

An Eleventh-Century Document concerning a Cairo Synagogue

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AN ELEVENTH-CENTURY DOCUMENT CONCERNING A CAIRO SYNAGOGUE.

THE treasures of the Cairo Jewish Community are not exhausted either by the riches of its Genizot, or by the splendid and interesting Bible MSS. which I have myself recently described¹. The authorities of both the Rabbinites and Karaites there (and I use the first word, as I know of no collective word in lieu of it) possess certain further treasures, which they keep from the view of strangers for the simple reason that they themselves have no sense of their real value. It is time that especial insistence should be laid upon the importance of the records and archives in our congregational and communal organizations—especially in the case when age makes them respectable subjects of historical investigations. Unfortunately, too little attention has been paid to such matters in the past; and it may readily be supposed that much of this material has already run to waste².

This must be especially true of the communities in the East. They nearly all have a history that stretches far back into previous centuries; and the compass of their jurisdiction reached out so much further than it did in the West, that the materials for the civic history of the Jews ought to be found in large quantities in their registers. But, unfortunately, the further east one goes,

¹ See *J. Q. R.*, July, 1905.

² See the pertinent remarks of Mr. Israel Abrahams in the *Jewish Chronicle*, Nov. 25, 1901; and my article on the Archives of the Florence community in the *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. LI, pp. 303 et seq. I may add that those of the Roman synagogues are now being put in order. A very notable exception to the disorder generally existing is the splendid condition of the documents in possession of the Leghorn community.

the further removed is the probability of finding such records. Salonica, Crete, Constantinople, Damascus, Bagdad, Ispahan, Bochara,—all these and many more ought to be the happy hunting-grounds for the archaeologist and the student. Nothing has, as yet, been heard from them in this respect; let us hope, because the necessary questions have not been asked.

And it is Egypt again, i. e. Cairo, that must form the exception. Both the communities there to whom reference has been made above, possess a series of documents pertaining to various dealings of and with the communal heads which are of sufficient antiquity to warrant their being of some interest. They deal with spiritual and with mundane affairs; and they give us information about names, dates, offices, and the like which should not be contemned. They are, of course, all written in Arabic; and interminable in verbiage and in size. One unwinds these parchment and paper scrolls with a certain sense of the infinitude and endless reach of things. The cramped and crabbed and shrivelled script seems almost hopelessly involved; for it is apt to cover everything back and front of the part reserved for the text. When this is finished in a respectable manner, it commences to run up and down the margins in most unblushing crookedness and with an entire disregard for the most elementary proprieties of law and order. The Arabic language has managed to concert quite a number of inherent difficulties within its capacious bosom, with which to trouble both the Western eye and the Western brain, even when the splendid calligraphists of the Caliphs and the Sultans were at their best. But notarial Arabic writing is notorious for its utter friskiness, and for its entire want of a rational appreciation of the fact that others besides the writers might at some day, near or distant, be concerned to know what had been written down. One might even imagine that the scribes had a stated aversion to diacritical marks; so that, however pointed their remarks may at times have been, one has

first to imagine the points before one sees the point. It would be almost a misnomer to call such documents difficult: in many cases they are impossible and the reading of individual words is a toss-up or a matter of second-sight ¹.

Time and a certain amount of carelessness, inherently human, have added to the picturesqueness, but not to the legibility of the documents. Those belonging to the Rabbinitic community, and there must be several hundred of them, I found stowed away in a large trunk, where they lay folded and rolled in various bags. The trunk is in the counting-house of the Presidential firm, Messrs. Moïse Cattau et Filii. But those of the Karaites were pitiful in their neglect. It is true that they were in a safe in the office of the Haham-Bashi Mangouby; but they were forcefully tied up in bandana handkerchiefs and pieces of coloured linen in such a way that many had already been reduced to fragments, and most of them had been more or less injured ². It is time that an attempt should be made to rescue these documents. We know so little of the internal history of the Karaites, that anything dealing with so important a community of them must be of interest ³.

I have chosen the oldest Rabbinitic document, with which to court criticism. It is a parchment scroll, 2.59 metres long, 55 centimetres broad. The writing occupies 44 centimetres, leaving a margin on the right-hand side of about 10 or 11 centimetres. The lines number fifty-eight. In a peculiar manner, the scribe has not kept to his left-hand margin, i. e. to the left-hand edge of the parchment.

¹ On the difficulties met with in the reading of such documents, see the observations of the eminent palaeographer Karabaček in the *Führer durch die Sammlung Erzherzog Rainer*, 1894, p. 245.

² The oldest Karaite document I found there is of the year 415 A. H., I have copies of a number of the documents, which I hope to publish in due course.

³ On the Karaites in Egypt, see the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vol. V, s. v., and the *Jewish Comment*, Baltimore, Dec. 1905.

He was probably afraid at first that he would have too much writing for the space at his disposal; later on, he has not only had to crowd his lettering as he reached the end of the line, but also to insert his last word or two between the line and the one next above. Such word-complexes are more than ordinarily illegible. In addition, there are some breaks in the text, where the parchment has suffered—especially in the first half of the document. The diacritical points are very sparingly set: I have taken the liberty of adding them in order to facilitate the reading. I know of no similar document of the period—the long reign of the Caliph al-Mustanṣir Billāh (1035-94); nor has a quite extensive search and much questioning revealed its like. This is unfortunate; for, with the help of similar documents, I might have been able to fill up some of the lacunae. The nearest palaeographical approach to the script is to be found in a papyrus fragment in the Berlin Museum dated 488 A. H. (=1066), and published by Abel in 1896¹.

My attention was first called to the document by the learned President of the Faculty of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, who placed at my disposal a copy made in the size of the original. Some one must have recognized the value of the original, as a paper back has been provided for its injured parts, and it is kept apart from the other document in the presidential firm's iron chest. The copy was, calligraphically, a beautiful piece of work. But after a little study, I became convinced that the copyist had done his work as a *Mizwah*—though it was a *Mizwah le-baṭṭālāh*. While in Cairo during the

¹ *Aegyptische Urkunden*, p. 27. Upon p. 9 of the same work there is a fragment dated in the year 873, which evidently has to do with Jews. It refers to *ابراهيم ودويد وسرماده* (read *سرماده*?) *بنى يعقوب سرماده*. Notice the form *دويد* = *דוד*, and the family name *Sarmādah*, which occurs in later times. See also the two documents of sale, dated 1032 and 1038 in B. Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography*, Cairo, 1905, plates 115, 116.

winter of 1904-5, I spent a number of days correcting the copy word for word and letter by letter. In this I was assisted by my erudite teacher, the Sheikh Aḥmad 'Omar al-Maḥmaṣānī al-Bairūtī, the assistant librarian of the Azhar. M. Paul Casanova, Directeur Adjoint de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, so well known as an Arabic epigraphist, had, at the instance of Professor Hartwig Derenbourg of Paris, made his own copy of the document, together with extensive studies of a palaeographic and textual nature. He very kindly compared his readings with my own, and I owe to him many a valuable hint and many a felicitous suggestion. He was also gallant enough to relinquish his intended publication on the subject. And, finally, Captain H. G. Lyons, R.E., Director-General of the Survey Department in the Egyptian Public Works Ministry, placed at my disposal a detailed map of that portion of Cairo in which the Jewish quarter is situate, together with a partial list of some of the streets to be found in the quarter. A portion of this map is reproduced further on¹.

The document seems to read as follows² :—

¹ The whole map was originally published in eight large sheets, but it is now quite out of print. I was unable to find a copy even at the Khedivial Library.

² By the small letters *a*, *b*, *c*, &c., I have tried to indicate the number of words that seem to be wanting; but the irregularity of the script gives no warrant that such an estimation is correct.

- 1 الكمد لله رب العالمين
- 2 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اشهاد بما ثبت الحق فيه فالكمد لله [وحدّه؟]
- 3 ...^a بالقضية الاتي ... هاه فيه لمولانا السيد ... امر الشريد الامام الاعظم والهمام
- 4 المقدم مالک رقاب الاسم قاضى
- 5 [مكي] العذل في العالم ظل الله في البلاد ورحمته السابعة لجميع العباد يد
- 6 الله تعالى في ارضه والكاكم فيها
- 7 ...^a [المستند] صر بالله عبد الله ا...^a الامام معد ابى تميم المعتنّد لدين الله امير
- 8 المؤمنين على المعربة القاهرة المكروسة
- 9 ...^a ...^b ...^c والشام والركة والرجبة [وماريد] ومدينة حلب وعرايان والقيروان
- 10 [وسنها] جة وفواحي المغرب ...^a
- 7 عز وجل وبفتكة للامير المؤمنين من بلدان الشرق والمغرب شيد الله تعالى ملكة
- 8 وسلطنة وقصر جيوشه وجنوده واعوانه وجند له في كل يوم
- 9 وملكة بساط البسيطة برا وبكرا وادام سعده وعلا شرفه ومجده وادام الرحمة على ابائه
- السادّة الكرام على توالى [الايام]
- 9 وفوض النظر فيما لمولانا قاضى القضاة وداعى الدعاة امين الائمة شرف الاحكام جلال
- الاسلام ذو الجلالتين والرياستين

10 ابن عبد العزيز ابن محمد ابن النعمان انا¹¹ الحاكم الشرعى بقسطاط مدينة مصر ادام
 الله عزه واحكامه والكمك فيما بما يقتضيه مذهبه الشريف
 11 ...^a ...^b ...^c له سفاه^a ...^b ...^c ...^d ...^e الموعون بها فيه على مولانا قاضى القضاة
 وداعى الدعاة اسبغ [الله] ظلا[له]
 12 ...¹³ مضمونها بعد استلثة الشريفة الفقير الى الله تعالى ابراهيم ابن على الانصارى
 يقبل الارض لدى المواقف الشريفة الامامية المعظمية حلد الله
 13 تعالى ملكه مالكلها واعز به الدين بمحمد واله وصحه وسلم وينهى ان الكنيسة الكائن
 براس حارة زويلة المعروف بكنيسة اليهود الريان حادثة

¹ M. Paul Casanova reads فيه فيسب بما نُسبَ به شاهد ; but after ثبت or نسب there are three or four letters, which may be
 الى or الحق . I have chosen the reading ثبت on account of the similar expression in the subscription. Cf. also
 Al-Shirāzī, *al-Tanbīh*, ed. A. W. T. Juynboll, p. 321, 3, وإذا ثبت عند الحاكم حتى

² Reading quite uncertain ; only the tops of the letters can be seen.

³ Reading quite uncertain. Looks like مفرسها , which gives no sense. Perhaps تظيرها Cf. the opening words:
 بالامر الشريف Perhaps الشريف .

⁴ The Sheikh read بعد سطر استفتاحه

⁵ Perhaps more is missing at the beginning of line 4.

⁷ One or two words are missing.

¹⁰ One or two words are missing : ... فاسا . The commencement of the following line seems to show that a verb +
 الله + الله must have preceded.

¹² The Sheikh read بـمقتضاها ; but this is epigraphically impossible.

¹³ One word at the beginning of the line is missing.

- 14 مستجد البنا وسواله من الصدقات الشريفة برفع الامر الشريف لمولانا شيخ الاسلام
الكاظم الشافعي بطلب من هو واضع اليد
- 15 على ذلك وسماع الدعوى عليه وهدم الكنيس المذكورة ليحصل بذلك نصرة الحق ودوام
الدعا في الصكائف الشريفة اذهى ذلك والحمد لله وحده⁹
- 16 ووقف عليها اهلها وتسير¹ امره العالي بطلب من هو الواضع اليد على الكنيس
المذكورة فقد
- 17 حضر الشيخ السديد ابو الامران² موسى بن يعقوب بن اسكاف الاسرايلى طبيب
الكصرة الشريفة والريس على طائفة
- 18 اليهود الريانيين والقرايين والسامرة لدى مجلس حكم سيدنا قاضى القضاة وداعى
الدعاة المنوة باسمه اعلاه اسبغ الله ظلاله
- 19 وادعى عليه الفقير الى الله تعالى البرهاني³ ابراهيم المذكور اعلاه بان الكنيس المذكورة
اعلاه حادثة مستجدة البنا وانه واضع يده عليها بغير حق⁴
- 20 وبطالبه برفع يده عن ذلك ويسال بسواله عن ذلك فاجاب موسى المذكور اعلاه بان
الكنيس المذكورة قديمة البنا وانه واضع
- 21 يده عليها بالطريق الشرعى من مدة تزيد على اربعين سنة وان له بينة شرعية تشهد
له بذلك فسال سيدنا قاضى القضاة وداعى الدعاة

- 22 الحاكم الشافعى المنوه باسمه اعلاه اسبغ الله ظلاله البرهاني ابراهيم المدعى المذكور
اعلاه هل لك بينة تشهد بطبق دعوك فاجاب ان لا
- 23 بينة له ولا مستند فامر سيدنا قاضى القضاة وداعى الدعاة الحاكم الشافعى المنوه
باسمه اعلاه موسى المدعى عليه
- 24 باحضار بينة الشهادة له بطبق ما اجاب به فاحضر كلا من بهاء الدين بن قاسم
بن مهنا
- 25 واسماعيل بن فخر الدين بن عبد الهادى وعلى ابن حامد بن حسن عرف بسويد
والكاج الكليل خطاب بن ناصر الدين بن مجاهد عرف
- 26 بكجرة وفخر الدين بن احمد خالد عرف بكجرة ايضا والكاج منصور بن بدر بن نصير
الدين عرف بالطويل والصدر الاجل المكرم
- 27 شهاب الدين بن الرينى وخضر بن فتيج الشهير بكجرة والمعلم شكاتة بن مكرم بن
ماذن عرف بكجرة والفقيرالى الله تعالى سليمان
- 28 بن ايوب بن مكرم عرف بابيه والكاج رمضان بن على بن احمد السنديسى واقاموا
شهادتهم لدى سيدنا الحاكم المنوه باسمه

¹ Quite uncertain; dampness has obliterated the greater part of the characters. Perhaps further on.

² So in the original.

³ Reading uncertain here; but certain further on. The reading is impossible.

⁴ Or, perhaps, الحق.

- 29 اعلاه بمعرفة الكنيسة الكائنة براس حارة الزويلة المعروفة بكنيسة اليهود الرياذيين بدرب يعرف للان بدرب النبازيين¹
- 30 المكصورة بحدود اربعة الكد القبلى ينتهى الى دار الشيخ السديد ابو العمران موسى المذكور اعلاه والكد البكرى
- 31 ينتهى الى دار يعرف ببعقوب والد موسى المذكور والكد الشرقى ينتهى الدرب التى هى فية وفيه واجهتها
- 32 وبادها والكد الغربى ينتهى الى دار تعرف بملك اسقف جد موسى المذكور بحد ذلك وحدوده وحقوقه
- 33 المعرفة الشرعية النافية للجهالة ويشهدون مع ذلك ان الكنيسة المذكورة قديمة البناء ليست مستجدة
- 34 ويشهدون مع ذلك ايضا بالتتابع الدافع والنقل الصكيح المتواتر ان الكنيسة المذكورة وقف صكيح شرعى يعتبر
- 35 من تقادم السنين والاعوان موقفا محبسا مويدا مؤكدا على اليهود الرياذيين عامتهم وحاصتهم برسم عبادتهم
- 36 وان النظر عليها والتكث والتكلم لكل من يكون ريسا على طوائف اليهود وان الشيخ السديد ابو العمران موسى

- 37 المذكور واضع يدره على الكنيسة المذكورة بمدة تزيد على اربعين سنة من قبل تاريخه
وان وقفية الكنيسة المذكورة
- 38 قديمة تزيد على قرنين يعلم ويشهدون بذلك شهادة مسولين عنها بسوال الحاكم
المشار اليه
- 39 وثبت ذلك عن يد قاضى القضاة وداعى الدعاة ابى محمد القاسم المذكور بشهادة من
ذكر اعلاه ثبوتا صكيحا
- 40 قاطعا معتبرا مرضيا واعذر فى جميع ذلك البرهاني ابراهيم المذكور اعلاه اعذارا شرعيا
بعدم الدافع والمطعن
- 41 وثبت ذلك ايضا عند قاضى القضاة وداعى الدعاة المذكور ثبوتا صكيحا قاطعا معتبرا مرضيا
فلما تكامل جميع ما تضمنه الكتاب المسطر اعلاه عند قاضى القضاة وداعى الدعاة الحاكم
- 42سمى باعالية وصح لدية فى مجلس حكمة وقضائه النافذ فيه حكمة وامضاؤه بفسطاط
مدينة مصر المذكور فيه
- 44 نافذ القضايا قاضى الاحكام والنقض والابرار سائل الاشهاد على نفسه بانه قد
ثبت عنده
- 45 بالمجلس المذكور مضمون هذا الكتاب وما تضمنه ويسال الحكم بموجب ما تضمنه ذلك بجميع

¹ Reading quite uncertain, as the diacritical points are missing ; but see in the notes further on.

- 46 ما سطر فيه فاجاب السائل الى سؤاله واشهد عليه بجميع ما سال الاشهاد به عليه من
الاثبات المشروح فيه
- 47 وحكم بموجبه ويصكتة والزم مقتضاه وهو فى ذلك كله نافذ القضايا قاضى: الاحكام بعد
ان قرى عكبه
- 48 بمحض من الشهود الواضحين خطوطهم آخر هذا الكتاب جميع ما تضمنه هذا الكتاب
واستيفاً للشرائط
- 49 المعبرة فى ذلك وذلك فى يوم التاسع من شعبان سنة تسعة وعشرين وأربعمائة *
- 50 شهد محمد ابن عبد الله بن شهد محمد ابن احمد ابن شهد عمر ابن عبد العزيز
- 51 محمد ابن رجا على اشهاد عيسى العتيبي على اشهاد ابن خلف على اشهاد قاضى
- 52 قاضى القضاة وداعى الدعاة قاضى القضاة وداعى الدعاة القضاة وداعى الدعاة ثقة
- 53 ثقة الدولة امين الاثمة شرف ثقة الدولة امين الاثمة شرف الدولة امين الاثمة شرف
- 54 الاسلام جلال الاحكام ابى الاحكام جلال الاسلام ابى الاحكام جلال الاسلام ابى
- 55 محمد النعمان ابن عبد محمد القاسم ابن عبد العزيز محمد القاسم ابن عبد
- 56 العزيز ابن محمد بما ثبت محمد النعمان بما ثبت محمد القاسم بما ثبت
- 57 للاشهاد فى هذا المكان فى للاشهاد فى هذا المكان فى للاشهاد فى هذا
- 58 اليوم المؤرخ اليوم المؤرخ المكان فى اليوم المؤرخ

¹ MS. seems to read .

TRANSLATION.

1. Praise be to Allāh, Lord of the two worlds!

2. In the name of Allāh, the merciful and compassionate, testimony under oath in regard to that through which the truth will be established. Praise be to Allāh [the only One]!

3. by the decision which is written down in it¹ (the document) for our lord, the master . . . in the honourable government, the great Imām² and magnanimous³, the ruler of enslaved peoples, the judge

4. who causes righteousness to flourish⁴ in the world,

¹ الآتى [تسطير]ها فيه؟

² The exuberant use of honorific titles for statesmen and government officials dates from this period; Stanley Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 124. Inward hollowness was in this way bolstered up by outward show: see Carl H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, I, p. 29. On the value and meaning of the title الإمام الأعظم, see Max van Berchem in *Z. D. P. V.*, XVI, p. 100, and *Corpus Inscript. Arab.*, I, p. 46. The oldest use of the title in Egypt is of the reign of Sultan Jakmak, 851. Al-Ḳalkāshandī (died 824 A. H.), the learned compiler on matters pertaining to the history and government of Egypt (whose *Subḥ al-A'sha* is now being printed by the Khedivial Library), says in vol. III (MS. in Khedivial Library):

الأعظم من القاب السلطان يقال فيه السلطان الأعظم ويقع فى القاب ملوك المغرب ايضا وهو افعل التفضيل من العظمة والكبرياء . . . الإمام من القاب الخلفاء كما يقال فى المكتابات عنهم من عبد الله ووليه الامام الفلانى وقد تقدم ان اول من تلقب به ابراهيم بن محمد اول من بوبع له بالخلافة من بنى العباس ويقع ايضا فى القاب اكابر العلماء واصل الامام فى اللغة الذى يقتدى ولذلك وقع على المجتهدين كالائمة اصحاب المذاهب المشهورة وهم الشافعى ومالك وابو حنيفة واحمد.

³ Al-Ḳalkāshandī (l. c.): القاب السيوف والمراد الشجاع. الملك الهام is very common in the documents published by Amari, *I Diplomi*, passim, "il re magnanimo."

⁴ محيى العدل فى: Al-Ḳalkāshandī (l. c.): محيى العدل is almost certain. العالمين من القاب السلطانية; it occurs often in documents; see Amari, l. c., p. 165, "vivificatore della giustizia nei mondi."

Servant of Allāh in the various lands¹ [who pours out] his abundant mercy upon all his servants, power² of Allāh the exalted in his country and judge therein

5. [Al-Mustan]sir Billāh ‘Abd-Allāh the Imām, Ma‘add Abī Tamīm, who finds his repose in the religion of Allāh³, the Commander of the Faithful over the Cairo of al-Mu‘izz, which may Allāh guard!⁴ ⁵

¹ ظل الله في الأرض, really “Shadow of Allāh on Earth,” de Tassy, *Mémoires sur les noms propres et les titres musulmans*, 1878, p. 41. I have translated with Lane, s. v., who says that the expression goes back to a saying of the prophet himself: “السلطان ظلّ الله في الأرض,” “The sovereign power is God’s means of defence in the earth,” or “God’s special servant.” The Regent of Tunis was addressed by the Italians: حضرة سيدنا ومولانا الخليفة الامام الملك الهمام المرتضى لاياله الاسلام ظلّ الله في ارضه; also the Caliph Kānṣūh al-Ghūrī. See Amari, l. c., pp. 13, 165, 181, 221. Al-Kalkashandi (l. c.): ان يقال السلطان السيد . . . سلطان الاسلام والمسلمين محبى العدل فى العالمين وارث الملك . ملك العرب والعجم والترك ظل الله فى ارضه. See, also, Goldziher, *Muhammed. Studien*, II, 61, and *Du sens propre des expressions “ombre de Dieu”* etc. in *Rev. Hist. des Relig.*, 1897, p. 331.

² I know of no authority for the use of the word يد in this connexion. بَر would also be possible; but there is no warrant for that either.

³ Of all the Faṭimide Caliphs, al-Mustansir is the most inconstant in the form of citing his own name and titles. An examination of his monuments and his coins gives the following varieties:

(1) الامام المستنصر بالله امير المومنين
(Inscription of Badr al-Jamālī, 478 A.H., on the Bāb al-Naṣr, van Berchem, *Corpus*, p. 54; Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, IV, p. 35 (year 437); Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibl. Nat.*, 1896, p. 124; on a lintel of the mosque of al-Amāwī at Asīūt, Max Herz Bey, *Catalogue of the National Museum of Arabic Art*, p. 53.)

(2) معد الامام المستنصر بالله امير المومنين (Lavoix, p. 122.)

(3) امير المومنين المستنصر بالله معد (Lavoix, p. 123; Lane-Poole, p. 47.)

(4) الامام معد المستنصر بالله امير المومنين
(Lane-Poole, *Cat. Brit. Mus.*, p. 40; idem, *Catalogue of Arabic Coins . . . in the Khedivial Library*, p. 184.)

(5) الامام معد ابو تميم امير المومنين (Lane-Poole, *Cat. Brit. Mus.*, p. 48.)

6. and Syria, Raḳḳah, Raḥabah, [Mārdi]n, Madinat Ḥalab,

(6) معد ابى تميم الامام المستنصر بالله امير المومنين
(Inscriptions of Badr al-Jamālī on the Mausoleum of Sayyidah Nafisah, south of Cairo, 482 A. H., and on the Roḍa Nilometer, 485 A. H., van Berchem, *ibid.*)

(7) الامام معد ابو تميم المستنصر بالله امير المومنين
(Lane-Poole, *Cat. Brit. Mus.*, p. 32; *Cat. Khed. Libr.*, p. 174; Lavoix, p. 108; J. B. Nies, *Kufic Glass Weights and Bottle Stamps*, p. 5.)

(8) الامام ابو تميم معد المستنصر بالله امير المومنين
(Lane-Poole, *Cat. Brit. Mus.*, p. 33; *Cat. Khed. Libr.*, p. 184; Lavoix, p. 110.)

(9) الامام ابو تميم المستنصر بالله امير المومنين (Lavoix, p. 128.)

(10) معد الامام ابو تميم المستنصر بالله امير المومنين
(Lane-Poole, *Cat. Brit. Mus.*, p. 34; *Cat. Khed. Libr.*, p. 175; Lavoix, p. 107.)

(11) معد عبد الله الامام ابو تميم المستنصر بالله امير المومنين
(Lane-Poole, *Cat. Khed. Libr.*, p. 177; Lavoix, p. 103.)

(12) معد عبد الله وولى الامام ابو تميم المستنصر بالله امير المومنين
(Lavoix, p. 129.)

(13) عبد الله وولى الامام معد ابو تميم المستنصر بالله امير المومنين
(Reginald Stuart Poole, *Additions to the Oriental Collection*, London, 1889, p. 324.)

And, finally, with a reversion to the inscription of al-Mu'izz, the name only being changed: الامام معد لتوحيد الله الصمد المستنصر بالله امير المومنين (Lane-Poole, *Cat. Brit. Mus.*, pp. 37, 42; *Cat. Khed. Libr.*, p. 178; Lavoix, p. 102.)

We have here a title different to the others, in that the expression المعتمد لدين الله is added. The lacuna before الامام might be filled up with وولى; but the word seems to commence with an *alif*.

⁴ The designation المحروسة, "which may Allāh guard!" (see van Berchem in *La Revue Africaine*, 1905, p. 175), was a later addition to the name al-Kāhirah. It appears for the first time upon a coin of the date of 394 A. H. See Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 103. On the expression المعززة, "founded by al-Mu'izz," see *ibid.*; Wüstenfeld, *El-Kalkaschandi*, p. 66; van Berchem, *Corpus*, p. 81.

⁵ I do not know how to fill in the lacuna. Was there some reference to the rest of Egypt and to the cradles of Islām in Arabia (الشريفين, or الحرميين الشريفين or القبلتين)? Perhaps we ought to read here: ومصر والاسكندرية والحرمين. According to Ibn Ḥajar al-'Askalānī in his

'Arābān, Kairwān, [Sanhā]jah, and the western countries¹. . . .
 [Praise be to Allāh]

Raf' al-Isr, the diploma of 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Nu'mān as Cadi indicated his jurisdiction: على القاهرة المعزّية ومصر والاسكندرية والحرمين واجناد الشام والرحبة والرقّة والمغرب واعمالها وما فتحه الله وما يسر فتحه لامير المؤمنين من بلدان المشرق والمغرب. See *J. A. O. S.*, XXVII, 257, line 8, and compare Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka*, I, 54.

¹ The official scribe is not wanting in assertiveness, though there was some ground for his wide pretensions. The general Ja'far ibn Faltah conquered Damascus in 988; this must be the رحبة دمشق of *Yāqūt*, II, p. 763. Al-Raḡḡāh was on the Euphrates, *Yāqūt*, II, p. 804. The rule of the Fatimides in Syria and Mesopotamia was slow in gaining its way: Syria was so thoroughly anti-Shi'ah. Aleppo gave in for a short while in 1011, but it was not before 1038 that the Fatimide Caliphate was proclaimed in the mosques of such cities as Harrān, Sarūj, and al-Raḡḡāh: and these were held only as long as Anūshtagīn al-Dizbīn was governor. See Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, passim. Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rikh Miṣr*, p. 46: وكان الخلفاء الفاطمية يحكمون من مصر الى الشام الى حلب الى الفرات الى مكة والمدينة الشريفة الى القدس الخليل وصارت مصر وبلاد المغرب مملكة واحدة—a quotation that goes back to al-Musabbiḥī (969-1029), though found in the *Kitāb Ta'rikh Miṣr wa-Faḍā'iliha* ascribed to Ibn Zūlāk (919-998). See MSS. Arabes, Paris, 1817, fol. 47a; 1819, fol. 43a; 1820, fol. 58a.

The Sanhājah were the most important of the Berber tribes of Northern Africa, where they reigned for some two hundred years. When al-Mu'izz went to Egypt they governed N.W. Africa for him; his lieutenant, seated at Mahdiyyah, being Abū al-Fatūḥ Yūsuf Balkin (or Bulugin) ibn Zīri ibn Manād al-Sanhājī, who was invested with the whole of North Africa and the Maghrib, with the exception of Tripoli and Sicily. (The Zīrids are called "The Sahājah Amīrs," Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomena*, p. 412.) Three of his successors continued to acknowledge the Fatimide supremacy. But in 1046 al-Mu'izz accepted a fresh investiture from the Abbāsīd Caliph; and after 1071 the Egyptian rulers had no subjects west of Barkah. See Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 107: *Histoire de l'Afrique de Ibn Abi Dinar*, tr. by Pellissier and Rémusat, Paris, 1845, p. 124; Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, 1888, I, pp. 182, 337; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbers*, tr. de Siane, pp. 37, 169, 178.

عربان or عربان is a small place on the Khābūr in Mesopotamia; Juynboll, *Lexicon Geographicum*, II, p. 245; *Yāqūt*, III, 632; Arbana in the *Notitia Dignitorum*, 36, 25; at present the ruins of Arbān or Tell 'Ajābeh. According to Streck this is the old Assyrian Gar-Dikanni; see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, Suppl. I, col. 115, and *Z. A.*, XVIII, 190.

7. to whom belong might and majesty¹, and especially for his having granted to the Commander of the Faithful the conquest of lands in the east and in the west. May Allāh the exalted fortify his dominion and his rule, preserve his armies, his forces and his allies, grant him every day renewed [conquest]²,

8. make him rule over the widest extent of land and sea, cause his good fortune to endure, his glory and his praise to be exalted, and continued mercy [shown] to his happy and joyous ancestors³, throughout all time.

9. And may he grant insight⁴ in those things which are brought before our lord, the chief justice and the head preacher, the trusted one of the Imāms, the glory of the wise, the honour of Islām⁵, the possessor of the two glories⁶, and the two headships⁷,

¹ These words seem to presuppose the word "Allāh" immediately preceding, but I am quite uncertain of the third word.

² Some object to وجدد is necessary, perhaps فتحا, but nothing is to be seen on the original.

³ A shortened form of the usual Faṭimide formula : صلوات الله عليه : ابائنا الطاهرين وعلى ابائنا الطاهرين and ابنائنا الاكرمين. Van Berchem, *Corpus*, pp. 51, 56; Ganneau, *Recueil d'Arch. Orientale*, VI, 367.

⁴ Translation uncertain. فوض اليه النظر means "he confided to him the affair." Ought we to translate "He has confided the investigation"? In that case the subject would be al-Mustanṣir; but فيما would be difficult and the reading فيها is more to the point.

⁵ In the subscriptions of the witnesses his honorific titles are : ثقة الدولة امين الائمة شرف الاحكام جلال الاسلام. Siyūti, *Ḥuṣn al-Muḥāḍirah* (ed. Buluk, 1299), II, p. 121 : الدولة وثقة الدعاة وداعى الدعاة وثقة الدولة : ما يختص بالقضاة والعلماء. Al-Kāḷashandi, vol. III : وقد جعل فى عرف التعريف اعلاها سيد العلماء والحكام ولغيرهم اوجد العلماء الاعلام وجعله للجناب الشريف فما فوقه ثم للجناب الكريم والجناب العالى وجعل دونه تاج العلماء والحكام او شرف العلماء والحكام واوردته مع المجلس العالى ودونه جمال العلماء اوجد الفضلاء واوردته مع الشامى بالياء ودونه جمال الاعيان مع السامى بغيرياء فما دونه.

⁶ i.e. الدنيا والدين.

⁷ i.e. رئاسة السيف ورئاسة الكلام : we should say, the holder of two portfolios or head of the two departments into which the official ministry of the Caliph was divided.

10. Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān ¹
the legally-appointed judge in Fuṣṭāṭ Madinat Miṣr—may Allāh
prolong his might, his judgments and his decisions therein. In
regard to that which his glorious session has to decide²

11. upon our Master, the chief Cadi and
the chief preacher, may Allāh increase his protection !

12. [the following] is a précis³ of the affair. After the
honourable questions⁴, the one that stands in need of Allāh the
exalted, Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī al-Anṣārī, kissed the earth before the
tribunal of the honourable and respected Imām, may Allāh the
exalted prolong

13. its possession, and through it strengthen religion by the aid
of Muḥammad, his family and his companions, [and made the fol-
lowing complaint]: It has happened⁵ that the synagogue which
stands at the top of the Ḥārat Zuwailah, known as the Synagogue
of the Rabbinite Jews, is new

14. [and] of recent build. It is now asked of your lofty
charitableness to present⁶ a glorious request to our Lord the
Sheikh al-Islām, the Shāfi'ite judge, that he search out who has
possession

15. of it, and that he hear the complaint against such an one,
and [order] the demolition of the aforesaid synagogue: that, in
such manner, the triumph of truth result, and the continued
recourse to the lofty books⁷. This took place, praise to Allāh
the only one!

¹ The text seems to read *أنا* or *إنشاء*, which gives no sense here.
One expects a noun !

² These seem to be the opening words introducing the case. A Karaite
Ḥujjah commences in like wise : *بما يقتضيه الشرع الشريف*, though the
document may be defective at the beginning. The following words are
obliterated. I have nothing to suggest in their place.

³ Cf. the commencement of a document in Salvatore Cusa, *I Diplomi
Greci ed Arabi di Sicilia*, Palermo, 1868, p. 84, *مضمون الكتاب ان*.

⁴ i. e. questions of a perfunctory nature put by the *مذهب الشريف*.
Casanova reads *بعد البسملة* "After the Basmallah formula" ; but, upon
a renewed examination of the original, I venture to differ from him.

⁵ Or, "It has come to light."

⁶ I read *رفع الأمر الى* : cf. *رفع الأمر الى*, Dozy, I, 541 b.

⁷ I have very grave doubts that I have hit upon the correct rendering

16. He had the matter under consideration ¹ his lofty order to find out who it was that had possession of the afore-mentioned synagogue. Then

17. there appeared the just Sheikh Abū al-Imrān Mūsā ibn Ya'qūb ibn Ishāk the Israelite, physician to the Exalted Majesty and Chief of the Jewish

18. community, Rabbinite, Karaite, and Samaritan, before the court of justice of our master, the chief Cadi and chief Preacher, mentioned by name above—May Allāh increase his protection!—

19. and against him, the one that stands in need of Allāh the exalted, al-Burhānī ² Ibrāhīm, mentioned above, brought an action ³ [charging] that the above-mentioned synagogue was new and of recent build, and that he (i. e. Abū al-Imrān) had it in possession unlawfully;

20. and he (i. e. Ibrāhīm) demanded of him to give up possession of it. Questioned in regard to the matter, Mūsā ⁴ the afore-mentioned made answer, that the afore-mentioned synagogue was an old building, and that he had been in pos-

21. session of it in a lawful manner for more than forty years; [further] that he had legal proof witnessing to this.

Then our master, the chief Cadi and chief Preacher,

22. the Shāfi'ite judge, mentioned by name above—May Allāh increase his protection!—asked al-Burhānī Ibrāhīm, the plaintiff

of these words. If I have, reference must be had to an oath taken upon the Koran, في المصحف الكريم, as is done to-day. See Vassal, *Ueber Marokkanische Prozesspraxis*, in *M.S.O.S.*, V, p. 185, and Goldziher, *Muhammed. Studien*, II, 255.

¹ The second, third, and fourth words are quite uncertain, as they are nearly obliterated. وقف على means to “present one's self,” to “understand,” to “occupy one's self with.” One would expect “he examined into the matter, and gave the necessary orders that, &c.”

² I do not know whether or no this is a proper name; or, does it stand for برهان الدين? The proper name al-Burhān is quite common, see e. g. al-Dhahabī, *al-Mushtabih*, Leiden, 1881, p. 37. On the expression الله الفقير الى see van Berchem in *La Revue Africaine*, 1905, p. 172.

³ i. e. ادعى على.

⁴ i. e. Abū al-Imrān.

afore-mentioned, "Hast thou any proof¹ that witnesses to the truth² of thy charge?" He answered that he had neither

23. proof nor testimony³. Whereon, our master, the chief Cadi and chief Preacher, the Shāfi'ite judge, mentioned by name above, ordered Mūsā the defendant

24. to bring forward testimony that should witness to the truth of that which he had answered. He (i. e. Mūsā) brought forward the following: Bahā'i al-Dīn ibn Kāsim ibn-Muhannā⁴,

25. Ismā'il ibn Fakhr al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, 'Alī ibn Ḥamid ibn Ḥasan known as Suwaid⁵, the venerable ḥājī Khaṭṭāb ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Mujāhid known by the name

26. of his grandfather, Fakhr al-Dīn ibn Aḥmad Khālīd also known by the name of his grandfather, ḥājī Maṣṣūr ibn Badr ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn known as "long-legs⁶," the eminent venerable and respected

27. Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Zainī⁷, Ḥaḍir⁸ ibn Futaiḥ known by the name of his grandfather, the teacher Shahātah⁹ ibn Muḥammad ibn Ma'dhin known by the name of his grandfather, the one that stands in need of Allāh the exalted Sulaimān

28. ibn Ayyūb ibn Muḥammad known by the name of his father, and ḥājī Ramaḍān¹⁰ ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Sandabīsī, who gave their testimony before our master the judge, mentioned by name

وان اقر لم يحكم
عليه حتى يطلبه المدعى وان انكر فله ان يقول لك بيّنة
باب سوال الحاكم المدعى هل لك
1 al-Shirāzī, *al-Tanbih*, ed. Juynboll, 1879, p. 317: *وان اقر لم يحكم*
2 عليه حتى يطلبه المدعى وان انكر فله ان يقول لك بيّنة. Compare
al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Krehl, II, 158: *باب سوال الحاكم المدعى هل لك*
3 بيّنة قبل اليمين, and Goldziher, *Muhammed. Studien*, II, 75.

² طَبَقَ really "state."

³ مُسْتَد really "that upon which one rests," "support."

⁴ المَهْتَاء, see al-Dhahabī, *Al-Mushtabih*, Leyden, 1881, p. 281.

⁵ Or, "Blacky."

⁶ A Jewish name in Damascus; see *P. E. F. Statement*, 1905, p. 57.

⁷ الزينى, al-Dhahabī, l. c., p. 247.

⁸ حَضَر or حَضَر; *ibid.*, p. 187.

⁹ Or, Shahātha; cf. *فرات ابن شكانا*, and *יוסף בן יהודה בן בנימין שחאהה*. Poznański in *Monatsschrift*, XLIX, p. 45.

¹⁰ Compare the name رمضان ابن الدين in Abel, *Aegyptische Urkunden*, p. 52; or موسى رمضان ابن موسى, "μαδονὲν ἐπὶν μοῦσε," in Salvatore Cusa, *I Diplomi Greci*, &c., I, p. 473. (The Greek transcription makes one suppose رضوان and not رمضان.)

29. above, that they were cognizant of the synagogue existing¹ at the head of the Ḥārat al-Zuwaitah, called "The Synagogue of the Rabbinite Jews" in a street known to-day as "the Street al-Nabbādhīn,"

30. situate according to the four [cardinal] points thus: the southern side reaches to the Dār of the just Sheikh Abu-al-ʿImrān Mūsa afore-mentioned, the northern side

31. reaches to the Dār known as [that of] Yaʿqūb, father of Mūsa [afore]-mentioned; the eastern side reaches the street in which it is, and in which are its façade

32. and its gate²; the western side reaches to the Dār known as the property of Ishāq, grandfather of Mūsa on this side, together with its limits and its rights

33. a lawful cognizance which precludes ignorance³. They testified, in addition, that the [afore]-mentioned synagogue was an old building and not built anew.

34. They, also, further testified unanimously⁴ and in a complete and consistent narrative, that the [afore]-mentioned synagogue was a true and legal Waḳf, generally considered

35. from of old and from times gone by to be an inalienable⁵ Waḳf, confirmed and secured as belonging to the Rabbinite Jews collectively and individually for the purpose of their worship,

36. and that the upkeep, the jurisdiction and authority in respect to it devolved upon whomsoever should be chief of the Jewish communities. Also that the just Sheikh Abū al-ʿImrān Mūsa

¹ Here الكنيسة; in all other cases الكنيس. In present-day parlance the masculine form is used for "synagogue," the feminine for "church."

² i.e. the در البابین.

³ Difficult to translate intelligently: the word المعرفة takes up again the word بمعرفة in l. 29. The data are perfectly precise.

⁴ بالتتابع الدافع; cf. the expression تتابع القرس, "the horse ran evenly, not raising one of his limbs" (Lane). Dozy, I, 423 b, cites التابع الدافع from the *Arabian Nights*, but says that the second word is used only for the purpose of rhyming with the first.

⁵ مُحْتَسَبٌ. Cf. حَسْبَ شَيْءٍ "He made a thing to remain in itself unalienable, not to be inherited nor sold nor given away" (Lane).

37. [afore]-mentioned had been in possession of the [afore]-mentioned synagogue for more than forty years before the present date. That also, the Wakf of the [afore]-mentioned synagogue

38. was older than two generations. This was known¹ and testified to by the witness of those that had been examined in regard to it by the questioning of the judge to whom reference has been made.

39. The foregoing is affirmed by the chief Cadi and chief Preacher, Abū Muḥammad al-Kāsim [afore]-mentioned through the testimony of those mentioned above,—an affirmation true,

40. decisive, determined, [and] complete. He made all this known² to al-Burhānī Ibrāhīm afore-mentioned in a legal manner, in order that he might refute the defender and vindicator³.

41. This, also, was affirmed before the chief Cadi and chief Preacher [afore]-mentioned—an affirmation true, decisive, determined, and complete.

42. Now, when all that this document above written contains had been finished before the chief Cadi and chief Preacher, the judge,

43. named above, and found correct before him in his court of justice, in which his decisions and his judgment⁴ are rendered in Fuṣṭāṭ Madinat Miṣr, mentioned therein,—

44. the dispenser of decisions, the giver of judgments to the guilty and the innocent—the [defendant⁵] asked him (i. e. the Cadi) for an attestation in regard to his person, that the

¹ I am uncertain about the construction. يُعْلَمُ, or ought we to read يُعْلَمُونَ?

² اعذر الى فلان في الشهود: "he made known to some one the names of those testifying against him." (Dozy, s. v., عذر.)

³ مِطْبَعَن؟

⁴ امضى, "render judgment."

⁵ السائل usually means the "plaintiff." But I cannot imagine that he would ask for judgment, as the case had so evidently gone against him. It must, then, mean "one of the parties in the suit asked him."

Al Tanbih, p. ۳۲۱: وإذا ثبت عند الحاكم حق فسأل صاحب الحق ان يكتب له مَحْضَرًا بما جرى كتبه ووقع فيه ودفعه اليه ويكتب نسخته ويودعها في قمطره.

45. contents of this document had been established before him in the [afore]-mentioned court, and he asked for judgment upon the strength of what this [document] contains in regard to all the matters

46. written down therein. He (i.e. the Cadi) acceded to the request of the one that had made the demand, and testified for him as to all that part of his examination that had been established and explained.

47. He gave judgment according to the finding and according to the truth, and ordered his decision to be carried out. And in all this matter, he rendered judgment [and] gave decision after that had been read out before him

48. in the presence of the witnesses who have set their signatures at the bottom of this document all that this document contains, and after having verified¹ the particulars

49. considered in this [document]. This occurred on the ninth day of Sha'bān in the year 429 [A.H.].

Witnesseth Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Rajā testifying before the chief Cadi and chief Preacher, trusty of the realm, the faithful Imām, honour of Islām, the glory of judgment Abu Muḥammad al-Nu'mān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad, according to the testimony established in this place on the above date.

Witnesseth Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Isa al-Utbī testifying before the chief Cadi, &c., &c.

Witnesseth 'Umar ibn 'Abd al 'Aziz ibn Khalaf testifying before the chief Cadi, &c., &c.

The document, it will be seen, is what is technically called a *Ḥujjah*, i.e. the protocol of an action taken before the Head Cadi². Such protocols were not always drawn up; but, in case the winner desired it, the judge was bound to grant the request³. In most cases, the attesta-

¹ My translation of this clause is a leap in the dark. I do not understand the words.

² And not the "foundation document," as I wrote in error (*J. E.*, vol. V, p. 71), following information obtained at second hand.

³ See the citation in p. 488, note 5.

tion of the notary who drew it up is added. This is wanting.

The action referred to dealt with the question which, in former times, had been so troublous and vexatious in Mohammedan countries: the right to build and to rebuild Synagogues and Churches. The subject has been treated of with much learning by Steinschneider and Goldziher¹. It is well to remember that the restrictions placed upon the Ahl al-Dhimma (i. e. Jews and Christians) in the pact supposed to have been drawn up by the Caliph Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb dealt also with the building of their places of worship, though it permitted the retention of those already existing. I imagine that the law was honoured more in the breach than in its execution; even though Omar II and, at a later time, Hārūn al-Rashīd attempted to apply it in all its rigour. According to Goldziher, the first mention of the law is to be found in the *Kitāb al-Kharāj* of Abū Yūsuf. The wording of the restriction is plain enough; but, if it is true that "il y a des accomodations avec le bon Dieu," it is still more true of human rulers. The restriction was an impossible one; and, in consequence, necessarily evaded. It provided a hook upon which the Ulemas, when by nature fanatical, could hang their Fetwas, inciting the Mohammedans to take the law into their own hands; and it occasioned much pious fraud upon the part of the Jews themselves. In some instances, the Synagogues were so built that they looked like private houses and were not interfered with—a fact in Cairo to which the polemically-inclined Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ refers. Upon other occasions, fictitious Ta'arikhs were invented to show that the Synagogues were built long before the coming of Mohammed: of which we also have instances in Cairo itself.

If the truth must indeed be told, all the Synagogues in

¹ See Steinschneider, *Polemische und Apologetische Literatur*, Index: Goldziher in *R. É. J.*, XXX, p. 1 et seq.; XXXI, p. 212; and Schreiner in *Z. D. M. G.*, LIII, 51.

Fustāṭ and in Cairo were built in despite of the provisions of Omar's regulations. Fustāṭ was a foundation of Amru ibn al-Ās, the famous general of the first promoters of Islām, and Cairo of al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh the Faṭimide (952-975). The Sheikh Aḥmad al-Damanhūrī is right when he says ¹: "During the time of the rulers of Cairo, their vizier was sometimes a Jew and sometimes an Armenian Christian: on this account, the Armenian Christians became powerful and built many Churches in Egypt during the time of those sectaries (Shi'ites) and hypocrites." And further, "It has been remarked that this our Miṣr al-Kāhirah of al-Mu'izz is a Mohammedan city, built after the conquest of Egypt during the Faṭimide dynasty. Consequently, the building of any Church or Synagogue or the like in it is not permissible ²." There was, of course, the eternal question

¹ From his *اقامة للحجة الباهرة على هدم كنائس مصر والقاهرة* (Khedivial Library, Cairo, Majmū'ah ٣١٨; to which Professor Goldziher was kind enough to call my attention), fol. ١٣٩ b: ولما كانوا ملوك القاهرة كان وزيرهم مرة يهوديا ومرة نصرانيا ارمنيا وقويت النصارى بسبب ذلك النصراني الارمني فبنوا كنائس كثيرة بارض مصر في دولة اولئك الرافضة والمنافقين. The author endeavours to prove by the testimony of all the four Madhabs that neither churches nor synagogues are to be built, and that those that have been restored must be destroyed. Al-Damanhūrī was Sheikh of the Azhar in 1759. See Sulaimān Rasād, *Kunz al-Jauhar*, p. 130.

² Ibid. fol. ١٣٣ a: وتقدم ان مصرنا القاهرة المعزية مدينة اسلامية احدثت بعد فتح مصر في دولة الفاطمية فلا يجوز احداث شئ من البيع والكنائس ونحوها فيها ومن نص على ذلك مفتى الاسلام العلامة الشيخ قاسم بن قُطْلُوْبَعَا الحنفى تلميذ ابن الهمام وكتب المذهب مجمعة على منع احداث كنيسة ونحوها بدار الاسلام في محل مملوك لدمي فكيف في هذه المحلة الاسلامية في مصر ما وضع الكفر يده عليها مذ بنيت. Al-Makrīzī relates that the church of St. Barbara, which had been restored and beautified, was represented by the Mohammedans to be a new building, and was destroyed 718 A. H. See Evetts, *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 326. كنيسة بربرة هذه الكنيسة بقصر الروم بجوار خوخة خبيسة يفصل بينهما مسجد. Ibn Duḡmāk, p. ١٠٧. In al-Dhahabī's *Tadhkirat al-Huffāth*, I, p. 339, there is mention of a process of law in Mosul on the subject: only by the express will of the Cadi were the Christians allowed to keep their churches. (Note of Professor Goldziher.)

K k 2

whether Egypt had been conquered by force or had capitulated¹: in the latter case, special arrangements in the capitulations were in no way excluded. But to the rigorous Mohammedan, the Fatimide dynasty, under which all the Fustāt and Cairo Synagogues had been built, was itself heterodox and its permission without value. Just for this reason Taḳī al-Dīn ibn al-Taimiyyah (born 1263) demanded that the buildings should be destroyed.

The greatest difficulty was occasioned by the necessary restoration of Churches and Synagogues. This gave rise to endless disputes² and to chicanery of all manner. It is with a case in point that our document deals. The short of its verbose and repetitious wording is, to wit: A Synagogue of the Rabbinite Jews (about its situation, see below) had fallen into ruin or stood badly in need of repairs. It had been rebuilt—as to what part, we are not told. This must have roused some Mohammedan ire, and a certain Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Alī al-Anṣārī brought the whole matter before the Head Cadi, Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu‘mān in Fustāt—making complaint that the Synagogue was of recent build and that it ought to be demolished. The head of the Jewish community in Cairo, Abū al-‘Imrān Mūsa ibn Yaḳūb ibn Ishāk, was cited to appear as the one in possession of the building and confront his accusers. His answer was that the Synagogue was an old building; and that he himself, acting no doubt for his community, had been in possession of it for over forty years, i. e. for a very long time. The plaintiff, Ibrāhīm, was asked to prove his charges. It is stated that he replied in simple language—and, certainly, to the point, that he had no such proof; a procedure most strange and one-sided, as he must have known that in all such cases proof must be forthcoming. On the other hand, Mūsā had a goodly number of witnesses on hand, who

¹ *عنوة* or *صلحا*. See the long exposition, e. g. in al-Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, I, p. 294; or in *Yāḳūt*, III, 893 et seq.

² *R. É. J.*, XXX, p. 7.

testified to the exact location of the Synagogue, to the fact that it had been built long ago and to the additional fact that it was known to be and to have been for a long while a Waḳf or pious foundation, and, thus, in no way private property. The plaintiff seems to have been asked to refute the evidence; but he was unable to do so. Whereupon, the Cadi was asked to give judgment for the defendant, after that the testimony of the witnesses had been read out before him. The document itself is witnessed to on the 9th day of Sha'bān 429 A. H. (= 1038), by three further witnesses whose names are attached.

There seems to be no valid reason to doubt the authenticity of the document. Palaeographically, it does not differ from the few original instruments of the same period that have come under my notice. Nor does there seem to be anything in the wording of the text to militate against the date. I had a little hesitancy at the expression "in the street that is *now* known as" (line 29); but I have no means of determining whether this is not a legal expression common to the time and to the practice at the bar. Nor does there seem to be any untoward titular expression that would reveal a later date: if I may presume to rely upon my judgment in such matters.

The chief Cadi before whom the case was brought is well known in Egyptian history, both because of his own person and because of his family—a family of Cadis one may truthfully say. The history of this remarkable family may be in part put together from Ibn Ḥajar's *Raf' al-Isr*, al-Siyūṭī's *Ḥuṣn al-Muḥādarah*¹, Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-A'yān*², and Ibn Khaldūn's *Kitāb al-Ibr*³. The original authority is, no doubt, Ibn Zūlāk's *Kitāb Kuḍāt Miṣr*, which I believe has not come down to us, as I can find no mention

¹ ed. Bulak, 1299 A. H., II, pp. 120 et seq. (ed. 1321, II, pp. 95 et seq.).

² ed. Bulak, III, pp. 116 et seq.

³ Vol. IV, p. 55. Cf. also Wüstenfeld, *Fatimiden-Calife*, p. 218. I have treated of this family in a special monograph entitled "A Noted Family of Egyptian Cadis," in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXVII, 217 et seq.

of it in the catalogues of the MS. collections. When Al-Mu'izz came from Kairwān to plant the Faṭimide power in the land of the Nile, he brought with him his own Cadi, Abū Ḥanīfah ibn Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr al-Nu'mān. But he found a Cadi already in office at Fustāṭ, whom he seems not to have disturbed; so that al-Nu'mān remained without employment until he died in Jumādah II, 363 A. H. This al-Nu'mān is said by Ibn Khallikān, upon the authority of Ibn Zūlāk and of Musabbiḥi to have been a right learned man and to have composed polemical works¹. His son, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān, was one of the judges in a matter that arose between the business men in Fustāṭ and the Maghrabi soldiers. He was the first to receive the title "Head Cadi" in Egypt; that designation having been applied previously only to the Cadi in Baghdad². In addition he was a poet of some renown³. There were very frequent changes of Wazirs and Cadis during the Faṭimide regime: but six Cadis at least came from the family of al-Nu'mān, as may be seen from the following list:—

1. Abū Ḥanīfah ibn Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr al-Nu'mān; died 363 A. H.

2. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān; died 374 A. H.; son of the preceding.

3. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad; died 389; brother of the preceding.

4. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusain 'Alī; died 395; son of Abū al-Ḥasan.

5. Abū al-Kāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad al-Nu'mān; deposed Rajab 398⁴.

¹ Extracts from his *Iftitāḥ al-Dawlah al-Thāhirah* are used by al-Makrīzī in his life of Ubaid Allāh: see *J. A.*, 1836, p. 123, and Carl H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, I, 1902, p. 11.

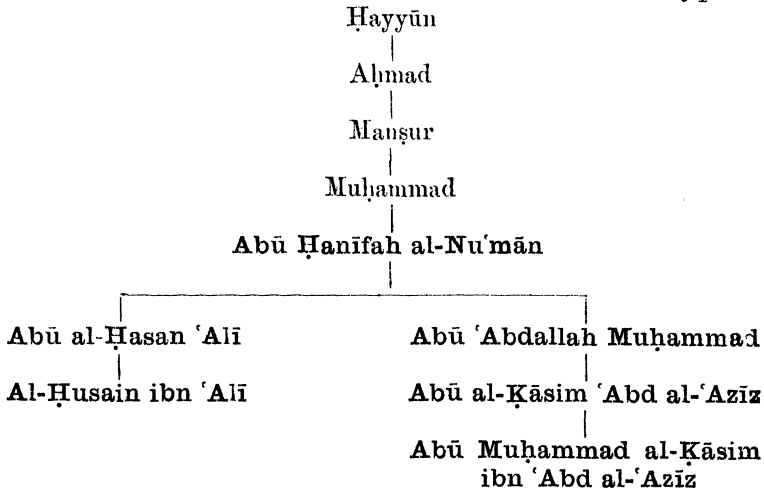
² وهو اول من نعت بقاضى القضاة في مصر ولم يكن يدعى بذلك الا ببغداد (al-Siyūṭī).

³ وكان شيعيا غالبا وشاعرا مجيدا.

⁴ Omitted by Ibn Khaldūn.

6. Mālik ibn Sa'id al-Fārikī; deposed Rabi' I. 405¹.
7. Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī al-Awwām; died Rabi' I. 418.
8. Abū Muḥammad al-Kāsim ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Nu'mān; deposed Rajab 419; twice again in office. Son of No. 5.
9. Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Abd al-Ḥākim ibn Sa'id al-Fārikī; deposed Dhu'l Ḳa'dah 427; a brother of No. 6.
10. Abū Muḥammad al-Kāsim ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Nu'mān, a second time 427.
11. Yaḥya al-Shihābī; deposed Muḥarram 441.
12. Abū Muḥammad al-Kāsim ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Nu'mān, a third time; deposed in the same year.
13. Abu Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Yazīrī; deposed Muḥarram 441.

The relationship of the al-Nu'mān family can be seen from the following genealogical table; the names of those that held the office of Cadi being printed in heavier type:—



From the above it will be seen that Abū Muḥammad al-Kāsim ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, the Cadi mentioned in our document, occupied his office of Chief Cadi three times. He was first appointed in 418 A.H., deposed in 419;

¹ al-Siyūṭī, by mistake, 345. Ibn Khaldūn has ملكة بن سعيد.

re-appointed in 429, re-deposed in 429; re-appointed 441, re-deposed in 441¹. How long he lived and what his further fortunes were, I have not been able to find out. Our document was made out during his second tenure of office. One of this family, al-Nu'mān, must have given his name to the "Zāwiyat [hospice] ibn al-Nu'mān" in Cairo². Considering how close the intimacy of the family was with the Faṭimides, it is peculiar to note that an Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Nu'mān, head of the Shi'ites in Bagdad, was one of the signers of the famous proclamation (402 A. H. = 1011), which declared the Faṭimides not to be in the line of prophetic descent. But, perhaps, this one belonged to a different family.

Abū Muḥammad al-Nu'mān is called in the Hujjah and by al-Siyūṭī *قاضي القضاة وداعي الدعاة* "Head Cadi and Head Preacher or Missionary." Each of these offices was of much importance. As Head Cadi, the holder had great power; he was the chief legal authority in the country, and director of the mint. It is said that Abū 'Abdallah al-Ḥusain ibn 'Alī ibn al Nu'mān was the first to combine these two offices, which, from time to time, were held by one and the same person³. Al-Maḥrizī gives the following

¹ The length of his second tenure of office is uncertain. Al-Siyūṭī assigns these years to al-Shihābī, who evidently replaced al-Nu'mān during a part of them: *واستخلف عنه القاضي يحيى الشهاب فاقام ثلاث عشرة سنة ثم عزل في المحرم سنة احدى واربعين واعيد قاسم ثم صرف من عامه*. According to al-Maḥrizī (*Khīṭaṭ*, I, p. 355 bottom) the thirteen years belong to the Cadiship of our Abū Muḥammad al-Kāsim: *وفي المحرم سنة احدى واربعين صرف القاضي القضاة قاسم بن عبد العزيز بن النعمان عن القضاء بعد ما باشرة ثلاث عشرة سنة وشهرا واربعة ايام*.

² al-Maḥrizī, *Kopten*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 50.

³ In a general way Ibn Khaldūn (l. c.) says: *واتصل في آخرين الى آخر دولتهم كان كثيرا ما يجمعون للقاضي المظالم والدعوة فيكون داعي الدعاة وربما يفردون كلا منهما وكان القاضي عندهم يصعد مع الخليفة المنبر مع من يصعد من اهل دولته عند ما يخطب الخلفاء في الجمع والاعياد*. On the functions of the Cadi, see also Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḥaddimāt* (Beirut, 1816), pp. 192 et seq.

account of the office and its functions, which makes a fitting setting in which to place the events related in the *Hujjah*¹: "It was the custom of this dynasty that when the Wazir was the 'Chief of the Sword,' he invested with the dignity of Cadi a man to take his place. This was begun only during the days of Badr al-Jamālī, Commander of the forces. But when the Khalifah was independent, he placed a man at the head of the [Department of] Justice, whose title was 'Head Cadi.' The rank of such an one was the highest of the dignatories of the turban and of the pen. Sometimes the same was also Preacher: then he was called 'Head Cadi and Head Preacher'². All religious matters were in his care. He took his seat every Saturday and Tuesday in the Ziyadah of the Mosque of 'Amru ibn al-Āṣ in Old Cairo upon a divan ('mattress') and a silken cushion. . . . The witnesses sat to his right and left around him according to their precedence of rank. Near him were five attendants; two in front, two at the door of his private room, and one to introduce those that came to him as litigants. Four guards stand near to him; two facing two. He has an inkstand ornamented with silver, which is brought to him from the state treasuries; a bearer is appointed for it, who is paid by the government. From the stables there is brought for him a grey mule; one of such a colour being reserved for him alone. From the saddle-magazine a saddle is brought for him, richly adorned, on the outside of which is a placque of silver. In place of hide, silk is used. Upon state occasions he wears chains and robes of honour [faced with] gold. But he is not accompanied with drum or trumpet, except when

¹ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, p. 403. See also al-Ḳalkashandī, I, 251.

² Badr al-Jamālī and even al-Afdāl himself have these titles. On the Roḍa Nilometer the first is cited as *كافل قضاء المسلمين وهادى دعاة المومنين*. The Vizier Yājūrī (1058) is called *قاضي القضاة وداعي الدعاة* (de Sacy, *ʿAbd al-Laṭīf*, p. 436, *Ibn Iyās*, p. 59); and the Vizier Ibn al-Batāʾihī (1121-1125) *نظام الدين والدعاة*. See Amari, *I Diplomi*, p. 453. On the Dāʾi al-Duʾāt, see al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 391.

he is appointed preacher as well as judge: in which case the accompaniment of the dignity of preacher is the drum, the clarion, and the special flags; for this one is the keeper of the flags with which the Wazīr 'Chief of the Sword' is honoured. When he officiates specially as judge, there are about him Readers, and before him the criers who proclaim the name of the Caliph and the Wazirs of the day. He is borne [in state] by the lieutenants of the gate and the attendants. No one approaches his presence, wishing to speak to him, even if he be Chief of the Sword and the Pen, nor does messenger or mission approach, except they receive permission. He addresses no one when he is in the seat of judgment; nor is a witness heard, except at his order. He sits in the Kaṣr on Monday and Thursday at early noon in order to salute the Caliph. His representatives [also] give judgment; the head of the Treasury must report to him. He has, also, to watch over the Diwān of the Mint, in order to render an account of the money that is minted."

Unfortunately, we are not so well acquainted with the Jewish defendant as we are with the learned judge. He is called "Abū al-'Imrān Mūsa ibn Ya'qub ibn Ishāk." Further, we know that he was a physician in the employ of the Court¹; as Isaac ben Solomon Israeli had been before him under Ubaid Allāh (953); Mūsa ben Eliezar under al-Mu'izz (969); al-Ḥaḳīr al-Nāfi' under al-Ḥākim (996); and after him Abū Maṣṣūr under Ḥāfiṭh (1131), Abū al-Bayyān al-Mudawwar (died 1184) and Maimonides at the Court of Saladin, and Abraham Maimonides under al-Mālik al-Kāmil (1218). In addition, he represented the Jews as a body to the Government. As such he is designated "Ra'īs al-Yahūd," or "Head of the Jews"²;

¹ The expression *طبيب الخصرة الشريف* does not allow us to say more. If he had been body-physician to the Caliph, I suppose that the expression would have been *طبيب الخاص*. See al-Kalkāshandī, tr. Wüstenfeld, p. 195.

² Maimonides is called *رئيس الأمة*; al-Makrizī, however, says that the *ديان اليهود* was the representative of the Jews, as were the two patriarchs of the Christians (*Gesch. der Kopten*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 11).

and it is expressly stated that his representation, and with it a certain jurisdiction, extended over the three classes or divisions of the Jews in Cairo: Rabbinite, Karaite, and Samaritan Jews¹.

We know so little about the internal organization of the Jewish community in Egypt, that I venture to go a little afield. In the ² كتاب صبح الاعشاء of al-Ḳalkāshandī, who died in 824, I have found some interesting extracts bearing upon this question and which I have added as an Appendix (No. III). Al-Ḳalkāshandī cites as authorities Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Nabātah and Muḥyī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Thāhir. But in the ³ كتاب التعريف بالمصطلح الشريف of the Cadi Shihāb al-Dīn al-Umarī, and to which Goldziher has already called attention⁴, I find a number of extracts which agree almost word for word with the text of al-Ḳalkāshandī. Shihāb al-Dīn, Jamāl al-Dīn, and Muḥyī al-Dīn all lived in the eighth century A. H. Consequently, al-Ḳalkāshandī must have made use of Shihāb al-Dīn⁵.

The Dayyān had purely religious functions, and al-Maḳrīzī must refer to the Ra’īs al-Yahūd. See below, p. 538. In the Genizah documents discussed by E. J. Worman, *J. Q. R.*, XVIII, 1 et seq., he is designated as ראש הקהלה (p. 32), ראש הקהל (p. 14) or simply as הראש (p. 15). See, also, Ibn Duḳmāk, pp. 25, 30 ⁶ رئيس اليهود.

¹ To the material that I have collected on the Samaritans in Egypt (*Jewish Encyclopaedia*, s. v.) it might be added that Abū Sāliḥ gives an account of their disputing with Mark the Blind. One of their priests, Ibn Manhūb, called Ibn al Kaubar, was excommunicated c. 1150 (ed. Evetts, p. 21). At the time of al-Ḳalkāshandī (d. 824 A. H.) the Samaritans had their own Ra’īs, who gave judgment, watched over marriage and testamentary agreements, and had the synagogues (?) in his charge. See *Appendix* III, f.; and for the oath to be taken by a Samaritan, *ibid.* III, j. It is curious that the much larger Karaite community had no head of its own, but was subject to the Rabbinites!

² MS. of the Khedivial Library at Cairo. The large volumes are not paginated, so that I am unable to cite accurately.

³ ed. Cairo, 1312 (= 1895). In one place al-Ḳalkāshandī mentions Shihāb al-Dīn’s work by name.

⁴ *R. H. J.*, XXX, p. 9, note 2.

⁵ Vol. I of this work has recently been printed, though the title-page has the year 1903. P. 4 et seq. al-Ḳalkāshandī refers to the *Kitāb al-Ta’rīf* as one of his chief authorities. See also pp. 6, 64, 108. 122. &c.

In discussing the officers of the various non-Mohammedan communities¹, after having mentioned the Bishop (الأسقف), the Metropolitan (المطران), the priest (القسيس), the Catholicus (الجاليليقي), the Beadle (الشماس), and the monk (الراهب), he continues: "The second community are the Jews. The titles of three of their functionaries are well known. The first is the Ra'is: he is the one among them that takes the place of the Patriarch among the Christians. Account has already been given of the word. . . .² The second is the Hazzān (with unpointed *ḥa*, pointed *zai* with *tashdīd*, after the *alaf* a *nūn*). He must be well versed in preaching. He ascends the Minbar (= Almemar) and exhorts them (i.e. the people). The third is the Sheliah-Zibbūr (pointed *shīn* with *kasr*, a *lām*, *fath* over the *ya* with two points below; then unpointed *ḥa* with *sukkūn*, unpointed *sād* with *fath*, *ba* with one point, *tashdīd* and *dhamma*, after which *ra* i. e. شليح زيبور), i. e. the Imām who leads them in prayer."

In another part³ he has the following: "The sixth fashion, treating of the chiefs of the various offices in Egypt. The representatives of the Ahl al-Dhimma. Rescripts are addressed to all of them with the preceding titles, commencing then with *amma ba'du*, *ḥammiḍ Allāh*! The first office is that of Ra'is al-Yahūd. His function is to represent all the Jews, to serve them as legal authority and as judge in conformity with their law, and so forth. In the chapter on Religions and Sects⁴, it has already been said that the Jews comprise three different communities, the Rabbinites, the Karaites, and the Samaritans. The custom has been that the Ra'is should be of the Rabbinite community, to the exclusion of the others. He sits in judgment over the three communities." Then follow the rescripts and instructions for Rabbinites and Samaritans, which will be found in extenso in the Appendix. "The

¹ In الجزء الثالث.

² A break in the MS.

³ الجزء السادس.

⁴ I was unable to find this chapter; there was no index of any sort to the MS.

duty laid upon him," says the instruction among other things, "is to join his community together and to prevent their separation by means of their obedience to him, and by his pronouncing judgment for them according to the laws of their religious body and the customs of their community when it is evident to him in matters relating to his rule." He is to watch over the contracting of marriages and the customs of divorce, the pronouncing of the ban, the turning in prayer to the proper *Ḳiblah*. "The Mohammedans take refuge from the Jews to him"; and it lies upon him to see that the restrictions placed upon the *Ahl al-Dhimma* are not overlooked, especially that new synagogues be not built, and that the Jews wear the proper turban and the yellow garments. He had permission to preach in all their synagogues, and he was responsible for law and order in the community.

Where was the synagogue situated to which the *Hujjah* refers; or, perhaps, where is it to be found to-day? To solve this question it is necessary to refer back to the topographists of Cairo. *Ibn Duḡmāk* (1350-1406) had probably a longer account than that which now appears in the printed edition of his work¹; for just at the most interesting spot there is the ominous remark that the original MS. has a blank page or part of a page². On the other hand, the account of *al-Maḡrīzī* has been almost entirely preserved; although the uncritical text given in the Cairo edition makes the use of this really monumental work most difficult. As his description must be made the starting-point of all investigations, I jot down that part of the *Khīṭaṭ* which gives "An account of the Synagogues of the Jews³," though this has already been done in part by *Schreiner*⁴ and by myself⁵.

"Allāh has said⁶ 'Had not Allāh separated mankind from each

¹ P. 108.

² بياض بالأصل.

³ *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. II, pp. 464 et seq.

⁴ *Z. D. M. G.*, XLV, p. 295.

⁵ *J. E.*, s. v., Egypt.

⁶ *Surah* xxii. 41.

other, hermitages, churches, synagogues¹ and mosques would have been destroyed, in which the name of Allāh is often repeated.' The exegetes explain that the hermitages belong to the Sabaeans, the churches to the Christians; that the *Ṣalawāt* are the synagogues of the Jews, while the mosques belong to the Mohammedans. Ibn Kutaibah adds: '*Kanīs* is a Hebrew (or Aramaic) word meaning in Arabic the place in which people gather for prayers.'

Al-Makrīzī then gives a summary of the Synagogues of which he had cognizance:—

"In Egypt they (the Jews) have a number of synagogues, e. g. the Synagogue of Damwah in Gizeh, the synagogue of Jaujar in one of the Western cities (?); in Miṣr al-Fuṣṭāṭ a synagogue in the district of al-Muṣāṣah in the street al-Karmah; two synagogues in the district Kaṣr al-Sham'; in Cairo a synagogue in al-Jaudariyyah, and five synagogues in the district Zuwailah."

This makes eleven in all.

Of the individual Synagogues, al-Makrīzī has the following to say:—

(1) "The synagogue of Damwah. This synagogue is the largest place of worship belonging to the Jews in Egypt. The Jews all agree in holding that it is the spot to which Moses ibn 'Imrān retired² when he sent the messages to Pharaoh [and in which he

¹ The word used here is *صلوات* = *צלוחא* = *בית צלוחא* = *בית הפלח*. The Mohammedan lexicographers have much learned rubbish upon this word, on account of its occurrence in the Koran, though they know its meaning and recognize it as Aramaic (*عبرانية*). See al-Firuzabādī, *Ḥamūs*, s. v.; *Lisān al-'Arab*, XIX, p. 200, 5; *Tāj al-'Arūs*, X, p. 213. According to Pedro de Alcalá, *Biah* (Church), or as pronounced in Spain *Bai'ah*, was used in his days for "sinagoga ayuntamiento de judios." Dozy, s. v. Aḥmad al-Damanhūrī, l. c., p. 14 b, says: *وأما الكنيسة متعبد اليهود والبيعة بكسر الباء متعبد النصارى وكانت الكنيسة والبيعة في الأصل يطلقان على متعبدتهما ثم غلبا في الاستعمال على ما تقدم. وأهل مصر يطلقون الكنيسة على متعبدتهما ويخصون اسم الدير بمتعبد النصارى. والصومعة بيت يبنى براس طويل ليتعبد فيها بالانقطاع من الدنيا وحكمه كبيت النار والدير كالكنيسة*. On the *Ṣauma'ah*, see *Z. A.*, IX, 306.

² This tradition has now been transferred to the synagogue in Old Cairo.

remained as long as he was in Egypt, from the time that he came from Midian until he went from Egypt with the children of Israel. The Jews imagine that the present building was put up some forty years after the second destruction of the Temple by Titus, which would be more than five hundred years before the appearance of Islam. In [the court of?] this synagogue is a Zanzalakht tree¹, exceedingly tall, which they are agreed dates from the time of Moses. They say that Moses planted his staff in this place, and that Allāh caused this tree to grow there, that it never ceased to bear flourishing branches, its stem reaching up to heaven, beautiful in its equality and thick all the way up, until al-Mālik al-Asbraf Sha'bān ibn Husain erected his Madrasah beneath the citadel. He heard of the beauty of this tree and had it cut down for building purposes. His men came to do with it what they had been ordered; when, lo and behold! it was overturned and twisted and had become an evil-looking thing. So they left it, and it remained in this wise for some time. It is conceded that when once a Jew and a Jewess committed adultery under it, the branches commenced to hang down and the leaves to wither. Then it dried up, until there was not a green leaf left upon it. And so it has remained until this day. A [special] festival is celebrated in this synagogue, on which the Jews pilgrimage [thither] together with their households on Pentecost in the month of Sivan. They do this instead of making the Ḥajj to Jerusalem."

Then follows a long apocryphal account of Moses.

In his account of the Copts², al-Maḥrīzī gives some further details:—

"The monastery of Dūmuh³ in Gizeh is also known as 'Dūmuh al-Sabā'. It is connected with the names of Cosmas and Damian. It is a pleasant monastery. The Christians think that one of their

¹ A species of acacia: a suggested reading of Dr. A. S. Yahuda for the printed *زيزلخت*.

² *Khīṭat*, II, 504; Wüstenfeld, *Kopten*, text, p. 39.

³ Or *Dumwuh*: I do not know the correct pronunciation. Above I have written *Damwah*! The Paris MS. of Sambari (fol. 68 a = ed. Neubauer, 137, 13) has דמחה, which seems to indicate the consonantal sound of the waw. De Sacy has in one place (*Relation de l'Égypte*, p. 245) *Dimouth*, in another (ibid., p. 675) *Doumouh*.

wise men named Saba' lived in Dūmuh; and that the synagogue of Damwah, which is now in the possession of the Jews, was [formerly] a Christian monastery. The Jews bought it from the Christians at a time when the latter were in straits. But I have already spoken of the Synagogue of Damwah."

An earlier Christian author, however, the Armenian Abū Ṣālih¹ who lived c. 1173, knows nothing of this latter tradition. He says:—

"Damūh.—Here is the Church of Cosmas and Damian, their brethren and their mother, which was restored by the Sheikh Abū Sa'īd, the scribe, who was a member of the Diwān al-Makātabāt. Near it there is a garden containing a well with a water-wheel, upon the high road. The Jews have in this district a synagogue, enclosed by a wall, within which are lodgings for them, and a garden in which are trees and palms, and a circular well with a water-wheel. Here disputes took place between the sects of Rabbinites and Karaites concerning the lighting of lamps. It is said that the prophet Moses, in the days of Pharaoh, visited this place, and prayed in it and slept in it."

Evetts, in a note, questions whether this Damūh is really to be sought in the province of al-Jīzah (Gizeh). There is at present a Damūh al-Sabā in the district of Dakarmas, province of al-Dakhaliyyah. Perhaps this view is supported by al-Sambari, who speaks² of the בניסת מוסה in the *city* of רמזה. At his day the synagogue was in ruins; but he connects it with the wonderful history of Moses of Damūh³, as well as with that of the lawgiver. I have a suspicion

¹ Evetts, *Churches of Egypt*, transl. p. 196. The statement in the *Biennial Report of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America*, 1902-4, p. 26, that the Synagogue of Elijah "at least dates back as far as the Mohammedan conquest of Egypt" cannot be taken seriously.

² In *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, ed. Neubauer, I, pp. 120, 137. Benjamin of Tudela, ed. Asher, II, p. 235. On p. 160 Sambari speaks of Moses of Damūh as משה רמזה בל הנה. It must, of course, be remembered that Gizeh was a part of Cairo, the city being divided into four parts: Fustāt, Cairo, the island of Ramleh, and Gizeh. *Muḥaddasi*, ed. de Goeje, p. 197; *al-Makrizī*, I, p. 399.

³ Related by him, *ibid.*, p. 120, bottom.

that the name of the first of these has occasioned the ascription to the second.

2. "The Synagogue of Jaujar is one of the most renowned of the synagogues of the Jews. They think that it is connected with the prophet of Allāh, Elijah, who was born in it; that he was accustomed to visit it as long as he remained on earth, until Allāh took him to himself."

Then follows a long story about Elijah, who is said to be the same as Phinehas ben Eliezar¹.

The next three were in Fustāṭ or Old Cairo

3. "The Synagogue al-Mušāṣah, much honoured by the Jews, in the district Mušāṣah of Madinat Miṣr. They (the Jews) believe that it was restored in the Caliphate of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Its situation is known to be in the street al-Karmah. It was built in the year 315 of the Seleucid Era, which was about 621 years before Islam. The Jews, also, imagine that this synagogue was a *majlis*² of Elijah the prophet of God."

If there is any truth in this tradition, the synagogue was built in the year 3-4 C.E.—which I take the liberty to doubt. On the other hand, Sambari³ (who usually follows al-Maḳrīzī, and indeed cites him) calls this a Karaite synagogue built in the year [4]765: which view is supported by Ibn Duḳmāḳ, "The Synagogue of the Karaite Jews in al-Mamṣūṣah in a lane of the street al-Karmah⁴." One can only answer with the Mohammedan "Allāh A'lam"—God knows best! Ibn Duḳmāḳ must refer to this in speaking of the "Synagogue Place in al-Mušāṣah in the

¹ Which explains Sambari's reference, p. 121 middle, to Phinehas. In his day it was in ruins. See *Z. D. M. G.*, XLV, p. 297.

² Divan or tribunal?

³ I. c., p. 136, bottom: *בית הכנסת של קראיין במחוז כוס אלממאסא כי צרר* (read *אלממאסא אלכרמה*). Observe the more correct punctuation *حُطَّ*.

⁴ P. 108: *كنيسة اليهود القرايين بالممصوصة بنزقاني من اrique درب الكرمة*. It is unfortunate that the original MS. breaks off just at this point. A Genizah document also has the reading *Mamṣūṣah*, *J. Q. R.*, XVIII, 30.

small market of the Jews¹." The position of the street al-Mušāṣah has been approximately fixed by Guest and Richmond as follows: "Darb al-Hajar joined a place called Maḥras Banānah², which was the end of a street called El-Mušāṣah. The other end was at the Saḳifat Khairah, which was connected by streets to Es Suḳ el-Kebīr. El-Mušāṣah must therefore have run generally parallel to the east wall of the Kaṣr esh-Sham'³." At the time of Ibn Duḳmāḳ and al-Maḳrīzī the Khuṭṭ al-Mušāṣah was greatly devastated⁴.

4. "The Synagogue of the Palestinians was in the district Kaṣr al-Sham'⁵ of Madinat Miṣr. It is old: over its door there is in

خوخة الكنيسة هذه الخوخة بقصر الشمع على يمينه من قصد : P ٣٠
محط اللبن وهذه الكنيسة خوخة الفائزي هذه الخوخة بالمصاصة بسوقة
اليهود سكن داخلها صاحب شرف الدين الفائزي الخ

درب محرس بنانة هو درب الذي بأخر حط المصاصة وخط : I. c., p. ٣٦
محرس بنانة يجاوره عن يمينه من دخل منه الى دار محبي الدين النليسي
وعلى يسرة دار تعرف بابن ماضي وهذا الشارع من سوقة اليهود ودرب ابن
بكير والى درب محرس بنانة وقدخرب الآن

³ A. R. Guest and E. T. Richmond, *Miṣr in the 15th Century in J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 803. See also E. J. Worman, in *J. Q. R.*, XVIII, pp. 28 et seq.

⁴ Ibn Duḳmāḳ, above; *al-Khi'a'*, I, p. 339, line 25.

⁵ "The Citadel of the Candle," so called because "it was customary to light a candle on this citadel at the beginning of every month, i. e. when the sun had gone through one of the signs of the Zodiac, on that night a candle was lit upon the top of the citadel, by the lighting of which candle the people knew that the sun had passed through from one sign into another," *al-Khi'a'*, I, p. 287. Ibn Duḳmāḳ speaks of the synagogue as being in the Kaṣr al-Rūm, which I take to be only another name for the Kaṣr al-Sham': كنيسة اليهود الشاميين بقصر الروم بجوار :
خوخة خبيصة والدرب هناك "The synagogue of the Palestinian Jews was in Kaṣr al-Rūm, near to the Khūkhāt Khabīṣah and the road [leading] to it" (p. ١٠٨). See also *J. Q. R.*, XVIII, p. 20. Of the Khokhat Khabīṣah he says: خوخة خبيصة هذه الخوخة بقصر الشمع فيما بين كنيسة اليهود والمسجد الارضي هناك وداخلها غير نافذ غير ان رؤس اليهود استرق من السور بابا فتحة من داره التي بالمصاصة يسلك منه من هذه الخوخة وسكن داخلها جماعة "The Khūkhāt Khabīṣah is in Kaṣr al-Sham', between the synagogue of the Jews and the Masjid al-Araḍī there. There was no

Hebrew script and engraven upon wood [an inscription to the effect] that it was built in the year 336, Seleucid Era; before the second destruction of Jerusalem by Titus about 45 years, and before the Hījah about 600 years. In this synagogue there is a copy of the Torah, about which all are agreed that it is in the handwriting of Ezra the prophet who is called in Arabic al-'Azīr."

Sambari has a similar reference¹. Moses ben Elijah—with more verisimilitude—places the construction of the synagogue in 1291. About the year 1487 Ka'it Bey or his Wazīr was in need of columns for a palace about to be built. He had in mind to take those of this synagogue; but was bought off with 10,000 gold pieces. Moses ben Elijah also speaks of the many Hebrew inscriptions that covered its walls²: similar, I suppose, to those that can still be seen upon the walls of the old synagogue of Samuel ha-Levi in Toledo. This synagogue must have stood upon the spot where is the present synagogue in Old Cairo. I doubt whether the actual building is the same. I was told that the old building had been pulled down; and a much plainer building put up in its stead—according to

way out of the Khūkhah, but the Ra'is al-Yahūd had a door put in the wall which opened [the way] from his *dār* in al-Mušāṣah, through which one could then get out of the Khūkhah. Inside it was largely inhabited." This may be added to the notices above about the Ra'is al-Yahūd. *J. Q. R.*, XVIII, p. 23.

A. J. Butler, however, believes that the word *Sham'* is merely a corruption of the old Coptic name for Egypt $\chi\eta\mu\iota$. See Evetts, *Churches of Egypt*, p. 72. The same name seems also to have been given to the Citadelle of Cairo; de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif*, p. 208.

¹ l. c., p. 118. He speaks of two synagogues in Old Cairo—one of the Babylonians (see below!) and one of the Palestinians. He adds that al-Makrīzī mentions a third one, which was unknown to him; he was also told that formerly there had existed there a Karaite synagogue. But, on p. 136 below, he knows of all the three synagogues in Fustāṭ—two belonging to the Rabbinites and one to the Karaites. Before laying the blame upon Sambari himself, we must have a critical text of his chronicle, and not the mere and uncritical reproduction of the MS. that both Neubauer and Berliner have given us. On the כניסה אל־המקדש in the Genizah documents, see *J. Q. R.*, XVIII, 11.

² Also mentioned by Ibn Saphir, vol. I, p. 21.

Hakam Mangouby—by both Rabbinites and Karaites ; both parties having the right to-day to use it and to burn oil in it. Max Herz Bey, head of the Wakf administration in Cairo, was certain that he had seen the old building some twenty-seven years ago, but that since then it had been completely destroyed. There is nothing at all remarkable about the present building, except its extreme poverty. There are no signs either of beautiful columns or of Hebrew inscriptions : and the miserable surroundings, which I have described elsewhere¹, are a disgrace to the Cairo community. The best description of the older building is given by Alfred J. Butler² :—

“At the far end of the palm-garden projects a bastion, the ruined walls of which have been built up with Arabic brick and crowned with a circlet of posts, like those of Māri Mina. This bastion, however, is better viewed from inside the dais, and is reached by a visit to the Jewish synagogue, behind which it stands This Jewish synagogue is worth a visit. It was originally a Coptic church dedicated to St. Michael, and was sold to the Jews by his namesake Michael, 56th patriarch. Towards the end of the ninth century, Eutychius says that St. Michael in Kaṣr-ash-Shamm’ah was the last church held by the Melkites, about the year 725 A. D., when all other churches throughout the land of Egypt had passed into the hands of the Jacobites. How long it remained with the Melkites is uncertain : but the violent antipathy of the two factions no doubt gave a cause of quarrel and conquest to the Jacobites, long before the time when, according to Macrizi³, it was made over to the Hebrews. The synagogue is about 65 ft. long and 35 ft. broad, and shows in

¹ *New Era Magazine*, July, 1905.

² *Ancient Coptic Churches*, Oxford, 1884, p. 168. Facing p. 155 is a design of the Kaṣr with the position of the synagogue marked ; see also Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, p. 240.

³ *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, II, 153, at the top. In the *J. E.*, s.v. EGYPT, I have attributed, upon hearsay, the opinion that this synagogue is the old St. Michael Church to Mr. E. N. Adler (quoting *J. Q. R.*, IX, 670). It deserves notice that Abū Ṣāliḥ knows nothing of this change of the church into a synagogue. See Evetts, *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 122.

miniature a Coptic basilica in its simplest and perhaps its earliest form. If the eastern end has suffered some alteration, the nave, side aisles, and returned aisles with triforium above, are unchanged from the old design, though whitewash has long since defaced the splendid colours once blazoned on the walls. In point of detail there is not much of interest remaining, except the fine stucco work about the arch of triumph, the tank or well behind the apse, and the carved doors at the end of the south aisle, upon which one may notice gazelles, and that other ancient Christian symbol, a pair of birds with retorted drooping heads, and between them a bunch of grapes—a symbol one may see graven with equal fidelity in the Mosque of St. Sophia.”

5. “Synagogue of the Babylonians (عراقيين).—This synagogue is also in *Ḳaṣr al-Sham'*.”

Ibn Duḡmāk is more precise: “Synagogue of the Babylonian Jews in *Ḳaṣr al-Rūm* in the Jews' lane near *al-Mu'allakah* ¹.”

Coming to Cairo, *al-Maḡrīzī* continues:—

6. “Synagogue in *al-Jaudariyyah*. This synagogue is in the *Hārat al-Jaudariyyah* of Cairo. It has lain waste since the Caliph *al-Ḥākin bi-Amr Allāh* destroyed the *Hārah* [in his anger] against the Jews, as we have already related in speaking about the *Hārahs*.”

It is somewhat difficult to determine where this synagogue was situated. The topography of the older part of Cairo was already much changed in the days of *al-Maḡrīzī* from what it had been during the *Faṭimide* rule; and since then a few important changes have obliterated a number of ancient landmarks. This is especially true of the “*Rue Mousky*” (so called after the *Amīr 'Izzal-Dīn Mūsek*, a relative of *Saladin*, who died at *Damascus* in 1188), a strategic street cut through by *Bonaparte* after the revolt of October, 1798, and of its prolongation the “*Rue Neuve*,” finished at the time of *Isma'il Pasha*.

¹ P. 108: كنيسة اليهود العراقيين هذه بقصر الروم بزقاق اليهود بجوار المعلقة. Cf. *Sambari*, l. c., p. 118, in whose time it was in ruins. See also *J. Q. R.*, XVIII, 11.

According to Ravaisse¹, whose excellent studies on the oldest topography of Cairo were the first of their kind, the Ḥārat al-Jaudariyyah—so called from the Jaudarī, a troop of 400 men forming part of the army of the Faṭimide Conqueror—was bounded on the north by the Ḥārat al-Umarā, on the south by the Ḥārat Zuwailah, on the east by the Ḥārat al-Dailam, on the west by the Ḥārat al-Wazīriyyah; i.e. it was directly west of the present mosque al-Ashraf, about the position of the Shārī' al-Ḥamzāwī of to-day. The story need not be told here why and how the Caliph al-Ḥākim cleared the Jaudariyyah of its Jews and turned the synagogue into a mosque².

The same al-Ḥākim was responsible for doing a like evil with another synagogue, not quite as far north in the city as this. As one enters the inner city by the old Bāb Zuwailah, with its ancient doors, upon the nails of which are hung innumerable bits of cloth devoted to the numens of the place and which the passers-by devotedly kiss, one goes north past the mosque al-Mu'ayyid, through the Shārī' al-Sukkariyyah into the Shārī' al-'Akkādin. Just before a Sabīl around which one turns into the Ḥārat al-Rūm³, there is a door leading downwards a few steps through a dark corridor into a small mosque⁴. There are in it

¹ Paul Ravaisse, *Essai sur l'Histoire du Caire*, in the publications of the École Française du Caire, vol. I, p. 423; *Topographie du Caire*, *ibid.*, II, p. 4. Sketch maps of the ancient city will also be found there.

² Al-Ḳalkāshandī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 73; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭa'*, II, p. 5; *J. E.*, l. c. He then forced the Jews to live in the Ḥārat Zuwailah: Paris MS. Arabe, 1817, fol. 51a (ascribed to Ibn Zūlāk) وافرد لليهود حارة زويلة يسكنوا فيها ولا يحاطوا المسلمين. Cf. Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rikh Miṣr*, p. 51.

³ There were two Ḥārat al-Rūm. Al-Maḳrīzī (*Khīṭa'*, I, p. 361) calls them حارة الروم الجوانية and حارة الروم الآن. The more common designation seems, however, to have been حارة الروم الجوانية. The Khīṭa', II, p. 8, near bottom; cf. Abū-l-Mahāsīn, II, 416, and Evetts, *Churches of Egypt*, p. 2). The Ḥārat al-Rūm al-Suffa is the one intended here. Al-Maḳrīzī adds that it was destroyed by al-Ḥākim in the year 399 A. H.

⁴ Al-Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭa'*, II, p. 100 (cf. I, p. 361) "In olden times the gate

three or four very ancient pillars, and on each side of the Mihrāb an old door, now closed up. Near the entrance are a well and a pool. It is an ill-favoured building and not in frequent use. In olden times the original Bāb al-Zuwaitlah, built by the Kā'id Jauhar, was quite near to this spot. The fact that one has to descend to reach the mosque is in itself peculiar; all the Egyptian mosques that I have seen must be reached by a flight of steps. The little building was known in former times as the "Mosque of Sām ibn Nūḥ" (i. e. Shem, son of Noah). At a later period its name was changed to that of "Ibn al-Bannā," after a learned Koran exegete attached to it as teacher, one Muḥammad ibn al-Bannā abu 'Abd Allāh al-Shāfa'ā, who died 591 A. H. (= 1195)¹. Al-Makrīzī has the tradition that it was formerly a Karaite synagogue. He says: "The Mosque of Ibn al-Bannā is within the gate Zuwaitlah. It goes popularly by the name of Sām ibn Nūḥ. But this [ascription] must be a pure invention, without any basis; for, probably, Sām ibn Nūḥ never entered the land of Egypt. I have heard it said that this mosque was a synagogue of the Karaite Jews known by the name of Sām ibn Nūḥ, and that al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh the Faṭimide took possession of it when he destroyed the

Zuwaitlah, which the Kā'id Jauhar built, was at the head (or beginning) of the Ḥārat al-Rūm, where to-day is an arch near to the mosque known as [that of] Sām ibn Nūḥ." See also Ravaisse, *Topographie du Caire*, II, p. 409. 'Alī Mubārak in *Al-Khiṭṭah al-Jadīdah* gives the location as follows: "The hospice (زاوية) of Sām ibn Nūḥ. The hospice is inside the Zuwaitlah gate, near the Sabīl (fountain) of the 'Aḳḳādīn, which was built by Jamtakān al-'Azīz Muḥammad near its gate opposite the Sūḳ al-Katu in [the neighbourhood of] al-Mu'ayyid—as one goes from the Zuwaitlah gate to al-Ashrafīyah." In another place (I, p. 31) the same author speaks of it as the "Zāwīyat Sālim," which seems evidently to be an arabicizing mistake. "Thirteenth section: the Shāri' al-Manā-khaliyyah and Sukkariyyah. It commences at the Zāwīyat Sālim, which is opposite the gate Sūḳ al-Mu'ayyid. It ends at the Bāb al-Mutawallī (i. e. Zuwaitlah)."

¹ Abū-l-Maḥāsīn, II, 413, has in the text مسجد ابن النبأ, but the correct reading is given in the Editor's MS. A.

synagogues, and turned it into a mosque." To which, Ali Mubārak Pasha, the painstaking author of the *Al-Khiṭṭah al-Jadīdah*, adds¹: "The Jews in Cairo, to-day, imagine that Sām ibn Nūḥ is buried here. Those of them who have turned Moslems swear by this mosque. I have this upon the authority of the Cadi of the Jews, Ibrāhīm ibn Faraj Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Kāfī al-Da'ūdī al-'Anātī." A careful examination seems to confirm the view of al-Makrīzī and his tradition, whatever may be the origin of the tradition connecting the place with the patriarch Shem.

According to al-Kalkashandī, when the Jews were driven out of the Ḥārat al-Jaudariyyah, they moved further north into the Ḥārat Zuwailah (see below), in which, or near which, the following synagogues were situate:—

7. "Synagogue of the Karaites.—This synagogue is reached from opposite the Bāb Sirr al-Māristān al-Manṣūriyyah, in a حדרه, to which one comes in the Ḥārat al-Zuwailah; but a postern that was there blocked the way, so that it could be reached only from the Ḥārat Zuwailah. It is a synagogue used exclusively by the community of Karaite Jews."

8. "Synagogue of the Dār al-Ḥadrah.—This synagogue is in the Ḥārat Zuwailah, in a street known to-day as the Darb al-Rā'id, and it is one of the synagogues ²"

9. "Synagogue of the Rabbānīn.—This synagogue is in the Ḥārat Zuwailah in a street known to-day as Darb al-Banādīn. One comes from it opposite to al-Sab'a Kā'āt and the Suwaikat al-Mas'ūdī. It is a synagogne belonging exclusively to the Rabbinite Jews."

10. "Synagogue Ibn Shumaikh.—This synagogue is in the neighbourhood of the Madrasah al-Āshuriyyah³ in the Ḥārat al-Zuwailah. It is one of those used by the Karaites."

¹ Vol. VI, pp. 30, 46.

² On the margin at the bottom of p. 471: هكنا ابيض بالاصل "a vacant space in the original!"

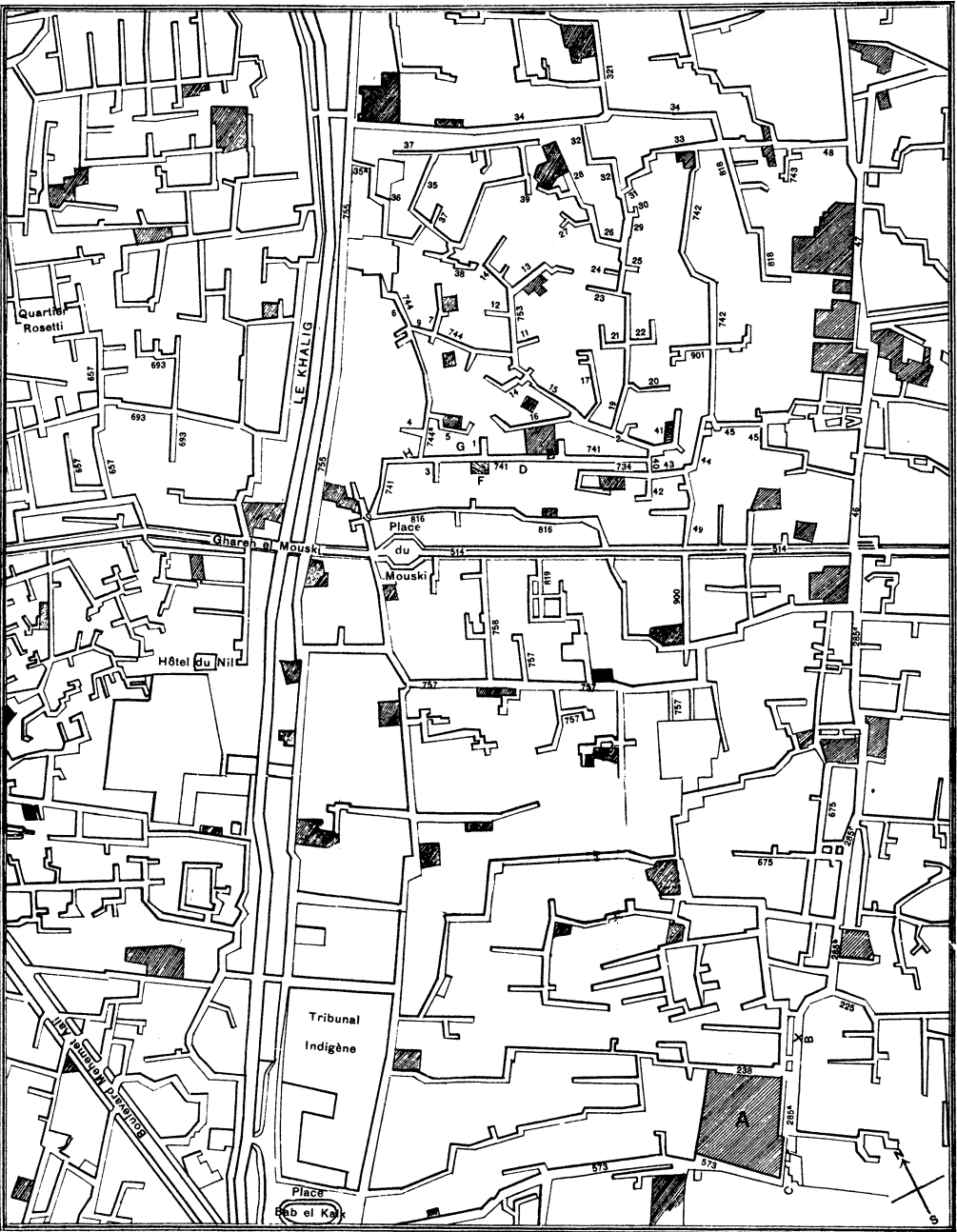
³ According to Muhyī al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-Thāhir (eighth century), the Madrasah was on property that formerly belonged to a Jew, the physician

occur written with a *dhāl*. In regard to the street al-Bannādīn al-Makrīzī says: "The street al-Bannādīn is in the Ḥārat al-Rūm. It is called al-Bannādīn from the many bands of soldiers [that lived there] during the Faṭimide dynasty. Afterwards it went by the name of 'Darb al-Amīr Jāudār' i.e. the Amīr 'Ilm al-Dīn Sanjar al-Sāliḥī, known as Amīr Jāudār." This cannot, therefore, be the street referred to. The reading "Nabbādhīn" is curiously substantiated by Sambari, who, according to the Paris MS. (Library of the All. Isr. Univ. H. 133 A. fol. 68a = ed. Neubauer, p. 137), describes the Musta'arrab Synagogue as being: במחוז הנקרא אל סבע" קאעת ונכנסין במחוז אחר הנקרא צרב אל נבארין ואנו מכנין אותו היום צרב אל כנים אל מסחרער.

In order fully to understand where the synagogue lay, it is necessary to look at the present Jewish quarter of Cairo, which lies in the heart of the old city. It is, in a general way, an irregular square, bounded on the north by the Shāri' al-Khurunfush, on the south by the Rond Point du Mouski and the Rue Neuve (al-Sikkah al-Jadidah), on the east by the Shāri' Bain al-Surain, and on the west by the Shāri' al-Ṣarrāfiyyah. Out of this the north-west corner—the present Ḥārat Zuwailah—must be excluded, as no Jews live there.

I have gone to the trouble of noting down each street within and around this area, as well as the synagogues which it contains. The numbers correspond to those upon the accompanying plan¹ :—

¹ The peculiar enumeration is due to the fact that I have endeavoured to keep as far as possible the original numbers inserted in the map by the Survey Department. Only a few of the principal streets had been noted, and one number often covered a number of streets. The painstaking topographical studies of the French Expedition resulted in a series of lists which will be found in vol. XVIII of their *Description de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1829. On p. 196 there is an enumeration of the streets and limits of the Jewish quarter, which I have copied in Appendix II. And, finally, the minute study of 'Alī Mubārak Pasha in his *Al-Khiṭṭah al-Jadidah* (Bulak, 1888) gives a good deal of information about things as he found them. I have, therefore, given a translation of the passages concerned in Appendix III.



514 السكة الجديدة Al-Sikkah al-Jadidah.

816 { شارع مكسر الحشاب Shāri' Mukassir al-Ḥashāb; entrance
10 { from the Mouski: the street goes around the Darb al-
Ṣakālibah (741) up to the Darb al-Kuttāb (744).

1. درب السبيل Darb al-Sabil.

2. درب سوق الفراح Darb Sūḳ al-Farākh.

3. درب الحلبي Darb al-Tchelebī.

4. درب المبلط Darb al-Muballaṭ.

5 (and 744 a). درب الكتاب Darb al-Kuttāb.

6. SYNAGOGUE Ṭurkiyyah in the Ḥārat Ṣakālibah.

7. عطفة قاعة الفضة 'Aṭfat Kā'āt al-Fuḍḍah.

9. درب الدورة Darb al-Dūrah.

11. درب قضيب Darb Ḳaḍīb.

12. عطفة القطاوى 'Aṭfat al-Kaṭṭāwī.

13. درب محمود Darb Maḥmūd, in which is the SYNAGOGUE of Maimonides.

14. عطفة الاسبتالية 'Aṭfat al-Isbitāliyyah, in which is the "Pharmacie Israelite de Bienfesance."

15. درب الخمصاصي Darb al-Khumuṣṣānī, in which is the SYNAGOGUE Talmud Torah.

16. درب الدهان Darb al-Dahhān, in which is the SYNAGOGUE of R. Jacob Abu Sha'rah.

17. درب النصير Darb al-Naṣīr; in the 'Aṭfat R. Ḥayyīm is the SYNAGOGUE of R. Ḥayyīm Capūsī.

18. Continuation of No. 2. شارع سوق الفراح Shāri' Sūḳ al-Farākh.

19. عطفة اليهود القرايين 'Aṭfat al-Yahūd al-Ḳarrā'in; where the quarter of the Karaites commences.

20. عطفة زمردة 'Aṭfat Zumuruddah.

21. عطفة الدبّاح 'Aṭfat al-Dabbāḥ.

22. عطفة المصفي 'Aṭfat al-Muṣaffī.

23. درب العطار Darb al-'Aṭṭār.

24. عطفة القلعية 'Aṭfat al-Ḳal'ayah.

25. عطفة غالي 'Aṭfat Ghālī.

26. درب كنيسة اليهود Darb Kanīsat al-Yahūd.

27. عطفة الكنيسة 'Aṭfat al-Kanīṣah, in which is the Karaite SYNAGOGUE.

28. Continuation of No. 26.

29. Rabbinate and School of the Karaite community.

30. عطفة جوهرة 'Aṭfat Jauharah.

31 and 33. شارع سوق السمك Shāri' Sūk al-Samak } N. limit of
32. حارة خميس العَدَس Hārat Khamīs al-'Adas } Karaite Quarter.

34. شارع الخرنفش Shāri' al-Khurunfush.

35. حارة زويلة Hārat Zuwailah.

35 a. Entrance to the Hārat Zuwailah from the Shāri' }
Bēn al-Ṣurēn }

36. Two churches

37. عطفة شُحَيْرَة 'Aṭfat Shuhairah

38. عطفة عبد القدوس 'Aṭfat 'Abd al-Qudūs

39. عطفة العشماوى 'Aṭfat al-Ashmāwī

40. Continuation of Nos. 2 and 18. شارع سوق الفراخ Shāri' Sūk al-Farākh.

41. حوش الصوف Hūsh al-Ṣūf, a three-cornered courtyard in which is the Radbaz SYNAGOGUE. At the end is Klūsh Ya'beḡ.

42. درب المصريين Darb al-Miṣriyīn.

43. Continuation of Nos. 2, 18, and 40.

44. شارع سوق الصيارف الصغير Shāri' Sūk al-Ṣayārif al-Ṣaghīr (very small).

45. شارع المَقَاصِيما Shāri' al-Maḳāṣiṣā.

46. شارع الحُرْدَجِيَّة Shāri' al-Khurdaḡiyyah.

47. شارع النحاسين Shāri' al-Naḥḥāsīn.

48. شارع الخرنفش Shāri' al-Khurunfush.

49. شارع سوق الصيارف الكبير Shāri' Sūk al-Ṣayārif al-Kabir.

225. حارة الروم Hārat al-Rūm.

238. شارع الاشرفية Shāri' al-Ashrafiyyah.

285 a. شارع السُكْرِيَّة Shāri' al-Sukariyyah.

285 b. شارع العقادين Shāri' al-'Aḳḳādīn.

285 c. شارع الغورية Shāri' al-Ghūriyyah.

285 d. شارع الاشرفية Shāri' al-Ashrafiyyah.

321. سَكَّةُ الْخُرُنْفُشِ Sikkat al-Khurunfush.
 514. السَّكَّةُ الْجَدِيدَةُ Al-Sikkah al-Jadidah.
 657. درب البرابرا Darb al-Barābarā, in which is the Ashkenazic SYNAGOGUE.
 573. شارع تحت الربا Shāri' Taht al-Ribā.
 675. حارة الفحاميين Hārat al-Fahhāmīn.
 693. حارة حوش حينة Hārat Khūsh Hīnah.
 733. شارع الجامع Shāri' al-Jāmi'.
 734. درب المصريين Darb al-Miṣriyyīn, in which is the SYNAGOGUE of the Egyptians.
 737. سَكَّةُ الصَّرَافِيَّةِ Sikkat al-Ṣarrāfiyyah.
 741. درب الصقالبة Darb al-Ṣakālibah.
 742. شارع الصَّرَافِيَّةِ Shāri' al-Ṣarrāfiyyah.
 743. زقاق المستوقد Zuqāk al-Mustaukad.
 744. شارع قاعة الفضة Shāri' Kā'āt al-Fuḍḍah, in which is No. 6 SYNAGOGUE of the Portuguese.
 753. حارة السبع قاعة القبليّة Hārat al-Sab' Kā'āt al-Kibliyyah, which leads into No. 900.
 755. شارع بين الصورين Shāri' Bain al-Ṣūrain.
 757. شارع السبع قاعة Shāri' al-Sab' Kā'āt.
 788. حارة الشوشيني Hārat al-Shūshīnī.
 816. شارع السبع قاعة البحرية Shāri' al-Sab' Kā'āt al-Bahriyyah.
 818. عطفة البروقية 'Atfat al-Barkūkiyyah.
 819. حارة حوش عيسى Hārat Hūsh 'Īsā.
 900. شارع سوق السمك القديم Shāri' Sūk al-Samak al-Qadīm.
 901. شارع خان أبو طقية Shāri' Khān Abī Ṭaḳiyyah.
 A. Mosque of al-Mu'ayyid.
 B. Mosque of Sām ibn Nūh.
 C. Bāb Zuwailah.
 D. Rabbinate of the Rabbinite Jews.
 E. Cattai School and SYNAGOGUE of R. Ishmael Ṭarogi.
 F. SYNAGOGUE of Ba'al ha-Nēs.
 G. Jewish Hospital, closed by sanitary inspectors.
 H. Remains of gate which closed in the Jewish quarter.
 S. Synagogue of the Ashkenazic Jews.

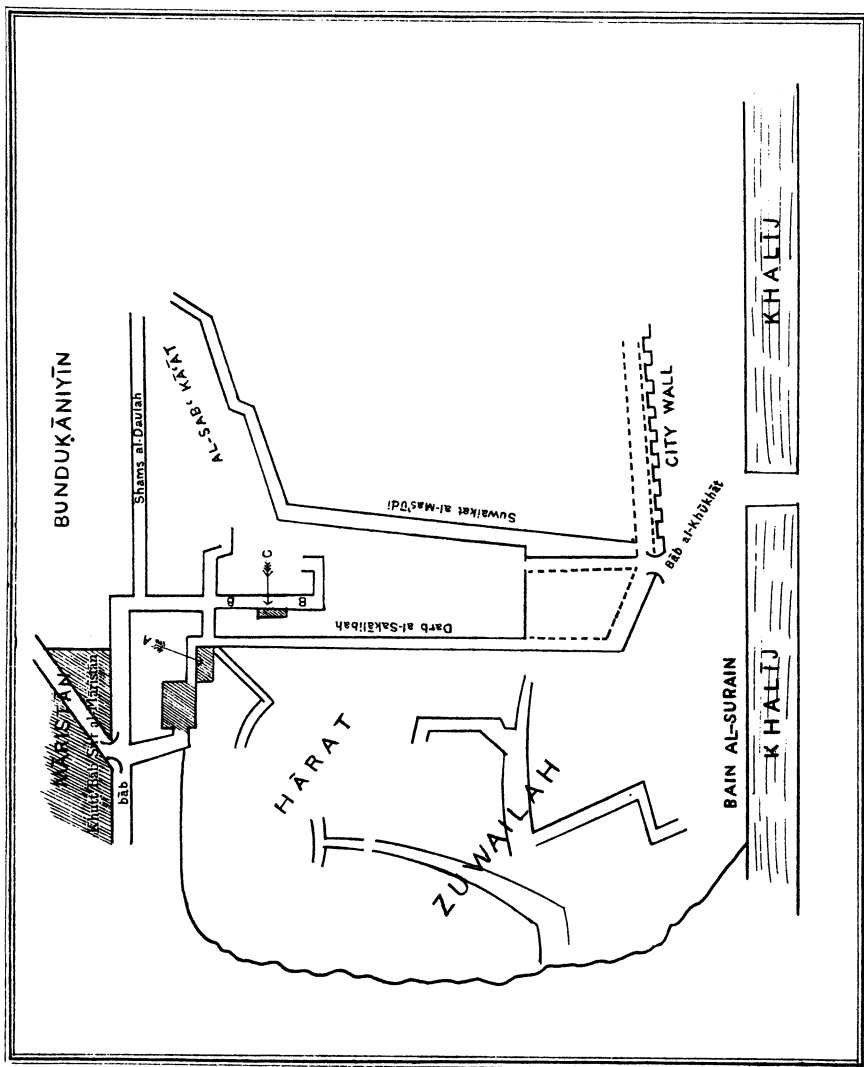
The synagogues at present in Cairo are the following¹:—

1. ק"ק למצריין Synagogue of the Egyptian Jews in the Darb al-Miṣriyyīn (No. 734). The present building is about forty-five years old².
2. ק"ק טורקיה the Turkish Synagogue in the Ḥārat al-Ṣakālibah, a part of the Shārī' Kā'āt al-Fuddah (No. 744). It is so called because it was built by a Spanish woman that came from Constantinople.
3. ק"ק הרמ"בם Rambam Synagogue in the 'Atfat al-Ḥammām (so called after the Ḥammām al-Yahūd there), a part of the Darb Maḥmūd (No. 13)³.
4. ק"ק הרר"בו Synagogue of David ibn Abi Zimra, in the Ḥūsh al-Ṣūf (No. 41).
5. ק"ק רב חיים כפוי Synagogue of Rab Ḥayyīm Capūsī (who died in 1631, and whose grave in the Ḥūsh Menasche of

¹ The list was made out for me by the Ḥakam Bashi, Raphael A. Bensimon. In the Jewish quarter they are ten in number, and a favourite oath is بحياة عشر الكنائس.

² I suggest that this is the synagogue of the Musta'arrab Jews (i. e. Arabic = native Egyptian Jews) mentioned by Sambari, l. c., p. 119, in which the so-called Sunbāṭi Bible Codex was found. It is not there to-day. On p. 137 he says (according to the text of the Paris MS.; see above): "the synagogue in which we, together with the Palestinian (or Syrian) Jews, pray to-day is in the Ḥārat Zuwailah, the road to which, at that time, was in a district called al-Sab' Kā'āt, from which one passed into another district called Darb al-Nabbādhīn; to-day we call it Darb al-Kanīs al-Musta'arrab." It seems that, at the time of Radbaz (1527), there was only one synagogue in Cairo that was in general use among the Rabbanites, that of the Musta'arrabim. It was also used by the Jews from Morocco and Tunis, &c., the Ma'arbim (= Mughrabim); though each community had its own officers, precentor and beadle (l. c., p. 157). This synagogue was closed in 1545 on account of the differences that had arisen between the leaders of the Sefardim and the Karaites. Then it was destroyed; but not wholly, the balustrades (רבינויות) alone having suffered. It was reopened by Ibrahim Pasha in the year 1594 at the instance of R. Eleazar Scandari and R. Jacob ibn Ḥayyīm.

³ This is the synagogue called by Sambari (l. c., p. 134) "Synagogue of the Mughrabi Congregation." Speaking of Maimonides, he says: בית המדרש שלו בבית הכנסת הנקרא היום כנסת של ק"ק מוגרבה . . . ועוד היום מקום כבורו מצינו בבית הכנסת של ק"ק מוגרבה. This is the little underground "hospital" attached to the synagogue.



SKETCH MAP

To show the possible position of the 'Synagogue of the Rabbinites'

(Through the kindness of M. Paul Casanova)

A = Present Synagogue of David Ibn Ali Zinnar (Radhae),

B = Present Darb al-Misriyin,

C = Present Synagogue of the Egyptian Jews.

the Basātīn cemetery is reverently oiled and worshipped), in the 'Aṭfat R. Ḥayyīm, a part of the Darb al-Naṣīr (No. 17).

6. יעקב אבושערה ק"ר Synagogue of R. Jacob Abu-Sha'rah¹ in the Darb al-Dahhān (No. 16). The older synagogue is under the ground and next to the present building.
7. תלמוד תורה ק"ר Synagogue Talmud Torah in the Darb al-Ḥumūṣṣānī (No. 15).
8. פורטוגיזים ק"ר Synagogue of the Portuguese, in the Ḥārat al-Fuddah, a part of the Darb al-Kuttāb (No. 744).
9. בעל הנס ק"ר Synagogue of the Ba'al ha-Nēs, in the Darb al-Ṣaḳālibah (No. 741. F.)².
10. Karaite Synagogue in the 'Aṭfat al-Kanīṣah (No. 27).
- [11. Ashkenazic Synagogue in the Darb al-Barābarā (No. 657. S.) in the Rosetti quarter of the city.
12. עץ חיים ק"ר Synagogue 'Eṣ Ḥayyīm in the 'Abbāsiyyah.
13. New Synagogue in the 'Abbāsiyyah quarter: unnamed.
14. שער השמים ק"ר Synagogue Sha'ar ha-Shāmayim, the new large synagogue in the Isma'liyyah quarter.]

Is it possible to identify the synagogue mentioned in the Ḥujjah and in al-Maḳrīzī with any of the foregoing? The "Darb al-Nabbādhīn" does not exist to-day. But its position may be approximately fixed by the additional information given that it was in the Ḥārat Zuwailah, and in close proximity to the "Saba' Kā'āt" and the "Suwaikat al-Mas'ūdi." The district Zuwailah³ had its name from

¹ Sambari, l. c., p. 162, &c.

² The story connected with this synagogue I have told elsewhere. It is impossible to say who this בעל הנס is. Moses of Damwah is so called (Sambari, l. c., p. 160), as is also Samuel ibn Sīd (id., p. 162). At the time of Sambari there was a (private?) synagogue in the possession of this Samuel ibn Sīd or Sidillo, סידיליו ק"ר (id., p. 145), which in another place (pp. 157, 162) appears as סביליא ק"ר, resulting from a confusion with "Seville." Samuel ibn Sīd came from Spain to Cairo, c. 1492, and was instrumental in saving the Jews at the time of the Aḥmad Pasha revolt (1524).

³ This is the usual pronunciation. H. C. Kay, *Al Kāhira and its Gates*, in *J.R.A.S.*, N.S., vol. XIV, p. 235, pronounces Zawilah, probably following

a Berber tribe that occupied one of the suburbs of al-Mahdiyyah in Tunis and sent a contingent of troops to the Kā'id Jauhar. These soldiers were quartered in the south-east part of the new city. A twin gate formed the southern entrance into the city "by the oratory called Mesgid Sām ibn Nūh; and when Moizz came to El Kahirah, he entered by one of them, that which is adjoining the oratory, and of which the arch is still remaining and known by the name of Bāb el Kōs¹." The present Bāb Zuwailah² is further to the south; and was built at the same time as the second wall of Cairo by Badr al-Jamāli in 1087. The Ḥārat al-Kūm was originally outside the city.

There is, at present, a Ḥārat Zuwailah just north-west of the Jewish quarter (Nos. 35 *a*, 36, 37, 38, 39); or, rather, in the north-west corner of the irregular square mentioned as containing this quarter. One enters it (No. 35 *a*) from the Shāri' Bain al-Surain. It contains a collection of the narrowest possible streets, which are now almost exclu-

Yākūt (see *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse, 1894, p. 29). In the copy of the Cairo Megillah, now in the possession of Mr. Schialom Levy, of Cairo, it is said that the head of Aḥmad Pasha was put up על שער החוריה. The Megillah was copied some 67 years ago by Mr. Levy's father from certain fragments which were afterwards thrown into the Genizah, and which are now probably in Cambridge. It is curious to note that the mistake is an old one. Sambari (l. c., p. 145) has the same reading, which is probably due to the tradition that the Banu Zuwailah "were descendants of Ḥawīlah ibn Kush ibn Ḥām ibn Nūh," al-Ḳalkashandi, I, 223.

¹ Lane, *Cairo Fifty Years Ago*, 1896, p. 40. Al-Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, I, p. 380; Abū-l-Maḥāsīn, II, p. 423; Paul Ravaisse, *Essai sur l'histoire du Caire*, p. 423; *Topographie du Caire*, II, p. 4.

² In 1416 the Sultan al-Mu'ayyid (after whom the mosque near by is named) put on the minarets; Kay, l. c., p. 237. It is sometimes called "Bāb al-Mutawalli" (or Butawalli), because the last independent ruler of Egypt, Tuman Bey, who was hanged there by the Sultan Salīm in 1516 was only "préposé aux commandements" (متولي). It is more rarely called Bāb al-Sukkariyyah on account of the street into which it leads. See al-Ḳalkashandi, tr. Wüstenfeld, p. 69; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, I, p. 380; Ibn Iyās, Index, p. 140; Yakub Artin Pasha in *Bulletin of the Inst. Egypt*, 1883, p. 148; Van Berchem, *Corpus*, p. 62.

sively inhabited by Copts. It comprises the streets Ḥārat Zuwailah, the two old churches (one Coptic, the other Armenian), the 'Aṭfat Shuhairah, the 'Aṭfat 'Abd al-Ḳudūs, and the 'Aṭfat al-Ashmāwī. There is, at present, no outlet to the south; though there was one formerly into the Dār in which is the present Karaite synagogue.

The present Ḥārat Zuwailah is, of course, too small to fit in with the data given us by the topographers. In former times it was much larger, and reached a good deal further south—how far originally we cannot tell. In al-Maḳrīzī's time already it had been pushed northward. "Ḥārat Zuwailah is a big quarter," he says¹; "between it and Bāb Zuwailah there are many quarters." At his time, and certainly at the time of our Ḥujjah, it must have comprised what is practically the whole of the present Jewish quarter, together with the Ḥārat al-Ṣaḳālibah; and the "head of the Ḥārah," or its commencement would have been nearer the Shāri' Sūḵ al-Ṣayārīf al-Kabīr (No. 49), the present second entrance to the quarter. The "Sab' Kā'āt" or "Seven Courts" can approximately be determined, as the name has persisted up to the present day². The Ḥārat al-Sab' Kā'āt al-Ḳibliyyah (southern) lies on the other side of the Rue Neuve (No. 753). On the right-hand side it connects with the Shāri' Sūḵ al-Samak al-Kadīm (No. 900); on the left, it crosses the Rue Neuve and turns to the east as the Shāri' al-Sab' Kā'āt al-Baḥriyyah (No. 816) or "western." In general, then, the "Seven Courts" lay south-east of the Ḥārat Zuwailah.

Where the Suwaikat al-Mas'ūdī was I am unable to determine. Al-Maḳrīzī speaks of it as a lane that "leads from the Ḥārat Zuwailah to the Darb al-Ṣaḳālibah; the

¹ *Khīṭaṭ*, II, p. 4.

² See Ravaisse, *Essai sur l'histoire du Caire*, p. 89; Casanova, *Hist. et Descript. de la Citadelle du Caire*, p. 64. Al-Maḳrīzī (*Khīṭaṭ*, I, 59) has an account of the Sab' Kā'āt as *Dār*. "The Saba Kaat is a quarter in which the principal Khans of Cairo are situated, and in which wealthy Moghrebbins reside. In the so-called seven saloons are the warehouses of the principal wholesale dealers, &c." Patton, *Hist. of the Egyptian Revolution*, II, 309; cf. I, 78.

first part of which [lane] was known by the name of the powerful *Kā'id Mas'ūd al-Mustansir*. Then it was called after *Kaukab al-Daulah ibn al-Hanākī*." Does he, perhaps, refer to the lower portion of the *Shārī Sūk al-Farākh*? M. Casanova, however, identifies it with the present *Shārī al-Sab' Kā'āt al-Bahriyyah*—with what reason I cannot see.

The neighbourhood in which the search must be made is, however, plain: near the present second entrance into the Jewish quarter. Here there are two synagogues: the synagogue of David ibn Abī Zimra in the *Hūsh al-Şūf* (No. 41) and the synagogue of the Egyptian Jews in the *Darb al-Mişriyyīn* (No. 734). M. Casanova has decided that the first is the one referred to. Against this there are two considerations. The synagogue that bears the name of the distinguished Talmudic authority (who died in 1589) was, possibly, a synagogue founded by him or in his honour; and therefore much later than the time of our *Hujjah*. The *Darb al-Nabbādhīn* is spoken of as being opposite to the *Sab' Kā'āt*, or as leading into one opposite to it. It is more than likely that this is the *Darb al-Mişriyyīn*, and it is possible that in former times there was direct passage from it into the *Sab' Kā'āt*. The "Synagogue of the Egyptian Jews" would evidently be the chief synagogue of the quarter, and more likely than any other to have preserved its original position. I would, therefore, suggest that it is on the spot where the "Synagogue of the Rabbinite Jews" was of old.

APPENDIX I.

Streets in the Jews' quarter according to the *Description de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1829, p. 196.

حارة اليهود

سبيل عبد الرحمن كينحية Sabīl 'Abd al-Raḥmān Kīnḥiyyah.

درب المصريين Darb al-Mişriyyīn.

جامع الجيعانيين	Jāmi' al-Jai'āniyīn.
المقصيص	Al-Maḳaṣīs.
حوش الصوف	Hūsh al-Ṣūf.
حوش البشلومة	Hūsh al-Bashlūmah.
سبيل عبد القادر	Sabīl 'Abd al-Ḳādir.
حارة الصقالبة	Hārat al-Ṣaḳālibah.
درب الدهان	Darb al-Duhhān.
جامع بوكت قُرْمَيْت	Jāmi' Būkt Ḳurumait.
حارة القرائين	Hārat al-Ḳarrā'in.
درب المصير	Darb al-Muṣīr.
عطقة القرن	'Aṭfat al-Furn.
درب الحُمَصَانِي	Darb al-Ḥumuṣṣānī.
عطقة الذهبى	'Aṭfat al-Dhahabī.
عطقة الجنينة	'Aṭfat al-Janīnah.
درب القديم	Darb al-Ḳadīm.
درب الجزيرة	Darb al-Jazīrah.
درب المطبخ	Darb al-Maṭbakh.
درب المغاربة	Darb al-Maghāribah.
عطقة الجبالية	'Aṭfat al-Jabāliyah.
عطقة الخمارة	'Aṭfat al-Khamārah.

Limite du quartier juif

[سكة الخرنفش] [Sikkat al-Khurunfush.]

To this must be added, on p. 202,

بين الصورين	Bain al-Ṣūrain.
قاعة الفضة	Ḳā'āt al-Fuḍḍah.
درب الضورة	Darb al-Ḍūrah.
وكالة اليانسون	Wakālat al-Yānisūn.
وكالة العاجاتين	Wakālat al-'Ājātīn.
حمام اليهود	Ḥammām al-Yahūd.
حارة زويلة	Hārat Zuwailah.

APPENDIX II.

Account of the streets forming the Jewish quarter of Cairo, from 'Alī Mubarak Pasha's *al-Khiṭṭah al-Jadīdah*, vol. III, p. 5.

"Shāri' Bain al-Ṣūrain. On its left side is a Ḥārah, known as Ḥārat Zuwailah. It is a very large Ḥārah in which are byways and Ḥārahs in the following order:—On the right side, the 'Aṭfat al-Kanīṣah; the 'Aṭfat al-Adawī; and the 'Aṭfat al-Ashmāwī. On the left are the Ḥārat Amīn Kāshif, by means of which one reaches to the Ḥārat Nakhlāt al-Karāji. Inside [of the Ḥārah] is a street known as the Darb al-Bi'r; then a small byway, and then the Ḥārat Nakhlāt al-Karāji. This Ḥārat Zuwailah is one of the oldest Ḥārahs, of which al-Maḳrīzī speaks as follows:—
 In describing the Māristān al-Manṣūrī, he says, 'it reaches from the Bāb Sirr al-Māristān to the Khurunfush and to the Bāb al-Kāfurī and to the Ḥārat Zuwailah.' Then he says 'that one who goes from the Bāb al-Khurunfush comes to the Ḥārat Barjawān [and] to the Ḥārat Zuwailah.' It results from all this that the Ḥārat Zuwailah, known to-day by this name, is only a small part of the old Ḥārah mentioned in the *Khiṭṭah*, and that this Ḥārah is not equal to that mentioned by al-Maḳrīzī. After examination and reflection it appears that the Ḥārat Zuwailah originally included the Ḥārat al-Yahūd al-Rabbānīn, to which one comes through the Sūḵ al-Sayyārīfah: the Ḥārat al-Yahūd al-Ḳarrā'in, to which one comes through the Khuṭṭ al-Khurunfush near the Bāb Sūḵ al-Samak, and through the Shāri' Khamīs al-'Adas from a new road which was originally a well-known bifurcation—Warshat Khamīs al-'Adas; and the Darb al-Ṣaḵālibah, to which one came through a lane on its left which leads from the Shāri' al-Sikkah al-Jadīdah about the place where is the Ḳanṭarat (Bridge) al-Muskī. These four Ḥārahs¹ are contiguous; except that the Ḥārat al-Yahūd al-Rabbānīn was separated from the Ḥārat Zuwailah by a mill and a small dwelling near it. In the year 1290 A. H. the mill was taken and turned into a hospital for the sick poor of the Jews. At present there is no gate to the Ḥārat Zuwailah; which is called by the Jews

¹ i. e. counting in the Ḥārat Zuwailah.

‘Christian quarter,’ because a large number of Copts live there, and because they have a well-known church there called the Coptic Church.

“From all that we have recorded, it results that the old Ḥārat Zuwailah is [now] divided into four Ḥārahs (quarters): the present Ḥārat Zuwailah, the Ḥārah of the Karaite Jews, the Ḥārah of the Rabbanite Jews and the Darb al-Ṣaḳālibah. The greater part of this is called the ‘Jews’ Ḥārah,’ though each [Ḥārah] has its own gate in a district far from the other¹. The interior [however], is almost one Ḥārah. The Jews have occupied these districts from of old Al-Maḳrīzī mentions the following streets in the Ḥārat Zuwailah: Darb Muḥallas, known as Darb al-Rābiḍ; Darb al-Washāḳi; Darb al-Kafjī, called Darb Ḥallīlah; and Darb al-Ṣaḳālibah. On account of the change of name and situation, none of these streets can now be identified, with the exception of the Darb al-Ṣaḳālibah, which is still known by this name. Of the lanes, he mentions Zuḳāḳ al-Kābilah, and says that at his time there was in it a synagogue of the Jews². Near to it is a street known as Zuḳāḳ al-‘Asal, then as Zuḳāḳ al-Ma‘ṣarah, then as Zuḳāḳ al-Kanīṣah³.”

Vol. III, p. 38:—“Shāri’ Ḥārat al-Yahūd al-Ḳarrā’in, commences at the Shāri’ Khamīs al-‘Adas and ends at the Shāri’ al-Duhhān. Its length is 340 metres. On the right-hand side is a street known as Darb al-Kanīṣah, in which are two synagogues, one near to the other; then a small blind alley known as the ‘Aṭfat al-Sidd; Darb al-Ṭabbākh, a large street in which is a synagogue known as the Synagogue of the Darb al-Ṭabbākh, in the middle of which [street] is a bath known as the Bath of the Ḥārat al-Yahūd⁴, which is one of the old baths called by al-Maḳrīzī Ḥammām al-Kuwaik: ‘This bath is in a space between the Ḥārat Zuwailah and the street Shams al-Daulah, built by the Wazīr ‘Abbās, a Wazīr of the Faṭimide dynasty, for his Dār, which was where

¹ These gates exist no longer.

² This synagogue is not mentioned in the list of al-Maḳrīzī.

³ “Synagogue Lane.”

⁴ P. 28. “As regards the Zuwailah well, it seems best to identify it with the well now to be found in the Ḥammām of the Ḥārat al-Yahūd in the middle of the Darb al-Ṭabbākh, one of the roads in the Ḥārat al-Yahūd al-Ḳarrā’in.”

to-day is the street Shams al-Daulah. Then a merchant, Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd ibn al-Kuwaik al-Rabī' al-Tukrītī, rebuilt it in the year 749 [A. H.] and it was called after him¹. Then the Amīr 'Uthmān Kathāda, head of the Jāmī al-Kaihiyā restored it together with the bath near by. After the year 1230 [A. H.] it went over into private hands It is used to this day, but only for women. It has no tubes; only pipes with taps. In it is a very big well After the Darb al-Ṭabbākh comes a byway, 'Aṭfat Baṭīkhah. On the left is the Darb al-Furn; then the 'Aṭfat al-Bī'r. One who walks through this street reaches the Shārī' al-Ṣaḳālibah, the Shārī' al-Maḳāṣiṣ and the Shārī' Sūḵ al-Samak al-Ḳadīm. He can go through it, also, to the Shārī' al-Duhhān, the Shārī' al-Dūrah and the Sikkat al-Jadīdah, from which he can turn in all directions.

"The Shārī' al-Ṣaḳālibah begins at the end of the Shārī' Khān Abi Ṭaḳiyyah (No. 901) and reaches the Ḥārat Mukassar al-Ḥaṭab² (No. 10), near to the Jāmī' al-Maghāribah. Its length is 350 metres. On the right-hand side are three blind alleys: one called the 'Aṭfat al-Miṣriyyīn (No. 734) in the middle of which is a synagogue. This is the street called al-Ṣaḳālibah by al-Maḳrīzī, who says '. . . . One reaches this street by a lane through which one comes from the Ḥārat Zuwailah, the first part of which is called after the Ḳā'id Mas'ūd al-Mustanṣir, then after Kaukab al-Daulah al-Ḥanākī.'

"The Shārī' al-Dahhān commences at the end of the Shārī' al-Ṣaḳālibah and finishes at the Shārī' al-Ḥumuṣṣānī. It is eighty-six metres long: on the right side are three blind alleys in this order: 'Aṭfat Ḥūsh al-Ṣūf (No. 41), in which is a synagogue; al-'Aṭfah al-Sughairah; 'Aṭfat Darb Naṣīr (No. 17), in which is a synagogue. On the left is the Darb al-Dahhān (No. 16), in which are two synagogues near to one another³."

¹ Is this the Ḥammām al-Yahūd in the street in which is the Rambam synagogue? The Darb Maḥmūd (No. 13) has, at present, no connexion with the Karaite quarter; but it may formerly have had. Then it would get its name from the same al-Kawaik who was "ibn Maḥmūd."

² At present "al-Khashab," with the same meaning.

³ It will be seen that 'Alī Mubārak gives the name "Shārī' al-Dahhān" to Nos. 41, 18, 15, and 16. The two synagogues in No. 16 must be those of R. Ishmael and of R. Jacob.

P. 39:—"The Shāri' al-Dūrah commences where the Shāri' al-Ḥumūṣṣānī and the Darb al-Ṭabbākh end and finishes at the Darb al-Muballaṭ. At the right-hand side are the 'Aṭfat al-Fuḍḍah, so called because of a large workshop at the end of it, known as the Kā'āt al-Fuḍḍah (No. 7), which Mohammad 'Alī Pasha got possession of¹. . . . This court exists to-day at the end of the 'Aṭfat al-Fuḍḍah, only it is waste, and near it is the synagogue of the Karaite Jews². On the left side are the Darb al-Madāris and the 'Aṭfat al-Kanīṣah, in which is a synagogue of the Rabbinite Jews.

"The street Darb al-Muballaṭ commences at the end of the Shāri' al-Dūrah, opposite the 'Aṭfat al-Dūrah, and ends at the Shāri' al-Ṣaḡālībāh. On the left-hand side is a blind street known as the Darb al-Kattān in which is a synagogue³.

"The Shāri' Sūḡ al-Samak al-Ḳadīm commences at the Shāri' Khān Abī Ṭaḡīyyah (No. 901) and the Shāri' al-Ṣaḡālībāh and reaches to the Shāri' al-Bundaḡāniyyīn . . . It is crossed by the street at the Sikkah al-Jadīdah On the left-hand side are two alleys, and at the end is the Ḥārat al-Sab' Kā'āt, which was originally a Dār of the Wazīr Ibn al-Dīn ibn Zanbūr and was so known."

APPENDIX III.

Extracts from Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Kalkashandī, *صبح الأعشى فى الأنشأه*; MS. Khedivial Library, Cairo.

a. Part 3. On the officers of the Jews.

الطائفة الثانية اليهود والمشهور من القاب ارباب وظائفهم ثلاثة القاب الاول الرئيس وهو القائم فيهم مقام البطرك فى النصارى وقد تقدم الكلام على لفظ ..

¹ It afterwards passed into the possession of the state, and then into that of Messrs. al-Kassān and Jacob Bey Cattāui.

² The names of the streets must have greatly changed; or, rather, have been shifted. The present Karaite synagogue is quite differently situated. The Shāri' al-Dūrah is probably represented on the map by Nos. 9 and 744.

³ Evidently in former times the name al-Muballaṭ was given to Nos. 4, 744 a, and its continuation. Does he refer here to the Ṭurkiyyah synagogue?

الثانى الخزان بحاء مهملة وزاى معجمة مشددة وبعد الالف نون وهو فيهم بمثابة الخطيب يصعد المنبر ويعظهم . الثالث الشليح بصور بكسر الشين المعجمة واللام وفتح الياء المثناة تحت وبعدها حاء مهملة ساكنة ثم صاد مهملة مفتوحة وباء موحدة مشددة مضمومة بعدها راء مهملة وهو الامام الذى يصلى بهم .

b. Part 6. On the Commission to the Ra'is al-Yahūd.

الضرب السادس من ارباب الوظائف بالديار المصرية . زعماء اهل الذمة ويكتب لجميعهم تواقع فى قطع الثلث بألقابهم السابقة مفتوحة بأما بعد حمد الله ويشتمل هذا الضرب على ثلاث وظائف . الوظيفة الاولى رئاسة اليهود وموضوعها التحدث على جماعة اليهود والحكم عليهم والقضا بينهم على مقتضى دينهم وغير ذلك . وقد تقدّم فى الكلام على النحل والملل ان الموجودين من اليهود ثلاث طوائف وهم الرانيون والقرايون والسامرة وقد جرت العادة ان يكون الرئيس من طائفة الرانيين دون غيرهم وهو يحكم على الطوائف الثلاث .

c. Form of the Firman.

وهذه نسخة توقيع برئاسة اليهود من انشاء القاضى محبى الدين ابن عبد الظاهر وهى¹ . اما بعد حمد الله الذى جعل الطاف هذه الدولة القاهرة تصطفى لذمتها من اليهود رئيسا ورئيسا وتختار لقومه كما اختار من قومه موسى وتبجح لهم نفوسا كلما قدمت عليهم نفيسا والصلاة على سيدنا محمد النبى الامى والرسول الذى اجمل الوصية بالملى والذى صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وصحبه ما هطل وبل وما نزل وسعى . فان معدلة هذه الدولة تكتنف الملل والنحل بالاحتياط وتعمهم من انصافها واسعافها باوفر الانصاف واوفى الاقساط وتلهم (?) من حادث الزمن اذا اشتط ومن صرفها اذا اشاط ويضمهم كما ضمت النبوة الى جناح النبوة الاسباط . لا يزال يرقب الآل والذمة فى المسلمين والذمة ويقضى لهم بحسن الجزة ورعاية الحرمه ويبيحهم من امر دينهم ما عليه عهودوا وتخهم من ذلك ما عليه عوقدوا وتحفظ نواميسهم باخبار تحمل مرادهم اذا شوهوا وتحسن مرآهم اذا شوهوا من كل اسرائيلى احمل التوراة الدراسة واحسن لاسفار انبيائه اقتباسا واجمل التماسه ومن نهفته نهايته للتقدمة فما طيعم

¹ Muḥyi al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-Thāhir lived in the eighth century A. H.

اجتهاده يوما حتى صار وجه الواجهة في قومه وراس الرئاسة فاصبح معدم النظير
معدودا منهم بكثير وموصوفا بأنه في شرح اسفار عبرانية حسنة التفسير واستحق
من بين شيعته ان يكون راس الكهنة وبان تصبح القلوب في مجامعهم
بحسن منطقة مرتبهة وبان للجهالة بتشقيفه لسعيه نجحت عقائدهم عن ان
تعدو مهتنة . ولما كان فلان هو بحاسن هذا التفريط مبهجة ولجسد هذا
التفريط مهجة ولما داح هذا الشفاء العرض الهجة ولعين هذا التعمين غمضا
وليد هذه الابدأى بسطها وقبضا ولابكار افكار هذه الاوصاف متقاضيا ونقصها
ومن ادبت قطاف النعما ليد تقدمته على محيط من غص منها واجتنى
غمضا اقتضى حسن الراى الشريف ان يميز على ابناء جنسه حق التمييز وان
يحاز له من التنوية والتتويل اجل ما جيز ورسم بالامر الشريف لا زال مخيار
فيحمل الاختيار ويفدو كالغيث الذي يعم بنفحة الربى والازهار والثمار والاشجار
ان يفوض اليه رئاسة اليهود على اختلافهم من الرنايين والقرايين والسمره
بالديار المصرية حماها الله وكلاهما فليجعل اسبابهم بالتقوى تقوى . وغروهم
بالتدبير لا تدوى ومقاصدهم لا يمازجها شك ولا شكوى ولينزل عليهم منا متنا
حتى لا يفارقوا المن والسوى وليتق الله فيما يسدرة وباتيه وبحسن في اجتلاب
القلوب وجلاتها تاتيه واياه والتمية حتى لا يقال كانه بعد لم يخرج من
التمية . وجماعة الرنايين فهم الشعب الاكبر والحزب الاكثر فعاملهم بالرفق
الاجدى والسرا الجدر . و لكونه منهم لا تمل معهم على غيرهم فيما به من
النفس الامارة تؤمر . وجماعة القرايين فهم المعروفون في هذه الملة بملازمة
الادلة والاحتراز في امر الاهلة . فانصب لامرهم ممن لم يتولّه حين يتولّه .
ومن كان منهم له معتقد فلا يخرج عن ذلك ولا يخرج ولا يلجم منهم بلجام
من نار انكار من في ليلة سبته عليه لا يشرح . والسمره فهم الشعب الذين
اذن الشظيف اهله بحروبه ولم يك احدهم لمطعم لكم ولا مشرب باكولة ولا
شروية . فمن قدرت على ردة بدليل من مذهبك في شرق كل بحث وغرويه
فارده من منهج تحيده عن ذلك وهرويه والا فقل له يا سامري بصرت بما
لم تبصروا به ولتكن تستكمل فيهم بالسواء وارقق بهم . فان الميث لا ارضا
قطع ولا ظهرا ابقى فايك ان تكون ذلك الميث ومرهم بملازمة قوانينهم كيلا
يعدو واحد منهم في السبت واجعل امور عقودهم مستبينة واحسن التحري
والتحرير لهم في اتقان كل كنبه ولا يخترا الا الاعيان من كل حزان وديان .

ومن كان له من داود عليه السلام حمة نسب وله به حرمة نسب فارح له حقه واصحبه من الرفق اكرم رفقه ولجزية فهي لدمائكم واولادكم عصمة . وعلى دفاعها لا دافعها وصمة ولاجلها ورد من اذى ذميا كنت خصمه وهي الم من السيف اجاره وهي اجرة سكنى دار الاسلام كما هي لاستحقاق المنفعة بها اجاره فادوها وبها نفوسكم فادوها وان تعدوا نعمة الله لا تحصوها فعدوا الطاف الله بها ولا تعدوها وداوم على مه زجرا لتارك علامة . ومن قصد منها خلاصة قل له في الملا ما ذا خلاصة . ومن ركن في امرها الى الاخلاق والاحلال وسكن الى الاهمال ولم يرض بان راية الذلة الصفراً على رأسه تشال فاوسعه انكارا والزمة منه شعارا . وان قام بندرة منهم معشر خشن فارهم بعد العلامة خشكارا وخذهم بتجيب العش الذى هو للعهد مغير ومغيب . واكفف من هو بما ينافيه فيه مغير ومغيب . واما من هو مجيب لذلك فهو لقصد مجيب ولنقل طبيعتهم عن ذلك . وان ابت عن التناقل فانت ما يتلو قل لا يستوى للحيث والطيب . وقد عام ان الذى يتعاطونه من نفع فى البوق انما هو كما قاتم للتذكار فاجتهدوا ان لا يكون لتذكار العجل الخيذ الذى له خوار هذه وصايانا لك ولهم . فقل لهم هذه موهبة الدولة واحسانها اليكم ولطفها بكم وعاطفتها عليكم وبصرهم بذلك كما تلى احساننا اليهم . يا بنى اسرائيل اذكروا نعمتى التى انعمت عليكم .

d. A second form of Firman.

وهذه نسخة توقيع برياسة اليهود ايضا

اما بعد حمد الله على ان جعل ملاحظة هذه الدولة القاهرة لجميع الملل ناظرة واحسانها لا يعقل مصلحة لاولى الاديان غائبة ولا حاضرة والصلاة على سيدنا محمد الذى جعل ذمته وعهده وفيان لكل نسمة مؤمنة وكافرة . فان الله تعالى لما مد رواق عدل هذه الايام الشريفة على كل معاهد من متقرب ومتباعد وساوى بينهم فى النظر الذى صدق الراى وصدق الرائد اقتضى جميلها ان يسهم لكل من الذمة اوفر نصيب . وان لا يقال لاحد منهم من الاجحاف ما يريب وان لا تكون امورهم مضاعة ولا تعبد اتهم مراعاة ولا شرائعهم غير مصونة ولا احكامهم عليه حسن معونة . وكانت جماعة اليهود وان كانوا اولى غنى وصدق النصارى فيهم وصدقوا فى النصارى من انهم ليسوا على شئ لا بد لهم من مباشر ياخذهم بالامر الاحوط والناموس الاضط والمراسيم التى عليهم تشرط .

وكان الذى يختار لذلك ينبغى ان لا يكون الا من اكبر الكهنة واعلم الاحبار
وممن عرف من دينهم ما لاجله يصطفى ومثله يختار وممن فيه سياسة تحجزه
عن المضار وتحجبه عن الاستغفار. وكان فلان الرئيس هو المتميز بهذه الارصاف
على ابناء جنسه. وله وازع من نفسه وراذع من حسن حدسه وخدمة فى
مهمّات الدولة يستحقّ منها الزيادة فى انسه. وهو من بين جماعته مشهور
بالوجهة موصوف بالنباهة ذو عبرانية حسنة التعبير ودراسة لكتب اهل ملّته
على ما فيها من التغيير اقتضى جميل الاختصاص الخفيف ان يرسم بالامر
الشرىف. لا برج يرقب الآل والذمّة ويرعى للمعاهدين الحرمة ان يفوض اليه
رئاسة اليهود الرئاسيين والقرايين والسمرّة على عادة من تقدّمه. فليباشر ذلك
مستوجبا امورهم كلها مستودعا رقبها وحلّها. مباشرا من احوالهم ما جرت
عادة مثله من الرؤساء ان يباشر مثلا غير مفرط فى ضبط ناموس من نواميس
المملكة. ولا يغفل الانكار ممن يتجاوز ذلك الى موارد الهلكة. ومن فعل ما
يقضى ينقض عهدى فعليه وعلى مستحسنه له من المقابلة ما يتعظ به كل
من يفعل ذلك من بعده. بحيث لا يحزج احد منهم من كنيسة ولا فى
يهوديّة ولا فى منع جزية من واجب معهود. ومن خالف فوراً ذلك من
الادب ما يقشعر منه الجلود. وما جعلهم الله ذمّة للمسلمين الا حقنا لدمائهم.
فلا ينحها احد منهم فيجتمع له شماتة اهل الاديان من اعدائهم باعدائهم.
والوصايا كثيرة. وانما هذه نخبها الملخصة. وفيها من حساب الاحسان اليهم
ما تغدو به ايام الامهال لهم معصّة. والله يوفقه فى كل تصرف مرغوب
وتأف عن مثله مطلوب بمنة وكرمة.

e. Instructions for the Ra'is al-Yahūd.

وهذه وصية لرئيس اليهود اوردها فى التعريف¹ وهى
وعليه بضمّ جماعته ولمّ شملهم باستطاعته والحكم فيهم على قواعد ملّته
وعوائد ائمتّه فى الحكم له اذا وضع له فى دولته² وعقود الانكحة وخواص ما

¹ i.e. of the Cadi Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-'Umarī. Al-Kalkashandī has also drawn from him in places where his source is not mentioned. The variants are taken from the printed text, p. 142. وصية رئيس اليهود. Want of space forbids me commenting further upon these somewhat interesting documents.

² بادلته.

يعتبر عندهم فيها على الإطلاق وما يفتقر فيها الى الرضى من الجانبين فى العقد والطلاق . وفيمن اوجب عندهم حكم دينه عليه التحريم ووجب عليه الانقياد الى التحكيم وما ادعوا فيه التواتر من الاخبار والتضافر¹ على العمل به مما لم يوجد فيه نص اجتمعت² عليه الاخبار والتوجه تلقاء بيت المقدس الى جهة قبلتهم ومكان تعبد اهل ملتهم . والعمل فى هذا جميعه³ اذا ثبت انه فعل ذلك النبى الكريم . واقامة حدود التوراة على ما انزل الله من غير تحريف ولا تبديل كلمة بتأويل وتصريف⁴ واتباع ما اعطوا عليه العهد وشدوا عليه العقد وابقوا فيه دماءهم ووقوا به ذمامهم⁵ . وما كانت تحكم به الانبياء والرسل وتسلم اليه الامم من غيرهم . ويعبر⁶ عنه العبرانيون كل هذا مع الزامه لهم بما يلزمهم من حكم امثالهم اهل⁷ الذمة الذين افترؤا فى الديار⁸ ووقاية انفسهم بالخضوع والصغار ومد رؤسهم بالاذعان لاهل ملّة الاسلام وعدم مضائقهم فى الطرق . وحيث يحصل الالتباس بهم فى الحمام وحمل شعار الذمة الذين⁹ جعل لهم حلية العمامة وعقد على رؤسهم لحفظهم عقد التعائم . وليعلم ان شعارهم الاصفر¹⁰ يوجب ان لا يراق دمهم الاحمر . واتهم تحت علم علامته آمنون وفى دعة اصائله ماكنون¹¹ ولياخذهم بتجديد صبغة فى كل حين وليامرهم بملازمة ملازمة¹² لا تزال¹³ علائقها على رؤسهم تبين وعدم¹⁴ التظاهر بما يقتضى المناقضة او يفهم منه المعارضة او يدع فيه غير السيف . وهو اذا كلم شديد المعارضة وله ترتيب طبقات اهل ملّة من الاخبار فمن دونهم على قدر استحقاقهم وعلى ما لا يخرج عنهم¹⁵ كلمة اتفاهم . وكذلك له الحديث فى جميع كنائس اليهود المستمرة الى الآن المستقرة بايديهم من حين¹⁶ عهد الذمة ثم ما تأكد بعده لطول¹⁷ الزمان من غير تجديد متجدد ولا تايد¹⁸ احداث قد متزبد¹⁹ ولا فعل شئ مما لم تعقد عليه الذمة ويقر عليهم سلفهم الاول سلف الامة²⁰ وفى هذه كفاية وتقوى الله وخوف بأسنا راس الامور المهمة .

¹ . والتضافر .

² . واجمعت .

³ . بما شرعه موسى الكليم والوقوف معه .

⁴ . وتصريف .

⁵ . دماءهم .

⁶ . هذه الديار .

⁷ . الذى .

⁸ . ساكنون .

⁹ . > .

¹⁰ . عنه .

¹¹ . عقد + .

¹² . مستزيد .

¹³ . هذا الامة .

¹⁴ . تزال .

¹⁵ . بطول .

¹⁶ . > .

¹⁷ . وعيد .

f. Instructions for the Ra'is of the Samaritans.

[وصية رئيس السامرة]¹

ولا يعجز عن لَمَّ شعث طائفته مع قتلهم وتأمين سربهم الذي² لم يومنوا فيه لاكلهم الذئب لذلتهم وليصن بحسن السلوك دماءهم التي كانوا صبغت عائمهم للمر منها بما طَلَّ . واوقد لهم منها النار الحمراء . فلم يتقوها الا بالذل . وليعلم انه شعبة³ من اليهود لا يخالفونهم في اصل المعتقد ولا في شيء يخرج عن قواعد دينهم لمن انتقد . ولولا هذا لما عدوا في اهل الكتاب ولا قنع منهم الا بالاسلام او ضرب الرقاب . فليبن على هذا الاساس⁴ وبلتزم من فروع دينه ما لا يخالف فيه الا بان يقول لا مساس . واذا كان كما يقول انه كهارون⁵ عليه السلام فليلتزم الحدود⁶ ليقم⁷ من شرط الذمة بما يقيم به طول المدة⁸ . وليتمسك بالموسوية من غير تبديل ولا تحريف في كلم⁹ ولا تأويل وليحص عمله فانه عليه مسطور . وليقف عند حده ولا يعبد¹⁰ طوره في الطور . وليحكم في طائفته وفي انكحتهم ومواربشهم وكنايتهم القديمة المعقود عليها¹¹ بما هو في عقد دينه وسبب لتوطيد¹² قواعد في هذه الرتبة التي بلغها وتوطينه .

g. Ordinance in regard to the employment of a Samaritan.

قلت وهذه توقيع بكتابة ديوانية لسامري من انشاء الشيخ جمال الدين بن نباتة¹³ . وهي رسم الامر لازال قلم اوامره المغضى يظهر تمرة مستمعا حديث الانعام الشامل حتى سمرة ان يرتب فلان في كذا علما بكفايته التي يوزر بها في قومه على سلوك التية . وحذق حسابه الذي هو الذ من السلوى

¹ In al-Kalkashandi there is no heading ; in the MS. it is part of the preceding. I have added the heading of Shihāb al-Dīn, p. 134.

² لو + .

³ شعبة .

⁴ وليبنى قومه انهم منهم وانما الناس اجناس +

⁵ لاهرون .

⁶ الجدد .

⁷ وليقم .

⁸ المدد .

⁹ كلمة .

¹⁰ يتعد , which read.

¹¹ الذمة .

¹² لتوطيده .

¹³ i. e. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Nubātah al-Fāriḳī, 1287-1366 (Broekelmann, *Gesch. der Arab. Lit.*, II, 10). If al-Kalkashandi cites a work of ibn Nubātah, it can only be his *Faḍl min inshā al-Faḍl* (Hājī Khalīfah, No. 8686, ed. Flügel, IV, 345).

المجتنبية¹ ومجتنبية وقربحتة التي اذا اختارها اختيار قوم موسى فإن من العمل مطلوبه .
 واذا قيل يا سامري ما قدمك على القرناء في الحساب . قال بصرت بما
 لم يبصروا به . وأمانته التي حاطت حياطة الصعدة السمرى ووقفت رايته
 على الانداد قابلة ما حاط البيضا والصفراء كصاحب الحمراء واعتمادا على
 كتابته التي شهدت بها من حساباته الاسفار المبينة واقرأ² لصناعته
 التي سحرت الفكر حتى قيل هذا من شعب القرايين والكهنة فليباشر
 هذا الاستيفاء لاوفى منه مترقيا ولكلمات الاختيار متلقيا ناهضا بالخدمة
 مجددا باعرافه الاسرائيلي ذكر النعمة عارفا قدر الانعام الذى رعى وشمل
 كل ذمة سالكا من الاجتهاد فى خدمة حسابه كل طريقة غائظا للحساد من
 اهل ملته . فتعبدون العجل مجازا وحقيقة مجتهدا فى استنزال المن لا المنع
 معوذ آلاف³ الخواصل بعشر كلمات رايته منه فى السمع معلقا على جميعها
 هيكل من امانته . فهو ادرى فى الهيكل بشرط الجمع صائنا لنفسه من عدوان
 الخيانة حتى لا يعدو فى سبت ولا فى احد متنزها عن اكل المال مع اخونة
 حتى يقال نعم السامري الذى لا ياكل مع احد .

h. Form of Firman for the Ra'is al-Yahūd in Palestine (Syria).

توقيع برياسة اليهود بالشام . مفتحا برسم من انشاء الشيخ جمال
 الدين ابن نباته . وهى رسم بالامر لا زال جوده فى كل ملّة وغمام كرمه على
 الخلق كانه ظلّة وذمام نعمة يبلغ المسلم والذمي من الاستحقاق محلّة ان
 يستقرّ الحكيم . ومنه وان عملهم على ما القوة من الاحكام . وينصف صاحب
 حقهم من متطلبهم حتى لا يعدو احد فى سبت ولا فى سائر الايام ويهذب
 وحشى جاهلهم بايناسة ويعالج سقم كاهلهم حتى تطلع الصفراء من راسه .
 فليقم مقاما فى هذه الطائفة القديمة . وليعبر من اسفار عبرانية عن عوائد
 قضايهم التنظيمية مفرحا بمعرفته كل حزان جامعا كل شعث على عدل عنده
 واحسان شاكرّا لفضل النعمة عارفا بالعوارف التي ترعى يمينها كل ذمة .

¹ المجتنبات ? the following word is not intelligible.

² Perhaps اقرا ? ³ The two words are unintelligible ; ... معوذا ?

It is worth while to add from Shihāb al-Din's *Al-Ta'rif*, p. ۱۵۱, the following:—

i. Form of oath to be taken by a Jew.

ایمان اهل الكتاب .

یمین اليهود

اتنى والله والله والعظيم القديم الازلى الفرد الصمد القديم الواحد الاحد المدرك المهلك باعث موسى بالحق وشاد عضده وازره باخيه هارون . وحق التوراة المكرمة وما فيها وما تضمنته وحق العشر كلمات التي انزلت على موسى فى الصحف الجوهر وما حوته قبة الزمان . والا تعبدت فرعون وهامان . وبرئت من اسرائيل ودنت بدين النصرانية . وصدقت مريم فى دعواها وبرأت يوسف التجار وانكرت الخطاب وتعمدت الطور بالقاذورات ورميت الصخرة بالنجاسة . وشركت بخت نصر فى هدم بيت المقدس . وقتل بنى اسرائيل والقيمت العذرة على مظان الاسفار . وكنت ممن شرب النهر ومال الى جالوت . وفارقت شيعة طالوت . وانكرت الانبياء ودلت على دانيال واعلمت جبّار مصر بمكان ارميا . وكنت مع البغى والفواجر يوم يحيى . وقتلت ان النار المضيئة من شجرة العوسج نار افك . واخذت الطرق على مدين وقتلت بالعظام فى بنات شعيب . واجليت مع السحرة على موسى . ثم برئت ممن آمن منهم وكنت مع من قال للحاق لنذكر من فر . واشرت بتخليف تابوت يوسف فى مصر . وسلمت الى السامري ونزلت اريحا مدينة الجبارين . ورضيت بفعل سكنة سدوم . وخالفت احكام التوراة واستبحت السبت وعدوت فيه . وقتلت ان المصلحة ضلال وان الخنكة محال . وقتلت بالبداة على الله فى الاحكام . واجزت نسخ الشرائع واعتقدت ان عيسى ابن مريم المسيح الموعود به على لسان موسى بن عمران . وانتقلت عن اليهودية الى سواها من الاديان . واستبحت لحم الجمل والشحم واللوايا وما اختلط بعظم . وتاولت ان آكل ثمنه غير آكله . وقتلت مقالة اهل بابل فى ابراهيم والا اكون محرما حرمة تجمع عليها الاجبار لقلب عليها حصر الكنائس . ورددت الى التية وحرمت المن والسوى . وبرئت من كل الاسباط . وقعدت عن حرب الجبارين مع القدرة والنشاط .

j. Form of oath to be taken by Samaritans (p. ١٥٤).

يعين السامرة . وهى على نحو من يعين اليهود لآتهم منهم . وقد قال العلماء ان وافقت اصولهم اصول اليهود اقرّوا . والا فلا . وقد خرجت لهم نسخة يعين تفردهم لموضع خلافهم لفرق اليهود وهى . اقول وانا فلان اننى والله والله والله العظيم البار القادر القاهر القديم الازلى رب موسى وهارون منزل التوراة والالواح للجوهر منقذ بنى اسرائيل وناصب الطور قبلة للمتعبدين . والا كفرت بما فى التوراة وبرئت من نبوة موسى . وقلت بان الامامة فى غير بنى هارون . وذكيت الطور وتعلت بىدى ائر البيت المعمور . واستبحت حرمة السبت . وتملت بالتأويل فى الدين . واقررت بصحة توراة اليهود وانكرت القول بان لا مساس . ولم اتجّبت شيئا من الذبائح . واكلت للجدى بلبن امه . وسعيت فى الخروج الى الارض المحظورة على سكنها . واتيت النساء للحيض زمان الضممت مستبيحا لهن . وبنت معهن فى المضاجع وكنت اول كافر بخلافة هارون وانفت منها ان تكون .

k. Similar notices in regard to the Ra'is al-Yahūd and the oaths to be taken by Jews and Samaritans are to be found in the celebrated *Diwān al-Inshā* (Paris MS. Arabe 4439), which was probably composed during the reign of the Mamluke Bars Bey (1422-1438) and of which extracts have been published in van Berchem's *Corpus* cited above. The introduction may be compared with similar accounts in al-Maḳrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ*, II, 477 et seq.; al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Mīlāl wa-l-Nikhal* (ed. Cureton), pp. 163 et seq., &c.

(fol. 140a) الملة الثانية اليهودية مأخوذ من هاد اذا رجع ولزومهم هذا الاسم من قول موسى عليه السلام انا هدنا اليك وهم اعمر من بنى اسرائيل لان من اليهود من ليس من بنى اسرائيل . وكتابهم التوراة سميت بذلك اخذا من وريت نارى ووريت واورتها اذا استخرجت ضوها لانه قد استخرج بها احكام شريعة موسى عليه السلام كما قاله النحاس . وقال الشهرستاني انها ول منزل على اسرائيل وسميت كتابا اذ ما قبلها يسمى صفحا بل هى اول منزل اشتمل على حدود احكام وما قبلها مواعظ ونحوها . وهى خمسة اسفار . الاول ما يشتمل عليه الخلق من ادم ليوشع . الثانى استخدام من بنى اسرائيل

وظهور موسى وهلاك فرعون واحوال التيه وامامة هرون ونزول العشر كلمات في الالواح وهى ستة مما في التوراة . ويشتمل على اوامر ونواه وسماع القوم كلام الله . قيل كانت الالواح من زمرد اخضر وقيل ياقوت احمر وقيل [ز]برجد وقيل من خشب ويقال انها لوحان واتت بصيغة الجمع كقوله تعالى فان كان له اخوة والمراد اثنان . والثالث فيه كيفية تقريب القرابين . والرابع عدد القوم وتقسيم الارض بينهم واحوال الرسل الذين بعثهم موسى من الشام والمن والسلوى والعمام . الخامس احكام التوراة ووفاة هرون ثم موسى وخلافة يوشع بن نون .¹ وذكر المفسرون عن ابن عباس ان موسى لما القى الالواح تكسرت فلم يبق فيها الا سدسها . ويرى ان التوراة كانت سبعين وقر بعير يقلب الجزء منها في سنة وانها رفع منها ستة اسباعها منها وبقي سبع واحد وفيه هدى ورحمة وفي الذى رفع تفصيل لكل شى .

واليهود بعد افتراقوا على عدة طوائف فالمشهور منها طائفتان . الاولى الربانيون والقراون . وهم كالفرقة الواحدة اذ تورايم واحدة ولا خلاف بينهم في اصل اليهودية وكلهم متفقون على نبوة موسى وهرون ويوشع وابراهيم واسحق ويعقوب والاسباط واتفقوا على استخراج ستمائة وثلاثة عشر فريضة من التوراة يتعبدون بها . ثم الربانيون يتفردون عن القرابين بشروح موضوعة لغوامض التوراة المتقدمة ومعها اخبارهم وتعريفات على التوراة ينقلونها عن موسى ويتفقون على استعمال² صخرة بيت المقدس في الصلوة وعلى ان الله كلم موسى على طور سيناء . ويختلفون في امرين احدهما القول في الطاهر والجنوح الى التاويل والقراون يفتون مع ظهور نصوص التوراة يتحملون ما يقع فيها من ذكر الصورة لله تعالى والتكلم والاستواء على العرش والنزول على الطور على ظاهرة والربانيون يؤولون ذلك كله . الثانى القول ما القدر فان الربانيون يقولون لا قدر سابق وان الامرانف . والقراون يقولون بسابق القدر وما عدا ذلك متفق عليه.³ الطائفة الثانية السامرة . وهم اتباع السامري المذكور في القرآن⁴ العزيز واسم موسى ايبن ظفر وكان اصله من قوم يعبدون البقر فرأى جبريل مرة جاء الى موسى راكباً على فرس الحياة فاخذ قبضة من تراب من تحت حافر فرسه والقاء على حلى لهم وقال له كن عجلاً جسداً له

¹ al-Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, I, 476, 479.

² or استقبال. ³ فهم متفقون ؟

⁴ Surah xx. 96.

خوار¹ فصار كذلك . قال الحسن صار حيوانا لحما ودما . وقيل صار يخور ولم سعلب (?) عينه فكان من شانه ما قصّ الله في كتابه العزيز . وقال الشافعية ان السامرة ان وافقت اصولهم اصول اليهود فهم منهم حتى يقرّوا بالجزية والآ فلا . ثم السامرة لهم توراّة تخصّهم عن التوراّة المتقدّمة وعن الذي بيد النصارى وهم يتقرّدون بافكار نبوّة من بعد موسى سوى هرون عليهما السلام ويوشع عليه السلام ويستقبلون طور نابلس في صلاتهم وموتاهم زاعمين انه للجبل الذي كلم الله عليه موسى بن عمران عليه السلام . ويؤمنون ان الله تعالى امر داود ببنيان بيت المقدس عليه فخالف وبناه بالقدس .

ولم يكن لطوائف اليهود سلطان ولا ملك قائم في اقطار الدنيا وانهم حيثما كانوا ورثوا الجزية ضرب² عليهم الذلّة اينما يقعون . وكبيرهم من يقرّره السلطان رئيسا لهم على الربانيون والقراون والسامرة . ويشترط في ولايته ان يكون ديننا فيهم عالما بدينهم عفيفا بينهم له ففاهم³ ورافة عليهم ويرضونه رئيسا عليهم حاكما فيهم وولايته من الحضرة الشريفة و [بالقاهرة وتوقيع في الثلث]

الضرب الثاني اتباع اليهود . وهم ثلاثة . الاول الحزّان وهو عندهم بمثابة الخطيب فانه يصعد المنبر في بيعهم فيعظهم ويذكرهم . الثاني الديّان وهو بمقام المفتى عندهم يعلمهم امور دينهم وما يحلّ لهم وما يحرم عليهم . الثالث [الشليخصور] وهو الامام الذي يصلّي بهم في بيعهم ولم يكن لاحد منهم ولاية من الابواب الشريفة .

(fol. 303 a) الضرب الثاني في الايمان التي يحلف بها اهل الكفر وفيه مهيعان . المهيح الاول انما ان المشرعة وهم من زعم التمسك بشريعة [] وهم ثلث ملل . الملة الاولى اليهودية . ماحوذ من هاد اذا رجع ولزومهم هذا الاسم من قول موسى عليه السلام ما هدنا اليك . وقد تقدّم الكلام عليهم في القسم [] في ترتيب ارباب الوظائف وهم افترقوا على طوائف والمشهور منهم طائفتان . الاولى القراون والربانيون وهم كالفرقة الواحدة لان توراتهم واحدة ولا خلاف بينهم في اصل اليهودية وتقدّم الكلام عليهم . ويمينهم الخ .

¹ Surah xx. 90 ; *al-Kashshāf*, II, 864.

² ففصرنت ؟

جلم ؟

Then follows the text of the oath as in Shihāb al-Dīn and a short account of the Day of Atonement; after which we have the historical note that this oath was first introduced by al-Faḍl ibn al-Rabīʿ, the Vizier of Hārūn al-Rashīd :

اعلم ان اول من استحدث هذه الايمان لاهل اليهودية الفضل بن الربيع
وزير الرشيد احدثها له كاتب كان عنده ومنها استنبطت هذه الالفاظ .

The oath to be taken by Samaritans is then given ; also, in the same words as cited by Shihāb al-Dīn.

Finally, on fol. 147 a, we have an account of the Raʿīs al-Yahūd in Damascus :

الثالث . رئيس اليهود وهو يتحدث على طائفة القرايين والربانيين والسامرة .
وشروطه ان يكون لاحقا بصفة رئيس اليهود بالقاهرة وبشروطه اللازمة له وتوقيعه
في العادة ولا يكتب له توقيع الا باذن الرئيس بالقاهرة فانه بحقام نائبه وربما
تحدث على السامرة شخص بمفرده من تحت امر الرئيس بصر . ويسمى
الرئيس براء مهملة ثم ياء موحدة وياء وسين .

It is impossible to tell up to what date these regulations remained in force. But, as regards the oaths to be taken by Jews and Samaritans, we have evidence that even in the fourteenth century they were already antiquated ; a somewhat remarkable fact—as Shihāb al-Dīn, whom the other authors will copy, mentions them as in force. Paris MS. Arabe 4437 contains a “Secretary’s Manual” entitled *Ijābat al-Sā’il ila Ma’rifat al-Rasā’il*, written by an unknown author about the year A.D. 1375. On ff. 94 b and 100 b he says expressly that he had never known such oaths to be required—though he quotes them in full according to the text of Shihāb al-Dīn.

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