants the prayer of His servants. Two years had already elapsed and the conquest of Egypt was delayed. So they should pray to Allah for victory. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 79; Maqrīzi, *Khīṭaṭ* p. 266.

- (51) Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 76. In another report it was mentioned that Heraclius died in 20/640. However, it was confirmed that he died before the conquest of Alexandria. Cf. *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 76.
- (52) 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ read out the letter of the caliph ('Umar) before the Muslim soldiers, and performed with them two rak'āt of salāt and said du'ā (prayed) to Allah, the Almighty, for victory in the battle. Later on, he consulted on some points with Maslama. According to the advice of Maslama, 'Amr gave command of the army in the hands of 'Ubādah. Perhaps he did so from a strategic point of view, which consequently led to the conquest of Alexandria. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, p. 79; Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh al-Umam*, vol. iv, p. 226; Maqrīzi, *Khīṭaṭ*, pp. 266-67.
- (53) Cf. Ameer 'Ali, *History of the Saracens*, (ed. New York, 1961), p. 42.
- (54) Cf. Hitti, *op. cit.* p. 166.
- (55) Cf. Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh al-Rusul Wal-Mulūk*, p. 2580. Ṭabari also mentioned 19/639, 20/641, 22/642, 25/645 and even 16/636 as the probable year of the conquest of Alexandria. Cf. *Ibid.* pp. 2579-81. But in his *Ta'rikh al-Umam* he made it clear that both Egypt and Alexandria were conquered in the year 20/640.

فتحت مصر و الاسكندرية في سنة عشرين -

Cf. Ṭabari, *Tarikh al-Umam*, Vol. iv, p. 226.

- (56) Cf. Maqrīzi, *Khīṭaṭ* p. 267.
- (57) Cf. Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, pp. 226-227; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharat al-Dhahab*, vol. i, p. 31.
- (58) Cf. Balādhuri, *op. cit.* p. 227; Dhahābi, *Ta'rikh al-Islam* (ed. Cairo, 1368, A. H.) vol. ii, pp. 29, 39.

- (59) حديث يحيى بن ايوب و اخالد بن حميد قالا حاصروا الاسكندرية تسعة اشهر بعد موت هرقل و خمسة قبل ذلك و فتحت يوم الجمعة لمستهول المحرم سنة عشرين -

Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 80.

- (60) (سنة عشرين) فيها فتح عمرو بن العاص بعض ديار مصر . . . (سنة احدى وعشرين) (60)
افتتحت مصر -

Cf. Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharat al-Dhahab*, vol. i, pp. 31, 32.

- (61) فلما قدم (معاوية بن خديج) على عمر اخبره بفتح الاسكندرية فخر عمر ساجدا وقال (61)
الحمد لله ..

Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 81; Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ* p. 267. Mu'āwiya b. Hudaij or Khudaij b. Jufna b. Nujiab or Qumbar, surname, Abu Nu'aim was a Ṣaḥābī. He was the Governor of Egypt during the reign of Mu'āwiya b. Abu Sufyān. It was said that Mu'āwiya b. Hudaij killed Muḥammed b. Abū Bakr, the Governor designate of Ḥaḍrat 'Alī for Egypt, whereupon Mu'āwiya appointed him (Mu'āwiya b. Hudaij) as the Governor of Egypt. He lost his eyes in the battle of Nuba. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 236. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah fi-Tam'iz al-Ṣaḥabah*, vol. iii, p. 431; Zarīkī, *al-A'lām*, vol. viii, p. 171; Ibn al-'Idhārī, *Bayan al-Mughrib*, vol. i, pp. 17-18; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, vol. i, p. 8; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. x, pp. 203-4.

- (62) It was also reported that 'Amr died in 48/668 or 51/671. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb* vol. ii, pp. 435-36.

- (63) At the time of his death 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ was seeking help and forgiveness from Allāh, the Almighty, and was reciting a du'ā

"اللهم لا قوي فانتصر ولا برئ فاختار ولا مستكبر بل مستغفر لا اله الا انت"
فلم يزل يرددّها حتى مات -

Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, vol. ii, p. 436.

DOCUMENT 13

THE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF EGYPT, NORTH AFRICA AND SPAIN
KNOWN AS THE FUTUH MISR OF IBN 'ABD AL-HAKAM,, TRANS JOHN LONG.
NEW HAVEN: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1922, 53-55.

[L. 1]

The Account of the [First] Occasion of 'Amr b al-'As Entering Egypt

Translated by John E. Long, Department of Philosophy and Religion
Western Kentucky University

[L. 5]

He [the narrator] said, "Then he returned to the narrative of 'Uthman b. Salih. He said, 'When it was the 18th year, 'Umar had arrived at al-Jabiya; 'Amr b. al-'As was alone with him; so ['Amr] asked ['Umar's] permission to march to Egypt. 'Amr had entered Egypt during the Jahiliyya and knew its roads/routes and had seen much of what was there. The occasion for 'Amr entering it, as Yahya b. Khalid al-'Adawiyy—who got it from Ibn Luhay'a and Yahya b. Ayyub [who themselves gotten it] from Khalid b. Yazid—informed us, was that it had come to him that 'Amr had arrived at Jerusalem in with a group from Quraish to carry on a trading venture. Then ['Amr] became concerned about one of the Byzantine Christian priests of the Alexandrians, who had come to pray at Jerusalem. Now [the priest] had gone out into some of [Jerusalem's] mountains to wander about; and 'Amr was grazing his camels and those of his companions. The camels' consumption of pasturage was an occasion of conflict between [the Christians] and us.

[L. 10]

" 'Amr was grazing his camels when that priest passed by him. A powerful thirst had struck him on a day of intense heat, so he stopped beside 'Amr and asked him for a drink of water. 'Amr gave him a drink from his qurbah and he drank until his thirst was quenched; and the priest slept at ['Amr's] place. There was a hole beside where the priest slept and a mighty serpent came out of it. 'Amr saw it and went toward it with an arrow and killed it. When the priest awakened, he looked at the mighty serpent from which God has saved him and said to 'Amr, 'What is this?' 'Amr told him that he had shot it and killed it. So [the priest] went to 'Amr, kissed his head and said, 'God has twice saved my life through you, once from the powerful thirst and once again from this serpent. So what I will offer to you is this country.' ['Amr] said, 'I have come with some of my companions; we are seeking favor for our trading venture.' The priest said to him, 'How much do you think you hope to gain in your trading?' ['Amr] said, 'My hope is to gain something by which to buy a camel, for I possess only two camels; so my hope is to gain another camel, then there will be three.' [The priest] said, 'Look here! Among you, how much is the blood money for one of you?' ['Amr] said, 'One hundred camels.' The priest said to him, 'We are not owners of camels, we are owners of currency.' ['Amr] said, 'It would be a thousand dinars.'

[L. 15]

[L. 20]

"The priest said to him, 'I am a stranger in this country, but I came to pray in the church at Jerusalem and to travel about in these mountains for a month, [since] I had made that as a vow upon myself. And I have spent that [time] and I want to return to my country. So is it not your right to follow me to my country? And is it not your right that you have a solemn promise and covenant [lit., "God's promise and covenant"] that I will give you a double amount of blood money, because through you God, most high, twice saved my life?' 'Amr said, 'Where is your country?' [The priest] said, 'Egypt, in city called Alexandria.' 'Amr said to him, 'I don't know it, nor have I ever entered it.' The priest responded to him, 'If ever you had entered it you would have known that you had never entered its like!' 'Amr said, 'Will you fulfill for me what you are saying? And by virtue of that, are the promise and the covenant an obligation you are taking on?' The priest said to him, 'God has granted to you that I be obligated, by virtue of the promise and the covenant, to fulfill [it] for you; and that I return you to your companions.' 'Amr said, 'How long will my sojourn there be?' [The priest] said, 'A month. You will set out

[L. 25]

with me for ten [days], going; you will stay with us for ten [days]; and you will return for ten [days]. And I am obligated to you to protect you while going and to send someone with you who will protect you while returning.' 'Amr said to him, 'Grant me some time so that I may confer with my companions about this.'

- [L. 30] "So 'Amr set off for his companions. He informed them about the promise the priest had made to him and he said to them, 'Provide me with supplies [sufficient for me to go and] to return to you; and I make a promise to you that I will give you a share/half of it despite the fact that he befriended me, one of you whom he took a liking to.' They said, 'Yes!' and sent with him one of their men. So 'Amr and his companion set out for Egypt with the priest [traveling] until they reached Alexandria. So 'Amr saw some of its buildings and the great number of its people and some of the wealth and goods there that pleased him. He said, 'I have never seen [anything]
- [L. 35] like Egypt, and the abundance of wealth here.' He looked at Alexandria and its structures and the good quality of its buildings, at the great number of its people and at the wealth there and he increased in wonder.

"It was fitting that 'Amr enter Alexandria at [the time of] a great feast there, during which their kings and their nobles assembled. They had a wreathed golden ball which their kings would throw at each other and would catch in their sleeves. And what they knew from this ball was that anyone who dropped it passed from them, but that anyone into whose sleeve the ball had fallen and remained there lived to become their king.

- [L. 40] "So when 'Amr arrived at Alexandria the priest honored him in every way and he was covered by a silk brocade garment which he wore. 'Amr and the priest sat with the people in that place where they were throwing the ball at each other and were catching it in their sleeves. One of the men threw it and it began to fall until it fell into the sleeve of Amr and they were amazed at that. They said, 'This time, only, has this ball ever lied to us! Do you believe this Arab will become our king? This will never be!'

- [L. 45] "That priest went in among the people of Alexandria and told them that twice 'Amr had saved his life and that he had guaranteed him two-thousand dinars. He asked them to collect that for him from whatever [money] there was among them. So they did, and they paid it to 'Amr and 'Amr and his companion set off. The priest sent with them a guide and a messenger; he provided them with supplies and honored them until he and his companion returned to their companions.

"So by that means 'Amr knew the entrance to and the exit from Egypt; and he saw what was known about it, [namely] that it was the best country and the most abundant in wealth. When 'Amr returned to his companions, he paid them what was [the value] among them of a thousand dinars and he kept for himself a thousand. 'Amr said, 'It was the first wealth that I contracted for and thereby became rich!'"