

Notes on the Jews in Fustāt from Cambridge Genizah Documents

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NOTES ON THE JEWS IN FUSTĀT FROM CAMBRIDGE GENIZAH DOCUMENTS.

THE Genizah Fragments in the Cambridge University Library, coming as they do from Fustāt—which was the capital of Lower Egypt at the period they cover—naturally afford a good deal of information concerning both that city and others in the vicinity, from Alexandria up to No-Ammon (Thebes), including Cairo, Balbaïs, Ramleh, Rosetta, Zoan, Qalyūb, Qus, Zoar, Sa, Zifta, Benha al-'Asal, Mahallat al-Kabir, Miniāt Ghamr, and others; as also some of the chief towns in Palestine and elsewhere, for instance the Holy City, Damascus, Safed, Ascalon, Tiberias, Tripolis, Dan, and so forth.

The city of Fustāt has not wanted historians. Besides such general geographers as at-Tabāri, al-Kindi, al-Idrīsī, Abulfeda, and Ibn Saïd, there are the works of al-Makrīzī—his *History of the Copts in Egypt* and his *Khitut*—the very detailed work of Ibn Duqmāq¹, the *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt* attributed to Abū Sālih and edited by B. T. A. Evetts as one of the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*; Butler's *Coptic Churches of Egypt*, which has a fine plan of Qaṣr ash-Sham' in Vol. I; G. Salmon's *Études sur la topographie du Caire*, published by the Mission archéologique française au Caire; Jomard's

¹ *Description of Egypt*, published by Dr. Vollers at Cairo in 1893, from the MS. in the Khedivial Library.

*Description des environs de la ville du Caire*¹; and the *Noms coptes du Caire et localités voisines* of M. Paul Casanova², which is to be followed by a detailed description of Fustât by the same author. There is also much interesting matter in Lane-Poole's *Cairo*³.

From the business documents that come from the Genizah, as will be seen, many facts come to light which may serve to unveil something of the history of the Jewish race in a large city where they abode in great numbers, were very wealthy, and had much to endure, partly for their own sakes, and partly because of the presence of the Copts near them, with whom they were confused at times by the followers of Muḥammad.

The chief events in the history of the city for the present purpose are the following:—

Fustât was founded when 'Amr ibn al-'Ās conquered Egypt for his master, the Khalif 'Umar, in the year 21 of the Hijra, i. e. 640 or 641 A. D. 'Amr became master of the country largely by the help of the Copts who were willing to exchange their Greek rulers, whom they hated because of religious differences, for any other power. The city seems to have owed its site to a dove which nested in the tent (fustât) of 'Amr, and which he would not allow to be disturbed. He built a mosque, on the site of which there stands a building which still bears his name, and dug or repaired the canal to the Red Sea that the corn of Egypt might be easily transported to the Muḥammadans in Arabia.

In 750 A. D., Marwān II, the last of the 'Umāyyad Khalifs, set fire to the city. In the next year the two generals who had pursued Marwān into Egypt, Sālih ibn 'Alī 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abbās and Abu 'Aūn 'Abd al Malik

¹ In *Égypte Moderne*, tome ii. 2 of the "Description de l'Égypte . . . observations faites pendant l'expédition de l'armée française, 1818," in connexion with which is a fine numbered plan in the volume of plates.

² In the *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, Cairo, 1901.

³ In Dent's *Mediaeval Towns* series.

ibn Yazid, commanded their followers to build houses in the plain north of Fustât, and a new town grew up which obtained the name of al-'Askar, *the Cantonments*. There, apparently, for some years the governor made his seat, until about 763 A. D., when the Khalif ordered that his residence should be removed from the palace of the Emirate in al-'Askar back to Fustât¹.

The Coptic Christians were often in trouble with their newly chosen masters, and also quarrelled as of old with their Greek neighbours; and their disturbances resulted every now and then in the destruction of part of the town, or the imposing of a heavier tribute.

The Amîr Aḥmad ibn Tulûn, in the latter half of the ninth century, built himself a palace and barracks for his guards, and a grand mosque which still exists between Fustât and Cairo; this new quarter received the name of al-Qatâi', *the Wards*. He imposed a tribute upon the Coptic Patriarch of 20,000 dinars, and among the methods to which that personage resorted for payment of the money was, as al-Makrîzi² tells us, *the sale of the churches lying in the vicinity of the Mu'allaga in Qaṣr ash-Sham' to the Jews*.

Of this Qaṣr more anon³. It was a part of Fustât much older than the city, and contains to this day a Jewish synagogue and several Coptic churches.

The Fatimite Khalif, al-Mu'azz, obtained the rule in Egypt in the second half of the tenth century. For him the new city was built, called القاهرة المعزية, al-Qāhirat al-Mu'azziah, and known to the Western world through the Venetian merchants in the softened form of Cairo.

Then, we learn, the people began to build near this new citadel, and the old capital began to be deserted. However that may be, still in theory and in documents, at all events so far as the Jews are concerned, Cairo maintained

¹ Salmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-5, &c.

² In his *History of the Copts*, Wüstenfeld's edition, p. 61.

³ See p. 19 below.

a secondary place to Fustāt for some centuries, although the new city became the seat of the Khalifs of Egypt. The situation of Fustāt on the Nile, says Abulfeda, made it easier to provision than Cairo, and living was cheaper there.

It was during the reign of al-Mu'azz, according to Gregorius Abu'l-Faraj, that the famous Maimonides took up his abode among the Jews in Fustāt, and became first a merchant of gems, and afterwards practised medicine.

The Fatimite Khalif, al-Ḥakīm, towards the end of the tenth century, persecuted both Jews and Christians. Jamāl ad-Dīn ibn Tughri-Bardi¹ tells us that he ordered the Jews to wear yellow garments, while the Christians had to don blue, and both were forbidden to ride horse or mule; while al-Makrizi² says that the Jews had to wear hung on the neck a ring of wood of five rotl weight, and as the rotl was equal to 480 drachmas of some kind, it could not have been a great convenience. In addition to this they seem to have been compelled to wear bells on their necks when they went to the bath. This Khalif is he whose name has been since held in reverence by the Druzes; he sought to found a new religion with himself as the divinity, and had many followers.

The Fatimites, although claiming descent from 'Alī the son of Fatima, daughter of Muḥammad, were by some Arab writers said to be Jews³; the first of the Khalifs, 'Ubaid-allah, being a Jewish locksmith before he rose to fame and power. Jamāl ad-Dīn, above-quoted, relates that the father of al-Ḥakīm, al-'Azīz ibn Abū Mansūr Barār, entrusted the oversight of Syria to a Jew named Mīshā, who, however, paid for his office with his life.

In the year 1168 A. D., the vizir Shāwir set fire to Fustāt to prevent its falling into the hands of the Franks during

¹ Carlyle's edition, Cambridge, 1792, p. 7.

² *Copts*, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 64-66.

³ See Carlyle's *Jamāl ad-Dīn*, notae p. 5, no. 10.

the time of the second crusade: this was a wide-spread conflagration and is called the "Burning" *par excellence*.

A century or so later, a great disturbance arose about a Coptic secretary who was defended from the Muḥammadan rabble by his master's soldiery until the Sultan objected. Then the people fell to plundering both Jew and Christian until the Amīr forbade it, which only occurred after a great deal of mischief had been done. After this the Muḥammadan officials summoned to a conference the Judge of the Jews and the two Christian Patriarchs, Coptic and Greek, with their elders¹. The Ruler of the Jews pronounced a curse against every Jew who should do contrary to what was fixed with regard to wearing a yellow turban and obedience to the treaty of 'Umar. The goods of those who did not wear the coloured turban were to be confiscate.

About the year 1320 A.D. some more serious tumults took place, when the decree of blue turbans for the Christians was more strictly enforced again. In this trouble for once the Jews seem not to have been embroiled, and no regulations were made for them, or perhaps they had not grown slack in the observance of those already made. The Christians therefore began to borrow turbans from their Jewish neighbours whenever they dared to go abroad, that they might be safe from molestation.

These are the very scant notes which are to hand concerning the Jewish people in Fustāt.

Already in this REVIEW² Mr. Abrahams has given some of the various spellings of the name of the city in these documents, but some notes on the formulae used may still have an interest.

Evidently the standard description of the city for the Jewish scribe during a long period was פסמאט מצרים דעל : נילוס נהרא מותבה as late as 1496, some years after al-Makrizi wrote his books. It is a comparatively rare thing to find any part of this

¹ Makrizi, *Copts*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 75.

² Vol. XVII, p. 426.

description left out, especially in those documents of a particularly religious character, such as the marriage contracts, which are mostly in Aramaic.

But taking the documents through—or at least as many as have been examined for the present purposes, some hundreds—there is very considerable variation.

Now the meaning of Fustāt Miṣraim seems plainly to be Fustāt of *Egypt*. The Arabic form corresponding to it is Fustāt Miṣr, either part of the name being as often used alone. Miṣr may mean any large town, and ten such were counted by the Arabians, among which were Baghdad, Kufa, Memphis, and, later, Alexandria and Cairo. But the name itself has only been attached permanently to this district, and while Fustāt was called Miṣr in the eighth century and earlier, its neighbour Cairo is only known by the name of Miṣr or Maṣr to the inhabitants of to-day.

Perhaps Fustāt Miṣraim may be traced to the influence of the Coptic name ⲁⲁⲉⲅⲗⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲏⲙⲓ, Babylon of Egypt, which was evidently intended to be a distinction from the Asiatic Babylon. Although this Egyptian Babylon is said to be a height south of Qaṣr ash-Sham¹, yet it is probable that the old and new towns, Babylon and Fustāt, overlapped one another, as Fustāt is said to have *enclosed* the Qaṣr, and therefore to have gone south of it. And, moreover, in a MS. list of bishoprics of Egypt, quoted by Amélineau², ⲁⲁⲉⲅⲗⲟⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ = بابylon الفسطاط, is given. It does not seem *necessary* that Fustāt should have the name of the country attached, there being only one such place.

But while the full appellation was given mostly somewhere on the document, most frequently in connexion with the date, any further mention of the city in the same manuscript generally dispensed with formality of this kind. Thus we have in 1141 A.D. a document dated with the usual six-word formula as given above, while a house

¹ Casanova, p. 145.

² *Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte*, p. 224.

described therein is called באלפסטאט¹. In 1143 we have the same thing occurring again, the description being אל רכאכן אלהי באלפסטאט²: another example is found in 1148³.

In 1143 we have an instance of dating only באלפסטאט⁴, followed by one in 1150⁵, in which the property described is in Cairo; by one in 1159⁶ (אחע לשטרות באלפסטאט = "1470 according to the reckoning of documents"); and by one which may be dated about 1160⁷.

From earlier times till later than the above dates there are examples of the use of מצר alone. In 1027 a document is dated אשלה במצר⁸ ("1338 in Miṣr"), while in 1032 the Synagogue of the Syrians is במצר⁹; in 1076, in a large document dated with the six-word formula, houses are described in lanes במצר¹⁰. In 1130 again a house is described as merely in Miṣr, while the date stands אחמא וכאן דלך, In 1144 the date runs thus, וכאן דלך, ובפסטאט מצרים only¹¹. In 1144 the date runs thus, ואחר שהור שנת אהנה במצר¹²: and in 1261 again a street is במצר simply, while the date formula is one of the longest on record; it runs לשטרות למנינו אשר הורגלנו למנות בו בפסטאט במצר¹³. One other MS. of 1243, by the same scribe, gives this formula with the addition of פה after בו¹⁴.

There is also an instance of מצר used alone in the text, while at the foot the MS. is described as written at Fustāt¹⁵, כתב בפסטאט. An interesting proof is given in two MSS. of the fact that the title of Miṣr was not at once transferred to the newer city, as something is described במצר ואלקאהרה¹⁶, meaning of course in Fustāt and Cairo; one of these gives the date 1226 A.D., 250 years after the latter city was founded.

¹ T-S. 12. 694.

² T-S. 16. 146.

³ T-S. 12. 544.

⁴ T-S. 13 J 3³.

⁵ T-S. 13 J 1²¹.

⁶ T-S. 13 J 3¹⁰.

⁷ T-S. 13 J 6².

⁸ T-S. 8 J 4².

⁹ T-S. 16. 45.

¹⁰ T-S. 16. 5.

¹¹ T-S. 12. 88.

¹² T-S. 10 J 5⁸.

¹³ T-S. 12. 564 and 549, parts of the same document.

¹⁴ T-S. 12. 121.

¹⁵ T-S. 12. 428.

¹⁶ T-S. 16. 200 and 18 J 1¹¹.

one of 1022¹ being dated בִּפְסַטָּה מִצְרַיִם שְׁנַת שְׁלֹשׁ בָּיּוֹם שְׁשִׁי חֹלוֹ, של מועד, leaving out the thousand of the date and presumably meaning the 20th Tishri. There are others of 1024², [10]39³, 1135⁴, and two marriage contracts⁵.

Some documents transliterate the *س* of Fustât by *צ*, thus giving פִּצְטָטָה—one of 750 A.D.⁶, one of 1028⁷ which has also במצד, a שטר פיצוי of 1045⁸, one of 1048⁹, and one of 1241¹⁰ which gives on the verso נִלּוּם הָיָה, while on the recto is נִלּוּם נַהֲרָה. There is one instance in the direction of a letter where the city is spelt الفسطاط.

Documents of a later date, 1544–1802 A.D., seem to be regularly פִּה מִצְרַיִם¹¹, the name Fustât being dropped altogether, and the date uniformly given לַיִצִּירָה.

The description of Cairo gives one or two interesting details. Makrîzi, in his *History of the Coinage of the Arabs*¹², says that in the year 358 (Hijra) was built القاهرة المعزية, al-Qāhirat al-Mu'azziah. This is about 970 A.D. Rather more than a century later, somewhere about 1080 A.D., we have a marriage contract which speaks of אֶלְמַעְרִיָּה אֶלְקַהְרָה¹³; and in the next century there is a MS. of 1109 of the same form¹⁴, and five documents which are dated from אֶלְמַעְרִיָּה אֶלְקַהְרָה, one of 1127¹⁵, one of 1150¹⁶, one of about 1169¹⁷, one of 1170¹⁸, and one of 11—, the rest of the date being lost¹⁹, while a sixth retains only the unit of the date²⁰, but is presumably of the same century. After this no more is seen of אֶלְמַעְרִיָּה; it is curious that the last certain date of its appearance here is 1170, the year

¹ T-S. 10 J 5¹¹.

² T-S. 13 J 1⁶.

³ T-S. 13 J 7²⁵.

⁴ T-S. 8 J 10¹⁸.

⁵ T-S. 12. 113 and 492.

⁶ T-S. 16. 79 (see *J. Q. R.*, vol. XVII, p. 426).

⁷ T-S. 8 J 4¹.

⁸ T-S. 16. 183.

⁹ T-S. 20. 160.

¹⁰ T-S. 8 J 6¹⁴.

¹¹ 1544, T-S. 13 J 8¹⁰; 1560, 13 J 5⁶; 1561, 13 J 4¹⁷; 1563, 8 J 6²²; 1569, 13 J 4²⁰; 1577, 8 J 8²³; 1588, 13 J 4²¹; 1748, 13 J 5⁷; 1802, 8 J 6²⁴.

¹² *Historia monetæ arabicæ*, ed. O. G. Tychsen, Rostockii, 1797, p. 34, and translation, p. 111.

¹³ T-S. 24. 9.

¹⁴ T-S. 8 J 4²².

¹⁵ T-S. 18 J 1²¹.

¹⁶ T-S. 13 J 2¹.

¹⁷ T-S. 8 J 5²³.

¹⁸ T-S. 13 J 3¹⁴.

¹⁹ T-S. 16. 41.

²⁰ T-S. 13 J 7¹⁵.

in which the famous Saladin, as Sultan of Egypt, proclaimed there the Ayubite Khalif, thus putting an end to the dynasty to which Mu'azz belonged, the Fatimites. Possibly it was that event which decided that the name of the city should not be al-Mu'azziah.

But further: from the date 1028 A.D., down to as late as 1496, Cairo is described as *near to Fustāt*. The first of these, of 1028¹, bears the legend *לפצטאט הסמוכה קאהרה אל בעיר אל*; *מזרים דעל נילוס הנהר מותבה*; this is the most usual form. The next is one of 104-², a divorce document; the next a marriage contract of 1083³; the next a document of 1094⁴, where *עיר אל קאהרה הסמוכה* has been inserted above the line before *בפצטאט מזרים*. Then follow the years 1109, 1110, 1116, 1127, one of each⁵, one of 1169⁶, one of 1170⁷, one of 1187⁸ which, in common with the first three just cited in this century, has *דסמיכה* instead of *הסמוכה*; these are followed by documents of 1190⁹, 1245¹⁰, 1280¹¹, 1282¹², 1458-9¹³, 1482¹⁴, and 1496¹⁵. There is also a marriage document of 1816¹⁶ which perpetuates the formula, one would suppose, without any meaning.

There are other towns that are called "near to Fustāt"; *עיר דמירה הקטנה* in 1158¹⁷, *עיר אלמחלה הגדולה* in two documents of 1160¹⁸, and *עיר קלויב* in a document without date. The second of these towns is evidently Mahallat al-Kabīr, a few miles west of the Damietta branch of the Nile, and almost sixty miles north of Fustāt; it is described in other documents as on the Nile²⁰, in 1121; as *אלכברי*²¹ (= *הגדולה*), in 1202; and in 1145 simply as *אלמחלה*²². There is a Damīra some miles north of Mahallat al-Kabīr, and therefore still further from Fustāt, which may be the

¹ T-S. 18 J 1⁶.² T-S. 13 J 6²⁸.³ T-S. 12. 541.⁴ T-S. 13 J 2⁴.⁵ T-S. 18 J 1^{17, 18, 21} and 8 J 12¹.⁶ T-S. 8 J 5²².⁷ T-S. 13 J 3¹⁴.⁸ T-S. 18 J 1²⁸.⁹ T-S. 18 J 1³⁰.¹⁰ T-S. 12. 588.¹¹ T-S. 13 J 4¹⁵.¹² T-S. 8 J 6¹⁷.¹³ T-S. 8. 195.¹⁴ T-S. 13 J 4¹⁸.¹⁵ T-S. 8 J 6¹⁹.¹⁶ T-S. 16. 332.¹⁷ T-S. 8 J 5¹⁹.¹⁸ T-S. 8 J 5²¹ and 18 J 1²⁶.¹⁹ T-S. 13 J 7¹².²⁰ T-S. 16. 140.²¹ T-S. 12. 166.²² T-S. 12. 565.

"Damira the little" of the 1158 document quoted above. For the town of Qalyūb, only $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles north from Cairo by railway, one can understand the term "near to Fustāt."

Kanāis al-Yahūd.

In Ibn Duqmāq¹ we have an all too brief description of the Jewish synagogues extant in his day, say in the fourteenth century. It runs thus:—

كنائس اليهود بمصر ♦ كنيسة اليهود العراقيين هذه بقصر الروم بزقاق
اليهود بجوار المعلقة ♦ كنيسة اليهود الشاميين بقصر الروم بجوار خوخة خبيصة
والدرب هناك ♦ كنيسة اليهود القرايين بالممصوة بزقاق من اذنة درب الكرمة ♦

We have here three synagogues: of the "Irāqians" (which would mean Babylonians) in the Qaṣr in the Lane of the Jews; of the Syrians in the Qaṣr near the Postern Khabīṣah; of the Qaraites in the Mamsūsa (= Musāsa) in one of the lanes of the Darb Kurma.

The two former are quite plainly mentioned in many MSS., and both belonged to the Rabbanites. We have mention of the Syrian synagogue during something over a century.

In 1032 A. D. we have the בניסת אלשאמיין במצר²; in 1159 something is transacted בחצור נמאעה³, i. e. "in the synagogue of the Syrians in the presence of a number of people." There is also a long document, probably of the eleventh century, dealing with the same, which it calls בניסת אליהוד אלשאמיין⁴. There are also some undated MSS. which mention this synagogue alone⁵, as well as some cited below which give both Syrian and Irāqian.

Of the Irāqian synagogue alone, mention is made in documents of 1044⁶, of 1099⁷, of about 1182, where the houses described adjoin [לכניסת אלע-ראקיין]⁸, and two undated ones, of which one is comparatively modern in all probability, and is pointed⁹.

¹ IV, p. 108.

² T-S. 16. 45.

³ T-S. 13 J 3¹⁰ (p. 3).

⁴ T-S. 20. 96.

⁵ T-S. 8 J 10⁸, 6 J 2², and one unnumbered.

⁶ T-S. 13 J 1¹⁰.

⁷ T-S. 8 J 4⁹.

⁸ T-S. 12. 487.

⁹ T-S. 10 J 5⁴, 6 J 1²⁴.

Mention of the two synagogues together is made, giving their separate names, in 1057¹, and in about 1130², while they are spoken of as merely אלכניסחין in 750³ or שתי כניסיות, in a MS. not later than 1205 (בתי כניסיות)⁴, and in some undated MSS.⁵

But other documents bring us to what is either another synagogue or another name for one of those given above. This is the "Synagogue of the Yerushalmim" which occurs in a MS. of 997⁶, in two of 1028⁷, and in two without date, of which one at least may probably be referred to the tenth century as it is in Hebrew⁸. This last-named document evidently places the כנסת הירושלמים in Qaşr ash-Sham' (= קצר ארם)⁹; while the document of 997, which is apparently a will, speaks of a certain proportion to be dedicated (להקדש) to the two synagogues in Fustât, of which half is to go to one synagogue whose name is gone, and the other half to כניסת הירושלמים. Twice, further, in the same MS. the שתי כנסיות are spoken of, and it seems as if this might be the earlier name for the Synagogue of the Syrians, changed perhaps with the influx of some arrivals from Damascus. Most of the MSS. with ירושלמים are in Hebrew.

There is also one document of date 1082 A.D.¹⁰, drawn up בנכנסת הבבליים . . . בפסמאט מצרים, and a letter written to Hai Gaon ben Sherira ראש ישיבת של גולה wishing peace מננו אנחנו¹¹; this would be before 1038, the date of Hai's death. The document does not mention Fustât, and there is only the coincidence of the "Synagogue of the Babylonians" to suggest that it may have been written from that place. The fact remains that a synagogue of the Babylonians is mentioned as being at Fustât, and may be the same as that of the Irāqians.

¹ T-S. 13 J 1¹³.

² T-S. 10 J 10².

³ See *J. Q. R.*, XVII, p. 426.

⁴ T-S. 16. 63, verso.

⁵ T-S. 12. 129 and 8 J 9¹⁵.

⁶ T-S. 16. 115.

⁷ T-S. 13 J 5¹ and 8 J 4³.

⁸ T-S. 12. 641 and 20. 117.

⁹ For further notes on the names of the Qaşr see p. 20.

¹⁰ T-S. 18 J 1¹¹.

¹¹ T-S. 16. 318.

Makrizi's description of the Qaraitic synagogue in the Musāsa will be found below under that heading.

Beth Dīn and Yeshibah.

The style in which the Beth Dīn is mentioned is of much interest, though often very vague. In 1122 A.D. we have ¹בית דין הקבוע בפסטאט מצרים, and a MS. (probably) towards the end of the eleventh century gives the following heading²:—

מעשה שהיה בפנינו אנו בית דין הקבוע בפסטאט מצרים דממנא מבי דינא רבה כב גר קד מרנו ורבנו אדוננו מבורך . . . בר . . . סעדיה הרופא.

In 1066, a document has the following³:—

איתקיים שמר אבי זאריה דנן קדמנא בבית דינא דממנא מבית דין הגדול בפסטאט מצרים:

which is signed by ⁴יוסף בר [מעמר] and a מבורך ברבי סעדיה הרשופט.

In 1114, a MS. opens with these words⁴:—

חצרנא אנו שלשת הדיינים הקבועים בעיר אלקאהרה ובפסטאט מצרים. . . . הדיינים הקבועים בפסטאט and a fragment without date⁵ has . . . מצ, no vestige of the word before הדיינים remaining.

Before any of these, in 1032, comes a document which, as it speaks of the Chazzan and Shaliach of the synagogue and is very brief, may be given here⁶:—

חצר פי בית דין הקבוע מפי בית דין הגדול בכניסת אלשאמיין במצר פי יום אלכמים אלעשרה כלון מן תמוז מן סנה אלף ותלת מאיה ותלתה וארבעין למנן שמרות מן אברהם הלוי בר שמואל נז קובל על מ נחמיה החזן בן כבוד גדולת קדו מרנ אברהם החבר נבע ואונפיר⁷ אלי: אלשליח ליחצר פי מושב אלדין אלי הרא אלתאריך משה ביר אלעזר חלפון הלוי בר שלמה נז

¹ T-S. 24. 14.

² T-S. 20. 125.

³ T-S. 20. 83 (a document of 1049, T-S. 20. 23, mentions a מצמר בר יוסף בר (מצמר הרשופט).

⁴ T-S. 8 J 5¹.

⁵ T-S. 12. 538.

⁶ T-S. 16. 45.

⁷ אֲנִפִּיר =

A document of 1044 speaks of the בית דין in the Synagogue of the Irāqians¹, so that probably only one of three mentioned above would belong to Cairo.

In 1127 we have two documents together which speak of בית דין הנדול של אדונו מצליח הכהן ראש ישיבת נאן יעקב², while one of 1129 has the same legend³, and one of 1130 is made out בפסמאט מצר רשות אדונו מצליח הכהן ראש ישיבת נאן יעקב, and is signed by מצליח כהנא, and is signed by מצליח כהנא⁴. Where this Yeshibah was is not explained, but that it was in Fustāt is seen from this last MS., which was written there and signed by Mašliach. Perhaps it would be in one of the Kanisahs. There is also another document signed by Mašliach, where after אליהו נאן he gives the additional information נכר שלמה נאן נוע הנאונים⁵.

This academy, or rather its head, appears very frequently on the documents. Apparently the first ראש found here is יאשיהו⁶; then follows שלמה הצ' ברבי שמואל בר טליון⁷ probably some time after 1028 (in which year his father שמואל is spoken of as ראש הקהל⁸); the next found is דניאל הנשיא, who appears as head of the academy in 1092⁹ and in two undated documents¹⁰, and whose son דוד הנשיא ראש גליות כל¹¹ was married in 1082¹¹. Next comes ביר יוסף שלמה הכהן ביר יוסף¹² who is called ראש הישיבה in two undated MSS.¹³ Then follows our Mašliach above cited, in at least twenty-one documents¹⁴ from 1127 to 1138,

¹ T-S. 13 J 1¹⁰.

² T-S. 8 J 5⁴.

³ T-S. 10 J 7¹⁰.

⁴ T-S. 16. 151.

⁵ T-S. 10 J 5²⁰.

⁶ T-S. 12. 16, in a letter addressed to "our brother Shlomoh ha-Shophat ben Saadiah ha-Shophat"; a שלמה בר ספדיה appears on a document of 1022 (?) who may be the person here spoken of.

⁷ T-S. 13 J 9², 11⁵.

⁸ T-S. 13 J 5¹, and 8. 183.

⁹ T-S. 20. 31.

¹⁰ T-S. 8 J 7⁴ and 12. 109.

¹¹ T-S. 24. 1. But in a Brit. Mus. MS. of 1089 A. D. (Or. 5545) he is called Head of the Academy.

¹² T-S. 20. 31.

¹³ T-S. 20. 86, and 13 J 6²³.

¹⁴ 1127, T-S. 8 J 5⁴; 1129, 10 J 7¹⁰; 1130, 16. 151; 1132, 8 J 5²; 1133, 12. 567; 1134, 20. 63, 20. 87, and 13 J 2²⁰; 1135, 13 J 2²²; 1136, 13 J 2¹⁹; 1137,

many being undated. After him comes Samuel from 1143 to 1159¹.

There is a דניאל הנשיא mentioned in 1165², during whose headship a document is dated, but he is not called head of this academy nor of any other, neither is נחנאל הלוי³ in 1160 and 1166, nor משה in 1171⁴. The next ראש, still not head of an academy, is named אברהם הפטיש, the "Hammer" or "Destroyer"; he occurs from 1213 to 1232⁵.

After a space of 140 years or so from the last notice of the Yeshibath Gaon Jacob we arrive at a new name or a new academy. In 1292 a certain ר' מרדכי is called ראש רשיבתה שלתורה⁶, and in 1295 there is a דור in the same position⁷; while an undated MS. also gives רשיבתה של ⁸, which seems to point to the same academy.

Ibn Duqmāq⁹, in describing the דרב חלאוה in the Musāsa (in Fustāt), speaks of it as being near the Masjid al-ārzi, which is opposite the house of the Rīs al-Yahūd. Perhaps this is the situation of the Yeshibah of Gaon Jacob.

The Markets.

The markets (סוק) mentioned are these: אלכביר, אלעטארין, אלקוטן, אלצורף, אלבו, אלחמאם, אלזיאטן, אלבווארין.

Of the first, אלכביר, אלסוק, we have three notices, as follows:—

אלראר באלפסטאט באלראיה פי אלסקע אלמערוף באלסוק אלכביר והי שארעה עלי אלטריק אלמסלוק פיה פי סוק אלכביר ואלי אלקאלון ואלי אלסרייה ואלי דרב עמרה וטריק תניב ונאחיה אלמצאצה ומסלוק מנה (A. D. 1139)¹⁰

13 J 3¹³ and 12. 683; 1138, 13 J 2²³; undated, 8. 179, 12. 91, 12. 653, 20. 37, 8 J 11¹⁵, 10 J 5^{17, 20}, 13 J 8⁴.

¹ 1143, T-S. 13 J 3³; 1144, 13 J 3⁵; 1150, 13 J 7¹⁷; 1152, 13 J 3⁹, 13 J 8³, 8 J 5¹⁵; 1157, 8 J 5¹⁸; 1159, 13 J 3¹⁰; undated, 8 J 7³.

² T-S. 13 J 3¹¹.

³ T-S. 8 J 5^{21, 22}, 13 J 6^{2, 27}, 13 J 3¹².

⁴ T-S. 13 J 3¹⁵.

⁵ T-S. 13 J 3^{22, 27}, 13 J 4⁵, 13 J 9¹⁰, 8 J 6⁵, 8 J 9¹⁶.

⁶ T-S. 13 J 4¹³.

⁷ Add. 3124.

⁸ T-S. 24. 8.

⁹ IV, p. 25. See also below, pp. 21, 29, 31, and 35, for the house of the Head of the Jews.

¹⁰ T-S. 12. 694.

אלדאר אלתי בפסטאט מצר בסוק אלכביר באלסרייה פי צדר הדא
אלוקאק אל ניר נאפר . . . ¹ (no date)

. . . מצר דאכלה פי אדרב אלגיר נאפר אלשארע בכט סוק אל כביר
אלרי ² (A. D. 1118)

Ibn Duqmāq ³ says that this mart is so well known as to need no description, and it has many entrances. He gives a list of the Masjids upon the Shār'i as-Sūq al-Kabīr however⁴, and says that it extends from the Darb al-Majāyar to the Sahl Bahr an-Nil (the strand of the Nile); in another place⁵ he speaks of the Kūm al-Majāyar as connected with the Kūm Ibn Ghurāb, and also says⁶ that the Darb Bādi connects it with as-Sūq al-Kabīr. This is either near or in the Musāsa quarter just outside of the Qaṣr ash-Sham', a district which must be treated of later.

The סוק אלעטארין does not find a place with the other markets singled out for "honourable mention" by Ibn Duqmāq, but it will be found under the heading قيسارية المحلى⁷ as سوق الغرابيين والعطارين; also he describes the mart of the oil-merchants⁸ as being between the مربعة العطارين and the حملون of the linen merchants: and finally gives a list of the nine Masjids between the مربعة العطارين and the حدادين. There is still a lane الحدادين in Miṣr⁹.

We have a letter addressed in Arabic character to an Ibrāhīm in this Sūq al-'attārīn at Miṣr¹⁰, and another with the words الفسطاط مربعة العطار in the direction¹¹; also there is a MS. mentioning בסוק אלעטארין אלשיך בו אלפכר אלמתכסך, probably of the year A. D. 1215¹². The person treated with is אלשיך ברכאת אלעטאר בו סער, another perfumer.

One document gives a shop on the סוק אלעטארין¹³ in Miṣr: this is another mart unmentioned by Ibn Duqmāq, unless

¹ T-S. 16. 117.

² T-S. 16. 65.

³ IV, p. 32.

⁴ IV, p. 80.

⁵ IV, p. 52.

⁶ Under Darb Bādi, IV, p. 25.

⁷ IV, p. 37.

⁸ ויארין, IV, p. 33; see also IV, p. 26, line 23.

⁹ See no. 18 on the French plan mentioned in note 1, p. 2.

¹⁰ T-S. 10 J 81.

¹¹ A MS. as yet unplaced.

¹² T-S. 10 J 51.

¹³ T-S. 12. 777.

it be the same as the עטארין, both terms being used for spiceries.

Of the *אליאיתין* סוק mentioned above, we have one notice in a long and careful description which, unfortunately, is very mutilated. It runs thus¹:—

... אלדאר איתי אלנצה מן גמיעה לזונת ... שקיקהא יעזרו קרושינו
ואלרבע אלבאקי מנהא ללשיך אבו סעד בן טיבאן ישצו כל דלך משאע
גיר מ[קסום] ... אלמסלוך מן דלך אלי סוק אליאיתין אלקדימה וחמאמי
אליאיתין ואלמעארינ ודאר אללרז ומרבעה אלצ בסכן
אלקאצי תקא אלדולה אבי עבר אללה אלחסין בן צדקה בן אבי אלודאר
אלמעל ב. . . . [בא] באתאלת יתועל אליה מן אלוקאק אלמקאבל לחמאם
אליאיתין אלכאלין לקאעתה מערופה בטאחון אלועפראן קרימא
אלפאצל דלך פי מא בינהא ובין אלדאר אלמס[תנז?] . . . אללרז אלפאצל
פי מא בינה ובין סאחה אלטריק וקאק אללואזין ופי הדא אל יתהי
אלי אלפנדק אלמסתנד אלמערופ בבנא אבו מליח אלנצראני . . .

This suggests that the Market and Baths of the *יאתין* were near to the *אלמעארינ*, which are described by Ibn Duqmāq², who says that the ruins of these "steps" (*מעארינ*) consisted of seven: they appear to have led down to the strand of the Nile. A further note of the same writer³ informs us that *אליהור אלסכריין* dwelt in a مطبخ⁴ which was on the right of the entrance from the مطابخ to the "Market of the Steps," and that this مطبخ was near to another which belonged to the Madrasah of ابن السكري, presumably a Jewish teacher, while another, مطبخ ابراهيم بن المستنقص اليهودي, is described as on a blind alley on the middle of the same market, and Jews dwelt there. In still a third place⁵ he describes the *Khatt' المعارج* as having six approaches, the fifth of which came from the Darb al-Lu'azzin and the

¹ T-S. 12. 66o.

² IV, p. 35.

³ IV, p. 41, last five lines.

⁴ Literally kitchen, or any place for cooking.

⁵ V, p. 38.

sixth from the *سكريين*. A document of 1244 A.D.¹ gives the following description:—

מטבך אלסכר אלדי בכט אלמעאריני פי זקאק גיר נאפר יערף בוקאק
אלסאקיה אלדי אנשאה אבו אלפצל בן תמים נע ויחיט בה חרוד ארבעה
אלאול והו אלקבלי ינתחי אלי חואנית שרף אלדין בן חליל ואלתאני והו
אלבחרי ינתחי אלי אלזקאק אלמערוף באלסאקיה ופיה ישרע[באבהא
ואלגרבי אלי זקאק רבע בן הליל ואלשרקי בעצה אלי אלזקאק אלדי הו
פיה אעוד (?) אבי אברהם בר רצון

This מטבך סכר would perhaps be the one belonging to the Madrasah spoken of above.

We have also mentioned in the extract given above² *دار الزعفران*. This mill would probably be by the *מאהון אלזעפראן* described by Ibn Duqmāq³.

These places were all on or near the Darb al-Lu'azzin, which is said by the same writer⁴ to have been in the quarter of the *עטארין*. It was to the east of a building called *قيسارية المحلى* (or *الصوف*), in which were the shops of the sellers of wool, which may supply the word *צואפין* for *..... אלע* above².

The *סוק אלחמאם* and the *סוק אלבו* are mentioned in a MS. of A.D. 1148⁵, which states that a house is situated on them both; therefore they must have been very near one another. The description is: *אלדאר אלחי באלפסטאט פי טרף סוק אלבו*. If the *סוק אלבו* may be the *سوق البزازين*, the linen-market, then that was upon the Darb al-Lu'azzin mentioned above.

For the *סוק אלחמאם* we go to Makrizi⁶. In describing the *خطة اهل الرابة*, after mentioning its connexion with the gate of the Qasr and the Hamām a-Fār, he says that it leads westerly to the Nile, and to other places; then he tells us there is an entrance to the *حمام شمول*, and that the *تربة عفان* leads from it to the Sūq al-Hamām,

¹ T-S. 20. 98.

² See p. 17, *אלדאר אלחי אלנצף*, &c.

³ IV, p. 12, see also under *رحبة دار الجوهر*, IV, p. 36.

⁴ IV, p. 26.

⁵ T-S. 12. 544.

⁶ *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. I, p. 297.

and to the gate of the Qaṣr. From Ibn Duqmāq we learn also of a zuqāq *عنان قربة* which enters the *زقاق القناديل*¹. Hamām al-Fār was on the mart *المغارة*², which was apparently somewhere south of the fortress³.

Another document⁴, of A. D. 1086, speaks of *אלבואון אלתי* *אלקיאסיר* is the plural of *قياسرة*, and doubtless refers to *المحلى* mentioned above and to another building *شبل الدولة* which, we are told, was on the *مربعة البازين*⁵.

The *סוק אלצרף* is spoken of in a long MS.⁶ which is on paper pasted together: across each join on the right-hand margin is written the word *אמת* twice to secure it against fraudulent omission of a piece. The document appears to have been made out in a shop on this market: the passage runs:—

והו אני חצרת פי סוק אלצרף עלי דכאן רב יחוקאל הדא וכנא גמאעה
יהוד וגיריהם ואנא ויחוקאל דנן נקרא פי דפתר חתי נאז אבו אלחסן
אלמתופי נע . . .

The western entrance to the *المحلى*, mentioned above, opened on to a lane leading to the *סוק אלצרף*. A *דאר אלצרף* is also noted as a place of purchase on another document⁷.

The remaining market is *סוק אלקומן*, which is spoken of in a MS. dealing with the *כניסה אלעראקין*⁸, and may therefore have been in the Qaṣr ash-Sham': but perhaps it is worthy of notice that there was a *פנוק אלקטאן* on the Darb al-Lu'azzin.

Qaṣr ash-Sham'.

While this old fortress now stands practically outside the inhabited parts which are known as Fustāt or Maṣr al-'Atīqa, it has, since the foundation of the town, always been a part thereof.

Ibn Duqmāq gives descriptions of the various houses

¹ IV, p. 14.

² IV, p. 104.

³ See Ibn Duqmāq, IV, p. 32.

⁴ T-S. 20. 110.

⁵ Ibn Duqmāq, IV, p. 38.

⁶ T-S. 20. 121.

⁷ T-S. 12. 1.

⁸ T-S. 10 J 5⁴.

and lanes and other noteworthy things in the fortress, spreading them, as it seems, impartially over his pages among those of the rest of the town, whenever they happen to occur to him.

In the documents under consideration, the name of the fortress often appears with the note adjoined that it is in Fustāt. In 750 A.D. we have a house אלתי ההנא בפסטאט מצר ¹; again, in 1094, there is another described as בפסטאט מצר בקצר אלשמע ²; in 1182 a MS. gives אלשמע ³.

This fortress has borne many titles, some of which do not belong to it. For it should not be confused with the fortress of Babylon, which is said to have been on a hill to the south, which still bears the name of Babylon⁴. It seems, however, to have been called Qaṣr ar-Rūm from early times, perhaps even before its usual appellation was acquired. This convenient term Rūm would serve equally well for any garrisons from the north, Greek, Roman, or Turk; or might originate with the Greek Christians, the Melchites, before they were ousted by the Jacobites (Coptic Christians), who betrayed their stronghold to Islam rather than let it remain in the hands of the rival Christian sect.

Ibn Duqmāq frequently styles the place Qaṣr ar-Rūm al-ma'arūf bi-Qaṣr ash-Sham⁵, and this description recurs in the Fustāt documents. We have a house described as אלשמע בפסטאט מצר בקצר אלרומ ויערף בקצר אלשמע in a document which has lost half its date but must come between 1089 and 1188 A.D.⁶, while another MS. of something like the same date evidently had the same terms⁷. The name קצר אלרומ also appears on a fragment of a marriage contract which may be somewhat earlier⁸.

A few Hebrew documents bring us another name קצר אדיום.

¹ See *J. Q. R.*, vol. XVII, p. 426.

² T-S. 13 J 2¹.

³ T-S. 12. 487.

⁴ See Lane's *Cairo Fifty Years Ago*, p. 146, and Casanova, *Noms coptes du Caire*, p. 145, both of whom quote from Makrīzi.

⁵ See his description of the Mu'allāqa, IV, p. 107. Casanova, *op. cit.*, p. 183, gives much information upon the names of the Qaṣr.

⁶ T-S. 20. 16.

⁷ T-S. 20. 17.

⁸ T-S. 12. 615.

One has the remains of a date, . . . אֶלֶף וּמֵאָתַיִם וּשְׁשׁ, which will be either 1206, or 1216, or 1260, according to taste (i.e. שש עשרה, שש, or ששים), the MS. being in Hebrew; this makes it, even taking 1260 as the date, not later than 959 A. D., and possibly as early as 895¹. The next is of the year 966 A. D. בְּפֶסְטָאֵם מִצְרַיִם בְּקֶצֶר אֲדוּם²; another of the year 969 A. D.³; and another undated⁴. This is exclusively a Jewish appellation, being the Hebrew equivalent of אֲלֻרִים⁵. The proof of identity between קֶצֶר אֲדוּם and קֶצֶר אֲלֻשְׁמֵעַ lies in the 969 MS., where the court described is in Fustāt in the Qaṣr אֲדוּם in the place which the עֲבָדָה זֶרָה call the place of Bu Sargah. Amidst all the ambiguity with regard to other Coptic churches, there seems to be only one church of St. Sergius in the neighbourhood, and that in Qaṣr ash-Sham'.

The "ghetto" of Fustāt seems to have consisted of a portion of the Qaṣr ash-Sham' and a part of the town outside the Qaṣr, mostly comprised in the district known as the Musāsa; there seems, moreover, to have been a communication between the two through the property of the Rīs al-Yahūd which was in the Musāsa.

The indication of this is given by Ibn Duqmāq in the description of the Khūkhat Khabīṣah⁶ where he says:—

هذه الخوخة بقصر الشمع فيما بين كنيسة اليهود والمسجد الأرضي هناك
ودخلها غير نافذ غير أن ريس اليهود استرق من السور بابا فتحة من داره
التي بالمصاصة يسلك منه من هذه الخوخة وسكن داخلها جماعة

"This postern is in Qaṣr ash-Sham', between the Synagogue of the Jews and the masjid al-arṣi there; and it cannot be entered unless the Rīs al-Yahūd remove stealthily from the wall a gate which he opens from his house, which is in the Musāsa . . ."

¹ T-S. 20. 85.

² T-S. 12. 462.

³ T-S. 12. 499.

⁴ T-S. 12. 641.

⁵ מלכות אדום (used in the Talmud and Midrashic literature for the "Roman Empire") is the most familiar instance of this.

⁶ IV, p. 30.

From a MS.¹ we obtain the following in the description of a house:—

... אחד אלתאלת והו אשרקי ינתחי אלי ברג מן אבראג ... קצר
אלשמע והדא אלברג יערף בכניסה אליהור

From another document comes this description²:—

אלברג (אלתי) [אלדי] הו סאכנה בפסמאט מצר בקצר אלשמע אלמלאצ
לכניסה אלע[ראקין?]

The tower or bastion of the fortress mentioned in both these cases will probably be the same. Makrizi³ simply says that the Synagogue of the Irāqians is, like that of the Syrians, on the Khatt Qaṣr ash-Sham', while Ibn Duqmāq⁴ says it is on the Zuqāq al-Yahūd near the Mu'allāqa.

It is not easy to gather up and reconcile the points suggested by these and other fragmentary references. On consulting the various plans of the Qaṣr⁵ there are shown two bastions on the south-east side and one at the corner facing south. The first MS. noticed above gives a house whose *eastern* side is next to the bastion which is called the Synagogue of the Jews, while the western side of the house abuts on the road leading by Sūq al-Kabir to various streets and the district of the Musāsa. It has a north side also on which is a fundaq (or khan).

Now while the ordinary terms *שרקי* and *גרבי* are used for east and west respectively, in Egypt the usual expressions for north and south are replaced by *בחר* (the river side) and *קבלי* (the side of the Qiblah, that is, facing Mecca): the Nile is not north but north-west of Fustāt; Mecca is not south but south-east roughly speaking; so that these terms are very loose, and may each mean anything within a quarter of

¹ T-S. 12. 694: this is an unfinished form, having blanks in the description, for instance, of the fundaq, where it says *אלימאסחור* *אלימאסחור*, after which is a space. T-S. 20. 17, which is the witnessed document, written by the same hand, is unfortunately too fragmentary to assist us.

² T-S. 12. 487.

³ *Khifaf*, vol. II, p. 464.

⁴ IV, p. 108.

⁵ See the plan in Butler's *Coptic Churches*, vol. I, and a small one given in Baedeker's *Guide*, 1902, p. 70.

the compass, and the terms for east and west seem to be intended to fill up the other two quarters. This being so, it seems quite probable that the bastion facing nearly south will be the one in question; and, indeed, this seems the only one which can have a house near it described as on the Sūq al-Kabīr. It has already been suggested that this Sūq is just outside the Mu'allaqa Gate of the Qaṣr.

The description of the Khabīṣah given above says that it is in the Qaṣr between the Synagogue of the Jews and the maṣjid al-arḑi¹ there. Ibn Duqmāq, under "Synagogue of the Syrians²," says that this Khūkhah³ is near that synagogue; while under Kanīṣah Barbāra⁴—which is a Coptic Church still remaining in the Qaṣr, north-east of the synagogue—he states that the church is near the Khūkhah Khabīṣah, and that a maṣjid separates the two: and a maṣjid al-arḑi is said in another place⁵ to be between the Khūkhah and the Kanīṣah Barbāra.

Now this gives us inside the easterly wall of the Qaṣr, starting from north-east, the Kanīṣah Barbāra, a maṣjid, the Khūkhah Khabīṣah, the Synagogue of the Syrians, then a house described below under Zuqāq Mahatt al-Laban as between the synagogues, finished by the Synagogue of the Irāqians at the south corner, on or very near the bastion.

This being so, and the Khūkhah being only approachable from the Musāsa, one is led to suppose that that district extended upwards, perhaps from some little way south of the Qaṣr, along its eastern side, that it was near the wall of the fortress, with perhaps only a row of houses adjoining the wall, and its various lanes all leading out eastwards.

There are two references to a Zuqāq (Ben) Khabīṣah among the MSS.:—

אלטבקה אלפוקאניה אלראר אלהקדש פי זקאק כביצה אלמערנוף בדאר
אבן בשר⁶

¹ Maṣjid al-mu'allaq and m. al-arḑi seem to be the respective descriptions of a mosque in an upper story and one on the ground.

² IV, p. 108.

³ A khūkhah may be a postern, or an open space between two houses.

⁴ IV, p. 107.

⁵ IV, p. 81.

⁶ T-S. 6 J 1¹.

אלמלאקה ללכניסה מן באב אלנסא אלדי פי זוקאק בן כביצה ותרער
בראר סמאנה¹

The latter describes the zuqāq as in the Qaṣr.

Of the streets and lanes in the fortress the most prominent is the Khaṭṭ Qaṣr ash-Sham'. Makrizi² speaks of this Khaṭṭ, stating that the Mu'allāqa church is upon it, and that it has zuqāqs and darbs running from it. Ibn Duqmāq³ says that there are ways from it to five places: (1) from beneath the Mu'allāqa to the Sūq al-Kabīr, (2) by Zuqāq at-Turmus to Sūq as-Sawwāfīn, (3) by Darb Mahatt al-Qurb to Sūq as-Sammākīn, (4) to the Khaṭṭ Dar al-Walaih and Hamām Būrān, (5) by Darb al-Hajar to Suaiqat Mahars Banāna.

There is a mention of the Khaṭṭ in one of the documents⁴ which speaks of a house in Fustāt Miṣr "in the Khaṭṭ Qaṣr ash-Sham' on the border of one of its lanes called Masjid al-Qubbah." This lane Ibn Duqmāq⁵ says is in the Qaṣr, and entered from the Khūkhat Khabīṣah. Under the masjids⁶ he describes "Masjid al-Qubbah⁷, that is, Qubbah Rumaniah which is a covered way": also he speaks of another masjid on the Zuqāq Masjid al-Qubbah, and of another at the end of Zuqāq Mahatt al-Laban which is said to be ذو البابين, i. e. "having two gates," the first from this zuqāq and the second from one of the zuqāqs of Masjid al-Qubbah.

Of the Zuqāq Mahatt al-Laban there are two MS. notes⁸, as follows:—

ואחזר לה ר' שבתי דנן כתב הרה אלדאר אלדי חצרנא פ אלדי בן
אלכניסתין אלמעמורתאן בבקא אדונינו וישראל ברוכים יהיו אלתי בחצרה
אלזוקאק אלמערור בוקאק אללבן אלתי נאזעה עליהא בשר בן אבונצר אלדבאנ.
אלדאר אלמערופה בהבאת קרימא אלמנאורה לדאר אבו אלחסן
אלדאבלתין פי אלזוקאק אלמערור בוקאק אללבן.

¹ T-S. 20. 96.

² *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. I, p. 288.

³ V, p. 38.

⁴ T-S. 12. 720.

⁵ IV, p. 16.

⁶ IV, p. 81.

⁷ Qubbah signifies vault: for the Saqīfat Masjid al-Qubbah, see Ibn Duqmāq, IV, p. 49.

⁸ T-S. 8 J 5⁹, 12.

Ibn Duqmāq¹ says that this lane starts where three ways meet in the Qaṣr, one of which goes by the side of Masjid Ibn al-N'amān, and another to the Darb al-Hajar which leads to the Mahars Banāna. He says it is not a thoroughfare, that a Kanisah of the Melchites (Greek Christians) is upon it at the left of the entrance, and on the right of the end is a masjid ḍu bābin. Under the description of the Kanisahs of the Christians², he gives the Church of the Lady Mary as situated on Mahatt al-Laban on the Zuqāq al-Iskandrāni upon the left of its entrance: and the next, Kanisah Firianus, is described as on the right of the end of the said zuqāq, having two gates.

The Mahatt al-Laban appears to have been connected at the crossway mentioned above with the Mahatt al-Qurb, which led to the North or River Gate of the Qaṣr, باب الحصن البحري.

One document mentions the Zuqāq al-Yahūd³, and a house situated upon it: according to the historian⁴ it was not a thoroughfare, and began on the right of the entrance from the gate of the Qaṣr from beneath the Mu'allāqa; it was so called because of the Jewish synagogue upon it. This description seems to imply that it led to the southern, or rather south-east corner, where was situated the Synagogue of the Irāqians.

The Zuqāq at-Turmus is mentioned in two MSS.⁵, the one simply speaking of a house as *בית זקאק אלתרמס במצר*, the other apparently noticing a masjid on the zuqāq, possibly the Masjid Mu'allāq noted as on that lane⁶.

On the second document which has Zuqāq at-Turmus is also mentioned a *זקאק אלתראני*⁷ which, apparently, 'was previously known as *אלעזאפה*, being in the Qaṣr. Unfortunately the MS. is very defective, but the description is worth quoting:—

¹ IV, pp. 15, 30, 45.

² IV, p. 108.

³ T-S., unclassified at present.

⁴ Ibn Duqmāq, IV, p. 15.

⁵ T-S. 12. 88, 24. 44.

⁶ Ibn Duqmāq, IV, p. 81.

⁷ T-S. 24. 44.

והרה אלדאר בפסטאט [מצר בקצר אחרום אלמער] יף בקצ[ר אלש] מע
 פי אלוקאק אלמערוף בוקאק אחראני וכאן יערף ק[דימא] מה
 באלציאפה [עלי ימנה or ישר] ה מן דכל מן באב אלקצר אלמדכור מן
 נאחיה באב אלכראטין . . . טרק ש . . י מן טרקאק . . . [אלד] אר עלי
 ימנה מן דכל פי הדא אלוקאק דאת אלבאב אלחניה ו ואלם
 . . . קילאל עלו ויחית בהדא אלדאר [יש] תמל עליה חרוד ארבעה אחר
 אלאול והו אלקבלי יתהי אלי אלדא[ר] אלמערופה [בסלאמה אליהודי
 אלקואז ואלחר אלתאני והו אל[בת] רי יתהי אלי אלדאר אלתי לאסמאעיל
 בן אברהים אלסראילי אלתאלת והו אלשרקי יתהי אלי אלסאחה אלתי
 פי אל[דא]ר אלמערופה באלחראני אלפאצלה [פימא?] בינהא ובין . . .
 [לו?] באנן ושריכהמא ואל[א] כרי תערף באבו אלכיר אליהודי ובאבן
 קרטאנה ופי [הד]א אחר ישרע ל אלמסנר . . . אלוקאק
 אלמערוף בוקאק אחרמם

As there is a lacuna before ציאפה this may not have been the name of the lane. However, neither that name (as belonging to the Qaṣr), nor חראני is found in Ibn Duqmāq. Neither does one come across the כראטין, the turners¹, except in these MSS., where, however, there are two more references, one of which makes it clear that this was a gate of the Qaṣr: באב אלכראטין אלמרוסומה בביע אלזית ואלקטאני בפסטאט מצר באב קצר אלשמע אלמערוף בבאב אלכראטין “and we entered into partnership in the shop known for the sale of oil and pots in Fustāt at the gate of Qaṣr ash-Sham’, known as the Gate of the Turners².” This is of the date A.D. 1104, while the above-quoted document is of A.D. 1102. The next has lost its date; it speaks of a house בקצר אלמערוף בקצר אלשמע פי אלוקאק אלמערוף בוקאק מכיל גיר נאפד אלמסלון מנה אלי . . . אלצקע אלמערוף בקצר אלשמע אלמערוף בוקאק מכיל גיר נאפד אלמסלון מנה אלי . . . This last gives another lane apparently unmentioned elsewhere, מכיל, not a thoroughfare. Also with regard to the אבו אלכיר אליהודי mentioned in the MS. of 1102 A.D. it is noteworthy that twenty years before, in 1082, there had been some trouble with a person of the

¹ خراط signifies turner.

² T-S. 12. 525.

³ T-S. 16. 72.

same name with regard to the synagogue of the בבליים, for he is spoken of as follows¹:—

פלמא כאן ענר אנצראף אלנאם מן בית הכנסת דכל אבי אלכיר דנן
מן אלטריק אלי אלהיכל ואכרג ספר תורה ואחרם כל מן אחרמה בגיר
&c., חק וכרג מן אלכנים . . .

In a document of the eleventh century² appears a house,
בפסטאט מצר בקצר אלרום ויערף בקצר אלשמע פי אלוקאק אלמסלוך
מנה עדה דאת אלבאבין אלדי אחרמה אלי אלשארע ואלאכר
אלי אלוקאק אלמערופ בוקאק אזהר אלשופט נע

Ibn Duqmāq states that the gate of the *زبنة ذات البابین* was on the Zuqāq at-Turmus³, and that there was an entrance to the *Khatt al-Qadim* from the lane of the *زقاق*; Under the description of the *زقاق* *زبنة ذات البابین* ⁴ *حمام ظن ذات البابین* he says that the church *الكنيسة المعروفة بالسيدة* ⁵ *زبنة ذات البابین* is there, and that the gates are from this zuqāq and the Zuqāq Mahatt al-Laban.

The Zuqāq אלשופט אזהר does not appear elsewhere, neither does the Zuqāq אלמסאכין (of the poor, or humble), which is given in the following extract from a document⁶:—

והרא אלדאר אלמרכורה בקצר אלשמע במצר פי אלוקאק אלמערופ
בוקאק אלמסאכין

Among the other localities and buildings mentioned as being in the Qaṣr ash-Sham' are the following:—

אלדאר אלתי במצר בקצר אלשמע אלדי כאנת תערף למ' יוסף בן
אברהם אלצידלאני⁷

The document in which this occurs is of the date A. D. 1094, and the name of the house was possibly very ancient; for in the document of A. D. 750⁸ the undesirable person to whom the owner of a portion of the house there

¹ T-S. 18 J 1¹¹.

² T-S. 20. 16.

³ IV, p. 15.

⁴ V, p. 40.

⁵ IV, p. 16.

⁶ T-S. 20. 87.

⁷ T-S. 13 J 2³.

⁸ See *J. Q. R.*, vol. XVII, p. 426.

described agreed *not* to transfer it was יוסף אלכנה אלצידלני בן אברהם אלמערופ בן כיש. His name had possibly remained attached to some house in the Qaṣr for some 300 years.

The next house is אלדאר אלתי לאסמאעיל בן אברהים אלאסראלי¹, mentioned in connexion with the זקאק אלהראני and the באב אלכראטין, which have been dealt with above.

On another document² are דאר בשארע אלנואנייה, דאר אלצבאג, סכן אלחלבי, דאר אלחפאר אלמערופה בדאר מימון בן כיאט אלמגריבי, דאר סמאנה (?), דאר קט . . . ללגמל. These appear all to be connected with the Synagogue of the Syrians. Another MS.³ speaking of a house on the Khatt Qaṣr ash-Sham' at the end of the lane of Masjid al-Qubbah, says that its south side adjoins אלמערופה בסכן הדרת הנגידות. In the document⁴ which names the Church of Bu Sargah a house is described with its boundaries, but the description is very mutilated. Houses are also named as being in Qaṣr ash-Sham' in a marriage contract fragment without date⁵, and in another fragment⁶, but the description of both is lost.

In another undated MS.⁷ עלי הלוי בן חסן transfers to his son (לשמואל בני הקמן) a house in a court in the Qaṣr, which, on its north side, is near the courtyard of אבו אליסר הערל (the uncircumcised), and on its western side joins the courtyard of עלי הלוי mentioned above.

In a document⁸ which speaks of משה בן יפת הפרנס הנאמן a house is described as אלמסתנדה אלעמארה ראש ה אלתי במער בקצר אלשמע. This finishes the references which are clearly connected with the Qaṣr ash-Sham'.

The Musāsa.

The first thing that is noticeable with regard to this district is that the mart called سوقة اليهود, the market of

¹ T-S. 24. 44.

² T-S. 20. 96.

³ T-S. 12. 720.

⁴ T-S. 12. 499.

⁵ T-S. 12. 615.

⁶ T-S. 12. 555.

⁷ T-S. 12. 641.

⁸ T-S. 12. 585.

the Jews, is nowhere mentioned in the documents. Ibn Duqmāq does not give it special mention, although in speaking of the Musāsa he constantly names it.

It would seem, as has been suggested above¹, that this Musāsa extended down the easterly side of Qaṣr ash-Sham' and beyond that fortress to the south, that it was almost next to the wall of the Qaṣr, and therefore its lanes mostly opened towards the east; the reasons for this assumption being that it was connected by lanes with the Sūq al-Kabīr and the Mu'allāqa Gate of the Qaṣr, and that on it was the house of the Rīs al-Yahūd, whose property extended to the wall through which he could obtain access to the Jews inside the fortress.

Ibn Duqmāq thus speaks of the Khaṭṭ المصوطة²:

"It is near the said Khaṭṭ (Qaṣr ash-Sham'), and on it are alleys and lanes and covered ways³ which will be noticed in their place, if it please God; and it has five approaches: the first enters it from Darb 'Umar from beneath Saqifa Khīra, the second from Darb al-Salsala from Tajīb, the third from the New Darb from Mahara, the fourth from Darb al-Kurma, the fifth from Mahars Banāna."

Makrīzi⁴, in speaking of the Tajīb, says:—

هذه الخطة تلى خطة مهرة وفيها درب المصوطة آخره حائط من الحصن الشرقي

"This joins the Mahara, and on it is the Darb Musāsa at the end of the eastern wall of the fortress."

He also, in giving a list of the Jewish synagogues, after stating that there is in Fustāt a synagogue on the Khaṭṭ Musāsa on Darb al-Kurma, and that there are two synagogues in the Qaṣr, says⁵:—

(كنيسة المصاصة) هذا الكنيسة يجلها اليهود وهي بخط المصاصة من مدينة مصر
ويزعمون أنهار ممّت في خلافة أمير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضى الله عنه

¹ See p. 23 above.

² V, p. 38. There are three forms of the name used, *مصاصة*, *مصاصة*, and *مصاصة*.

³ دروب وازقة وسقايف.

⁴ *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. I, p. 297.

⁵ Vol. II, p. 471.

وموضعها يعرف بدرب الكرمة وبنيت في سنة خمس عشرة وثلثمائة للاسكندر وذلك قبل الملة الاسلامية بنحو ستمائة واحدى وعشرين سنة ويزعم اليهود أن هذه الكنيسة كانت مجلسا لنبي الله الياس

The سوقة اليهود mentioned above seems to have been a portion of the Musāsa, for the زقاق ابن بكر¹ is described as having three entrances, from al-Darb al-Jadīd, Darb al-Kurma, and from Darb Abi Bakr on the Suaīqat al-Yahūd on the Musāsa, "and all these places are now in ruins." Also under the heading خوخة الفائزى² it is stated that هذه الخوخة بالمصاصة بسوقة اليهود.

This Mart of the Jews is mentioned under the headings of several of the Darbs of the Musāsa³: Salsalah, which is said to enter the suaīqah opposite the Jewish butcher's shop (حانوت مجزرة اليهود); Ibn Bakīr beside the Salsalah, at the middle of the suaīqah; al-Mu'asir, which is on the left of the entrance from the suaīqah to Darb Mahars Banāna; and this Darb Mahars Banāna, which is at the end of the Khaṭṭ al-Musāsa, and is the road from the suaīqah and Darb Ibn Bakīr.

Of most of these lanes there are notices which will be dealt with presently.

The Mahars Banāna is mentioned on a very small piece of paper which contains the following rough note and nothing besides: חבס בנאן בא אלגזירה ענר בו אסחאק בא חבס בנאן בא אלגזירה ענר בו אסחאק בא. The בא probably signifies 2½, half א being frequently used to denote ½.

Of the fragments dealing with the Musāsa district one⁴ is full of references which are of interest. One of the properties to which the deed refers is a quarter of a מאחון (water-mill). This is seemingly its description:—

והי בפסטאט מצר בכט אלממצוצה בחצרה סקיפה בן כירה שארעה אלי אלטרק אלמסלך פיה אלי אלממצוצה וחגיב ודאר אל . . ת אלקרמה ודרב עמאר ואלסוק וגיר דלך מן אלטרק ואלמאכנ אלמתו . . . צ . . א

¹ Ibn Duqmāq, IV, p. 14.

² IV, p. 26.

³ IV, p. 30.

⁴ T-S. 16. 172.

בבעץ והרה אל פי מא בין אלמאחונין אלמערופה אלאחרא המא במחאסן אלמחאן ותערף אלתאניה בסכן קאסים אבן קרי תזרי פי מלך [אבן אלנארק?] אליהודי והי תקאבל דאר תערף [קרי] מא בנלאם &c. אללה אבן אבי קרי

The vellum, as is evident, has lost much of its edges and both top and bottom: but enough remains to show that the property was situated on a lane leading perhaps through the "covered way" (סקיפה) of Ben Khīra from the Musāsa to Tajīb, another road.

The following quotation from Ibn Duqmāq¹—useful because of its mentioning again the house of the Head of the Jews—supplies information which suggests the words supplied in square brackets above:—

(سقيفة خيرة) هذه بخط المصاصة ويعرف بسقيفة خيارة وقد تقدم ذكر ذلك (سقيفة ابن الغارق) هذه يعطوها ملك ابن الغارق اليهودي المتطيب وهي أمام دار رئيس اليهود ويسلك من سفها الى باقى المصاصة وهي مشهورة فى مكانها ♦

The MS. later on mentions [אלנארק?] אבן and other places, and speaks of a certain אלחסן אבן, whose Jewish name seems to have been יפת הלוי, and אלשך אבן אלכרם אבן אלדיין.

The mills and millers that appear in the records are chiefly situated in the district of the Musāsa. In the document above we have two mills at least, the first called that of מחאסן the miller (אלמחאן), and the second the dwelling of קרי אבן קרי, and possibly a third between them belonging to אלכרם אבן אלדיין, who from an extract given below seems to have been the father of מחאסן.

There is a house of محسن بن أبي الكرام² which is near the Zuqāq الصنم, a lane which leads from the gate of the Sūq al-Kabir, near the Darb 'Umar³. This will probably be that of מחאסן the miller. There is also a letter addressed to الشيخ ابو المحاسن اليهودى which speaks of him in the text as⁴ אלשך אבן אלמחאסן בן אלמננם. Perhaps we may connect

¹ IV, p. 49.

² Ibn Duqmāq, IV, p. 23, line 3.

³ IV, p. 21.

⁴ T-S. 10 J 7¹.

him with the المنجم اليهودی described by Ibn Duqmāq under the Saqīfa¹ of that name, which he says was opposite طاحون الشريف الصبان, another mill, while the Jew after whom it was called dwelt in a shop adjoining. These may be two of the name מוחסן but they were both connected with mills.

With regard to the mill known as the סכן קאסים אבן קרי we have a Zuqāq ² ابن قري which is on the right of the entrance of the Darb 'Umar, and a فندق ابن قري also, near the Sūq al-Kabīr, the latter perhaps the same as the mill.

In the MS. quoted above (והי בפסגת מצר . . .) we have a road joining the Musāsa and Tajīb and Darb 'Umar and "the Sūq" which is probably the Sūq al-Kabīr.

In another MS.³ דאר אלמערופה בסכן חשיש אלטחאן is given as in the Musāsa and seemingly near the דאר אלמערופה בסכן שרנו ראש הקהלות.

Under Ibn Duqmāq's description of the masjids in the Musāsa⁴ we find under masjid Ibn Bakr that on the Darb of that name there was a lane leading to the houses of the بنى الخشيش, which is mentioned again under the masjid mu'allaq near by. The dwelling of חשיש אלטחאן may be one of these houses⁵.

Of the lanes and streets connected with the Musāsa the most prominent is the Tajīb, which was mostly in ruins in the time of the historians. This is not a street from the Musāsa but is joined to it by some four or five of the lanes.

Ibn Duqmāq gives a list of the eight masjids on what he calls the remaining ruins of Tajīb⁶. He speaks there of Zuqāq ⁷ ابن كمنه and of Darb السلسلة joined to Tajīb by a lane, and a حارة نجيب.

Makrīzi makes the Tajīb join the Khatt Mahara, and says that on it is the Darb المصومة at the end of the eastern wall of the fortress⁷. It was one of the oldest parts of

¹ IV, p. 49.

² IV, p. 22.

³ T-S. 16. 137.

⁴ IV, p. 81.

⁵ Another mill מואחון אלוזראן has been noted on p. 18.

⁶ IV, p. 81.

⁷ I, p. 297, see above, p. 29.

Fustāt, being named after the mother of one of the soldiers of 'Amr.

In the documents the following entries occur:—

אלראר אלתי אנא מאלכהא אלן במצר בכט תניב אלמערופה קדימא
בסכן ואלדי נע ואנבה וסמיר לה מלכתה כל חק וכל טלב וכל זכותהו
מתעין לי פי ארת דלאל אבנת אלשיך אבו עמראן אבן עס . . . ¹

The person for whom the document was drawn up was
אלשיך מוסי בן אלשיך אבו אלברכאח.

אלראר אלדי לי (אבו אלפכר אלגבאן בר סעדיה) פי זקאק אלשמש
נואר אלזריבה והי בכט תניב שרכה אבו אלפצל אלעבאג אבן אבו
אלעז אלגבאן ²

The זקאק אלשמש and the זריבה do not appear to be
mentioned elsewhere. The Tajīb was also spoken of in a
MS. dealt with above ³.

The זקאק אלשיך is thus described by Ibn Duqmāq ⁴:—
هو من جملة أزقة المصاصة يسلك اليه من الدرب الجديد من تجيب . . .
وله ثلاث مسالك من الدرب الجديد ومن درب الكرمه ومن درب أبي بكر
بسوقه اليهود بالمصاصة . . .

At the time of his writing it was all ruins.

In a document of 1203 A.D. ⁵ a property is thus spoken
of:—

אלראר אלכבירה [אלתי באלוקאק] אלמערופה ב[ז]קא[ק] בן בכיר פי
אחרי אוקתה בחצרה אלדרב אלגדיר אלמע[רופה] בסכן ז . . . אל[שי]ך
אבו אלפצל . . .

In a fragment which belongs to the thirteenth century ⁶,
mentioning אלשיך אבו אלפרנ הוא מ' וז ישועה התלמיד, and a
פי אול לוקאק אלמערופה, חננאל, some property is described as
אלמערופה, probably a house formerly called the house of
[בכיר?], this may be the same zuqāq. אבן נאטא

¹ T-S. 13 J 3²⁵, A.D. 1215.

² T-S. 8 J 6¹⁴.

³ T-S. 16. 172, see p. 30 above. See also below, T-S. 12. 562, p. 34.

⁴ IV, p. 14.

⁵ T-S. 12. 602.

⁶ T-S. 12. 483.

mentioned again in another document, and is spoken of below ¹.

To the Zuqāq מר זבאן there are two MS. references, one of A. D. 1076 ² and one of A. D. 1120 ³; the former speaks of אֶלְדָּרִין אֶלְתִּי בַמְצַר בְּאַלְמַצְאָה פִּי אֶלְקָאק אֶלְמַעְרוֹף בּוֹקָאק מֶר זֶבָאן : the latter, of which much is lost, mentions אֶלְדָּרִין אֶלְתִּין בַּפֶּסְטָט מֶצֶר דֶּאֱכֵלָה פִּי אֶלְקָאק אֶלְגִּיר נֶאֱפֵד אֶלְמַעְרוֹף בּוֹקָאק מֶר זֶבָאן.

Beside these houses the following places are named: אֶלְפֶּסְקִיָּה אֶלְתִּי פִּי וְסֵט הֶדֶא אֶלְקָאָה ; אֶלְקָאָה אֶלְסֶפֶלִי דֶּאֱת אֶלְמִנְלֵם ; אֶלְדָּרִי אֶלְגִּנֹּל ; אֶלְמַמְצוֹה ; אֶלְדָּרִי אֶלְצִנְרִי מִן הָאֶתִּין אֶלְדָּרִין ; אֶלְכּוֹזִין ; אֶלְדָּרִי אֶלְגִּנֹּל (on the south of the houses) ; דֶּאֱר כֶּאֱנֵת תַּעְרָף בֶּאֱבִן קֶטֶאִי ; תִּנְיִב ; אֶלְכֶּרֶאב אֶלְמַעְרוֹף ; אֶלְ . . . (on the north) ; אֶלְמַעְרוֹפָה בְּאַלְאֶשְׂרָאָה ; אֶלְחֶמָמִי מֶר זֶבָאן (on the east) ; and apparently the lane מֶר זֶבָאן on the west separating between the houses and אֶלְדָּרִי . אֶלְמַעְרוֹפָה כֶּאֱנֵת בֶּאֱבִן וְלִיר אֶלְכּוֹזִין.

Ibn Duqmāq, speaking of زقاق زيان ⁴, says that it begins opposite the Masjid العيش ; that it formerly penetrated into the Suaiqat al-Āshraf, but did not in his day. He does not mention the Musāsa.

Other mention is made of a majlis (assembly) in the documents: one says ⁵ פִּי סֵלֶם בֶּאֱקֶרֶק ק פִּיָּה מֶר זֶבָאן , and, מֶר זֶבָאן , פִּי וְסֵט סֵלֶם יוֹצֵעַ אֶלִּי מֶר זֶבָאן

A small piece of paper ⁶ reads:—

וְאַלְדֶּהֱלִיזִין וְאַלְקָאָה אֶלְסֶפֶל דֶּאֱת אֶלְמִנְלֵם . . . וְבֶאֱבִן מֶסְדִּיר וְדֶאֱת אֶלְצֶקָאָה אֶלְתִּלָּת . . . פִּי אֶלְקָאק אֶלְנֶאֱפֵד בֶּאֱן אֶלְמֶסְדִּיר מִן דֶּכֶלָה מֶר נֶאֱחִיָּה אֶלְמַמְצוֹה

The note of Makrīzi on the synagogue in the Musāsa already quoted ⁷ informs us that the Jewish tradition was that this synagogue was the مجلس of the Prophet Elias.

There was a house named קָאָה (אֶלְמַעְרוֹפָה) אֶלְדָּרִי אֶלְמַדְכּוֹרָה

¹ See p. 37, line 8.

² T-S. 16. 5.

³ T-S. 12. 562.

⁴ IV, p. 18.

⁵ T-S. 8. 243.

⁶ Without class-mark at present.

⁷ See above, p. 29.

(קאעה), as appears from a document¹ which seems to describe it as being בוסק אלכביר באלסרייה פי צדד הדא אלוקאק (קאעה) אבו אלמחאסן זין. This had been the dwelling of אבו אלמחאסן and was in the part possession of אבו אלמחאסן . . . אלשיך אבו אלמכארם, יוסף אלשראבי, אללוי אלזיאת ידוע בן גלאב.

There is said to be a place called قاعة ابن الزيد upon the Hart بن الزيد which adjoins the Sūq Barbar, and which is on or near the Zuqāq زيان²; but as קאעה may signify courtyard or place it may be a general term here. These, however, if not the same, must have been very near one another. One may note the tank described as "אלפסקיה which is in the middle of this קאעה"³, and that the term דהלז used at the beginning of the quotation means a portico or vestibule.

Of אלכזאן⁴ (the repositories, the magazines) we may have another note in זאוויה אלסרלא נאגם mentioned in connexion with the house of the Head of the Captivity in the Musāsa⁵.

אלדאר אלגול. This house is described as אלדאר אלגול in one document⁶, and in the quotation above simply אלקרימה⁷. It is spoken of by Ibn Duqmāq twice⁸, as being separated from a masjid by القبة الخضراء and as having on its western side the ملك بن سيف zuqāq. The Sūq of the same name is described as being separated from Mahars Banāna by the place of دار الولاية⁹.

There is another document speaking of אלמערופה¹⁰ אלמחלה which may possibly refer to the same house: on the same MS. are אלמבארך אל . . . אלמחלה.

¹ T-S. 16. 117.

² Ibn Duqmāq, IV, p. 13, and p. 84, line 16.

³ See above, p. 34, line 9. قَسْقِيَّة = piscina, and signifies a tank or basin, primarily for the ablution before prayer known as وُضُوء, but afterwards used for any tank.

⁴ Ib., line 10.

⁵ T-S. 16. 137; see above, p. 32, line 15.

⁶ T-S. 8. 150.

⁷ From T-S. 12. 562; see p. 34, line 10.

⁸ IV, pp. 24, 34.

⁹ IV, p. 36.

¹⁰ T-S. 12. 50.

زقاق الشريف [?דר] ב אלשריף, אלממל עלי אלכליג near the masjid مرسل mentioned above ¹. The מסנר אללימונה does not appear in Ibn Duqmāq.

...². In the reference given this place or house is stated to be north of a house of which the south border is דאר אבן קמאף and the east כראב אבן כראב with מר זבאן on the west apparently, separating the house from אלכמאן. In another MS.³ the דאר אלשרף is on the north of a house of which the south side adjoins אלנאמאן עבר אלדאר, the east a road to the במונה and the west אלסמט בן אלסמט. This house is described as in Fustāt in במונה on the road leading to אלנאמאן and אלסיסבאמין. Ibn Duqmāq notes a سقيفة⁴ which was on the right of the two entrances from Sūq Barbar to Suaiqat Nuām. A suaiqat⁵ is spoken of under the زقاق into which that lane used to enter, but did not in the historian's day.

is spoken of in a document of A.D. 1261 ⁶ in the following manner:—

רובע הרירה אשר מעכשו אלרי הי בכט אלממוצוה במצר דאכל דרב
יערף בררב אלמקאדסה

Ibn Duqmāq describes the Darb as being على يسرة السالك and that the Darb as-Salsalah was on the right of the entrance of this Darb into the Suaiqat al-Yahūd. The house with which the document deals is called אלנאריה: and may seem to have some connexion with a ruined part described by Ibn Duqmāq, called the كوم الجراح⁶, which was immediately south of the Suaiqat Nuām spoken of above. Another MS.⁷ apparently speaks of this كوم in 1214 A. D. when two owners of houses agree to build a strong gate upon the place: וחיץ פסאלאן יכון

¹ IV, p. 24.

² T-S. 13 J 3^o.

³ T-S. 12. 549 with 564.

⁴ T-S. 13 J 4¹⁴.

⁵ See above, p. 34, line 12.

⁶ IV, p. 47.

⁷ IV, p. 53.

رحبة,¹ رحبة كرم الجارح. A. אלבאב עלי אלמוצע אלנארי and موضع both meaning a spacious area, a piazza.

There is one document which is full of detail, although it is badly written on a narrow strip of vellum not more than 3 cm. wide²:—

מ יצחק הנקרא זין ביר אברהם נע ואלדתך שרה בת יהודה נע זונה מ שמואל ביר יהושע החבר זל ידיע בן עלי אלרבע מן גמיע אלדאר אלתי פי מהרם עמאר אכתה ען ואלדה אלדי ענר אלד[רב] אלגנרד אלכשאריא אלתי בחצרה אלמסנר אלמערופ במסנר חנה דאת אלקאעה אלספל ואל ו מסאכן אלעאלי ואלמסתוקאת ואלעמדה אלקצאר ואלסלי אלכשב ואלדראכון אלבשר דאת אלבאב אלרי אחרהמא מן אלוקאק אלמערופ באבן דלימה ואלתאני הו אלשארע עלי אלטריק אלמרכול מנה אליה אלמוקאבל אלמסנר חנה אלעשר אלכבר מן סיון אתמב

³ זקאק אבן בכיר was called one of the lanes of אלדרב אלגנרד and it communicated with the Musāsa by that zuqāq. Possibly אלכשאריא refers to the house, and means the same as that described in the following⁴: תלת דאר ענר פנרק: אלדבהי שרכת בן אכתהא וקירמין וחכתיין שרכה כואתהא אלדאר אלדבהי שרכת בן אכתהא וקירמין וחכתיין שרכה כואתהא אלדאר אלכשאריא. There was a دار تبر الاخشيدي which belonged to Abi Bakr Maḥmud bin 'Alī and was on the رحبة اشهب.

The זקאק אבן בכיר, and the מהרם עמאר recorded in the document may be found under the heading زقاق أبي دلامة⁵, where it says that the zuqāq is entered from the شارع⁶, and is open to the محرس عما, and these latter are spoken of as coming the westerly one from Tajīb and the eastern from Mahara⁶. We have here the name חנה (pilgrimage) given seemingly to the masjid on the Zuqāq Dalāma, while the historian only records that there is one there.

The few lanes and places of the town which are outside

¹ Ibn Duqmāq, IV, p. 36.

³ See above, p. 33, line 22.

⁵ Ibn Duqmāq, IV, p. 24.

² Not yet classed.

⁴ T-S. 10 J 7¹⁰ (2).

⁶ IV, p. 29.

the Qasr and not in the district of the Musāsa as far as can be seen, must now be recorded with less attempt at order.

אלכרייה. This is spoken of in three MSS.¹, one of which gives אלדאר אלתי במצר באלכרייה and the other two mention it in intimate connexion with the Sūq al-Kabīr. The زقاق المنم ("lane of the mistress")² is said to begin from the gate of the Sūq near the Darb 'Umar, and is so named from a concubine of Pharaoh سرية فرعون; while in the enumeration of masjids³ there is a درب السرية mentioned as near the Darb 'Umar.

A درب אלכתב is spoken of⁴ which one may perhaps identify with the درب المكتب⁵ which was on the right of the entrance from Mahars Banāna to the Hamām as-Saidah.

A دار אלשיך אלأسعد⁶ may be upon the Zuqāq بن الأسعد الغطيط where was that person's house.

A باب אלخوتما⁷ may perhaps be referred to the description of the قيسارية ابن ميسر الكبرى which was on the Sūq Wardān. This is said to have been a Waqf and the written waqf was nailed to its gate, and it goes on to say ثم وقعت عليها الخوطة السلطانية.

There is also one notice of the כללי בני יל⁸.

These notes, rough as they are, may serve to further the researches of others into the history of the Jews in Egypt. There are a few other references, too vague to be included among them, and in the quotations given houses and localities have been passed over in silence because the historians do not appear to mention them. A few of the MSS. referring to the synagogues should be interesting to an Arabic expert, and of course there will be numerous documents in the collection that give other details which will have escaped an unpractised eye.

¹ T-S. 12. 552, 12. 694, and 16. 117.

² Ibn Duqmāq, IV, p. 21.

³ IV, p. 80.

⁴ T-S. 12. 605.

⁵ Ibn Duqmāq, IV, p. 26.

⁶ T-S. 13 J 3²⁶, Ibn Duqmāq, IV, p. 18.

⁷ T-S. 8. 101, Ibn Duqmāq, IV, p. 38.

⁸ T-S. 8. 130.

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