

Melkites in Egypt According to Abu al-Makarim (XII Century) / Youhanna Nessim Youssef. — Extrait de : Parole de l'Orient : revue semestrielle des études syriaques et arabes chrétiennes : recherches orientales : revue d'études et de recherches sur les églises de langue syriaque. — vol. 34 (2009), pp. 251-279.

Titre de couverture : Actes du colloque melkite : Jounieh, janvier 2008. — Bibliogr.

I. église melkite — Histoire. II. église melkite — égypte — Histoire — Moyen âge. III. Abu al-Makarim — Critique et interprétation.

PER L1183 / FT259685P

MELKITES IN EGYPT ACCORDING TO
ABŪ AL-MAKĀRIM (XII CENTURY)

BY
Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF*

Introduction	253
1. <i>Melkites in Egypt in the Middle Ages.</i>	253
2. <i>The book of Abū al-Makārim</i>	253
A. Cairo	254
1. <i>Hārit Zuwailah</i>	254
2. <i>Hārit al-Rūm</i>	255
3. <i>Hārit Bargwān</i>	257
4. <i>Matarīya</i>	257
B. Delta	258
1. <i>Kom Išfin</i>	258
2. <i>Qalyūb</i>	258
3. <i>Sammannūd</i>	259
4. <i>The lake of Tanīs (Abwān from al-Bašmūr)</i>	259
5. <i>Mahallah Kubra Bihrimis</i>	260
6. <i>Dimirah al-Buhēriyah and Diqwā'</i>	260
7. <i>Zifā</i>	261
8. <i>Quwisna</i>	261
9. <i>Daqahlyah (Mīnyat Šaha, Al-Barmūnian, Busāt Qurus, Tanāh)</i> ..	262
10. <i>Fīša</i>	262

*) This study is dedicated to the memory Father Maurice Martin S.J. who consecrated his scholarly activity for the study of the book of Abū al-Makārim. I would like to thank father Samir Khalil for his kind invitation and father Nagi Edelby for his tireless efforts to present this paper in the colloquium.

Abbreviations:

CE = Coptic Encyclopedia edited by Aziz S. Atiya, MacMillan, New York, 1991.

TIMM = Stefan TIMM, *Das christlich-koptische Agypten in arabischer Zeit*, [coll. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients 41/1-6], Wiesbaden, 1984-1992. (We adopt, in this article, the transliteration of Timm for the toponyms).

11. <i>Damietta</i>	263
C. Alexandria	264
1. <i>First Text</i>	264
2. <i>Second Text</i>	264
3. <i>Third Text</i>	265
4. <i>Fourth Text</i>	265
5. <i>Fifth Text</i>	267
6. <i>Sixth Text</i>	267
7. <i>Seventh Text</i>	270
D. South of Cairo	270
1. <i>The Melkite Dēr al-qusēr</i>	270
2. <i>Ḥalwān district</i>	271
3. <i>Atfih</i>	271
4. <i>Saft Mēdūm</i>	272
Conclusions	272
1. <i>Churches</i>	272
2. <i>Population</i>	274
3. <i>Monastic life</i>	274
4. <i>Venerated saints</i>	274
5. <i>Intercummunal relationship</i>	275
Bibliography	276

INTRODUCTION

1. *Melkites in Egypt in the Middle Ages*

Melkites¹ played important role in Medieval Egypt, among the monks of St Catherine Monastery many monks bear the *nisbah* (place of origin) “al-Maṣrī” implying that they are from Cairo among them: Afthimi al-Miṣrī², Agathun Ibn Faish al-Tūrsīnī³, Arsanī al-Miṣrī⁴, Athanasi al-Misri⁵, Mikha’īl al-Miṣrī⁶, and Qusṭanṭīn Ibn Abī al-Ma’ālī Abī al-Faṭḥ⁷.

There were also some congregations of Melkites in Lower Egypt such as in Sunbat from where came Buṭrus Ibn Salim al-Sunbātī a Melchite hieromonk from the village of Sunbat, who in 1199 was living at the monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai⁸.

There was a bishop for Cairo, we know the name of one of them Butrus a thirteenth-century Melkite bishop of Miṣr⁹. And there was a bishop of Damietta, one of them was Marqus in the fourteenth-century¹⁰. It is known that during the Crusades Damietta had a considerable Christian population that was strongly Melkite¹¹.

2. *The book of Abū al-Makārim*¹²

The book attributed to Abū al-Makārim is a compilation of previous

1) P. GALADZA, «Eastern Catholic Christianity», in K. PERRY (ed.) *Blackwell companion to Eastern Christianity*, 2007, pp. 291-317; especially pp. 297-298.

2) Samir KHALIL S.J., «Afthimi al-Misri», *CE* 1, p. 65b.

3) Samir KHALIL S.J., «Agathun Ibn Fasih al-Tursini», *CE* 1, pp. 70a-70b.

4) Samir KHALIL S.J., «Arsani al-Misri», *CE* 1, pp. 239a-239b.

5) Samir KHALIL S.J., «Athanasi al-Misri», *CE* 2, p. 297b.

6) Samir KHALIL S.J., «Mikha'il al-Misri», *CE* 5, pp. 1630a-1630b.

7) Samir KHALIL S.J., «Qustantin Ibn Abi al-Ma'ali Abi al-Fath Abu al-Fath», *CE* 7, pp. 2046a-2047b.

8) Samir KHALIL S.J., «Butrus Ibn Salim al-Sunbati», *CE* 2, pp. 430b-431a.

9) Samir KHALIL S.J., «Butrus», *CE* 2, p. 428b).

10) Samir KHALIL S.J., «Marqus», *CE* 5, pp. 1541b-1542a.

11) Aziz S. ATIYA, «Ayyubid Dynasty and the Copts», *CE* 1, pp. 314a-315a.

12) Our references refer to the edition of Samuel AL-SURIANI, تاريخ الكنائس والأديرة في القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي لأبي المكارم الذي نسب خطأ إلى أبي صالح الارمني [History of the churches and monasteries in the twelfth century according to Abu al-Makarim which was falsely attributed to Abu Salih the Armenian], Cairo, 1984, 4 vols. and also B.T. EVETTS and A.J. BUTLER, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some Neighbouring countries, attributed to Abū Salih the Armenian*, Oxford, 1895.

sources written by one or more successors of Abū-al-Makārim¹³. In the last years several studies had been done using this book as a source¹⁴. In this paper we will focus on the Melkite community in Egypt.

We will highlight as far as possible the places which they have a good congregation, their churches and their patron saints.

Here are the quotations from the book of Abū al-Makārim mentioning Melkites, classified according to the geography, with a short commentary.

A. CAIRO

1. *The Ḥarīt Zuwailah*¹⁵

Fol. 5b, p. 5:

بالحارة المذكورة كنيسة ماري نقوله بالدرب المعروف بالسديد بيئر زويلة وكانت لطيفة جدا فحدد انشاءها في الخلافة الامرية واهتم بعمارتها ابو البركات ابن ابي الليث واخيه واهل نحلته واهل الكاثوليكا بالقاهرة واذا وصلوا الروم والفرنج وغيرهم من سائر الاجناس يقدسوا لهم بها على مذبح مفرد واذا حضر بطرك الملكية نزل بها وهي تعرف بابن الحدة.

In the aforesaid lane, (there is) a church of lord (*Marī*) Nicolas¹⁶ in the

13) Ugo ZANETTI, « Abu l-Makarim et Abu Salih », in *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 34 (1995), 85-133. Johannes DEN HEIJER, « The Composition of the History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt -Some preliminary remarks », in *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies Washington 12-15 August 1992*, David JOHNSON (ed.), vol. 2, Part 1, Roma, 1993, pp. 209-219.

14) Among them, cf. Samuel AL-SURIANI, « Icônes et iconographie d'après le manuscrit d'Abu el-Makarim, publié en arabe au Caire 1984 », in *Le Monde Copte* 18, (1990), 78. Maurice MARTIN SJ, « Le Delta chrétien à la fin du XII^e s. », in *OCP* 63 (1997), 181-199. Maurice MARTIN SJ, « Alexandrie chrétienne à la fin du XII^e d'après Abū l-Makārim », in *Alexandrie médiévale 1*, Christian DÉCOBERT et Jean Yves EMPEREUR (eds.), (coll. Études alexandrines 3), Cairo, 1998, pp. 45-49. Maurice MARTIN SJ, « Chrétiens et musulmans à la fin du XII^e siècle », in *Valeur et distance: Identités et Sociétés en Égypte*, Paris, 2000, pp. 83-92. Maurice MARTIN SJ, « Dévotions populaires au Caire à la fin du XII^e siècle », in *Aegyptus Christiana, Mélanges d'Hagiographie Égyptienne et Orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos* Bollandiste, Ugo ZANETTI et Enzo LUCCHESI (eds.), (coll. Cahiers d'Orientalisme XXV), Patrick Cramer, Genève, 2004, pp. 313-320.

15) Myriam WISSA, « Harit Zuwaylah », *CE* 4, pp. 1207b-1209a. Otto F. August MEINARDUS, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, American University in Cairo, Cairo, 1977, pp. 301-304.

lane known as al-Sadīd at the Zuwailah well. It was very small and its building was renovated by Abū al-Barakat Ibn al-Layth¹⁷, his brother, his congregation and the Catholics in Cairo during the caliphate of al-Amir (1101-1130 AD); and when the Byzantines (*Rūm*) and the Franks and the other nations came to it, they celebrated on a separated altar. And when the patriarch of the Melkites came, he dwelt in it. And it is known as Ibn al-Guddah.

Commentary

It goes without saying that Saint Nicolas was a bishop of Asia Minor who is also commemorated in the Coptic Church¹⁸ (1101-1130).

2. *Ḥārit al-Rūm*¹⁹

Fol. 9a, p. 10:

وبهذه الحارة عدة كنائس للملكية وهم كنيسة مار نقولا ثم نقلت باسم اندرواس التلميذ بالدرب المعروف بالنباذين كنيسة الاربعين شهيد: كنيسة بربارة: كنيسة مار جرجس للملكية يدفنون موتاهم في هذه الكنائس.

In this lane there are several churches for the Melkites:

they are the church of Saint Nicolas, which was later named after Andrew the disciple in the way known as al-Nabazīn²⁰,

The Church of the forty martyrs,

The Church of Barbara,

The church of Saint George for the Melkites. They bury their dead in these churches.

16) There is a special devotion to saint Nicolas among the Melkites in Cairo. The patriarchate is named after him. It goes without saying that Saint Nicolas was a bishop of Asia Minor. cf. Gérard VIAUD, *Le secret des mystérieuses rues du Caire*, le Caire, 1990, p. 7.

17) The first vizier of al-Amir (1101-1130), al-Afdal, appointed a Christian and a Jew to the head of the *Dīwān al-tahqīq* (office of justice) that he had just founded (1107-1108) to supervise expenditure. The Christian, Abu al-Barakāt Yuḥannā ibn Abi Layth, held this post until his execution in 1134. The renovation of the church should take place between 1108-1134 when Ibn Layth was holding this office.

18) De Lacy O'LEARY, *The Saints of Egypt*, London, 1937, pp. 208-209.

19) Gérard VIAUD, *Le secret des mystérieuses rues du Caire*, Le Caire, 1990, p. 2. Aziz S. ATIYA, «Harit al-Rum», *CE* 4, pp. 1206b-1207b. Otto F. August MEINARDUS, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, American University in Cairo, Cairo, 1977, pp. 304-305.

20) The name of this way means «the nickname».

Commentary

For saint Nicolas see above.

Saint Andrew is the brother of Peter and son of Jonah. He is mentioned in the Gospels several times. Several early traditions are related to Saint Andrew. According to Eusebius relying, apparently, upon Origen, Andrew's mission field was Ἀνδρέας δὲ τὴν Σκυθίαν «Andrew in Scythia»²¹ Saint Gregory of Nazianzus in the Homily 33 mentions: «What is in common between Paul and the Nations... Ἀνδρέα πρὸς τὴν Ἡπειρον»²². St. Jerome in his letter LIX to Marcella mentions «In omnibus locis uersabatur:... cum Andrea in Achaia» «(God) was everywhere: ...with Andrew in Achaia»²³. While Theodoret of Cyrus in his commentary on the psalm 117 mentions: «Thus the divinely inspired Andrew illuminated Greece with the rays of the knowledge of God»²⁴. The homily number 19 of Proclus of Constantinople was entirely dedicated to Saint Andrew. There is a late tradition that he preached in Byzantium.

The forty martyrs of Sebaste suffered the martyrdom in Asia Minor²⁵. Severus of Antioch delivered two homilies commemorating these martyrs i.e. homily 18 and homily 41. A church in the monastery of al-Suriani is named after them²⁶.

Saint Barbara is also from a Roman origin and also commemorated in

21) Gustave BARDY, *Eusèbe de Césarée, Histoire Ecclésiastique* (coll. Sources Chrétiennes 31), Cerf, Paris, 1952, Ch. III:1/1, p. 97.

22) C. MORESCHINI et P. GALLAY, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 32-37* (coll. Sources Chrétiennes 318), Cerf, Paris, 1985, Homélie 33: 11, pp. 180-181.

23) J. LABOURT, *Saint Jérôme, Lettres*, Tome III (Coll. des Universités de France publié sous le patronage de L'association Guillaume Bude), Paris, 1953, p. 89. According to Gregory of Nazianzus, Luke went to Achaia cf. C. MORESCHINI et P. GALLAY, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 32-37* (coll. Sources Chrétiennes 318), Cerf, Paris, 1985, Homily 33: 11, pp.180-181.

24) Robert HILL, *Theodoret of Cyrus, Commentary on the Psalms, Psalms 73-150* (coll. The Fathers of the Church, a New translation 102), Catholic University of America Press, Washington D.C., 2001, p. 236: 4-6.

25) De Lacy O'LEARY, *The Saints of Egypt*, London, 1937, pp. 247-248.

26) Otto F. August MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, American University in Cairo, Cairo, 2002, p. 142, while wrongly identify it as the Church of the Forty Nine martyrs. Hugh G. EVELYN-WHITE, *The Monasteries of Wadi 'n Natrun*, ed. Walter HAUSER et al., vol. 3 (coll. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition), New York 1932, pp. 208-209.

the Coptic Church²⁷.

Saint George is originally from Cappadocia and is also commemorated in the Coptic Church²⁸.

3. *Ḥārīt Bargwān*

Fol. 11a, p. 14:

كنيسة توما التلميذ انشأها في المناخات السلطانية وهي للملكية وهي التي انشأها
امير الجيوش بدر في الخلافة المستنصرية.

The church of Thomas the disciple in the sultanian manakhat²⁹, it belongs to the Melkites and it was built by Amir al-Guyūš Badr³⁰ during the caliphate of al-Mustansir (1035-1094 AD).

Commentary

According to the Coptic Synaxarium Thomas preached in India, Prakias and Macedonia. He is commemorated on the 26 Pachons³¹. It seems as this church was a recent construction, the patriarch dedicated to Saint Thomas, patron- saint of Macedonia, which is also close to Constantinople.

4. *Maṭariya*³²

Fol. 21a, p. 28:

وفي هذه البئر الحجر الذي جلس عليه سيدنا يسوع المسيح له المجد عندما اتى من
الشام الى ارض مصر والسيدة العذرى مرتميم مع الشيخ المنتخب يوسف النجار.

وعادة رسل الروم والفرنجة والحبيشة والنوبة اذا وصلوا الى الباب يتوجهوا الى المطرية
وينصبوا المذابح ويقدموا ويتقربوا بعد ان يستحموا من ماء.

At that well was the stone on which our Lord Jesus Christ –to whom is the glory– sat when he came to the land of Egypt with the Lady Virgin

27) De Lacy O'LEARY, *The Saints of Egypt*, London, 1937, p. 98.

28) De Lacy O'LEARY, *The Saints of Egypt*, London, 1937, pp. 140-145.

29) I.e. the place of kneeling the camels of the sultan.

30) Subhi Y. LABIB, «Badr al-Jamali», *CE* 2, pp. 324b-326a, c. 1073-1079 AD.

31) I. FORGET, *Synaxarium Alexandrinum*, CSCO 67, Peeters, Louvain, 1954, pp. 139-141.

32) Ugo ZANETTI, «Matarieh, la sainte-Famille et les baumiers», *Analecta Bollandiana* 111 (1993), 21-62. TIMM, 41/4 Wiesbaden, 1988, pp. 1613-1620.

(Mart) saint Mary and the chosen elder, Joseph the carpenter.

Usually the messenger of the Byzantine (Rum) and the franks, the Abyssinians and the Nubians when they reached the gate (of the city) they went to Maṭarīya and erected altars and celebrated (the Eucharist) and partook (the communion) and afterwards they bathed with its water.

Commentary

The Melkites are not mentioned expressly and this is not a church but just a portable altar.

B. DELTA

1. *Kom Išfīn*³³

Fol. 26a, p. 35:

كوم اشفين بيعة واحدة للملكية هدمت في دولة الغز.

Kom Išfīn one church for the Melkites and it was destroyed during the reign of the Guzz.

Commentary

Kom Išfīn is in Qalyub not far from Musturud, the name of the church is not mentioned. A church Coptic is attested in the eighteenth century.

2. *Qalyūb*³⁴

Fol. 26b, p. 36:

وللملكية بهذه الناحية كنيسة واحدة عامرة وللبيع بها سبعة افدنة طين سواد نقل ذلك الى فقهاء المسلمين.

And the Melkites has a prosperous (active) church at this region. The Churches owned seven feddans of black soil and they had been transferred to the Muslim jurist (Fuqaha).

Commentary

The name of the church is not mentioned. The reason of transferring the

33) TIMM, 41/3, Wiesbaden, 1985, p. 1433.

34) TIMM, 41/5, Wiesbaden, 1991, pp. 2099-2100.

land of the Melkites is not known; it might be that the congregation was not strong enough to defend its right from Muslims.

3. *Sammannūd*³⁵

Fol. 31b, p. 45:

وبيعة للملكية خارج مدينة سمونود على اسم القديس ابو جرج وكانت قد وهت
وجددت عمارتها بمساعدة جماعة النصارى اليعاقبة بمالهم وجاههم في الخلافة
العاضدية ووزارة طالع ابن رزيك.

Outside the city of Sammannūd, there was a church of the Melkites named after saint Abū George. It was decayed and it was renovated with the help of a body of Jacobite Christians at their expenses and their dignity during the caliphate of al-'Adid and the vizierate of Tali' ibn Ruzaik.

Commentary

For saint George see above.

The Melkite congregation of Sammannūd was small and poor hence they needed the helps of the Copts

4. *The lake of Tanīs (Abwān from al-Bašmūr)*³⁶

Fol. 31b, p. 45:

بيعة للسيدة الطاهرة للملكيين
دير ابو بنحوم للملكية خرب بيد الغز في سنة اربعة وستين وخمسائة
ابوان وقراها من البشمور بابوان للملكية سبعة بيع عامرة.

A church of the Melkites dedicated to the Pure Lady.

A monastery of saint Pachomius of the Melkite and it was destroyed by the Guzz in the year 564³⁷.

Abwān³⁸ and its villages from al-Bašmūr³⁹, the Melkites had seven prosperous churches.

35) TIMM, 41/5, Wiesbaden, 1991, pp. 2254-2263.

36) TIMM, 41/6, Wiesbaden, 1992, p. 2504.

37) 564 AH = 1168 AD.

38) TIMM, 41/1, Wiesbaden, 1984, p. 56.

39) TIMM, 41/1, Wiesbaden, 1984, pp. 354-356.

Commentary

The monastery of Saint Pachomius is one of rare monasteries in the hand of the Melkites of Egypt with the monastery of Turah⁴⁰. Despite that saint Pachomius, is from Egyptian origin, as his name shows, he is also venerated in the Chalcedonian church.

The author did not mention any name of the seven churches of Abwān.

5. *Maḥallah Kubra Bihrimis*⁴¹

Fol. 33a, p. 48:

وللملكيين بيعة على اسم جرجيوس بظاهر المحلة قريبة من بهرمس.

The Melkites had a church named after George outside of al-Maḥalla and close of Bihrimis⁴².

Commenatry

For saint George see above,

Bihrimis or Hūrīn Bihrimis as a village to the north of Maḥalla.

6. *Dimirah al-Buhēriyah*⁴³ and *Diqwā*⁴⁴

Fol. 41a, p. 62:

وللملكيين بها اربع عامرة
ناحية دكيوة بها ايضا اربعة بيع عامرة اثنين منهم للملكية.

(There are) four churches for the Melkites.

In Diqwā' there are four prosperous churches. Two of them are of the Melkites.

40) It is important to mention that the monastery of Saint Antony in the Red sea was for a while in the hand of the Melkites cf. Otto F. August MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, American University in Cairo, Cairo, 2002, pp. 6-7.

41) TIMM, 41/4, Wiesbaden, 1988, pp. 1527-1530.

42) RAMZI, vol. 1, p. 472.

43) TIMM, 41/1, Wiesbaden, 1984, pp. 427-429.

44) TIMM, 41/2, Wiesbaden, 1984, pp. 872-873.

Commentary

As most of the churches of the Lower Egypt, Abū al-Makārim did not provide the name of these churches

7. Ziftā⁴⁵

Fol. 42b, p. 64:

ناحية زفتى بيعة للملاك ميخائيل وللملكية بيعتين هدموا.

The district of Ziftā there is a church named after the angel Michael and the Melkites had two churches but they were demolished.

Commentary

The name of these two churches are not preserved, the circumstances of the destroying of these churches are not mentioned this could be an indication that this took place long time before the compiling of the book of Abū al-Makārim.

8. Quwisna

Fol. 47a, p. 75:

قويسنا بها بيعة للسيدة الطاهرة وفيها مذابح للقبط والارمن والملكية.
طناح وبها بيعة للملكيين.

In Quwisna there is a church named after the pure Lady with three altars one for the Copts, one for the Armenians and one for the Melkites.

Tanāh⁴⁶, there is a church for the Melkites.

Commentary

This is one of the multi-confessional churches⁴⁷. The patron saint is the Virgin Mary who is venerated by all the confessions. It seems that the Christians were few so that joined together in one Church. We do not have any in-

45) TIMM, 41/4, Wiesbaden, 1988, pp. 1669-1670.

46) TIMM, 41/6, Wiesbaden, 1992, pp. 2489-2491. TIMM, 41/4, Wiesbaden, 1988, pp. 1667-1668.

47) Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF, «Multiconfessional churches in Egypt during the XII Century», *Bulletin of Saint Shenouda the Archmandrite Coptic Society* 5 (1998-1999), 45-54.

formation about these multi-confessional churches. Each community might have a separate sanctuary, as was the case of the church of Saint Menas in Old-Cairo, which was shared between Copts, Armenians and Syriac up to the seventieth century⁴⁸.

9. *Daqahlyah (Minyat Šaha, Al-Barmūnian, Busāt Qurus, Tanāh)*⁴⁹

Fol. 48a, p. 78:

منية شها من الدقهلية ثلاثة بيع واحدة للارمن وللقبط (بيعة) القديس ماري
جرجس وللملكية (بيعة).
البرمونين من الدقهلية بها بيعتين للقبط على اسم السيدة العذرى و للارمن (بيعة)
للملكية (بيعة).
بساط قروص من الغربية (بيعة) للقبط (وبيعة) للملكية.

Minyat Šaha from al-Daqahlyah there are three churches: a church for the Armenians, a church for the Copts named after Saint George and a church for the Melkites.

Al-Barmūnian⁵⁰ from Daqahlyah, there is two churches: a church for the named after the lady Virgin and a church for the Armenians and a church for the Melkites.

Busāt Qurus⁵¹ from Gharbiyah, there is a church for the Copts and a church for the Melkites

Commentary

It seems that the province of Daqahlyah had large community of Christians including Armenian, Melkites and Copts.

10. *Fīša*⁵²

Fol. 51a, p. 85:

48) Charalambia COQUIN, *Les édifices Chrétiens du Vieux Caire, Vol. 1, Bibliographie et topographie historiques* [coll. Bibliothèques d'études Coptes XI], Le Caire, 1974, pp. 7-8.

49) TIMM, 41/2, Wiesbaden, 1984, pp. 556-558.

50) TIMM, 41/1, Wiesbaden, 1984, pp. 340-341.

51) TIMM, 41/1, Wiesbaden, 1984, pp. 457-459.

52) TIMM, 41/2, Wiesbaden, 1984, pp. 959-960.

فيشة بها عدة بيع لليعاقبة ثلاثة و للملكية والارمن ما لم يحيط به علم ليذكروا.

In Fīša there are several churches: Three churches of the Jacobites, and for the Melkites and Armenians an unknown number to be mentioned.

Commentary

The text here is unclear; the documentation of the compiler was not accurate.

11. Damietta⁵³

Fol. 74 b, p. 130:

دمياط بيعة للشهيد مرقوريوس صارت بيد الملكيين ولهم بها مطران مقيم فيها
(بيعة) للاباء الابرار المجاهدين بولس وبطرس وذكر في سنة ثمان وسبعين
وخمسمائة هدم للملكية بيعة.

In Damietta, there is a church (named after) Mercurius the martyr, the Melkites appropriated it, and wherein their metropolitan dwelt. (There is) a church (named after) the pure fighter, Paul and Peter, and it is denoted that in the year 578 a church of the Melkites was destroyed.

Commentary

The Metropolitan of Damietta is attested until the fourteenth century⁵⁴. The Melkite church destroyed in the year 1182AD (=578 AH) is not clear whether is the same church of Paul and Peter or another church.

Saint Mercurius is not an Egyptian Church, He is a Roman army officer who was born to a pagan Macedonian family of hunters in the third century, and suffered martyrdom in the third century in Caesarea, Cappadocia, and is credited with many subsequent miraculous appearances. He has Greek text *Saint Mercurius' Passion Under Decius*, (*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* 1274), which is substantially in agreement with the Coptic text.

53) TIMM, 41/2, Wiesbaden, 1984, pp. 530-538.

54) Cf. Introduction.

C. ALEXANDRIA

1. *First Text*

Fol. 83a, p. 144:

الاسكندرية

وفي ليلة عيد الفصح المقدس يسمى عندهم مكية يوقد اهل الثغر جميعه بالشمع في الطاقات وفي المنازل والابواب وفي الطرقات والحوانيت والشوارع ويعملون فيه الحلوى من سائر الاصناف كما يكون في الثلاثة اشهر. ومنهم قوما غزاة يقدون الزفت ويطوفون بقصاري النار والسواطير والقناديل في الازقة والشوارع من العشاء الى الصبح ويكون بينهم فرح ومسرة وعمل عيد الصليب الملكيين مثل ذلك.

And the holy paschal night, which is called Makya⁵⁵ among them (the Muslims), the inhabitants of the port lit candles in the windows and in the houses and the doors and the streets. They make all kinds of sweets as it is done in the three months. Some of them are invaders, they burn tar and they wander carrying pots of fire, choppers and oil-lamps in the lanes and streets from the evening to the next morning, they are full of delight and gladness. On the Melkite festival of the Cross, (they do) the same.

Commentary

This text shows that there are some Muslims, converted from Christianity kept their traditions whether they were previously Copts (for the Passover) or they were previously Melkites (for the feast of the Cross). The invaders had other tradition of wandering in the streets with light.

2. *Second Text*

Fol. 91b, p. 157:

بيعة بطرس الرسول راس التلاميذ جددتها البطرك المذكور ثم عادت في يد الملكيين.

The church of saint Peter the Apostle the head of the disciples, it was restored by the abovementioned patriarch and returned back to the Melkites.

55) This term is unclear.

Commentary

The abovementioned patriarch is Peter the 34th.⁵⁶ This tradition is before the Arab conquest.

3. Third Text

Fol. 94b, p. 161:

فصل وذكر انه لما كان الخلف في الامانة والفرق وطلبوا الملكية الانفراد قسمت
بيع الاسكندرية فخص اليعقوبية كنيسة القمحة هذه المقدم ذكرها وراس مرقس
وخص الملكية جسده ودير اسفل الارض وجعل الجسد فيه فسرقوه الفرنج البنادقة
وهو الان في البندقية.

It was mentioned that when there was a disagreement in the faith and the sects. The Melkites requested to have their own churches; the churches of Alexandria were divided. The Jacobites have the church of al-Qamha, which was mentioned above and the head of saint Mark. The Melkites have this body and the monastery of the monastery of Asfal al-Ard⁵⁷. His body was put there and was stolen by the franks the Venetians and he is now in Venice...

Commentary

Most of the data concerning Alexandria are assembled from documents related to the fifth to the eighth centuries, that is long time before Abū al-Makārim times, this may indicate that at his time Alexandria lost its previous splendour.

4. Fourth Text

Fol. 95b-96a, pp.163-164:

فصل واقام كرسي مدينة الاسكندرية خال بغير بطريك في مملكة فوق الملك
وتغلب الفرس سبع سنين وخلي من بطريك الملكيين سبعة وتسعين سنة بعد هروب
هرقل من الشام والاسكندرية في السنة الثالثة من مملكته من ابتداء خلافة عمر ابن
الخطاب.

56) E. R. HARDY, "Peter IV", *CE* 6, pp. 1948a-1948b.

57) René-Georges COQUIN and Maurice MARTIN, S.J., "Dayr Asfal al-Ard", *CE* 3, pp. 782b-783b.

خصم السنين التي كان كرسي الاسكندرية خال بطرك فرقة الملكية وهي سبعة وتسعين سنة خلافة عمر ابن الخطاب عشرة سنين وستة اشهر وخمسة ايام عثمان ابن عفان احد عشر سنة واحد وعشر شهر وتسعة عشر يوما خلافة علي ابن ابي طالب اربعة سنين وتسعة اشهر. خلافة الحسين ولده ستة اشهر وستة ايام معاوية ابن ابي سفيان تسعة عشر سنة وثلاثة اشهر وخمسة وعشرين يوما صخر ابن حرب يزيد ولده ثلاثة سنين وعشرة اشهر معاوية ولده اربعين يوما - مروان ابن الحكم عشرة اشهر عبد الملك ولده احد وعشرين سنة وسبعة اشهر وسبعة عشر يوما - سليمان سنتين وسبعة اشهر عمر ابن عبد العزيز سنتين وخمسة اشهر وثلاثة وعشرون يوما يزيد ابن عبد الملك اربعة سنين وشهر واحد من مملكة هشام ابن عبد الملك اربعة سنين وثمانية اشهر وستة وعشرون يوما وهذا كان محبا لجمع المال بخيلا به الى السنة الخامسة منها منذ سنة ست ومائة الى سنة عشرة ومائة السنين وتسعة وثمانين السنين تسعين شهر و مائة وثمانين يوما تصير الجملة سبعة وتسعين سنة.

And the seat of the city of Alexandria remained vacant without patriarch during the reign of Phocas. The Persian overcame (the Romans) for seven years. And it was vacant from the patriarch of the Melkites for ninety-seven years after the fleeing of Hercules from Syria (al-Sham) and Alexandria in the third year of his reign and in the beginning of the caliphate of Omar Ibn al-Khattab.

The details of year where the seat of Alexandria was vacant from the patriarch of the Melkite group are 97: during the caliphate of Omar ibn al-Khattab, ten years and six months and five days; during the days of Othman Ibn 'Affan, eleven years and ten months and nineteen days; during the days of Ali Ibn Abi Talib, four years and nine months; during the caliphate of al-Hussein his son, six month and six days, during the days of Mu'awiah Ibn Abī Sufian, nineteen years and three months and twenty five days; Sakhr ibn Ḥarb ibn Yazid his son, three years and ten months and forty days; Marwan ibn al-Hakam ten months, 'Abd al-Ḥakam his son, twenty one years and seven months and seventeen days; Sulayman, two years and seven months, Omar Ibn Abd al-Aziz two years and five months and twenty three days; Yazid ibn 'Abd al-Malik four years and one month; from the kingdom of Hišam ibn 'Abd al-Malik four years and eight months and ten days, this one was lover of silver and miser till the fifth year of it (of his reign). Since the year hundred and six to the year one hundred and ten, there were eighty-nine years ninety month and one hundred and eighty days. The total is ninety-seven years.

Commentary

This information was taken from the *Annales* of Sa'īd Ibn Baṭrīq.

5. Fifth Text

Fol. 98 b, p. 168:

وذكر ان دير اسفل الارض صار الى الملكية من القبط عند قسمة البيع وجسد مرقس بعد الفرق فصار لليعاقبة راس مرقس وكنيسة القمحا وجسد مرقس وهذا الدير للملكية وذكر انه كان دار البقر التي استشهد بها الطاهر مرقس وجرجر منها بحبل في رجله المدينة كلها.

It was mentioned that the monastery of Asfal-al-Ard became in the hands of the Melkites from the Copts when the churches were divided and the body of Mark after the division and the head of saint mark became for the Jacobites. The Church of al-Qamha and the body of Mark. This monastery belongs to the Melkites and it was mentioned that it was the Bucalis, (the cow stable) the spot where Saint Mark was martyred and from there he was pulled with a rope in his leg around the whole city.

Commentary

Both Copts and Melkites claimed the notoriety of Saint Mark.

6. Sixth Text

Fol. 99a, p. 169:

فصل يتضمن ما يخص طائفة الملكية داخل الثغر وخارجه فيه بيعة ابو مينا بخط صف العمدة وباب اليهود يخرج منه الى خارج البلد للملكية والملاقطه شركة.

فصل ذكر ان لهذه البيعة ذهب وفضة وبلور وكساوي ومن حملتها ثوب وابرزفان بخيط ذهب نسيج فيه صورة سيدنا المسيح والملك والملكة وكاس غروي حمري وقبضته عليها ثعابين وصينية ذهب مصلبة مكللة بالجوهر والاحجار الكريمة وقونة ذهب فيها صورة السيدة والسد في حضنها مما كان وصل صحبة انبا ساباس ابن الليث في خلافة الامر ووزارة الافضل شاهنشاه وذكر انها تساوي عشرة الاف دينار مصري. سابا هذا كان مطببا ووجد الملك مريض فداواه فعوفي واكرمه كرامة كثيرة حتى انه كان يركب نهارا بالقسطنطينية راكب فرس ويده شمعة تقد.

بيعة ماري جرجس بخط مسلة فرعون وهذه المسلة علم من اعلام الفراعنة وباب

اليهود للملكية وجسد ايانوس البطريك الثاني بعد مرقس مدفونا خارج هذه البيعة ولا يعرفه احد.

بيعة بالقبة شرقي الاسكندرية شركة بين الملكية والجنوئين.

بيعة مار نقولا بخط حمام الاخوين شركة بين الملكية والبيسانيين.

بيعة مار سابا بخط القمرة للملكية وكانوا يصلون بها وشهد تاريخ سعيد ابن بطريق الملكي ان يعقوبية تغلبوا على بيع الملكية بالاسكندرية ومصر الى ان صار قسما بطرك للملكية وكان اميا وصناعته عمل الابر وخرج الى دمشق الى هشام ابن عبد الملك واخذ منه امره باعادة كنائسهم اليهم.

بيعة يوحنا المعمدانى لطيفة جدا مرقد رجلين لاغير للملكية في الجبالين والسوق الكبرى ذكر ان هذه البيعة كانت كبيرة جدا اهتم بتجديدها فيلاناوس البطريك الثالث والستون في العدد ثم غلب المسلمين عليها واخذوا معظمها وانشأوه در وحوانيت وبقى فيها هذا الجزء لا غير.

بيعة القيسارية للملكية.

بيعة كرنوا التي قتل فيها بروطارس بطريك الملكية بيد اهل الاسكندرية...

That chapter contains what belongs to the sect of the Melkite inside and outside the harbour, in it the church of Abū Menas in the road (Khat) of colonnade and the gate of the Jews through which it leads to the outside of the city. This (church) is for the Melkites and the Maltese (Malaqitah) together.

Chapter: It was mentioned that these churches owned gold, silver, crystal and veils among which a garment and an altar clothe (Prospherine) with the image of our Lord Christ embroidered with golden thread and the king and the queen. (There is) a wonderful reddish chalice with serpents on its handle, a golden paten with a cross carved with jewels and precious stones; a golden icon with the image of Lady and Lord in her bosom. All these were brought by Anba Sabas Ibn al-Laith in the caliphate of Al-Amir and the vizierate of al-Afdal Sahanshah. It was mentioned that the estimated price was 10.000 Egyptian dinars. This Sabas was a physician and he found the king sick, he treated him and he (the king) was cured. So he (the king) extremely honoured him (Sabas) so that he rode at daytime in Constantinople a horse and holding a lighted candle in his hand.

The church of Saint George, in the road of obelisk of Pharoah, this obelisk is a monument of the pharaonic monuments, and the gate of the jews

is for the Melkites and the body of Anianus the second patriarch after Mark is buried outside this church and nobody knows its place.

A church in Cupa (dome) in the east of Alexandria, this was shared between Melkites and Genenoans.

Church of Saint Nicolas in the road of the bath of the two brothers, it was shared between Melkites and Pisanians.

The church of Saint Sabas in the road of al-Qumra, in which the Melkites pray. The annales of Said Ibn Batriq the Melkite testified that the Jacobites laid hands on the churches of the Melkites in Alexandria and Cairo (Misr) till Cosma became patriarch for the Melkites and he was illiterate and worked as a maker of needles. He went to Damascus and could get a decree from Hisham Ibn Abdel Malek to restore their property of the churches.

The church of John the Baptist, is so small. It is the burial place for Melkite persons⁵⁸. It is between the (lane of the) Rope-makers and the big market. It was mentioned that this church was very large. The patriarch Philotheus⁵⁹, the sixty-third in number (of succession) undertook its restoration however Muslim prevailed over it and took most of (its surface). They built houses and shops and what remained was only this part.

Church of the Qaysariyyah (Caesaea) belongs to the Melchites.

Church of Creniua, where Proterius the Melkite patriarch was assassinated by the inhabitants of Alexandria. His body was transported on camelback to the stadium Ptolemy where it was burned.

Commentary

The rest of the account of Abū al-Makārim is taken from the Chronicle of Said Ibn Batrik about the reign of Justinian known as the philosopher and the patriarchate of Apollinarius⁶⁰.

Saint Menas is commemorated by Copts and Melkites.

Saint Sabas is an important saint for Melkite, he was a monk in the sixth in Palestine.

For saint George and saint Nicolas see above.

58) The text is not clear; it could mean also that it only can contain two persons sleeping. It belongs to the Melkites.

59) Subhi Y. LABIB, «Philotheus», *CE* 6, pp. 1959b-1960a. Coptic patriarch 979-1003.

60) Jean MASPERO, *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie depuis la mort de l'empereur Anastase jusqu'à la réconciliation des églises jacobites* (published posthumously, Paris, 1923).

7. Seventh Text

Fol. 12b-14a:

وكان هذا ابن القنبر قد جمع جماعة من الملكية المخالفين لنا في الامانة الارثوذكسية مع من انتمى اليه من جهال القبط الساذجين... وخرجوا من قلوب باسو حال ثم بلغه وصوب بطرك الملكية من الاسكندرية وانه مقيم بابوان فتوجه اليه ليسلم عليه ويهنيه بالسلامة ومعه جميعه يزكوا مقاتله اذا اشتكى حاله.

The end of this was that he went over the sect of the Melkites, and confessed the Two natures and the Melkites received him

Fol. 15b -:

وابطل ثلاثة ايام نينوى والجمعة الاولى من الصوم الكبير على رسم طائفة الملكية... فاما امر اعتقاده الذي اظهره وضمنه الكتب التي فيها ما لا يوافق عليه طائفة من طوائف النصرارى جميعهم ولا الملكية ايضا...

He also abrogated the three days of the Fast of Nineveh and the firstweek of the Fast, according to the rule of the Melkites... Moreover, his creed, which he expounded and which is contained in the books, which he wrote, is such no Christian community accepts, not even the Melkites who he approached.

Fol. 49b:

Volume two

South of Cairo

The affairs of Ibn Qanbar⁶¹.

D. SOUTH OF CAIRO

1. The Melkite *Dēr al-quṣēr*⁶²

واصطات البطريرك انشا في هذا الدير بيعة الابسطلي وانشا قلية للاساقفة وهو بيد

61) For a detailed study about this person, cf. Samir KHALIL, « Vie et œuvre de Marc Ibn al-Qunbar », in *Christianisme d'Égypte, Hommages à René-George Coquin* (coll. Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Coptes 9), Peeters, Louvain, 1995, pp.123-158.

62) TIMM, 41/2, Wiesbaden, 1984, pp. 779-789.

الملكيين وفيه جماعة من رهبانهم ويعيد له كل سنة عيد القديس ارسانيوس في
ثالث عشر بشنس واصطبات هذا كان تاجرا في الكتان فوجد كنز في المدق
وترهب في هذا الدير وبنا فيه ما تقدم ذكره وصير بعد ذلك بطريك للملكيين واقام
مدة بطركيته اربعة وستين سنة.

The patriarch Eustathius founded this monastery the church of the of the Apostles, and he founded a cell for the bishops. The monastery is in the possession of the Melkites, and contains a body of their monks. There is kept every year the festival of saint Arsenius, on the 13th of Bashans. This Eustathius was a linen-merchant, found a treasure on a pathway, and then he became a monk in this monastery and built in it that which has been mentioned. After that he was made patriarch of the Melkites and the length of his patriarchate was sixty-four years.

Fol. 53 a:

2. *Halwān district*⁶³

بيعة النصارى فراشي عبد العزيز ابن مروان على اسم الشهيد الجليل ماري جرجس
وكانت هذه البيعة لطيفة وتعرف بكنيسة الفراشين وكانوا هولاء النصارى الفراشين
ملكية.

This church was founded by the Christian chamberlains 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Marwan, in the name of the glorious martyr Saint George. This church was small, and was called the church of the Chamberlains. These Christian chamberlains were Melkites.

Commentary

For saint George see above.

Fol. 56b.

3. *Atfih*⁶⁴

وبيعة للشهيد ابو مينا المعروفة بكنيسة العمود وعليها قونة ويحمل اليه النذور كثيرة
وللملكية بها هيكل يقدسون عليه.

(There is) a church of saint Abū Menas called the church of the column

63) TIMM, 41/3, Wiesbaden, 1985, pp. 1074-1078.

64) TIMM, 41/1, Wiesbaden, 1984, pp. 251-256.

over which is an icon to which many votive offering are brought. The Melkites have a sanctuary in this last church, which they celebrate the liturgy.

Commentary

For saint Menas see above.

Fol. 64b.

4. *Saft Mēdūm*⁶⁵

سفت ميدوم بها بيعة جامعة فيها ثلاث مذابح اخدهم للقبط وهو الوسطاني باسم الشهيد تادرس والثاني للارمن على اسم الشهيد الجليل ماري جرجس والثالث للسيدة العذرى مرتمريم وهو للملكيين.

Saft Mēdūm, here there is an ecumenical church containing three altars: in the middle, belonging to the Copts and named after the valiant martyr Theodore; the second belonging to the Armenians an, and named after the glorious martyr Saint George; the third dedicated to the Lady, the Virgin Mary and belonging to the Melkites.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Churches

The Melkites in Egypt were mainly in Cairo, few cities of Lower Egypt. For Alexandria, the Book of Abū al-Makārim does not reflect the situation of the Melkites in the Twelfth century but rather it is a compilation of previous sources.

South of Cairo there were only two churches mentioned which were shared with the Copts in *Atfīh* and *Saft Mēdūm*.

Church	Suburb	City	Remarks
St. Nicolas	Ḥārit Zuwailah	Cairo	Renovated by Ibn al-Layth.
St. Nicolas, the forty martyrs St. Babara St George	Ḥārit al-Rūm	Cairo	It was later named after Andrew.

65) TIMM, 41/5, Wiesbaden, 1991, pp. 2228-2229.

Thomas	Ḥārīt Bargwān	Cairo	
Virgin Mary	Maṭarīya	Cairo	Portable altar Pilgrimage for the Franks, Byzantine, Ethiopians and Nu- bians
Unnamed	Kom Išfīn	Delta	Destroyed by Ghuzz
Unnamed	Qalyūb	Delta	The Muslim jurists hijacked its posses- sion
St George	Outside of the city Sammannūd	Delta	Renovated by the help of the Jacobites
Virgin Mary monastery of St Pachomius	The lake of Tanīs	Delta	it was destroyed by the Ghuzz in the year 564 (1168)
Seven unnamed churches	Abwān from al- Bašmūr	Delta	
St George	Outside of Maḥallah Kubra close to Bihrimis	Delta	
4 unnamed churches	Dimirah al- Buhēriyah	Delta	
2 unnamed churches	Diqwā'	Delta	
2 unnamed churches	Ziftā	Delta	Destroyed already in the time of Abū al-Makārim
Virgin Mary	Quwisna	Delta	Multi-confessional for Copts, Melkites and Armenians
Unnamed church	Tanāh	Delta	
Unnamed church	Mīnyat Šaha	Delta	
Unnamed church	Al-Barmūnian	Delta	
Unnamed church	Busāt Qurus	Delta	
Unknown number	Fīša	Delta	Multi-confessional for Armenians and Melkites

St. Mercurius	Damietta	Delta	Dwelling of the Metropolitan
Peter and Paul	Damietta	Delta	Destroyed in 1182.
	Alexandria	Alexandria	festival of the Cross
Peter the Apostle	Alexandria	Alexandria	Returned to the hand of the Melkites
Church of St Mark with his body	Alexandria	Alexandria	
monastery of Asfal al-Ard	Alexandria	Alexandria	
The Melkite Dēr al-quṣēr	Turah	South of Cairo	
St George	Halwān district	South of Cairo	Church of the Chamberlains.
An altar	Atfīh	South of Cairo	Multi-confessional church
An altar, the Virgin Mary	Saft Mēdūm	South of Cairo	Multi-confessional church

2. Population

It is important to mention that the concentration of Christians in general was in special suburbs such as Hārit Zuwailah, Hārit al-Rūm (in Cairo).

In the provinces, Christians in general and Melkites in particular have their churches outside the towns such as in Sammannūd, Maḥallah Kubra (close to Bihrimis)

Melkites shared some churches with Copts such as in Saft Mēdūm, Atfīh, Quwisna.

3. Monastic life

As for Monasticism of the Melkites in Egypt, we have two inhabited monasteries one in Dēr al-quṣēr and one in Alexandria, while the other monastery of Tanīs was destroyed.

4. Venerated saints

The documentation of Abū al-Makārim is incomplete showing 19 churches unnamed out of 33 churches.

Most of the Melkite churches are named after saints accepted by Copts except saint Sabas in Alexandria.

It is important to mention that most of the churches are dedicated to non-egyptian saints except the monastery of saint Pachomius.

5. Intercummunal relationship

The book of Abū al-Makārim reflects the evolution of the attitude between Copts and Melkites, while in the early centuries of the Arab conquest Melkites and Copts tried to get churches from the other denomination such as the case for the churches of Alexandria or the monastery of St Menas. But later, under the Islamic government, the two Christian factions collaborated together for keeping their churches, either by sharing the church or even such in Quwisna the Coptic community helped Melkites for the restoration of their Church or the patriarch Philotheus who restored the church of John the Baptist in Alexandria.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aziz S. ATIYA, «Ayyubid Dynasty and the Copts», in *Coptic Encyclopedia*, MacMillan, 1991, vol. 1, pp. 314a-315a.
- , «Harit al-Rum», in *Coptic Encyclopedia*, MacMillan, 1991, vol. 4, pp. 1206b-1207b.
- Gérard BARDY *Eusèbe de Césarée, Histoire Ecclésiastique* (coll. « Sources Chrétiennes 31), Cerf, Paris, 1952.
- Butler see EVETTS.
- René-Georges COQUIN and Maurice MARTIN, S. J., «Dayr Asfal al-Ard», in *Coptic Encyclopedia*, MacMillan, New York, 1991, vol. 3, pp. 782b-783b.
- Charalambia COQUIN, *Les édifices Chrétiens du Vieux Caire, Vol. 1, Bibliographie et topographie historiques* [coll. Bibliothèques d'études Coptes XI], Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1974.
- Johannes DEN HEIJER, «The Composition of the History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt -Some preliminary remarks», in *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies Washington 12-15 August 1992*, D avid JOHNSON (ed.), vol. 2, Part 1, Roma, 1993, pp. 209-219.
- Hugh G. EVELYN-WHITE, *The Monasteries of Wadi 'n Natrun*, Walter HAUSER et al. (ed.), vol 3. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, New York, 1932.
- B.T. EVETTS and Alfred Joshua BUTLER, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some Neighbouring countries, attributed to Abû Salih the Armenian*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1895.
- I. FORGET, *Synaxarium Alexandrinum* (coll. CSCO 67), Peeters, Louvain, 1954.
- Peter GALADZA, «Eastern Catholic Christianity», in Ken PARRY (ed.), *Blackwell companion to Eastern Christianity*, Blackwell publishing, 2007, pp. 291-317.
- GKALLAY, see MORESCHINI.
- E. R. HARDY, «Peter IV», in *Coptic Encyclopedia*, MacMillan, New York, 1991, vol. 6, pp. 1948a-1948b.

- Robert HILL, *Theodoret of Cyrus, Commentary on the Psalms, Psalms 73-150* (coll. The Fathers of the Church, a New translation 102), Catholic University of America Press, Washington D.C., 2001.
- Samir Khalil SAMIR, S.J., «Afthimi al-Misri», in *Coptic Encyclopedia*, MacMillan, New York, 1991, vol. 1, p. 65b.
- , «Agathun Ibn Fasih al-Tursini», in *Coptic Encyclopedia*, MacMillan, New York, 1991, vol. 1, pp. 70a-70b.
- , «Arsani al-Misri», in *Coptic Encyclopedia*, MacMillan, New York, 1991, vol. 1, pp. 239a-239b.
- , «Athansi al-Misri», in *Coptic Encyclopedia*, MacMillan, New York, 1991, vol. 2, p. 297b.
- , «Mikha'il al-Misri», in *Coptic Encyclopedia*, MacMillan, New York, 1991, vol. 5, pp. 1630a-1630b.
- , «Qustantin Ibn Abi al-Ma'ali Abi al-Fath Abū al-Fath», in *Coptic Encyclopedia*, MacMillan, New York, 1991, vol. 7, pp. 2046a-2047b.
- , «Butrus Ibn Salim al-Sunbati», in *Coptic Encyclopedia*, MacMillan, New York, 1991, vol. 2, pp. 430b-431a.
- , «Butrus», in *Coptic Encyclopedia*, MacMillan, New York, 1991, vol. 2, p. 428b.
- , «Marqus», *Coptic Encyclopedia*, MacMillan, New York, 1991, vol. 5, pp. 1541b-1542a.
- , « Vie et œuvre de Marc Ibn al-Qunbar », in *Christianisme d'Égypte. Hommages à René-Georges Coquin* (Coll. Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Coptes 9), Peeters, Louvain, 1995, pp. 123-158.
- Subhi Y. LABIB, «Badr al-Jamali», in *Coptic Encyclopedia*, MacMillan, New York, 1991, vol. 2, pp. 324b-326a.
- , «Philotheus», *Coptic Encyclopedia*, MacMillan, New York, 1991, vol. 6, pp. 1959b-1960a.
- J. LABOURT, *Saint Jérôme, Lettres*, Tome III (Coll. des Universités de France publié sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Bude), Paris, 1953.
- Maurice MARTIN, SJ, « Le Delta chrétien à la fin du XII^e s. », in *OCP* 63 (1997), 181-199.

- , « Alexandrie chrétienne à la fin du XII^e d'après Abū l-Makārim », in *Alexandrie médiévale 1*, Christian DÉCOBERT et Jean Yves EMPEREUR (eds.), *Études alexandrines* 3, Cairo, 1998, pp. 45-49.
- , « Chrétiens et musulmans à la fin du XII^e siècle », in *Valeur et distance: Identités et Sociétés en Égypte*, Paris, 2000, pp. 83-92.
- , « Dévotions populaires au Caire à la fin du XII^e siècle », in *Aegyptus Christiana, Mélanges d'Hagiographie Égyptienne et Orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos Bollandiste*, Ugo ZANETTI et Enzo LUCCHESI (eds.) (coll. « Cahiers d'Orientalisme XXV », Genève, 2004, pp. 313-320.
- , see René-Georges COQUIN.
- Jean MASPERO, *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie depuis la mort de l'empereur Anastase jusqu'à la réconciliation des églises jacobites*. Published posthumously, Paris, 1923.
- Otto Fredreich August MEINARDUS, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, American University in Cairo, Cairo, 1977.
- , *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, American University in Cairo, Cairo, 2002.
- C. MORESCHINI et Paul GALLAY, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 32-37*, (coll. « Sources Chrétiennes » 318), Cerf, Paris, 1985.
- De Lacy O'LEARY, *The Saints of Egypt*, London, 1937.
- MOHAMAD RAMZI, القاموس الجغرافي للبلاد المصرية القسم الاول البلاد المندرسة [Geographical dictionary of the Egyptian Country], Cairo, 1954, Part 1, The disappeared towns.
- SAMUEL AL-SURIANI, تاريخ الكنائس والأديرة في القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي لأبي المكارم الذي نسب خطأ إلى أبي صالح الارمني [History of the churches and monasteries in the twelfth century according to Abū al-Makārim which was falsely attributed to Abū Salih the Armenian], Cairo, 1984, 4 vols.
- SAMUEL AL-SURIANI, « Icônes et iconographie d'après le manuscrit d'Abū el-Makārim, publié en arabe au Caire 1984 », in *Le Monde Copte* 18 (1990), 78.
- Stefan TIMM, *Das christlich-koptische Aegypten in arabischer Zeit* [coll. «Beihefte zum Tubinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients» 41/1-6], Wiesbaden, 1984-1992.

Gérard VIAUD, *Le secret des mystérieuses rues du Caire*, Le Caire, 1990.

Myriam WISSA, «Harit Zuwaylah», in *Coptic Encyclopedia*, MacMillan, New York, 1991, vol. 4, pp. 1207b-1209a.

Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF, «Multiconfessional churches in Egypt during the XII Century», in *Bulletin of Saint Shenouda the Archmandrite Coptic Society* 5 (1998-1999), 45-54.

Ugo ZANETTI, « Abū l-Makārim et Abū Salih », in *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 34 (1995), 85-133.

—, « Matarieh, la sainte-Famille et les baumiers », in *Analecta Bollandiana* 111 (1993), 21-62.

53 Stanton Street
Doncaster VIC 3108 - AUSTRALIA
E-mail: ynyoussef@hotmail.com

Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF