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Volume 73



Institute for the History of
Arabic-Islamic Science

Edited by
Fuat Sezgin

ISLAMIC
GEOGRAPHY

Volume 73

Texts and Studies on the
Historical Geography and Topography of Palestine
Collected and reprinted

First Part

1993

Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science
at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University
Frankfurt am Main

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Volume 73

TEXTS AND STUDIES ON THE
HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY
OF PALESTINE

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Edited by
Fuat Sezgin

in collaboration with
Mazen Amawi, Carl Ehrig-Eggert,
Eckhard Neubauer

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Der Rector

der Universität zu Leipzig

M. Friedrich Bülow

ladet ein

zur Feier des Pfingstfestes

durch

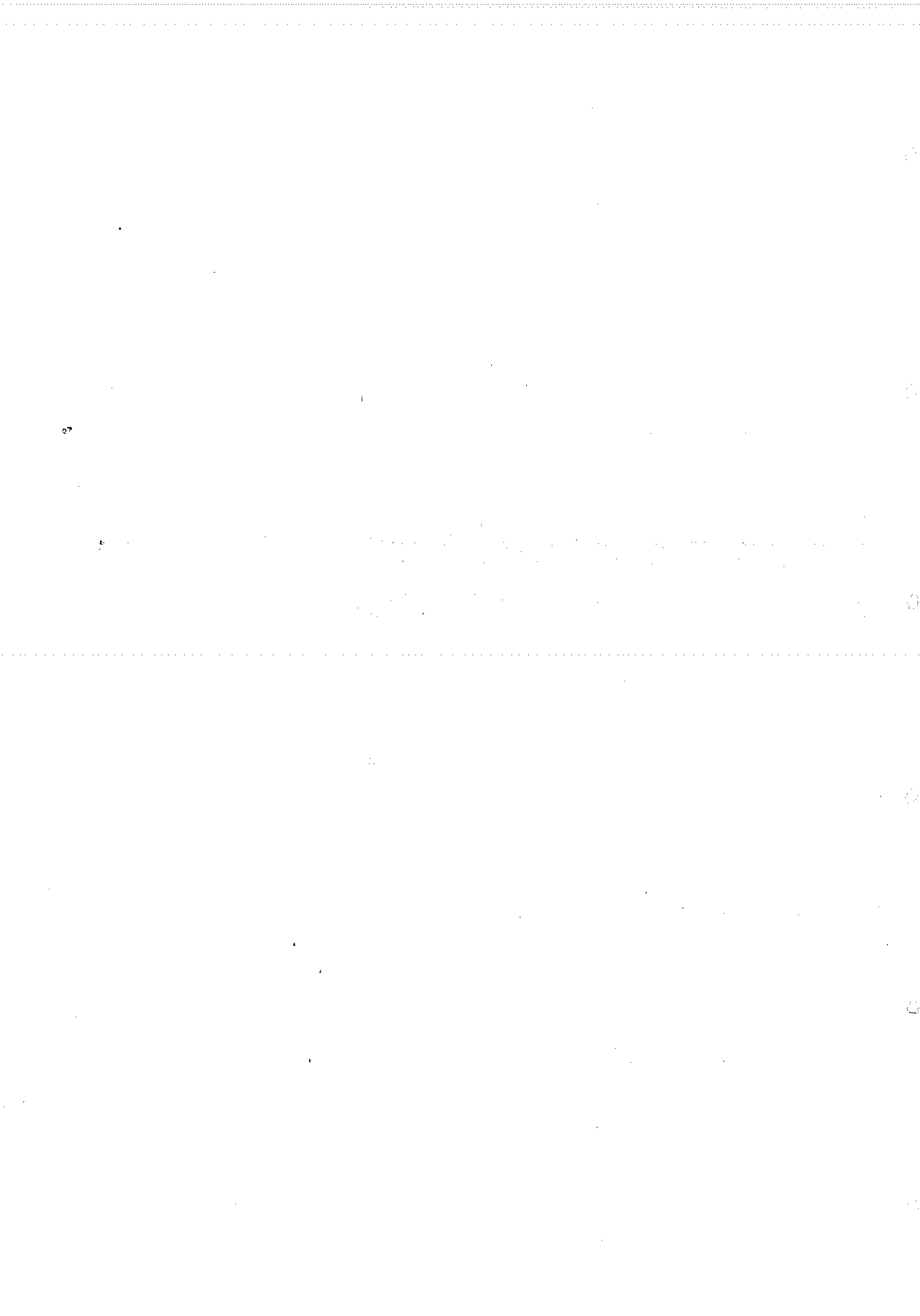
D. Friedrich Tuch,

d. Z. Decan der theol. Facultät.

Reise des Sheikh Ibrähim el-Khijäri el-Medeni durch einen Theil Palästina's.

Leipzig 1850.

Druck von W. Vogel, Sohn.



Unter den Bemühungen gelehrter Araber um die Länderkunde bilden die Reisen eine im Ganzen noch unvollständig gekannte besondere Classe, deren Reichthum und Nutzen sich annähernd nach dem beurtheilen lässt, was wir den Arbeiten *de Sacy's*, *Quatremère's*, *Kosegarten's*, *Dozy's*, *Defrémery's* u. a. verdanken. Stehen zwar alle hierher gehörenden Reisenden mit moslemischer Bildung auf dem Standpunkte moslemischer Betrachtung, so bleibt doch der Gewinn, den aus ihnen wie die Länderkunde des dem Islām ergebenen Orients im Allgemeinen, so auch die biblische Wissenschaft zieht, ein bedeutender schon darum, weil sie meist in einer Zeit ihre Beobachtungen niederschrieben, als christliche Beobachter nur spärlich in die betreffenden Länder kamen; und selbst noch die jüngeren haben den grossen Vortheil vor europäischen Forschern voraus, dass ihnen als Bekennern des Islām ebenso der Zutritt zu Allem was dem Christen zu betreten verwehrt ist offen stand, als sie der Gebrauch der eigenen Muttersprache unter den Eingeborenen befähigte, Namen richtig zu hören und wiederzugeben, Erkundigungen einzuziehen u. a. m.

Die Herzogliche Bibliothek zu Gotha enthält mehrere solcher Reisewerke, von denen ich namentlich zwei näher prüfen zu können neuerdings die erwünschte Gelegenheit fand. — 1) Die mit Nr. 307. bezeichnete Handschrift enthält auf 102. nicht eben schön, aber leserlich geschriebenen Blättern das *كتاب رحلة الشتاء والصيف للسيد الشريف ... السيد محمد بن عبد الله الحسيني الموسوي* d. i. *Winter- und Sommerreise des Sejid Mohammed ben 'Abd-Allah el-Hoseini el-Müsawi*, der zu Anfange des 17. Jahrh. n. Chr. von *Medinah* über *Muweilih*, *Aqabeh* und durch die *Wüste et-Tih* über *Adsherüd* nach *Qahirah* ging, von *Alexandrien* aus zu Schiffe nach *Constantinopel* fuhr und von dort auf dem Landwege über *Haleb*, *Hamâh*, *Damaskus* der syrischen Pilgerstrasse folgend nach *Mekkah* zurückkehrte. Seine Darstellungen sind einfach, aber verziert mit zahlreichen Dichtersprüchen aus allen Zeitaltern, desgleichen erweitert durch Auszüge aus Geschichtschreibern und Geographen, die namentlich über Aegypten auch dem Erklärer des A. T.'s viel brauchbares Material an die Hand geben. Schon *Seetzen* machte in *v. Zach's mon. Corr.* 1809. II. S. 228. auf dieses Reisewerk aufmerksam und *Dr. Müller* charakterisirte es im Katalog S. 90 ff. durch Auszüge näher.

Mehr noch zog mich — 2) die weniger bekannte, mit Nr. 306. bezeichnete Handschrift an. Der Titel lautet: *رحلة الشيخ الفاضل العلامة الفهامة الشيخ ابراهيم بن الشيخ عبد الرحمن البخاري* Die Handschrift enthält 315. Blätter in Quart; ist sauber, obschon nur mässig correct, von zwei Schreibern geschrieben, über welche eine Randbemerkung Fol. 240. vrs. die Auskunft giebt, dass der im Texte genannte *محمد بن سليمان بن ابراهيم الجيني* einen Theil geschrieben habe, derselbe, von dem hin und wieder einzelne Bemerkungen und Berichtigungen, stets durch *ابراهيم الجيني* unterzeichnet, am Rande beigegeben sind. Nach der zum Theil unlesbar gemachten Unterschrift ist das Msc. i. J. 1104 d. Fl., am 13. d. Rab' I. (= 1692 n. Chr. am 11. Nov.) vollendet.

Vom Verfasser wissen wir nur so viel, als das vorliegende Werk erkennen lässt. Nach dem Titel führte er den Namen *Sheikh Ibrâhim ben esh-Sheikh 'Abd er-Rahmân el-Khijâri*, gewöhnlich *Ibrâhim el-Khijâri* genannt, wobei ich nur noch bemerke, dass in zahlreichen Versen durch das Metrum die Form *el-Khijâri* (الخيارى), nicht *el-Khaijâri* (الخيارى), sicher gestellt ist. Ursprünglich stammte er aus Aegypten (المصرى الاصل), führte aber den Beinamen *el-Medeni*, d. i. der Medinenser, weil er *Khatib*, d. h. Prediger, an der *Mosquée des Propheten* zu Medineh war. Auf dem Schmitte ist das Buch genannt: رحلة الشيخ ابراهيم الخيارى الدنى. Nach der Zusatzbemerkung auf dem Titel: مات رحمه الله سنة ١٠٨٣ بالمدينة المنورة starb der Verfasser i. J. 1053 d. Fl. (= 1672 n. Chr.) zu Medineh.

Was die Reise *el-Khijâri's* anlangt, so berichtet er, dass er *Medineh* am 22. Moharram d. J. 1050 d. Fl. (= 1669 n. Chr. am 11. Juni) verlassen habe. Anschaulich und genau beschreibt er den langen und bei der Gewalt des 'arabischen Sommers nicht beschwerdelosen Weg über *Tebûk*, den Pass *Dhahr el-'Aqabeh*, *Ma'ân*, *'Oneizeh*, und bringt manche Einzelheiten über das Ostjordanland bei, welches er von *el-Hassâ* über *el-Qatrâni*, *el-Mefraq*, *el-Mozeirib* (المزيريب), *el-Kuteijibeh* (الكتيبة), *ess-Ssanamein*, *dhû-n Nûn* und *el-Kusiceh* auf der Pilgerstrasse bis nach *Damaskus* durchzog. Hier langte er am 25. Ssafar (= 14. Juli) an. Am 13. Rabi' I. (= 1. August) verliess er *Damaskus* wieder und ging über *Hums*, *Hamâh*, *Antiochien* und *Mopsueste* (مصبس) nach *Constantinopel*, wo er am 23. Rabi' II. (= 9. Sept.) ankam und nach einer weiteren Reise durch die europäische Türkei längere Zeit sich aufhielt. Erst i. J. 1051 (= 1670 n. Chr.) im September begann er die Rückreise, die ihn abermals über *Hamâh* und *Hums* nach *Damaskus* führte, welches ihn bei seinem zweiten Aufenthalte 24 Tage fesselte. Am 15. Redfheb (= 17. November) verliess er es, um Aegypten zu besuchen, und folgte der grossen Strasse durch Palästina über *Quncitrah* und *el-Ledshâfshûn* nach *er-Ramleh*. Hier trennte sich die Reisegesellschaft. Während ein Theil derselben geraden Weges nach *Sodûd* (سدد = سدد) und *Ghazzech* ging, nahm *el-Khijâri* mit einem andern Theile seinen Weg über *Qarjet el-'Anab* nach *Jerusalem*, dessen moslemische Heiligthümer er sehr ausführlich beschreibt. Von *Jerusalem* wandte er sich nach *Bethlehem*, besuchte *Qafat el-Burak* mit den Teichen, und weiter *el-Khalil* oder *Hebron*. Hier sind es die wieder sehr ausführlich beschriebenen Patriarchengräber und die übrigen heiligen Orte, wie das Grab des Propheten *Jona* in dem Dorfe *Halhûl* (حلحول = حلحول Jos. 15, 58.), welchen er seine Aufmerksamkeit widmet. Von *Hebron* ging er nach *Beit Dfhebrin* und *Ghazzech*, und folgte nun der Heerstrasse nach *Qâhîrah*. In Aegypten hielt er sich vom 13. Sha'bân bis zum 24. Shawwâl (= 15. Dec. 1670 — 23. Febr. 1671) auf, durchzog dann über *'Adfherud* die Wüste *et-Tih* nach *Qafat 'Aqabeh* und folgte der ägyptischen Pilgerstrasse über *el-Moweilih*, *el-Haurâ* u. s. w. nach *Medineh*, woselbst er am 28. des dhû-l-Qa'deh (= 25. März 1671) nach einer Abwesenheit von etwas mehr als 21 Monaten des Sonnenjahrs wieder anlangte. — Da nun der Verfasser nach der oben erwähnten Zusatzbemerkung schon im J. 1672 n. Chr. starb, so ist die Abfassung des vorliegenden Werks sehr genau bekannt.

El-Khijâri war, wie dies schon die äussere Stellung im Leben erforderte, ein nach moslemischen Begriffen von Bildung gelehrter Mann. Die Länder, die er besuchte, kannte er, aber nur nach der einheimischen Litteratur. In seinen Darstellungen beschränkt er sich, und dies halte

ich für einen Vortheil, auf die Anschauungen, welche er durch unmittelbare Kenntnissnahme oder mittelbar durch Erkundigungen gewonnen hatte. Die moslemischen Heiligthümer fesseln seine Aufmerksamkeit ganz besonders, und nach den Vorschriften des Islām (s. Zeitschr. d. D. M. G. III. S. 179.) weilt er gern bei den geweihten Grabstätten und erzählt hierbei manches über die Heroen vergangener Jahrhunderte, wie sich die Erinnerungen unter dem Volke erhalten haben. Zugleich sucht er in den Hauptstädten die Celebritäten seiner Zeit auf, und wie diese ihn sehr feiern, so berichtet er über eine Reihe gelehrter Männer des späteren 'Araberthums, deren Namen noch jetzt in gutem Andenken sind. Ebenso ist sein Styl eine im Ganzen glückliche Nachahmung der alten Classicität, wiewohl fast unvermeidbar neu 'arabische Ausdrücke, vulgär 'arabische Formen, selbst einzelne türkische Wörter, wie *كبرى die Brücke*, *بغاز der Engpass*, mit untergelaufen sind. Seine Vortragsform ist die bekannte höhere, welche zwischen Poësie und Prosa schwebend sich des Reims, der Allitteration und des Wortspiels gern bedient, kühnere dichterische Bilder nicht verschmüht und zahlreiche Erinnerungen aus dem Qorān, aus der Tradition und aus Dichtern, besonders Hariri, in die Rede verwebt. Dazu ist die Einkleidung geschmückt mit einer grossen Anzahl oft äusserst zierlicher Verse eigener und fremder Dichtung, früherer und späterer Zeit.

Die nachfolgend in Text und Uebersetzung gegebene Probe enthält die erste Hälfte von el-Khijāri's Reise durch Palästina, von Damaskus aus nach dem zweiten Aufenthalte daselbst bis *er-Ramleh*, Fol. 237. Z. 7. — Fol. 240. Z. 2. der Handschrift. Umfassendere Auszüge beabsichtige ich in Verbindung mit Mohammed ben 'Ahd-Allah's oben genanntem Reisewerke und Medfhr ed-din's Beschreibung palästinensischer Städte an einem andern Orte nachfolgen zu lassen.

1. el-Khijāri's Reise von Dimafiq nach er-Ramleh.

وكانت مغارتنا يوم السبت خامس عشر رجب الفرد الحرام من ذلك العام، وخرجنا منها قاصدين البيت المقدس والمقام الاتس، فمررنا بعد مغارتها على بساتين، ذات الشمال واليمين، وقد ذُعبت أوراقها، وراى للعين اشراقها، وقد سمعت من بعض فضلائهم انهم يسمون هذه الايام ايام الذعبيات لاصفرار اوراق الاشجار بها، فلم نزل سائرين قاصرين للخطواتين، عمدنا في مغارتها من السهو، فقدم في البعد عنها رجلا وتوخر أخرى، ونرى ان المقام بها ¹⁾ للصبر واخرى، لما جذبتني من لطف شمائل اعمالها، ودعاني لعل مياحها بعد نهلها، الى ان وافينا اول المنازل من تلك الجهة المقصودة البسي دارنا فاذا هو منزل عامر، به البساتين النواضر الزواجر، ومعنا جماعة من الفضلاء، وجم منظرنا الطراف النبلا، انسونا بحلاوة الغاظهم وانواقهم، وسحرنا بسحر الحاظهم واحداقهم، ثم وقعونا للغراق اثنا الليل، خشية ان نسير في باقيه وننضم الذبل، فالتنا لهدم السهاد، وقتنا لبيبتهم مرارة البعاد، ورزنا بيذا المنول قيصوا به شعيرات منها قبر العبد الصالح ²⁾ ابو سليمان الداراني احد المشاهير من رجال الرسالة القشيرية فتبركنا بربارته وقرانا عنده ما تيسر، ودعونا بما تسنى وتسهل، ومنها قبر الزجل الشهير وهو ابو مسلم الخولاني احد التابعين او هو اخوه ابو

1) In der Handschrift fehlt hier ein Wort, wie اختلف. Die Lücke am Ende der Zeile ist noch besonders durch ein auf dem Rande stehendes كذا hervorgehoben.

2) So in der Handschrift statt انى.

انزيس على خلاف في النقل ورجح الثاني بان الاول بمخدر يقال له غباغب بالقرب من محل يسمى الصنين تربة الحجاج عند دخولنا الى الشام ، وبها قبر ثالث يتبرك بزيارته ايضا يقال انه قبر نبي من انبياء بنى اسرائيل يقال له حزيقيل زلفه ايضا ودعونا عنده كالاولين ، ثم لم نزل بيا بايتين ، وعندنا من الشوق المغير المقعد الى ان ذهب ثلثا الليل ، ثم عكمت الرحال ، ووجب الترحال ، فسرتنا في امان الله وحفظه نظوي من الارض اماكن ذات مياه واطيان ووحول ، تؤذن بالمشقة وتلزم (3) الممر بالسهولة النكول ، الى ان قارب وقت الظير فوصلنا للمنزل الثاني المسمى بمسرع فاذا عومر منزل مختصر الاكناف به خان عامر ومسجد حسن قائم بناهما ، فابقف وضعنا ، وتكيتة عامرة جاريا بعض المرتب ويتبطن المنزل نهر عذب يتلوي في غصونه فمن ثمة يسمى بالاعوج ، وهو مشهور بطيب الماء وعذوبته حتى ينقل منه لبعض رؤساء الشام ماء للشرب ، فلم نزل به كذلك الى ان كاد الفجر ان يبتك جباب الظلما ، وتبدوا عيون البرعر (4) بالنهار انجما ، فاخذنا في الرحيل وسرنا نظوي من الارض ارضا ذات احجار كبار ، يصعب السير فيها بكل اعتبار ، حتى لو كانت من الذهب المسكوك ، لعر على سالكها السلوك ، ترتعش فيها الجمال ، وعلينا الاجال ، وقد سلمنا الله تعالى ولطف بنا من وقوع المطر فانه يقال ان عاتيك المشقة بيا تتصاحف ، وان اطيانها تنكشف ، وان لا عاصم من الوقوع الا لطف الله ، فلم نزل كذلك الى ان قطعنا نصف الطريق ثم سهل الامر بعض السهولة فوصلنا الى المنزل المقصود المسمى بالقنيطرة فوصلنا بعد وجوب فرض الظير بنحو ساعة فاذا منزل متسع اجيانت ، مختصر العرصات ، به مسجد عامر وخان قائم البنا ، ضامر السننا ، ولكتنا لم ننزله كآذى قبله لنزولنا باخيام واقمنا به والنفوس منشرحة بسياج رحابه ، وامراع جنابه ، والاعين لاحظة ذلك المراه الحسن ، مستعدبة نسيه العليل الداعي للوسن ، الى ان طلع الفجر فادينا فرينته ثم استبرينا الى ان بدا حاجب الشمس ، ثم سرنا غير بعيد فاذا جبل عال وفي اعلاه قبة مرتفعة على عين المار يقال انها قبر رجل من اعدل البيت يقال له ابر النداء يتبرك بزيارته ، ويقال انه على رضى الله عنه وانه اخفى بتكنيته بذلك ، ثم سرنا في طريق سهل ساعة او ساعتين ، ثم عاد لنا طريق صعب انسانا ما قاسيناه امس من المشقة فانه ذو منعطفات مرضوم بالحجارة الكبار ، المؤذنة بالوقوع والعتار ، ولا يستطيع المشى فيها الا كل قوى من الرجال والجمال ، طريق ما اصعب من طريق ، ومشتق يمارى فيه شقيقه الشفيق ، به رسوم من اخراب ، ونوه نعب بيا للبين غراب ، يقال انها منازل بنى اسرائيل غادرها الدعر اثرا بعد عين ، ولم نزل الى ان وجب فرض الظير واذا عقبه مغرشة بالحجر المنحوت يربد طولها على المعتاد من العقبات ، ويقال ان الذي فرش ذلك الحجر بها عومر رضوان بيبك امير الحاج المصرى سابقا ، فلم نزل ننحط من اعاليها في عبوط الى ان وافينا اسفلها فاذا نهر جار وعليه كبرى مستطيل بعض الطول يقال له على السنتم نهر يعقوب ، عدا عومر والد سيدنا يوسف على نبينا وعليه الصلاة والسلام ، ويقال ان عدا النهر ينصب في بحيرة طرية ، وبالقرب منه الجب البيوسى الذى العى فيه سيدنا يوسف ، وعند عدا الجسر ينزل المسافرون وبه نزلنا واقمنا الى ان بقى نحو الثلث الاخير ، ثم سرنا ارضا صعبة المسالك قريبة المهالك بين احجار كبار ، وزلق من آثار امطار ، والسماء تجويد بوبلها ثم تعقبه بطيها ، ثم (5) [مرنا] بعقبات تشبه عقبات الطريق الرومية حتى لاج لنا اثنان العائم البنا المشرى السننا واذا عند بابها على يمين داخله الجب البيوسى مبنى بالحجارة المنحوتة خال سفله مقام على عقود وفي اعلاه قبة مرتفعة ذات اركان اربعة وايواب كذلك والقبة فرى الجب تمنع سقوط المطر وحموه بيا ، وقد ملئ لنا من مائه بدلوا عننا فشرينا منه ماء عذبا حلوا

3) So fehlerhaft die Handschrift.

4) Handschrift بالنهر.

5) Das Wort fehlt.

باردا ، وبجانب البئر مسجد لطيف ، والخان الملاصق لذلك فيه اماكن خربة ، وبالعرب من ذلك محل يعال انه قبر
الذى اخرج سيدنا يوسف من الحب ، والبلاد جميعها بلاد كنعان وبعد مجاوزة الحب مرزنا باماكس صعبة ونجا
عقبة كورن جاوزنا سايرين وانتينا بعدعا الى المنزل المقصود المسمى بالمنية فاذا عو منزل محصر الجهات والاحا ،
يعذب فيه الممام ويطيب الهوا ، وعو بشاطى بحرة طبرية بحرة كبيرة متسعة الجهات لا يحيط البصر باطرافها ينصب
فيها على ما بلغنى انهار كثيرة لا تظهر فيها بسبب ذلك زيادة ولا بانقطاعها نقص ، ويبرز منها نهر يمر على الخان الاحمر
الذى يمر عليه من يتوجه للحجج من نابلس الى المدينب ويمر على الغور ، وينصب مأوى بحيرة لوط في مقابل المدينب
ومن وقف على جبل موسى رأى تلك البحرة وبينه وبينها نحو اليوم ، هكذا اخبرنى بعض من يعرف ذلك ممن هو في
ركبنا ، وبالنزل وقبله كثير من اشجار السدر وبعض النخل ، وكان وصولنا لها بين العصرين واقمنا بها الى ان
تناصف الليل ، ثم سرنا نمر على شاطيها تارة يرتفع وتارة ينخفض ونحوض بعض اطرافها في بعض المرات وتارة نعلوا
فتراعا في وعاد من الارض ، ثم سرنا بعد ذلك شيئا بسيرا فاذا عقبة مرتفعة غاية الارتفاع هي من تلول التراب قد
اصابنا النداء والمطر فصارت شديدة الرلث لا تثبت فيها الاقدام ولا الخفاف والجوارف فشقت الهرور منها فكم جعل وقع
جمله ، والى جانبها منارة سقط فيها بعض الجمال ، وسلم من سلمه الله تعالى من ذلك الحال ، ثم سرنا بعدها في منبسط
من الارض بين احجار كبار ، الى ان لاح لنا المنزل المقصود فزوله المسمى عيون التجار فاذا منزل متسع الاكناف
محصرا به قلعة عامرة على تل مرتفع في مقابلها صورة سور محيط مشتمل على جامع حسن بمنارة مرتفعة وبعض
برينات ومآء عذب يستقى الناقلون به منه ، وعلى كل فهو عذب الهوا لطيفه اقمنا به يومنا يوم الخميس الى ان اظلمت
ليلة الجمعة فبتنا به عازمين على السير صباحا فاذا مطر شديد يمنع السير فاقمنا به وصلينا الجمعة بالجامع الكائن
وسط الخان مع خطيبه فاذا هو يودى خطبة عربية الارضاع غير مرع فيها النغمة كالعادة الرومية بل يوددها على الرضع
العرق من حيث اشتهالها على كثير من الواعظ العربية والاحاديث ، الا انه ما سلم من اللحن والتكرير ، فاذعب
بذلك رونقا ولم يودعا حلقا مع انها في ذاتها من حسن الخطب واستمرت السماء تاجرد علينا بولها وطلتها ، وتاجعد
كرها في عذة البلدة من اعلمها ، فاقمنا بها ايضا السبت والاحد وعيون السماء لا تكف دموعها ، بل تاجرد على
اراضيهم بمنوعها ، وقد علم ان سفر ، بنقطة سفر ، فكيف اذا زادت عن الحد ، وخرجت عن العد ، ولقد قلت غلظ
من سمي المنزل وحرف بعيون التجار ، وانما هو عيون البحار ، ويوم الاحد اناجلت بعض الانجلا ، وتركت ك
قلب خشية ان تعود (7) وحلا ، فبتنا بها ليلة الاثنين عازمين على السفر صبيحتها ، بعد ان تحولنا من الخيام
للخان ، بعد الاقامة بها اربعة ايام وثلاث ليال ، لا يكف فيها دموع السماء على خدرود الرصاص فلما ان صلينا بها الصبر
مسفرون ، وتاجلا لنا ابن ذكيا خرجنا منها سايرين ، والارض ذات زلف تزل فيها الاقدام ، وتدخل الاحدام ، فلم
نزل سايرين هديئة فاذا عقبة صعبة بعض الصعوبة ، لا تستطيع (8) سلوكها الركوبه ، فقطعناها ثم دخلنا في بغا
صيف مشتمل على اشجار ، على اليمين واليسار ، تظلنا تارة وتنكشف عنا اخرى ، ويسمى هذا الصيف عندهم
نقب دبوريا ، وراينا بعض المشاة في سلوكه ثم بعد مجاوزته سلطنا ارضا فيجا يضل فيها الخريت الماعر ، لولا ما يد
من الجواز والمائر ، ويسمى هذا المحل مرج دابق بالقاف او دابق بالغين اخره ، وقد سمعتم ينظفون به بالوججين
وكان اعلم الركب الذين معنا ولهم تردد عليه حاسبين حسابه ، خافين عقابه وعذابه ، وشدة ما به من الوحل

6) Handschrift . تكفل

7) Handschrift . وجلا

8) Handschrift . سركها

الذى ربما عمّر فوصل الرجل ، فادركنا فيه لطف انله الذى لم نزل يشملنا ، وفضلته الذى يحق لنا مدلول لا نتخزن ان الله معنا ، فلم نر الرجل فيه الا في مواضع يسيرة سهل الله سلوكنا ولم نزل كذلك الى ان قارب دخول العصر ، وثبت (هـ) بنا عن السير وجه الجمع والقصر ، فاذا اعلام المنزل المصنوع المسمى بالذَّجُون فاذا المنزل كالمرج المذكور قبله مختصر الرياض ، سائل الانهار ولا اقول الخيائن ، بيا المياه العذبة ، والنباتات المستحسنة الرطبة ، وهو مشتمل على خان على بابها منارة مرتفعة بعض الارتفاع ، واخبرني بعض من لعيت انه يحيط باطراف المرج المذكور ضيعات بالغ عددا مبلغ الكثرة ولا بدح ، واخذنا ببقية يومنا وبتنا الى ان بقى ثلث الليل الاخير ثم حملنا الاجمال وسرنا ، واذا مضيق مشتمل على حجارة وصعود وعبوط مقدار نحو الساعة ، ثم بعده بيسير مرنا بسبيل ماء على قاعة الطريق وعلى يمين مارها ايضا ضيعة تسمى عارة وعلى يساره اخرى تسمى عرارة فمرنا بينها ، ثم لم نزل سائرين في مختصر من النبات ، يكفر بطفه ماضى الطريق عاتيك السيئات ، الى ان لاحت اعلام المنزل المصنوع المسمى قاقون فاذا عومل في فسيح الارض مشتمل على قلعة على تل على يسار المار وخان كبير الوضع على يمينه ومضرب الخيام خصر نصر ، فيه للنفوس ما تؤمل من الراحة وتنتظر ، اقتنا به ببقية يومنا بعد ان دخلنا قبيل الظهر ولم نزل به الى ان ائتنا فريضة العشا وسرنا في امان الله وحفظه فمرنا باشجار كثيرة بالطريق ، ومرنا بقلعة يقال لها قلعة قنفسرة بيا واقعة شبيبة ، ومنها الى قرية يقال لها جلاجوليا وصلنا على ثلث الليل الاخير فوجدنا بيا جماعة يسمون الغفرة لاخذهم له يوقنون المارين من التجار فتركوا سائر المارين الى ان طلع النهار فسمح غير التجار واخذ من التجار معتادهم ، وسرنا بعد ذلك الى ضخرة النهار فمرنا بمحل به قلعة جامرة على يسار الطريق يقال لها راس عين وقد ذكرنا العلامة السبكي في تصديده التي ضمنها معاني العين كلها وسرنا بعدها الى ان قارب الظهر ، فمرنا بقرية يقال لها اللد عذب عواتا ، مختصرة احجارا ، ورياحا ، فمرنا بيا ولما اقبلنا عليها متقدمين على الخيل شننا الرملة فاخبرنا بيا وانها غيرا مقدمة لنا ، ثم سرنا عنها متجاوزينها نحو الساعة فاذا نحن بالرملة قرية سامية عامرة البنا ، طاعة الاشراف والسنا ، بنا المساجد العامرة ، وبها بركة عظيمة عند منزل الحجاج تدعى من ماء الطر لها مريد شبه ببركة العظم بطريق الحجاج الشاميين ومنزل الحجاج خصر نصر ٥

2. Uebersetzung.

Wir verliessen Damaskus des Sonnabends am 15. des Redsheb, des heiligen, in diesem Jahre, und zogen aus von da zu wandern nach Jerusalem, dem vortreflichen Aufenthalte. Da gingen wir, als wir hinaus waren, an Gärten vorüber zur Linken und zur Rechten, deren Laub vergoldet war, und hell den Augen leuchtete. Von einigen Hochgebildeten hörte ich, dass man diese Tage die „goldenen Tage“ nennt, weil an ihnen das Laub der Bäume goldgelb wird. So zogen wir weiter kürzend den Schritt, als ob wir unsre freiwillige Abreise für unabsichtlich hielten setzten wir uns entfernend von ihr (der Stadt) vorwärts einen Fuss und zogen zurück den andern, indem wir die Ansicht hegten, dass der Aufenthalt in ihr für das Verharren geeigneter sei, darum dass mich anzogen die feinen Manieren ihrer Bewohner und mich einluden zum zweiten Trunk von ihren Wassern nach dem ersten, bis wir gelangten zum ersten Rastort in dieser Richtung mit Namen *Däreijá*. Dies ist ein wohlbeschaffener Rastort mit glänzenden,

5) Handschrift لنا.

blühenden Gärten. Bei uns war eine Anzahl von Hochgebildeten und eine Menge von Geistreichen und Edelen. Sie erheiterten uns durch die Süßigkeit ihrer Reden und Gefühle und bezauberten uns durch den Zauber ihrer Blicke und Augen. Dann sagten sie uns Lebewohl zum Abschied in der Nacht, fürchtend dass wir fortziehen möchten im Laufe derselben und aufschürzen den Saum. Da machten wir uns vertraut ob des Verlangens nach ihnen mit der Schlaflosigkeit und schneckten ob der Trennung von ihnen das Bittere der Entfernung.

Wir besuchten an diesem Rastorte berühmte daselbst liegende Gräber, von denen eins das Grab des frommen Knechtes *Abû Sulcimân ed-Dârânî* ist, eines der berühmten Männer in der *er-Risâlet el-Qofheirijeh*. Wir erstrebten den Segen indem wir es besuchten, und lasen da was verhanden, und beteten was leicht und zur Hand war. Ein anderes ist das Grab des berühmten Mannes *Abû Moslim el-Khaulânî*, eines von den Schülern der Geführten des Propheten, oder des Bruders desselben *Abû Idris* nach einer Verschiedenheit in der Erzählung. Das zweite gewinnt das Uebergewicht, weil ersteres bei dem Orte *Ghabâghib*, unfern des Ortes *ess-Ssanemein*, ist, welches die (Mekkah-) Pilger berühren, wenn sie Syrien betreten. Da ist auch noch ein drittes Grab, durch dessen Besuch man gleichfalls den Segen erstrebt, wie man sagt, das Grab eines Propheten der Kinder Israëls, angeblich des *Ezechiel*. Wir besuchten es gleichfalls und sprachen Gebete wie bei den beiden ersten. Dann übernachteten wir hier, während wir eine Sehnsucht empfanden, die bald zum Aufstehn bald zum Sitzen trieb, bis verstrichen zwei Drittel der Nacht. Dann wurden gepackt die Geräthe und trat ein die Wanderung, und wir zogen unter Gottes Schutz und Obhut zu durchwandern von dem Lande bewässerte Orte, so trockne wie sumpfige, die uns ankündigten Beschwerde, und Nahebleiben nothwendig machten ob der Leichtigkeit des Zurückbleibens, bis wir nahe der Mittagszeit anlangten am zweiten Rastorte, genannt *Sa's a'*. Es ist dies ein Rastort, von Grün umgeben, mit einem Khân in gutem Stande und einer schönen Mosquée, beide von lauerhaftem Bau, vortrefflichem Verhältniss. Dazu ein wohlbeschaffenes Hospital, dem ein Theil des Jahreseinkommens (der Mosquée) zufließt. Eingeschlossen wird der Rastort von einem süßen Tusse, der sich krümmt in seinen Windungen und darum *el-A'wadfh*, der *Gekrümmte*, genannt wird. Er ist berühmt durch die Güte und Süßigkeit seines Wassers, so dass sich von ihm manche Häuptlinge Syriens Wasser zum Trinken holen lassen. Wir weilten daselbst, bis nahe war die Morgenröthe zu zerreißen den Schleier der Dunkelheit und erschienen der Blumen augen durch das Tageslicht als Sterne. Da machten wir uns auf die Wanderung, zu durchziehen in diesem Landstrich eine Gegend mit grossen Steinen. Schlecht war das Reisen darin in jeder Beziehung, so dass, hätte sie aus gemünztem Gold bestanden, doch schwer geworden sein würde dem Wanderer das Wandern. Es erheben in ihr die Kameele und auf ihnen die Lasten. Aber Gott schützte uns gnädig vor Regenfall, denn man sagt, dass diese Beschwerden dadurch verdoppelt werden, indem der Lehm Boden sich verdickt und dann nichts schützt vor dem Stürzen als Gottes Gnade. So ging es fort, bis wir die Hälfte des Weges hinter uns hatten. Da wurde die Sache inigermassen leichter und wir langten an am bestimmten Rastorte, genannt *Quccitirah*. Wir erreichten ihn etwa eine Stunde nach dem Eintreten des Mittagsgebetes. Es ist dies ein Ort weit ausgedehnt mit grünen freien Plätzen. Er besitzt eine wohlbeschaffene Mosquée und einen Khân liden Bau's und ausgezeichneten Glanzes. Aber wir weilten nicht in ihm wie in dem vorigen, indem wir Zelte aufschlugen. Wir blieben hier, während die Gemüther sich erquickten an den ausgedehnten

Räumen und fruchtbaren Strecken, und die Augen sich weideten an diesem schönen Anblick und süß fanden den sanften Lufthauch, der einlud zum Schlummer, bis aufging das Frühroth und wir verrichteten das Morgengebet. Da warteten wir noch bis erschienen der Sonne Augenbraunen, dann zogen wir fort nicht weit, und siehe ein hoher Berg, auf dessen Gipfel eine hohe Capelle steht zur Rechten des Wandernden. Es soll dies das Grab eines Mannes aus der Familie des Propheten sein, genannt *Abû-n Nedû* (*Vater des Morgenthau's* = der Freigebige). Man besucht es, den Segen zu erstreben. Andere sagen, dass es 'Ali sei und dass man ihn geheim halte unter jenem Zunamen. Dann zogen wir weiter auf leichtem Wege eine bis zwei Stunden; da aber kamen wir wieder auf einen schwierigen Weg, der uns vergessen Hess, was wir Tags zuvor von Beschwerden erduldet hatten. Er besteht aus Windungen, aufgestapelt mit grossen Steinen, die uns ankündigten das Stürzen und Straucheln. Niemand kommt darauf vorwärts, ausser nur die düstigen Männer und Kameele. Ein Weg! O, ein schwerer Weg! ein Beschwerdebereiter, auf dem Hälfte von Hälfte sich löset! Da befinden sich Trümmerreste, über welchen gekrächzet zur Trennung der Rabe. Angeblich sind es Orte der Kinder Israëls, welche zurückgelassen die Zeit als Sage nach der Wirklichkeit. So ging es fort bis zur Zeit des Mittagsgebetes, und siehe da eine Passhöhe, gepflastert mit behauenen Steinen, deren Länge übertraf das Gewöhnliche solcher Pässe. Man sagt, dass der, der diese Steine gepflastert hat, *Redhwan Bek* gewesen ist, der Emir der Pilger von Aegypten vordem. Wir stiegen immer fort nieder von den Höhen des Passes in die Tiefe, bis wir auf dem Grunde anlangten. Da war ein Fluss, über welchen eine ziemlich lange Brücke führte, genannt in der Landessprache *Fluss Jakob's*, d. i. der Vater unseres Herren Joseph. Dieser Fluss soll sich in den See von *Tiberias* ergiessen. Ihm benachbart ist auch die *Josephs-Cisterne*, in welche unser Herr Joseph geworfen wurde. An dieser Brücke halten die Reisenden an, und bei ihr hielten auch wir an und verweilten bis ungefähr zum letzten Drittel (der Nacht). Dann durchwanderten wir eine Gegend beschwerlicher Steige und gefahrdrohender Pässe zwischen grossen Steinen, schlüpferig von des Regens Eindrücken, während der Himmel sich ergoss in seinen Strömen und folgen liess seine Schauer. Darin gingen wir durch Pässe, die den Pässen der kleinasiatischen Strasse glichen, bis uns erschien der *Khân* festen Bau's und prächtigen Glanzes. Am Thore desselben und zwar zur rechten Hand, wenn man hineingeht, ist die *Cisterne Joseph's*, erbaut von behauenen Steinen. Der untere Theil ruht auf Werkstücken und darüber erhebt sich eine hohe Kuppel, mit vier Ecken und ebenso viel Thüren. Die Kuppel über der Cisterne verhindert, dass Regen und anderes hineinfalle. Eingeschöpft wurde uns von ihrem Wasser mittelst eines dort befindlichen Eimers und wir tranken davon süßes, kühles Wasser. Zur Seite des Brunnen ist eine feine Mosquée. Der anstossende *Khân* enthält wüste Zimmer. Nahe dabei ist ein Ort, angeblich das Grab dessen, der unsern Herrn Joseph aus der Cisterne zog. Die Landschaft zusammen ist das Land *Kana'an*. Nachdem wir die Cisterne überschritten, zogen wir durch beschwerliche Orte. Da ist ein steiler Pass. Wir überschritten ihn und gelangten darnach zu dem Rastorte *el-Minjeh*. Derselbe ist nach allen Seiten von Grün umgeben, lieblich daselbst der Aufenthalt und vortrefflich die Luft. Er liegt am Ufer des See's von *Tiberias*, ein grosser, weit ausgedehnter See, dessen Gränzen der Blick nicht umfasst. In ihn fallen, wie mir berichtet ist, viele Flüsse, aber nicht bemerkt man dadurch ein Wachsen oder bei deren Versiegen ein Fallen. Von ihm geht ein Fluss aus, der nach dem *rothen*

Khân fließt, über welchen die gehen, die sich von *Nabulus* auf der Hädlhstrasse nach *Mozeirib* wenden. Er fließt durch das Ghôr und seine Wasser fallen in das Meer des Lot (das todtte Meer), *Mozeirib* gegenüber. Wer auf dem *Dfhebel Mûsa* steht, sieht dieses Meer etwa eine Tagereise weit entfernt. Dies erzählte mir ein der Sache Kundiger in unsrer Reisegesellschaft. Am Rastorte und vor ihm sind viele Sidr-Bäume und einige Palmen. Wir langten daselbst an zwischen den beiden 'Afsr und weilten dort bis Mitternacht. Dann zogen wir am Ufer des See's hin, bald bergauf, bald bergab, und drangen mannichmal in seinen Umgebungen vor, bald zogen wir aufwärts und erblickten ihn in der Tiefe der Landschaft. Darnach wanderten wir eine kleine Strecke und siehe da ein ausserordentlich hoher Pass. Er gehört zu den Erdhügeln, Thau und Regen hatten ihn getroffen, so dass er sehr schlüpfrig geworden war. Nicht haftete darauf der Fuss, nicht der Huf und die Klaue. Dadurch ward das Wandern beschwerlich und manches Kameel verlor seine Last. Zur Seite ist eine Schlucht, in welche eins der Kameele hinabstürzte. Glücklich davon kam, wen Gott errettete aus dieser Lage. Darauf zogen wir auf ebenem Boden zwischen grossen Steinen hin, bis uns erschien die Station, zur Rast bestimmt, '*Ojun et-Tudshdfhâr* genannt. Es ist dies ein geräumiger, von Grün umgebener Rastort, daneben ein wohlbeschaffenes Castell auf einem hohen Hügel. Dem Castell gegenüber ist eine Art von Umschliessungsmauer, die eine schöne *Dfhâmi'* mit hohem Minaret, einige Häuser und süßes Wasser, von welchem die Rastenden dort trinken, in sich hegreift. Ueber dieses alles hat der Ort eine angenehme, vortreffliche Luft. Wir weilten dort diesen Tag, den Donnerstag, bis dämmerte die Nacht des Freitags, und wir übernachteten dort in der Absicht, am Morgen weiterzuziehen. Allein ein heftiger Regen verhinderte das Weiterziehen, und wir blieben da und feierten den Freitag in der *Dfhâmi'*, die sich dort im *Khân* befindet, mit ihrem Prediger. Dieser trug eine Rede vor in (alt-) 'arabischen Redeformen, ohne aber in ihr die leise Cantillation, wie sie byzantinische Sitte ist, zu beobachten, sondern er trug sie vor in 'arabischen Redeformen sofern sie viele 'arabische Paränesen und Stellen der Tradition umfasste. Jedoch war er nicht frei von Fehlern in der Aussprache und von Fälschung der ursprünglichen Worte. Dadurch beraubte er die Rede ihres Glanzes und liess sie nicht zu ihrem Rechte gelangen, obschon sie für sich eine der schönsten Reden war. Und der Himmel fuhr fort über uns zu ergossen seinen Regen und seine Schauer, und machte uns wider Willen an diesem Orte zu Bewohnern desselben. Wir blieben da noch den Sonnabend und den Sonntag, während des Himmels Augen nicht zurückhielten ihre Thränen, sondern sich ergossen über die Ländereien mit ihrem aufgesparten (Wasserreichthume). Man weiss ja, dass سفر (*Reisen*) durch einen Punkt wird zu سقر (*Hüllenpein*). Wie aber erst dann, wenn diese übersteigt alles Ziel und überschreitet alle Zahl! Und so sprach ich denn auch: geirrt hat, wer den Rastort benannt mit unrichtigem Worte '*Ojûn et-Tudshdfhâr* (*Kaufmannsquellen*), er ist vielmehr '*Ojûn el-Behâr* (*Quellen der Meere*). Am Sonntag klärte sich der Himmel etwas auf und jeglich Herz verliess die Furcht, dass der Boden wieder würde zum Moraste. Wir blieben da noch die Nacht zum Montag, sinnend auf die Abreise am Morgen, nachdem wir uns übergesiedelt aus den Zelten in den *Khân*. Vier Tage und drei Nächte hatten wir hier angehalten, während dessen nicht gehemmt wurden des Himmels Thränen auf der Auen Wagen. Als wir dann daselbst bei Tagesanbruch gebetet hatten und zu leuchten begann das Morgenlicht, zogen wir von dannen. Der Erdboden war so schlüpferig, dass darauf der Fuss ausglitt und abhanden kam die Besinnung. Dann zogen wir eine kleine Strecke

weiter und siehe da ein ziemlich schwieriger Pass, den die Reitthiere zu durchschreiten nicht vermochten. Nachdem wir ihn durchzogen, traten wir ein in einen engen Hohlweg, der Bäume umschliesst zur Rechten und zur Linken, die uns bald beschatteten, bald von uns zurücktraten. Es heisst dieser Engpass bei den Landesinsassen *der Pass Debbûrijâ*. Beim Durchschreiten desselben erfuhren wir einige Beschwerde. Als wir hindurch waren, überschritten wir eine ebene Gegend, auf welcher irren könnte der erfahrene Führer, wären nicht darauf Durchreisende und Orte mit Fussspuren. Man nennt diesen Ort *Merdsh Dûbeq*, mit *q*, oder *Dûbegh*, mit *gh* als letztem Laut. In beiderlei Weise habe ich es aussprechen gehört. Diejenigen von unsrer Reisegesellschaft, welche oft diese Strasse ziehen, machten sich schon Rechnung darauf, fürchtend die Pein und Qual und die Gewalt des Morastes daselbst, der häufig allgemein ist und bis zum Gepäck hinaufreicht. Doch wir erkannten hier die Gnade Gottes, die nicht abliess uns zu umfassen, und seine Güte, die da bewährte an uns die Bedeutung des Spruchs: „*sei nicht traurig, denn Gott ist mit uns*“ (Sur. 9, 40.). Denn wir trafen den Morast nur an einigen wenigen Stellen, deren Ueberschreiten Gott erleichterte. So ging es fort, bis nahe war die Zeit des 'Afsr und uns abstehen liess vom Wandern, indem wir es mit Zusammenfassen und Kürzung verrichteten. Dann erschienen die Wahrzeichen des bestimmten Rastorts, genannt *el-Ledshdshûn*. Der Ort gleicht der zuvor erwähnten Ebene mit grünenden Auen, fliessenden Bächen; die Cisternen gar nicht zu nennen! Daselbst süsse Wasser und anmuthige, frische Pflanzen. Er enthält einen Khân, an dessen Thore ein ziemlich hoher Minaret steht. Jemand, den ich dort traf, erzählte mir, dass den Saum der genannten Ebene Dörfer umgeben sollen, deren Zahl sich hoch beläuft, was nicht zu verwundern. Wir verweilten den Rest dieses Tages und übernachteten bis zum letzten Drittel der Nacht. Dann packten wir das Gepäck und zogen weiter durch einen Engpass, der Steine umfasste, bergauf und bergab etwa eine Stunde weit. Darauf nach einer kleinen Strecke zogen wir an einem Wasserbrunnen, da wo die Wege zusammenstossen, vorüber. Zur Rechten des Wandrers war abermals ein Dorf mit Namen 'Arâh und zur Linken ein anderes mit Namen 'Arârah. Zwischen beiden zogen wir hindurch. Dann gingen wir immer weiter unter grünem Pflanzenwuchs, durch dessen Anmuth der Wanderer des Weges jene Unannehmlichkeiten vergass, bis erschienen die Wahrzeichen des Rastorts, genannt *Qûqûn*. Er liegt in einer offenen Landschaft, enthält ein Schloss auf einem Hügel zur Linken des Wandrers und einen Khân von grosser Anlage zur Rechten desselben, und einen glänzend grünen Lagerplatz, wo man die gehoffte und ersehnte Ruhe findet. Wir verweilten da den Rest des Tages, nachdem wir kurz vor Mittag den Ort betreten hatten, und blieben daselbst, bis wir verrichtet das 'Eshâ-Gebet. Dann gingen wir unter Gottes Schutz und Obhut weiter und zogen unter vielen Bäumen des Weges vorüber am Schlosse *Qa'at Qalansuwch* (*Haubenschloss*), woselbst eine berühmte Schlacht war, und von da zu einem Dorfe mit Namen *Dsheldshûlijâ*, wo wir in dem letzten Drittel der Nacht anlangten. Daselbst trafen wir Leute, die man *el-Ghafarijeh* (*Zollhüchter*) nennt, weil sie den Zoll einnehmen. Sie halten alle vorüberziehenden Kaufleute an, und so liessen sie still liegen alle Reisenden bis Tagesanbruch. Wer nicht Kaufmann war, ging frei aus, während von den Kaufleuten das Uebliche erhoben wurde. Darnach gingen wir bis das Tageslicht höher gestiegen war, und passirten einen Ort mit einem wohlbeschaftenen Castell zur Linken des Weges, mit Namen *Râs 'Ain*. Dies der Ort, dessen der gelehrte *es-Subki* gedenkt in seiner *Qafsided*, in welcher

er alle Bedeutungen von 'Ain niedergelegt hat. Darnach gingen wir bis der Mittag nahe war, da passirten wir ein Dorf, genannt *el-Ludd*, mit angenehmer Luft, grünen Umgebungen und Hügeln. Wir zogen an ihm vorüber. Als wir zu Pferde vorausreitend uns demselben näherten, hielten wir es für *er-Ramleh*. Indess sagte man uns, dass es dies nicht sei, sondern vor demselben liege. Erst als wir ungefähr eine Stunde weit von ihm weiter gezogen waren, da kamen wir nach *er-Ramleh*, eine erhaben gelegene, gut gebaute, glänzend schöne Stadt. Sie enthält wohlbeschaffene Mosquéen, und bei ihr ist ein grosser Teich an der Lagerstätte der Pilger, der durch Regenwasser gefüllt wird. Er hat grosse Aehnlichkeit mit dem Teiche *el-Mo'adhdham* auf der syrischen Pilgerstrasse. Die Pilgerlagerstätte ist mit glänzendem Grün bedeckt.

3. Erläuterungen.

Die nachfolgenden Erläuterungen zwecken nicht auf eine Erklärung alles dessen ab, wozu der reiche Stoff bei el-Khijari Anlass gäbe, sondern sie beschränken sich auf Erörterungen des Lokalen mit besonderer Beziehung auf das biblische Alterthum und die Zeit der Kreuzzüge, ausserdem auf Andeutungen.

1. Der Sinn des blumigen Eingangs Z. 1 ff. geht dahin, dass el-Khijari sagt, nur zögernd und gleichsam unfreiwillig habe er seine Schritte von Damaskus ufwärts gelenkt, durch die besonderen Reize der Stadt, nachdem er dieselben einmal gekostet, immer und immer wieder angezogen. Die Reize von Damaskus, der „paradiesischen, silbernen Stadt“ sind oft geschildert und mehr noch in Versen besungen worden. Besonders hebt el-Khijari Damaskus als den Mittelpunkt der feinen Bildung hervor, womit allerdings der von Mohammed ben 'Abd-Allah nach dem Mémoire des efs-Ssafedi angeführte charakteristische Spruch des Sheikh Tädfh ed-din el-Fezari contrastirt, der über die Hauptstädte des Orients gesagt haben soll: *ان الحكماء واعلم انتجارب يزعمون ان من اقام ببغداد سنة وجد في عمله زيادة ومن*

اقام بالبرص سنة وجد في عقله زيادة ومن اقام بكمب سنة وجد في نفسه سخاء ومن اقام في دمشق سنة [وجد] d. h.: die Weisen und Erfahrenen meinen, dass wer ein Jahr zu Baghdad verlebt, in seiner Praxis einen Zuwachs erhält; wer ein Jahr in Mafsul verlebt, in seinem Verstande einen Zuwachs erhält; wer ein Jahr zu Haleb verlebt, zunimmt an Liberalität; wer ein Jahr in Damaskus verlebt, in seinen Sitten Derbheit erlangt; wer aber ein Jahr in Mifsr (Qahirah) verlebt, in seinen Manieren Feinheit gewinnt.

Der Vf. verliess Damaskus unfehlbar durch das Thor Gottes (باب الله), das südwestliche Stadthor, welches auf die Strassen nach Jerusalem und Mekkah (Fol. 32. v.) führt, und zieht zunächst durch die weltberühmten Obstbaine, welche im J. 1147 über das Schicksal des Kreuzbeeres entschieden, s. Willh. Tyr. 17, 2 ff. — Die Zeit der Abreise fiel auf den 17. November, mithin in eine Jahreszeit, wo die ersten kalten Nächte das Laub der Bäume färbten und der bekannte Frühregen, der alle Flussbetten zu füllen, Niederungen zu überschwemmen, die Gefahr der steilen Pässe zu vermehren und oft das Weiterziehen unmöglich zu machen pflegt, zur Qual der Reisenden in Syrien seine befruchtenden Schauer über das Land zu ergiessen begonnen hatte. Vgl. Behä ed-din Vit. Sal. S. 76. 87 ff. Besonders erianere ich an das Unwetter, welches nach Willh. Tyr. 13, 26. am 5. Dec. 1130. bei Mergesaphor, unweit Salome 13, 18., d. i. Mardfih Sauffar (مرج صفر), s. de Sacy zu 'Abd-Allatif S. 492.) bei Ssanemein (صنين), das Heer der Kreuzfahrer zum Rückzuge bewog.

2. Der erste Rastort داريا (Daireja) vgl. Abulfeda Géogr. S. 271., Firuzabadi und Nawawi bei Hamaker zu Waqidi S. 173., Burckh. S. 548., Wilson Lands of the Bible II. S. 325., auch wohl داريا s. Robinson Paläst. III. S. 900., nur durch einen Fehler دارا bei Quzwini Athar el-bil. S. 126. genannt, ist Daria der Kreuzfahrer bei Willh. Tyr. 17. 2. 3. 21, 10. 22, 22., nach letzterem 4—5, nach Abulfeda 3 Meilen von Damaskus entfernt, in 1—1½ St. von Burckhardt, Wilson u. a. erreicht. Hier enden die Obstgärten. — Ueber die hier erwähnten Gräber s. Hamaker a. a. O., d'Herbelot Or. Bibl. u. d. W. Darai. Die weiter erwähnten Orte Ghabaghiv und Ssanemein liegen auf der Pilgerstrasse von Damaskus nach

Mekkah, vgl. Behâed. Vit. Sal. S. 269., *Burchh.* S. 116. — Ueber die *Risâlet el-Qusheirijeh* s. Had'bi Khalf. III. Nr. 6271.

Bei *Däreijî* trennen sich die Strassen. Die eine führt auf *Sa'sa'*, *Quneitirah*, über den Jordan durch Niedergaliläa nach *Ptolemais*. Die andere läuft nördlicher über *Beit Sâbir* (بيت سابر), ein Dorf am Wâdi von *Beit Dfhenn* (بيت جن) gelegen, s. *Abulfed.* S. 271., oder über dieses *Beit Dfhenn* selbst nach *Bdnijâs* und *Tyrus*. S. *Burchh.* S. 97. Erstere, erst im 15. Jahrh. für die Karawauencommunication zwischen der Küste und Damaskus eingerichtet, ist in der späteren Zeit die besuchtere. Letztere dagegen war im Alterthume die Heerstrasse, vgl. *Jos. B. J.* 3, 10, 7., die noch im Mittelalter für die nähere galt, *Willh. Tyr.* 17, 2. vgl. m. 21, 10. Behâed. S. 69. Sie enthält noch manche bemerkenswerthe Öertlichkeiten. Jenes von *Burchh.* S. 100. besuchte *Beit Dfhenn* am südlichen Abhange des Gebirges ist „*Bettgene* am Fusse des Libanon mit sehr klarem Wasser“ bei *Willh. Tyr.* 21, 10, 22, 22., das muthmassliche *بيت جن* bei 'Amos 1, 5. Das benachbarte *Beit Sâbir*, nach *Abulfeda* a. a. O. genau zwischen *Bdnijâs* und Damaskus, 16 Meilen von jedem entfernt, dürfte mit der ganz ebenso in die Mitte zwischen die genannten Orte gesetzten Station *Adammontem* der 'Tab. Peuting. zusammenfallen, ein Ort, den ich für das verschollene *بيت جن* des Hohen Liedes 8, 11. halten möchte.

3. *Sa'sa'* (ساعة) fand der Vf. noch als einen Ort von bester Beschaffenheit. Ebenso *Cotovicus* Itin. Hierosolym. S. 364. Gegenwärtig liegen *Khân* und *Mosquée* in Trümmern. Der Ort liegt am Fusse eines einzeln stehenden Hügels, ist im Viereck, jede Seite 150 Schritte lang, erbaut und umschlossen von einer 25—30 Fuss hohen Trappstein-Mauer, welche an den Ecken runde Thürme vertheidigten. S. *Burchh.* S. 549., *Monro Summer Ramble* II. S. 54., *Thomson* in der *Bibl. sacra.* 1849. S. 367., (v. *Heilbronner*) *Morgenl. u. Abendl.* II. S. 55. Jenseit des Baches, der sich um den Ort windet, erwähet v. *Schubert* III. S. 271. einen Wald von hohen Pappeln, Weiden und Wallnussbäumen. Von *Sa'sa'* nach *Däreijâ* gebrauchte *Wilson* (II. S. 324 f.) 5½ Stunden, *Burchh.* a. a. O. von Damaskus 6½ Stunden.

Bis *Sa'sa'* ist die Landschaft eine weite, von *Dfhân* (1½ St. von *Däreijâ*) an von leichten, feingeschnittenen Höhen unterbrochene Ebene, welche der sogleich weiter zu behandelnde Fluss in langen Schlaugenwindungen durchzieht, zahlreiche Wasseradern aufnimmt oder Canäle von sich entsendet. Hier herrscht die üppigste Fruchtbarkeit. Von der Jahreszeit hing es ab, wenn unser Vf. auf dieser Strecke Weges Schwierigkeiten fand. Der Text, der etwas gelitten hat*), hat sicher den Sinn: die Schwierigkeit des Terrains machte es nöthig, dass alle Mitglieder der Karawane sich eng an einander hielten, um nicht durch Vereinzelung in Gefahr zu kommen, wie v. *Heilbronner* II. S. 55. hier ein ganz aufgelöstes Cavallerieregiment traf, welches vier Stunden weit auf den Höhen Posten ausgestellt hatte, um sich nicht zu verlieren.

Als *Thomson* a. a. O. diesen Landstrich durchreiste, fand er ¼ St. von *Däreijâ* einen tiefen, zum Theil in einem gut angelegten Tunnel unter der Erde fortgeführten Canal, überschritt denselben auf einer Brücke 35 Min. von *Dfhân* und erreichte beim *Khân el-Sheikh* (s. v. *Schub.* III. S. 272.) in weiteren 25 Min. den Fluss selbst, aus welchem der Canal abgeleitet ist. Er kommt von *Sa'sa'*, geht nach *el-Kusweh* (الكوسرة) Vit. Sal. S. 269., *Abulf.* S. 253.) und fällt in den See, der im Osten von Damaskus den ganzen Wasserreichtum aufnimmt. Bei *el-Kusweh* nennt ihn *Abulfeda* a. a. O. *el-A'wad'ih* (الاعوج) und ebenso *Burchhardt* S. 114.; denselben Namen giebt ihm *el-Khijâri* sehr richtig bei *Sa'sa'* mit dem Bemerkten, dass der Fluss so, d. h. der *Gekrümmte*, heisse, wegen seiner vielen Windungen, während es üblich geworden ist, denselben bei *Sa'sa'* unter dem Namen *es-Sâbirâni* (السابراني), d. h. den Fluss von *Beit Sâbir* (*Siharani*, *Seibarani* sind Entstellungen), zu nennen, *Burchh.* S. 545. Nach *Thomson* a. a. O. ist der Fluss das Product einer Anzahl von Bächen, die sich von Süd, Südwest und West bei *Sa'sa'* mit dem bedeutenderen Bache, der von *Beit Sâbir* herabkommt, vereinigen und nun erst den geschlossenen Fluss *el-A'wad'ih* bilden. Nach *Abulfeda* S. 271. liegt aber *Beit Sâbir* am Wâdi von *Beit Dfhenn*, dessen klare Wasser schon die Kreuzfahrer erwähen (s. Erl. 2.), und nach *Thomson* nimmt der *Nahr Dfhennâni* den Bach von *Menbed'ih* auf und geht an *Sa'sa'* vorüber. Hiernach ist das Wassernetz auf unsern Karten unrichtig. Gewiss übrigens hat man stets diesen von Norden herabkommenden Bach für den Hauptfluss angesehen.

Entschieden ist der *A'wad'ih* der 2te bedeutende Strom, der das Gebiet von Damaskus befruchtend durchzieht, während die combinirten Bäche *Baradâ* und *Feid'fheh* den Hauptstrom bilden, der künst-

*) Sicher ist S. 4. Z. 5. لسببولة النكول abzuthellen, so dass ein Derivat von قرب vorausgeht, wahrscheinlich القربة in dem Sinne die kurze Distanz zwischen den einzelnen Kameelreitern.

lich in 7 Bäche *) abgeleitet die Stadt und das Tieftal von Damaskus bewässert, vgl. Ahulf. S. 230., Edrisi Syria ed. Rosenm. S. 9., mit Pococke Mrgl. II. S. 179 f., v. Richter Wallf. S. 155 f. Wenn nun der syrische Hauptmann 2 Reg. 5, 12. die Wasser von ܡܪܕܐ (Cant. 4, 8.) und ܦܝܢܢ erwähnt und vorzüglicher nennt als alle Wasser Israels, so meint er damit wohl nicht, wie noch Kéil z. St. will, Baradā und Feidfsh, die ja zusammen nur den einen Fluss von Damaskus bilden, auch wohl nicht Baradā und Thaurā mit dem 'arabischen Uebersetzer, sondern mit überwiegender Wahrscheinlichkeit Baradā und el-'A'wadsh, wie dies schon Monro II. S. 54., Thomson und Robinson a. a. O. S. 369. 371. und Thénius z. St. vermüthen. Nur möchte es unerweisbar sein, dass ܡܪܕܐ = Baradā, ܦܝܢܢ = 'A'wadsh sei, während der Gipfel Amūnah's Cant. 4, 8. nach den lokalen Beziehungen des Hohen Liedes überhaupt, wie auch der betreffenden Stelle, mehr nach der Südostseite des Hermon zu verweisen und somit der Fluss Amūnah der el-'A'wadsh zu sein scheint, den auch eine Glosse zu Abulfeda S. 271. من جبل الثلج d. i. vom Hermon, seinen Ursprung nehmen lässt; woneben der Name ܦܝܢܢ, der Eilige, sehr füglich auf Baradā-Feidfsh Anwendung erleidet, die von beträchtlicher Höhe brausend ihre Wasser in die Tiefe entsenden. Zur Sache selbst kommt noch die Bemerkung el-Khijāri's in Betracht, nach welcher die Wasser des 'A'wadsh noch spät berührt und gesucht waren, wie namentlich auch die Wasser des el-Feidfsh noch jetzt zum Trinken von Damascenern geholt werden, während das Wasser des Baradā vor der Vereinigung mit dem Feidfsh für ungesund gilt.

4. Bei Sa'sa' ändert sich der Charakter der Landschaft. Bis in die Nähe von Quneitrah, welches meist in 7 Stunden erreicht wird, erstreckt sich eine weit ausgelehnte „Basaltniederlage von furchtbar ödem, wüsten Ausschen“ (v. Schub. S. 271.), durchsetzt von einem überbrückten Flüschen el-Mughannieh (Durchh. S. 549.) und weiterhin in conische Bühen übergehend (Witau II. S. 322.). Nur an wenigen Stellen ist die Eintönigkeit dieser Bergwüste durch Eichenwuchs, Gebüsch und Wiesen unterbrochen, bis mit der Annäherung an Quneitrah der Boden sich merklicher zum Kamm des Dschebel Haifh emporhebt. Schon Cotovicus nennt S. 364. diese Strecke ein „prae nimia scabrie iter difficillimum et periculosissimum“, Monro II. S. 53. „rond execrable over a field of rock or lava“, und die Beschreibung **) unsres Vfs., wie dessen Befürchtungen, bewahrheiten sich vollständig, wenn man damit v. Heilbronners Mühen vergleicht, der während der Frühjahrsregenperiode von Quneitrah nach Sa'sa' ritt. Er sagt darüber Bd. II. S. 54.: „die Ebene, die so verführerisch sich von oben angesehen hatte, verlor die Schlange unter den Rosen, und es begann sogleich eine Sumpfsnassage von zwei Stunden, die alle Pferde fast zum Versinken brachte. Auf der Höhe kam eine kurze Pause etwas bessern Weges, der durch einen Eichenwald führt. Allein nun lag eine Strecke von fünf Stunden an, die gewiss zu den furchtbarsten der Erde gehört, und welche in Folge der starken Ueberschwemmung noch schlechter geworden war. Der Boden scheint ein vulkanisches Aggregat zu sein. Zwei Römerstrassen ziehen diagonal durch und beschämen noch in ihrem Verfall die unwürdigen Nachkommen. Auch auf dieser syrischen Strasse waren lange Strecken gehauener Chaussée-Quadern, aus dem Felsboden genommen, der die trostlose Gegend bedeckt und mit ihm vermengt. Durch jahrhundertlange Verwahrlosung ist alles in den Urzustand zurückgekehrt, und man glaubt in den Umgebungen eines feuerspeienden Berges zu wandeln. Es passt kein Stein mehr an den andern, und die Klüfte, welche dadurch erzeugt wurden, sind so tief, dass die Pferde über die Knie, ja bis an die Brust hinabtreten. Das Wasser hatte alle leeren Räume durchdrungen, und die armen Thiere mühten sich vergebens ab sichern Tritt auf den glatten gehauenen Steinen oder auf den schoeidenten Naturklippen zu finden. Auch stürzte eines um das andere. Ueber den aus seinen gewöhnlichen Bahnen getretenen Fluss Megheanie ist eine alte zerfallene Brücke, ohne deren horribles Steinpflaster man übrigens, so schlecht es ist, das Thal gar nicht passiren könnte. Selbst das Auge ermüdet von dem Aoblick dieser nicht endenden grauen chaotischen Felsstücke, mit denen die ganze Gegend überdeckt ist, und wovon sich die Strasse so wenig unterscheidet, dass selbst

*) Unser Verf. nennt dieselben Fol. 57. von Süden nach Norden: نهر المزة نهر الداراني نهر القنوات نهر بانياس = Nahr el-Mizsch, N. ed-Darāni, N. el-Qannawāt, N. Bānijās, N. Baradā, N. Thaurā, N. Jezid. Die beiden letzteren, Nahr Thaurā, bei el-Kbij, ein tiefer, schnell fließender Bach, und N. Jezid fließen ausserhalb der Stadt, nach Moham. b. 'Abd-Allah am Fusse des Dschebel Qāsijun. Der hier wie bei Edrisi mitgenannte Nahr Bānijās, den andere richtiger glauben Nahr Bānās nennen zu müssen, s. Lex. Geogr. in Schultens Ind. geogr. s. v. Panens, liegt dem Hauptarme des Baradā am nächsten und ist unmittelbar aus ihm abgeleitet, wie el-Khijāri ausdrücklich bezeugt. Mit dem Nahr Bānijās, d. h. dem östlichen Quellflusse des Jordan, hat dieser nur den Namen gemein und hätte von Thénius Bücher der Kik. S. 256. nicht mit jenem verwechselt werden sollen.

**) Der etwas sonderbar scheinende Einfall S. 4. Z. 10 über das „gemünzte Gold“ beruht auf einem Wortspiele mit dhahab, als Substantiv Gold, als Zeitwort umändern.

die Spuren der Pferde oft nicht zu finden sind. Gegen Abend endlich endete diese Qual,“ nämlich bei Sa'sa'.

Quneitirah fand el-Khijari ganz so wie *Cotovicus* S. 363. sein *Conetris* beschreibt. Jetzt ist der Ort der allgemeinen Verwahrlosung dieser Gegend anheimgefallen. Ueber den Anblick der Landschaft, an der sich el-Kh. weidete, sagt auch v. Heilbronner a. a. O. S. 53.: „Wenn man von dem Berge herabsteigt, öffnet sich ein unübersehbares zauberhaftes Thal zur Rechten, die reiche aber jetzt verwaiste Ebene von Ituraea, links die ganze Schneekette des Antilibanon, ein Anblick, der für alle Entbehrungen entschädigt.“ Vgl. v. Schub. S. 266. — Unfern *Quneitirah* bemerkten *Burckh.* S. 550., *Monro* S. 49., v. *Schubert* a. a. O. auf der Nordseite Ueberbleibsel einer kleinen Stadt aus dem Alterthume, und es hat an sich viel Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass hier auf einer der Hauptstrassen schon immer eine Ansiedelung bestanden hat. Dass dieselbe nichts mit קָנַי Num. 32, 42. = *Kana* Ptol. 5, 15, 23., welches ja bei Rostra lag, gemein habe, ist schon von *Gesenius* zu *Burckh.* bemerkt. Dagegen kommt diese Landschaft für ein biblisches Lokal in Betracht, ich meine für die kleine Herrschaft קָנַי , unsere des קָנַי im Ostjordanlande an den (Nord-) Gräzen von *Bafhan* Deut. 3, 14. Jos. 12, 5. 13, 11., welche nach *Josua's* Siegen von Israeliten und Eingeborenen gemeinschaftlich bewohnt wurde. Bei diesem eigenthümlichen Bevölkerungsverhältnisse befremdet es daher auch nicht, wenn 2 Sam. 2, 9. *Ithobeth* von *Abner* über *Gilad* und *Geshuri*, wie zuverlässig mit *Thenius* z. St. und *Eucald* Gesch. d. Volks Isr. II. S. 574. zu verbessern ist, zum Könige eingesetzt und dennoch 2 Sam. 3, 3. 13, 37. 14, 23. vgl. m. 15, 8. zu *Gefhur* einer einheimischen zu *David* in Familienverhältnissen stehenden Dynastie gedacht wird. Ein syrisches *Geshur* von jenem im Ostjordanlande zu unterscheiden, liegt kein Grund vor, und man verliert zuverlässig das für *David's* Familienangelegenheiten geeignete Lokal aus den Augen, wenn man جسر شجر d. i. *Dh'isr Shoghr* am *Orontes*, عليه كبرى طويل = über welchen eine lange Brücke führt (el-Kh. fol. 79.), vgl. *Abulf.* S. 260 f. *Burckh.* S. 216. auf gut Glück vergleicht, oder, was meines Erachtens viel angemessener wäre, wenn man جسر الحديد = Eisenbrücke bei *Wih. Tyr.* 18, 32., *Behäed.* Vit. Sal. S. 55., ein Ort, der schon im Alterthume den Namen Γέφυρα bei *Ptolem.* 5, 15, 15. vgl. *Cellarius* Orb. ant. II. S. 419. mit *Ainsworth* Travels II. S. 95. führte, in Vergleich ziehen wollte. Denn bis in die Gegend von *Antiochien* gelangte damals *David* sicher nicht. Ebenso unzureichend vergleicht *Rosenmüller* Alterth. I. 2. S. 256 f. und mit ihm *Keil* zu *Josua* S. 232. die erst spät gebaute *Jakobsbrücke* über den *Jordan*, wofür man sicher besser an جسر خشب = Holzbrücke bei *Behäed.* Vit. Sal. S. 53. 58. u. a. denken könnte, käme es nicht darauf an, eine Oertlichkeit aufzufinden, an welcher das Wort *Brücke* als Name haftet. Ich vergleiche deshalb *Quneitirah*, dessen Lage völlig mit den alttestamentlichen Andeutungen über *Geshur* übereinstimmt. Dazu ist قنطرة bekanntlich *Deminutiv* von قنطرة = *اجسر* (*Dshauh.*) die *Brücke*, und mag sich das später gebaute *Kleinbrücken* so von einem ältern Orte *Brücken* unterschieden haben. Der alte Name قنطرة ist dann übersetzt, wie بيت جن in Beziehung zu بيت جن . Zugleich darf darauf Gewicht gelegt werden, dass hier kein Flussübergang den Namen bedingt hat, derselbe mithin auf anderen, jedenfalls geschichtlich gegebenen Gründen ruht.

5. Die Strecke von *Quneitirah* bis zur *Jakobsbrücke*, welche *Burckh.* S. 551 ff. im Monat Juni, wie es scheint ohne besondere Beschwerden, in 6 Stunden zurücklegte, beschreibt unser Verf. als eine furchtbare *) und gefahrvolle. Seine Darstellung ist abermals sehr treu. Denn von *Quneitirah* hebt sich der Boden sanft nach dem $\frac{1}{4}$ Stunde entfernten, weithin als Landmarke sichtbaren *Grabhügel Abu-n Nedd* empor, von wo die Hochebene $\frac{2}{4}$ St. weit kaum merklich bis zu den von unserm Vf. nicht erwähnten *Eberhügel* (تل العنبر), dann rascher nach dem *Jordantal* hin abfällt und nahe ($\frac{1}{4}$ St. über) der *Jordansbrücke* in einer schroffen, hohen Felswand endet, an welcher auf zerbröckeltem Steinpflaster die Strasse in die Tiefe hinuntergeleitet ist. Nach v. *Schubert's* (S. 259, 264. 267.) *Barometermessungen*, deren relative Werthe ausreichen, liegt der *Eberhügel* 2450 *Par. F.*, *Quneitirah* 2500 *Par. F.* über dem Spiegel des *Jordan* an der *Brücke*. — Die von unserm Verf. bemerkten Trümmer **) einer Stadt bezeichnen

*) Das Wortspiel S. 472. 20. mit المشق und المشقة führt den Verfasser weiter zu dem Gedanken, der ich übersetzt habe: auf dem Hälfte von Hälfte sich löset, d. h. wo alles aus den Fugen geht. Nach *Dshaubari* bezeichnet شميتف überhaupt jede Hälfte eines in 2 Theile getheilten Dinges. Daber in übertragenem Sinne den *Bruder*. Besonders wird es von Zwillingsgeschwistern gebraucht, wie el-Khijari Fol. 230. اخوان شميقتان sagt. Dies schwebt ihm auch hier vor.

**) S. 4. Z. 21., in der Hdschr. deutlich geschrieben, ist mir dunkel. Denn wollte man auch von نا = ارتفع ein den Lexikographen unbekanntes نوع ableiten und durch *Erhöhung* deuten, so würde, von allem andern abgesehen,

unzweifelhaft *Nauwara* bei *Burckh.* S. 553., v. *Schub.* S. 263., *Wilson* S. 319., d. i. *Nuara* bei *Will.* Tyr. 15, 8. Ferner ist ihm richtig bekannt geworden, dass die Pflasterung des Passes einer späteren Zeit angehört, wie er auch in der Angabe der Zeit genau ist. Denn er verlässt *Quneitirah* mit Sonnenaufgang, d. h. 5 Min. vor 7 Uhr, und erreicht um Mittag den Pass über der Brücke. Dieselbe Zeit gebrauchte *Burckhardt*.

6. Der Jordan ist dem Vf. eine neue Erscheinung. Er überschreitet ihn mittelst der bekannten Brücke, welche erst zu Anfange des 15ten Jahrhunderts mit Anlegung der Karawanenstrasse gebaut ist und schon darum zu *قنا* nicht verglichen werden kann. Sie ist gegen 60 Schritte lang, von drei (nicht von vier nach *Burckh.* und v. *Schubert*, auch nicht von zwei nach v. *Heilbronner*) Bogen getragen. Die Breite des Flussbettes beträgt nur 80 Fuss. S. v. *Schub.* S. 259. Hier war zu allen Zeiten ein Flussübergang, den eine das biblische Lokal aus den Augen verlierende, aber ziemlich weit zurückreichende Tradition *vadum Jacob* nannte, *Willh. Tyr.* 18, 13, 21, 26, 22, 22., und noch *Coticoricus* sagt S. 362.: „nos equidem, cum illac transiremus, amnem vadusom comperimus.“ Nach v. *Schubert* a. a. O. beträgt die Tiefe des Flusses nur an wenigen Stellen mehr als 4 Fuss. *Abulf. Ann. Mosl.* IV. S. 38. nennt die Furt *مخاضة الاجران*, dieselbe, welche *Balduin IV.* vergeblich durch ein Castell zu sichern suchte, dessen Trümmer am westlichen Jordannufer, südlich von der Brücke, schon *Coticoricus* a. a. O. vgl. mit *Pococke* II. S. 108., *Robins.* III. S. 633. richtig wiedererkannte. Nach *Abulfeda* lag die Furt „unfern *Bdnijās* عند بيت يعقوب, d. i. beim Hause *Jakobs*.“ Letzteren Namen führte ein Ort nördlich von der Brücke, s. *Pococke* a. a. O. und *Robins.* S. 631. Es ist deutlich, dass der sonderbare Name der Brücke *جسر بنات يعقوب* = *Brücke der Töchter Jakob's* nur Namensentstellung aus *Brücke von Beit Ja'qub* ist, wie auch *el-Khijāri* den Jordan selbst den *Jakobsfluss* nennen hörte.

Der Abfall des Westjordanlandes nach Osten zu ist überall steil. *Burckhardt* gebrauchte S. 555. von der Brücke bis zum Gipfel des stark ansteigenden Gebirges $2\frac{1}{2}$ Stunden und gelangte nach weiteren $\frac{1}{2}$ Stunden nach *Ssafed* (صفد) s. *Robins.* III. S. 578 ff., und von da in $2\frac{1}{2}$ St. nach der *Josephscisterne*. Genauer nahmen *el-Khijāri's* Weg von der Cisterne zur Brücke *Coticoricus*, v. *Heilbronner* u. a. Namentlich sagt der Letztere S. 52.: „Die bisherigen Felsenwege verwandelten sich in ein wahres Sumpfsmeer, das sich über die Abhänge der Gebirge fortzieht. Wir setzten unsern Weg fort. Von den Höhen gewahrt man zuerst den kleinen See *Merom* und steigt dann steil hinab zu der soliden steinernen *Jakobsbrücke*.“ Vgl. v. *Schub.* S. 256. Unser Vf. wurde beim Ersteigen des Passes noch durch Regen überfallen.

7. Die *Josephscisterne* (الجبّ اليرسفي) fand *el-Khijāri* noch in gutem Staade, wie *Coticoricus* S. 361. Schon *Burckhardt* fand S. 556. den *Khān* im Verfall begriffen, der in den letzten Decennien rasch zugenommen hat. Uebrigens stimmt die Beschreibung *) , welche unser Verf. giebt, gut mit dem überein, was frühere und spätere Reisende darüber berichtet haben. Wie die Tradition überhaupt unbeachtet lässt, dass die biblische Ueberlieferung keine Scene der Patriarchengeschichte nach *Galiläa* versetzt, und abirrend *Jakob* auf der oben bezeichneten Brücke über den Jordan gehen lässt, so hat sie diese Stelle auf gut Glück ausersuchen, um hierher *Gen. 37, 24 ff.* zu verlegen. Schon *Robinson* III. S. 576. weist die Legende bis zu den Zeiten des *Descardus* nach. Indess schon im 10. Sec. sagt *Istākhrī* S. 32.: *جب يوسف على اثني عشر ميلا من طبرية على ما يلي دمشق* nach *Damaskus* zu. Dieselben Worte wiederholt *Ibn-Huqal* *Cod. Lugd.* S. 68. und mit Beziehung auf *Istākhrī* auch *Qazwīnī Athār el-bil.* S. 136. mit dem Bemerkten, dass der Brunnen bei dem Dorfe *Sind/hil* (سنجل), 4 Parasangen = 12 Meilen von *Tiberias*, liege und als Wallfahrtsort besucht werde. Vgl. dens. im *'Adhāb el-Makhl.* S. 201. Auch *Ibn-Batūta* (*Cod. Goth.*), *Abulfeda* S. 248. u. a. erwähnen diese Tradition, und es ist überall dieselbe Oertlichkeit um so mehr gemeint, als jenes *Sind/hil* das, bei *Burckhardt* S. 559. genannte ist.

damit nicht übereinstimmen, dass das Wort als Feminin, behandelt ist. Für den Sinn, den der Vf. ausdrücken will, möchte ich *حفيرة حول الخيام ليلا يدخلها ماء المطر* verglichen, d. i. nach *Dfhab* *der Graben um die Zelte*, damit nicht das Regenwasser in dieselben eindringe, und der als Rest noch die Lagerstätte bezeichnet, wenn das Zeltendorf abgebrochen und der Stamm weitergezogen ist. — Die alt'arab. Reminiscenz vom *Raben*, dessen Krächzen auf des Ortes Verödung deutet, wendet *el-Khijāri* auch *Pol. 8.* bei einer Trümmerstätte in *'Arabien an: الى بيوت على قارعة الطريق* و قادم اثار بنائها ناعب غرب البين باحبابها (s. *Erl. 13. Ann.*), von deren Gebäu noch die Trümmer stehen, auf deren Seiten der *Rabe* des Scheidens krächzet.

*) Das S. 4. Z. 29. im Texte stehende *خال* heisst leer. Es passt dies aber schon darum nicht in den Zusammenhang, weil im Folgenden Wasser aus der Cisterne geschöpft wird. Wahrscheinlich ist hier wieder ein Schreibfehler.

6. Den Pass von der Josephscisterne nach dem See von Tiberias überwand der Vf. nicht ohne Schwierigkeit, wie auch *Cotovicus* S. 360. vom See aus „*via acclivi ac petrosa nimis et aspera*“ zum Khán hinaufgestiegen zu sein versichert, und gelangte nach *el-Minjah* am nördlichen Saume der $\gamma\eta$ *Γενναούτης* Marc. 6, 53, welche Jos. B. J. 3, 10, 8. als irdisches Paradies beschreibt. Hier lagen einst um See von Tiberias *Capernaum*, *Chorazin*, *Bethsaida*, *Magdala*, von denen allen jetzt nur das Dorf *Medfhdel* (مجدل) noch den alten Namen trägt, während die Trümmer bei *el-Minjah*, *Ain Tábigah*, *Tell Hám* bald für das eine, bald für das andere angesehen sind. S. *Robinson* III. S. 542 ff. Wie übrigens *Josephus* ausdrücklich *γαβυνης* nennt und $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ hervorhebt, so auch *el-Khijári*. — Was *el-Minjah* anlangt, so nennt es am Ende des 12. Jahrh. *Behá ed-dín* S. 98., wo *Ssaláh ed-dín* von *el-Muleh* aus mit dem Haupttheile seines Heeres Halt machte, um nach *'Akhd* zu gehen. Es muss daher schon damals die grosse Strasse die Richtung des spätern Karawanenweges verfolgt haben. Uebrigens spricht *Behá ed-dín* von *المرضع التي يقال له المنية* = dem Orte, der *el-Minjah* genannt wird. Die frühere Existenz desselben verbürgen die dort befindlichen Trümmer. Des Khán wird erst im 16. Jahrh. gedacht. S. *Robins.* S. 541. — Was der Vf. weiter über den See von Tiberias und den Lauf des Jordan sagt, bedarf hier der Erklärung nicht. Die naderweilen auf Erkundigung beruhenden Notizen betreffen die Hauptstrasse nach Mittelpalästina, welche von Samaritanen aus über *Zer'ain* (*Vit. Sal.* S. 54.) = זֵרַאִין , an זֵרַאִין Jud. 7, 1. vgl. m. 1 Sam. 29, 1. (d. i. عين جالوت *Vit. Sal.* S. 53 f. = *Tubania* der Kreuzfahrer *Wilh. Tyr.* 22, 27.) vorüber, zwischen den Höhen des *Gilbo'a* und des kleinen *Hermon* (wo בְּהַר הַהַרְמוֹן Jud. 7, 1.) hindurch nach *Beisán* (vgl. 1 Reg. 4, 12. m. *Robins.* III. S. 393.) führt, den Jordan überschreitet und durch den Pass von בְּעֵינַיִם Jos. 13, 4. (d. i. عقبه فيق *Vit. Sal.* S. 107. 146., *Edrisi* Syr. S. 8., *cavea Roob* der Kreuzfahrer, s. v. *Naum.* Pal. S. 68.) das ostjordanische Hochland ersteigt. S. Setzen bei v. *Zach* XVIII. S. 352., *Burckh.* S. 437. Auf dieser Strasse drang schon *Ben Hadad* 1 Reg. 20, 26. in das Land ein und kehrte *Judas Maccabaeus* auf ihr zurück 1 Macc. 5, 52., wie sie im Mittelalter von Christen- und Saracenenheeren gewählt ist und fortdauernd dem friedlichen Verkehre diene. Das von *el-Khijári* genannte *التريب* *el-Mozirib*, vulgär *el-M'zirib* gesprochen, liegt auf der syrischen Händlstrasse, unfern *'Afsherd* (*عشتر*) *Vit. Sal.* S. 66 f. = $\text{בְּעֵינַיִם מְרִיבִים}$ Gen. 14, 5., vgl. *Zeitschr.* d. D. M. G. I. S. 215 f. In der Rechtschreibung des Namens treffen *el-Khijári*, *Mohammed ben 'Abd-Allah* und von ihnen angeführte Dichter zusammen. *Burckhardts Mezdríb* (*مزاريب*) beruht daher auf unrichtigem Hören. — Ueber die Tageszeit sagt *el-Khijári*, dass er daselbst angelangt sei (S. 5. Z. 8.) *بين العصرين* = zwischen den beiden *'Afsr*gebieten. Allerdings unterscheiden die *Sháfe'iten* ein 1. und 2. *'Afsr*, und setzen sie auf die Zeitpunkte, wo am *Gnomon* der Schatten gleich der Länge des Stifts ist, und wo derselbe doppelt so lang als der Stift ist, d. h. wo die Sonne 45° und wo sie $26^\circ 33' 50''$ über dem Horizonte steht. Indess diese Bestimmung war nicht überall und immer ausführbar, da schon *Mekkah* unter $21^\circ 30'$ n. Br. der nördlichste Punkt ist, wo noch im Wintersolstitium die Sonne jene Höhe erreicht und das 1. *'Afsr* mit dem Mittage zusammenfällt, während für alle nördlicher gelegenen Orte ein mit der geographischen Breite wachsender Zeitabschnitt des Jahres jenes 1. *'Afsr* gar nicht haben kann. Dies mag besonders für die Hanifiten bestimmend gewesen sein, nur ein *'Afsr* und zwar für den 2. Zeitpunkt festzusetzen. Unser Vf. kann nun hier um soweniger die Zeit nach einem 1. und 2. *'Afsr* in hanseitischem Sinne bestimmen, da in den betreffenden Novembertagen unter einer Polhöhe von $32^\circ 45'$ die Sonne überhaupt nur die Höhe von $37^\circ 10' 40''$ erreichte und daher der Stift = 1. selbst unter Mittag einen Schatten von = 1, 11. werfen musste, während fast genau um 4 Uhr NM. der Schatten = 2. war. Wie *el-Khijári* den Ausdruck meint, zeigt Fol. 69., wo er sagt: *واقفنا بد الى ان صلينا والعشمان* aber ist kurzer Ausdruck, um die Gebete bei Sonnenuntergang und bei Beginn der 1. Nachtwache zusammenzufassen, s. *Caspari* *Enchirid.* S. 54. Ebenso muss unter *العصران* das Nachmittagsgebet und das vorausgehende, d. h. das Mittagsgebet, verstanden werden. Die Zeit der Ankunft wird daher auf ungefähr 3 Uhr NM. anzusetzen sein.

9. Die Heerstrasse überschreitet von *Minjah* aus die kleine Ebene von *Gennesaret* und läuft nördlich von Tiberias, ohne den Ort selbst zu berühren, zur galiläischen Hochebene um so höher hinauf, als nach den bekannten hypsometrischen Verhältnissen der Spiegel des See's tief unter dem Meere liegt. v. *Schubert* sagt S. 231.: „Der von der Ebene etwas ansteigende Rand der Höhen, welche gegen *Caana* und *Nazareth* hin den Kessel des See's umgränzen, liegt nach unseren barometrischen Messungen nur 504 Par. F. über, der See selber aber 534 Fuss unter dem Niveau des Meeres, so dass allerdings die Höhe über 1000 Fuss misset,“ ja sogar über 1200 F., wenn man v. *Wildenbruch's* und *Lynch's* Messungen

zum Grunde legt. Der Aufstieg selbst ist steil und beschwerlich (v. Schubert S. 232.). Unser Vf. nennt die Höhe „eine von den Erdhügeln“, im Gegensatz zu den Felsenhöhen, und hatte beim Erklimmen grosse Mühseligkeiten zu überwinden, da die regnerische Jahreszeit den Boden dergestalt durchweicht hatte, dass der Tritt des Lastthieres darauf nicht haften wollte. Weiterhin, sagt er, sei er auf ebenem Boden zwischen grossen Steinen hingegangen, wie überhaupt auf der hohen Ebene felsige Landschaften mit zwischenliegenden Thälern wechseln. S. Robins. III. S. 492., Wilson II. S. 109. Letzterer schlug S. 305., wie auch Burckh. S. 577., den Weg el-Khijari's ein, der sicher über *Kefr Sebi*, nicht über *el-Lubijd* (اللويبا) Vit. Sal. S. 68.), nach dem Khän von *'Ain el-Tudshdhr*, in der Nähe des *Tabor* gelegen, *'Ain el-tuchiar* bei *Colovic* S. 356., gelangte. Ueber diesen Khän s. Robins. III. S. 480. Wenn sich übrigens Letzterer zweifelhaft darüber ausspricht, ob in dem dem Khän gegenüberliegenden Gebäude ein zweiter Khän oder ein Castell zu erkennen sei, so sagt el-Khijari deutlich, dass es ein zu seiner Zeit noch wohlhaltenes Castell war, wofür es auch *Burckhardt* und *Wilson* hielten.

10. Für den *Tabor* hat unser Verf. kein Interesse. Er erwähnt ihn nicht einmal, während christliche Reisende, wie billig, diesen Beherrscher der Ebene *Jizre'el* hestiegen und somit den Engpass umgehen, den hier unser Vf. durchzog. Der Abfall vom Khän *el-Tudshdhr* bis zum Fusse des *Tabor* ist ziemlich steil und, wie el-Khijari bezeugt, nach anhaltendem Regen nicht ohne Schwierigkeit. Der Pass *) ist nach unserm Vf. mit Bäumen besetzt, sicher *Quercus negilopa*, welche sich weithin über die Höhen am *Tabor* ausbreitet, s. v. Schub. S. 172., Robins. III. S. 450., und führt den Namen *Pass von Debburijd* nach dem von v. Schub. S. 174. besuchten, am Fusse des *Tabor* gelegenen Orte *Debburijd*, einst *Σαβαρίτων κωμη* Jos. B. J. 2, 21, 3., im Alterthume die Levitenstadt *בְּכֵרֶה* Jos. 19, 12, 21, 28. Vgl. *Pococke* II. S. 96., *Burckh.* S. 579., *Robins.* III. S. 451., *Wilson* II. S. 90.

11. Die Heerstrasse führt vom Fusse des *Tabor* über die Ebene *Jizre'el* nach dem alten *Legio*. Bei Benennung der Ebene irrt der Vf. oder ist falsch berichtet worden, wenn er sie den Namen *Merdsh Ddbiq* führen lässt. *Ibrähim* von *Dfheinia* setzt daher die Worte auf den Rand: هذا الاسم غير صواب وإنما اسمه مرج بن عامر وأما مرج دابق فهو في جهة حلب وهو الذي كانت به رافعة الغوري من السلطان صواب وإنما اسمه مرج بن عامر وأما مرج دابق فهو في جهة حلب وهو الذي كانت به رافعة الغوري من السلطان. d. h. dieser Name ist nicht richtig. Vielmehr ist der Name *Merdsh Ddbiq* im April von *er-Ramleh* her unfern *Ledshdhrän* die Ebene betrat, irrte er mit seinen Begleitern, um den Weg durch die Moräste zu finden, wogend und rathlos umher, bis ein Beduine die richtige Furt zeigte. *Monro* I. S. 281 ff. ging zu Ende des April von *Sötem* (= 2 Reg. 4, 8.) nach *Nazareth*, über einen beträchtlichen Bach, der von Osten kommt, und weiterhin über mehrere andere, die im nördlichen Theile der Ebene zu einem kleinen See sich vereinigen“ und musste später, den galläischen Bergen schon näher gekommen, „eine enge Ravine, durch welche ein Bach sich ergoss“, hinaufsteigen. Ebenso erzählt *Burckhardt* S. 587., dass, als *Buonaparte* im April 1799 die Türken schlug, „viele auf der Flucht ertranken im Flusse *Dabury*, der damals gerade einen Theil der Ebene überschwemmte“, wie schon *Jud.* 5, 21. *Sisera's* flüchtige Kämpfer. Besonders sagt hier wieder v. *Heilbronner* II. S. 41.; „Bei *Falah* ritten wir über die schlüpfrigen schwarzen Franzosenschanzen und kamen im furchtbarsten Regenschauer wieder in die Ebene hinab. Hier war alles versumpft und kein Ausweg zu finden, um an die gegenüberliegende Bergwand zu gelangen, über die der Weg nach *Nazareth* führt. Weit und breit kein Dorf, kein Mensch, kein Weg, unter uns Sumpf, über uns unerschöpfliche Wolken, so standen wir rathlos um ein braves Packpferd, das eben ganz versunken war und nur mit dem Kopfe herauschaute. Uns erwartete jeden Augenblick dasselbe Schicksal des Versinkens.“ — Ehe noch der Vf. die

*) Das S. 5. Z. 26. im Texte gebrauchte *بغاز* ist türkisch. Der Vf. gebraucht es ebenso noch Fol. 24. vrs. und Fol. 60., wo er es sogar flektirt: *نطوري بغازا صيقا*. *Mohammed ben 'Abd-Allah* sagt Fol. 55. vrs. bei Gelegenheit seiner

Einfahrt in das *Mare di Marmora*: *ثم اتينا على البغاز وهو في اللغة التركية بمعنى المأزمن في العربية وهو مصيف بين جبلين*, d. i. dann gelangten wir nach *el-Doghâz*, was in der türkischen Sprache die Bedeutung des arabischen *Mâzim* hat, d. h. ein Engpass zwischen zwei Bergen.

Ebene ganz überschritten hat, mahnt die Zeit zu Vollbringung des Gebets. Der hier gebrauchten liturgischen Ausdrücke *الجمع والقصر* bedient er sich ebenso Fol. 161 vrs.: *ثم سرنا يومنا ذلك الى ان كاد ان* *ووجب العصر ويثبت عن السفر الجمع والقصر* und abstehen liess von der Wanderung *el-Dfhem'* und *el-Qafsr*. *الجمع* ist das Zusammenfassen zweier Gebete; *القصر* ist die Reduction der vier Raka'at auf zwei. Im Kriege und auf der Reise ist dies gestattet, unter Umständen sogar geboten. Daher sagt der Vf. Fol. 249. vrs.: *ثم سرنا حتى رجب فريض العصر ووجب* und oblag auf der Reise das *Qafsr*. *وعلى المسير القصر*, d. h. dann zogen wir, bis eintrat das Gebet des 'Afsr und oblag auf der Reise das *Qafsr*.

12. Die Handschrift schreibt deutlich *el-Ledshahn*, während Abulf. Géogr. S. 227. *el-Ledsháhán* gesprochen wissen will, unfehlbar *Legio* des Eusebius und Hieronymus. Es liegt am westlichen Ende der grossen Ebene, wo diese zu der niedrigen Reihe bewaldeter Hügel emporsteigt, welche den Carmel mit Samarien verbinden. S. Robins. III. S. 412. Ein kleiner Bach, gemeinlich *Nahr el-Ledsháhán* genannt und von der Legende mit Abraham in Verbindung gesetzt (Qazwini Áthár el-bil. S. 172.), befruchtet seine Fluren und aus seinen Olivenhainen erhebt der Ort seinen „ziemlich hohen Minarett“, weithin über die Ebene bis *Jirret'*, *Shunem* und zum *Tabor* hin sichtbar. Von neueren Reisenden kam hauptsächlich nur *Maundrell* (Reise von Aleppo nach Jerusalem S. 73.) hierher. Vgl. *Robins.* a. a. O. Ob *el-Ledsháhán* mit *נגדו* nach *Robinson* zusammenfalle, oder nach v. Ruumer Beiträge z. bibl. Geogr. S. 42. ihm nur benachbart s. v. a. *Μαῦμαυρόνολος* = *נגדו* sei, mag hier unentschieden bleiben. Gewiss aber ist die Fläche um den Ort, deren auch *el-Khijári* gedenkt, das *נגדו* *נגדו* *Zach.* 12, 11., wo Josia die Todeswunde erhielt, 2 Chr. 35, 22. — Der Vf. bemerkt noch nach Erkundigung, dass am Saume der grossen Ebene zahlreiche Ortschaften liegen, wozu Ibrahim von Dfheim die Randbemerkung fügt: *ومنها بلدى جينين فانها مقابلة للبحون في جهة الشرق بيننا بحر ثلاث ساعات، ابراهيم الجينيني* mein Heimatsort *Dfheimín* [= *Fivava* Jos. Ant. 20, 6, 1. B. J. 2, 12, 3., *גין* *גין* Jos. 19, 21, 29.]. Er liegt *el-Ledsháhán* gegenüber nach Osten, ungefähr 3 Stunden von einander.

13. Von *Ledsháhán* aus gilt es die N. 12. erwähnten Waldhügel zu übersteigen, um dann dem östlichen Saume der Niederung zu folgen, welche sich zwischen dem Westabfalle des Gebirges von Ephraim und dem Meere hinzieht. Unser Führer auf dieser Strecke ist neben *el-Khijári* namentlich *Prokesch*. Dieser fand a. u. O. S. 128. die Thäler bebaut und die sanften Höhen mit Wallnussbäumen besetzt, wie unser Verf. des anmuthigen grünen Gebüsches gedenkt. Doch trifft *el-Khijári's* Weg für die erste $1\frac{1}{2}$ St. nicht mit dem *Prokesch's* zusammen. Jener kommt von *Ledsháhán* herauf, dieser stieg von dem Rücken der Höhen zur Ebene nieder, ohne *el-Ledsháhán* zu berühren, ja ohne es auch nur zu nennen. Von *el-Khijári's* felsigem Hohlwege, der eine Stunde weit bergauf und bergab führte, erwähnt darum *Pr.* nichts, während dagegen „der Wasserbrunnen, da wo die Werge zusammenstossen“*), bei *el-Kh.* nach allen Spuren mit der „schlechten Tränke“ bei *Pr.* zusammenfällt, welche auf dem Rücken der Höhen für eine Strecke von $5\frac{1}{2}$ St. bis *Qáqán* hin die einzige ist, welche Wasser gewinnen lässt. — Vollständiger erwähnt *el-Khijári* hier zweier Oerter, *'Arah* und *'Ar'arah*, ersteres westlich, letzteres östlich von der Strasse gelegen. In *Robinson's* Verzeichnissen findet sich III. S. 851. orthographisch ungenau *'Ar'arah*. Der Name deutet auf ein verschollenes *قريّة*, dessen das A. T. nicht gedenkt. Rücksichtlich des anderweit nicht erwähnten *'Arah* macht Ibrahim von Dfheim die Randbemerkung: *ولشيخنا*

الشيخ خير الدين الرملى الاقى ذكره في ذكر الرملة تريبا على لسان الشيخ محفوظ بن الشيخ محمد الغرى صاحب التنوير وشرحه المنح حين مروره بطريقه عارا عابدا من دمشق وقد مرص بها سنة

‘ نذرت بانى لا اعود لجلتف ‘
ولو كان لى فينا الحسن جوارا،
‘ فكيف وعارا فى الطريق مخباء ‘
فان عدت العى فى معادى عارا،

d. h. Unser Sheikh *Khair ed-dín* von *Ramleh*, von dem alsbald weiter unten bei *Ramleh* die Rede sein wird [Fol. 240.], mit den Worten des Sheikh *Mahfudh ben esh-Sheikh Mohammed von Ghuzzeh*, des Verfassers des *el-Tenwir* und des Commentars dazu *el-Mináh* (H. Kh. nr. 3659), als er beim Dorfe *'Ará* auf der Rückkehr von *Damaskus*, wo er ein Jahr krank gewesen war, vorüberging:

*) *سبيل ماء* S. 6. Z. 7. ist ein neu-arab. Ausdruck, in welchem *arbil* kurz für *سبيل الله* und dies im Sinne eines Gott wohlgefälligen, dem grossen Publicum zum Vortheil gereichenden Werkes gesagt ist. Daher ist *سبيل ماء* von einer öffentlichen Fontaine oder einem öffentlichen Brunnen im Gebrauche. — *قارعة الطريق* ist gleichfalls späterer Ausdruck für den Ort, wo die Wege zusammenstossen, für den Kreuzweg u. a. S. Erl. 5. Anm.

Gelobt habe ich, nicht wieder nach Dſhilliq (Damaskus) zurückzukehren, auch wenn darin die Schönsten wären meine Nachbarn.

Und wie sollte ich auch, da 'Ard auf dem Wege versteckt liegt, und, dafern ich zurückkehrte, treffen würde bei meiner Rückkehr Schande *).

Die Leute jener Gegend sprechen 'Ard mit Alif aus, nicht 'Arah mit He. Der wesentliche Unterschied liegt in der Dehnung der letzten Sylbe.

Vom Fusse der Hügel sind es noch 3 Wegstunden durch die Ebene bis Qūqūn, bei Prokesch „Kahun, ein ummauerter Ort mitten in der Ebene auf einem Hügel“, an dessen Fusse sich ein Brunnen befindet. Des grossen Khān, westlich von dem Orte nach el-Khijāri, gedenkt Prokesch nicht, der in dem auch von unserm Vf. genanntes Schlosse verweilte. Qūqūn ist übrigens „Kako auf der Ebene von Caesarea“, wo sich nach Willh. Tyr. 12, 21. während der Gefangenschaft Balduins II. die Fürsten sammelten, um das belagerte Joppe zu entsetzen.

14. Qal'at Qalansuueh, d. h. Haubenschloss, liegt 1½ St. von Qūqūn. Prok. nennt es Karentsavūh, eine zerstörte Feste mit Ruinen einer Kirche, etwas nach Osten zu von der Strasse auf einer schwachen Höhe gelegen.

15. Von Qal'at Qalansuueh geht el-Khijāri nach Rds 'Ain, wie in umgekehrter Richtung Prokesch S. 126 f. von hier dorthin. Letzterer sagt über diese Strecke: „Eine Stunde weiter ritten wir durch den Ort Dūr-Adess [Deir 'Ades = Linsenkloster], und, mit Abstand von einer halben Stunde von einem Punkte zum andern, über wellenförmigen bebauten Grund, durch das Dürfchen Kaffr-Suba [Kefr Sāba], an einer einsamen Moschee, an einer zweiten und an Karentsavūh [Qalansuueh] vorüber.“ Das wichtige Kefr Sāba, unfehlbar Καρυοπούδι = Antipatris, s. v. Raumer Pal. S. 462. und Robins. III. S. 257 ff., nennt el-Khijāri nicht, dafür aber das von Prokesch unerwähnt gelassene Dſheldſhūlijāt (bei Robins. III. S. 877. Dſhildſhūleh, während Medfhr ed-din u. d. W. Ludd wie el-Khijāri schreibt), sicher دجلت Jos. 12, 23., ungefähr 1 Stunde südlich (nicht 6 röm. M. nördlich, wie in Euseb. Onom. angegeben ist) von Kefr Sāba, wie auch R. Schwarz in seiner zu Jerusalem erschienenen, hebräisch geschriebenen Beschreibung von Palästina Fol. 72 bezeugt. Vgl. ausserdem Wiener RWb. I. S. 431. Dass auch el-Khijāri, nach dem 'Eshāgebete von Qūqūn abgereist, erst gegen Morgen nach Dſheldſhūlijāt gelangt, lässt letzteres nicht mit Robinson III. S. 260. näher bei Qalansuueh suchen. — Das Schloss Rds 'Ain liegt nicht, wie es Kiepert zeichnet, westlich, sondern nach el-Khijāri und Prokesch ¼ Stunde östlich von der Hauptstrasse. An ihm fliesset ein aus den östlichen Bergen herabkommender Bach vorüber, den die Heerstrasse mittelst einer Brücke von 6 Bogen passirt. Es ist der Nahr el-'Aūfhd (نهر العرجاء) Vit. Sal. S. 197., Abulf. Géogr. S. 48.

16. Der Verf. nimmt den Weg auf el-Ludd, oder das uralte دوس = Diospolis, und er-Ramleh, eine seit der 'Araberzeit neu erbaute Stadt. S. über beide besonders Robins. II. S. 235 ff. 261 ff. Auffallend kurz geht el-Khijāri über das von Medfhr ed-din sehr ausführlich beschriebene er-Ramleh hinweg, so dass er den von allen Reisenden besuchten, vom Sultān en-Nasir Mohammed ben Qalāin im J. 718 (= 1318) vollendeten schönen Minaret nicht einmal erwähnt. Dafür gedenkt el-Khijāri eines öffentlichen Teichs nahe beim Lagerplatz der Karawanen, der ihn an den Teich von el-Mo'adhdhem erinnerte. Letzterer befindet sich in 'Arabien auf der syrischen Hadſſtrasse, von el-Khijāri Fol. 10. beschrieben. Sein Nebenmann Mohammed ben 'Abd-Allah sagt darüber Fol. 96. vrs.: ثم اتينا على العظم وعوراد فيه قلعة عثمانية ... وعند القلعة بركة عظيمة متسعة جدا باتيها الماء من الامطار ولها خمس وعشرون درجة ولما وردناها رجدنا لها خمس عشرة درجة في الماء القرات, d. h. darauf gelangten wir nach el-Mo'adhdhem, das ist ein Thal mit einem 'othmanischen Castell. Bei diesem ist ein sehr grosser, weiter Teich, der sein Wasser vom Regen erhält. 25 Stufen führen zu ihm. Als wir hinabstiegen, fanden wir 15 Stufen in süssem Wasser. Jener ähnliche Teich bei er-Ramleh ist sicher die „grosse viereckige Cisterne“, unfern des Friedhofs, der die Gebäude um den berühmten Minaret umgibt, auf welche Hofr. D. Hünel zuerst stiess, als er von Jāfd aus zu er-Ramleh ankam. S. Zeitschr. der D. M. G. Bd. IV. und Prokesch S. 38.

* Wortspiel mit عار und عار Schande.

Zwei alte arabische Schriftsteller über Jerusalem.

Der insonderheit um die Herausgabe arabischer Hefeniker und Geographen hochverdiente Göttinger Professor F. Wüstenfeld hat in dem dritten Heft der Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft von diesem Jahre einen Artikel mit der Ueberschrift: „Jacut's Reisen, aus seinem geographischen Wörterbuche beschrieben,“ veröffentlicht, in welchem sich außer von diesem berühmten Geographen von einem noch ältern arabischen Schriftsteller höchst interessante Beschreibungen von Jerusalem finden. Indem wir diese Beschreibungen hiermit zu weiterer Kenntniß bringen, möchten wir eine historische Beleuchtung derselben einem Vorterrichteten, wie dem Dr. L. Zehler, überlassen.

1. Beschreibung des Abu Abdallah Muhammed el Wasidjari aus dem Jahre 378 der Hidschra (988 christlicher Zeitrechnung): Jerusalem hat eine miltlere Temperatur, nicht zu heiß und nicht zu kalt, selten fällt dort Schnee. Die Häuser sind von Steinen erbaut wie man sie nicht schön und eleganter sieht, die Einwohner sind sehr guttelt, das Leben ist dort höchst angenehm, die öffentlichen Plätze reinlich, Moscheen und Capellen sehr zahlreich; Früchte jeder Art und die allerentgegengelegtesten Dinge findet man dort zusammen, wie Citronen, Mandeln, Datteln, Nüsse, Feigen und Pflanz. Mella und Medina haben zwar durch die Kaba und das Prophetengrab einen Vorzug, aber am Tage der Auferstehung ziehen beide im Triumphe nach Jerusalem, und dieses vereint dann in sich alle Herrlichkeit. Indes hat es auch seine Schattenseiten; schon in der Thora steht geschrieben: Jerusalem ist eine Schüssel von Gold, gefüllt mit Scorpionen. Man kann nichts unreinlicheres sehen als die Wäder in Jerusalem, nichts beschwerlicheres als die Zufuhr dahin; dazu kommt daß die Stadt wenig Orschle aufzuweisen hat, dagegen viele Christen. Die Abgaben sind drückend, der Handel wird von Angehörten beaufsichtigt, an den Thoren stehen Wachen welche verhindern daß man seine Waaren an einer andern Stelie anbieten kann; dabei geht es aber wenig ehrlich zu, der Bedrückte findet keine Hülf, wer eßen und gerabe ist, hat seine Sorge; der Reiche wird benidelt, um den Gollch bekümmert man sich nicht, der Philolog bleibt unbekannt, man sieht keinen geselligen Verein, hört keine öffentliche Vorlesung; Christen und Juden haben die Oberhand, Versammlungsplätze und Moscheen bleiben leer. Die Stadt ist kleiner als Mella, aber größer als Medina, sie ist theils am Berg mit Mauern, theils durch einen Graben besetzt und hat acht eiserne Thore: das Zionsthor, hab el nissa, hab el kolat oder das Steinpflasterthor, hab hschubb Jemija, d. h. das Thor am Jeremiaßbrunnen, das Siloa-Thor, das Jericho-Thor, hab el omur, das Tempelthor, und hab mihrab Darwad, das Thor von David's Saal. Wasser ist dort reichlich, fast jedes Haus hat eine, zwei oder drei Cisternen, je nachdem es groß oder klein ist. Man hat auch ein Wadi abgeschlossen, so daß zwei Teiche entstanden sind, in denen sich im Winter das Wasser aus den Wädhern sammelt, und daraus sind Canäle nach der Stadt gezogen, die das Wasser im Frühjahr in die

Eiserne der Moschee und nach andern Stellen leiten. Die Moschee el Ahsa liegt auf dem höchsten Punkte der Stadt im Südost, der Grund dazu ist von David gelegt; die Länge der barren, außen glatt behauenen Steine beträgt 10 Ellen, darauf hat Abd el Malik mit kleinen, schönen Steinen aufgebaut; aber unter den Abbasiden kam ein Erdbeben und zerstörte den Theil wo die Kanzel steht, und als der damalige Chalif hier von Kenntniß erhielt und die Moschee eben so wieder herstellen wollte wie sie gewesen war, erwiderte man ihm: sage nur! dazu bist du nicht im Stande. Er schrieb nun an seine Emire und Feldherren und befahl daß jeder von ihnen eine Halle wieder bauen solle, und sie bauten auch fester und dicker als es gewesen war; aber das neue Stück ist durch die mit Gyps überzogenen Säulen kenntlich, während das alte aus Marmor Säulen besteht. Die bedeckte Halle hat 26 Thore, eines, der Kanzel gegenüber, heißt das große eiserne Thor; es ist mit übergoldetem Messingblech beschlagen und den Flügel kann nur ein sehr starker Mann öffnen. Zur Rechten davon sind sieben große Thore, das mittlere mit Goldblättern belegt, zur Linken ebensoviel, und nach Osten 11 Thore ohne Verzierung. Die Moschee hat 13 Eingänge mit 20 Thoren, ihre Länge beträgt 1000 Ellen, die Breite 700 Ellen. Unter der Castra ist eine Höhle in welcher 960 Menschen leben können.

2. Beschreibung des Jocut (gestorben 626 d. H., d. i. 1229 n. Chr.). El Madia, das Heiligthum, oder el Beit el mukabba, der heilige Tempel, ist der Name für die Stadt Jerusalem; sie liegt auf einem Plateau rings von Bergen umgeben, so daß in der Nähe keine ebene Fläche ist und die Felder mit Hacken bestellt werden müssen, weil Thiere dort nicht arbeiten können. Sie hat viele freie Plätze und schöne Gebäude. El Madia schied el asfa, d. i. die ferne Moschee (nämlich in Bezug auf die zu Medina und Mekka), liegt auf der Südseite; der Grund ist von David gelegt, und sie ist mehr lang als breit; nach Süden liegt der Platz wo das öffentliche Freitagsgebet gehalten wird. Sie ist aus schönster und fester gebaut, auf Säulen von lauter Marmor mit Mosail, wie es in der Welt nichts schöneres gibt, die Moschee von Constantius nicht ausgenommen. In der Mitte des vordern Platzes befindet sich eine große Mistaba (Versammlungsraum) von Marmor Säulen mit einem Dach, außen von Blei, innen mit Mosail bedeckt und der Fußboden mit bunten Marmorplatten getäfelt. In der Mitte dieses Marmors steht eine andere Kuppel und darin el Castra, der Felsen welcher besucht wird, an dessen Seite die Einbrüche der Füsse des Propheten sichtbar sind; darunter eine Höhle, in die man auf mehreren Stufen hinaufsteigt, auf dem Boden und an den Seiten mit Marmor geplattet; hier wird das Gebet verrichtet. Jene Kuppel hat vier Thore und an der Ostseite auf der Spitze eine andere Kuppel auf schönen schlanken Säulen, dieß soll die Kettenkuppel seyn; dort hing eine Kette welche in Streitigkeiten wer Recht hatte, ergreifen konnte; von dem der Unrecht hatte, wurde sie durch eine unbekante Gewalt in die Höhe gezogen, so daß er sie nicht erreichen konnte. Auch die Kuppel der Leiter (Jakobs Himmelleiter) ist über der Mistaba und die Kuppel des Pro-

pheten David; das alles auf Säulen, die oben mit Blei überdeckt sind. Es gibt dort viele Grotten und Plätze, die von den Andächtigen besucht werden, deren Aufzählung hier zu weit führen würde. Zum Trinken haben die Einwohner nur Regenwasser, und es gibt kein Haus ohne Eiserne; aber das Wasser ist schlecht, da es meistens von den Straßen zusammenfließt, und wenn diese mit Steinen gepflastert wären, würden sie nicht so schmutzig seyn. Auf drei großen Teichen, dem Teich der Kinder Israels, dem Teich Salomon und dem Teich der Jabb sind Bäder eingerichtet. Abu Abdallah Muhammed el Baischqari (der oben vernommene) sagt, Sulman sey ein Platz in der Vorstadt von Jerusalem mit einer süßen Quelle, welche große Gärten bewässere, deren Ertrag der Chalif Othman ben Affan zum Unterhalt für die Stadtlernen vermachte; unter ihr sey die Hiebsquelle. Hieron ist heutzutage nichts mehr vorhanden, die Quelle Sulwan (Silwa) ist hinter der Stadt in dem Thal Gahannam (Gehinom), aber durchaus kein Gebäude dort; höchstens könnte eine Moschee oder etwas ähnliches dort gestanden haben; Gärten und eine Vorstadt gibt es gar nicht mehr. Da aber el Baischqari aus Jerusalem gebürtig und in seiner Vaterstadt am besten bekannt war, so mag dieß wohl in frühern Zeiten so gewesen seyn. Omar ben el Chattab schickte den Amr ben el As im Jahr 16 d. H. nach Palästina und dieser stieg an Jerusalem zu belagern; nachdem dann Abu Ubeida Ibn el Dscharrach Rinnisrin eingenommen hatte, ließ er zu jenem und die Einwohner von Jerusalem schlossen mit Abu Ubeida den Frieden ab unter den gewöhnlichen Bedingungen, welche Omar beställigen sollte, und dieser begab sich selbst zu diesem Zweck im Jahr 17 dahin. Nachher blieb die Stadt im Besitz der Musulimen, und die Religionsverwandten der dort anässigen griechischen, fränkischen und armenischen Christen kamen dahin zum Besuch der Kirche el Aumana. Dieß ist die größte Kirche der Christen in Jerusalem, von seltener Schönheit und großem Reichthum; sie liegt jetzt innerhalb der Ringmauer der Stadt und ist ihr Begräbnißplatz, den sie el Kirma, d. h. die Auferstehung, nennen, weil sie glauben daß der Messias darin auferstanden sey; der wahre Name ist aber el Aumama, d. h. Gericht, weil hier der Platz war, wohin die Leute den Gericht brachten; er lag hinter der Stadt, dort wurden Strafurtheile vollzogen, Missethäter die Hände abgehauen, Mäuler gekreuzigt; als nun der Messias hier gekreuzigt wurde, kam der Platz in große Verehrung. Hier ist auch der Garten Josephs des Wahrheitsliebenden, und an einer Stelle steht eine Kerze, die nach ihrer Behauptung an einem gewissen Tage durch ein Licht vom Himmel angezündet wird; es hat mir aber ein Beamter des Sultans, dem sie nichts abschlagen konnten, erzählt, der Presbyter habe ihm auf seine dringenden Fragen gestanden daß die Kerze durch eine besondere Vorrichtung, ohne daß es die Leute sähen und merken, plötzlich angezündet werde.

Jerusalem kam dann auf kurze Zeit unter die Herrschaft des Sultans ben Ortuk und seines Bruders Hgazi, bis sie es im Jahr 491 wieder den Aegyptern überlassen mußten. Um diese Zeit waren die Franken gelandet, hatten sich fast aller Küstenstädte bemächtigt und zogen gegen Jerusalem,

welches sie nach einer vierzigstägigen Belagerung am 23 Schaban 492 durch einen Sturm auf das Thor der Klämme eroberten; eine Woche dauerte das Blutbad, die Muslime hatten sich in die Mejsere el 'Alfa geflüchtet und es wurden ihrer über 70,000 niedergeschauen. Die Sieger nahmen von der Sachra über 40 silberne Armleuchter, jeder 3600 Silberdirhem an Werth, einen silbernen Ofen 40 Pfund schwer und unermessliche andere Schätze, und machten aus der Sachra und der Mejsere el 'Alfa Schweinhälle. Die Stadt blieb in ihren Händen, bis sie nach 91 Jahren Salah ed din im Jahr 583 wieder eroberte, und jetzt ist sie im Besitz des Sultan's el Malik el Muadhdham Jsa, welcher aber bei der Annäherung der Franken und nachdem sie im Jahr 616 Timial eingenommen haben, die Mauern von Jerusalem hat zerstören lassen, indem er sagte: Wir wollen unser Land nicht durch Mauern, sondern mit unsern Schwertern und Reitern schützen.

R. V. LANZONE

VIAGGIO
IN
PALESTINA E SORIA

DI
KAID BA

XVIII SULTANO DELLA II DINASTIA MAMELUCCA

TRADOTTO NEL 1877

TESTO ARABO

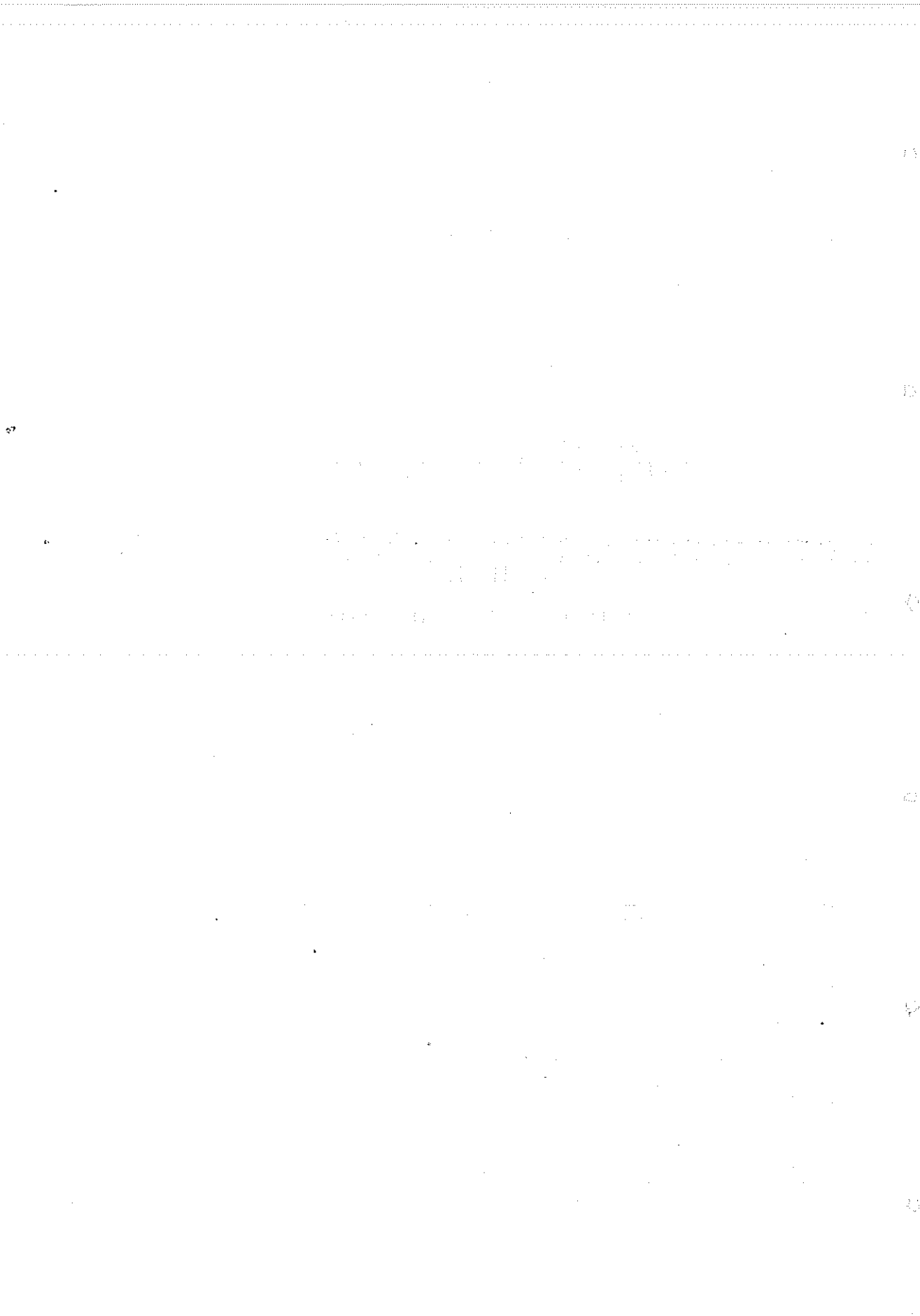
TORINO

STAMPERIA REALE DELLA DITTA G. B. PARAVIA & C.

Via Arona, 29

1878

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Il manoscritto, che ora pubblico, fa parte di una collezione di testi inediti ch'ebbi la ventura di raccogliere durante i miei viaggi in Oriente; è scritto su carta orientale giallognola, e forma un volume di 171 pagine, di cui la prima, portante il titolo القول المستطرف في سفر مولانا الملك الأشرف, è alluminata. È un diario del viaggio fatto dal XVIII Sultano della II dinastia dei Mamelucchi Circassi per nome Abu el Nasr Kaid Ba el Mahmudi el Dzaheri; il quale, accompagnato da numeroso seguito, partì dal Cairo (d'Egitto), capitale del suo regno, traversò la Palestina e la Soria fino alla città di Aintab, quasi all'estremo confine, e di là fece nuovamente ritorno in Egitto.

Il Sultano partì dal Cairo la sera di lunedì ⁽¹⁾, fine del mese di Gamadi Awel 882 ⁽²⁾, dirigendosi con una parte del suo seguito verso la Salehie ⁽³⁾ per esaminare la fabbrica di una moschea che colà innalzava, e dove rimase fino al 4 del mese di Gamadi Acher; indi proseguì il suo viaggio.

Il resto del seguito, di cui faceva parte lo scrittore del presente viaggio (chiamato Mohamed Ben Ibrahim nativo di Tai, del rito Sciafeita) ⁽⁴⁾, partì dal Cairo il giorno di sabato 5 Gamadi Acher, e lo raggiunse il martedì 15 ⁽⁵⁾ verso mezzogiorno al Munie. Il viaggio fu fatto a dromedario: le ore della partenza e degli arrivi, sia dalle città che dalle stazioni, vi sono indicate con esattezza. Quando trovai questo manoscritto, esso era mancante di qualche pagina, che in seguito mi riescì rintracciare: oggi trovasi completo.

Ciò premesso, non tornerà sgradito al lettore se aggiungo un breve cenno biografico del suddetto Sultano, ricavato in parte dai diversi autori Arabi, che citerò a tempo opportuno.

Kaid Ba, nato nell'826 ⁽⁶⁾ (15 dicembre 1422), fu condotto in Egitto all'età di 12 anni dal mercante Mahmud nell'838 (7 agosto 1434), e da questi venduto al Sultano Malec el Asraf Barsaba, X Sultano della II dinastia Mamelucca; e da questi passò al Sultano Malec el Dzaher Giakmak, XII Sultano della medesima dinastia.

Sotto questo secondo padrone Kaid Ba si distinse moltissimo sia come amministratore sia come soldato: per il che venne innalzato a molti gradi, e insignito di grandi onori, che lo portarono infine al riacquisto della libertà.

I modi affabili e concilianti del giovine Mamelucco, uniti al suo coraggio e al suo sapere, lo facevano rispettare e stimare da tutti, non esclusi i suoi stessi colleghi, gli Emiri, spiriti irrequieti e turbolenti, che ad ogni più piccolo pretesto innalzavano o detronizzavano i Sultani del loro paese, invocando sempre il bene pubblico, ma che in realtà non erano da altro compresi che dalla sete del po-

tere: malattia il cui germe, non ostante il progresso e la civiltà, regna tuttora disgraziatamente nel mondo.

Dopo i due regni effimeri di Malec el Dzaher Belbei e di Timur Boga (7) (il primo regnò 56 giorni ed il secondo 60) il trono d'Egitto rimaneva vacante. Radunatisi gli Emiri ed i grandi dello Stato in consiglio, ad unanimità di voti venne eletto Kaid Ba, il quale, se non aggiunse il trono per retaggio, non l'ebbe neppure per usurpazione.

La sua esaltazione ebbe luogo il lunedì 6 Reghel dell'anno 872 (8). Kaid Ba, soprannominato El Mahmudi dal mercante che lo aveva condotto in Egitto, e Dzaheri dal nome del suo liberatore saliva sul trono col titolo di Malec el Asraf. Prima sua cura, appena prese le redini dello Stato, fu lo assestamento delle finanze (esauste per le malversazioni commesse nelle passate amministrazioni), e l'abolizione di molte tasse che ritardavano e inceppavano lo sviluppo industriale e commerciale del paese. Prudentemente e a rilento, senza scosse nè attriti, allontanava e disperdeva i più turbolenti Emiri, ed otteneva la quiete del suo Stato; e la tranquillità ottenuta così saviamente durava per sei anni consecutivi, ed avrebbe continuato se non fossero sopraggiunte a turbarla le conquiste di Mohamed II (9). Colla perspicacia di cui era dotato, Kaid Ba presentì che il conquistatore ottomano non avrebbe tardato ad invadere la Soria e la Palestina; e per non esser preso all'improvista inviò le sue migliori truppe in osservazione sul confine della Soria. Ma in quel momento Mohamed II erasi rivolto verso gli Stati cristiani: cosicchè, il pericolo non essendo imminente, il Sultano d'Egitto richiamò le sue truppe (10). Non tardò molto che Mohamed rivolse le sue schiere vittoriose verso la Soria; ma volle fortuna che la morte lo colpisse

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in mezzo ai suoi trionfi nell'Anatolia ⁽¹¹⁾. I due figli di Mohamed, Bajazed e Ghim, dopo la morte del padre, si disputavano il trono guerreggiandosi. Ghim ⁽¹²⁾ sconfitto si rifugiò in Egitto colla sua famiglia, accolto principescamente dal Sultano, che inutilmente tentò riconciliarlo col fratello. Mentre Ghim ⁽¹³⁾ trovavasi in Egitto, un messo del Principe di Caramania gli venne ad offrire un nuovo esercito per combattere Bajazed: accettò l'offerta, respingendo i consigli contrari di Kaid Ba più avveduto del suo ospite, ed ebbe avversa la fortuna nella tentata impresa. Bajazed ⁽¹⁴⁾, rimasto solo possessore del trono paterno, non tardò a voler attivare il progetto di suo padre, che era quello d'impossessarsi della Soria. Kaid Ba indovinando le intenzioni di Bajazed e nell'impossibilità di scongiurare il pericolo, sicuro che l'ospitalità data a Ghim sarebbe stato un pretesto che non avrebbe lasciato sfuggire l'Imperatore ottomano, prese egli stesso l'iniziativa. Spogliò la carovana turca che andava alla Mecca, e s'impadronì delle due città di Tars e Adana dipendenti dall'Impero ottomano. Immediatamente Bajazed spedì un'ambasciata per chiedere spiegazioni di questi fatti: e Kaid Ba, rimandati gli ambasciatori senza risposta, ordinò d'attaccare le truppe ottomane; le quali, se da una parte furono battute, dall'altra presero nuovamente possesso delle due summentovate città. Giunta questa notizia a Kaid Ba, inviò un nuovo esercito sotto il comando di uno dei suoi fidi generali, l'Emiro Ezbeki, il quale, impossessatosi nuovamente delle due città, sconfisse e disperse la seconda armata, che Bajazed gli aveva mandato incontro sotto il comando del suo genero Ahmed figlio del Duca di Bosnia che si era fatto musulmano, fece Ahmed prigioniero e lo menò seco in Egitto.

Non ostante queste splendide vittorie Kaid Ba cercò tutti i mezzi d'ottenere la pace per non aggravare lo Stato, sapendo quanto disastrose fossero le guerre anche quando coronate dalla vittoria.

A tale scopo rinvì il prigioniero ⁽¹⁵⁾ Almed a Bajazed con incarico d'iniziare delle trattative di pace. Senonchè furente delle toccate sconfitte Bajazed non volle sentirne parlare: chè anzi si affrettò a radunare un nuovo esercito, affidandone il comando ad Ali Pascià. Kaid Ba spedì l'Emiro Ezbechi che sconfisse gli Ottomani, il cui capo potè a stento fuggire per render conto al suo padrone di quanto era accaduto.

Queste lezioni, specialmente l'ultima, calmarono gli ardori bellicosi di Bajazed, e permisero a Kaid Ba di riannodare le trattative di pace, che raggiunse con la cessione delle due città contestate. Egli sopravvisse cinque anni alla pace conclusa e morì ⁽¹⁶⁾ il 27 Zilcade 901 (21 settembre 1495) in mezzo al compianto universale.

Raccontano gli storici arabi ⁽¹⁷⁾ ch'esso ottenne l'esaltazione al trono in grazia di una preghiera che fece quando lo portavano in Egitto in una delle ultime sere di Ramadan ⁽¹⁸⁾, e che la fortuna volle fosse la notte cosiddetta del Kadr « la notte del Potere ». Mentre dunque viaggiava di notte, qualcuno dei componenti la carovana fece osservare che, nella possibilità che quella fosse la notte del Kadr, sarebbe stato bene che ognuno facesse la sua preghiera, invocando dal Signore l'attuazione di quanto desiderava. Un giovine Mamelucco compagno di viaggio chiese di diventare Emir Cabir, e Kaid Ba di diventare Sultano d'Egitto: ambedue raggiunsero il loro desiderio.

Questa notte del Kadr dovrebbe essere secondo la tra-

dizione una delle ultime notti dispari del mese di Ramadan; fu in quella notte che il Corano venne mandato a Mohamed. In quella notte (sempre secondo le tradizioni musulmane) gli Angeli discendono dal Cielo, e sono occupati a fare dei viaggi durante tutta la notte per portare le benedizioni ai fedeli; si aprono le porte del Cielo, e le preci dei credenti sono più facilmente sentite ed esaudite; si scoprono i tesori nascosti nella terra, e se qualche fedele ha la fortuna di passare ove sono, può liberamente impossessarsene; l'acqua salsa diventa dolce. Di molte altre prerogative mi taccio. — Durante il suo lungo regno vi fu un momento che Kaid Ba, avendo avuto dei dispiaceri con qualcuno degli Emiri, i quali pare fossero azzati dai Turcomani, radunò a consiglio tutti i dignitari civili e militari dello Stato, ed in loro presenza abdicò ⁽¹⁹⁾, dichiarando che si ritirava alla Mecca come semplice privato, portando seco i suoi soli famigliari e lasciando il trono a chi lo volesse (questo fu il sabato 4 del mese di Rabi Acher dell'874) ⁽²⁰⁾; ma la truppa ed il paese in massa non vollero saperne dell'abdicazione, che anzi lo pregavano di rimanere al suo posto. Ciò vedendo, anche i pochi avversari furono costretti unirsi agli altri, e nel medesimo giorno in presenza di tutti venne rieletto. Fu il solo fra i Sultani Mamelucchi che facesse il pellegrinaggio della Mecca ⁽²¹⁾ e di Medina, nelle quali città fondò diverse opere pie, innalzò monumenti, e ne riedificò altri che erano in rovina.

Kaid Ba fu un padre per i suoi popoli; buono, giusto e generoso, largo verso i poveri. A centinaia si possono contare le fondazioni pie che stabilì nelle diverse parti del suo impero; innalzò una quantità di monumenti d'utilità pub-

blica, di cui non pochi esistono ai giorni nostri, come la bella moschea all'estremità nord-est della città di Cairo, a cui, secondo gli autori arabi, era unita una biblioteca di parecchie migliaia di volumi che trattavano di varie materie dello scibile umano; v'erano pure le scuole con un dato numero d'insegnanti incaricati degli studi e che venivano mantenuti dalla rendita delle immense dotazioni di terre. Disgraziatamente di tutto ciò al giorno d'oggi null'altro rimane che la semplice moschea, spoglia dei suoi arredi, ma che reca molte tracce del suo passato splendore.

R. V. LANZONE.

NOTE

- (1) Vedi Testo arabo, pag. 3.
- (2) 882 dell'Egira = 15 aprile 1477.
- (3) Città del Basso Egitto, Testo pag. 213.
- (4) Vedi Testo pag. 48.
- (5) Vedi Testo, pag. 4.
- (6) Vedi Abi el Abbas Ahmed Ben Jusuf ben Ahmed el Damascki el Karmati, pag. 216, 217. (Ketab Ahkbar el Dual wa Athar Alual).
- (7) Vedi Karmati pag. 216, ed Ishachi pag. 288.
- (8) 872 dall'Egira = 2 agosto 1467.

(9) La Reale Armeria di Torino possiede lo stendardo di questo sovrano; fu acqui-
stato dal nostro Ambasciatore ed Agente diplomatico, il Barone Romualdo Tocco men-
tre trovavasi in Missione a Costantinopoli. Esso è di seta, lungo metri 2,03, largo 2,60;
la freccia è di bronzo, sopravi scritta a traforo la professione di fede dei Musulmani: « Non
(v'ha) Dio che Dio (e) Mohamed è l'inviato da Dio » Vedi T. I. $\frac{1}{2}$, dell'originale. Il campo
d'un rosso cremisi un po' sporco dal suo lato dritto è coperto dalla medesima professione
di fede scritta in oro, ma oggi non si vedono più che le tracce del merdente, su cui era
posta la foglia d'oro; cosicchè i caratteri si trovano d'un color arancio chiaro. Intorno
al campo vi è un lembo alto 84 centimetri di un color giallognolo che dà un po' sul
verde. Sulla parte superiore del lembo vi è scritto una parte del Cap. XLVIII. « *La
Vittoria*, v. 1-4. « Abbiamo riportato per te una Vittoria manifesta affinché Dio ti
perdoni le colpe che commettesti prima » e qui il verso viene interrotto dalla chiusura
del disegno, e si vedono appena tre lettere del principio dell'alto ornato che sono, un
Alef e due Lam.

La parte inferiore del lembo reca « Affinchè l'assisti col suo potente soccorso. È desso
che fa scendere la tranquillità nel cuore dei fedeli. » - Vedi T. II.

Nel campo rovescio « L'assistenza di Dio e la Vittoria prossima annunzia la buona
nuova ai credenti. Oh! Mohamed. » Cap. LXI. *Ordine di Battaglia*, verso 3.

Sul lembo rovescio parte superiore « Né l'asepimento né il sonno possono su lui.
« Tutto ciò che è nei cieli e sulla terra gli appartiene. Chi può intercedere presso di lui
« senza il suo permesso? ».

Lembo, parte inferiore « Il suo trono si estende sui cieli e sulla terra e la custodia
non gli costerà alcun pensiero. Egli è l'altissimo, il grande ». Capitolo II. *La Vacca*,
verso 256, chiamato il Trono.

Trovavasi questo stendardo chiuso nel Mausoleo di Abu Ejub. Abi el Megil lo rimpiazzò
con un altro ricamato, e donò questo al custode del Mausoleo; il quale voleva

diverlo per venderlo a pezzi, e farne anelli sacri pei fedeli; senonchè il Barone Tecco riuscì ad impedire l'opera distruggitrice. Ottenne quasi per intero lo stendardo che trovasi attualmente nelle Reale Armeria. Questo stendardo fu già pubblicato dal Sig. Ghiron in una parte delle iscrizioni ~~de~~ della detta Armeria.

Le tavole I, II, III sono un disegno ~~es~~ che mi fu concesso il permesso di copiare dall'originale.

(10) J. C. MARCEL, *Égypte moderne* pag. 186.

(11) DELARORTE, pag. 304.

(12) *Ketab Ahus el Galil*, pag. 658.

(13) DELARORTE, pag. 305.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid.

(16) ISHAKI, KARNATI, 115, 277.

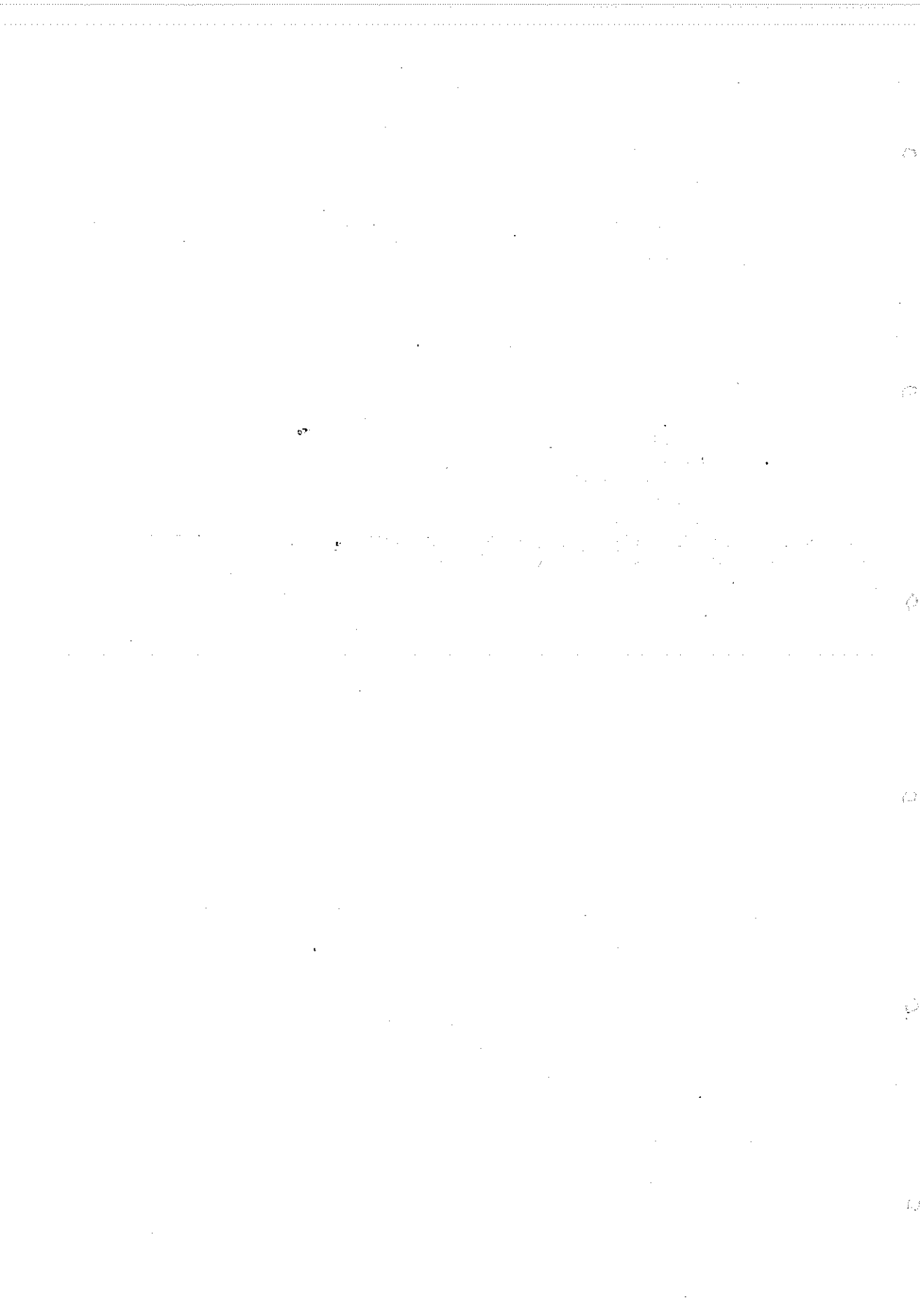
(17) Ibid., 115, 215.

(18) Ibid.

(19) *Uns el Galil*, 676.

(20) L'anno 849 = 5 Dicembre 1488.

(21) ISHAKI, *Uns el Galil*, pag. 250, ~~41~~.



القَوَّامِطِطِ

فِي سَفَرِ الْمَلِكِ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
أَحْمَدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي عَمَّرَ مَمْلَكَتَنَا بِسُلْطَانِنَا الْأَشْرَفِ ۝ وَالْهَيْبَةِ
لِلسَّيْرِ إِلَيْهَا وَالتَّنَطُّرِ فِي أَمْرَهَا بَعْدَ مَا كَانَ حَالُهَا عَلَى الْفَسَادِ
أَشْرَفِ ۝ أَحْمَدُ إِذْ مَنْ عَلَيْنَا بِهِ فِي زَمَانِنَا هَذَا وَجَعَلَهُ
بِالْخَيْرِ يُعْرِفُ ۝ وَأَشْكُرُهُ شُكْرًا إِذْ آيَمًا سَتَمَّرَ الْكُلْمَا مَضَى بِالشُّكْرِ
يُزِدُ ۝ وَأَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ شَهِادَةً
تَدْخُلُ قَائِلَهَا فِي الْجَنَانِ قَصْرًا مَرْخَرَفًا وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ سَيِّدَنَا
مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ الَّذِي هُوَ بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَرَأْفُ ۝ صَلَّى اللَّهُ
عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَاصْحَابِهِ الَّذِينَ جَاهَدُوا فِي الْإِسْلَامِ بِحَدِّ
الرِّهْقِ ۝ وَبَعْدَ فَإِنَّهُ لَمَّا أَلْهَمَ اللَّهُ الْكَبْرُومَ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى
سَيِّدَنَا وَمَوْلَانَا الْإِمَامَ الْأَعْظَمُ وَالْهَيْبَامَ الْمُقَدَّمِ ۝ أَخْبَرَ الْمَلُوكِ
عَلَى الْإِطْلَاقِ وَالتَّحْقِيقِ ۝ جَامِعِ أَشْتَاتِ الْفَصَائِلِ وَالْقَوَائِلِ
حَاوِيِ الْمَحَاسِنِ وَالْمَائِثَةِ مِنْ خِصَّةِ اللَّهِ مِنْهُ مُحْسِنِ
الْيَقِينِ ۝ حَامِيِ حَوَازَةِ الدِّينِ حَادِمِ الْحَرَمَيْنِ الشَّرِيفَيْنِ
الْمُسْتَعْنِي عَنِ الْإِطْنَابِ فِي الْأَلْقَابِ السُّلْطَانِ الْمَلِكِ
الْمَلِكِ الْأَشْرَفِ أَبُو النَّصْرِ قَايْتَبَاي خَلَدَ اللَّهُ مُلْكَهُ وَجَعَلَ
الْأَرْضَ بِأَسْرِهَا مِلْكَهُ إِلَى الْمَسِيرِ إِلَى الْمَمَالِكِ الشَّامِيَّةِ وَسَرْنَا
فِي أَثَرِهِ إِلَى أَنْ لِحِقْنَا رِكَابَهُ الشَّرِيفِ وَتَوَجَّهْنَا فِي خِدْمَتِهِ

نَصْرَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَرَأْيُنَا مِنَ الْبِلَادِ وَالْعِبَادِ وَالْأَشْجَارِ ه
 وَالْأَنْهَارِ وَالْأَنْهَارِ وَالْأَوْدِيَةِ وَالْعَقَبَاتِ وَالْجِبَالِ
 وَالْعَجَائِبِ وَالْغَرَائِبِ مَا يَتَعَيَّنُ عَلَى الْإِنْسَانِ صَبْطُهُ
 وَالْمُطَالَعَةُ بِهِ لِأَرْبَابِ الْعُقُولِ الْمُسْتَقِيمَةِ وَالْحَوَائِصِ السَّلِيمَةِ
 مِنَ الْمَشَائِخِ الْحَاوِينَ لِلْخَيْرِ وَالْفَضِيلَةِ لِيُورِخُوا ذَلِكَ عِنْدَهُمْ
 وَيَكْتُبُوهُ فِي كُتُبِهِمْ فَإِنَّهُ لَمْ يُسْبَقْ لِمِثْلِ ذَلِكَ لَا سِيَّمَا مَعَ مَا
 انْضَمَّ إِلَى ذَلِكَ مِنْ بَرِّهِ إِلَى مَنْ فِي خِدْمَتِهِ مِنَ الْخَاصِّ
 وَالْعَامِّ وَمَا سَدَى إِلَيْهِمْ مِنَ الْفَضْلِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ وَحُسْنِ الْبِحْطَابِ
 وَمَلَاوَةِ اللِّسَانِ هَذَا مَعَ الْهَيْبَةِ وَالْحَرَمَةِ وَالشَّهَامَةِ وَالشَّجَاعَةِ
 وَلَكِنْ التَّوَاضُّعُ وَالْخَيْرُ صَارَ لَهُ صِنَاعَةٌ فَارَى ن
 أَنْ كُتِبَ بُدَّةً مِمَّا وَقَعَ مِنْ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ الْعَظِيمِ الَّذِي لَمْ
 يُسْبَقْ لِمِثْلِهِ وَلَا تَقَدَّمَ لَهُ مِنَ الْمَلُوكِ غَيْرُهُ وَلَا أُنْبَأَ
 حِسِّهِ وَأَنْ لِيَكُونَ هَذِهِ تَخْفَةٌ مِمَّنْ إِلَيْهِمْ تَخْفَةُ النَّبَلَةِ
 لِسَلِيمَانَ وَأَسْأَلُهُمْ أَنْ يُسِيلُوا عَلَيَّ ذَيْلَ قُتُوبِهِمْ وَلَا يُؤَاخِذُونِي
 بِمَا وَقَعَ مِنِّي مِنَ الْخَطَايَا فَإِنِّي وَاللَّهِ بِضَاعَتِي وَرِجَاهِ وَاللَّهِ
 الْمُسْتَعَانَ وَعَلَيْهِ التَّكْلَانُ وَهُوَ حُسْبُنَا وَنِعْمَ الْوَكِيلُ
 فَنَقُولُ تَوَجَّهْ رِكَابَهُ الشَّرِيفُ نَصْرَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى
 مِنَ الْقَاعِرَةِ الْخَرُوسَةِ قَاصِدُ اللِّصَالِحِيَّةِ لِلنَّظَرِ فِي أَمْرِ

جَامِعِهِ الْعَظِيمِ الَّذِي أَنشَأَهُ بِهَا وَلَمْ يَصْحَبْ مَعَهُ مِنَ الْأُمَرَاءِ سِوَى
 الْأَمِيرِ ثَانِي بَيْتِكَ قَدَّ الدَّوَادَارِ الثَّانِي وَالْأَمِيرِ جَانِي بَيْتِكَ الْعَلَاءِي حَبِيبُ
 أَمِيرِ أَخْوَرتَانِي وَالْأَمِيرِ شَيْبَانِي الْجَمَالِي الْمُحْتَسِبُ وَالْأَمِيرِ شَيْبَانِي مَنِيخِي
 مُتَوَلِّي الْقَاهِرَةَ الْخَرْوَسَةَ وَالْأَمِيرِ شَاهِي الْجَمَالِ نَابِي جَدَّةِ الْمَعْمُورَةِ
 كَانَ وَالْأَمِيرِ الْمَاسِي الْمُحَمَّدي أَسْنَادُ أَرِ الصُّبْحَةِ الشَّرِيفَةِ وَالْأَمِيرِ
 قَانِي بَاي السَّيْفِي شَادِ بَيْتِكَ سَلَاقُ وَمَنْ مَمَالِكِهِ لَخْرُجِ نَحْوِ
 الْخُمْسَةِ وَعَشْرِينَ نَفَرًا وَمِنْ غَيْرِهِمْ مَنْ بَقِيَ مِنَ الطَّوَائِفِ نَحْوِ
 الْعَشْرَةِ نَفَرًا زَبَابِ الْوُطَائِفِ وَمِنْ الْخُدَّامِ الرَّيْبِي سُبُكُ الْأَحْمَدِي
 الْحَارِثِي وَالزَّيْنِي فُرُوزِ الْجَمَالِي الْحَارِثِي وَالْفَخْرِي أَيَّاسُ مِنْ شَيْبَانِي
 السَّاقِي وَمِنْ الْأَيْمَةِ سَيِّدُ نَاشِخِ الشُّيُوخِ الْبُرْهَانِي الْكُرْكِي
 وَمِنْ الْمُتَعَمِّقِينَ قَاضِي الْقَضَاةِ قُطُبُ الدِّينِ الْخَيْصَرِي قَاضِي
 الْقَضَاةِ الشَّافِعِيَّةِ بَدَمَشْقِي وَكَاتِبُ السِّرِّ الشَّرِيفِي بِهَا
 وَالْقَاضِي عَالِمُ الدِّينِ يَحْيَى بْنُ الْبَقْرِي نَاطِلُ الْإِسْطَبْلَاتِ الشَّرِيفَةِ
 وَمِنْ الْمُؤَكَّدِينَ الشَّيخُ فَاضِلُّ السَّكَنْدَرِي وَكَانَ تَوَجَّهُهُ
 فِي لَيْلَةِ الْإِثْنَيْنِ سَلَخَ شَهْرَ جُمَادَى الْأَوَّلِ سَنَةَ اثْنَتَيْنِ
 وَثَمَانِينَ وَثَمَانِ مِائَةٍ ثُمَّ أَقَامَ بِالصَّالِحِيَّةِ إِلَى أَنْ صَلَّى الْجُمُعَةَ
 بِجَامِعِهِ الْمَذْكُورِ فِي رَابِعِ شَهْرِ جُمَادَى الثَّانِي وَخَطَبَ بِهِ
 مَوْلَانَا قَاضِي الْقَضَاةِ قُطُبُ الدِّينِ الْمَشَارِ إِلَيْهِ ثُمَّ

تَوَجَّهَ رِكَابُهُ الشَّرِيفُ مِنْهَا وَأَمْرًا أَنْ لَا يَتَّبِعُهُ أَحَدٌ مِنَ الْأَمْزَاءِ
وَلَا مِنَ الْمَهَالِكِ ۝ وَرَسْمٌ يَطْلُبُ مَوْجِعَ عَارِفٍ فَأَقْتَضَى الْحَالَ
تَوْجُّهُ سَيِّدِنَا الْمُقَرَّرِ زَيْنِ بْنِ مُزْهَرٍ نَاطِرِ دِيَوَانِ الْإِنْشَاءِ
الشَّرِيفِ عَظَمَ اللَّهُ شَأْنَهُ وَصَحْبَهُ مِنَ الْمَوْقِعِينَ بِالْأَنْوَابِ
الشَّرِيفَةِ الْقَاضِي شَهَانَ الدِّينِ النَّجَّاحِ وَالْقَاضِي عِزَّ الدِّينِ
الْحَلَبِيِّ وَكَذَلِكَ الْمُقَرَّرُ الْكَمَالِي نَاطِرُ الْجِيوشِ الْمَنْصُورَةِ
وَصَوَابِ الْمَرْحُومِ الْجَمَالِيِّ نَاطِرِ الْخَوَاصِّ الشَّرِيفَةِ تَعَمَّدَ
اللَّهُ بِرَحْمَتِهِ وَأَخُوهُ الْمُقَرَّرُ الشَّهَابِيُّ وَالْمَمْلُوكُ أَبُو الْبُقَا
بِ بْنِ الْجَيْحَانِ وَتَوَجَّهْنَا مِنَ الْقَاهِرَةِ يَوْمَ السَّبْتِ خَامِسَ شَهْرِ
جُمَادَى الْأُولَى وَاسْتَمَرَّ بِنَا فِي أَثَرِهِ إِلَى أَنْ دَخَلْنَا عَرَّةَ
الْمَحْرُوسَةِ صَبِيحَةَ يَوْمِ السَّبْتِ ثَلَاثَ عَشْرَةَ فَوَجَدْنَا
تَوَجُّهَ مِنْهَا بَعْدَ أَنْ دَخَلْنَا عَلَى الْحُجْنِ وَلَمْ يَشْعُرْ بَقُدُومِهِ
أَحَدٌ فَسَرْنَا فِي أَثَرِهِ إِلَى أَنْ وَصَلْنَا إِلَى رِكَابِهِ الشَّرِيفِ
يَوْمَ الثَّلَاثَا خَامِسَ عَشْرَةَ وَقَتِ الضُّحَى بِالْمَنْيَةِ سَفَلَ
صَفَدَ بَعْدَ أَنْ رَزَّنَا سَيِّدِنَا سَلْمَانَ الْفَارِسِيَّ وَالشَّيْخَ
إِبْرَاهِيمَ الْمُتَوَلَّى بِسُدُودٍ وَسَيِّدِنَا أَبَاهُ زَيْدَةَ بَيْتِنَا
فَحَصَلَ لِنَا مِنْهُ نَصْرُهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى مِنْ جَبْرِ الْخَاطِرِ وَالْفَضْلِ
وَالْإِحْسَانِ ۝ مَا يَعْجَزُ عَنْهُ اللِّسَانُ ۝ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى

يَنْصُرُهُ مَدَا الْأَزْمَانِ بِحَقِّ سَيِّدٍ وَلِدِ عَدْنَانٍ وَوَجَدْنَا
بِخِدْمَتِهِ الْأَمِيرَ بَرْدِي بَكَّ نَائِبَ صَفْدِ الْمُخْرُوسَةِ
وَقَدْ أَحْضَرَ إِلَيْهِ الْمَبْرُورَةَ وَمَا تَعَيَّنَ عَلَيْهِ ثُمَّ تَوَجَّهْنَا
فِي رِكَابِهِ الشَّرِيفِ بَقِيَّةَ يَوْمِ الثَّلَاثَا إِلَى أَنْ مَرَرْنَا مِنْ
جَبِّ سَيِّدِنَا يُوسُفَ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ وَسَلَامُهُ عَلَيْهِ
ثُمَّ نَزَلْنَا إِلَى الْمَلِيحَةِ لَيْلَةَ الْأَرْبَعَا سَادِسَ عَشْرَةَ الْعِشَاءِ
وَوَجَدْنَا بِالطَّرِيقِ عَقَبَاتٍ وَصُغُودًا وَهَبُوطًا وَبَحْرًا
وَبَتْنَا بِهَا ثُمَّ رَكِبَ رِكَابَهُ الشَّرِيفَ مِنْهَا وَقَدْ طَلَّوعِ
الْقَهْرِ إِلَى صَيْحَةِ الْأَرْبَعَا وَصَلَ وَادِي النَّيْمِ مَكَاتِ
النَّجَانِ الَّذِي رَسَمَ بِعِمَارَتِهِ مَوْلَانَا الْمَقَامَ الشَّرِيفَ
نَصَرَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى لِنَفْعِ الْمَسَافِرِينَ وَالْقَاطِنِينَ فَوَجَدْنَا هُ
حَسَنًا وَهُوَ وَادٍ عَظِيمٌ بِهِ أَشْجَارٌ وَأَنْهَارٌ لَكِنْ طَرِيقُهُ
بِهَا عَقَبَاتٌ عَظِيمَةٌ مَهُولَةٌ وَأُودِيَةٌ وَبَعْضُ طَرِيقِهِ
لَا يَمُرُّ بِهِ سِوَى الْفَرَسِ الْوَاحِدِ وَغَالِبُ أَشْجَارِهِ التُّوتُ
وَلِهَذَا يُسَمُّونَ الْوَادِيَّ بِعَيْنِ التُّوتِ وَتُحْصَلُ تِلْكَ
الْبِلَادُ مِنْ تَحْصِيلِ أَشْجَارِ التُّوتِ لِأَنَّهُ عَدَا لِدَوِّ
الْحَرِيرِ وَلَكِنْ مَأْوُهُ ثَقِيلٌ وَهُوَ أَمْتَعِيرٌ وَخَمٌّ
وَفِيهِ جَصْرٌ إِلَى الْخَيْمِ الشَّرِيفِ لِلْحَوَاجِبَا

شمس الدين بن الزين والصائبي ابراهيم بن مجك واهل امير
جاني بك العلوي احد الامراء بالشام ثم توجه
ركابه الشريف منه في ليلة الخميس السابع من شهر
جمادى الاخرة وتوجه الامير بردى بك نائب صفد
الى محل نيابته بصدد فتوجه الى جسر زنون بالبقاع
من حوران وهو مكان سهل لكن طريقه بها مشاق
عظيمة ووعد عظيم وهبوط وصعود وبه اماكن يسمنها
السبع قلابات وفيه حضرت اقامة مولانا ملك
الامراء ونائب الشام وغيره ثم رسر بان الامير نائب
الشام والامراء انحضرون الا يطلب وتوجه ركابه
الشريف منه في يوم الجمعة الثامن عشر من شهر جمادى
الاخرة بعد الزوال ومركب كرك سيدنا نوح صلوات
الله وسلامه عليه وهو بلد يشتمل على اشجار
وانهار واعناب وكروم وبه مقام سيدنا نوح وقيل
ان طول قبره ستون ذراعاً ثم توجه منه بقبعة
نهاره الى ان دخل بعلبك بعد صلاة العشاء
ليلة السبت تاسع عشره وهي بلد كيسة
سورة وبها اشجار وانهار وكروم وبطريقها بعور

البحر

أَجْجَارٍ وَرَأْسُ الْعَيْنِ بِهَا مَشْهُورٌ وَنَائِبُهَا مِنْ قَبْلِ نَائِبِ
 الشَّامِ وَهُوَ الْأَنْ شَاهِي مَمْلُوكُ ابْنِ صَادِرٍ غَيْرُ أَنْ أَهْلَهَا
 بِهِمْ لَيْسَ فِي كَلَامِهِمْ بَحِيثٌ نَحْزُونُهُ عَنْ مَوْضُوعِهِ وَمِمَّا فِيهَا
 مِنَ الْمَأْكَلِ الْعَظِيمَةِ عِنْدَهُمُ الْقَنْدِيسُ وَالْقَرْنَبِيطُ وَهُوَ
 كَالْكُرْنَبِ وَبِهَا مَعَاصِرُ الْعَنْبِ لِيَعْمَلَ مِنْهُ الدِّبْسُ وَالْحَلْوَى
 الْجُوزِيَّةُ وَالْمَلْبَى وَيُطْبَخُونَ الْأُرْزَ بِمَا الْعَنْبِ وَيَكْتَفُونَ بِهِ
 عَنِ الْعَسَلِ وَهُوَ عِنْدَهُمْ أَمْرٌ عَظِيمٌ وَبِهَا قَلْعَةٌ عَظِيمَةٌ الْبَنَاءُ
 يُقَالُ إِنَّهَا الَّتِي حَكِي عَنْهَا فِي الْقُرْآنِ فِي قِصَّةِ سَيِّدِنَا سُلَيْمَانَ
 صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ وَسَلَامُهُ عَلَيْهِ بِقَوْلِهِ يَعْمَلُونَ لَهُ مَا يَشَاءُونَ
 مَنَاجِبَ وَمَتَائِلَ إِلَى آخِرِهِ ثُمَّ أَمَرَ نَصْرَهُ اللَّهُ أَنَّ الْجَمَالَ وَالْأَكْمَلُ
 وَبَعْضُ مَنْ فِي خِدْمَتِهِ يَتَوَجَّهُونَ مِنْهَا إِلَى انْطَاكِيَّةَ وَأَنَّ
 رِكَابَهُ الشَّرِيفُ يَتَوَجَّهُ مِنْ بَعْلَبَكَّ إِلَى طَرَابُلُسَ عَلَى عَقْبَةِ
 اللَّمُونَةِ وَأَقَامَ بِبَعْلَبَكَّ إِلَى يَوْمِ الْأَحَدِ حَادِي عِشْرِينَ
 مِنْهُ فِي وَقْتِ الظُّهْرِ وَتَوَجَّهَ إِلَى اللَّمُونَةِ قَرِيبَ الْمَغْرِبِ
 وَهِيَ قَرِيبَةٌ بَيْنَ جِبَالٍ يَطْرُقُهَا وَعَرُّ عَظِيمٌ وَلَكِنْ بِهِ أَشْجَارٌ
 كَثِيرَةٌ وَغَيْرُهُ وَوَصَلَ بِهَا الْأَمِيرُ أَرْدَ مِنْ نَائِبِ طَرَابُلُسَ ثُمَّ
 نَامَ بِهَا إِلَى خُلُوعِ الْقَهْرِ وَرَكِبَ وَالنَّاسُ فِي خِدْمَتِهِ وَطَلَعَ
 مِنَ الْعَقْبَةِ إِلَى أَنْ مَرَّ بِالْحَدِيثِ صَلَاةِ الصُّبْحِ وَصَلَّى بِهِ

وَأَصْطَلِحَ نَهْرَ رَكَبٍ مُسْرِعًا إِلَى أَنْ مَرَّ بِكَانٍ يُقَالُ لَهُ كَفْرٌ
 فَأَهْرَثَهُ اسْتَمَرَ رَاكِبًا إِلَى أَنْ دَخَلَ مِنْ يَوْمِهِ إِلَى طَرَابُلُسَ
 يَوْمَ الْإِثْنَيْنِ الثَّانِي وَالْعِشْرِينَ مِنْ جِهَادَى الثَّانِي وَقَتَ
 الْعَصْرِ وَكَانَ الْمَسِيرُ بِهَا مُشَقًّا فَأَنَّهَُا كَانَتْ عَقَبَةً عَظِيمَةً
 صُعُودًا إِلَى الْجَوْعِ وَعَدِ عَظِيمٌ وَأُودِيَةٌ وَهَبُوطٌ حَتَّى
 إِنَّ عَقَبَةَ أَيْلًا بِالنِّسْبَةِ إِلَيْهَا كَالشَّرْبَةِ وَمَضِغَ الْحَجْرَ
 وَيُقَالُ إِنَّ بِالْعَقَبَةِ الْمَذْكُورَةِ ثَلَاثُمِائَةٍ وَسِتِّينَ لَقَّةً وَبِهَا
 أَمَاكِنٌ لَا يَمُرُّ بِهَا إِلَّا الْوَاحِدُ بِنَفْسِهِ وَهُوَ عَلَى خَطَرٍ
 وَلَوْلَا نَيْتُهُ الصَّالِحَةُ كَانَ حَصَلَ لِغَالِبِ النَّاسِ الضَّرَرُ
 وَلَمْ يَحْضَلْ مِنْ فَضْلِ اللَّهِ مَعَ الْمَشَقَّةِ إِلَّا الْخَيْرُ وَالسَّلَامَةُ
 فَسُبْحَانَ الْمَهْوُونَ وَالْمُسْلِمِ وَاسْتَمَرَ مُقِيمًا بِطَرَابُلُسَ
 الْحَزْرُوسَةَ إِلَى ظَهْرِ يَوْمِ الْجُمُعَةِ الرَّابِعِ وَالْعِشْرِينَ مِنْ شَهْرِ
 جِهَادَى الثَّانِي وَأَبْطَلَ بِهَا الْمَكْسَ عَنِ الدَّ بَاغِيَيْنِ وَطَرَابُلُسَ
 مَدِينَةَ مَشْهُورَةً مُسْتَعْنِيَةً عَنِ التَّعْرِيفِ وَأَرْتَحَلَ بَعْدَ
 صَلَاةِ الظُّهْرِ مِنَ الْيَوْمِ الْمَذْكُورِ إِلَى جَبْسَرِ أَرْطُوسِيَّةَ
 عَنْ طَرَابُلُسَ بِحَوْزٍ بَرِيدٍ وَشَيْءٌ بِهِ نَهْرٌ مَاءٌ طَيِّبٌ
 وَخَانٌ وَهِيَ بِسَاحِلِ الْبَحْرِ الْمَلْحِ فَأَقَامَ بِهِ إِلَى ثَلَاثِ
 اللَّيْلِ نَهْرًا تَوَجَّهَ وَمَرَّ بِأَنْطَرَسُوسَ وَالْمَرْقَبِ وَبَابِيَّاسَ

كُلُّ ذَلِكَ قُرَى بِسَاحِلِ الْبَحْرِ لِلَّحِ إِلَى أَنْ وَصَلَ إِلَى جَبَلَةٍ
 بِسَاحِلِ بَحْرِ الْمَلِجِ يَوْمَ السَّادِسِ وَالْعَشْرِينَ مِنْ شَهْرِ
 جُمَادَى الثَّانِي وَرَأَى بِهَا سَيِّدَنَا الشَّيخَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ دُؤَيْمٍ
 نَفَعَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى بِهِ وَهِيَ مِنْ سَاحِلِ الْبَحْرِ الْمَلِجِ وَلَكِنَّهَا بَلَدٌ
 صَغِيرٌ وَأَهْلُهُ كَالْبَهَائِمِ حَتَّى أَنْتَ بَعْضُهُمْ قَالَ عِنْدَكَ
 زَوْجَتِي لِمَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانَ نَصَرَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى لِرَفِيقِهِ دَعَوَى
 حَتَّى أَنْظُرَ لِبَنِي الصَّغِيرِ وَرَأَيْتُ جَمَاعَةً مِنْهُمْ يَأْتُونَ
 إِلَى عِنْدِ الْعَجْنِ الرَّوَاحِلِ وَيَتَعَجَّبُونَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَيَقُولُونَ
 هَذَا الْعَجْنُ الَّذِي يُقَالُ عَلَيْهِمْ إِنَّهَا بَصُرَ فُسْجَانَ مِنْ
 خَلْقِ أَطْوَارًا ثُمَّ تَوَجَّهَ مِنْهَا لَيْلَةَ الْاِخْتِدَادِ السَّابِعِ
 وَالْعَشْرِينَ مِنْهُ إِلَى أَنْ دَجَلَ اللَّادِقِيَّةَ وَهِيَ بِنَاءٌ
 عَظِيمٌ مُحْكَمٌ بِهَا دُكَّانٌ كَثِيرَةٌ خُرَابٌ وَعَامِرٌ وَضَعُ
 الرُّومِ كَانَ بِهَا ثَلَاثُ قِلَاعٍ مُتَلَاصِقَاتٍ وَإِلَى الْأَنْ
 خُرَابٌ وَهِيَ وَاسِعَةٌ الْفِنَاءُ عَالِيَةُ الْبِنَاءِ عَيْنُكَ
 مُسْتَدِيرَةٌ بِهَا مَخَارِزٌ وَبُرْجَانٌ عَلَى فَوْهَتَيْهَا بِهَا
 سَلْسِلَةٌ عَظِيمَةٌ قِيلَ إِنَّ عَدَدَ كِلَابِهَا الْحَدِيدِ سَبْعُمِائَةٍ
 كَلْبٌ وَرُنٌّ حديدٌ هَا أَرْبَعُونَ قِنطَارًا أَحْلِيًّا عَنْهُ
 بِالْمِصْرِيِّ مَا نَسَا قِنطَارًا جَدِّدَتْ فِي الْأَيَّامِ الظَّاهِرَةِ جَمْعُ

وَمِنْهَا مُسْتَدِيرَةٌ تَسْعُ مِنْ دَاخِلِ السِّلْسِلَةِ سَبْعَ
 مَرَاكِبٍ مُتَلَاصِقَةٍ كَبَارٍ وَبِهَا حَمَامَاتٌ عَامِرَةٌ وَخَرَابٌ
 وَمِنَ الْغَرَائِبِ بِهَا مَا أَخْبَرَنَا بِهِ شَمْسُ الدِّينِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ
 الْحَسَنِ الْأَدَقِيُّ الْمَعْرُوفُ بِالصُّوَيْفَةِ الْكَاتِبُ بِحَدِّ مَهْ
 الْحَوَاجَا الْأَجَلِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ الصُّوَالِي بِاللَّادِقِيَّةِ طَاحُونًا
 يَدُورُ مَعَ الرِّيحِ حَيْثُ كَانَ يَمِينًا وَشِمَالًا شَرْقًا وَغَرْبًا
 وَيُطْحَنُ بِهَا عَلَى عَادَةٍ طَوَاحِينِ الْفَرَجِ إِلَى الْآنَ
 وَإِنْ طَحْنَتْ مُسْتَمِرَّةً فِي طَوْلِ الْيَوْمِ وَاللَّيْلَةِ تَطْحَنُ
 اثْنَيْ عَشَرَ أَرْدَبًا بِالْكَيْلِ الْمَرْصِيِّ وَعَمَلُ الطَّاحُونِ
 الْمَذْكُورَةِ شَخْصٌ مِنَ اللَّادِقِيَّةِ كَانَ أُسِرَ بِبِلَادِ الْفَرَجِ
 وَشَاهَدَهَا عِنْدُنَا وَمَا خَلَصَ وَحَضَرَ إِلَى بَلَدِهِ عَمَلًا
 وَهِيَ الْعَجُوبَةُ ثُمَّ ارْتَحَلَ رِكَابَهُ الشَّيْرِي فِي مِنَ اللَّادِقِيَّةِ
 لَيْلَةَ الْإِثْنَيْنِ الثَّامِنِ الْعَشْرِينَ مِنْ شَهْرِ جُمَادَى الثَّانِي
 أَخْرَجَ اللَّيْلَ وَنَزَلَ قَبْلَ الظُّهْرِ إِلَى الْقَرْيَتَيْنِ مِنْ مُعَامَلَةِ
 طَرَابُلُسَ وَتَوَجَّهَ الْأَمِيرُ أَرْدَمُ نَيْبُ طَرَابُلُسَ إِلَى سَحْلِ
 نَيْابَتِهِ وَحَضَرَ بِهَا الْحَوَاجَا شَمْسُ الدِّينِ بْنِ الصُّوَالِي وَوَلَدُهُ
 عَمَّانُ وَهُوَ ضَيْعَةٌ صَغِيرَةٌ ضَيْقُهُ بَيْنَ جِبَالِ
 طَرِيقِهَا صَعْبٌ جِدًّا فِي غَايَةِ مَا يَكُونُ بِهِ هَبْوَطٌ

زَائِدٌ وَنَهْرٌ مُسْتَدِيرٌ فِيهِ نَحْوُ الثَّلَاثِينَ لَفْتَةً حَيْثُ أَنَّ الْإِنْسَانَ
 يَظُنُّ أَنَّهَا أَنْهَارٌ مُتَعَدِّدَةٌ وَأَنَّهَا هُوَ نَهْرٌ وَاحِدٌ نَهْرٌ
 تَوَجَّهَ رِكَابُهُ الشَّرِيفُ إِخْرَ اللَّيْلِ وَنَزَلْنَا إِلَى الشَّعْرِ فِي
 رِكَابِهِ مِنْ مَعَامِلَةِ حَلَبَ بَعْدَ الظُّهْرِ مِنْ عَقَبَاتٍ كَثِيرَةٍ
 وَبِهِ جَسْرٌ عَلَى مِيَاهِ قَبِيلِ إِيَّاهُ مِنَ الْعَاصِي يَوْمَ الثَّلَاثَا النَّاسِخِ
 وَالْعِشْرُونَ مِنْ جُمَادَى الثَّانِي وَهُوَ مَكَانٌ بِفَرَقٍ طَرِيقٍ بِهِ
 سُوقٌ يَجْتَمِعُ فِيهِ أَهْلُ الْبِلَادِ فِي يَوْمِ الثَّلَاثَا وَطَرِيقَةٌ إِحْدَاثَا
 إِلَى حَلَبَ وَالْأُخْرَى إِلَى انْطَاكِيهِ وَالْبَاقِي إِلَى غَيْرِ ذَلِكَ
 نَهْرٌ أَرْحَلُ أَخَذَ اللَّيْلَ وَنَزَلَ بِالذَّرَكُوْشِ صَحْوَةً يَوْمَ الْأَرْبَعَا
 سَلَخَ شَهْرَ جُمَادَى الثَّانِي وَبِهِ جَسْرٌ خَرَابٌ وَقَنَا طَرِيقٌ
 مَوْلَانَا الْمَقَامُ الشَّرِيفُ نَصَرَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى بِعِمَارَتِهِ وَهِيَ
 بَلَدَةٌ لَطِيفَةٌ عَدِيَّةٌ قَرِيبَةٌ مِنْ قُصَيْرِ الْأَكْرَادِ بِهَا
 أَشْجَارٌ وَأَنْهَارٌ وَأَنْهَارٌ وَنَاعُورَةٌ وَطَاحُونَ عَلَى الْمَاءِ وَبِهَا سُوقٌ
 يُقَامُ فِي يَوْمِ السَّبْتِ وَالْحَضِرُ لِنَا مَنَّهُ رَمَانٌ وَزَنْ كُلُّ وَاحِدَةٍ
 مَا يَزِيدُ عَلَى رَطْلَيْنِ مَضْرٍ وَبَادِ نَجَانٌ كُلُّ وَاحِدَةٍ مِنْهُ
 وَزَنْهَا يَزِيدُ عَنْ رَطْلَيْنِ مَضْرٍ وَيَبَالِغُ بَعْضُهُمْ وَيَقُولُ
 بَانَ فِيهِ مَا يَقْرُبُ مِنْ خَمْسَةِ أَرْطَالٍ وَلَكِنِّي مَا رَأَيْتُ
 ذَلِكَ وَأَهْلٌ بِهِ هِلَاكٌ شَهْرَ رَجَبِ الْفَرْدِ الْمُبَارَكِ

ثُمَّ رَكِبَ مِنْهَا نَصْرَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَالْبَاقِي مِنَ اللَّيْلِ شَيْ
 وَتَسْعُونَ دَرَجَةً لِلشَّمْسِ إِلَى أَنْ وَصَلَ رِكَابُهُ الشَّرِيفُ
 ظَهَرَ يَوْمَ الْخَمِيسِ مُسْتَهْلًا شَهْرَ رَجَبِ الْفَرْدِ سَنَةَ تَابِجِهِ
 إِلَى انْطَاكِيَّةَ فَوَجَدْنَا بِلْدَةً عَظِيمَةَ الْبِنَاءِ حَكِيمَةَ مُسَوَّرَةً
 سُورَهَا عَظِيمٌ بِهِ أَبْرَاجٌ مَبْنِيٌّ مِنْ أَعْلَى الْجَبَلِ وَإِلَى الْخَدْرِ
 النَّهْرِ حَيْثُ أَنَّ الْمَدِينَةَ وَمَزَارِعَهَا وَغَيْصَانَهَا وَأَمْلَاكَهَا
 وَنَهْرَهَا مِنْ ذَاخِلِ السُّورِ وَذَاخِلِ الْمَدِينَةِ سَبْعَةَ جِبَالٍ
 بِقَلْعَةٍ عَلَى أَحَدِ جِبَالِهَا وَمَسَافَةُ سُورِهَا اثْنَا عَشَرَ مِيلًا
 وَعَدَدُ أَبْرَاجِهَا مِائَةٌ سِتَّةٌ وَثَلَاثُونَ بَرَجًا وَعَدَدُ شُرَافَاتِهَا
 أَرْبَعَةٌ وَعِشْرُونَ أَلْفًا وَفَتْحَهَا الْمَلِكُ الظَّاهِرُ بَيْبَرَسُ وَبِهَا
 ذِكَاكِينٌ كَثِيرَةٌ وَأَسْوَاقٌ وَخَلْقٌ كَثِيرٌ لَكُمْ تَرْكِيَانٌ عَجَزٌ وَبُيُوتُهَا
 كَالْجَمَانَاتِ مُسَقَّفَةٌ بِجَمَلُونَ خَشَبٍ مِنْ قَشٍّ تُسَهْوَنَةٌ بُرْدِي
 وَبِهَا مَقَامُ سَيِّدِي جَيْبِ النَّجَارِ فَعَزَّ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى بِهِ وَهِيَ بَيْنَ
 جَبَلَيْنِ وَسَيِّعَيْنِ فَيَسْخَيْنِ وَمَا أَنْ مَرَرْنَا مِنَ الطَّرِيقِ الْمُرُورِ
 لَهَا قِيلَ لَنَا إِنَّ عَنْ يَمِينِنَا مَدِينَةٌ بِغَرَاضٍ وَبَابُ الْمَلِكِ
 وَمِنْهَا يُوصَلُ إِلَى أَدْنَةَ وَمِصِيصَةَ وَطَرَسُوسَ وَسَيْسَ
 وَطَرِيقَهَا صَعْبٌ حِدًّا لَا يَمُرُّ بِهِ إِلَّا الْوَاحِدُ وَقِيلَ إِنَّ الْمَلِكِ
 الظَّاهِرَ بَيْبَرَسَ مَنَعَ النَّاسَ مِنَ الْمُرُورِ بِهَا إِلَّا الْوَاحِدَ

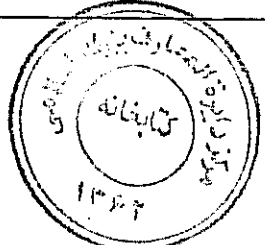
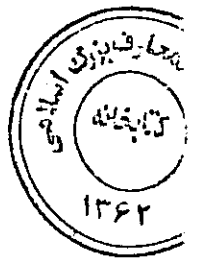
بِنَفْسِهِ وَبِهَا أَيْضًا نَوَاعِيرُ عَلَى النَّهْرِ وَأَشْجَارٌ وَأَشْمَارٌ وَبَيْعٌ وَشِبْرٌ
 وَرَأَيْتُ بِهَا الْعُجُوبَةَ وَهِيَ أَنَّهُمْ يَحْمِلُونَ الْبَقْرَ وَيَشُدُّونَهَا
 بِسُرُوحٍ وَأَقْوِاشٍ يَحْمِلُونَهَا الْأَثْقَالَ وَيَقْطُرُونَ بِهَا كَالْبَعَالِ
 وَأَصْبَحَ مُقِيمًا بِهَا وَحَضَرَ فِي يَوْمِ تَارِيخِهِ إِلَى الْمُخَيَّمِ الشَّرِيفِ
 الْأَمِيرُ بَرْدِي بَك نَائِبُ صَفَدَ وَالْأَمِيرُ شَهَابُ الدِّينِ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ
 مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ أَبِي الْفَرَجِ نَعِيبُ الطَّبِيُوشِ الْمَنْصُورَةَ ثُمَّ حَضَرَ
 الْمَقَرَّ السَّيْفِي فَأَنْصَوهُ كَأَمَلِ الْمَلِكَةِ الْحَلِيبِيَّةِ وَبَعْضُ
 أَمْرَانِهِمْ مُقِيمًا بِأَنْطَاكِيَّةِ يَوْمَ السَّبْتِ ثَالِثَةَ
 وَحَضَرَ إِلَيْهِ بِهَا ابْنُ رَمْضَانَ أَمِيرُ التُّرْكَمَانِ الرَّمَضَانِيَّةِ
 ثُمَّ رَحَلَ مِنْهَا ثَلَاثَ اللَّيْلِ الْأَخِيرِ وَنَزَلَ سَفْلَ بَعْرَاضٍ
 بَعْدَ أَنْ عَدَّ الْجَسَارَ وَرَكِبَ بِنَفْسِهِ الشَّرِيفَةَ وَطَلَعَ مِنْ
 قَلْعَتِهَا إِلَى الْقَلْعَةِ وَنَظَرَ الْبَلَدَ وَهِيَ قَلْعَةٌ عَلَى جَبَلٍ
 وَنَائِبَتُهَا مِنْ قِبَلِ نَائِبِ حَلَبَ وَهُوَ بَلَدٌ صَغِيرٌ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ
 فِيهِ بَيْعٌ وَلَا شِرَى وَكَانَ الْمَغْدِي بِهِ وَكُلُّ ذَلِكَ فِي يَوْمِ
 الْأَحَدِ الرَّابِعِ مِنْ شَهْرِ رَجَبِ الْفَرْدِ سَنَةِ اثْنَتَيْنِ
 وَثَمَانِينَ وَثَمَانِيَّةٍ وَرَسَمَ نَصْرَةَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى لِلدَّامِرِ
 الْمَأْسِ الْمُحَمَّدي أَسْتَادِ الرَّصْحَةِ الشَّرِيفَةِ
 وَالْقَاضِي عِلْمُ الدِّينِ بْنِ الْبَقْدِي نَاطِرِ الْأَسْطَبَلَاتِ

الشَّريفه والرَّسَّيْنِ أَمِيرِ حَاجِ بْنِ عِلْمِ الدِّينِ رَاسِ بَاشِي
 الْأَوْجَانِ فِيهِ بِالتَّوَجُّهِ مِنْ أَنْطَاكِيَةِ إِلَى حَلَبٍ بِمَا صَحَّبْتَهُمْ
 مِنْ الْأَثْقَالِ وَأَحْضَرَ إِلَيْهِ أَمِيرَةً مَعَ جَمَالَةٍ مِنَ التُّرْكَمَانِ
 وَهِيَ حَمَلَةٌ عَلَى أَنْفَارِ بَسْرُوجٍ مَقْطَرَةٌ كَالْبِغَالِ ثُمَّ
 رَكِبَ لَيْلَةً الْاِثْنَيْنِ خَامِسَتِهِ وَالْبَاقِي لِلْاِذْنِ خَمْسَةَ وَثَمَانُونَ
 دَرَجَةً غَيْرَ حِصَّةٍ الصُّبْحِ إِلَى أَنْ حَلَّ رِكَابَهُ الشَّرِيفُ
 قَرِيبَ بُعْرَى مِنْ أُخْرِ الْعَمِقِ وَعَدَّ الْجِسْرَ السُّلْطَانِيَّ
 وَصَارَتْ بُعْرَى عَنْ يَمِينِهِ وَرَكِبَ بِنَفْسِهِ الشَّرِيفَهُ وَمَنْ
 مَعَهُ وَتَوَجَّهَ إِلَى بُعْرَى وَكَشَفَ مَا بَهَا مِنَ الْحِجَابِ وَالْقَنْطَرَةِ
 وَهِيَ الْجِسْرُ الَّذِي عَمَّرَهُ الْمَلِكُ الْأَشْرَفُ أَيُّبُكُ وَنَمَّ الْأَنْخَرُ
 وَالْقُفُولُ تَرْدُ مِنَ الرَّمِّ وَتَنْضَرِبُ مِنْ خَرَابِهَا فَرَسَمَ بِحِمَارِهَا
 وَكَانَ وَضُوءُ الْعَسْكَرِ إِلَى الرُّطَاقِ صَلَاةَ الصُّبْحِ يَوْمَ الْاِثْنَيْنِ
 الْمُنْقَدِّمِ ذِكْرُهُ وَهُوَ مَكَانٌ فَيَسِيحُ بَيْنَ جِبَالٍ عَلَى نَهْرٍ لِكِنَاةٍ
 جُونٌ وَهُوَ فِي غَايَةِ الرُّخْمِ ثُمَّ رَكِبَ وَالْبَاقِي مِنَ اللَّيْلِ
 خَمْسَةَ وَسِتِّعُونَ دَرَجَةً خَارِجَةً عَنْ حِصَّةِ الصُّبْحِ
 وَتَوَجَّهَ مِنْ سَخَائِضٍ عَلَى حِجْرٍ بَلْتَقٍ مَحْرَفَشٍ مَعَ وَهَلْ
 وَطِينٍ ثُمَّ صَعَدَ إِلَى جِبَالٍ وَأُودِيَةٍ وَهَبَطَ مِنْ جِبَلٍ وَوَادٍ
 صَعَبٍ الْهَرُورِيَّةِ حِدًّا ثُمَّ اشْتَمَرَ فِي هُبُوطٍ وَصُعُورٍ

إلى وادي كثير الأشجار الصنوبر وغيره طريق لا يمر بها إلا الفرس
 الواحد وهو حلزون لا يرى من في أوله من في أخيره والواهي
 المذكور يسمى وادي عفرين ثم طلع منه إلى جبال تشتمل
 على صعوب وهبوط وعراقيب في مجرى لكن وعمرها قليل
 إلى أن وصل ركابه الشريق أذان الظهر يوم الثلاثاء السادس
 من شهر رجب المذكور إلى مكان بالقرب من عز أزيقال له
 القصل وفيه حصر أمر الحلب وقصاتها ونيك الأشراف
 بها والحوالجا عشرين الحواجا محمد بن الصو إلى الخيم الشريق
ورسم للقضاء بالتوجه إلى حلب وللاستمرار
 في الجدة الشريفة وتوفي فيها بجانها الأهمى من الأربعين من
 الحج الشريق بعد أن ضحك يوماً واحداً ثم توجه ركابه
 الشريق من المكان المذكور أول الليل من طريق سهل حبيبه
 إلى أن وصل يوم الأربعاء المبارك سابعه بعد الشمس إلى أول
 مرج دايع وهو مكان فسيح به هو أطيب واستمر إلى الظهر
 ثم ركب منه إلى وقت المغرب وصل آخر البرج المذكور بحافة
 نهر يسمى نهر القويق به ماء واستمر مقمما به إلى قبل نصف الليل
 ركب من المكان المذكور من وعروسه وحدرات وهبوط وطلع
 ومر بزعن غير إلى صبحي يوم الخميس المبارك ثامنه دخل عين تاب

وَهِيَ مَدِينَةٌ بِهَا أُشْرُقُ وَيُسَمُّونَهَا الْكَيْفُونَ وَحَمَامَاتٌ وَبِشْرٍ أَعْدَبُهُ
 الْمَاءُ طَيْبُهُ الرِّهَاءُ بِهَا قَلْعَةٌ ذَاتُ بُرَاجٍ عَظِيمَةٍ وَخُنَادِقٍ وَبِهَا مَقَامُ
 حُجَّةِ الْإِسْلَامِ الْعِزَّى وَأَخِيهِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا وَطَلَعَ بِنَفْسِهِ الشَّرِيفِ
 إِلَى الْقَلْعَةِ وَالْقَلْعَةُ الْمَذْكُورَةُ بِوَسْطِ الْبَلَدِ وَكَانَ نَائِبُهَا قَانِي يَسِيهِ
 الشَّرِيفِي مِنَ الْعَوْرِدِ تُتَوَقَّى قَبْلَ تَارِيحِهِ وَالْآنَ بِهَا نَائِبٌ عَنْهُ
 شَاهِي السَّيْفِي يُزِدِي بِكَ ثُمَّ رَكِبَ مِنْهَا لَيْلَةَ الْجُمُعَةِ
 تَاسِعَةً وَالْبَاقِي لِلشَّمْسِ كَمَا قِيلَ بِأَيَّةِ دَرَجَةٍ وَسَبْعَةَ
 عَشَرَ دَرَجَةً وَاسْتَمَرَ رَاكِبًا إِلَى أَنْ وَصَلَ جَاهَ الْبَيْرَةِ بِجَانِبِ الْفُرَاةِ
 بَعْدَ الشَّمْسِ سَاعَاتٍ لَطِيفَةٍ ثُمَّ دَخَلْنَا بَعْدَهُ وَقْتُ الظُّهْرِ
 وَسَمِعْنَا الْمُؤَذِّنِينَ بِجَانِبِ الْفُرَاةِ الْأَخْرَجِي فِي صَلَاةِ الْجُمُعَةِ وَدَخَلَتْ
 الْأَنْفَالُ وَقْتُ الْعَصْرِ وَلَا قَاهُ الْأَمِيرُ جَانِبَ السَّيْفِي جَانِبِي بِكَ
 نَائِبُ الْبَيْرَةِ بِالطَّرِيقِ لَيْلًا ثُمَّ تَرَجَّاهُ بِنَفْسِهِ الشَّرِيفَةَ وَمِنْ
 مَعَهُ مِنَ الْأَتْرَاكِ خَاصَّةً وَسَارَ إِلَى قَلْعَةِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ لَيْلَةَ
 السَّبْتِ عَاشِرَةَ وَتَآخَرَ الْبِرْكُ وَالْأَنْفَالُ وَالْمُبَاشِرُونَ جِهَةَ الْبَيْرَةِ
 وَالْبَيْرَةُ بَلَدٌ بِهِ بِيَاعَاتٌ وَبِشْرٌ اسْفَلِ جَبَلٍ بِشَاطِئِ الْحَجْرِيَّوْتِهَا
 مَبْلِيَّةٌ بِالْحَجْرِ الْمَكْسُورِ غَيْرَ أَنْ حَسَنٌ بَأَكِ الْخُدُولِ أَخْرَبَهَا
 وَأَخْرَبَ سُورَهَا وَرَحَلَ عَالِبٌ أَهْلَهَا حِينَ حَاصَرَهَا وَبِهَا
 قَلْعَةٌ عَظِيمَةٌ حَمِينَةٌ بِأَعْلَى الْجَبَلِ سَفَلَهَا مَخْرُوتٌ مِنْ

الجبل وأعلاه مبنى ذات أبراج ونبوت وأماكن وسبعة النسا
 طيبة الهواء في غاية التحسين مماها الله تعالى وأهلها يشبهون
 العجم وبعضهم عند رقة طبع بالنسبة إلى بقايا بلاد الساحل
 وماجاورهم وأهل البيرة يحد ثون بالعربي اللطيف أكثر من
 التركي بخلاف ما تقدم من البلاد فإنه من حين توجهنا من
 اللاد قية وإلى البيرة لم يكن كلامهم إلا التركي وبلغنا بها أن بلاد
 حسن وبلاد الروم والقيسارية وماجاورهما مسافة عشرة أيام
 من بلاد كل مملكة منها خلى من سكانه رحلة منهم خوفا من
 قدوم المقام الشريف ومقابلته نصره الله تعالى وقيل إن قلعة
 المسلمين المذكورة وبلدتها كبيرة وهي على شاطئ الفراه وبها منكان
 كثير ونسبته أن القلعة عاصية والبلد لا يمكن التوصل إليها
 والناس تهرع إليها من البيرة وعين تاب ثم حضر منها الأتلا في البحر
 ليلة الأحد حادي عشره ثم طلع صبيحة اليوم المذكور إلى
 قلعة البيرة المذكورة وعان منها إلى شاطئ الفراه وأنشأ لسات
 الحال يقون أبنائنا
 سر حيث شئت لك المهين جاز و احكم
 قطوع مرادك الأقداره
 خضت البحار بسايج أقصى مني هوج الصبا



٥ مِنْ فِعْلِهِ الْأَثَارُ
 حَمَلْتِكَ أَمْوَاجَ الْفُرَاهِ وَمَنْ رَأَى ٥ نَحْرًا
 ٥ سِوَاكَ تَقَلُّهُ الْأَنْهَارُ
 شَكَرْتُ مَسَاعِيكَ الْمَعَاقِلُ وَالْوَرَى
 ٥ وَالْتَرِبُ وَالْأَسَادُ وَالْأَطْيَارُ
 فَلَا مِثْلَانَ الدَّهْرِ فَيْكَ مَدَا سِحَاهُ تَبْقَى
 ٥ بَقِيَّتْ وَتَدَّ هَبُّ الْأَعْصَارُ
 ثُمَّ تَوَجَّهَ رِكَابُهُ الشَّرِيفُ مِنْ شَاطِئِ الْفُرَاهِ لِبَلَاءِ إِلَى أَنْ وَصَلَ
 إِلَى مَكَانٍ يُفَاكُ لَهُ السَّاجُورُ ضَمِيَّ يَوْمِ الْإِثْنَيْنِ ثَلَاثِي عَشْرِهِ
 وَكَانَ الْمَعْدَى الشَّرِيفُ بِهِ ثُمَّ ارْتَحَلَ مِنْهُ وَاسْتَمَرَ إِلَى بَعْدِ
 الْعِشَاءِ نَامَ بِالطَّرِيقِ قَلِيلًا ثُمَّ سَارَ إِلَى أَنْ دَخَلَ بَيْتَ
 حَلَبَ فِي يَوْمِ الثَّلَاثَا ثَالِثَ عَشْرِهِ وَفِي يَوْمِ الْأَرْبَعَا الْمُبَارَكِ
 الرَّابِعَ عَشْرَ مِنْ شَهْرِ تَارِيخِهِ تُوْفِيَ نَاصِرُ الدِّينِ بْنِ الْمُؤَمِّلِ
 رَأْسُ نَوْبِهِ الْأَمِيرُ نَقِيبُ الْجَيْوشِ الْمَنْصُورِيُّ بِالدِّيَارِ الْمِصْرِيَّةِ
 وَذُوهُ حَلَبَ ثُمَّ فِي يَوْمِ الْخَمِيسِ الْمُبَارَكِ خَامِسَ عَشْرِهِ
 رَكِبَ مَوْلَانَا الْمُتَمَامُ الشَّرِيفُ وَسَارَ إِلَى أَنْ دَخَلَ الْمَدِينَةَ
 وَلَمْ يُطْلَعْ إِلَى الْقَلْعَةِ وَلَا دَخَلَ دَارَ النَّيَابَةِ ثُمَّ حَضَرَتْ
 تَقْدِيمَةُ الْأَمِيرِ قَانِصُوهُ نَائِبِ حَلَبَ فِي يَوْمِ الْجُمُعَةِ سَائِسَ

عَشِيرَهُ وَتُوتَى الْأَمِيرِ شَهَابِ الدِّينِ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ الْأَمِيرِ نَاصِرِ الدِّينِ مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ
 الْعَاصِحِ تَاجِ الدِّينِ عَبْدِ الرَّزَّاقِ بْنِ أَبِي الْفَرَجِ نَقِيبِ الْجِيُوشِ
 الْمَنْصُورَةِ بِالذِّيَارِ الْمَصْرِيَّةِ يَوْمَ الْاِثْنَيْنِ التَّاسِعِ عَشْرِينَ مِنْ شَهْرِ رَجَبِ
 الْفَرْدِ سَنَةِ تَارِيخِهِ بَعْدَ أَنْ كَانَ لَهُ مَدَّةٌ مُتَضَعَةً مِنْ يَوْمِ حُضُورِهِ
 إِلَى انْطِقَاكِهِ وَرُجُوعِهِ مِنْ عَيْنِ تَابٍ إِلَى حَلَبٍ وَدَفِي تَرْبِهِ يُوسُفُ بْنُ الْحَارِثِ
 نَقِيبِ الْجِيُوشِ الْمَنْصُورَةِ بِحَلَبٍ ثُمَّ رَكِبَ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانُ نَصْرَةَ اللَّهِ
 تَعَالَى صَبِيحَةَ يَوْمِ الثَّلَاثَا الْعَشْرِينَ مِنْهُ وَسَيَّرَ ظَاهِرَ الْبَلَدِ وَهُوَ
 لِابْنِ الصُّوفِ وَكَانَ ذَلِكَ مُوَافِقًا لِلسَّابِعِ مِنْ هُنُورِ حَضْرَتِ كَابَةِ
 الشَّرِيفِ إِلَى الْمُبْدَأِ أَكْلَ السَّمَاطِ وَالْبَسَّ السَّلَارِي الصُّوفِ الَّذِي
 كَانَ عَلَيْهِ لِلْأَمِيرِ قَانِصُوهِ الْبَحَاوِيِّ كَافِلَ الْمَمْلَكَةِ الْحَمَلِيَّةِ وَهُوَ
 سَلَارِي صُوفٍ أَبْيَضٍ مُفَرَّقٍ سِنَجَابٍ وَأَخْضَرٍ لِلْأَمِيرِ بَرْدِي بَكِ
 نَائِبِ صَفَدِ سَلَارِي صُوفٍ أَرْزَقِ مُفَرَّقٍ سِنَجَابٍ وَالْبَسَّ لَهُ وَاسْتَقَرَّ
 جَانِبَ بَيْتِهِ الْكِمَالِيِّ فِي الْأَشْرَفِ فِي بَرَسَبَايِ نَائِبِ طَرْسُوسِ كَانَ فِي نِيَابَتِهِ
 عَيْنِ تَابٍ عَوَضًا عَنْ قَانِي بَيْتِهِ الشَّرِيفِيِّ مِنَ الْعُورِ الْمُتَوَقِّفِ قَبْلَ تَارِيخِهِ يَوْمَ
 الْخَمِيسِ الشَّابِيِّ وَالْعَشْرِينَ مِنْهُ **وَحَضْرَتُ شَاهِ بُدَاقِ**
 مِنْ دَوْلَتِ بَابِ وَوَلَادِهِ وَجَمَاعَةٍ مِنْ أَمْرَائِهِ إِلَى الْمُخَيَّمِ الشَّرِيفِيِّ عِمْدَانَ
 حَلَبَ صَبِيحَةَ يَوْمِ الْجُمُعَةِ الثَّلَاثِ وَالْعَشْرِينَ مِنْهُ وَحَصَلَ مِنْهُ
 مِنَ الْمُخْضُوعِ وَالرَّقِيقِ مَا لَا يَزِيدُ عَلَيْهِ ثُمَّ رَكِبَ مَوْلَانَا الْمَقَامَ

الشَّهِيرِ يَوْمَ السَّبْتِ الرَّابِعِ وَالْعِشْرِينَ مِنْهُ وَسَيَرُ وَرَسَمَ
 بِإِطْلَاقِ تَحْكِيمِ الْمُصَابِينِ مَحْلَبٍ وَأَبْطَالِ رِمَائِهِ الصَّابُونَ عَلَى
 التَّجَارِسُوقِ الصَّابُونَ مَحْلَبٍ وَفِي يَوْمِ الْحَمِيسِ الثَّلَاثِي وَالْعِشْرِينَ
 فِيهِ حَضَرَتْ مَطَالَعَاتُ مِنَ الْمَقَرِّ الْأَثَابِكِيِّ السَّيْفِيِّ أَرْبَعًا مِنْ
 طَلْعٍ مِنَ الْقَاهِرَةِ الْحَرُوسَةِ **ثم** فِي يَوْمِ السَّبْتِ الْمُبَارَكِ
 الرَّابِعِ وَالْعِشْرِينَ مِنْهُ حَضَرَتْ تَقْدِيمُهُ شَاهُ بُدَاقِ بَيْتِ
 دُلْعَادِ رِمَائِي خَيْلٍ وَجِمَالٍ وَبُخَالٍ وَأَنْعَامٍ وَأَبِيَّةٍ فَضِيَّةٍ
 وَمَالِيكٍ وَنَقْرٍ وَحُشٍّ وَظِيورٍ صَيْدٍ وَعَيْرٍ ذَلِكِ وَمِنْ جَمَلَتِهَا لَدَيْهِ
 وَسَأَلَ فِي أَنْ يَجْمَعُوا أَوْجَافِيَّةً بِالْأَسْطَبَلَاتِ الشَّرِيفَةِ وَأَسْتَقَرَّ
 الْقَاضِي عَزُّ الدِّينِ بْنِ الْعَدِيمِ فِي قَضَا الْحَنْفِيَّةِ مَحْلَبِ الْحَرُوسَةِ
 عَوْمَاعِنِ الْقَاضِي لِسَانِ الدِّينِ بْنِ الْقَاضِي أَبِي الدِّينِ بْنِ قَاضِي
 الْقُضَاةِ نَحْبِ الدِّينِ بْنِ الشَّحْنَةِ الْحَنْفِيِّ الْمَتَوَفَّى قَبْلَ تَارِيخِهِ
ثم فِي لَيْلَةِ الْأَحَدِ الْخَامِسِ وَالْعِشْرِينَ مِنْهُ حَضَرَ شَاهُ
 بُدَاقِ الْمَذْكُورِينَ يَدِي الْمَوَاقِفِ الشَّرِيفَةِ وَأَكَلَ بِي يَدِيهِ
 الطَّارِي وَالْبَسَّةُ سَلَاوِي صُوفٍ مَقَرِّي وَشَقَّ **ثم** فِي يَوْمِ
 الْأَحَدِ الْخَامِسِ وَالْعِشْرِينَ مِنْهُ حَضَرَ شَاهُ بُدَاقِ وَابْنُ
 رَمْضَانَ وَجَمَاعَةٌ أَمْرًا التُّرْكَانِ وَمَثَلُوا فِي الْحَدْمَةِ الشَّرِيفَةِ
 وَأَكَلُوا السَّمَاطَيْنِ يَدِيهِ **ثم** بَعْدَ السَّمَاطِ وَالْمَشْرُوبِ

أَلْبَسِي شَاهُ بَدَاقِ أَطْلَسِيَيْنِ مُمَرَّوْرِكِبِ حِجْرَةَ حَمْرٍ أَعْظَمِيَه
 بَسْبِجٍ وَكَنْفُوشِ زَرْكِشٍ وَوَلَدِيَه كَامِلَتَيْنِ تُحْمَلُ مَقَرِيَّتَيْنِ
 سَمُورِ ثُمَّ فِي يَوْمِ الْإِثْنَيْنِ السَّادِسِ وَالْعِشْرِينَ مِنْهُ بَعْدَ
 الْحُدُومَةِ الشَّرِيفَةِ وَالْمُحَاكَمَاتِ بِالْمِيدَانِ أَحْضَرَ السَّمَاطَ
 بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ وَجَلَسَ بَيْنَ بَدِيَه الْأَمِيرِ نَائِبِ حَلَبَ وَالْأَمِيرِ نَائِبِ
 صَفَدَ وَرَزَّ الصَّعِيرِينَ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ حَسَنِ بَاكَ وَشَاهِدَاقِ بِنِ
 دُلْعَادِ رُوُودَاةَ وَدَاوُدَ ابْنَ رَمْضَانَ وَوَلَدَاةَ وَوَلَدُ سَوَارِ
 بِنِ دُلْعَادِ الصَّغِيرِ وَأَمْرَ التُّرْكَمَانَ ثُمَّ بَعْدَ السَّمَاطِ ه
 وَالشَّرُوبِ أَلْبَسِي شَاهُ بَدَاقِ كَامِلِيَه سَمُورِ وَوَلَدِ بِنِ فَرَسَابِ بَسْبِجٍ
 وَكَنْفُوشِ وَوَلَدَاةَ سَلَارِيْنَ مَقَرِيَّتَيْنِ بِالسَّمُورِ وَيُوقِيَه التُّرْكَمَانَ
 نَحْسَبِ مَرَاتِبَهُمْ وَحَصَلَ الصَّلَاحُ بَيْنَ الْأَمِيرِ قَانِصُوه نَائِبِ
 حَلَبَ وَبَيْنَ الْأَمِيرِ جَانِهَرِينَ تَانِي بَكَ نَائِبِ قَلْعَه حَلَبَ وَالْبَسِي
 الْأَمِيرِ نَائِبِ حَلَبَ لِلْأَمِيرِ نَائِبِ الْقَلْعَةِ بِهَا كَامِلِيَه
 مَفْرَاهَ سَمُورِ ثُمَّ أَحْضَرَ تَقْدِيمَتَهُ لِلنَّجْمِ الشَّرِيفِ وَأَسْتَقَرَّ
 الْقَاضِي جِهَانَ الدِّينِ يُونُسُ النَّادِي فِي قَاضِي الْقَضَاةِ
 الْحَبْلِي بِحَلَبَ فِي كِتَابِهِ السِّرِّ حَلَبَ وَنَظَرَ الْجِيوشِ
 الْمَنْصُورَةَ بِهَا عَوَضَاعِينَ ابْنَ الْمَعْرِيِّ نَحْمَرِ أَفْصَالِهِ وَخَرَجَتْ
 جِهَاتُ الْمَعْرِيِّ وَأَمْلَاكُهُ لِلْمَقَرِّ الْكِبَالِي نَاطِرِ الْجِيوشِ

المنصورة بالديار المصرية في نظير ما عليه من المال للمشار
 إليه **ثم** ركب مولانا المقام الشريف في يوم الثلاثاء السابع
 والعشرين منه وسير ظاهر البلد ثم عاد ورسم بتبويب المهمل
ثم توجه هجان المقر الأتابكي السيفي أزيك من **م** ظظ
 بجواب الكتاب الذي أحضره من خذومه وبالمراسيم
 الشريفة المرسوم بكتابتها في يوم الأربعاء الثامن والعشرين
 من شهر رجب القرد **و** رسم فيه بالرحيل من حلب
 ومثل الأتقال بكرة النهار وتوجهت **ثم** ركب مولانا المقام
 الشريف نصره الله تعالى مع الظهر وطلع إلى القلعة
 المنصورة وفي خدمته نائب حلب ونائب صقد والأمر
 في خدمته **ثم** حضر في بقية نهاره من على مقام سيدنا
 سعد الأنصاري نفع الله تعالى به ورض عنه إلى حين
 وصل إلى خان طومان بعد العصر ونائب حلب ونائب
 القلعة وأمر أهلها والجميع في خدمته وأحضر السباط
 من نائب حلب وكان المبيت به إلى الصباح والخان المذكور
 في البرية وحلب مدينة عظيمة وقلعها عظيمة وأهلها
 ناس سادح وهم مستغنون عن الوصف لشهرتهم **ثم**
 في يوم الخميس المبارك السابع والعشرين منه أليس الأمير

فَأَنْصَرَهُ الْبُحَاوِي نَائِبُ حَلَبَ وَالْأَمِيرُ جَانِبُ بْنُ تَائِبِي نَائِبُكَ نَائِبُ
 الْقَلْعَةِ بِهَا وَعُمَانُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ دَوَادُ السُّلْطَانِ حَلَبَ
 وَأَبُو بَكْرٍ بْنُ صَالِحٍ الْكُرْدِيُّ الْعَاجِبُ حَلَبَ وَمَنْ مَعَهُمْ
 تَشَارِيْقُ شَرِيفَةٌ وَرَسْمٌ لَهُمْ بِالتَّوَجُّهِ إِلَى حَلَبَ وَتَأْخِذٌ
 فِي خَدِّ مَنْهُ جَمَاعَةٌ مِنْ أَمْرَاءِ الشَّامِ وَمِنْ أَمْرَاءِ طَرَابُلُسَ
 وَمِنْ أَمْرَاءِ غَزَّةَ وَغَيْرِهِمْ وَتَوَجَّهَ فِي بَقِيَّةِ يَوْمِهِ إِلَى أَنْ حَلَّ
 بِرِجَابَةِ الشَّرِيقِ إِلَى سَرْمِيْنَ قَبْلَ الْعَصْرِ مِنْ بَقِيَّةِ يَوْمِ
 الْخَمِيسِ التَّاسِعِ وَالْعِشْرِينَ مِنْهُ وَبَاتَ بِهَا إِلَى أَنْ صَلَّى
 الصُّبْحَ وَحَضَرَ إِلَيْهِ بِهَا الْأَمِيرُ قَرِيبًا نَائِبُ حَمَاهُ وَهَضَبَتْ
 إِلَيْهِ أَقَامَةٌ يَشْبِكُ حَاجِبُ الْحَجَّابِ بِالشَّامِ وَوَقَفَ لَهُ أَهْلُ
 الْقَرْيَةِ وَتَضَرَّرُوا مِنْ أَمِيرِ الشَّامِ مُقْطِعِهَا **وَرَسْمٌ**
 بِإِضَافَتِهَا مَعَ غَيْرِهَا إِلَى الدَّخِيْرَةِ الشَّرِيفَةِ تَحْدِثُ لِلْعَوَاجِمِ
 مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ الصَّرَّاءِ وَأَنْ يُعْطَى لِمُقْطِعِهَا مَبْلَغًا بِسَبَبِ إِزَالَةِ
 ضَرَرِهِمْ وَظِلَامَتِهِمْ **ثُمَّ** رَكِبَ مِنْهَا بَعْدَ صَلَاةِ الصُّبْحِ
 يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ سَلْحَهُ إِلَى أَنْ وَصَلَ مَعْرَةَ النُّعْمَانِ وَبِهَا
 سَيِّدُنَا شَيْتٌ وَسَيِّدُنَا يُوشَعُ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ وَسَلَامُهُ
 عَلَيْهِمَا وَقَدِمَ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ بِسَمَاطٍ مِنْ تَائِبِي حَمَاهُ وَمَرَّ
 بِالطَّرِيقِ عَلَى خَانِ مَنجَلٍ بِقَرْيَةِ الشَّيْبِلِ اللَّعِينِ الَّذِي قِيلَ

أَنَّهُ قُتِلَ السَّيِّدَ الْحُسَيْنَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ **ثُمَّ** حَضَرَ مَرْزَبَانَ
 مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ حَسَنِ بْنِ قُرَيْشٍ وَهُوَ وَلَدُ صَغِيرٍ تُسَاعَى
 الْمُخَرَّمِ إِلَى الْمُخَيَّمِ الشَّرِيفِ وَبَرَزَ لَهُ الْأَمْرُ الشَّرِيفُ بِالْإِقَامَةِ
 فِي الْمَحْدَمَةِ الشَّرِيفَةِ بِالْقَاهِرَةِ **ثُمَّ** رَكِبَ نَصْرَةَ اللَّهِ أُخْرَاهُ
 اللَّيْلَ إِلَى أَنْ وَصَلَ إِلَى حَانَ شَحْوَاوَاتِ السَّمَاطِ فِي يَوْمِ
 السَّبْتِ الْمُبَارَكِ مُسْتَهْلٍ شَهْرِ شَعْبَانَ سَنَةِ اثْنَتَيْنِ
 وَثَمَانِينَ وَثَمَانِ مِائَةٍ وَفِيهِ حَضَرَتْ إِقَامَةُ مِنَ الْقُرَى السَّيْفِي
 الْأَمِيرِ يَشْبُكُ الدَّوَادِرَ الْكَبِيرَةَ عَنِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى نَصْرَتَهُ وَهِيَ
 سَكْرٌ وَحَلْمَى وَبَطِيخٌ صَيْفِيٌّ وَمَا مِنْ مَاءِ النَّيْلِ **وَفِيهِ**
 اسْتَقْرَى يُونُسُ بْنُ صَقْلٍ سَيِّدُ نَائِبِ سَيْسٍ وَاسْتَقْرَى
 فِي وَلَائَةِ الْحَجْرِ بَقْلَعَةَ حَلَبِ الْحَزْرَةِ **ثُمَّ** رَكِبَ
 مَوْلَانَا الْمَقَامَ الشَّرِيفَ بَعْدَ صَلَاةِ الصُّبْحِ يَوْمَ الْأَحَدِ
 ثَانِيهِ وَتَوَجَّهَ إِلَى أَنْ دَخَلَ إِلَى ظَاهِرِ حَمَاهِ الْحَزْرَةِ
 وَنَزَلَ بِالنَّيْلِ بَعْدَ الظُّهْرِ وَتَوَعَّكَ جِسْدُ الشَّرِيفِ
 بِهَا وَحَصَلَ لَهُ حُمَّى وَبَارِدَةٌ وَاسْتَمَرَ مُقِيمًا بِهَا إِلَى لَيْلَةِ
 السَّبْتِ الْمُبَارَكِ ثَانِيهِ وَحَضَرَ بِهَا أَحْمَدُ بْنُ طَفَيْشٍ شَيْخُ
 نَوَى وَصَحْبَتُهُ إِقَامَةُ وَبَطِيخٌ وَغَيْرُهُ **ثُمَّ** تَوَجَّهَ رَكَابَةً
 الشَّرِيفِ لَيْلَةَ السَّبْتِ الْمَذْكُورِ فِي حَفَّةٍ عَلَى بَغَالٍ

بَعْدَ سُؤَالٍ فِي ذَلِكَ وَدُخْلَةً عَلَيْهِ لِأَنَّهُ وَصَلَ إِلَى الرَّسْتَنِ
 وَحَمَاهُ بَلَدٌ كَبِيرٌ بِهِ أَنْهَارٌ وَنَوَاعِيرٌ وَأَعْظَمُ أَنْهَارِهِ الْعَاصِي وَهُوَ
 يَتَفَاخَرُونَ بِهِ وَالْمَخْرُ لِلْعَاصِي وَالْبَلَدُ الْمَذْكُورَةُ بِهَا كِتَابَةٌ
 وَهِيَ أَرْضٌ مُتَعَيَّنَةٌ وَمَا وَهِيَ كَذَلِكَ وَأَرْضُهَا مُرْتَفَعَةٌ بِالْمَخْرُ
 الْأَسْوَدِ وَبَعْضُ أَهْلِهَا عَجَائِبٌ **ثم** لَمَّا وَصَلَ الرَّسْتَنِ الْبَسَنَ
 الْأَمِيرُ قَرَأَ جَانِبَيْنِ حَمَاهُ كَأَمَلِيَّةٍ سَمُورٍ وَأَرْكَبَهُ فَرَسًا بِسَرِجٍ
 وَكِنْفُوشٍ وَاسْتَقَرَّ أَيْدِيكَ مِنْ جَانِبِ الْأَمِيرِ كَبِيرِ حَمَاهُ وَاسْتَقَرَّ قَرِيبَ
 ابْنِ الْبَارِزِيِّ كَاتِبِ السِّرِّ الشَّرِيفِ بِحَمَاهُ وَالْبَسَنِيُّ ابْنُ الزُّوْبَعَةَ
 الْحَاجِبُ بِحَمَاهُ تَشْرِيفًا شَرِيفًا **وَكَسَمَهُ** نَصَرَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى
 بِالْفِ دِينَارٍ لِعِمَارَةِ مَقَامِ السَّيِّدَيْنِ الْعَابِدِينَ وَالِدِ السَّيِّدَةِ
 فَعَيْسَهُ بِالْقُرْبِ مِنْ حَمَاهُ عَلَى يَدِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ الْقَيْشَانِيِّ أَحَدِ
 الْأَمْرَاءِ حَلَبَ **ثم** رَكِبَ بَقِيَّةَ يَوْمِهِ وَهُوَ السَّبْتُ تَامِنَهُ
 وَتَوَجَّهَ إِلَى حِمَصَ وَتَلَقَّاهُ الْأَمِيرُ جَانِبِيكَ الْإِيْنَالِي فَلَقِسِرَ
 نَائِبِ الشَّامِ وَأَمْرًا الشَّامِ وَأَكْبَرُهَا بِالطَّرِيقِ وَوَصَلَ
 إِلَى حِمَصَ لَيْلَةَ الْأَحَدِ تَاسِعَهُ وَأَحْضُرَيْنِ يَدِيهِ إِقَامَةُ
 نَائِبِ الشَّامِ وَأَقَامَ حِمَصَ يَوْمَ الْأَحَدِ عَاشِرَهُ وَحِمَصَ بَلَدٌ
 هُوَ أَهْلٌ طَيِّبٌ وَبِهِمَا مَقَامُ سَيِّدِنَا خَالِدِ بْنِ الْوَلِيدِ رَضِيَ
 اللَّهُ عَنْهُ **ثم** ارْتَحَلَ مِنْ حِمَصَ فِي يَوْمِ الْإِثْنَيْنِ الْحَادِي

عشر من شهر شعبان المذكور بعد ان ألبس الأمير أزد مر
 نائب طرابلس تشريفًا وأذن له في التوجه إلى طرابلس
 واستقر بها في بيك الفقيه حاجب ثاني بها عوضًا عن اقبای
 الحطاطي واستمر بقيته يومه إلى أن وصل ركابه الشريف
 إلى حسيا وهي قرية وقف سجنك له بها خان **ثم توجه**
 منها يوم الثلاثاء الثاني عشر من شهر تاريخه المبارك
 بعد قاروهي قرية صغيرة بها بعض أشجار ونهر وما
 طيب وحضرت فيه إقامة من المقر السيفي يشبك
 أميرًا وادار كبير مثل الإقامة التي جهزها أولاً وإقامته
 من عبد الأبواب الشريفه **والد المملوك ثم أصبح**
 مقيمًا بها يوم الأربعاء وليلة الخميس رابع عشره إلى أن
 صلى الصبح وتوجه منها إلى أن نزل بالقطيقة وهي قرية
 وقفي البيمارستان بدمشق **ثم ارتحل** منها يوم الجمعة
 خامس عشره إلى أن وصل القصير وهي بقرب من دمشق
 بريد ونصف **ثم ركب** بعد العشاء ليلة السبت سادس
 عشره إلى أن وصل إلى قلعه دمشق المحروسه آخر الليل
 في الخفة وكنوا المسلمون في غاية الوجع بسبب ذلك وأنشد
 لسان الحال يقول

وَكَمْ قُلْتُ لِمَا أَنْ تَوْعَكَ جِسْمٌ مِنْ حَدَرِي عَلَيْهِ
 ○ يَكَادُ أَنْ يَكُ مُتْلَفِي ○

لَوْ أَنَّ رُوحِي فِي يَدِي وَوَهْبَتُهَا مِلْبَشَتِي
 ○ بِشَفَائِهِ لَمْ أَنْصَف ○

وَصَرْنَا مُتَوَسِّلِينَ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى بِالنَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ
 وَبِالسَّادَةِ الْأَوْلِيَاءِ فِي حُصُولِ الْعَافِيَةِ لَهُ وَحَصَلَ
 لَنَا الْبِشَارَةُ بِعَافِيَتِهِ مِنَ السَّادَةِ الْفُقَرَاءِ كَالشَّيْخِ عَلِيِّ
 الدَّقَاقِ وَالشَّيْخِ عَلِيِّ الْمَجْدُوبِ وَسَيَّلَ الشَّيْخُ الْعَارِفُ
 بِاللَّهِ تَعَالَى عَلَى الصَّنَادِ يَقِي نَفَعَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى بِهِ عَنْ أَمْرِهِ
 وَطَلَبْنَا لَهُ الدُّعَاءَ فَقَالَ مَا يَحْصُلُ الْأَخِيرُ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ
 تَعَالَى وَكَيْفَ حَضَرَ طَيِّبًا فَإِنَّ السَّادَةَ الْأَوْلِيَاءَ اجْتَمَعُوا
 مَعَ الْقُطْبِ وَتَكَلَّمُوا فِي أَمْرِهِ وَأَطْرَقُوا سَاعَةً ثُمَّ رَفَعُوا
 رُؤُسَهُمْ وَقَالُوا اقْرَأُوا لَهُ الْفَاتِحَةَ وَاسْأَلُوا اللَّهَ لَهُ الْعَافِيَةَ
 وَاسْأَلُوا اللَّهَ حِرْزًا فَإِنَّ نَحْنُ نُنْظَرُ نَافِيَةً يَصْلُحُ لِلْوِلَايَةِ
 عَلَى الْمُسْلِمِينَ فَلَمْ نَجِدْ فِي جَمَاعَتِهِ مِثْلَهُ وَلَقَدْ ذَكَرْتُ
 ذَلِكَ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ الشَّرِيفِ نَصْرَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى
 فَأَحْرَأَ أَدَامَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى أَيَّامَهُ الشَّرِيفَةَ بِأَنَّهُ رَأَى
 فِي مَنَامِهِ مِثْلَ ذَلِكَ أَوْ مَا يَقْرُبُ مِنْهُ فَاسْتَدَّ لَنَا

عَلَى صِدْقِ الشَّيْخِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي خَبْرَةَ مَوْلَانَا الْمَقَامِ الشَّرِيفِ
 نَصْرَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَهَدَى مِنَ الْعِنَايَةِ الرَّبَّانِيَّةِ لِأَزَالَتِ
 مُسَاعَدَمُ لَهُ عَلَى الدَّوَامِ حَقِّ النَّبِيِّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ
 ثُمَّ رَسَمَ نَصْرَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى لِلْحَاجِّ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ طَلْفَيْشِ الَّذِي
 حَضَرَ إِلَى حَمَاهُ بِالتَّوَجُّهِ إِلَى الْقَاهِرَةِ الْمُحْرَسَةِ بَعْدَ أَنْ
 شَمَلَتْهُ الصَّدَقَاتُ الشَّرِيفَةُ بِالْأَنْعَامِ الزَّائِدِ وَتَوَجَّهَ
 طَلْفَيْشٌ مِنْ دِمَشْقٍ بَعْدَ إِقَامَةِ الرُّكَّابِ بِهَا أَرْبَعَةَ
 أَيَّامٍ ثُمَّ اسْتَمَرَّ مَوْلَانَا الْمَقَامِ الشَّرِيفِ نَصْرَهُ اللَّهُ
 تَعَالَى مُقِيمًا بِالْقَلْعَةِ الْمَنْصُورَةِ إِلَى أَنْ أَكَلَ الْمَصْلُوقَ
 فِي يَوْمِ السَّبْتِ الثَّلَاثِ وَالْعِشْرِينَ مِنْهُ وَجَهَزَ مَوْلَانَا
 الْمَقَامِ الشَّرِيفِ نَصْرَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى إِلَى إِسْحَاقَ بَاشَاهُ
 وَرَفِيقِهِ الرَّوِّسِيِّ مِنْ مَمْلَكَةِ الرُّومِ مِنْ جَمَاعَةِ الْمُقَدَّرِ
 النَّاصِرِيِّ ابْنِ عُثْمَانَ صَاحِبِ مَمْلَكَةِ الرُّومِ مَبْلَغَ الثَّنَى
 دِينَارٍ وَثَلَاثِينَ رَأْسًا مِنَ الْعُغْمِ وَمِائَتِي أَرْدَبٍ شَعِيرٍ
 وَأَرْبَعِينَ قَنْطَارٍ بَقْسِيَّاتٍ وَمِائَتِي طَائِرٍ مِنَ الدَّجَاجِ
 وَخَمْسِينَ طَائِرًا مِنَ الْإِوْرِ الْبَلْدِيِّ وَعِشْرَةَ قَنْطَارٍ
 سَكْرٍ وَعِشْرَةَ قَنْطَارٍ حَبِّ رُمَانٍ وَخَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ قَنْطَارًا
 مِنَ الدِّبْسِ وَخَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ أَرْدَبًا مِنَ الْأُرْزِ الْمَبْيُضِ أَنْعَامًا

عَلِمَهُمْ عِنْدَ حُضُورِهِمْ لِقَصْدِ التَّوَجُّهِ إِلَى الْحِجَازِ
 الشَّرِيفِ وَاسْتَمَرَ فِي رِيَاذَةِ الْعَافِيَةِ وَجَلَسَ صَبِيحَةَ يَوْمِ
 الْأَحَدِ الرَّابِعِ وَالْعِشْرِينَ مِنْهُ **وَكُتِبَ**
 عَلَامَتُهُ الشَّرِيفَةُ عَلَى الْمَرَامِيمِ الشَّرِيفَةِ الْمُرْسُومِ بِكِنَايَتِهَا
 إِلَى مِصْرَ بَعَافِيَةِ مَوْلَانَا الْمَقَامِ الشَّرِيفِ وَخُلِقَتْ بِالزَّعْرَاءِ
 وَجَهَزَتْ عَلَى يَدِ السَّيْفِيِّ بَرْدِي بَكٍ مِنْ سَيِّدِي أَخِي
 الْمَقْدَمِيِّ فِي لَيْلَةِ الْأَرْبَعَاءِ السَّابِعِ وَالْعِشْرِينَ مِنْهُ
 لِلدِّيَارِ الْمِصْرِيِّهِ وَصَحْبَهُ مُرَاعِي الشَّمْسِيِّ بِنِ اصْوَاهِ
 وَجَهَزَتْ مَرَامِيمُ شَرِيفَةُ لِلْمَالِكِ الْحَلَبِيِّهِ وَغَيْرِهَا
 بِمَعْنَى ذَلِكَ وَشَمِلَتْ الصَّدَقَاتُ الشَّرِيفَةَ الْأَمِيرَ قَانِصُ
 الشَّرِيفِي الْأَلْفِي بِأَمْرِهِ عَشْرَةَ بِالدِّيَارِ الْمِصْرِيِّهِ وَالسَّيْفِيِّ
 بَرْدِي بَكٍ مِنْ سَيِّدِي الْمَذْكُورِ قَبْلَهُ بِاسْتِقْرَارِهِ سَافِرًا
 خَاصًّا عَنِ الْأَمِيرِ قَانِصُوهِ الْمَذْكُورِ لِأَنَّهَا كَانَا مُلَا زِمِي
 لِلخِدْمَةِ الشَّرِيفَةِ فِي حَالَةِ التَّوَعُّدِ لَهَا فِي يَوْمِ الْأَرْبَعَاءِ
 الْمُبَارَكِ الْمَذْكُورِ جَهَزْتُ لِلزَّيْنِيِّ إِسْحَاقَ بِأَسْأَهُ وَرَفِيقَهُ
 الْعُمَانِيَّيْنِ الْمَذْكُورَيْنِ أَنْعَامًا وَنَهْوًا فَاصِيلَ سَكَنْدَرِي
 خَمْسِينَ وَاحِدَةً وَدَبَابِيْسِيْنَ بَدْرُغَانِي عَشْرَةَ وَأَطْبَارَكُتْ
 مَذْهَبَهُ عَشْرَةَ وَأَسِنَّةَ رِمَاحَ عَشْرَةَ وَلَبُوسَ كَفْتُ

ثَلَاثَةٌ وَأَثْرَاسٌ سَبْعَةٌ وَقِسَى بُنْدُقٍ عَشْرَةٌ وَرِمَاحٌ قِنَا
 حَمْسِينَ وَشَاشَاتٌ مَشْتُولِي عَالٍ عَشْرَةٌ وَسَكْرَبَاتٌ حَمْوِي
 عَشْرَةٌ بِجَاجٍ وَمَرْطَبَانِ رَنْجَبِيلٍ مَرَّتَيْنِ وَمَرْطَبَانِ كَابِلِي مَرَّتَيْنِ
 وَأُرْسَلُ إِلَيْهِمْ يَعْدُ ذَلِكَ هَجْنٌ مَرَاكِبٍ وَشَعَّارَةٌ وَقَهَّاشٌ
 يَهْنُ وَيَعْدُ ذَلِكَ تَهْرَجَلَسُ يَوْمَ الْحَمِيسِ الْبَارِكِ الثَّامِنِ وَالْعَشْرِينَ
 مِنْ شَهْرِ شَعْبَانَ الْمُبَارِكِ بِالْأَيَّامِ بِقَلْعِهِ دِمَشْقَ الْحَرَسَةِ
 وَعَمِلَ سِمَاطًا عَظِيمًا وَحَضَرَ إِلَيْهِ الْأَمِيرُ جَانِي بَيْتِ نَائِبِ
 الشَّامِ وَالْأَمِيرُ بَرْدِي بَيْتِ نَائِبِ صَقْدِ الْأَمْرَاءِ الشَّامِيِّينَ
 وَالْأَصْرَبِيِّينَ وَالْمُبَاشِرُونَ وَحَضَرَ اسْتَحَقَّ بِأَسْنَاهُ وَجَمَاعَةٌ
 الْأَزْوَاجِ إِلَى بَيْتِ أَيْدِيهِ الشَّرِيفَةِ وَأَكَلُوا السِّمَاطَ وَشَرَبُوا
 الْمَشْرُوبَ عَلَى الْعَادَةِ وَالْبَسْمُ تَشَارِبُ شَرِيفَةٍ وَقَدْ تَوَقَّ
 تَقْدِيمَتَهُمْ وَهِيَ طَوَاشِي أَبْيَضٌ وَتِسْعَةٌ مَمَالِيكَ وَأَرْبَعُ
 فُطْرِي مَالِ حَخَاتِي وَقِطَارَانِ بَعَالٍ وَسَبْعَةٌ وَأَرْبَعُونَ
 فِصَّةً أُنْيَةً وَقَهَّاشٌ حَمَلٌ وَمَسْحٌ وَكَمْحَا وَسُمُورٌ وَوَشَقٌ وَيُحْدِ
 وَشَقٌ وَعَيْرُ ذَلِكَ تَهْرِي فِي يَوْمِ الْجُمُعَةِ الْمُبَارَكِ سَلَخَهُ
 رَكِبَ بَعْدَ صَلَاةِ الْجُمُعَةِ مِنَ الْقَلْعَةِ وَتَوَجَّهَ إِلَى
 الْمِيدَانِ بِدِمَشْقَ وَعَمِلَ سِمَاطًا عَظِيمًا وَمَشْرُوبًا
 كَثِيرًا فِي الْأَحْوَاضِ وَاجْتَمَعَ الْأَمْرَاءُ وَنَائِبُ الشَّامِ وَنَائِبُ

صَقَدَ وَجَمَاعَةُ النَّاصِرِيِّ ابْنِ عُثْمَانَ صَاحِبِ الرُّومِ
وَأَكْلُوا السِّمَاطَ وَشَرَبُوا الْمَشْرُوبَ وَحَصَلَ لِحَمَاعَةِ الْمُقَرِّ النَّامِيِّ
ابْنِ عُثْمَانَ مِنَ الْإِنصَافِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ مَا لَا يَسْتَطَاعُ ضَبْطُهُ
وَوَضَى عَلَيْهِمْ وَعَلَى جَمَاعَتِهِمْ أَمِيرَ الْحَجَّاجِ وَحُكَّامَ دِمَشْقَ وَرَسَمَ
بِأَنَّ لَا يَنْعَارُ ضُرُوفَ الْجَمَالَةِ وَالْعُلَمَانَ الَّذِينَ يَسْتَحْدُونَهُمْ
وَلِسَانَ الْحَالِ يَقُولُ وَيَنْطِقُ بِحَقِيقَةِ الْحَالِ كَمَا قَالَ الشَّاعِرُ
وَمَنْ يَقْتَرِبَ مِنَّا وَخَضَعَ نُؤُوهَ ۝ وَلَا يَخْشَى
۝ ظُلْمًا مَّا أَقَامَ وَلَا هَضْمًا ۝

تَمَّ رَكِبَ مَوْلَانَا الْمَقَامَ الشَّرِيفَ نَصْرَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى فِي بَقِيَّةِ
يَوْمِهِ مِنَ الْمِيدَانِ وَعَادَ إِلَى الْقَلْعَةِ وَابْتَهَجَ أَهْلُ الشَّامِ
وَالْمُسْلِمُونَ أَجْمَعُونَ لِعَافِيَتِهِ وَكَانَ يَوْمًا مَشْهُودًا ه
وَمَوْكِبًا عَظِيمًا وَاللَّهُ الْحَمْدُ وَالنِّسَاءُ لِسَانَ الْحَالِ يَقُولُ
۝ سَكَّرَ رَبِّ السَّمَاءِ ۝ عَلَى جَزِيلِ الْعَطَاءِ ۝
۝ فَقَدْ سِرَرْتُ بِيَوْمٍ ۝ قَدْ نِلْتُ فِيهِ مِنْكَ ۝
وَحَضَرَ السَّيْفِي نُورُوزُ أَخِي الْأَمِيرِ الدَّوَادَارِ الْكَبِيرِ
بِإِقَامَةٍ مِنْ عِنْدِ الْمُقَرِّ الْأَشْرَفِيِّ السَّيْفِيِّ بِشَبْكِ أَمِيرِ
دَوَادَارِ كَبِيرٍ أَعَزَّ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى نَصْرَتَهُ فِي أَوَّلِ شَهْرِ رَجَبٍ
وَاسْتَقَرَّ الْقَاضِي صَلَاحُ الدِّينِ بْنِ الْعَدَوِيِّ فِي نَظَرِ

القلعة والأسوار وكألة المقام الشريف عن القاضي
 شهاب الدين بن النابلسي في يوم الخميس الحامس من
 شهر رمضان سنة اثنتين وثمانين وثمانمائة واستقر هـ
 اسمعيل الحنفي في وظائف القاضي علاي الدين بن قاضي
 عجلاون القاضي الحنفي في تاريخه واستقر جمال الدين
 دوادار نايب الشام في استاد اريه الأغوار عوضا عن
 الأمير ابردى وفيه أفرج عن جماعة ابن النابلسي
 الذين كانوا بالسجن وخط ما قرر عليهم للخدائين
 الشريفه شرفها الله تعالى وعظها بشفاعه الشيخ علي
 الدقاق ثم رسم بإبطال التحكيم بالخانات والمكوس
 على الخطب والتبني وغيره في يوم الجمعة المبارك سادسه
 وأجهر النداء بذلك بدمشق بالجامع الأموي ونقش
 به زخامة وفيه وصل الخبر بوفاة القاضي زين الدين
 عبد الرحمن ناظر الجيوش المنصوره بعزّه المحروسه
 وحصل الأسف عليه وتوجه فيه قانصوه أمير
 كبير عزّه إلى عزّه المحروسه ثم في يوم الأحد المبارك
 ثابته استقر القاضي شرف الدين برعيدي قضاء
 السادة الحنفيه بدمشق المحروسه عن القاضي

علاء الدين بن قاضي مجلون المتوفى قبل تاريخه وفيه
 استقر القاضي الشريف موفق الدين عبد الرحمن
 العباسي الحموي في نظر الجيوش المنصورة بد مشق
 الحروسة عن القاضي شهاب الدين التابلسي وفيه استقر
 إبراهيم بن المرحوم القاضي زين الدين ناظر الجيوش
 المنصورة الحروسة عن والده فتوجهت الأتقال
 الشريفة وغالب الخيول الشريفة في يوم تاريخه وهو
 الأحد ثامن من دمشق الحرسة ضجة الحواجا شمس
 الدين محمد بن الصوّ والقاضي علم الدين يحيى بن البقرى
 ناظر الأسطبلات الشريفة والإمير الماس أستاذ أراه
 الضجة الشريفة والزيني سنبل الحازن والزيني أمير
 حاج بن علم الدين من درب حوران ثم توجه ركابه
 الشريف نضرة الله تعالى من دمشق الحروسة يوم
 الثلاثاء المبارك عاشر شهر رمضان بعد أن أقام
 بها من ليلة سادس عشر شهر شعبان وإلى تاريخه
 كما ظهر فرسه الشريف وفي خدمته الأمير نائب
 الشام وأمرؤها وظهر منها سالك باب الفرج إلى
 أن وصل إلى ظاهر دمشق البس الأمير جاني بك

الأيصال فلقسرتايب الشام والامير شاد بك الجلباني
 اتايك العساكر المنصورة والامير يلباي المؤيد الذي اذ ار
 بها والامير يشبك الشرفي يونس العلوي حاجب الحجاب
 بها وعلي بن شاهين نائب القلعة بها شاريق شريفه
 ورسم لهم بالعود ورسم للسيفي خشك الذي المحمدي
 الخازن دار المتوجه قبل تاريخه بسبب النابلسي بالعود
 الى دمشق المحروسة الى حين يرد عليه ما يرسم به
وتوجه ركابه الشريف ومريحان المريح وهو
 البريك الاول من دمشق المحروسة ونزل بسعسع
 وقت المغرب وكان بالطريق اوحال ومشاق ويات بها
 الى صبيحة النهار يوم الأربعاء عاشره ورسم بجماعة
 خان بها وبرز مرسومه الشريف للخواجه شمس الدين
 بن الزين والصارمي سيدي ابراهيم بن منجك بالعود
 وبالفراج عن القاضي نجم الدين بن قاضي القضاة
 قطب الدين الحيزري واطلاقه من البرج بقلعة دمشق
 المحروسة ورسم للقاضي قطب الدين والده بالتوجه
 للقاهرة في الركاب الشريف وان ولده يلحقه للقاهرة
 بعد ذلك وتوجه ركابه الشريف نصره الله تعالى في

يَوْمِهِ مِنْ عَلَى حَرْفٍ مِنْ أَحْجَارٍ وَوَعْدٍ وَوَحْلٍ وَخَائِضٍ إِلَى
أَنْ وَصَلَ إِلَى الْقَنْيْطَرَةِ أَخِرِ النَّهَارِ وَبَاتَ بِهَا وَحَضَرَ
فِيهَا إِقَامَةً مِنَ الْأَمِيرِ بَرْدِيِّ بِكَ نَائِبِ صَفْدٍ وَوَصَلَ
إِبْرَاهِيمُ بْنُ الْقُرَيْدِ الصَّيْفِيُّ بِالْمُفْرَدِ كَانَ بِإِقَامَةٍ مِنَ
الْمُقَرَّرِ التَّاجِي نَاطِرِ الْحَوْضِ الشَّرِيفَةِ وَوَصَلَ شَهَابُ
الَّذِينَ نَاطِرِ مِيَاطٍ وَابْنِ شَهَابٍ فَهُوَ تَوَجَّهَ مِنْهَا
بِكُرَّةِ النَّهَارِ يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ الْمُبَارَكِ ثَانِي عَشْرِهِ مِنْ وَعْدِهِ
وَأَحْجَارٍ وَأَوْحَالٍ وَحَدَرَاتٍ وَمَشَقَاتٍ كَثِيرَةٍ إِلَى أَنْ وَصَلَ
إِلَى جِسْرِ سَيِّدِ نَائِعِقُوبٍ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَسَلَامُهُ
عَلَيْهِ وَتُرِكَ بِهِ خَافَةَ النَّهْرِ الْوَاصِلِ بَيْنَ بَرَكَةِ قَدْسٍ
وَعَمَلِ الْأَمِيرِ بَرْدِيِّ بِكَ سِمَاطًا عَظِيمًا وَبَيْنَ هَذِهِ الْمَحْطَةِ
وَالشَّامِ سِتَّةَ بُرْدٍ وَهِيَ الْمَرْجُ وَسَجَّعُ وَالْأُرَيْبَةُ وَالْقَنْيْطَرَةُ
وَنَعْرَانُ وَجِسْرُ يَعْقُوبَ فَهُوَ رَكِبَ صَبِيحَةَ الْجُمُعَةِ هـ
الْمُبَارَكِ ثَلَاثَ عَشْرٍ وَطَلَعَ هُوَ وَمَنْ فِي خِدْمَتِهِ إِلَى
صَفْدٍ وَرَسَمَ بَتَجْهِيزِ الثَّقَلِ إِلَى الْمَنِيَّةِ وَصَفْدُ بَلَدٌ
بِأَعْلَى الْجَبَلِ بِهَا قَلْعَةٌ عَظِيمَةٌ بِأَعْلَى الْعُلُوبِ بِهَا وَهِيَ
بَلَدٌ صَغِيرَةٌ وَبِنَائِبِهَا الْآنَ الْجَنَابُ السَّيْفِيُّ بَرْدِيُّ بِكَ هـ
السَّيْفِيُّ جَدُّ بَاشٍ قَرِيبٌ مَوْلَانَا الْمُقَامُ الشَّرِيفِيُّ أَعَزَّ اللَّهُ

تَعَالَى أَنْصَارُهُ وَنَائِبِ الْقَلْعَةِ بِهَا دَرِ الظَّاهِرِيِّ وَأَمِيرِ
كَبِيرِهَا فَجَرَّ بِمُقْبَلٍ وَحَاجِبِ الْحِجَابِ بِهَا عَجُودُ بْنُ
الدَّوَادِرِيِّ وَبِهَا قِضَاةٌ وَكَاتِبُ سِرِّ وَبِهَا جُلٌّ مَحْدُوبٌ
عَظِيمُ الشَّانِ يُقَالُ لَهُ الشَّيْخُ نِعْمَةٌ وَرَأَى مَوْلَانَا الْمَقَامُ ه
الشَّرِيفُ الشَّيْخُ نِعْمَةٌ وَطَلَعَ إِلَى الْقَلْعَةِ وَنَزَلَ بِدَارِ السَّعَاءِ
وَخَصَّرَتِ النَّقَادِمُ وَأَلْبَسَ نَائِبُهَا وَقِصَادَةٌ وَنَائِبِ الْقَلْعَةِ
نَشَارِيفُ شَرِيفَةٌ وَرَسْمُ نَصْرِهِ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى بِاصْلَاحِ
الْقَلْعَةِ وَعَمَّارَتَهَا وَأَجْرَاءُ الْمَاءِ إِلَى الْبَلَدِ مِنَ الْعَيْنِ وَخَصَّرَ
بِهَا النَّاصِرِيُّ مُحَمَّدُ النَّشَاشِيْبِيُّ نَاطِرُ الْحَرَمِيِّ الشَّرِيفِيِّ
بِالْقُدْسِ الشَّرِيفِيِّ وَمَقَامِ سَيِّدِنَا الْخَلِيلِ لَهُ نَزَلَتْ مِنْهَا
صَبِيحَةٌ يَوْمِ السَّبْتِ رَابِعَ عَشْرِهِ إِلَى أَنْ وَصَلَ إِلَى كَفَرِ
كِنَاوِ النَّاصِرَةِ وَخَصَّرَتِ الْأَنْقَالَ وَمَرَّ مَوْلَانَا الْمَقَامُ الشَّرِيفِيُّ
نَصْرَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى فِي طَرِيقِهِ بِمَقَامِ سَيِّدِنَا شُعَيْبِ بْنِ
اللَّهِ وَزَارَهُ وَتَصَدَّقَ عَلَى خِدَامِهِ بِبَقَّةٍ وَطَرِيقُ صَفْدِ
مَشْهُورٌ جِدًّا أَوْ عَارِزَةٌ وَأَوْحَالُهُ وَمَا فِيهِ مِنْ صُغُودٍ ه
وَهَبُوطٍ وَبُقَالَ عَلَى أَلْسِنَةِ الْعَامَّةِ
○ يَا صَاحِبَ عَرِيضِ رُكَابِكَ عَنِ صَفْدِهِ
○ فَإِنَّهَا بَيْتُ الْبَلَدِ ○ إِنْ طَلَعْتَ

إِلَى السَّهَاءِ وَإِنْ نَزَلَتْ إِلَى الْأَثَدِ
 وَجَدَ ذَلِكَ وَصَحَّ بِرِيَادَةِ وَنَائِبِيهَا الْأَمِيرُ بَرْدِي بَكْرٌ
 مَشْكُورُ السَّيْرِهِ إِنْسَانٌ جَيِّدٌ وَلَقَدْ حَصَلَ اللَّطْفُ بِعَدَمِ
 حُصُولِ الْمَطَرِ وَتَوَجَّهَ مِنْهَا بِكْرَةَ النَّهَارِ يَوْمَ الْأَحَدِ
 خَامِسَ عَشْرَةَ إِلَى أَنْ وَصَلَ إِلَى اللَّجُونِ وَبَاتَ
 بِهَا وَالنَّبِيُّ الْأَمِيرُ بَرْدِي بَكْرٌ نَائِبٌ صَفْدٌ كَأَمَلِيَّةٍ تُجَمَّلُ
 أَحْمَرٌ مُفْرَاهٌ سَمُورٌ وَفَوْقَانِي عَرَجِيَّةٌ وَأَرْكَبُهُ فَرَسًا
 بِسَرَجٍ وَكَنْفُوشٍ وَالنَّبِيُّ الْأَمِيرُ الْكَبِيرُ وَالْحَاجِبُ بِصَفْدِ
 وَابْنِ الْكَابُولِيِّ وَابْنِ بَشَارِهِ مُقَدِّمِي الْبِلَادِ تَشَارِيفُ
 شَرِيفُهُ وَرَسْمٌ لَهُمْ بِالرَّجَاءِ لَهُ تَوَجُّهُ مِنْهَا لَيْلَةً
 يَوْمِ الْاِثْنَيْنِ سَادِسَ عَشْرَةَ وَالْبَاقِي إِلَى الصُّبْحِ ثَمَانُونَ
 دَرَجَةً إِلَى أَنْ نَزَلَ بِقَافُونَ وَقَتِ الظُّمَى وَكَانَ بِالطَّرِيقِ
 أَوْحَاكٌ وَنَحَائِضٌ وَحَضَرَ فِيهِ بَدْرُ الْعَلَاوِيِّ ابْنِ خَاصِ
 بَكْرٍ جَمَاعِي يَدٍ مِنَ الْأَقَامَةِ الْمُحَضَّرَةِ مِنْ مَحْدُومِهِ
 وَحَضَرَ سَبَاعِي بَلْتَابُ الْأَمِيرِ الْحَازِنْدَارِ بَرَسْبَايُ ثُمَّ حَمَلُ
 بِهَا مَطْرٌ وَنَامَ إِلَى بَاكِرِ النَّهَارِ ثُمَّ فِي لَيْلَةٍ سَابِعَ عَشْرَةَ
 حَضَرَ قَرَأَعِي قَاصِدُ الْحَوَاجَا ابْنِ الصُّوَا الَّذِي تَوَجَّهَ
 مَعَ السَّيْفِيِّ بَرْدِي بَكْرٍ مِنْ سَيِّدِي بِالْبَشَارَةِ بِعَافِيَةِ الْمَقَامِ

الشَّريفِ نصرَهُ اللهُ تَعَالَى وَمَعَهُ كُتِبَ تَارِيخُهَا الرَّابِعَ عَشْرَ مِنْ
 شَهْرِ رَمَضَانَ وَفِيهَا انْتَهَمَ صَامُوا بِالْقَاهِرَةِ يَوْمَ السَّبْتِ فَكَانَتْ
 مِنْ سَفَرِهِ مِنَ الْقَاهِرَةِ إِلَى قَاعُونَ ثَلَاثَةَ أَيَّامٍ وَأَرْبَعَ لَيَالٍ
 وَأَخْبَرَ بِمَا وَجَعَ لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ مِنَ الْفَرَجِ وَالسُّرُورِ بِعَافِيَةِ مَوْلَانَا
 السُّلْطَانِ نصرَهُ اللهُ تَعَالَى وَإِنَّ يَوْمَ قُدُومِهِ كَانَ يَوْمًا
 مَشْهُودًا **ثُمَّ** رَكِبَهُ الشَّريفُ إِلَى جَلْجُولِيَّةَ يَوْمَ الثَّلَاثَا
 ثَامِنِ عَشْرِهِ وَكَانَ بِالطَّرِيقِ أَوْحَاكُ وَأَمْطَارًا وَأَشْقَرَتِ الْأَمْطَارُ
 غَالِبَ النَّهَارِ وَخَضِرَ بِهَا الْأَمِيرُ سَيْبَاي نَائِبُ غَزَّةَ وَابْنُ أَيُّوبَ
 نَائِبُ الْقُدْسِ لِلشَّريفِ وَتَقَدَّمَهُ أَبُو الْجِيوشِيِّ **ثُمَّ** تَوَجَّهَ
 رَكَابُهُ الشَّريفُ مِنْهَا إِلَى الرَّمْلِ يَوْمَ الْأَرْبَعَا تَاسِعِ عَشْرِهِ
 وَكَانَ بِالطَّرِيقِ أَوْحَاكُ وَأَمْطَارٌ عَظِيمَةٌ مُتَخَلِّةٌ وَمَعْصَرٌ
 فِيهِ السَّيْفِيُّ بَرْدِيُّ بَاكٍ مِنْ سَيِّدِي الَّذِي تَوَجَّهَ بِالْبَشَارَةِ
ثُمَّ تَوَجَّهَ مِنْهَا نصرَهُ اللهُ يَوْمَ الْحَمِيسِ الْعِشْرِينَ مِنْهُ
 وَنَزَلَ إِلَى سُدُودٍ وَكَانَ يَوْمًا شَاتِيًا شَدِيدِ الْمَطْلِ وَالرَّهْوَا
ثُمَّ ارْتَحَلَ مِنْهَا يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ الْحَادِي وَالْعِشْرِينَ مِنْهُ
 مِنْ عَلَى السَّاحِلِ عَلَى عَشْقَلَانَ إِلَى غَزَّةَ الْمُحْرُوسَةَ
 وَكَانَ يَوْمًا كَثِيرَ الْمَطْرِ وَالذَّرْبِ فِي غَايَةِ الْوَحْلِ **ثُمَّ**
 أَقَامَ يَوْمَ السَّبْتِ بِغَزَّةَ الْمُحْرُوسَةَ وَالْبَسْ إِبْنُ أَيُّوبَ

نَائِبِ الْقُدْسِ الشَّرِيفِ وَالنَّاصِرِ مُحَمَّدِ الظَّاهِرِيِّ النَّشَاشِيِّ
 نَاطِلِ الْحَرَمَيْنِ الشَّرِيفَيْنِ وَمُرْزَا نَائِبِ السَّلِيْطِ وَعَجَلُوْب
 تَشَارِيْفِ شَرِيْفِهِ وَأَمْرٌ بِالْعَوْدِ إِلَى بِلَادِهِمْ **لَمَّا** أَقَامَ بِهَا
 نَصْرَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى يَوْمَ الْأَحَدِ وَاسْتَقَرَّ جَزَقُطْلُوا السَّيْفِي
 أَرْكَمَاسِ الظَّاهِرِيِّ وَهُوَ الشَّرِيفِيُّ يُونُسُ فِي نِيَابَةِ الْقُدْسِ
 الشَّرِيفِيِّ **كَانَ** فِي نِيَابَةِ الْكُرْكِ عَوْضَاعِنُ يُونُسُ
 النَّيَّابِ بِهَا كَانُ وَاسْتَقَرَّ يُونُسُ الْمَذْكُورُ أَمِيرٌ مَيْسَرٌ حَلَبُ
لَمَّا رَسَمَ لِلْسَّيْفِيِّ نُورُورًا فِي الْمَقَرَّةِ الْأَشْرَفِ كَيْشَبِكِ أَمِيرِ
 دَوَادَارِ كَبِيرًا عَزَّ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى أَنْصَارُهُ بِالتَّوَجُّهِ إِلَى الْقَاهِرَةِ
 مُبَشِّرًا بِالْقُدُومِ وَالسَّيْفِيُّ أَسْنَنَ بِهِ مِنْ ولى الدِّينِ بِالتَّوَجُّهِ
 إِلَى نَابِلَسِ وَفِيهِ حَضَرَ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ نَائِبِ بَهَسَنَاتِمُ عَادِلًا عَضًا
 مَاعَلَى الْمَشَاجِحِ مِنَ الْمَالِ وَفِيهِ حَضَرَتْ تَقَادِمُ نَائِبِ عَزَّةَ وَمِنْ
لَمَّا تَوَجَّهَ مِنْهَا نَصْرَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى يَوْمَ الْأَثْنَيْنِ الثَّلَاثِ
 وَالْعِشْرِينَ مِنْهُ وَرَسَمَ لِلْحَوَاجِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الصَّوَابِ بِالْعَوْدِ إِلَى
 حَلَبِ إِقَامَتِهِ بِحَلَبِ وَالْبَسِ هُوَ وَوَلَدَهُ عُمَانُ شَرِيفِي شَرِيفِي
 وَرُكْبَا فَرَسِيْنِ مُسْرَجِيْنِ بِسُرُوحِ ذَهَبًا وَشَمْلَهُمَا الْفَضْلُ الشَّرِيفِيُّ
 شَرَفَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَعَظْمَتُهُ هُمَا وَجَمَاعَتُهُمَا وَعَادَ الْأَمِيرُ جَانِي
 بَكِ الْعَلَايِي الطَّوِيلِ وَمِنْ كَانِ صُجْبَتُهُ مِنْ أَمْرِ الشَّامِ

إِلَى مَحَلِّ إِقَامَتِهِمْ وَكَذَلِكَ نَائِبُ الْقُدْسِ وَنَاطِرُ الْحَرَمَيْنِ
 وَنَائِبُ الْكُرْكِ وَوَصَلَ رِكَابَهُ الشَّرِيفُ فِي بَقِيَّةِ يَوْمِهِ
 إِلَى خَانَ يُونُسَ وَكَانَ يَوْمًا مَاطِرًا شَاتِبًا وَقَدَّمَ إِلَيْهِ الْأَمِيرُ
 سَيِّبَايَ نَائِبَ عَزَّةَ السَّمَاطَ عَلَى الْعَادَةِ **فَمُضِيَ** فِي خَيْرِ
 نَصْرِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى يَوْمَ الثَّلَاثَا الرَّابِعِ وَالْعِشْرِينَ مِنْهُ الْبَسَ
 الْأَمِيرُ سَيِّبَايَ نَائِبَ عَزَّةَ تَشْرِيفًا شَرِيفًا وَرَسْمًا بِالْعَوْدِ
فَمُضِيَ وَصَلَ بَقِيَّةَ يَوْمِهِ إِلَى الرَّحْفَةِ وَكَانَ يَوْمًا كَثِيرَ الْهَوَا
 وَالْأَمْطَارِ وَكَذَلِكَ لَيْلَتُهُ **فَمُتَّجَهًا** مِنْهَا إِلَى الْعَرِيشِ فِي
 يَوْمِ الْأَرْبَعَا الْخَامِسِ وَالْعِشْرِينَ مِنْهُ وَكَانَ يَوْمًا هَائِلًا
 مَاطِرًا الْكِنَّةَ أَخْفَى مِمَّا قَبْلَهُ **فَمُتَّجَهًا** فِي
 يَوْمِ الْخَمِيسِ السَّادِسِ وَالْعِشْرِينَ مِنْهُ إِلَى أَنْ وَصَلَ
 إِلَى مَنْزِلَةِ أَمْرِ الْحَسَنِ وَكَانَ غَالِبَ الْيَوْمِ صَحْوًا بِلا مَطَرٍ وَرَسَمَ
 فِيهِ لِبَدْرِ الْعَلَامِيِّ بْنِ جَاصِ بْنِكَ بِالْعَوْدِ وَحَضَرَ فِيهِ دَمْرُ
 السَّيْفِيِّ تَغْرِي بَرْدِي نَائِبُ قَطِيَا وَانْشَحَّتِ الْعَلِيْقُ لِبَطْوِ
 الْجَمَالِ بِحُضُورِهِ **فَمُتَّجَهًا** مِنْهَا لَيْلًا وَدَخَلَ قَطِيَا ه
 الْمَحْرُوسَةَ يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ السَّابِعِ وَالْعِشْرِينَ مِنْهُ وَحَفَرَتْ
 فِيهِ إِقَامَتُهُ بِالْمَقَرِّ الْأَشْرَفِ السَّيْفِيِّ أَمِيرُ دَوَا أَدَارِ كَبِيرِ مَحَبَّةِ
 مَمْلُوكِهِ قَرَاكُزِ وَالْمَقْدَمِ عَلَى الشُّقَيْفَاتِي وَحَضَرَ أَمْرًا بِنِ طُفَيْشِ

وَاخُوهُ وَوَلَدُهُ وَإِنَّ الظَّحَاوِيَّةَ **ثُمَّ** تَوَجَّهَ مِنْهَا فِي لَيْلِهِ
 السَّبْتِ الثَّامِنِ وَالْعِشْرِينَ مِنْهُ لِيَبْلُغَ إِلَى أَنْ مَرَّ بِالْعُرَابِي
 وَنَزَلَ عِنْدَ السَّبِيلِ وَالْبَيْرِ وَالْمَكَانِ الْمَعْرُوفِ بِالْمَقَرِّ الْأَشْرَفِ
 السَّيْفِي أَمِيرًا وَإِذَا رَكِبَ أَعَزَّ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى أَنْصَارَهُ وَوَجَدْنَا
 الْمَكَانَ غَيْرَ مَا كَانَ لِأَنَّهُ زِيدَتْ فِيهِ مَحَاسِنٌ وَعَمَّرَ فِيهِ مُسَجِدًا
 وَأَيْوَانًا وَخَانًا مَضَافًا لِلْمَكَانِ فِيهِ وَحَضَرَتْ جَمَاعَةٌ مِنَ الْحَوْلَةِ
 وَالْعَايِدِ وَغَيْرِهِمْ **ثُمَّ** رَكِبَ مِنْهَا بَقِيَّةَ يَوْمِهِ إِلَى أَنْ رَصَلَ
 إِلَى الْعَاوِلَةِ بَعْدَ الْمَغْرَبِ لَيْلَةَ الْأَحَدِ التَّاسِعِ وَالْعِشْرِينَ
 مِنْهُ **ثُمَّ** رَكِبَ وَالْبَاقِي لِلشَّمْسِ قَرِيبَ التَّسْعِينَ دَرَجَةً
 إِلَى أَنْ صَلَّى الصُّبْحَ بِالصَّالِحِيَّةِ وَحَضَرَ فِيهِ سِرَافَانَا
 قَاضِي الْقَضَاءِ الشَّافِعِي الْوَلَوِيُّ الْأَسْيُوطِيُّ نَفَعَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى
 بَرَكَتِهِ وَمَعَهُ جَمَاعَتُهُ وَالشَّيْخُ مُحَمَّدُ الدِّينِ الشَّادِي الْأَمَامُ
 وَالشَّيْخُ سَلِيمَانُ الْخَلِيفَتِي الْمَقْرِي وَالسَّيْفِي عَلِي بَابِي كَاشِفُ
 الشَّرْقِيَّةِ وَعُمَرُ بْنُ أَبِي مَسْعُودٍ الْخَوْلِي الْأَعْتَامِيُّ الشَّرِيفِيُّ وَكَانَ حَاضِرًا
 مِنْ الْأَكَابِرِ وَغَيْرِهِمْ أَحَدٌ لِأَنَّهُ بَرَزَ مَرَسُومُهُ الشَّرِيفِي بَانَ
 أَحَدًا مِنْ الْعَسْكَرِ لَا يَحْضُرُ لِلْمَلَاقَاةِ دُونَ الْعَكْرِشَةِ فَارَسَعَ
 النَّاسُ إِلَّا الْإِمْتِيَالُ **ثُمَّ** صَلَّى الْعِيدَ بِهَا فِي يَوْمِ الْاِثْنَيْنِ الْمُبَارَكِ
 مُسْتَهْلٍ شَهْرِ شَوَّالٍ بِجَامِعِهِ الَّذِي أَنْشَأَهُ بِالصَّالِحِيَّةِ

وَخَطَبَ بِهِ مَوْلَانَا قَاضِي الْقَضَاءِ الشَّافِعِيُّ الْوَلِيُّ وَالْأَسْتَبْرِيُّ
 الْمَشَارِقِيُّ ثُمَّ خَضَرَ رِكَابَهُ الشَّرِيفُ إِلَى الْمُخَيَّمِ وَأَكَلَ السَّمَاطَ
 وَرَكِبَ إِلَى أَنْ وَصَلَ إِلَى بَلْبَيْسَ قَبْلَ الْعِشَاءِ لَيْلَةَ الثَّلَاثَاثَانِيَةِ
 ثُمَّ رَكِبَ قَبْلَ الصُّبْحِ وَاسْتَمَرَ إِلَى أَنْ دَخَلَ الْعَكْرُشَةَ وَتَلَقَّاهُ
 الْأَمْرُ أَوْ الْقَضَاءُ وَالْأَكْبَابُ وَعَالِبَ النَّاسَ وَنَزَلَ بِمُخَيَّمِ الْمُقَرَّرِ
 الْأَشْرَفِ الْأَتَابِكِي السَّيْفِي أَرْبَعِينَ مِنْ طَلْعِ أَعَزَّ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى نَفْرَتَهُ
 وَأَكَلَ سَمَاطَهُ الَّذِي عَمِلَهُ لَهُ ثُمَّ رَكِبَ بَعْدَ صَلَاةِ الصُّبْحِ يَوْمَ
 الْأَرْبَعَاءِ إِلَى أَنْ وَصَلَ إِلَى الْقُبَّةِ الَّتِي أَتَشَاهَا الْمُقَرَّرُ الْأَشْرَفُ
 السَّيْفِي أَمِيرًا وَإِنْ أَرَادَ كَيْبُرَ أَعَزَّ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى نَفْرَتَهُ بَيْنَ الْمَطْرَبَةِ
 وَالرَّيْدَانِيَةِ وَاسْتَمَرَ بِهَا بَقِيَّةَ يَوْمِهِ وَلَيْلَتِهِ ثُمَّ أَصْحَحَ يَوْمَ
 الْخَمِيسِ الْمُبَارَكِ رَابِعَهُ صَلَّى الصُّبْحَ وَرَكِبَ مِنَ الْقُبَّةِ الْمَذْكُورَةِ
 فِي مَوْكَبٍ عَظِيمٍ إِلَى الْعَايَةِ مَشْهُورٍ مُشَاهِدٍ مُسْتَعْنٍ عَنِ
 الْوَصْفِ وَطَلَعَ إِلَى الْقَلْعَةِ فِي خَيْرٍ وَعَافِيَةٍ وَسَلَامَةٍ وَالْبَسْرِ
 الْأَمْرَ مُقَدِّمِ الْأَلُوفِ وَالْأَمْوَالِ وَالْمُبَاشِرِينَ الَّذِينَ كَانُوا مُسَاهِرِينَ
 فِي خِدْمَتِهِ وَجَمَاعَةً مِنَ الْقِيَمِينَ بِالْقَاهِرَةِ مِنَ الْأَرْبَعِيَّاتِ
 وَأَرْبَابِ الْوُطَائِنِ تَشَارِيفِ شَرَفُهُ وَكَانَ يَوْمًا مَشْهُورًا
 وَابْتَهَجَ النَّاسُ الْحَاضُّ وَالْعَامُّ بِقُدْمِهِ وَلِلَّهِ الْحَمْدُ عَلَى هَذِهِ
 النِّعْمَةِ الْعَظِيمَةِ الَّتِي مِنَ اللَّهِ عَلَى الْمُسْلِمِينَ بِهَا عُمُومًا وَعَلَى

العبيد بها خصوصا بعافية مولانا المقام الشريف وحضوره
 كرسى مملكته سالما غائما وهذا ما انتهى اليه الضبط
 مع التقصير والمستوفى الصنع عما وقع من الخطا والزلل
 فان من عادة السادات ان يسيلوا ذليل فتوتهم
 على عبيدكم ويستثروهم فان عند القوم منهم وليس له
 عنهم براح ولسان حالي يقول
 غيرى بحبل سواكم يتمسك ٥ وانا الذي
 يترا بكم اتمسك
 اضع الحذور على ممر نعالكم ٥ فكأني
 يترا بها اترك
 ثم نختم هذا الكتاب بذكر ما وقع للملك الظاهر
 بيبرس من انفراد من عسكره وحضوره للقاهرة
 وعوده للفرق بين ما وقع له لمولانا المقام الشريف
 الملك الأشرف صاحب هذه الترجمة نصر الله تعالى
 وان ذلك كان مقدرا مدخرا في علم الله تعالى
 وقد قال العلماء اذا كان الفصل مواهب فله ترك
 الأول للأخر لا سيما اذا كانت الأمور متحا الهية
 ومواهب اختصاصية فليس يستبعد ان الله

سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى يَدُ خُرُ لِبَعْضِ الْمَتَأَخِّرِينَ مَا لَمْ يَحْضُرْ
لِكثَرٍ مِنَ الْمُتَقَدِّمِينَ وَذَلِكَ فَضْلُ اللَّهِ يُؤْتِيهِ
مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَاللَّهُ ذُو الْفَضْلِ الْعَظِيمِ **فَنَقُولُ**
إِنَّ الَّذِي وَقَعَ لِلْمَلِكِ الظَّاهِرِ بَيْرُوسَ أَنَّهُ فِي يَوْمِ
الْخَمِيسِ التَّاسِعِ مِنْ شَهْرِ صَفَرِ سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ وَسِتِّينَ
وَسِتِّمِائَةَ جَلَسَ بِالْإِيوَانِ مِنْ قَلْعَةِ الْجَبَلِ وَأَخْضَرَ
الْقُضَاةَ وَالشُّهُودَ وَالْأَعْيَانَ وَأَمَرَ بِتَحْلِيلِ الْأُمُورِ
وَمُقَدِّمِي الْحَلْقَةِ لَوْلِيهِ الْمَلِكِ السَّعِيدِ بَرَكَهَ خَانَ
فَحَلَفُوا أَنَّهُ رَكِبَ الْمَلِكُ السَّعِيدُ بَرَكَهَ يَوْمَ الْاِثْنَيْنِ
الْعِشْرِينَ مِنْ الشَّهْرِ بِأَبْهَةِ السَّلْطَنَةِ فِي الْقَلْعَةِ
وَمَشَى وَالرِّجْلُ أَمَامَهُ وَكَتَبَ لَهُ تَقْلِيدُ وَقُرْسَى عَلَى
النَّاسِ بِحُضُورِ وَالرِّجْلِ الْمَلِكِ الظَّاهِرِ وَسَائِرِ أَرْبَابِ
الدَّوْلَةِ فَمِنْ فِي يَوْمِ السَّبْتِ ثَالِثِ شَهْرِ جُمَادَى الْآخِرَةِ
خَرَجَ الْمَلِكُ الظَّاهِرُ مِنَ الْقَاهِرَةِ وَتَوَجَّهَ إِلَى الشَّامِ
وَمَعَهُ الْأَمْرُ أَبُو شَرِيمٍ جَرَّابِدُ وَاسْتَنَابَ بِالدِّيَارِ
الْمُصْرِيَّةِ فِي خِدْمَتِهِ وَلِيَهُ الْأَمِيرُ بَدْرُ الدِّينِ بَيْلِيكُ
الْحَارِثِيُّ نَدَارُ فِي هَذَا التَّارِيخِ عِلْمُ الْمَلِكِ السَّعِيدِ عَلَى
التَّوَابِعِ وَغَيْرِهَا وَوَصَلَ الظَّاهِرُ بَيْرُوسَ الْمَشَارِ

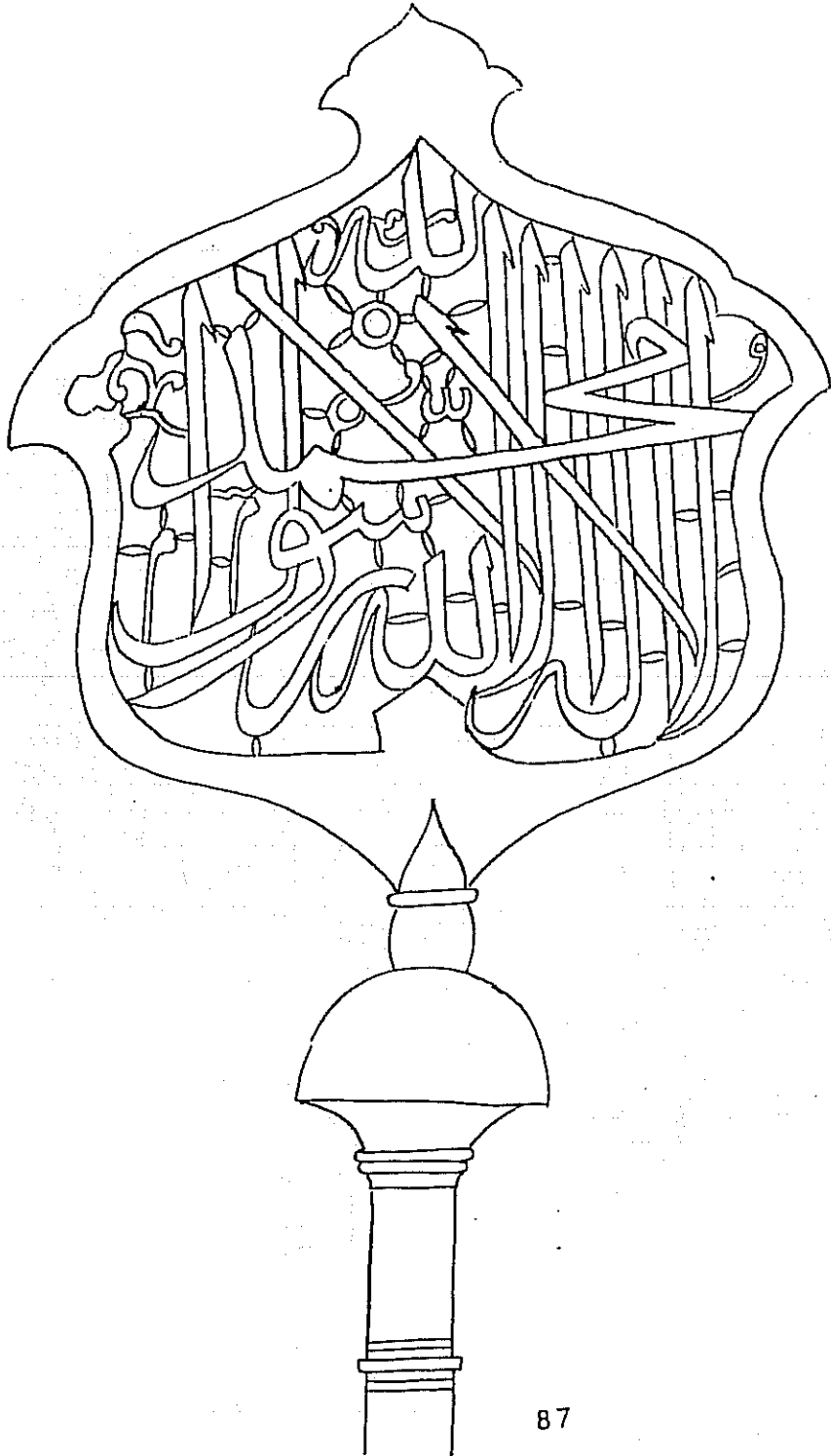
إِلَيْهِ إِلَى الشَّامِ فَحَضَرَ إِلَيْهِ كُتُبُ التَّتَارِ وَرَسَلَهُمْ فَأَتَتْ
 لَهُمْ بِالْقُلْعَةِ وَأَحْضَرَهُمْ مِنَ الْعَدُوِّ وَأَدَا رِسَالَةَ
 مُحَمَّدٍ بِهِمْ وَمَضْمُونُهَا أَنَّ الْمَلِكَ أَبْعَانَ هُوَ لَأَكْرَمُ الْمَخْرُجِ
 الشَّرْقِيِّ مَلِكِ جَمِيعِ الْبِلَادِ وَمَنْ خَالَفَهُ قُتِلَ وَأَنْتَ
 يَعْنِي الْمَلِكَ الظَّاهِرَ لَوْ صَعِدَتْ إِلَى السَّمَاءِ أَوْ هَبَّتْ
 إِلَى الْأَرْضِ مَا تَخْلُصُ مِنَّا وَالْمُطْلِحَةُ أَنْ تَجْعَلَ بَيْنَنَا
 وَبَيْنِكَ صَلْحًا وَأَنْتَ مَمْلُوكٌ أَبْعَثَ فِي سِيَوَاسِ
 نَكِيفٍ تَسَافِقُ مَمْلُوكِ الْأَرْضِ وَأَبْنَاءُ مَمْلُوكِهَا فَاجَابَهُ
 مِنْ وَقْتِهِ بِأَنَّهُ فِي طَلَبِ مَا اسْتَوْلُوا عَلَيْهِ مِنَ الْعِرَاقِ
 وَالْحَزِيرَةِ وَالرُّومِ وَالشَّامِ وَسَفَرَهُمْ إِلَيْهِ بِسُرْعَةٍ ثُمَّ
 فِي أَحَدِ شَهْرَيْ رَجَبٍ خَرَجَ الْمَلِكُ الظَّاهِرُ مِنْ دِمَشْقَ
 وَنَزَلَ خَرِيبَةَ اللَّصُوصِ فَأَقَامَ بِهَا أَيَّامًا ثُمَّ رَكِبَ
 لَيْلَةَ الْاِثْنَيْنِ ثَامِنَ عَشْرِ شَهْرِ شَعْبَانَ وَلَمْ يَشْعُرْ بِهِ
 أَحَدٌ فَتَوَجَّهَ إِلَى الْقَاهِرَةِ عَلَى الْبَرِيدِ بَعْدَ أَنْ
 عَرَفَ الْفَارِقَانِي أَنَّهُ يُغَيَّبُ أَيَّامًا مَعْلُومَةً وَقَرَّرَ مَعَهُ
 أَنَّهُ يُحْضِرُ الْأَطْبَاءَ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ وَيَسْتَوْصِفُ مِنْهُمْ مَا يُعَالِجُ بِهِ
 مُتَوَعِّكٌ يَشْكُو تَغْيِيرَ مَزَاجِهِ لِيَوْمِ النَّاسِ أَنَّ الْمَلِكَ
 الظَّاهِرَ هُوَ الْمُتَوَعِّكُ فَكَانَ يُدْخِلُ مَا يَصِفُونَهُ إِلَى

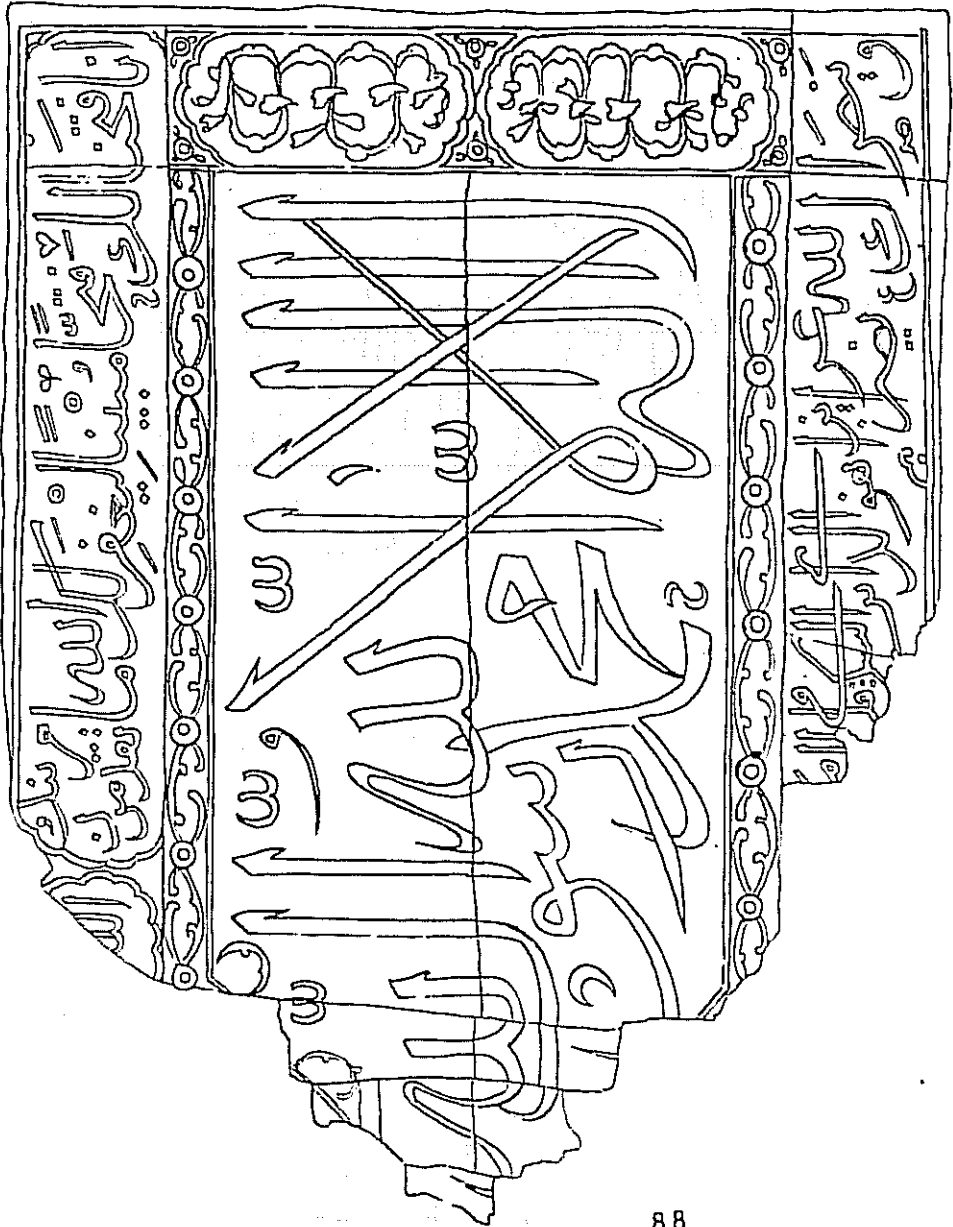
النجيمة ليؤهم العسكر صحة ذلك وسار الملك الظاهر
 حتى وصل قلعة الجبل وأقام بالقاهرة أربعة أيام
 ثم توجه ليلة الاثنين خامس عشرين الشهر على البريد
 ووصل إلى العسكر يوم تاسع عشرين الشهر وكان
 غرضه بهذا السفر كشف أحوال ولدم الملك
 السعيد وغير ذلك وهذا خلاصته ما ذكره البرغوثي
 والله أعلم **فان** تأمل الناظر في ترجمة مولانا المقام
 الشريف الملك الأشرف نصر الله تعالى وما
 وقع له في هذه السفرة الشريفة ثم فيما وقع للملك
 الظاهر بيبرس رحمه الله تعالى ظهر له أن ما وقع
 لمولانا المقام الشريف نصره الله تعالى أعظم موقعاً
 وأشدّ فخامةً وأعلى شهامةً لأن مولانا المقام الشريف
 نصره الله تعالى توجه ونفو على تحت مملكته ظاهراً
 في فئة قليلة ونفو في غاية الأبهة والإعظام
 والصاعقة والخوف من بطشيه وأطاعه أهل البلاد
 وخدمته الملوك والأمراء من الديار المصرية وإلى
 بحر الفرات ذهاباً وإياباً وأحلى من سمج بقدره
 مولانا المقام الشريف إلى مملكته من كان قريباً منها

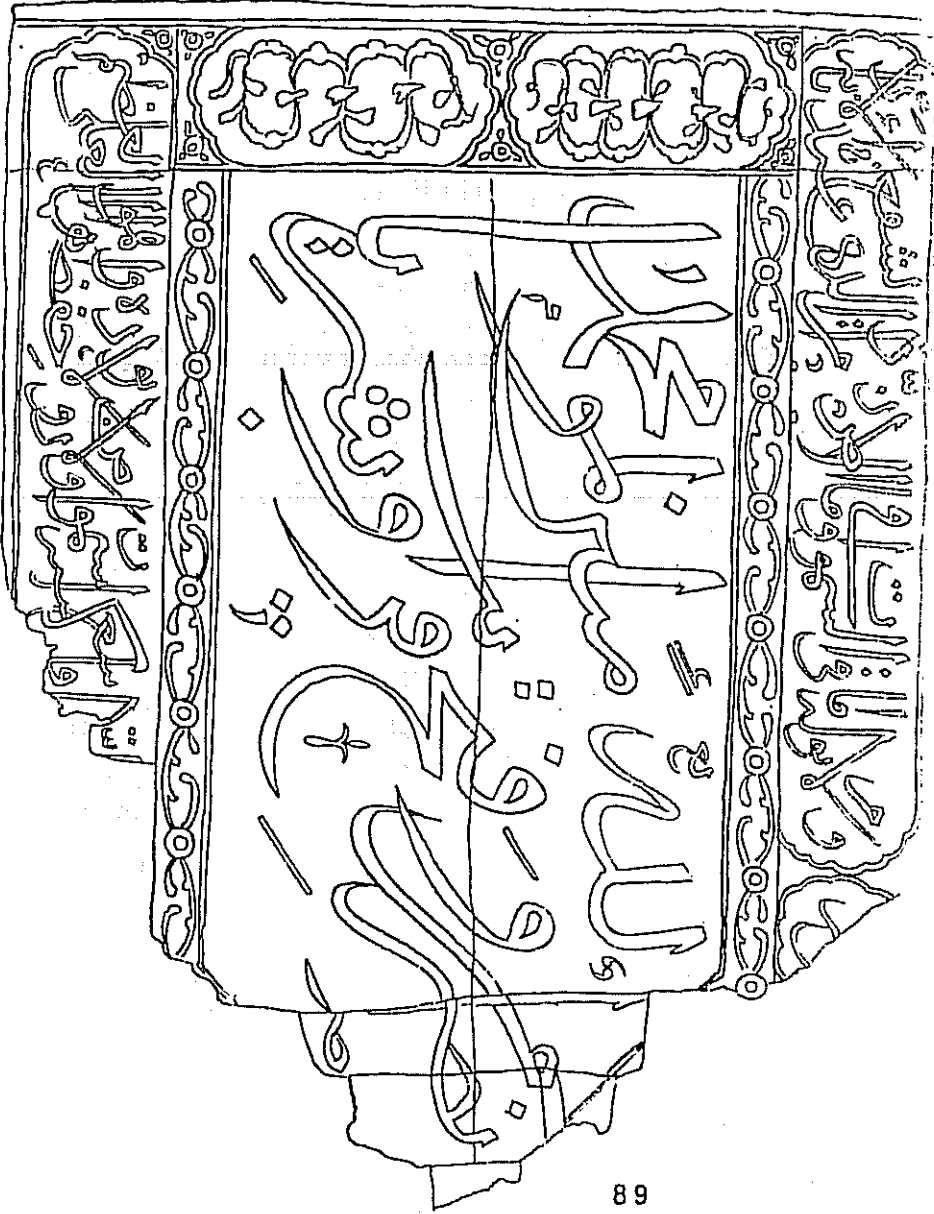
مِنْ أَهْلِ مَمْلَكَتِي الْعِرَاقِ وَالرُّومِ مَسَافَةَ عَشْرَةِ
 أَيَّامٍ هَيْبَةً لِقُدُومِهِ وَكَوْنِ أَنَّ أَهْلَ مَمْلَكَتِهِ
 وَالْقَاطِنِينَ فِي بِلَدِهِ مِنَ الْأُمَرَاءِ وَالْمَهَالِكِ وَالْجُنْدِ
 وَالْعَرَبِ وَالنَّجْمِ عَلَى أَعْظَمِ نِظَامٍ فِي غَايَةِ الْخُضُوعِ
 عَلَى قَدَمِ الطَّاعَةِ لَهُ كَبِيرًا وَصَغِيرًا وَجَلِيلًا
 وَحَقِيرًا **وَمَا وَعَاكَ بَدَنُهُ نِجْمَةٌ عِنْدَ الْعَوْدِ**
وَأَسْتَمِرَّ مَوْعُزًا كَأَكْثَرِ الدَّعَاةِ مِنَ الْعَامِّ وَالْخَاصِّ
 وَالرِّجَالِ وَالنِّسَاءِ وَالْأَطْفَالِ وَالْعِيَالِ بِالْعَافِيَةِ
 وَلَمْ يَخْتَلِ النِّظَامَ وَحَصَلَ لِكُلِّ الْمُسْلِمِينَ بَعْدَهُ
 سَأَلًا مِنَ الْفَرَجِ وَالسُّرُورِ مَا لَا يَزِيدُ عَلَيْهِ وَلَا نَاقِصًا
 وَاقِعَهُ الظَّاهِرِ بِيَسْرٍ تُشْعِرُ خَوْفَهُ عَلَى
 مَمْلَكَتِهِ فَإِنَّهُ لَهُ يُسَافِرُ حَتَّى أَقَامَ وَلَدَهُ فِي
 الْمَهْلِكَةِ وَإِنَّهُ لَمَّا عَادَ مِنَ الشَّامِ لِلْكَشْفِ عَنْ
 أَحْوَالِ وَلَدِهِ عَادَ خُفْيَةً وَذَلِكَ دَلِيلٌ عَلَيْهِ
 عَدَمِ طَمَاحِ نَيْبَتِهِ فِي نَفْسِهِ لِسَفَرِهِ خُفْيَةً وَإِنَّهُ
 لَمْ تَطْمِئِنْ نَفْسُهُ عَلَى وَالِدِهِ الَّذِي اسْتَنَابَهُ حَتَّى
 جَاءَ لِلْكَشْفِ عَنْ أَحْوَالِهِ وَفِي ذَلِكَ مَزِيدٌ بَيِّنَاتٍ
 لِمَنْ يَتَأَمَّلُهُ وَاللَّهُ تَعَالَى أَعْلَمُ وَنَسْأَلُ اللَّهَ

أَنْ يُدِيرَ أَيَّامَ مَوْلَانَا الْمَقَامِ الشَّرِيفِ الْمَلِكِ الْأَشْرَفِ
 لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ عَامَّةً وَلِلْمُهَلُوكِ خَاصَّةً وَأَنْ
 يَنْصُرَهُ وَيُخَيِّمَ أَعْمَالَهُ بِالصَّالِحَاتِ وَيُبْقِيَهُ
 الْبَقَاءَ الْجَمِيلَ بَقِيَّتِ بَقَاءِ الدَّهْرِ يَا كَهْفَ مَلِكِهِ وَهَذَا
 دُعَاؤُكَ لِلْبَرِيَّةِ شَامِلٌ
 يَا مَنْ إِذَا مَادَ عَوْنًا بِالْبَقَاءِ لَهُ ۝ كُنَّا
 لِأَنْفُسِنَا نَدْعُو أَوْنَتَهُ لُ
 أَمِينِ أَمِينِ لَا أَرْضِي بِوَاحِدٍ ۝ حَتَّىٰ أَضِيقَ
 إِلَيْهَا أَلْفِي أَلْفِي أَمِينَا

تَمَّ الْكِتَابُ الْمُبَارَكُ بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ وَعَوْنِهِ وَحُسْنِ تَوْفِيقِهِ
 عَلَىٰ يَدِ الْعَبْدِ الْفَقِيرِ الْحَقِيرِ الرَّاجِي عَفْوِينَ الْقَدِيرِ مُحَمَّدِ
 رَابِعِ هَيْمِ الطَّيْبِيِّ بِلَدَا الشَّافِعِيِّ مَذْبُحًا غَفَرَ اللَّهُ لَهُ
 وَلِوَالِدَيْهِ وَلِزَوْجَتَيْهِ بِسَبِيلِهِ وَالْجَمِيعِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْمُحِبِّ
 لِلَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ وَصَلَّىٰ عَلَىٰ سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَىٰ آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ
 وَسَلَّمَ وَحَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ وَنِعْمَ الْوَكِيلُ







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RELATION
D'UN VOYAGE DU SULTAN QÂITBÂY
EN PALESTINE ET EN SYRIE

TRADUIT DE L'ARABE

PAR M^{me} R. L. DEVONSHIRE.

INTRODUCTION.

En 1878, Monsieur R. V. Lanson publia à Turin le texte arabe du récit de voyage qui suit, avec quelques notes et une préface en italien. Il ressort de cette préface que M. Lanson avait eu l'occasion de mettre la main sur ce manuscrit et sur quelques autres textes inédits pendant ses voyages en Orient, et il faut lui savoir gré d'avoir placé à la portée des archéologues qui s'occupent de cette période de l'histoire des sultans circassiens d'Égypte un document intéressant sous bien des rapports.

Le savant égyptologue, induit en erreur par la signature du copiste, a cru y voir celle de l'auteur du journal de voyage en question. Le véritable auteur, Abou l-Baqâ ibn Dji'an, en a rédigé la plus grande partie simplement, et sans rechercher une grande variété de mots; il répète même si souvent les mêmes expressions qu'il paraît possible et même probable qu'il écrivait à mesure un court résumé quotidien et qu'il n'y a rien changé, se bornant à y ajouter quelques vers assez prétentieux et les considérations par lesquelles il s'efforce, un peu naïvement, de faire une comparaison entre Qâitbây et le grand Beibars, au désavantage de ce dernier.

Soit discrétion, soit simple ignorance, il ne nous dit rien des motifs qui avaient déterminé Qâitbây à entreprendre ce voyage, mais il est évident que le sultan envisageait la possibilité d'une invasion des Ottomans et désirait

visiter les fortifications de ses provinces limitrophes; en effet, il y fit faire des additions et des réparations, et les photographies que je dois à l'obligeance de M. le Capitaine Creswell⁽¹⁾ nous montrent quelques restes des travaux ordonnés par l'illustre bâtisseur. L'éminent archéologue m'a également fourni la plupart des matériaux qui composent les notes archéologiques et topographiques dont j'ai pu, grâce à lui, enrichir ce travail.

Il m'a semblé intéressant de compléter cette traduction en y annexant celle du passage d'Ibn Iyâs où il est question du voyage de Qâitbây, et où Abou l-Baqâ ibn Djî'an est mentionné comme ayant fait partie de sa suite, passage qui corrobore parfaitement le récit du «Mamelouk» et qui ajoute ce détail intéressant que le sultan avait gardé le secret sur ses intentions et que son équipée fut une surprise pour tout le monde au Caire.

Ibn Iyâs, qui ne partage pas la partialité d'Abou l-Baqâ pour Qâitbây, rend cependant témoignage à l'ascendant qu'il exerçait sur ses contemporains, à tel point que ce n'est que lorsqu'on le crut mort que l'ordre commença d'être troublé au Caire.

En remerciant M. Foucart d'avoir fait à mon travail l'honneur de l'admettre dans le *Bulletin de l'Institut français*, je tiens à ajouter que j'ai été heureuse de faire appel à la science des deux Cheikhs, Saïd Ismaïl et Mohammed es Saouy, pour suppléer à l'insuffisance de ma connaissance de l'arabe et que je suis redevable à plusieurs savants amis, et en particulier à MM. E. Blochet et Noël Giron et à S. E. Ahmed Zéky Pacha, dont l'érudition et la complaisance sont également inépuisables, de conseils qui m'ont été précieux et qui m'ont sans nul doute évité de lourdes fautes d'interprétation.

HENNETTE DEVONSHIRE.

Le Caire, 1921.

⁽¹⁾ Sauf la figure 3, pl. I, qui est l'œuvre de l'excellent photographe de la Colonie Américaine à Jérusalem.

AU NOM DU DIEU COMPATISSANT ET MISÉRICORDIEUX!

Gloire à Dieu qui a placé les royaumes d'islam sous le sceptre de notre noble Sultan et qui lui inspira la pensée de les visiter et d'examiner l'état dans lequel ils se trouvaient, car il y avait eu beaucoup de corruption. Je Le loue de ce qu'il a daigné nous donner, de notre temps, un tel souverain qu'il a rendu célèbre par son mérite. Et toujours je Lui rends grâces avec une reconnaissance éternelle que rien ne pourra dépasser.

De plus, j'atteste ici qu'il n'y a de dieu que Dieu, l'unique, le seul, témoignage qui introduit celui qui le prononce dans les Jardins du Palais magnifique, et j'atteste que notre seigneur Mohammed est son serviteur et son envoyé, celui qui a pitié des croyants, — que la bénédiction de Dieu soit sur lui, sur les siens et sur ses compagnons qui combattirent pour l'islam par l'épée!

Donc, lorsque le Très-Haut — que son nom soit béni! — inspira à notre souverain, l'Imâm, le roi véritablement suprême et qui dépasse tous les autres, qui réunit en sa personne tous les mérites et toutes les vertus, auquel Dieu a conféré la beauté véritable, Protecteur des biens de la religion, Serviteur des deux sanctuaires sacrés, dont il est superflu d'énumérer les titres, le Sultan El Malîk el Malîk el Achraf Abou n-Naçr Qâitbây, — Dieu lui conserve son royaume et le fasse maître de toute la terre! — quand, dis-je, Dieu lui inspira la pensée de voyager dans ses provinces de Syrie, nous marchâmes sur ses traces jusqu'à ce que nous rejoignîmes le cortège royal. Nous voyageâmes dans la suite du Sultan — le Dieu Très-Haut le rende victorieux⁽¹⁾! — et nous vîmes des pays et des peuples divers, des arbres, des fruits, des rivières, des vallées, des collines, des montagnes et toutes sortes de merveilles et de curiosités. Il convient donc que ces choses soient énumérées, afin qu'elles puissent être lues par les gens d'un esprit supérieur et par les cheikhs, hommes de mérite et de distinction, pour qu'ils puissent s'en servir pour leurs livres d'histoire.

⁽¹⁾ L'auteur emploie cette formule chaque fois qu'il parle de Qâitbây, souvent même sans aucune autre désignation. Pour éviter les lon-

gueurs, je me bornerai généralement à remplacer cette phrase par «le Sultan» ou «Sa Majesté».

Car aucun souverain avant le nôtre n'accomplit une entreprise semblable, rehaussée encore par l'affabilité qu'il témoigna à ceux qui l'accompagnaient, soit pour son service personnel, soit à cause de leurs fonctions publiques, par les faveurs et les bienfaits dont il les combla et les bonnes paroles qu'il leur accorda. Et cela, malgré le respect et la crainte qu'il inspirait, tant il savait exercer naturellement la modestie et la bonté.

J'ai donc désiré écrire le résumé des faits qui se sont passés à l'occasion de ce voyage sans précédent et tel qu'aucun prince avant lui n'en avait entrepris, puisque aucun souverain n'égalait celui-ci. Quoique cette offrande (à mes savants lecteurs) ressemble à celle que la fourmi avait offerte à Salomon⁽¹⁾, je les supplie d'étendre sur moi le voile de leur indulgence et ne point blâmer les fautes qui pourront m'échapper; ma marchandise, hélas! est sans valeur, mais je repose en Dieu ma confiance et Il nous suffit. C'est un excellent Protecteur (*Qoran*, II, 167).

Nous disons donc que le royal cavalier partit d'El Qâhira la bien gardée⁽²⁾ pour Eç Çalibiya⁽³⁾, afin de visiter la grande mosquée qu'il venait d'y fonder. Les émirs qui l'accompagnaient étaient : l'émir Tâny Bek Qarâ, second daouadar; l'émir Djâny Bek el 'Alay Habib, second émir Akhor (écuyer); l'émir Yachbak el Djamâly, intendant de la police des marchés (محتسب); l'émir Yachbak men Haidar, metoually (gouverneur) d'El Qâhira; l'émir Châhîn el Djamâly, ex-gouverneur de Djeddah la bien peuplée (المعمورة); l'émir Almâs el Mohammady, majordome (استادار)⁽⁴⁾ de la cour et de l'émir Qâny Bay es Seify Châdy Bek Soulâq⁽⁵⁾.

Des Mamlouks de la classe *Kharg* (خارج)⁽⁶⁾ il partit environ 25 personnes et une dizaine d'autres portant des titres divers et appartenant à d'autres caté-

⁽¹⁾ Allusion à une fable fort connue des Orientaux. Tous les êtres ayant fait un présent à Salomon, la fourmi lui apporta un fétu de paille, tout ce qu'elle pouvait porter.

⁽²⁾ Cette épithète accompagne invariablement le nom d'une ville forte, je ne la transcrirai que de temps en temps.

⁽³⁾ Eç Çalibiya. De cette ville fondée par Çalih Nedjm ed Dîn Ayoub au XIII^e siècle et enrichie par Qâitbây comme nous l'apprenons ici, il ne

reste maintenant que le nom et une étape sur le chemin d'El Qantara. Sa position la rendait en effet particulièrement exposée à être détruite par les diverses armées qui s'entre-choquèrent par la suite dans ces parages.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ostadar* : voir QUATREMIÈRE, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, 1^{re} partie, p. 25, notes.

⁽⁵⁾ Soulâq, c'est-à-dire «gaucher» en turc.

⁽⁶⁾ C'est-à-dire ceux qui étaient chargés de l'approvisionnement.

gories; parmi les serviteurs se trouvaient Zein ed Din Sonbok el Ahmady, magasinier (خازن); Zein ed Din Firouz el Djamâly, trésorier, et El Fakhry Iyâs men⁽¹⁾ Yachbak, échanson. Le grand Imâm, Cheikh des Cheikhs (Cheikh de l'Islam) el Burhâny, de Karak, vint également et, parmi les hommes de loi (litt. : « ceux qui portaient turban »), le Qâdy des Qâdys Qotb ed Din el Khidâry, qâdy châlécite à Damas, où il était grand chancelier, ainsi que le Qâdy 'Alam ed Din Yehia, fils d'El Baqaly, inspecteur des écuries royales. Parmi les muez-zins se trouvait le Cheikh Fâzil d'Alexandrie.

Le départ eut lieu la veille du lundi, dernier jour du mois Djoumâda I^{er}, de l'année 882. Le Sultan resta à Çalibiya jusqu'après l'office du vendredi, qui eut lieu dans la mosquée en question, le 4 Djoumâda II; ce fut le susdit Sayed Qâdy des Qâdys Qotb ed Din qui prêcha le sermon.

Puis le Sultan se mit en marche; il commanda qu'aucun des émirs ni des mamelouks ne l'accompagnât. Il voulut cependant faire venir un garde des sceaux⁽²⁾ (موقف) savant, ce qui nécessita le départ de notre maître, Son Excellence Zein ed Din ibn Mouzhir⁽³⁾, inspecteur au Diouân el Incha (chancellerie royale), que Dieu le fasse prospérer; il était accompagné par d'autres chanceliers de la cour, le Qâdy Chelhâb ed Din et Tâdjy et le Qâdy Ezz ed Din d'Alep, ainsi que par Son Excellence El Kamâly, inspecteur des armées⁽⁴⁾ (المنصور), fils de feu El Djamâly, Dieu le comble de Sa miséricorde! intendant du domaine privé, son frère, Son Excellence Ech Chelhâby, et enfin le Mamelouk⁽⁵⁾

⁽¹⁾ D'après van Berchem, la particule *men*, placée entre deux mots turcs, semble indiquer non une parenté mais une relation sociale entre les deux personnes, telle qu'esclave à maître, par exemple. Voir *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum, Égypte*, p. 454.

⁽²⁾ Le *موقف* était celui qui traçait le chiffre du prince ou l'imprimait sur les diplômes; il avait aussi pour charge de tenir procès-verbal des audiences du prince et de répondre aux requêtes.

⁽³⁾ Ce personnage paraît être le fondateur de la charmante madrasa qui se trouve dans le Hâret Birgouân au Caire, ainsi que d'une madrasa à Jérusalem.

⁽⁴⁾ *Mançoûra*, c'est-à-dire que Dieu leur don-

ne victoire, qualificatif qui accompagne toujours la mention des armées de Qâitbây.

⁽⁵⁾ *Le Mamelouk*. L'auteur de ce récit se désigne ainsi comme il était alors d'usage de le faire en parlant de soi. Déjà au temps de Qalaouîn et même de Beibars I^{er} (voir QUATREMÈRE, *Sultans Mamlouks*, 2^e partie, p. 49, et 3^e partie, p. 5), le Sultan tout le premier s'intitulait « le Mamelouk », sans doute pour ménager les susceptibilités des anciens camarades qui l'avaient élevé au trône. Abou l-Baqâ paraît avoir été membre d'une grande famille d'origine copte, les Beni Djiân, dont l'un, 'Alam ed Din Châker, aurait fondé la Mosquée El Dji'aniya près de Birkat el Rattly, qu'Ibn Iyâs mentionne en passant (vol. II, p. 132)

Abou l-Baqâ ibn el Dji'an. Nous partîmes d'El Qâhira le samedi cinquième du mois de Djourmâda II, et nous avançâmes en suivant les traces de Sa Majesté jusqu'à notre entrée dans la ville de Ghazza (Gaza)⁽¹⁾ le matin du samedi 13. Là nous apprîmes que le Sultan et sa suite, sur des chameaux, en étaient repartis, après y être entrés sans que personne ait eu connaissance de leur passage; nous suivîmes le même chemin et rejoignîmes enfin la caravane royale le mardi 15, dans la matinée, à Mounia sous Çafed. Ensuite nous visitâmes les tombeaux de Salmân el Fâressy⁽²⁾, du Cheikh Ibrahim el Mitoually à Sou-doud⁽³⁾, et du Sayed Abou Harira⁽⁴⁾, et Sa Majesté nous distribua de bonnes paroles suivies de largesses, dépassant tout ce que l'on peut dire. Que son règne soit prolongé par la vérité du Seigneur fils d'Âadnan⁽⁵⁾!

L'émir Bardy Bek, gouverneur de Çafed, vint se mettre à la disposition du Sultan, apportant avec lui les provisions qu'il avait en l'ordre de fournir; la

et qui existait encore à la fin du xviii^e siècle. Voir *Merveilles historiques et biographiques* du Cheikh Abul el Rahman el Djabarti, trad. franç., Caïre, 1891, vol. VI, p. 199 et 200, au sujet des destructions qui eurent lieu pendant l'occupation française : « Quant au lac el Ralli et aux belles habitations qui le bordaient, il n'en resta absolument rien ». . . « Le Cadi Ibn el Djiân possédait plusieurs maisons sur le lac. La mosquée qui en porte le nom existe encore de nos jours. — Abou l-Baqâ lui-même était fondateur d'une mosquée nommée Zaouiat el Hanirâ, près du Pont de l'Oie, qu'il avait complétée par un *hod* et un *sébil* et entourée de jardins, de maisons de plaisance et de belvédères; cet endroit était un but de promenade très fréquenté au moment de la crue du Nil, et Ibn Iyâs (II, p. 269) cite les vers suivants en l'honneur du propriétaire :

عجبت للجامع قد زاد حسنا

وإبداع في الترخيف والبناء

بمع الأنهار تجري في جنان

وقصر شامت لأبي الجتام

Abou l-Baqâ fut assassiné à l'âge de 60 ans, en Dhul Qada 902, dans la rue, par des inconnus. Ibn Iyâs (II, p. 323) nous dit à cette occasion que notre auteur était un homme riche, honorable, juste, savant, estimé de tous et très aimé du Sultan, qui lui avait conféré de nombreux titres. Il avait des manières polies, un langage choisi et une instruction remarquable; c'était le plus savant de sa famille. En effet, il écrivit un livre nommé *تحفة الصنعة في اجا البلاد المصرية* qui renferme des statistiques sur les villages des provinces, et les vers dont il a émaillé le présent ouvrage sont évidemment de sa main. On aime à supposer que les fautes d'arabe qui se trouvent dans le texte sont dues à des erreurs de la part du copiste.

⁽¹⁾ Sur la ville de Gaza, une des anciennes villes des Philistins, voir QUATREMIÈRE, *Sultans Mamlouks*, 2^e partie, p. 228, et BEDEKER, *Palestine et Syrie*.

⁽²⁾ Un des compagnons du Prophète.

⁽³⁾ Esdoûd, l'ancienne Azoth des Philistins.

⁽⁴⁾ Un des compagnons du Prophète.

⁽⁵⁾ Mohammed.

caravane royale se remit alors en route, passant devant le puits de Joseph ⁽¹⁾ — que les bénédictions de Dieu reposent sur lui! La veille au soir du mercredi 16, le Sultan commença à descendre vers Moulayha, mais trouva sur le chemin des montées et des descentes, des précipices et des rochers, si bien qu'il s'y arrêta pour la nuit. Au lever de la lune, la caravane royale se remit en marche et arriva pendant la matinée du mercredi à Ouady et Teim ⁽²⁾, endroit où notre noble et pieux Souverain a fait bâtir un khân à l'usage des voyageurs et des habitants du pays. Le lieu nous parut beau; c'est une vaste vallée où se trouvent des arbres et des cours d'eau, mais le chemin en est accidenté et très difficile; dans plusieurs des sentiers et des vallées il n'y a de place que pour un seul cheval de front. La plupart des arbres sont des mûriers, c'est pourquoi cette vallée se nomme 'Ein et Toût, et comme c'est le principal produit de cet endroit, on y nourrit des vers à soie. L'eau cependant y est lourde et le vent changeant et insalubre. Des visiteurs se présentèrent au campement royal : le Khaouadja ⁽³⁾ Chems ed Din ibn ez Zammân, et Çaremy Ibrahim ibn Mandjak et l'émir Djâny bek el 'Alay el Achrafy, un des émirs de la Syrie.

La nuit du jeudi, dix-septième du mois de Djoumâda el Akher, l'émir Bardy Bek, gouverneur de Çafed, retourna à son poste, le Sultan et sa suite ayant repris leur voyage et se dirigeant vers Djisir Zeitoun (ou Zannoun?) dans la Beqa'a (plaine) du Hauran. L'endroit lui-même est agréable, mais le chemin pour y aller présente beaucoup d'obstacles et est très rocailleux; on passe entre des falaises abruptes et des précipices et il y a même un endroit nommé «les sept tournants», tant il y a de détours.

⁽¹⁾ Djoub Sayedna Youssef. Un khân moderne, nommé Khân Djoub Youssef, sur la route de Damas, doit son nom à la tradition mentionnée par Yaqout et Ibn Batouta que la citerne où Joseph fut jeté était située à cet endroit; la citerne en question se trouve sur une petite colline à l'est du khân. Au temps de Yaqout, une autre citerne, située entre Sinjil (S^t Gilles) et Nablous, était également désignée comme étant celle de Joseph. Voir *Survey of West. Palestine*,

vol. I, p. 233; LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 465, 466, 477; V. GUÉPIN, *Description de la Palestine, Galilée*, I, p. 346.

⁽²⁾ Ouady et Teim, voir QUATREMIÈME, *Sultans Mamlouks*, 3^e partie, p. 258.

⁽³⁾ Khaoundja, titre donné en Syrie aux grands commerçants de toute religion et non pas réservé, comme actuellement en Égypte, aux étrangers qui portent le chapeau au lieu du fez.

Le Sultan y fut rencontré par les envoyés du Chef des Émirs (ملك الامراء), gouverneur de Syrie, apportant des présents, et par d'autres; il commanda alors que le gouverneur de Syrie et les émirs ne se présentassent point sans être appelés, et il repartit de là le vendredi 18, après-midi. Nous passâmes par Karak (du seigneur Noé, que les bénédictions de Dieu soient sur lui!), pays où se trouvent des arbres, des rivières, des vignes chargées de raisins et aussi la sépulture du seigneur Noé; on dit que la longueur de son tombeau est de soixante coudées⁽¹⁾.

Étant reparti le même jour, le Sultan entra dans Baalbek⁽²⁾ après la prière du soir, la veille du samedi 19; c'est une belle ville fortifiée; il s'y trouve des arbres, des cours d'eau, des vignes, quelques pierres dans le chemin, et la célèbre source de Ras el 'Ein. Son gouverneur est nommé par le gouverneur de Syrie, c'est actuellement Châhîn, fils de Çâder. Les gens de ce pays ont une prononciation traînante qui dénature la signification des mots.

La nourriture y est en abondance; il y a du lait caillé⁽³⁾ (قنبريس), des choux-fleurs (قربيطا), plante qui ressemble au chou; il y a aussi des pressoirs pour le raisin, avec lequel on fait de la mélasse (du raisiné دبس), du nougat (جوزيه), et des gâteaux (مليين)⁽⁴⁾; ils font cuire le riz avec du jus de raisin au lieu de miel, et trouvent cela fort bon. Il y a chez eux d'énormes constructions, une citadelle grandiose⁽⁵⁾, dont on dit qu'elle n'est autre que celle dont il est question dans le Qoran à propos du seigneur Soliman (les bénédictions d'Allah soient sur lui!), par ces mots : «ils (les génies) exécutèrent ce qu'il voulut, palais, statues», etc. (Q., xxxiv).

Le Sultan ordonna alors que quelques-uns de ses officiers, avec les chameaux et les bagages, se rendissent directement à Antakîya (Antioche) pen-

⁽¹⁾ Karak Nouh, village dans la plaine de la Beqâ. On y montre encore ce tombeau, long de 30 mètres. Ne pas confondre avec d'autres localités homonymes.

⁽²⁾ Baalbek : voir au sujet de cette localité, d'une richesse archéologique incomparable, le *Voyage en Syrie* de MM. van Berchem et Fatio, p. 336 et 342; le Guide Bœdeker pour la Palestine et la Syrie, et le Guide Alouf, pour

Baalbek (l'édition arabe est la plus complète).

⁽³⁾ Traduction indiquée par Dozy; en Syrie on appelle قنبريس de petits fromages blancs et durs.

⁽⁴⁾ Le مليين est une sorte de pâtisserie faite de sucre, d'amidon et de fleur d'oranger.

⁽⁵⁾ L'acropole, convertie en citadelle par les Arabes peu après la prise de Baalbek par Abou 'Obeida en 634 A. D.

dant que lui-même et sa suite iraient à Tarabolous (Tripoli) par 'Aqabat el Lamoun.

Sa Majesté resta à Baalbek jusqu'au dimanche 21, à midi, et atteignit El Lamouna vers le coucher du soleil. Ce village est situé parmi les montagnes, et le chemin en est extrêmement difficile; cependant il s'y trouve des arbres, poiriers et autres. C'est là que se présenta l'émir Azdomor, gouverneur de Tarabolous. Le Sultan y coucha, mais remonta à cheval au lever de la lune, ainsi que ceux qui l'accompagnaient. Après la montée ils passèrent par El Hadith à l'heure de la prière du matin, et le Sultan y pria et y commença la matinée.

Il chevaucha alors rapidement, passant par un endroit nommé Kafir Qâher et continua, si bien que nous entrâmes dans Tarabolous le même soir, lundi 22^e du mois de Djoumâda II. Ce fut une marche fort pénible; la côte était si raide qu'on aurait cru escalader le ciel, tout en côtoyant des ravins et des précipices. La côte de 'Aila⁽¹⁾ n'est qu'un jeu en comparaison. On dit que cette côte compte trois cent soixante tournants et que, par endroits, l'on ne peut passer qu'un à la fois et non point sans danger. Certainement, sans les pures intentions qui animaient notre pieux Souverain, il serait arrivé malheur à la plupart d'entre nous; tandis que, par la grâce de Dieu, sauf la fatigue, il n'arriva que bénédiction et salut. Que celui qui les accorde soit loué!

Il s'arrêta à Tarabolous la bien gardée jusqu'au milieu de la journée du jeudi 24^e du mois de Djoumâda II, et fit remise aux habitants de l'impôt sur les tanneries⁽²⁾. Tarabolous est une ville très connue et qu'il est superflu de décrire. Après la prière de midi, il se remit en selle et arriva au pont (جسر)⁽³⁾ d'Artooussia, à un peu plus d'une étape de Tarabolous; il y a là une rivière dont l'eau est bonne, et aussi un khân, sur le bord de la mer. Nous y restâmes jusqu'au tiers de la nuit.

⁽¹⁾ Peut-être 'Aila, ville située au nord d'Aqaba, sur la route de la Mecque.

⁽²⁾ Il reste à Tripoli de nombreux monuments musulmans antérieurs à Qâitbây, entre autres la mosquée des Tanneurs (restaurée en 913), où se trouve encore le décret en question, portant la date 882. Voir, sur Tripoli, SOBERNHEIM,

Corp. insc. arab., II, p. 37 et seq.; VAN BERCHEM et FATIO, *Voyage en Syrie*, p. 117 et seq.

⁽³⁾ جسر : ce mot, qui en Égypte signifie «digue» ou «chaussée», s'applique en Palestine et en Syrie à un pont bâti sur une rivière. Voir QUATREMÈRE, *Sultans Mamlouks*, 2^e partie, p. 152.

De là Sa Majesté passa par Antarassous⁽¹⁾, El Marqab⁽²⁾ et Baniâs⁽³⁾, tous villages au bord de la mer, et arriva à Djebala, également au bord de la mer, le 27^e jour du mois de Djoumâda II. Le Sultan y visita le tombeau du Sayed Cheikh Ibrahim ibn Adhim⁽⁴⁾. — Dieu ait pitié de lui! Ce petit village est au bord de la mer et pourtant les gens en sont comme des mulets, à tel point que quelques-uns d'entre eux, à la vue de notre maître le Sultan — le Dieu Très-Haut lui donne victoire! — dirent à leurs compagnons : « Laisse-moi voir ce petit-là »⁽⁵⁾. Et je vis un groupe d'entre eux venir vers les chameaux et s'en émerveiller, disant : « Ce sont les dromadaires d'Égypte dont on nous a parlé ». Que Dieu soit loué d'avoir créé des créatures diverses!

Le Sultan partit de là la nuit précédant le dimanche 27 et entra à El Ladeqiya (Laodicée)⁽⁶⁾. C'est une forteresse énorme et solide où il y a beaucoup de boutiques, les unes abandonnées et en ruine, les autres occupées. Les Grecs (Roum) y avaient trois citadelles adjacentes, maintenant détruites; l'emplacement en est très vaste, et les constructions très hautes. Le port est circulaire et contient un dépôt; deux tours en défendent l'accès au moyen d'une immense chaîne. On dit qu'elle est formée de 700 chaînons de fer, d'un poids total de 40 qantars alepins, c'est-à-dire 200 qantars égyptiens. Elle fut restaurée du temps d'Ez Zâher Djaqmaq. Ce port peut contenir neuf, ou, à l'intérieur de la chaîne, sept grands bateaux côte à côte; il y a aussi des bains, les uns en bon état, les autres détruits.

Voici une des merveilles d'El Ladeqiya, d'après ce que nous en raconta Chams ed Din Mohammed el Hassan el Ladeqy, connu sous le nom d'eq Çoueifa, scribe au service du noble Khaouadja Mohammed eq Çaçouâ : un mou-

⁽¹⁾ Antaradus, Tortose des croisades. Voir VAN BERCHEM et FATIO, *Voyage en Syrie*, p. 320 et seq. On y trouvera toutes les références concernant cette intéressante localité.

⁽²⁾ Marqab, Margat (ou Markhab). Il s'y trouve encore une forteresse des Croisés, dont une tour fut restaurée par Qalaouîn en 684 H. Voir VAN BERCHEM, *Inscriptions arabes de Syrie, Mém. de l'Institut égyptien*, t. III, p. 486-489, et G. REY, *Étude sur l'Architecture militaire des Croisés en Syrie*.

⁽³⁾ Baniâs, château-fort des Croisés. Voir *Survey of West. Palestine*, vol. I, p. 110-112, et QUATREMÈRE, *Sultans Mamlouks*, 1^{re} partie, p. 9 et notes finales.

⁽⁴⁾ Djebala. Ce mausolée est mentionné par Abou I-Fidâ.

⁽⁵⁾ ذل الصنبر, terme d'argot local encore employé en Syrie.

⁽⁶⁾ Voir REY, *Étude*, p. 177-178, BEDEKER, *Palestine et Syrie*, et VAN BERCHEM et FATIO, *Voyage en Syrie*, p. 289.

lin qui tourne par l'effet du vent, qu'il soit au nord, au sud, à l'est ou à l'ouest; on y moud encore aujourd'hui à la façon des Francs. Si on le faisait marcher toute la journée et toute la nuit, il mouerait 12 ardebs, mesure d'Égypte.

Ce moulin fut construit par un individu d'El Ladeqiya qui avait été prisonnier au pays des Francs et en avait vu là-bas de semblables; quand il fut libre, il revint dans son pays et construisit cette merveille.

Le Sultan repartit d'El Ladeqiya la veille du lundi 28^e du mois de Djoumada II, vers la fin de la nuit et descendit avant l'après-midi à Qourachîya, dans la province de Tarabolous⁽¹⁾. L'émir Azdomor, gouverneur de Tarabolous, se dirigea vers son gouvernement tandis qu'arrivèrent le Khaouadja Chems ed Din eç Çaouâ et son fils Othmân.

Les terres cultivées y sont étroitement resserrées entre des montagnes, et le chemin qui mène à Qourachîya est tout ce qu'il y a de plus difficile, avec des descentes excessivement escarpées et une rivière tellement tortueuse (il y a bien trente détours) que l'on croirait qu'il y a, non pas un seul, mais plusieurs cours d'eau.

A la fin de la nuit Sa Majesté repartit pour descendre jusqu'à Ech Choughry dans la province d'Alep, qu'il atteignit dans l'après-midi du mardi 29 Djoumada II, par de nombreuses descentes; il s'y trouve un pont⁽²⁾ sur un cours d'eau que l'on nous dit être le Nahr el 'Açy⁽³⁾. C'est un carrefour que cet endroit, l'un des chemins mène à Antakiya, un autre à Alep, et les autres ailleurs; il s'y tient un marché tous les mardis où se réunissent les gens du voisinage.

Nous nous remîmes en selle vers la fin de la nuit pour arriver à l'aube du mercredi, dernier du mois de Djoumada II, à Ed Darkoùch⁽⁴⁾, où nous trouvâmes les ruines d'un pont à plusieurs arches. Sa Majesté le Sultan ordonna qu'on le réparât. C'est un endroit agréable et salubre, près de Quçeir el Akrâd⁽⁵⁾;

⁽¹⁾ Tripoli.

⁽²⁾ Djisr ech Choughry, ech Choughour ou Djisr Choughour, où l'on franchit l'Oronte. Un fragment d'inscription sur ce pont porte le nom de Djaqmaq. Voir VAN BENCHEM et FATIO, *Voyage en Syrie*, p. 260-264.

⁽³⁾ L'Oronte, voir QUATREMÈRE, *Sultans Mamlouks*, 2^e partie, p. 263.

⁽⁴⁾ Darkoùch, sur l'Oronte, au nord de Choughour, autre passage du fleuve.

⁽⁵⁾ «Petit château des Kurdes», pour distinguer cet endroit de Hisn el Akrâd.

il y a là des arbres, des fruits, des cours d'eau, des roues hydrauliques (ناعورة) et des moulins sur l'eau; le marché se tient le samedi et l'on y apporta pour nous des grenades dont chacune pesait plus de deux ratls d'Égypte ainsi que des aubergines du même poids; on nous dit même qu'il y en a de près de cinq ratls, mais je n'en ai pas vu. C'est là que nous apparut le croissant du mois de Radjab, unique et béni. Nous nous remîmes en selle quand le soleil était encore à 90 degrés au-dessous de l'horizon⁽¹⁾, et, à midi, le jeudi premier du mois de Radjab, nous atteignîmes Antakiya (Antioche)⁽²⁾.

Nous trouvâmes dans cette ville d'immenses et solides constructions; les murs⁽³⁾ énormes et garnis de tours vont du haut de la montagne jusqu'à l'embouchure de la rivière, de sorte que la ville entière avec ses cultures, ses champs, ses propriétés et sa rivière se trouve à l'intérieur des murailles. La ville même contient sept collines sur l'une desquelles se trouve une citadelle; la longueur des murs est de 12 milles; les tours sont au nombre de 136 et les créneaux de 24.000. Antakiya fut conquise par El Malik ez Zâhir Beibars⁽⁴⁾; elle contient beaucoup de boutiques, des marchés, et la population en est nombreuse. Mais ce sont des Turcomans⁽⁵⁾ peu civilisés (عجز), et leurs maisons ont des pignons dont les toits en pente sont de bois recouvert de fascines de chaume (قش) que l'on appelle *bourda* (بردى). C'est là que se trouve le Sanctuaire de Sidi Djib en Nadjdjar — que Dieu nous soit propice par ses vertus! — situé entre deux larges collines à pentes douces.

Et, lorsque nous passâmes par le chemin qui y mène, l'on nous dit qu'à notre droite se trouvait la ville de Baghrad⁽⁶⁾, autrement dite Bab el Moulouk,

⁽¹⁾ C'est-à-dire 6 heures avant le lever du jour; cette manière astronomique de mesurer le temps était alors d'usage et se retrouve dans les chroniques jusqu'à l'époque de Mohammed Aly.

⁽²⁾ Il ne reste à peu près rien de l'Antioche du moyen âge; pour le bourg moderne, voir BEDERER, *Palestine et Syrie*.

⁽³⁾ Une grande partie de ces murailles, qui dataient de Théodose le Grand, existaient encore à la fin du XVIII^e siècle et l'on en trouve une description illustrée dans le *Voyage Pittoresque de*

la Syrie, par Cassas, publié à Paris l'an VII (1799).

⁽⁴⁾ Voir dans QUATREMÈRE, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, 2^e partie, p. 190, la lettre que Beibars écrivit à Bohémond, lui décrivant la prise d'Antioche, 1268 A. D.

⁽⁵⁾ Encore à présent c'est le turc qui est la langue la plus usitée à Antioche.

⁽⁶⁾ بغرض : probablement une erreur du copiste, car la description s'applique fort bien à قلعة بغرض, vaste ruine fort ancienne, peut-être le Pagras de Strabon.

par laquelle on passe pour aller à Maciça⁽¹⁾, à Adana, à Tarsous et à Sis. Le chemin est très difficile, on ne peut y marcher deux de front et l'on raconte qu'El Malik ez Zâhir Beibars défendait aux gens d'y passer autrement qu'un à la fois. Là aussi il y a des roues hydrauliques sur la rivière, des arbres, des fruits et des gens qui vendent et qui achètent.

Chose étonnante, nous vîmes les gens se servir du bétail comme de bêtes de somme; ils mettent aux vaches des selles et des croupières, les chargent de poids très lourds, et les attachent à la file comme des mulets.

Le Sultan s'arrêta pour faire la prière du matin et, ce jour-là, plusieurs émirs se présentèrent au campement royal; d'abord l'émir Bardy Bek, gouverneur de Çafed et l'émir Chehâb ed Dîn Ahmed ibn Mohammed ibn Abou l-Faradj, général des armées royales, ensuite Son Excellence Seif ed Dîn Qân-souh, vice-roi (*Kâf el Mamlaka*) d'Alep, et d'autres émirs. Le samedi troisième du mois, nous étions encore à Antakiya et l'émir turcoman de Ramadanîya, ibn Ramadan, vint se présenter.

Puis nous nous mîmes en selle vers le dernier tiers de la nuit, et, après avoir franchi le pont, nous descendîmes dans la plaine qui se trouve au-dessous de Baghrad (Baghras).

Le Sultan monta en personne d'une citadelle à l'autre⁽²⁾, l'examina, et regarda la vue du pays. Cette citadelle est sur une montagne; son gouverneur est nommé par le gouverneur d'Alep; c'est un très petit pays, sans aucune espèce de commerce. Le déjeuner y fut servi. Tout cela eut lieu le dimanche quatrième jour du mois de Radjab 882.

Puis, comme le Sultan avait ordonné à l'émir Almâs el Mohammady, intendant (ostadâr) de la suite royale, au Qâdy 'Alem ed Dîn b. el Baqary, chef des écuries royales, et à Zein ed Dîn, Émir Hag, fils de 'Alem ed Dîn, *odjaqy*⁽³⁾, de se diriger vers Alep avec les bagages, des provisions, chargées sur des vaches sellées et attachées à la file comme des mulets, furent apportées par des Turcomans.

Il se remit en marche la veille du lundi 5, le soleil étant encore à 85

⁽¹⁾ *Msis* en arménien, le *Malmistra* des chroniques latines.

⁽²⁾ «D'une citadelle à l'autre» من قلعتها الى

قلعة : le passage n'est pas clair.

⁽³⁾ اوجاقية : corps des pages, voir QUATRIÈME, *Sultans Mamlouks*, 1^{re} partie, p. 108.

degrés au-dessous de l'horizon; le Sultan et sa suite arrivèrent à la limite du territoire de 'Amak près de Boughra et franchirent le pont royal « Es Sultány », laissant Boughra à droite. Le Sultan se rendit à Boughra avec sa suite pour constater ce qu'il s'y trouvait de khâns et de ponts.

Ce pont, construit par El Malik el Achraf Inâl, est maintenant en ruines, ce qui est fort gênant pour les caravanes venant du pays de Roum, et les voyageurs se plaignent de son délabrement.

Le Sultan ordonna donc qu'il fût réparé. Les soldats arrivèrent pour la prière du matin, le lundi en question, au campement; l'emplacement en était vaste, entouré de montagnes et près d'une rivière, mais marécageux et fétide.

La caravane royale repartit lorsqu'il restait cinq heures de la nuit avant l'aube et traversa le marais par un gué (بلنغ) de pierres rugueuses et solides mêlées avec beaucoup de boue et d'argile; ensuite, il fallut gravir des montagnes en redescendant par des précipices, des pentes et des vallées très difficiles à traverser. Ainsi, avançant par une montée, nous arrivâmes à une vallée nommée Ouady 'Afrîne⁽¹⁾ où il y avait beaucoup d'arbres, pins (صنوبر) et autres; le chemin était si étroit qu'il n'y avait place que pour un seul cheval à la fois, et si tortueux que le premier passé ne pouvait apercevoir le dernier. De là, nous escaladâmes une montagne dont le sommet et les pentes sont hérissés de rochers et d'obstacles, mais cependant sans grande difficulté; enfin, le mardi sixième du mois de Radjab, nous arrivâmes pour la prière de midi à un endroit près de Ghazzâz⁽²⁾ (غزاز) nommé El Qastal⁽³⁾, où le Sultan reçut au campement royal les émirs et les qâdys d'Alep, ainsi que le principal Chérif d'Alep et le Khaouadja Omar, fils du Khaouadja Mohammed b. eç Çaouâ.

Sa Majesté ordonna aux qâdys de retourner à Alep et aux émirs de rester dans la suite royale. Un des émirs de quarante, Djânem el Ahmady, mourut alors, après un seul jour de maladie.

Nous partîmes d'El Qastal à la nuit, par un chemin bon et facile et nous arrivâmes le mercredi 7, après le lever du soleil à l'entrée de Marg Dabeghli⁽⁴⁾.

⁽¹⁾ L'Afrîne, ancien Ufranus, rivière torrentueuse qui se jette dans le lac d'Antioche.

⁽²⁾ Lire غزاز, Azâz, au nord-est d'Alep, très connu au temps des croisades.

⁽³⁾ Étymologie : *Castellum*.

⁽⁴⁾ Marg Dabeg, théâtre de la bataille où Qansouh el Ghoury fut défait par Selim I^{er} en 922 H., et qui décida du sort de l'Égypte conquise

vaste prairie où l'air est excellent et où nous restâmes jusqu'à midi. Ce n'est qu'au coucher du soleil que nous atteignîmes l'autre extrémité de Marg Dabegh, au bord d'une rivière pleine d'eau nommée Bahr el Qouiq, où nous campâmes jusqu'à presque minuit.

Après cela, ayant traversé des obstacles, des endroits faciles, des montées et des précipices et passant par Zaghizaghîr, le Sultan entra à 'Ein Tâb le matin du jeudi 8.

C'est une ville où il y a des marchés que l'on appelle El Keifoun, des bains et du commerce; l'eau y est douce et l'air excellent. Il y a une citadelle avec d'énormes tours et des fossés, et c'est là que se trouve le sanctuaire de Houdj el Islam⁽¹⁾ el Ghazzâly et de son frère — que Dieu les ait tous deux en Sa divine miséricorde!

Le Sultan monta en personne à la citadelle⁽²⁾ qui est située au milieu de la ville, et dont le gouverneur, Qâny Bay ech Cherify men el Ghour, était mort précédemment. Le gouverneur actuel en est Châhîn es Seify Bardybek.

Nous quittâmes 'Ein Tâb la nuit du vendredi 9, le soleil étant, disait-on, à 117 degrés au-dessous de l'horizon, et nous arrivâmes près d'El Bîra⁽³⁾ (voir pl. I, fig. 1) au bord de l'Euphrate, quelques heures après le lever du soleil. Nous y entrâmes plus tard à midi, à temps pour entendre, de l'autre côté du fleuve, les mouezzins chanter l'appel à la prière du vendredi.

Les bagages nous rejoignirent à l'heure de la prière de l'après-midi; le soir, l'émir Djânem es Seify Djânybek, gouverneur d'El Bîra, vint à la rencontre du Sultan.

Le soir, veille du samedi 10, Sa Majesté se rendit, accompagné seulement des Turcs de sa garde, à Qala'at el Mouslemîn, tandis que les bêtes de somme, le matériel et le reste du personnel s'attardaient près d'El Bîra. El Bîra est une ville commerçante, au pied d'une falaise sur la rive du fleuve, les maisons en sont en pierre de taille. Malheureusement, elles ont été en partie

par les Ottomans. — Une chronique contemporaine d'El Ghoury, dont l'original fait partie de la collection de S. E. Ahmed Zéky pacha, appelle ce champ de bataille «Ard et Tobaq, autrement dit Dâbeq, au nord d'Alep».

⁽¹⁾ Pieux écrivain arabe.

⁽²⁾ Cette citadelle porte encore des inscriptions du sultan Qâitbây. Voir VAN BENCHEM, *Inscripfien aus Syrien*, p. 107 et 108.

⁽³⁾ Actuellement Biredjik.

détruites, ainsi que les murailles ⁽¹⁾ (voir pl. II, fig. 1, 2, 3) par Hassan ⁽²⁾ Bek (que Dieu le confonde!), et la plupart des habitants ont évacué la ville alors qu'il l'assiégeait. Une vaste citadelle ⁽³⁾ fortifiée a été construite au sommet de la falaise, les fondations en sont taillées dans le roc; elle comprend des tours, des habitations et de vastes dépendances. L'air est salubre et la forteresse très forte, — que Dieu la protège!

Les habitants ressemblent à des Persans et plusieurs d'entre eux sont beaucoup plus raffinés que ceux des autres pays riverains et du voisinage en général; ils s'entretiennent en arabe élégant plutôt qu'en turc, au contraire des villes précédentes, car, depuis notre départ de Lâdeqiya jusqu'à notre arrivée à El Bira, nous n'avions entendu d'autre langue que le turc. Nous y apprîmes que le territoire de Hassan, et celui de Roum ⁽⁴⁾, Césarée et ses environs, à une distance de dix jours de l'endroit où nous nous trouvions, étaient vides de leurs habitants, qui avaient fui par crainte de l'arrivée du Sultan et par la terreur qu'il inspirait.

Quant à la susdite Qala'at el Mouslemîn ⁽⁵⁾ et la ville qu'elle contient, sise sur le bord de l'Euphrate, on la dit grande et peuplée; la raison en est que la forteresse étant imprenable et la ville très bien défendue, les habitants d'El Bira et de 'Ein Tâb y viennent en grand nombre.

Le Sultan en revint par le fleuve la nuit précédant le dimanche 11 et monta dans la matinée à la susdite citadelle d'El Bira. Cela inspira (à l'auteur) les vers suivants ⁽⁶⁾ :

من حيث شهت لك المتجبن حار واحكم
فطوغ مرادك الاقنادر

⁽¹⁾ Qâitbây les fit ensuite réparer. Voir Ibn Iyâs, II, p. 215.

⁽²⁾ Il s'agit ici d'Uzun Hassan, souverain tartare de la Perse et nominalement vassal de Qâitbây.

⁽³⁾ Cette citadelle est construite sur un rocher et surplombe la ville; on y trouve le cartouche de Qâitbây ainsi que des inscriptions, en plusieurs endroits, notamment sur une tour à l'est; il y en a aussi sur la porte sud-est de la ville et sur la porte nord, actuellement murée. Voir

VAN BERCHEN, *Inscripfien aus Syrien*, p. 102-106.

⁽⁴⁾ C'est-à-dire l'Empire ottoman.

⁽⁵⁾ Cette forteresse portait le nom de Qala'at er Roum, ou Roumqâla, avant sa prise par Khalil, fils de Qalaouîn en 691. Voir QUATREMÈRE, *Sultans Mamlouks*, 3^e partie, p. 141.

⁽⁶⁾ Ces vers sont presque intraduisibles; le sens en est à peu près ceci :

Où que tu désires te rendre,
Le Seigneur est auprès de toi.

خضت البحار بسايج اقصى منى هوج الصبا
 من فعله الاثار
 جلتك امواج الفرةاة ومن رأى بحرًا
 سواك نقله الانهار
 شكرت مساعيك المعائل والورى
 والترب والاساد والاطيار
 فلا مان الدهر فيك مدايجا تبقى
 بقيت وتذهب الاعصار

Le Sultan quitta à la nuit le rivage de l'Euphrate et arriva dans la matinée du lundi 12 à un endroit nommé Es Sadjour où Sa Majesté déjeûna. Il se remit tout de suite en marche et continua encore après la prière du soir, ayant dormi un peu sur le chemin. Le mardi 13, nous arrivâmes à l'hippodrome (ميدان) d'Alep. L'émir Naçr ed Din ibn el Mourdaa, *ras nauba* et intendant des armées (نقيب للجيش) d'Égypte, mourut le mercredi béni, quatorzième du mois et fut enterré à Alep.

Puis le jeudi 15, Sa Majesté le Sultan se rendit à cheval jusqu'à l'entrée de la ville, mais il ne monta pas à la citadelle et n'entra pas non plus dans la maison du Gouvernorat.

Le vendredi 16, arrivèrent les présents offerts par l'émir Qansouh, gouverneur d'Alep. C'est le lundi suivant dix-neuvième du même mois de Radjab, l'unique, que mourut l'émir Chehâb ed Din Ahmed, fils de l'émir Naçr ed Din Mohammed fils du seigneur Tâdj ed Din Abd er Razâq ibn Abou l-Faradj, intendant des armées d'Égypte, après avoir été malade depuis le jour de son retour de 'Ein Tâb à Alep. Il fut enterré dans le tombeau de Youssef Abou Djaouîche, intendant des armées d'Alep.

Commande!

Et le Destin est docile à ta voix.
 Les mers lointaines, qu'agite le vent d'est,
 Sont sillonnées par tes vaisseaux,
 Et tes actions sont devenues des monuments durables.
 Les flots de l'Euphrate te porteront,
 Et qui jamais a vu un océan (tel que toi)

Porté par une rivière?

Les forteresses, ainsi que les mortels, te louent
 à ton passage,
 De même la poussière, les lions et les oiseaux.
 Je remplirai le temps de toi, de tes louanges
 Et toi tu resteras (dans le souvenir des hommes)
 Pendant que les siècles passeront.

Enfin, le mardi vingtième du mois, le Sultan fit publiquement à cheval le tour de la ville, revêtu d'étoffes de laine, car c'était l'équivalent du septième jour de Hatour⁽¹⁾.

La cavalcade royale revint alors au mîdan, où eut lieu un grand festin. Le Sultan revêtit l'émir Qansouh el Yehiaouy, gouverneur de la province d'Alep, du gilet (سلاريه)⁽²⁾ qu'il portait lui-même, une *silariya* en laine blanche doublée de fourrure de petit-gris. Pour l'émir Bardbek, gouverneur de Qafed, le Sultan fit apporter une *silariya* de laine bleue doublée de petit-gris et l'en revêtit. Djanybây el Kamâly fut promu à la place qu'occupait El Achrafy Barsbây, gouverneur de Tarsous. Ce dernier reçut le gouvernement de 'Ein Tâb à la place de Qâny bay ech Cherify men el Ghour, qui était mort, le jeudi 22 du mois.

Le vendredi 23, Châh Boudâq ibn Doulgâder⁽³⁾, accompagné de ses fils et d'un groupe de ses émirs, se présenta au campement royal au mîdan d'Alep, pour faire acte de soumission.

Le samedi 24, Sa Majesté le Sultan chevaucha dans la ville et décréta l'abolition des droits sur les savonneries d'Alep et du monopole des marchands de savon. Il avait, le jeudi 22, reçu des dépêches du Caire, envoyées par Son Excellence l'atabek Seif ed Din Ezbek men Toutoukh. Et le samedi 24 arrivèrent des présents offerts par Châh Boudâq ibn Doulgâder; il y avait des chevaux, des chameaux, des mules, des brebis, de l'argenterie, des esclaves blancs, des vaches sauvages, des oiseaux chasseurs (faucons), d'autres choses encore et finalement ses deux fils, priant que l'on en fit des palefreniers dans les écuries royales. Le qâdy Lissan ed Din, fils du Qâdy Athîr ed Din, fils du Qâdy des Qâdys Moheb ed Din, fils de Chahna ed Din le hanafite étant mort, le qâdy Ezz ed Din ibn el Adîm fut promu à sa place comme juge hanafite à Alep la bien gardée.

Le soir qui précéda le dimanche vingt-cinquième du mois, le susdit Châh

⁽¹⁾ Mois copte, environ mi-novembre. D'après Maqrîzy (I, p. 270, l. 29), les Égyptiens revêtaient ce jour-là des étoffes de laine.

⁽²⁾ سلاريه : sorte de gilet inventé, dit Maqrîzy, par l'émir Silâr, vice-roi du sultan Mohammed

ibn Qalaoun, qui lui donna son nom.

⁽³⁾ Les princes Dhoulqâder (et non pas Doulgâder) régnaient sur un petit État tributaire de l'Égypte et avaient récemment été vaincus lors d'une rébellion.

Boudâq fut admis en la présence de Sa Majesté le Sultan et à manger الطارى⁽¹⁾ devant lui; il fut revêtu d'une *silarîya* de laine doublée de fourrure de loup-cervier.

Il se présenta (de nouveau) le dimanche ainsi qu'Ibn Ramadan et plusieurs des émirs turcomans afin d'offrir leurs services au Sultan, et ils mangèrent un festin en sa présence. Puis, après qu'ils eurent mangé et bu, le Sultan octroya à Châh Boudâq deux vêtements (اطلسين)⁽²⁾ et le fit monter une énorme jument alezane, avec une selle et une housse brodée d'or (زرکش); il donna à ses deux fils des pelisses (کاملين)⁽³⁾ garnies de fourrure de zibeline (سمور). Le lundi 26, après le protocole et les jugements rendus dans le Midan, un grand festin eut lieu, auquel prirent part l'émir gouverneur d'Alep, l'émir gouverneur de Çafed, le jeune Mirza ibn Mohammed ibn Hassan Bek, Châh Boudâq ibn Doulgâder, Daoud ibn Ramadan et ses deux fils, le fils de Saouar ibn Doulgâder le jeune, et les émirs turcomans.

Après le repas, le Sultan revêtit Châh Boudâq d'une *kamiliya* de martre, lui fit don d'un cheval avec selle et kanfoûche, et donna à ses deux fils des *silarîyas* garnies de martre; les émirs turcomans en reçurent aussi, suivant leur rang. De plus, le Sultan opéra une réconciliation entre l'émir Qansouh, gouverneur d'Alep, et l'émir Djânem ibn TAnibek, gouverneur de la citadelle d'Alep, et les revêtit tous deux de *kamiliyas* bordées de martre zibeline.

Il reçut également au campement royal le qâdy Djamâl ed Din Youssef el Thâdefy, qâdy des qâdys hanbalite à Alep, et confirma sa nomination comme secrétaire confidentiel à Alep et commandant de ses armées à la place d'Ibn el Maary.

Les terres de ce dernier furent confisquées en faveur de Son Excellence Kamal ed Din commandant des armées victorieuses d'Égypte, auxquels furent conférés tous les droits sur les biens du susdit afin de couvrir les sommes qui lui étaient dues.

Le mardi vingt-septième du mois, notre maître le Sultan se promena à

(1) الطارى. Les historiens les plus savants du Caire, que j'ai eu l'avantage de consulter, n'ont pu me dire en quoi consistait ce mets.

(2) D'après Dozy, robes de satin sur les-

quelles étaient brodées des dattes. Voir QUATREMIÈRE, *Sultans Mamlouks*, 3^e partie, p. 69, note.

(3) Pelisses de velours (Dozy).

cheval en dehors de la ville, puis revint et ordonna le départ des bêtes de somme et du matériel. Les chameaux de l'atabek Seif ed Din Ezbek men Tou-toukli repartirent le lendemain matin, mercredi, 28 du mois de Radjab, remportant la réponse à la lettre qu'ils avaient apportée ainsi que les décrets royaux.

Ainsi donc on chargea les fardeaux à l'aube du jour, et la caravane se mit en route. Notre royal Sultan monta alors à la citadelle victorieuse, accompagné du gouverneur d'Alep, du gouverneur de Çafed et des émirs de sa suite.

Ils passèrent pendant la journée près du tombeau du seigneur Saad el Ansâry (Dieu ait pitié de lui et lui pardonne!), et arrivèrent à la nuit tombante à Khân Toumân. Là, le gouverneur d'Alep⁽¹⁾ offrit au souverain un festin auquel prirent part le gouverneur de la citadelle d'Alep, les émirs d'Alep et toute la suite royale; ils restèrent jusqu'au matin dans ce khân⁽²⁾ (voir pl. II), qui se trouve en plein désert. En vérité Alep est une ville magnifique, sa citadelle (voir pl. I, fig. 2) est immense et ses habitants sont gens urbains et dont les illustres qualités sont trop connues pour que je les décrive.

Le jeudi béni vingt-neuvième du mois, l'émir Qansouh el Yehiaouy, gouverneur d'Alep, l'émir Djânem b. Tânbek, gouverneur de la citadelle d'Alep, Othmân ibn Ghalbak, daouadar du Sultan à Alep, Abou Bekr ibn Çâleh el Kourdy, chambellan à Alep, et d'autres encore reçurent des robes d'honneur. Et le Sultan voulait qu'ils retournassent à Alep, mais plusieurs émirs de Syrie (obtinrent la permission) de rester dans sa suite ainsi que quelques émirs de Tripoli, de Ghazza, et d'autres.

Après avoir chevauché le reste de la journée, la cavalcade royale arriva à Sarmîn un peu avant l'heure de la prière de l'après-midi; le Sultan y passa

⁽¹⁾ Alep (Halab). La grande salle qui se trouve au-dessus de l'entrée de la citadelle y a été ajoutée par Qâitbây. Voir VAN BERCHEM, *Inscripfien*, p. 38-41, et VAN BERCHEM et FATIO, *Voyage en Syrie*, p. 210-218.

⁽²⁾ Voici la note que me communique M. Creswell au sujet de Khân Toumân : « Il s'y trouve deux khâns, dont l'un, en superbe maçonnerie, fut construit par l'émir Toumân Nôdry (non

pas Toumân Bây), qui mourut en 585 H. (voyez 'Asady, cité par Nouaimy, traduction SARVAIRE, *Journal asiatique*, 9^e série, IV, p. 267). C'est dans ce khân que repose Qâitbây. Le second khân, construit tout contre le premier, est daté de 1062 H. Van Berchem ne vit pas le premier khân et n'admit pas qu'il y eût ici un khân du XII^e siècle (VAN BERCHEM et FATIO, *Voyage*, I, p. 206, et II, p. 10). »

la nuit et y fit la prière du matin. Sa Majesté y donna audience à l'émir Qarâdja, gouverneur de Hamâ, et reçut des présents envoyés par l'émir Yachbak, grand chambellan (حاجب الحاجب) de Syrie. Une députation de gens du village vint se plaindre de la façon dont ils étaient gouvernés par un émir de Syrie, et le Sultan décréta que ce fief et d'autres encore seraient annexés à la Dakhira royale, gérée par le Khaouadja Mohammed ibn Çaouâ. Le feudataire, dépossédé à cause de leurs plaintes, reçut une compensation pécuniaire.

Ensuite, étant partis de Sarmîn après la prière du matin, le vendredi dernier jour du mois, nous arrivâmes à Maarat en Noumân ⁽¹⁾, où sont (enterrés) le seigneur Seth et le seigneur Youcha (Josué) — que les bénédictions de Dieu reposent sur eux deux! — et un festin fut offert au Sultan par le gouverneur de Hamâ. Le chemin passe par le Khân Mandjak et le tombeau de Chibl le maudit, dont il est dit qu'il tua le seigneur Hussein — Dieu l'ait en sa miséricorde! — Un petit garçon de 9 ans, Mirza ibn Mohammed ibn Hassan Bek ibn Qaraylouk, se présenta au campement royal et reçut l'auguste permission de rester dans la suite royale jusqu'au Caire.

Sa Majesté repartit alors à la fin de la nuit et arriva au Khân de Cheikhon ⁽²⁾ à l'heure du repas, le samedi béni, premier jour du mois de Chaaban de l'année 882. Ce jour-là arrivèrent des présents envoyés par Son Excellence l'émir Yachbak, Grand Daouadar — que Dieu exalte ses victoires! — du sucre, des confitures, des pastèques d'été et de l'eau du Nil. Le gouverneur de Sis, Youssef ibn Saqlasir, fut promu chef des Mamelouks *hidjry* de la citadelle d'Alep.

Le Sultan s'étant remis en marche après la prière du matin, le dimanche 2, continua son chemin jusqu'à l'entrée des faubourgs de Hamâ ⁽³⁾ la bien

⁽¹⁾ Encore actuellement grand village où se trouvent une mosquée, dont certaines parties sont fort anciennes, et une madrasa chaféite, portant la date 595 H. et le nom de El Malik el Mançour Mohammed de Hamâ. Voir VAN BERCHEN et FATIO, *Voyage*, p. 202-203. C'est à Maarâ que naquit et vécut El Maary, le célèbre philosophe aveugle.

⁽²⁾ Le Khân actuel porte une inscription ottomane.

⁽³⁾ L'ancienne Hamat, mentionnée par le pro-

phète Amos (vi, 2), actuellement grande ville, contient plusieurs mosquées, dont la principale aurait été une église chrétienne métamorphosée au temps de la conquête musulmane sous Aboul Obâda, en 639 A. D. Une autre, la mosquée des Serpents, contient le mausolée du prince ayoubite Abou l-Fida, l'historien lettré qui fut pendant une vingtaine d'années sultan de Hamâ. Voir BEDEKER, *Syrie et Palestine*, et VAN BERCHEN, *Inscripfen*, p. 23-30, et *Voyage en Syrie*, p. 176.

gardée et descendit à Et Tell dans l'après-midi. Là, Sa Majesté se sentit malade et fut pris de fièvre et de frissons; il y resta donc jusqu'au soir du samedi huitième du mois, jour où se présenta Ahmed ibn Toufaïche, Cheikh de Naoua ⁽¹⁾, apportant des présents, des pastèques et d'autres choses. Ce soir-là, après en avoir été vivement pressé, il se fit installer dans une litière portée par des mulets et voyagea ainsi jusqu'à Er Rastan. Hamâ est une grande ville; on y voit des cours d'eau et des roues hydrauliques (نواعير) (voir pl. I, fig. 3): la rivière principale est El 'Acy (l'Oronte), dont on est très fier, mais qui ne le mérite pas ⁽²⁾; les miasmes abondent dans ce pays, l'air est malsain, l'eau de même, la terre pavée de basalte et quelques-uns des habitants sont de (véritables) phénomènes (جائب).

En arrivant à Er Rastan, le Sultan revêtit l'émir Qarâdja, gouverneur de Hamâ, d'une *kamiltiya* en zibeline et lui fit don d'un cheval avec selle et *kamfouche*; il honora aussi par des présents Aydekin men Djânem, Grand Émir de Hamâ, Qarib ibn el Bârezy, chancelier à Hamâ, et Ibn ez Zaouba'a, chambellan de Hamâ. Et Sa Majesté ordonna que mille dinars fussent employés à la réparation du sanctuaire du seigneur Zein el 'Abedîn, père de Sayeda Ne-fissa, dans les environs de Hamâ, par les soins d'Ibrahim el Qichâny, un des émirs d'Alep.

Le Sultan continua alors son voyage le samedi 8 et arriva à Homs la nuit précédant le dimanche 9. L'émir Djâny Bek el Inâly Qoulaqsir ⁽³⁾, gouverneur de Syrie, vint au-devant de Sa Majesté, et lui fit apporter des présents à Homs le dimanche 10 ⁽⁴⁾. L'air à Homs est excellent, il s'y trouve le sanctuaire du seigneur Khalid ibn el Oualid ⁽⁵⁾.

Le Sultan quitta Homs le lundi onzième ⁽⁶⁾ du mois de Chaaban après avoir

⁽¹⁾ Village au nord de Marg près du Caire.

⁽²⁾ Ici l'auteur se livre à un jeu de mots in-traduisible « pas de gloire pour le rebelle » لا نخر للعايب.

⁽³⁾ C'est-à-dire « sans oreilles », en turc.

⁽⁴⁾ Ici se révèle une erreur de dates dans laquelle l'auteur persévère par la suite. D'après les tables de Wüstenfeld, le 10 était un lundi.

⁽⁵⁾ Conquérant arabe de la Syrie. Ce mauso-

solée, qui avait été restauré par Ez Zâhir Beibars en Dhul Hidjdja 664 H., est maintenant recouvert par une mosquée ottomane construite par Abd el Hamid; mais M. Creswell y vit, en 1919, de superbes fragments d'un cénotaphe en menuiserie dans le genre de celui de Çâleh Nedjm ed Din Ayoub, au Caire, et datant sans doute de l'époque de Beibars.

⁽⁶⁾ Voir note 4.

comblé d'honneurs l'émir Azdomor, gouverneur de Tarabolous, qu'il autorisa à repartir pour son poste, et nommé Djanybek el Fiqih deuxième chambellan à la place d'Aybek el Hetaty; il continua alors le reste de la journée jusqu'à Hamá, village ouaqf de Mandjak⁽¹⁾, où il y a un khân. Le mardi 12, après avoir dépassé Qarà⁽²⁾, il s'arrêta à En Nabk, petit village avec quelques arbres et une bonne rivière, où arriva un envoi de présents de la part de Son Excellence Seif ed Din Yachbak, grand émir daouadar, semblable à celui qu'il avait offert précédemment, ainsi que les présents du serviteur de Sa Majesté, père du Mamelouk⁽³⁾. Le Sultan resta à Qarà la journée de mercredi et la nuit du jeudi 14, jusqu'à la prière du matin et descendit de là à El Qoutaifa, village ouaqf du Bimaristân (hôpital) de Damas. Puis il partit de là le vendredi 15 pour arriver à Qouseir, qui n'est qu'à un relai et demi de Damas.

Nous voyageâmes encore toute la nuit du samedi 16 et arrivâmes enfin à la citadelle de Damas la bien gardée, le Sultan couché dans sa litière et nous et les autres Musulmans accablés d'inquiétude à son sujet. Les vers suivants furent composés à ce propos (par l'auteur)⁽⁴⁾ :

وكم قلت لما أن توعدك جسم من حدرى عليه
 يكاد أن يك متلفي
 لو أن زوى في يدى ووهبتها لمبشرى
 بشفائه أصف

Ne cessant d'adresser au Dieu Très Haut de ferventes prières, au nom du Prophète et des saints, pour le rétablissement (de notre souverain), nous fûmes rassurés par l'entremise d'hommes pieux tels que le Cheikh 'Aly ed Daqqâq et le Cheikh 'Aly el Madjdoub. On consulta un cheikh connaissant le Très-Haut, 'Aly es Sanadiky, — que Dieu le bénisse! — lui demandant ses vœux et son opinion; il répondit que, s'il plaisait à Dieu, il n'advierait (au

(1) A mi-chemin entre Homs et Nabk.

(2) Sur Qarà, voir QUATRIÈME, *Sultans Mamelouks*, 2^e partie, p. 36 et seq.

(3) C'est-à-dire père de notre auteur.

(4) « Combien de fois, dans l'inquiétude mor-

telle où me plongeait sa maladie, ai-je répété les vers : « Si mon âme elle-même se trouvait entre mes mains, ce ne serait pas encore assez que de l'offrir à qui m'apporterait la nouvelle de sa guérison. »

Sultan) que du bien, puisqu'il était heureusement arrivé jusque là, et nous apprît que, ces saints hommes s'étant réunis tous ensemble pour causer de Son état, ils se recueillirent pendant une heure, puis relevèrent leurs têtes et dirent : « Lisez-lui la Fâtîha, priez pour sa santé et écrivez une formule protectrice. Nous avons cherché quel était le prince le plus qualifié pour régner sur des Musulmans et nous n'en avons pas trouvé un seul semblable à lui. »

Je rapportai (ce qui précède) au royal malade qui nous apprît — Dieu protège ses jours! — qu'il avait vu en rêve à peu près ce que nous lui décrivions. Nous n'en eûmes donc que plus de confiance dans la véracité du Cheikh 'Aly; que la Providence divine ne cesse de l'assister, par la vérité du Prophète, sur qui repose la bénédiction!

Le Sultan ordonna alors à El Hadj Ahmed ibn Toufaïche, qui était venu de Hamâ, de retourner à El Qâhira, et Ibn Toufaïche, comblé de dons royaux, partit de Damas quatre jours après y être arrivé avec la suite du Sultan. Notre Souverain séjourna encore à la citadelle et, le samedi 23, fut suffisamment rétabli pour manger de (la viande) bouillie.

Il ordonna que l'on préparât les cadeaux suivants pour Ishâq Pacha et ses deux compagnons qui arrivaient du pays de Roum (مملكة الروم)⁽¹⁾ de la cour de Son Excellence En Nâçiry ibn Othmân, souverain du royaume de Roum, en route pour le saint Hedjaz : la somme de 1000 dinars, 300 moulons, 200 ardebs d'orge, 400 qantars de biscuits secs (بقسماط), 200 poulets et 50 oies du pays, 10 qantars de sucre, 10 qantars de pépins de grenades, 10 qantars de raisiné (دبس) et 15 ardebs de riz blanchi.

La santé du Sultan continuant à s'améliorer, il siégea le dimanche, vingt-quatrième du mois, et apposa sa signature royale sur les décrets envoyés au Caire à l'occasion de son rétablissement. La lettre, parfumée au safran, fut remise entre les mains de Seif ed Din Bardybek men Saïdy⁽²⁾, frère du

⁽¹⁾ En 882 l'Empire ottoman comprenait déjà l'Anatolie et la Cappadoce, Konia, Qaraman et Siouâs, et c'était Mahomet II, le Conquérant, qui régnait à Constantinople. Les princes Mamelouks d'Égypte ne reconnaissaient point le titre de Sultan au souverain turc qu'ils appelaient simplement Ibn Othmân. Ishâq Pacha est

appelé en Nâçiry, c'est-à-dire serviteur d'En Nâçir, Naçr ed Din étant le titre canonique de Mahomet II.

⁽²⁾ L'expression « men Saïdy » semblerait indiquer que ce personnage appartenait à la famille du Sultan.

Moqaddem, qui partit pour l'Égypte, accompagné de Qarâ 'Aly Chams ed Din b. eç Çaouâ, la nuit précédant le mercredi 27.

D'autres écrits dans ce sens furent envoyés au gouvernement d'Alep et aux autres provinces. L'émir Qansouh ech Cherify el Elfy fut promu Émir de dix dans les provinces d'Égypte et Es Seily Bardybek men Saïdy, déjà nommé, reçut le poste d'échanson privé à la place du dit émir Qansouh. Le Sultan combla de grâces royales ces deux émirs qui, étant à son service particulier, (l'avaient soigné) pendant sa maladie.

Ce même mercredi béni, le Sultan prépara encore des gracieusetés pour Zein ed Din Ishâq Pacha et ses compagnons turcs : 51 vêtements (تفاسيل) d'Alexandrie, 10 massues⁽¹⁾ (دبابيس) de Bozdoghân, 10 haches plaquées d'or⁽²⁾, 10 têtes de lances, 3 cuirasses plaquées⁽²⁾, 7 boucliers, 10 arbalètes (قس بندق) et 50 lances de bambou (roseau), plus 10 pièces de mousseline de Meehtoul⁽³⁾ (شاشات مشتولى) de première qualité, 10 boîtes de sucre candi (سكر نبات) de Hamâ, 2 jarres de confitures de gingembre et deux caisses de confitures de Kaboul (كابل).

Il leur envoya aussi des chameaux de selle, des bêtes de somme, des housses pour les chameaux, et d'autres choses encore.

Puis il siégea le jeudi béni, vingt-huitième jour de Chaaban, dans l'Iouân de la citadelle de Damas et donna un festin superbe auquel furent présents l'émir Djânybek, gouverneur de Syrie, l'émir Bardybek, gouverneur de Çafed, les émirs et les fonctionnaires de Syrie et d'Égypte. Ishâq Pacha et sa suite furent admis en la présence du Sultan, prirent part au festin et mangèrent et burent selon l'usage. Le Sultan les combla d'honneurs et ils lui offrirent en cadeau : un eunuque blanc, neuf mamelouks, quatre jeunes chameaux rapides, deux convois de mulets, 47 pièces d'argenterie, des étoffes de soie, de velours et de satin, des zibelines, des fourrures de loup, de نخد وشق⁽⁴⁾ et d'autres choses encore.

Ensuite le vendredi béni, dernier du mois, après l'office, le Sultan se rendit à l'hippodrome de Damas où eut lieu un immense festin, avec des bassins (احواض) remplis de boissons.

⁽¹⁾ Voir sur دبابيس, QUATRENÈRE, *Sultans Mamelouks*, 2^e partie, p. 137.

⁽²⁾ كفت, peut-être damasquinées.

⁽³⁾ Meehtoul Souq, village du Delta.

⁽⁴⁾ Ceci est encore une énigme; faut-il lire نخد ets'agit-il d'un oreiller, d'un coussin, de fourrure?

Il y avait là tous les émirs, le gouverneur de Syrie, le gouverneur de Çafed, et la suite de Nâçir ed Din ibn Othmân, souverain de Roum; ils mangèrent le festin et burent les boissons. Son Excellence En Nâçiry et sa suite furent comblés de grâces et de présents au delà de ce que l'on peut compter; le Sultan les recommanda à l'émir el Hadj et au gouvernement de Damas, ordonnant qu'on ne fît aucune difficulté pour laisser passer les chameliers et les serviteurs.

Cela me rappela les vers du poète⁽¹⁾ :

ومن يقترب منا ويخضع لؤوه
ولا يخسر
ظلمًا ما أظام ولا هضمًا

Plus tard dans la journée, Sa Majesté monta à la citadelle, et les Syriens et tous les Musulmans se réjouirent de son rétablissement; ce fut un grand jour et une immense procession, — que Dieu en soit loué! Cette circonstance inspira (à l'auteur) le distique suivant⁽²⁾ :

شكرًا لرب السماء على جزيل العطاء
فقد سررت بيوم قد نلت فيه منائي

Le premier jour de Ramadan, le Sultan reçut en audience Seif ed Din Nourouz, frère de Son Excellence l'émir Yachbak, grand daouadar, apportant des présents de la part de son noble frère. Et le qâdy Çalah ed Din ibn el 'Adaouy fut nommé commandant de la citadelle et des murailles ainsi qu'intendant du Domaine privé, charge qui fut retirée des mains du Qâdy Chehâb ed Din ibn en Naboulsy. Le jeudi cinquième jour de Ramadan 882, Ismaïl el Hanafy fut nommé à la place du qâdy hanafite 'Ala ed Din ibn Qâdy Agloûn, et Djamâl ed Din, daouadar (porte-écritoire) du gouverneur de Syrie, fut promu à l'Ostadariya d'El Aghouar aux lieu et place de l'émir Aqbardy. Les

⁽¹⁾ Qui se rapproche de nous et se soumet à
Nous le protégerons; [nous,
Il n'a à craindre aucun dommage,
Aucune oppression.

⁽²⁾ Louanges au Maître du Ciel
Pour sa grande faveur;
Le jour où elle me fut accordée
Fut pour moi un jour de réjouissance.

partisans d'Ibn en Naboulsy qui étaient en prison, furent relâchés, et l'amende qu'ils devaient payer aux trésoriers royaux — que Dieu les honore! — leur fut remise grâce à l'intervention charitable du Cheikh 'Aly ed Daqqâq.

Puis le Sultan décréta l'abolition du monopole des khâns et des impôts sur le bois sec que l'on ramassait pour brûler, et sur la paille, et sur d'autres choses encore, et le vendredi 7 il envoya des hérauts publier cela à Damas, dans la mosquée des Ommeyyades; ce décret y fut gravé dans le marbre.

La nouvelle arriva ce jour-là de la mort du Qâdy Zein ed Din 'Abd er Rahman, commandant des armées victorieuses de Ghazza la bien gardée; il fut regretté, et Qansouh, grand émir de Ghazza, partit pour cette ville ce jour même.

Le dimanche béni, huitième du mois, le Sultan nomma le Qâdy Charaf ed Din ibn 'Eid, juge du rite hanafite à Damas, à la place du Qâdy 'Ala ed Din ibn Aglouh, mort précédemment; il donna au Qâdy Ech Chérif Moassef ed Din 'Abd er Rahman el 'Abbassy el Hamaouy la place du Qâdy Chehâb ed Din en Naboulsy comme commandant des armées à Damas. Ibrahim, fils de feu Zein ed Din, commandant des armées de Ghazza, obtint la place de son père.

Les bagages et presque toute la cavalerie royale quittèrent Damas ce jour-là, c'est-à-dire le dimanche 8, ainsi que le Khaouadja Chems ed Din Moham-med eç Çaoua et le Qâdy Yehia ibn el Baqry, commandant des écuries royales, l'émir Almâs, majordome de la caravane royale, le trésorier Zein ed Din Sonboul et Zein ed Din Émir el Hadj ibn 'Alem ed Din, par la route du Hauran.

Le Sultan partit de Damas le mardi 10 Ramadan, après y être resté depuis la veille du 17 Chaaban. Il était à cheval et accompagné par le gouverneur de Syrie et ses émirs; on put les voir sur le chemin depuis Bâb el Faradj jusqu'à ce qu'ils atteignissent les faubourgs de Damas. Il conféra des grâces royales à l'émir Djânybek el Inâly Qoulagsir, gouverneur de Syrie; à l'émir Châdy Bek el Djoulbâny, généralissime des armées; à l'émir Yelbay el Moayyady, daouadar de Syrie; à l'émir Yachbak ech Charafy Younis el 'Alay, grand chambellan de Syrie, et à 'Aly Châhin, gouverneur de la citadelle de Damas. Il leur ordonna de s'en retourner et commanda à Seif ed Din Khochqaldy el Moham-mady, trésorier, qui était parti précédemment à cause d'En Naboulsy, de retourner à Damas la bien gardée et d'y attendre ses ordres écrits.

Puis la cavalcade royale se remit en route, passant par Khan el Marbah, premier relai après Damas, et arriva à Sa'assa'a à l'heure du coucher du soleil par un chemin boueux et inégal.

Le Sultan coucha à Sa'assa'a jusqu'au matin et ordonna que l'on construisit un khân⁽¹⁾ à cet endroit. Il envoya par écrit au Khaouadja Chems ed Dîn ibn ez Zamân et à Es Sâremy Sayedy Ibrahim ibn Mandjak l'ordre de revenir et de relâcher le Qâdy Nedjm ed Dîn, fils du juge des juges Qotb ed Dîn el Haidâry, qui fut tiré de la tour de la citadelle de Damas. Et il écrivit à son père le Qâdy Qotb ed Dîn de se rendre au Caire dans la suite royale pour y être rejoint par son fils.

Le royal cavalier continua son chemin ce jour-là en évitant les pierres, la boue et les inégalités; enfin, à la fin du jour, il arriva à Qounaïtra et y coucha.

Il y reçut les présents de l'émir Bardy Bek, gouverneur de Çafed, apportés par Ibrahim ibn el Qourd, ancien caissier du bureau particulier⁽²⁾ (مفرد), ainsi que ceux de Son Excellence Et Tâdjy, inspecteur du domaine privé. Le Sultan partit de là le jeudi 12, de bonne heure, par un chemin pierreux, rocailleux, boueux, raide et hérissé d'innombrables difficultés, et arriva enfin au pont du seigneur Yaqoub⁽³⁾ (le patriarche Jacob) — que les bénédictions et les prières reposent sur lui!

Il s'arrêta au bord du fleuve près de Birkat Qadas, où l'émir Bardybek offrit un superbe festin. Il y a six relais entre cette station et Damas, savoir : El Marbah, Sa'assa'a, El Ourainaba, El Qounaïtra, En Na'arân et Djisir Yaqoub. Le matin du vendredi béni treizième du mois, le Sultan monta à Çafed avec sa suite et ordonna que les bêtes de somme soient dirigées vers Mounia⁽⁴⁾. Çafed est situé au haut d'une montagne avec une vaste citadelle⁽⁵⁾ à l'endroit le

⁽¹⁾ Il n'y reste plus qu'un khân construit en 990 H. par Sinân Paçha.

⁽²⁾ مفرد. Voir QUATREMIÈRE, *Sultans Mamlouks*, 1^{re} partie, p. 187.

⁽³⁾ Voir BÉDEKER, *Palestine et Syrie*.

⁽⁴⁾ منية : lieu de plaisance et, par extension, village, au bord d'un cours d'eau. Plusieurs villages d'Égypte portent ce nom, quelquefois contracté, exemple Mit Ghamr.

⁽⁵⁾ Cette citadelle avait été construite par les Croisés en 1140 A. D. Il n'en reste presque absolument rien aujourd'hui, plusieurs tremblements de terre (1759, 1837) ayant successivement anéanti les constructions. Au xvi^e siècle, une colonie juive s'étant établie à Çafed, une école de Rabbins s'y développa et prit beaucoup d'extension; on n'y comptait pas moins de 18 synagogues. On y poursuivait également

plus élevé. C'est une petite ville dont le gouverneur est actuellement Son Excellence Seif ed Din Bardybek es Seify Djarabâch, parent de notre noble souverain, Dieu exalte ses victoires; Bahadour ez Zâhery est gouverneur de la citadelle, Faradj ibn Mouqbel est son Émir Kebir, et Mahmoud ibn ed Daouadary, son grand chambellan; il y a aussi des juges, un chancelier et le mausolée d'un saint fort vénérable, le Cheikh Na'ama, que le Sultan visita. Puis il monta à la citadelle et descendit ensuite au Palais du Gouvernement, où il reçut des présents et donna des robes d'honneur aux envoyés qui les apportaient et au gouverneur de la citadelle.

Le Sultan décida de restaurer et de fortifier la citadelle et d'amener à la ville l'eau de la source; il reçut aussi Naçr ed Din Mohammed en Nachâchîby, intendant des deux sanctuaires sacrés à Jérusalem et de celui de notre seigneur Khalil⁽¹⁾ à Hébron.

Le matin du samedi 14, Sa Majesté descendit vers Kafir Kanna⁽²⁾ et En Nâcera (Nazareth), les bêtes de somme arrivèrent et le Sultan, passant devant le sanctuaire de Chouâib (Jéthro, beau-père de Moïse), prophète de Dieu, le visita et octroya des aumônes à ses serviteurs.

Le chemin de Çafed est connu comme étant fort mauvais, pierreux et boueux, avec des montées et des précipices, la dent publique le dit⁽³⁾ :

يا صاح عرج ركابك عن صند فانها بئس البلد
ان ظلعت الى السها وان نزلت الى الابد

et nous en fîmes l'expérience. Son gouverneur, l'émir Bardybek, est un prince d'une droiture rare et également célèbre pour ses vertus et son hospitalité. La divine Providence permit qu'il ne tombât point de pluie.

l'étude de la Kabbala. Les Juifs de Çafed sont Sephardim, c'est-à-dire originaires d'Espagne, et pratiquent encore la polygamie. Voir BÉREKEN, *Palestine et Syrie*.

⁽¹⁾ Tombeaux d'Abraham à Hébron. Voir QUATREMÈRE, *Sultans Mamlouks*, 2^e fascicule, appendice, p. 239-252.

⁽²⁾ Un des emplacements supposés du Cana

des noces, peut-être le plus probable (Év. selon saint Jean, chap. 11).

⁽³⁾ Ami, de Çafed détourne ton coursier,

Car c'est la pire des villes.

Son chemin, en montant, te conduit vers

[les étoiles (la grande Ourse),

En descendant, te mène au précipice (l'é-

[ternité).

Le dimanche, quinzième du mois, dans la matinée, le Sultan partit pour El Ladjouin, où il passa la nuit; il revêtit l'émir Bardybek, gouverneur de Çafed, d'une kamiliya de velours rouge garnie de zibeline et par-dessus (d'une pelisse) à ramages (عريجة); il lui fit également don d'un cheval avec selle et kanfoûche et octroya des robes d'honneur à l'émir Kébir, au chambellan de Çafed, et à Ibn el Kabouly et Ibn el Bichâra, notables de l'endroit.

Puis, il leur ordonna de s'en retourner. Lui-même partit de là la nuit précédant le lundi 16, cinq heures (80 degrés) avant le lever du jour, et descendit à Qâqoun (Kakûn)⁽¹⁾ vers le milieu de la matinée, par un chemin plein de boue et de flaques d'eau. Nous y fûmes rejoints par Badr el 'Alây, ibn Khâçbek, chargé de présents de la part de son maître, et par un courrier apportant une lettre de l'émir trésorier Barsbây. Il se mit à pleuvoir et le Sultan resta couché jusqu'au matin. Le soir, veille du 17, arriva Qarâ 'Aly, envoyé par le Khaouadja 'eç Çouâ, qui était parti avec Seif ed Dîn Bardybek men Saïdy pour porter la bonne nouvelle de la guérison de Sa Majesté notre noble Souverain, — le Très-Haut lui donne victoire! — Il apportait des dépêches datées du 14 Ramadan, disant que le jeûne de Ramadan avait commencé le samedi, qu'on avait appris au Caire la guérison du Sultan, que tous les Musulmans étaient dans la joie et le bonheur et que le jour de son arrivée (apportant la bonne nouvelle) avait été un grand jour. Qarâ 'Aly était venu du Caire à Qâqoun en trois jours et quatre nuits.

La cavalcade royale continua donc le mardi 18, et arriva à Djaldjouliya⁽²⁾ dans la boue et par des pluies qui ne cessèrent presque pas de toute la journée. L'émir Sibây, gouverneur de Ghazza, et Ibn Ayoub, gouverneur de Jérusalem, arrivèrent, ainsi que des présents de la part d'Ibn el Djardjouehy.

Le mercredi 19, le royal voyageur continua jusqu'à Ramla⁽³⁾, toujours dans la boue et avec une pluie intermittente et y fut rejoint par Seif ed Dîn Bardybek men Saïdy, qui était allé porter la bonne nouvelle. Le jeudi 20, il descendit vers Soudoud; ce fut une mauvaise journée, à cause de la forte pluie

⁽¹⁾ Sur Kakoun, voir QUATREMÈRE, *Sultans Mamlouks*, 2^e partie, appendice, p. 254.

⁽²⁾ جلدجولية, le Khalkhaleh de Bædeker; voir QUATREMÈRE, *Sultans Mamlouks*, 2^e partie, appendice, p. 256.

⁽³⁾ Er Ramleh. C'est là que se trouve le célèbre minaret de la mosquée de Mohammedi en Nâcer ibn Qalaouîn, connu sous le nom de Tour des 40 Martyrs d'après une tradition; voir BÆDEKER, *Palestine et Syrie*.

et du vent. Enfin, le vendredi 21, il se rendit à Ghazza par le rivage, en passant par Askalân (Ascalon)⁽¹⁾, et la pluie et la boue atteignirent le comble.

Le Sultan passa la journée du samedi à Ghazza; il octroya des robes d'honneur à Ibn Ayoub, gouverneur de Jérusalem; à Naçir ed Din Mohammed ez Zâhiry en Nachachiby; intendant des deux sanctuaires sacrés; à Mirza, gouverneur d'Es Salit et d'Adjloub, et leur ordonna de retourner dans leurs pays. Il resta encore le dimanche à Ghazza, et promut Djarqotlou es Seify Orkoumas ez Zâhiry — c'est-à-dire Ech Chérify Younis — au gouvernement de Jérusalem; il était alors au gouvernement de Karak à la place de Younis, son ex-gouverneur. Et ledit Younis fut nommé Émir el Mâissara à Alep.

Alors le Sultan ordonna à Seif ed Din Nourouz, frère de Son Excellence el Achraf Yachbak, Grand Daouadar — que Dieu exalte ses victoires! — de se rendre au Caire pour y annoncer son arrivée, et à Seif ed Din Assanbây men Ouady ed Din de partir pour Nablous. Il reçut en audience Mohammed fils du gouverneur de Bahsana, qui repartit pour réclamer de l'argent aux cheikhs, et aussi la suite du gouverneur de Ghazza, apportant des présents.

Avant de partir, le lundi 23, Sa Majesté ordonna au Khaouadja Mohammed ibn Çaçoua de retourner chez lui, et lui donna une robe d'honneur, ainsi qu'à son fils Othmân; il leur donna aussi à chacun un cheval sellé d'une selle dorée et les combla, eux et leur suite, de faveurs royales, — que Dieu lui donne grandeur et prospérité! Il renvoya aussi vers leurs demeures, l'émir Djânybek el 'Alay et Taouil et les émirs syriens qui l'accompagnaient, l'émir gouverneur de Jérusalem et l'intendant des deux sanctuaires ainsi que le gouverneur de Karak. A la fin de la journée, par une pluie hivernale et sans interruption, le Sultan et sa suite arrivèrent à Khân Younis⁽²⁾, où l'émir Sibây, gouverneur de Ghazza, avait préparé le festin d'usage. Le Sultan se leva en bonne santé le mardi 24, remit une robe d'honneur à l'émir Sibây et lui ordonna de s'en retourner. Nous arrivâmes à Zaaqa⁽³⁾ à la fin de la journée, par une tempête qui dura encore toute la nuit.

⁽¹⁾ De cette ville, célèbre du temps des Philistins comme à l'époque des croisades, il ne reste qu'un fragment de muraille.

⁽²⁾ Ainsi nommé d'après un *khân* construit par l'émir Younis, qui mourut en 791 H. Il

s'y trouve les ruines importantes d'une mosquée du sultan Barçouq et des restes de fortifications franques.

⁽³⁾ Zaaqa, voir *Sultans Mamlouks*, 2^e partie, p. 236.

Le mercredi 25, il faisait encore de la pluie et du vent, mais un peu moins cependant que précédemment. Le royal voyageur atteignit El Arîch, où il coucha, et se remit en selle le jeudi 25 pour arriver à Beit Um el Hassan. Ce jour-là, il faisait enfin beau temps; Badr el 'Alay ibn Khaçbek reçut l'ordre de retourner chez lui.

Le gouverneur de Qatiya, Demerdache es Seify Tagliry Bardy, fut reçu en audience. Le fourrage commençait à manquer par suite du retard des chameaux qui devaient l'apporter.

Le Sultan repartit à la nuit et arriva le vendredi 27 à Qatiya la Bien Gardée, le même jour qu'une caravane de présents de la part de Son Excellence le Grand Daouadar et son mamelouk Qarâkuz, sous la conduite de 'Aly ech Chonguifaty. Le Sultan reçut aussi Ahmed ibn Toufaïche, son frère, son fils et Ibn elh Thahaouiya.

Sa Majesté repartit de là pendant la nuit précédant le samedi 28 et passa par El Ghourâby; il descendit à un relai près d'une propriété appartenant à Son Excellence le Grand Daouadar, où il y avait une fontaine (سبيل) et un puits, et nous y trouvâmes de grands changements, car on y avait fait des embellissements; on avait ajouté une mosquée, un iouân et un khân à ce qui existait précédemment.

Le Sultan reçut des Bédouins Khaoula (خولة), des 'Aïd (عائد) et d'autres tribus, puis continua sa route, arrivant à El 'Aqoula après le coucher du soleil, la veille du dimanche vingt-neuvième du mois. Lorsqu'il ne restait que six heures avant le lever du soleil, il repartit et fut à Çalibiya pour la prière de l'aube.

Ce jour-là, le Sultan reçut le seigneur Qâdy des Qâdys châteite, Ouala ed Din el Assiouty, — que Dieu lui donne aide et bénédiction! — et avec lui sa suite, le Cheikh Mouheb ed Din ech Châdaly, Imâm, le Cheikh Soliman el Khalifaty el Mouqry, lecteur du Qoran, Seif ed Din 'Aly Bey, kâchef des provinces de l'est, et 'Omar ibn Aytmiş, intendant du cheptel royal. Il ne vint pas d'autres notables parce qu'un décret royal avait été envoyé, défendant que personne de l'armée ne vînt à la rencontre du Sultan au delà d'El Akriçha, et personne n'osa enfreindre cet ordre.

C'est à Çalibiya que le Sultan célébra la fête du premier Chaoual dans la mosquée qu'il y avait fondée; le sermon fut prêché par le seigneur Qâdy des

Qâdys Ouala ed Dîn el Assiouty. Après cela, le royal voyageur revint au campement, où eut lieu le festin, et il chevaucha de nouveau jusqu'à Bilbeis, où il arriva avant la prière du soir, la veille du mardi 2.

Il reprit sa route avant la prière du matin, et continua jusqu'à l'entrée d'El Akrieha, où il fut reçu par les émirs, les qâdys, les notables et la plupart des gens. Il descendit au campement de Son Excellence le noble atabek, Seif ed Dîn Ezbek men Toutoukh, — le Très-Haut lui donne victoire! — et prit part au festin qu'il lui avait préparé.

Nous repartîmes le mercredi après la prière du matin et nous arrivâmes à la coupole⁽¹⁾ que Son Excellence le Grand Daouadar avait fondée entre El Matarîya et Er Ridanîya⁽²⁾, où nous passâmes le reste de la journée et la nuit suivante. Le Sultan y pria le matin du jeudi béni, quatrième jour du mois, et quitta ladite coupole accompagné d'un immense cortège, tel qu'on n'en vit jamais un semblable et dépassant toute description; il monta à la citadelle tout plein de grâce, de santé et de bénédiction. Il combla d'honneurs les émirs de mille, tous ceux qui avaient fait le voyage dans sa suite, ceux qui étaient restés au Caire, les émirs de quarante et les autres fonctionnaires.

Et les gens se réjouirent, en public et en particulier, de son heureux retour. Que Dieu soit loué pour la grâce immense qu'il accorda aux Musulmans en général, et surtout à ceux qui eurent le privilège d'être attachés à sa personne, en rendant la santé à notre noble souverain et en le ramenant sain et sauf au trône de son royaume! Et ici se termine le récit minutieux de l'humble serviteur qui réclame l'indulgence pour les défauts et les lacunes de son travail, priant les révérends experts d'étendre sur lui leur robe de tolérance, car il est leur esclave à tous et ne cesse de les honorer, comme il est dit dans les vers suivants⁽³⁾ :

وانا الذى بترابكم اتمسك	غبرى بحبل سواكم يتمسك
فكاننى بترابها اتبرك	اضع الحدود على عمر نعالكم

⁽¹⁾ Il ne reste rien de cette coupole dont les historiens célèbrent la beauté. Peut-être celle de Qoubbeh, qui est évidemment de l'époque urque, a-t-elle été construite sur le même site.

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⁽²⁾ Jardin qui avait appartenu à un Esclavon nommé Ridân, mort en 393 H.

⁽³⁾ L'auteur fait un jeu de mots intraduisible entre مك «attacher, retenir», et تمسك «parfu-

Je termine ce livre par la description de ce qui advint à El Malik ez Zâhir Beibars lorsque, s'étant séparé de son armée, il alla au Caire et en revint, afin de montrer la grande différence entre ce voyage et celui qu'accomplit le héros du présent récit, — que le Très-Haut lui donne victoire! — notre noble souverain, protégé par le pouvoir de la sagesse de Dieu.

Car si, comme l'ont dit les savants, les vertus sont des faveurs accordées par le ciel à des personnages privilégiés, il n'est pas impossible que Dieu réserve, pour les générations à venir, des faveurs dont il n'a pas gratifié les générations passées. Dieu donne sa grâce à qui Lui plaît, car c'est Lui qui en est le Grand Dispensateur.

Nous disons donc ce qui advint à Ez Zâhir Beibars qui, le jeudi neuvième du mois de Çafar 667, siégeant dans l'Houân à la citadelle, fit comparaître les qâdys, les témoins et les notables et fit prêter serment à son fils, l'émir el Malik es Sa'ïd Baraka Qân par les émirs et les commandants de la Halqa⁽¹⁾.

Et tous lui jurèrent fidélité.

Puis le lundi 20, El Malik es Sa'ïd Baraka se rendit en pompe royale à la citadelle, son père chevauchant devant lui. On écrivit pour lui l'acte d'investiture (تقليد) qui fut lu au peuple en présence de son père, El Malik ez Zâhir, et des notables du royaume entier.

Le samedi 3 du mois de Djoumâda II⁽²⁾, El Malik ez Zâhir sortit du Caire et se rendit en Syrie accompagné de tous les émirs, par escadrons (جرايد). Il nomma lieutenant de son fils, pour administrer l'Égypte, son serviteur l'émir Badr ed Dîn Beilik, trésorier. El Malik es Sa'ïd signa ce jour-là beaucoup de décrets.

Lorsque Ez Zâhir arriva à Damas, il reçut des lettres des Tartares apportées par des envoyés; il ordonna que l'on conduisit ces derniers à la citadelle et qu'on les lui présentât dès le lendemain. Et le contenu de ces lettres était

mer de musc; voici à peu près le sens de ces vers :

D'autres que moi sont retenus
Par d'autres liens que les vôtres,
Et moi pour lequel votre terre est un parfum
Je pose ma joue sur le sol foulé par vos chaussures
Et j'y trouve la bénédiction.

⁽¹⁾ Garde mamelouke alors encore assez récemment formée par le dernier sultan ayoubite, Çaleh Nedjm ed Din Ayoub, et logée par lui dans la citadelle de Rôda. Beibars lui-même avait été l'un d'eux.

⁽²⁾ Voir le récit de ce voyage dans QUATRE-MÈRE, *Sultans Mamelouks*, 2^e partie, p. 61 et seq.

qu'El Malik Abghâ ibn Houlakou, lorsqu'il vint de l'Orient, s'empara de tout le pays et tua tous ceux qui résistaient. « Et toi, c'est-à-dire El Malik ez Zâhir, quand bien même tu monterais jusqu'au ciel ou tu t'enfoncerais dans les profondeurs de la terre, tu ne te délivreras pas de nous. Il vaudrait mieux que tu fisses la paix entre toi et nous. Toi, qui n'es qu'un esclave, acheté à Siouâs, comment l'opposerais-tu aux rois de la terre et à leurs enfants? »

Il répondit immédiatement qu'il voulait poursuivre ses conquêtes dans l'Iraq, le pays de Roum et la Syrie et envoya en toute hâte les messagers avec sa réponse. A la fin du mois de Radjab, El Malik ez Zâhir sortit de Damas et descendit à Kharbat el Loussous, où il resta quelques jours; puis il partit à cheval pendant la nuit du lundi 18 Chaaban, sans que personne s'en aperçût, et se dirigea en poste vers le Caire. Il avait prévenu El Farîqâny qu'il serait absent pendant un certain nombre de jours, et avait arrangé avec lui que ce dernier appelât tous les jours des médecins et les consultât sur le traitement à faire suivre à El Malik ez Zâhir, soi-disant souffrant, de manière à faire croire aux gens qu'il en était ainsi. Les médecins entraient dans la tente pour la consultation, afin que l'armée crût qu'il était en effet malade.

El Malik ez Zâhir voyagea sans s'arrêter jusqu'à ce qu'il arrivât au Château de la Montagne⁽¹⁾ et resta au Caire quatre jours, après quoi il repartit en poste, la nuit du lundi 25, et rejoignit l'armée le 29. Le but de ce voyage était de constater ce que faisait son fils, El Malik es Sa'îd, et encore d'autres raisons. Ceci est le résumé de ce que racontent les historiens. Dieu est Omniscient.

Or, si le lecteur compare le récit du voyage de notre noble souverain El Malik el Achraf et les péripéties de son royal voyage avec ce qui advint à El Malik ez Zâhir Beibars — Dieu ait pitié de lui! — il lui paraîtra que ce qui arriva à notre noble Sultan — le Très-Haut lui donne victoire! — fut plus beau, plus puissant, plus grandiose. Car notre noble souverain alla seul, avec une escorte peu nombreuse, visiter ses provinces, et partout apparut au comble de la grandeur et de la majesté, obéi par les peuples du pays, servi par les rois et par les émirs d'Égypte. Il arriva jusqu'aux bords de l'Euphrate, et, en allant et en revenant, sa venue inspirait la crainte, et les peuples voisins de

⁽¹⁾ Citadelle du Caire.

ses possessions, dans les royaumes d'Iraq et de Roum, s'enfuyaient à son approche. Et il trouva ses sujets, les habitants du pays, les émirs, les Mamelouks, l'armée, les Bédouins, les Persans, dans l'ordre le plus parfait et plein d'humilité et d'obéissance envers lui, les grands comme les petits, les nobles comme les paysans.

Et lorsqu'il tomba malade à Hamâ pendant son retour et resta alité, les vœux pour son rétablissement affluèrent de la part du public et des particuliers, des hommes et des femmes, des enfants et des adultes, l'ordre ne fut nullement troublé, et, lorsqu'il revint à la santé, la joie et le bonheur des Musulmans furent tels que rien ne pourrait les dépasser.

Tandis qu'Éz Zâhir Beibars, craignant pour son royaume, n'osa point voyager jusqu'à ce qu'il eût confié la royauté à son fils, et même alors crut devoir revenir de Syrie pour surveiller l'entourage de ce prince. Cela indique qu'il ne se sentait point en sécurité pour soi-même et qu'il manquait de confiance en son fils, qu'il avait pourtant délégué, puisqu'il revint le surveiller.

Cela augmente les preuves pour qui médite, et le Très-Haut le sait. Et nous demandons à Dieu qu'il prolonge les jours de Sa Royale Majesté, El Malik el Aclraf, au nom de tous les Musulmans et surtout pour le Mamelouk; qu'il lui donne victoire, complète ses pieux travaux et le fasse durer le plus longtemps possible, toujours comme aujourd'hui Protecteur de son royaume.

Et ceci est le vœu du monde entier :

O Toi que nous implorons pour sa durée,

C'est pour nous-mêmes que nous prions

Amen! Amen!

Un seul Amen ne suffit pas :

Amen encore, mille et mille fois.

Ce livre béni fut terminé à la gloire de Dieu et grâce à Son aide et à Son assistance parfaite par la main du pauvre et méprisable esclave (espérant le pardon de son Seigneur) Mohammed ibn Ibrahim et Tâïy, du rite Chaféite. Dieu l'ait en sa miséricorde, lui et ses parents, ainsi que celui pour lequel il écrivit et tous les Musulmans! Gloire au Dieu unique et bénédictions sur notre seigneur Mohammed et sa famille! Que Dieu nous suffise et que Sa Grâce nous garde!

APPENDICE.

Extrait du volume II de l'*Histoire d'Égypte* (كتاب تاريخ مصر) d'Ibn Iyâs, Bou-laq, 1811, vol. II, p. 175, l. 11.

Pendant ce mois (Djournâda I^{er}, 882) le Sultan sortit du Caire sans aucune espèce de pompe et se rendit à Çaliliya. Au bout de quelques jours, on apprit que de là le Sultan était allé en Syrie et les gens s'étonnèrent. Il n'avait qu'une escorte peu nombreuse : une quarantaine de Mamelouks de son service personnel, quelques émirs de dix, Tâny Qara, second daouadar, et quelques autres émirs. Il avait aussi avec lui quelques fonctionnaires, son secrétaire privé, Abou Bakr ibn Mouzhir, Abou l-Baqâ ibn Djî'ân, Chehâb ed Din ibn et Tâdj, chancelier, Borhân ed Din el Karaky, Imâm, et d'autres dont les noms ne me sont pas parvenus.

Il laissa au Caire le Khalife El Mostandjed b'Allah, les quatre qâdys, l'atabek Ezbek, Yachbak le Daouadar et la plupart des émirs de dix ou de la Tablakhâna; de toute l'armée il n'emmena pas un soldat, ce qui fit que les gens doutèrent qu'il fût réellement parti, car aucun sultan n'avait jamais fait une chose pareille.

Pendant Djournâda II, un courrier arriva de la part du Sultan, monté sur un chameau et apportant des lettres aux émirs qui étaient au Caire. Les lettres disaient que le Sultan était allé dans les provinces de Syrie pour visiter en personne les vice-rois et les citadelles; il envoyait dire aux émirs d'agir convenablement envers le peuple et de payer les appointements malgré son absence. C'était l'émir Ezbek qui était chargé de l'exécution de ces ordres et sa position en fut fort accrue vis-à-vis de l'armée, qui le considéra désormais comme fort au-dessus des autres émirs.

L. 29. — Il n'y eut point de différends parmi les émirs, mais la bonne intelligence et la tranquillité régnerent au Caire et aux environs, au point que l'on s'étonnait d'une chose aussi rare.

Pendant le mois de Chaaban, un courrier du Sultan arriva sur un chameau et raconta que le Sultan était entré dans Alep, y avait fait un séjour et était parti pour le bord de l'Euphrate, et aussi qu'avant d'entrer à Alep il avait été

à Tripoli. Un autre chameau suivit, apportant des lettres aux émirs avec des compliments et priant l'atabek Ezbek de se rendre à El Matam de Ridaniya pour y distribuer des vêtements de laine aux émirs et s'occuper de vêtements de l'armée.

L'atabek Ezbek alla donc à El Matam, accompagné de tous les émirs en grand cortège, et leur distribua à tous des vêtements de laine suivant l'usage des sultans. Il donna une robe d'honneur à l'émir armurier (émir silâh) Djânybek el Fiqîh et le nomma Émir el Hadj, pour la caravane du Mahmal: Aqhardy el Achrafy fut nommé à la première caravane.

Pendant le même mois arriva la nouvelle de la mort d'Ech Chehâby Ahmed ibn 'Abou l-Faradj, intendant de l'armée; il mourut à Alep où il était avec le Sultan. On dit que le Sultan lui avait fait peur, qu'il en avait été malade et en mourut peu après⁽¹⁾. C'était un jeune homme inoffensif et bon. Pendant Ramadan, il y eut du mécontentement au Caire.....

P. 176, l. 14. — Il y eut une querelle entre Tinnim ed Dab', frère de Taibak el Djamâly et le qâdy Abou l-Fakl es Sohâdjy, à cause de la destruction d'un immeuble; l'émir Tinnim ed Dab' insulta le qâdy et ce dernier alla se plaindre à Yachbak, qui fit mander Tinnim. Et quand il vint, Yachbak ordonna qu'il fût fouetté en sa présence, ce qui fut fait malgré son frère Taibak el Djamâly. Ceci causa du mécontentement parmi les émirs. Sur ces entrefaites, on reçut d'Alep des nouvelles du Sultan; il était allé jusqu'à l'Euphrate, y était resté quelques jours, puis était retourné à Alep et de là à Hamâ. Arrivé là, il était tombé malade et son état s'était aggravé au point qu'il était incapable de se mouvoir; on l'avait donc transporté dans une litière jusqu'à Damas où il était très malade.

Ceci déclencha les bavardages, et tous les jours le bruit courait au Caire que le Sultan était mort et enterré là-bas. Les émirs avaient des idées et des désirs qui différaient de l'un à l'autre, et chacun pensait au trône pour soi-même.....(ici le chroniqueur détaille certaines de ces intrigues).

Et, pendant que le Caire s'agitait, un courrier particulier nommé Bardybek Sokker arriva de la part du Sultan, portant des lettres pour le Khalife, les

⁽¹⁾ Comparer ce récit avec celui d'Abou l-Baqâ.

quatre qâdys, l'atabek Ezbek et tous les émirs, dont le contenu était que le Sultan était maintenant tout à fait rétabli. On fit battre les tambours à la citadelle pour célébrer la bonne nouvelle, et Barilybek reçut plusieurs *kamiliyas* de zibeline de la part des émirs, du Khalife, du Grand Qâdy et des grands du royaume. On battit les tambours de bonne nouvelle devant les portes des émirs, le Caire fut pavoisé pendant sept jours et les gens alléchèrent la joie et le bonheur que causait le rétablissement du Sultan. Les intrigues qui avaient eu lieu parmi les émirs cessèrent ainsi que les bavardages dans la ville. . . .

L'émir Yachbak, daouadar, s'était occupé depuis le départ du Sultan de faire élargir les chemins et de faire réparer les façades des mosquées, il en fit nettoyer les marbres et blanchir les murs. Il examina les portes de la mosquée d'Ëç Çâlih ainsi que les colonnes de marbre et fit polir ces dernières et nettoyer les magasins et les rab' qui donnaient sur la rue.

Un certain architecte fut chargé d'inspecter les rues et de forcer les gens à blanchir et à repeindre, jusqu'à ce que la ville, ornée et parée, eut l'air d'une mariée rayonnante. L'émir Yachbak ordonna aussi que le seuil de la porte Ez Zoueila fût arraché et surélevé, car la terre s'était amoncelée plus haut que ce seuil. Le sol fut pioché et nivelé, et la porte dut être fermée quelques jours — chose des plus rares — jusqu'à ce que les travaux fussent terminés.

Pendant ce mois arriva un chameau envoyé par le Sultan pour annoncer que le Sultan avait quitté Damas après avoir siégé dans le palais du Midan et avoir rendu des jugements. La bonne nouvelle fut acclamée et les émirs donnèrent une robe d'honneur au chamelier. Peu de temps après arriva un deuxième courrier qui annonça que le Sultan avait quitté Ghazza, et s'approchait de l'Égypte. Les émirs se disposèrent à sortir à sa rencontre. On apprit alors que le Sultan était arrivé à Qatiya et, au mois de Chaoual, vint la nouvelle que le Sultan était arrivé à Çâlihîya et y avait fait la prière de la fête de Fitr (fin du jeûne de Ramadan).

Par conséquent, l'atabek Ezbek et l'émir Yachbak ed Daouadar, accompagnés des émirs, sortirent au-devant du Sultan.

En arrivant à la Khanqa⁽¹⁾ on expédia les qâdys et les soldats du Caire pour

⁽¹⁾ Probablement le village près de Marg, qui porte actuellement ce nom.

prévenir que la ville fût pavoisée, et l'on fit de superbes préparatifs. Le jeudi 4 Chaoual, le Sultan fit son entrée dans la ville avec un cortège magnifique, précédé selon l'usage par les quatre qâdys, les émirs et les troupes. Ce fut une immense procession et une journée mémorable. Il monta à la citadelle, où la princesse⁽¹⁾ lui avait fait préparer ce qui convient aux rois; il pénétra dans le Hôch, où un superbe festin eut lieu.

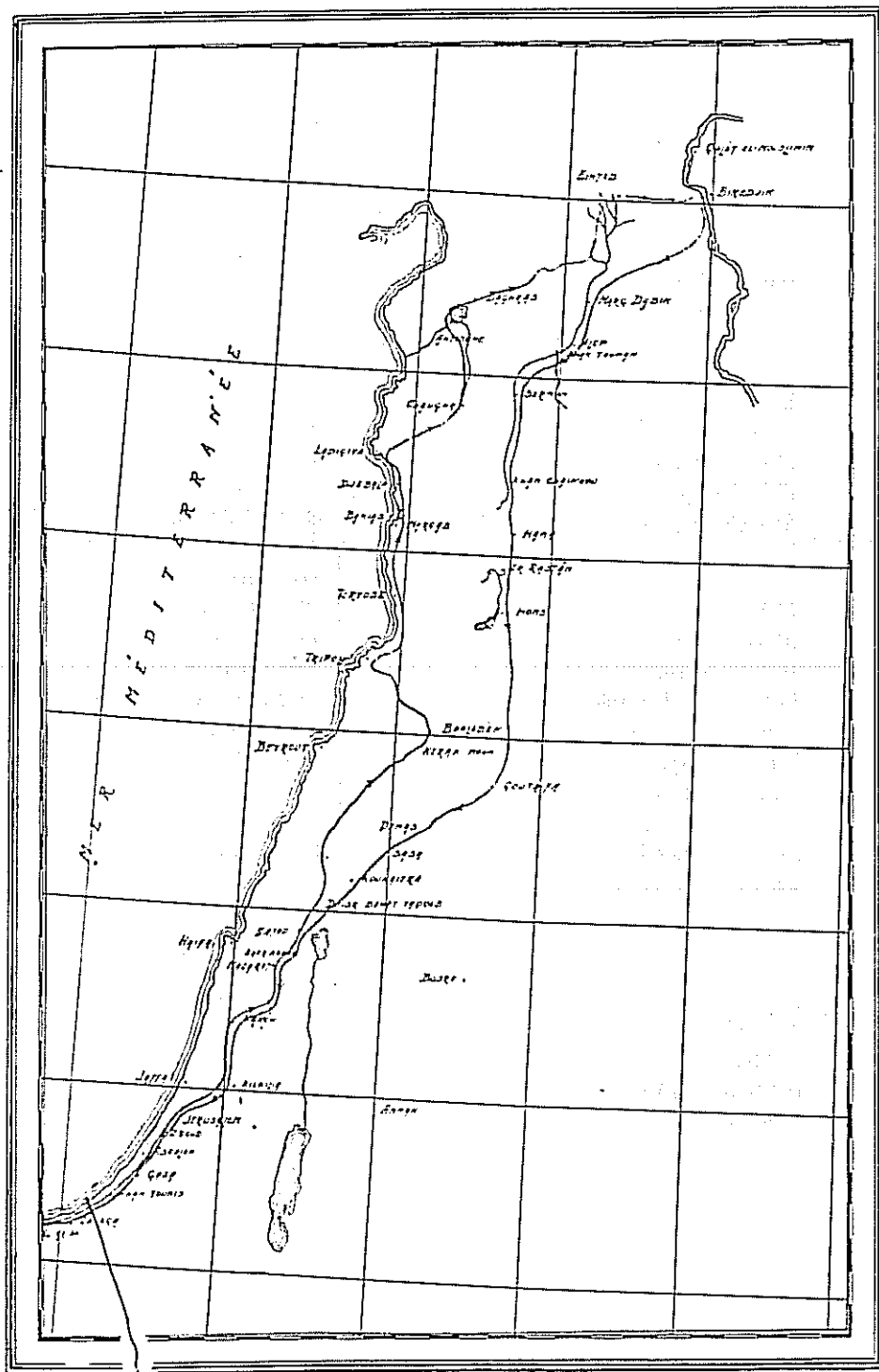
Et il donna des robes d'honneur à ceux qui l'avaient accompagné.

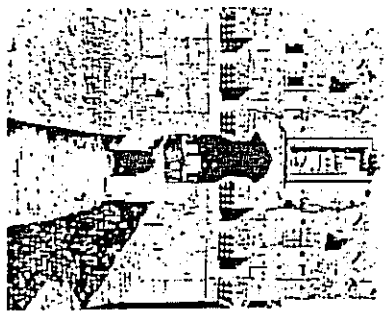
Ainsi se termina son voyage aux rives de l'Euphrate, durant lequel il avait examiné lui-même un grand nombre de forteresses, avait visité Damas, Alep, Tripoli, Hamâ et d'autres villes de Syrie, donné audience à beaucoup de gouverneurs et de notables et recueilli beaucoup d'argent. Ce voyage peut compter comme une des choses les plus rares. L'absence du Sultan dura près de quatre mois.

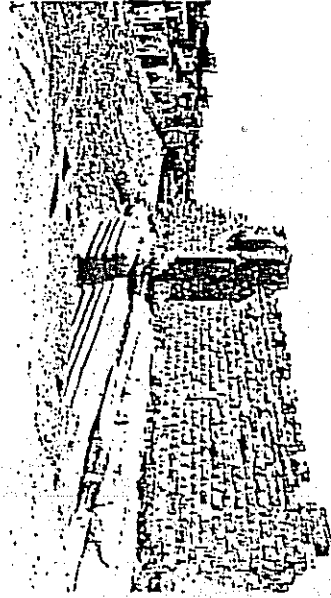
⁽¹⁾ Son épouse sans doute.

ITINÉRAIRE.

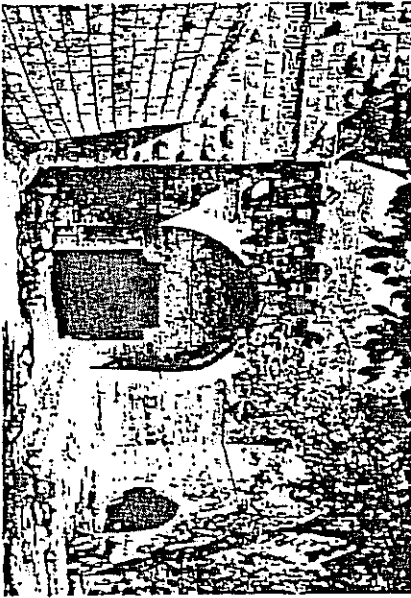
<p>Eç Çâlihîya, p. 4. Ghazza (Gaza), p. 6. Mounia, p. 6. Djoub Sayedna Youssef, p. 7. Moulayha, p. 7. Onady et Teim, p. 7. 'Ein et Toût, p. 7. Djisr Zeitoun (ou Zannoun?), p. 7. Karak, p. 8. Baalbek, p. 8. Ras el 'Ein, p. 8. El Lamouna, p. 9. El Hadîth, p. 9. Kafr Qâher, p. 9. Tarabolous, p. 9. Antarssous, p. 10. El Marqab, p. 10. Bânids, p. 10. Djebala, p. 10. El Ladeqîya (Laodicée), p. 10. Qourachîya, p. 11. Ech Choughry, p. 11. Ed Darkoûch, p. 11. Quccir el Akrâd, p. 11. Antakîya (Antioche), p. 12. Baghrad (Baghras), p. 13. Ouady Afrine, p. 14. El Qastal, p. 14. Marg Dabegh, p. 14. Zaghzaghr, p. 15. 'Ein Tâb, p. 15. El Bira, p. 15. Qala'at el Mouslemin, p. 15. Es Sadjôur, p. 17. Alep, p. 17. Khân Toumân, p. 20.</p>	<p>Sermin, p. 20. Maarat en Noumân, p. 21. Khân Mandjak, p. 21. Khân Cheikhou, p. 21. Hamâ, p. 21. Er Rastan, p. 22. Homs, p. 22. Mandjak, p. 23. En Nabk, p. 23. Qarâ, p. 23. El Qoutaîfa, p. 23. Qouseir, p. 23. Damas, p. 23. Khân el Marbah, p. 28. Sa'assa'a, p. 28. Qounaîtra, p. 28. Birkat Qadas, p. 28. Çafed, p. 28. Kafr Kanna, p. 29. En Nâcera (Nazareth), p. 29. El Ladjoûn, p. 30. Qaqoun (Kakûn), p. 30. Djuldjouliya, p. 30. Ramla, p. 30. Soudoud, p. 30. Askalân (Ascalon), p. 31. Ghazza, p. 31. Khân Younis, p. 31. Zaaqa, p. 31. El Arich, p. 32. Beit Um el Hassan, p. 32. Qattîya, p. 32. El Ghourâby, p. 32. Çâlihîya, p. 32. Bilbeis, p. 33.</p>
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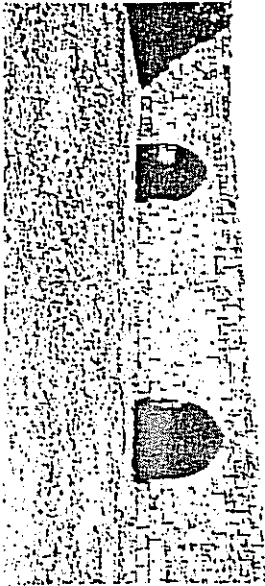
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3



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4

Bemerkungen über Anthedon und Muntār.

(Zu S. 1 ff. dieses Bandes.)

Von Th. Nöldeke in Strassburg und J. Gildemeister in Bonn.

Herr GARR hat Bd. VII, 5 ff. dieser Zeitschrift die Lage des alten Anthedon in einer Ruinenstätte NW. von Gaza und seinen Namen in deren fast schon verschollener Benennung Teda (Têda?) wiedergefunden. So weit ich urtheilen kann, ohne eine vollständige Untersuchung angestellt zu haben, ist seine Beweisführung überzeugend. Nicht aber kann ich mich der in einer Redactionsnote ausgesprochenen Meinung anschliessen, dass Eutyechius mit تادين denselben Ort meint. Die Laute würden freilich vortrefflich stimmen. تادين, wofür es natürlich freisteht, تادين zu punctiren, könnte den Laut Thêdhôn bezeichnen, d. i. (Ἄ)θηδών. Etwas bedenklich macht aber, dass Eutyechius a. a. O. den Ort in der Richtung von Gaza nach dem Hidschâz, d. h. etwa südöstlich von der Stadt, liegen lässt. Aus der Himmelsgegend kamen ja auch die streifenden Muslime, die an dieser Stelle den kaiserlichen Truppen ein Treffen lieferten. Der Ort des Gefechts heisst bei Belâdhori 109) دائن. Dass Jâqût diese Aussprache feststellt, beweist übrigens nichts, als dass er den Namen so in seiner Handschrift geschrieben fand. Von Anthedon führt uns diese Form schon etwas weiter ab. Nun wissen wir aber aus dem syrischen Chronographen LAND, Anecd. I, 17, dass dieses Treffen Freitag den 4. Schebâ[045 (Seleucid.) Ind. VII, d. i. den 4. Februar 634²], und zwar 12 Millien östlich von Gaza stattge-

1. Bei Tabari (ed. Kosegarten) fehlt das Gefecht. Ibn Athîr II, 310 hat es aus einer andern Quelle eingeschoben.

2. Also noch im Jahre 12 d. H. Da das Jahr 13 schon am 7. März 634

funden hat; das stimmt zu Euty chius. Ein Ort 3 Stunden östlich von Gaza kann aber nicht mit einem eine starke Stunde nordwestlich davon gelegenen identificirt werden. — Der wirkliche Name des in der einen Quelle تادرون, in der andern دائن genannten Ortes steht nicht fest.

Munṭār ist ohne Zweifel »Beobachtungsort, Wache« oder »Warte« vom aramäischen NṬR, das schon sehr früh ins Hebräische zu dem althebräischen NṢR aufgenommen ist und in verschiedenen Ableitungen auch von den Arabern adoptirt wurde. Zufällig finde ich auf der Karte des Pal. Expl. F. noch ein Munṭār el baghla, nicht sehr weit OSO. von Gaza. Ein Diminutiv davon ist al-Muneitire, Name eines Ortes im Libanon (Socin-BÄDEKER 409). Von derselben Wurzel abgeleitet ist der Name des Wādi Nṭāra in Galiläa (eb. 277). Auch das bekannte Naṭrūn (ROMXSON III, 569 لاظرون; Raudatain II, 58;

انظرون und أَظْرُون Jāqūt) gehört wohl hierher. Es hat sicher nichts mit dem Schücher Iatronem zu thun, denn die in der Zeit der Kreuzzüge üblichere Form ist انظرون an-Naṭrūn (Bohāeddin passim; Raudatain, passim; Ibn Athir 11, 561; 12, 47 f.), und der Ort erscheint sogar schon vor dieser Periode, also ehe an einen solchen lateinischen Namen in Palästina zu denken ist, in Nāsiri Chosrau's Reisebuch (ed. Schefer) 19, und zwar in der Entstellung خاتون; darin wird man etwa نظرون oder vielleicht خاترون wiederfinden (der Perser mochte ت für ط setzen). Also wird wohl auch dieser auf einem Hügel gelegene (Socin 13. Ort vom »Aufpassen« benannt worden sein. — Noch weise ich darauf hin, dass der arabische Name der römischen castra in Syrien zur Beobachtung der Beduinen manzara, pl. manāzīr war, von der dem aramäischen NṬR genau entsprechenden aramäischen Wurzel NZR.

Strassburg, 29. April 1854.

TH. NÖLDEKE.

begann, so begreift man, dass die Überlieferung das Treffen gern ins Jahr 13 legt. — Vergl. noch Theophanes (Bonn) 516; Baethgen, Fragm. syr. u. arab. Hist. 15, und besonders de Goeje, Mém. d'hist. et de géogr. 111, 25, wo schon die syr. Stelle herangezogen ist.

Dass Anthedon nördlich von Gaza gelegen, folgt nicht aus Plin. V. 14, der es sogar in das Binnenland setzt, nicht sicher aus Jos. XV. 7, 3, der XIII. 15, 4 eine andere Reihenfolge hat, eben so wenig aus Ptolemaeus, wegen der Varianten in den Minutenzahlen, wohl aber liegt ein unzweideutiges Zeugniß bei Theodosius § 18 vor. Das nun glücklich entdeckte آنتدون *tēdū, tīdū*, ist den arabischen Geographen Bekrī (c. 1050 Chr.), der es allerdings südlich von Gaza setzt, und Idrīsī (c. 1150) wohl bekannt; vgl. den Nachweis bei DE GOEJE, der es schon mit Anthedon identificirt hat, zu Mokaddasī p. 155. Des Eutychius *tādūn*, das er nach sonstiger analoger Schreibart wohl *tēdūn* aussprach, kann ohne Zweifel aus Anthedon verderbt sein; aber dann irrte er, wenn er es als Ort des Treffens von 632 bezeichnete. Die Araber nennen den Ort *dātīn* Belads. 109, 5 oder *dātīna* Ṭrbarī II, 114, 17 Koseg., Theophanes 276 P, 332, 13 DE BOOR an einer corrupten Stelle, über deren Varianten DE BOOR und früher TAFEL, Wiener Sitz.-Ber. IX 1552 S. 140 zu vergleichen sind, Δαυδαμιν oder Δαδαμιν .; es lag nach dem s. g. Liber chalifarum bei LAND, Anecd. Syr. I 17, 11 (um 750 Chr., der Name ist hier leider verderbt) 12 röm. Meilen östlich von Gaza. Dies passt auch besser zu den strategischen Verhältnissen, als dass die von Südost oder Ost kommenden Araber die Festung Gaza umgingen und den von Caesarea her anrückenden Römern eine halbe Meile nördlich von ihr, sie im Rücken, ein Treffen angeboten haben sollten.

Bonn, 2. Mai 1854.

J. GILDENEISTER.

ART. X.—*Description of the Noble Sanctuary at Jerusalem in 1470 A.D., by Kamāl (or Shams) ad Din as Suyūtī.*
 Extracts Re-translated by GUY LE STRANGE, M.R.A.S.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

'Traduttore traditore.'—*Italian Proverb.*

AMONG the many useful works that have appeared under the auspices of 'The Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland,' none is perhaps more palpably open to criticism than the Rev. J. Reynolds' *History of the Temple of Jerusalem*.¹ To judge from the translation, Mr. Reynolds had, to begin with, but a very imperfect knowledge of Arabic, and, in the second place, from the extraordinary blunders he makes, he can have put himself to no pains whatever to become acquainted, by means of plans, and the descriptions of modern travellers, with the localities of which the Arab author speaks. It is not my present purpose to re-edit and correct Mr. Reynolds' work, for the book runs to some 550 pages, large 8vo., and it may safely be asserted that there is not a single one of his pages that would not require considerable alteration, to make it a tolerably exact rendering of his author's text. Moreover, the pages of the Royal Asiatic Society's *Journal* hardly afford room for so lengthy a work. I must therefore content myself with giving the headings of each of the seventeen chapters, and shall only translate such passages in the text as have seemed to me of most importance from an archæological or architectural point of view, and for throwing light on the vexed question of the sites of the Holy Places.

¹ The *History of the Temple of Jerusalem*, translated from the Arabic MS. of the Imām Jalāl ad Din as Siŭtī, with notes and dissertations by the Rev. J. Reynolds, B.A., etc. London, 1836.

It is necessary, however, before passing on to the book itself, to point out that Mr. Reynolds has made a first mistake in ascribing the work to the Imâm *Jalâl ad Din* as *Suyûtî*. *Jalâl ad Din* as *Suyûtî* is an extremely well known personage to any one who has turned over the pages of Sale's "Koran," and is principally known by his numberless exegetical works on the Kuran and the traditions, his "History of the Caliphs" (translated by H. S. Jarrett, 1881), with various dictionaries, etc., etc.; for, according to the catalogue he himself gives of his writings, their number exceeded 300, and they treat of every subject that came under the cognizance of the learned in Islâm. The details of *Jalâl ad Din* as *Suyûtî*'s life are perfectly well known. He was born in A.H. 849 at *Asiût*, in Upper Egypt, and he died in A.H. 911 as a recluse in his garden on the Island of *Roda* above *Cairo*. With this most learned personage *Shams ad Din* as *Sâyutî*, the author of the book Mr. Reynolds took in hand, has only in common that both were born at *Asiût*. *Shams ad Din* as *Suyûtî* gives a full account of himself in the preface to the work which is now occupying us. The date of his birth is not given, but he states that after completing his education in the schools of *Cairo*, he set out on the Pilgrimage to the Holy Cities, and reached *Mekka* in A.H. 848 (A.D. 1444; that is to say, a year before *Jalâl ad Din*, the other *Suyûtî*, was born). After spending a year at *Mekka*, he became tired of the place and returned to *Cairo*. However, a year later he sets out with his household, and paying a flying visit to the Tomb of the Prophet at *Medina*, he proceeds on to *Mekka* once more, and takes up his quarters for the next nine years in the precincts of the *Kn'abah*.

In the beginning of A.H. 857 we find him back in *Cairo*, occupying a position of trust in the household of one of the nobles who attended the court of the *Mamlûk* Sultans. It had always been *Suyûtî*'s wish to visit *Jerusalem*, and thus complete his acquaintance with the Holy Cities of Islâm; when, therefore, his patron was sent on a diplomatic mission to *Aleppo*, he agreed to accompany him, in the hopes that

from Aleppo they might return to Egypt, taking the Holy City on their way. Matters, however, fell out differently, and it was only many years later, in A.H. 874, when he again found himself at Damascus, that he was able to carry out his long-deferred purpose of joining the caravan that was going south to Jerusalem; he reached the Holy City in the month of Ramadan of that same year (A.D. 1470). At Jerusalem he wrote the work which is the subject of the present paper, the title of which, *Ithâf al Akhissâ fi fadâil al Masjid al Aksâ*, may be rendered 'A Gift for Intimates concerning the Merits of the Aksâ Mosque.'

Although there is no manner of doubt as to our author's identity, his age, and the salient incidents of his biography, some confusion, it must be allowed, exists as to his precise name. One of the British Museum MSS.¹ calls him Shaikh Ibrahim, while in another² he is Muhammad as Suyûtî; and to render this matter still more puzzling, Hajji Khalfa, in his *Bibliographical Dictionary* (ed. by Fluegel, No. 42), gives the name of the author of the *Ithâf* as "Kamâl ad Din Muhammad ibn Abu Sharif," while the title-page of one of the Paris MSS.³ calls him Al Minbâji as Suyûtî. The point, however, is after all of no great importance, the notable fact being that our Suyûtî has nothing whatever to do with the great commentator Jalâl ad Din 'Abd ar Rahman as Suyûtî, who was only born a year after our author, already of man's estate, was making his pilgrimage to Mekka.

Turning now from the man to his work, which, as before noted, Suyûtî compiled during his sojourn in the Holy City, the MSS. all coincide in dividing it into seventeen chapters preceded by an introduction, in which the author recounts the main incidents of his life, and, in conclusion, notes the names of the books on which he has mainly depended for his materials. The most frequently quoted are the following:

¹ B.M. Add. 7326.

² Add. 7327.

³ Suppl. Arabe, 919. In the two other Paris MSS. (Arabe, 836, 838) he is called Kamâl ad Din Muhammad ibn Abi Sharif.

I. Muthîr al Gharâm ilâ Ziyârat al Kuds wa ash Shâm (*The Exciter of Desire for Visitation of the Holy City and Syria*), by Jamâl ad Din Abu Mahmûd Ahmad al Makdisi (the Hierosolymite). Of this work I was happy to find three excellent MSS. in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.¹ From the author's own statement in his preface, we learn that the Muthîr was written at Jerusalem in A.H. 752 (A.D. 1351). Of the writer's personal history all we know is that he was born in A.H. 714 (A.D. 1314), that he gave lectures in the Tenkezieh College at Jerusalem, and that he died at Cairo in A.H. 765 (A.D. 1364).²

On comparing the Muthîr with Suyûti's work, I found that what were, to me, the most interesting portions of the latter, namely those relating to points of archæological, topographical, and historical interest, had been simply copied verbatim et literatim by Suyûti (A.D. 1470) from the Muthîr (A.D. 1351), and further that Mujîr ad Din (whose description of Jerusalem was written in A.D. 1494) had to all appearance merely copied these same sections of the Muthîr from Suyûti. The Muthîr, therefore, as the earliest authority I have come upon for many of the more remarkable accounts in Suyûti, has seemed to me worthy of special attention, and as the MSS. of the Muthîr are rare, I have not hesitated to print the text of certain chapters or portions of chapters of the Muthîr which Suyûti has taken. Before, however, passing on to other authorities quoted by Suyûti, it may be worth while to give in briefest summary the contents of the Paris MSS. of the Muthîr. The work is divided into two parts.

¹ Anciens fonds, Nos. 716, 841, 842. I may here take occasion to express my grateful thanks to the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and to Monsieur Delisle, the Director, in particular, for the liberal manner in which, under a guarantee from our Embassy, he allowed me to borrow MSS. and carry them off to my own house for copying. I must also add my cordial acknowledgment of the favour extended to me by the Director of the Royal Library of Munich, who during the vacation, when the library is generally closed to the public, gave me free use of the many treasures that are stored on its shelves.

² Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, No. 425. Hajji Khalifa, No. 11372.

The first treats of the many excellences of Syria, the limits of the province, the origin of the name, the political division into districts, and is followed by a quotation of those verses of the Kurân which celebrate its praise. The second part treats of the many excellences of the Aksa Mosque and what pertains thereto, in particular and in general, from the date of its first foundation. An account is given of its building, and what may be found therein of wonders and remains of former days. It is from this portion of the work that I have printed the extracts relating to Omar's visit to the Noble Sanctuary, when it was yet covered by an enormous dung-hill of refuse thrown here by the Christians; also the chapter giving an account of the building of the Dome of the Rock by 'Abd al Malik, and the service for the same instituted by him. These accounts, as they now stand, date from A.D. 1350, fully six centuries from 'Abd al Malik's days, and over seven hundred years from those of Omar; also, I must confess, that they seem to me extremely apocryphal. The source from which they are derived is to me quite unknown. I have given the text as found in the Muthir—which, as before noted, has been copied in turn by both Suyûti and Mujir ad Dîn—it being the earliest version with which I am acquainted. The story of Omar's conquest and visit, and 'Abd al Malik's building of the Dome of the Rock, as given by the Muslim Annalists, from Tabari down to Ibn al Athîr, is confined to a simple statement of the facts, and is devoid of all the details which abound in the present text. Possibly in the Muthîr we have another specimen of the romantic history-books which Islâm produced during the age of the Crusade, and of which the pseudo-Wâkidi set so agreeable an example.¹ The Muthîr concludes by a section filled with short biographical notices of the various Prophets, Saints, Patriarchs, and following them the most notable of

¹ The Byzantine historian George Theophanes (died A.D. 815) is generally quoted as the authority for what may be called 'the Christian tradition' of the events of Omar's conquest. Is it possible that his work, translated into Arabic, may have been the source, direct or indirect, of the very circumstantial account furnished by the Muthîr, which agrees in many points with the narrative of Theophanes.

the Muslim worthies, who visited the Holy City. I may add that from this section Mujir ad Din has also freely plagiarised, and most of the biographical notices found in his work are taken verbatim from the Muthir.

II. A second work, also bearing the name of *Muthir al Gharâm*, is bound up with the first Muthir in the MSS. 716 and 842 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is the 'Muthir al Gharâm li ziyârat al Khalil,' The Exciter of Desire to the Visitation of (the city of) the Friend (of Allah, that is, Hebron). (It was written by Abu'l Fidâ Ishâk al Khalili (of Hebron), whose family had originally come from Tadmur (Palmyra), and hence Suyûtî, who states in his preface that this work is his chief authority for all that relates to Hebron and the Tombs of the Patriarchs, quotes him under the name of Tadmuri. He died in A.H. 833 (A.D. 1430). The account he gives of an alleged visit to the Sepulchres of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the Cave of Machpelah, is copied by both Suyûtî and Mujir ad Din, and though legendary enough in its present form, is perhaps founded on fact. I have therefore thought it worth while to translate the account in full, more especially as Mr. Reynolds' version leaves much to be desired in point of accuracy.

III. An authority whose name occurs on every other of Suyûtî's pages is Ibn 'Asâkir. This is not the celebrated 'Ali ibn 'Asâkir who wrote the 'Chronicle of Damascus,'¹ but his son Bahâ ad Din.² The latter spent most of his literary lifetime editing his father's works, and died in A.H. 600 (A.D. 1204) at Damascus. His book 'On the Excellences of the Aksâ Mosque' (*Kitâb al Uns fi fadâil al Kuds*),³ which Suyûtî speaks of in his preface, and frequently quotes, contains, in collected form, the lectures which he gave in the Mosque at Jerusalem during the year 596 A.H. Unfortunately I have not been able to learn that any MSS. of this work exist in our libraries.

¹ Wüst. *op. cit.* No. 267.

² Wüst. No. 292.

³ See also Hajji Khalifa, No. 3964, for the *Jâmi' al Mustakfâ*, by the same.

Of other, but less important, books spoken of by Suyûtî in his preface as authorities from which he quotes, I shall need only to give the list of titles with the reference to the numbers of Hajji Khalfa's great Bibliographical Dictionary, and the pages of Professor Wüstenfeld's "Geschichtschreiber der Araber." In Mr. Reynolds' translation (pp. xiv-xx), the names of the authors and their works are unfortunately rendered in a way to be perfectly unintelligible; apparently the translator did not trouble even to write out the proper names correctly.

IV. 'Ar Raud al Mugharras fi fadâil Bait al Mukaddas' (Hortus plantatus de prestantiis Hierosolymorum), by Tâj ad Din 'Abd al Wahâb.¹

V. 'Abd ar Rahman ibn al Jauzi's Compendium called 'Fadâil al Kuds'—The Excellences of the Holy City.²

VI. Sibî ibn al Jausi's 'Mirât az Zamân' (Mirror of the Times).³

VII. Burhân ad Din al Farâzi, whose work 'Kitâb bâ'ith an Nufûs ilâ ziyârat al Kuds al Makrûs' (Liber animos ad Hierosolyma bene servata visitanda excitans), is often quoted by Tâj ad Din 'Abd al Wahâb above mentioned.

VIII. The work of Abu'l Ma'âli al Musharraf ibn al Murajâ, called 'The Excellences of the Holy City and of Syria' (Fadâil Kuds wa ash Shâm),⁴ Suyûtî also quotes very frequently.

IX. Badr ad Din Muhammad az Zarkashi, who wrote the 'Kitâb al Islâm as Sâjid' (Institutio procumbentis).⁵

X. And, lastly, the 'Juzw latif fi fadâil as Shâm wa Dimashk'—The Sweet Booklet on the Excellences of Syria and Damascus—by the Shaikh Abu'l Hasan 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Shuja' ar Rabi'i⁷ the Malikite. Suyûtî

¹ Wüst. op. cit., No. 431. Hajji Khalfa, No. 6599.

² Wüst. No. 287.

³ Wüst, No. 340. Hajji Khalfa, No. 11,723.

⁴ Hajji Khalfa, No. 1610.

⁵ Hajji Khalfa, No. 9139.

⁶ Hajji Khalfa, No. 939.

⁷ Hajji Khalfa, No. 952.

adds: "Of this work the Shaikh Burbân ad Dîn (No. VI.) has made an abridgment by leaving out the *Isuâds*" (or authorities).

Before passing on to the translation of Suyûti's text, or rather of those passages which have appeared to me of interest archæologically, I must devote a few paragraphs to put my readers in mind of what is the technical signification in Arab writings of the word 'Masjid.'

In order to turn to our profit the Arab description of the Noble Sanctuary or Haram area of Jerusalem, it is necessary to remember that the term Masjid (whence, through the Spanish *Mesquita*, our word Mosque) denotes the *whole* of the sacred edifice, comprising the main building and the court, with its lateral arcades and minor chapels. The earliest specimen of the Arab mosque consisted of an open courtyard, within which, round its four walls, run colonades or cloisters to give shelter to the worshippers. On the side of the court towards the Kiblah (in the direction of Mekka), and facing which the worshipper must stand, the colonade, instead of being single, is, for the convenience of the increased numbers of the congregation, widened out to form the *Jâmi'* or place of assembly. Three rows of columns with the boundary wall will here form three transverse aisles. In the centre of the boundary wall on the Mekka side is set the great *Mihrab* of the mosque, indicating the direction of the Kiblah; and in all descriptions of a mosque it is taken for granted that the visitor is facing the Kiblah, and is standing in the court (*Sahn*) of the mosque. Fronting him therefore is what is called the covered part (*al Mughattâ*) or the fore part (*al Mukaddamah*) of the mosque; while in his rear is the colonade against the wall of the courtyard, furthest from the Mekka side, and this is called the hinder part of the mosque (*al Mu-âkhirah*). Bearing these points in mind, and coming now to the Noble Sanctuary at Jerusalem, we must remember that the term 'Masjid' belongs not only to the *Åksa* mosque (more properly the *Jâmi'* or place of assembly for prayer), but to the whole enclosure with the Dome of the Rock in the middle, and all the other minor domes and

chapels. As M. de Vogüé has pointed out, the Dome of the Rock is not itself a mosque or place for public prayer, but merely the largest of the many cupolas in the court of the mosque, intended merely to cover and do honour to the Holy Rock which lies beneath it.

Great confusion is introduced into the Arab descriptions of the Noble Sanctuary by the loose manner in which they apply the terms *al Masjid* or *Masjid al Aksá*, *Jâmi'* or *Jâmi' al Aksá*. The late Professor Palmer laid down what is the rule with great clearness, and I cannot do better than quote his words, premising that in point of fact nothing but an intimate acquaintance with the locality described will prevent a translator ever and again misunderstanding the text he has before him, since the native authorities use the technical terms in an extraordinarily inexact manner, confounding the whole, and its part, under a single denomination. Professor Palmer writes¹: "When the *Masjid el Aksa* is mentioned, that name is usually supposed to refer to the well-known mosque on the south side of the Haram, but such is not really the case. The latter building is called *El Jâmi' el Aksa*, or simply *El Aksa*, and the substructures are called *El Aksa el Kadimeh* (the ancient *Aksa*), while the title *El Masjid el Aksa* is applied to the whole Sanctuary. The word *Jâmi'* is exactly equivalent in sense to the Greek *συναγωγὴ*, and is applied only to the church or building in which the worshippers congregate. *Masjid*, on the other hand, is a much more general term; it is derived from the verb *sejada* 'to adore,' and is applied to any spot the sacred character of which would especially incite the visitor to an act of devotion."

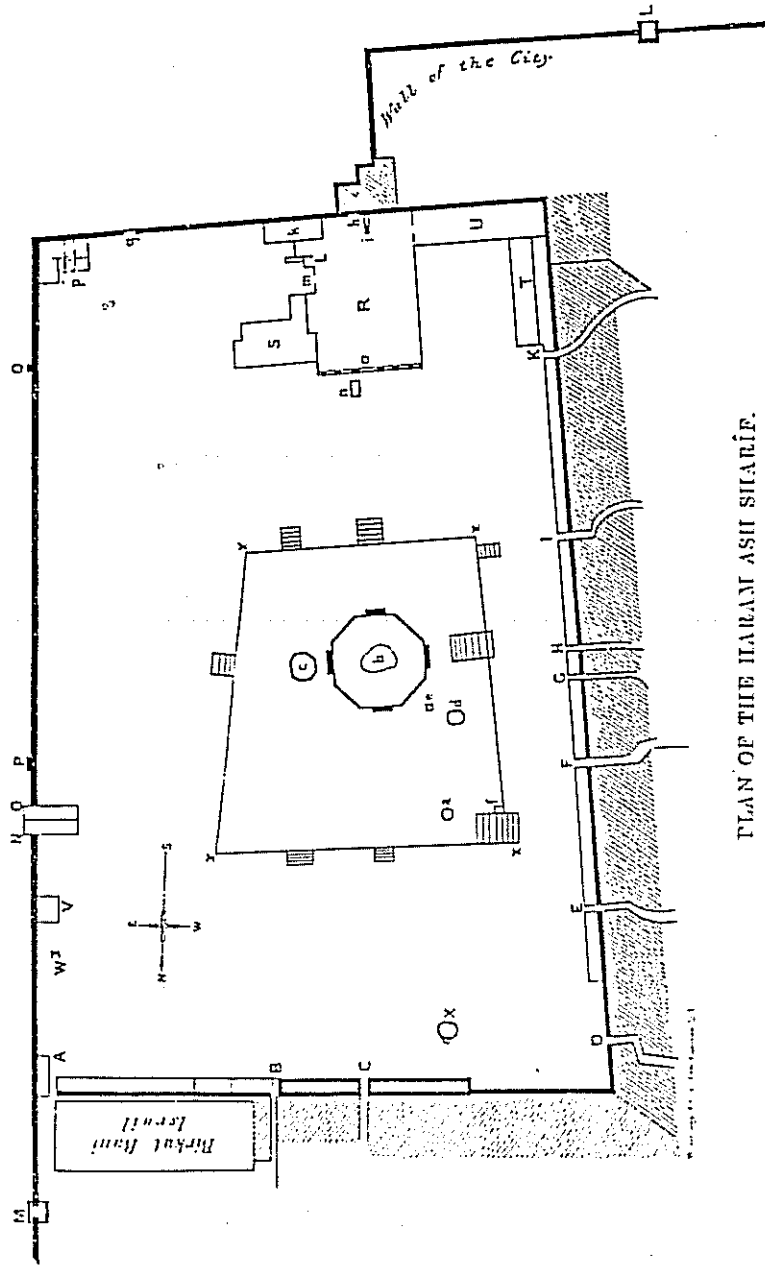
In the present texts, however, the word *Masjid* is so constantly used to denote not only the whole Haram area, but also the main building or covered part, the *Jâmi'* or *Aksa Mosque* proper, at its southern extremity, that I have thought it better to translate *al Masjid* by 'the Haram Area,' or 'the

¹ p. 84 of *Jerusalem, the City of Herod and Saladin*, by W. Besant and E. H. Palmer. London, 1871.

Noble Sanctuary,' in the one case, and by 'the Aksa Mosque' in the other, that the matter might be perfectly clear to European readers. It may at the same time be added that Muslim authorities speak in the same loose way of "the Rock," when they mean "*the Dome of the Rock*" (*Kubbat as Sakrah*), which covers the same; but this, after all, is only as we speak of the "Holy Sepulchre," meaning "the Church," which is built to cover it.

In concluding these preliminary remarks, which I regret have taken up more space than I had originally intended, I would add that I have given a few quotations from Mr. Reynolds' translation in my notes, from no motives of self-glorification, or invidious comparison, but only since I deemed it necessary to show cause for undertaking to re-translate the passages which it seemed to me were of greater importance. That my own new translation will be found incorrect and imperfect in many parts, by those who, being better scholars than I am, will take the trouble to examine the texts, is a matter on which I am under no illusion; but Mr. Reynolds' translation is too incorrect to stand unchallenged, and unfortunately many passages from his rendering of the misnamed 'Jalâl ad Din' have been quoted in standard works and books of reference, notably in M. de Vogüé's most excellent work, 'Le Temple de Jérusalem,' and in the useful compilation called 'The Dictionary of Islâm' (Allen & Co.) written by Mr. Hughes. The late Professor Palmer was, I believe, one of the first to draw attention to the very incorrect nature of Mr. Reynolds' work, but how much this is the case readers may now judge of for themselves by looking through the quotations which I have given at the foot of many of the pages of my translation. After all, I fear that in so thorny a matter I had best quote, as applying to my own work, the proverb *Traduttore traditore*.

WADI JALANNIAL. VALLEY OF KEDRON OR JEIOSIAPHAT.



PLAN OF THE HARAM ASHI SHARIF.
 AT JERUSALEM, WITH THE EXISTING BUILDINGS.
*From the *Pal. Expl. Found Survey.**

REFERENCES TO THE PLAN.¹

- A. Bâb al Asbât (Gate of the Tribes).
 B. Bâb Hittah (of Remission).
 C. Bâb Sharaf al Anbiyâ (of the Glory of the Prophets) or Ad Dawâdariyyah (of the Secretariat).
 D. Bâb al Ghawânimah.
 E. Bâb an Nâthir (of the Inspector) or of 'Alâ ad Din al Busiri.
 F. Bâb al Hadîd (of Iron).
 G. Bâb al Kattânin (of the Cotton Merchants).
 H. Bâb al Mutawaddâ (of the Place for Ablution).
 I. Bâb'as Silsilah (of the Chain) or as Sakinah (of the Shechinah).
 K. Bâb al Maghâribah or an Nabi (of the Mogrebins, or of the Prophet).
 L. City Gate, called Bâb al Maghâribah; and by the Franks the Dung Gate.
 M. City Gate, Bâb Sitti Maryam, and by the Franks the Gate of St. Stephen.
 N. Bâb at Taubah (of Repentance) } Golden Gate.
 O. Bâb ar Rahmah (of Mercy) }
 P. Bâb al Burâk or Al Janâiz (of the Funerals).
 Q. Pillar in the Wall, marking the place of the Bridge as Sirât.
 R. Jâmi' al Aksâ.
 S. Madrasah al Farsiyyah.
 T. Jâmi' al Maghâribah.
 U. Aksa al Kadîmah (ancient Aksa).
 V. Kursi Sulaimân (Solomon's Throne).
 W. Makâm (Station of) Iliyâs or Khidr (Elias or St. George).
 X. Kursi 'Isâ (Throne of Jesus).
 x, x, x, x. Platform of the Rock.
 a. Kubbat al Alwâh (Dome of the Tablets).
 b. The Rock.
 c. Kubbat as Silsilah (D. of the Chain).
 d. Kubbat al Mirâj (of the Ascension).
 e. Kubbat Jibrâil (Gabriel).
 f. Kubbat al Khidr (St. George).
 g. Mihrâb Daûd (David's Prayer-niche).
 h. Great Mihrâb of the Aksa Mosque.
 i. Mimbar (Pulpit).
 k. Jâmi' 'Omar.
 l. Mihrâb Zakariyyah (Prayer-niche of Zachariah).
 m. Eastern Door of Mosque.
 n. Well of the Leaves.
 o. Great Gate of the Mosque.
 p. Mahd 'Isâ (Cradle of Jesus).

¹ This represents the Haram Area as it exists at the present day; and is reduced from the Plan of the Ordnance Survey (Pal. Expl. Fund) and the work of M. de Vogüé.

CHAPTER I.

*On the names of the Mâsjid al Aksâ, its excellences, the advantages of visitation thereunto and what may be noted thereon in general and in particular, in individual and in cases common to all.*¹

CHAPTER II.

*On the original foundation and beginning of the Masjid by David, and the building thereof by Solomon after the manner that was a wonder unto the world. Of the prayer that he prayed after the completion of the building for the sakes of all who should enter therein, and also of the place of his praying.*²

It is also related that Solomon³—God's prophet—when he had finished the building (of the Temple) sacrificed 3000 heifers and 7000 ewes at the place which is in the after (or northern) part of the Haram area, in the vicinity of the Bâb al Asbât (the Gate of the Tribes). This is the spot which now goes by the name of the Throne of Solomon.⁴

CHAPTER III.

*On the excellence of the noble Rock, and of the virtues that it possessed during the days of Solomon. Also the height of the dome that was built over the same in those days, and how the Rock is a portion of Paradise, and how on the day of Resurrection it will be turned into white coral, and the meaning of all this.*⁵

The place of the Noble Footprint⁶ may be seen at this day on a stone that is separate from the Rock, and opposite to it, on the further side, which is to the south-west. This stone is supported on a column. The Rock, at this present day, forms the walls enclosing the Cave (that is beneath it) on all sides, except only the part which lies to the south, where is the opening into the Cave; the Rock here does not come up to the south side of the Cave, for between the two is an open

¹ Reynolds, p. 1. These headings give a very exact summary of the contents of each chapter. If the reader will take the trouble to compare any one of the MSS. and my translation with the headings given by Mr. Reynolds, he will see how it was necessary even in this minor matter to do the work over again.

² Reynolds, p. 26.

³ Reynolds, p. 40.

⁴ See Flau, V.

⁵ Reynolds, p. 44.

⁶ Reynolds, p. 52.

space. From the entrance down into the Cave lead stone steps descending. On these stairs is a small shelf, near where the pilgrims stop to visit the Tongue of the Rock. At this spot is a marble column, the lower part of which rests on the south portion of the shelf aforesaid, while its upper part abuts against the Rock, as though to prevent its giving way towards the south,—or may be it is for some other purpose,—and the Rock that lies below supports it. The Place of the Angel's Fingers is on the western side of the Rock, and is distinct from the Place of the Noble Footstep mentioned above. It lies close to, and over against, the western gate of the Sakhrâh (or Dome of the Rock).¹

CHAPTER IV.

On the excellence of prayer in the Holy City and its counting for double there. And whether or not this doubling of the effect of prayer extends to the obligatory prayers as well as to those of supererogation. Also whether this doubling of the effect would include good actions as well as bad. Also of the excellence of almsgiving, and of fasting in Jerusalem; and of the calling to prayer, and of watching there for the new moon of the months of the greater and the lesser Pilgrimage. Also the excellence of providing oil for the illumination of the Mâsjid, and how so doing may stand in the place of actual visitation thereunto for those to whom even intention so to do is an impossibility.²

¹ How Mr. Reynolds has translated this curious, though not very important, passage may be seen by those who care to refer to his pages. Suyûti's description corresponds exactly with what is shown at the present day. The "Foot-print" is that of the Prophet (in Crusading times it was called "Christ's Foot-print"), when he mounted the steed Al Burâk to ascend into heaven. The "Tongue" was given to the rock when it addressed the Khalif Omar in welcome; and the marks of the angel Gabriel's "Fingers" are those left when the Rock, wishing to accompany the Prophet to heaven, had to be pushed down and kept in its place. All this is of course only interesting as showing how early these legends took their rise.

² Reynolds, p. 54. As a specimen of how Mr. Reynolds does work, his version of the above heading may be quoted: *Upon the surpassing efficacy of Prayer in the Baitu-t-Mukaddas, and how it becomes double. Also upon the New Moon of Reduplication, when by prayer the Sacred Precept, and the merits of Works of Supererogation may be diffused to the public. Also the New Moon of Reduplication, when blessings and curings may be communicated. Also the marvellous effect of pious donations, and fastings and listening to preaching therein. Also the New Moons of the Sacred Pilgrimage and the Sacred Visitation. Also the marvellous efficacy of supplying Oil for the Lamps, and how by this the rank and merit of pilgrimage may be made to exist for those who are unable to undertake the journey.*

CHAPTER V.

An account of the water which flows out from the foundation of the Rock, and how the same is a river of the rivers of Paradise, and how it is cut short in the midst of the Masjid on every side, whereby none may draw of this water except such as the heavens draw up—by His permission—to pour down again on the earth. And of the good of entering this place, and how he who prays there is answered, and how he who would enter thereto should proceed, and what prayers are to be avoided by him who prays over that place. Also an account of the Chain which hung there in early times, and the cause of its removal, and description of the Black Slab of rock which is over the Gate of Paradise, and how prayer thereon is answered, and the invocation of the prayer that brings aid.¹

CHAPTER VI.

Account of the night journey of the Prophet to the Holy City, and his ascension into Heaven therefrom. Concerning the excellence of the five prayers. Concerning the excellence of the Dome of the Ascension and of prayer therein; and in the Prayer Station of the Prophet and the excellence of the Dome over the same; and of the Prophet Muhammad's praying therein with former Prophets and Angels on the night of his Night Journey. And of the great worth of both these noble Domes and of prayer therein and of continual adoration there. Also of the great worthiness of almsgiving in the place wherefrom the Prophet ascended, and in his Prayer Station, and of the invocation of the prayer that brings aid.²

The³ Dome named the Dome of the Prophet is, as I understand it, the one which lies to the east of the Sakhrāh, being also called the Dome of the Chain.⁴ It was built by the Khalif 'Abd al Malik, as will be described later on. . . . Now⁵ I would point out that in the Haram area, beside the Dome of the Ascension, there are but two domes. One, a small dome, stands at the edge of the Sakhrāh terrace, on the right-hand side of the northernmost of

¹ Reynolds, p. 70.⁴ Plan, c.² Reynolds, p. 84.⁵ Reynolds, p. 86.³ Reynolds, p. 91.

the steps, leading up to the Sakhrāh terrace, from the west.¹ I think that at the present day this is in the hands of certain of the servants of the mosque, and is put to some use on their part; certainly no one in the Holy City considers that this is the Dome of the Prophet. The other dome stands back at the Gate of the Noble Sanctuary, on the northern side, near the Gate of the Glory of the Prophets,² called also the Bāb ad Dawādāriyah. It is called the Dome of Sulaimān,—not after the Prophet Solomon,—but perhaps after the Khalif Sulaimān, the son of 'Abd al Malik. As to the Dome of the Ascension, it is, as everybody knows, on the Terrace of the Sakhrāh, and much visited by the pilgrims.³ Hence, therefore, it is likely that what Al Musharraḥ, and the author of the Mustakṣā, and of the Bā'ith an Nufus⁴ refer to when speaking of the Dome of the Prophet is that now known as the Dome of the Chain, which was built by the Khalif 'Abd al Malik. Now as to the place where the Prophet prayed in the company of Prophets and Angels, it is said that the spot is beside the Dome of the Ascension where, on the Terrace of the Sakhrāh, there used to stand a beautiful Dome. When, however, they flagged the court (Sahn) of the Sakhrāh, they did away with this Dome, and set in its place a handsome Mihrāb,⁵ the floor of which is laid in a circle with red marble flags after the manner of other parts of the Sakhrāh Courṭ. This, then, as it is said, in the place occupied by this Mihrāb, is where the Prophet made his prayer with the Angels and Prophets. He then advanced a step forward from that place, and there rose before him a ladder of gold and a ladder of silver, and thereby was the Ascent into Heaven, as will be found described elsewhere.

¹ At f. on the Plan.

² See Plan, C. and X. This Dome is now called Kursī 'Isā, the Throne of Jesus.

³ Plan, d.

⁴ See above, p. 253, VII. and VIII.

⁵ Or Prayer Niche, showing the direction of Mekka. At e. of the Plan.

CHAPTER VII.

Account of the walls surrounding the Noble Sanctuary; and what is found within the same of Mihrābs, that are objects of visitation and wherein prayer should be said: such as the Mihrāb Dāūd, and the Mihrāb Zakariyyā and the Mihrāb Maryam—upon her be peace—and the Mihrābs (of the Khalifs) Omar ibn al Khattāb and Mu'āwiyah. Also what pertains to the gates, and what is their number. Also an account of the stones that are at the gate of the Haram Area. Also the measurement of the Haram Area in its length and breadth, and the Tradition of the Leaves, and an account of the Wādī Jahannum which lies beyond the wall on the eastern side thereof, and what is found therein. Also the dwellings of Al Khidr and of Ilyās near that spot.¹

Now as regards the wall that surrounds the Noble Sanctuary of the Akṣa Mosque, and compasses it on all sides, verily its foundations were laid by David when he built the Temple. . . .

The Mihrābs² worthy of visitation, which lie within the the Noble Sanctuary, are the following, and in them prayer should be said.

The Mihrāb Dāūd (of David).—There is diversity of opinion as to its identification. Some say it is the great Mihrāb,³ which is in the south wall of the Haram area; others, that it is the great Mihrāb in the neighbourhood of the Mimbar (or pulpit of the Akṣa mosque).⁴ The author of the work called 'al Fath al Kudsi'⁵ asserts that the Mihrāb of David is in the castle (Iliṣn) of the Holy City, in the place where David stood to pray. For his dwelling being in the castle, there also was his place of worship. Now the Mihrāb, whereof mention, by Allah, is made in the Kurān in the words (xxxviii. 20), "When they mounted the wall of the

¹ Reynolds, p. 120.

² Reynolds, p. 122. A *Mihrāb* is a prayer niche: the *mihirāb* of a mosque is the special niche which indicates the direction of Mekka (the Kiblah), towards which the Muslim faces when saying his prayers. Besides the great *mihirāb*, there may be numerous other prayer niches, or chapels, in other parts of the sacred precincts, dedicated to the memory of individual saints and prophets, whose intercession is deemed of efficacy in the granting of prayers.

³ See Plan, q.

⁴ See Plan, i.

⁵ 'The Conquest of Jerusalem,' a name common to many works.

Mihrâb," is generally admitted to be the Mihrâb of David, where he prayed, and it was situated in the Castle, that being his place of worship; while the spot known as the great Mihrâb, which is inside the Haram area,¹ is looked upon as the place where he prayed when he came into the Haram. When Omar came thither, he followed in David's steps, and made his prayer in the place where David had prayed. Hence the place came to be called the Mihrâb of Omar, from the fact of his having prayed there, for the first time, on the day of the capitulation of Jerusalem; but originally it had been named the Mihrâb of David. In confirmation of this is the fact of Omar's veneration of this spot. For when he asked of Ka'ab,² "Which place wishest thou that we should institute as the place of our prayer in this Sacred Area?"—and Ka'ab had answered, "In the hinder part thereof, where it may be near the Sakhrâh, so that the two Kiblahs³ be united,"—Omar had said, "O Abu Ishâk, so thou wouldst act still in Jew fashion? Are we not the people to whom the fore part of the Holy Area belongs as of right?" Then Omar marked out the Mihrâb, which had been that of David, and where had been his place of worship in the Haram Area. Thus Omar's opinion, and his veneration for this spot, both confirm the view that David in ancient times

¹ At q or h.

² "Ka'ab al Ahbar (or al Hibr), surnamed Abu Ishâk ibn Mâni' al Himyari, was originally a Jew, and became a Muslim during the Caliphate of Abu Bakr (some say during that of Omar). He is a celebrated authority for traditions, and is noted as having been a very learned man. He died at Hims in A. D. 32." So says the author of the *Muthir*, who devotes a few lines to his biography when enumerating the eminent persons who visited or lived at Jerusalem. In point of fact, Ka'ab (like his co-religionist the celebrated Jew Wâhib ibn Munabbih, who also embraced Islâm, both of them becoming the great authorities among the early Muslims in all matters of ancient history), was in time discovered to have been a great liar.

³ The two Kiblahs are the Kiblah of Moses, the Rock on which was placed the Ark of the Covenant, and the Muslim Kiblah, which is Mekka. In the early days of the Hijra, after the Prophet had fled to Medina, and for a time had thoughts of abandoning Mekka and its Kaaba, he directed his followers to pray facing in the direction of Jerusalem. The Kiblah of Islam had therefore been for seventeen months (*i. e.* down to Rajab A. D. 2) identical with that of the Jews. Had Omar accepted the suggestion of Ka'ab, and placed the mosque on the *northern* side of the Haram area, the Muslim Kiblah, which in Jerusalem points south, would in the mosque have faced the Rock, which thus would have been in front of the Muslim who was turning towards Mekka. As the Aksa Mosque now stands, those who pray there turn their back on the Rock.

had fixed on this place and had chosen the same as his place of prayer.

The Mihráb of Zakariyyá (Zacharias).—Most agree that it is that within the (Aḳṣá) mosque in the aisle (riwák), near the eastern door.¹

The Mihráb of Maryam (Mary).—This is the place where she was wont to worship. It is now called the Cradle of Jesus (Mabd 'Isá).² It is notorious how prayer offered up here is granted. . . .

³ *The Mihráb of Omar.*—People differ as to which this may be. Some say it is the great Mihráb, close to which now stands the Noble Pulpit (mimbar), and fronting the Great Gate, through which you enter the Aḳṣá Mosque.³ Others say that it is the Mihráb in the eastern aisle of the Aḳṣá Mosque, being in the (south) wall of the mosque,⁴ seeing this said aisle with its adjacent parts is called the Jami' of Omar, and that this is the very place which he cleared of filth, he and those who were with him of the Companions, and swept clean before they prayed thereon. Whence it is called the Jami' of Omar. Most, however, are of the opinion before mentioned, namely, that the Mihráb of Omar is the great Mihráb near the Mimbar (Pulpit). Further mention of all this and explanation will be given later on, in Chapter IX., relating the conquest of the Holy City, and Omar's entry therein on the day of the capitulation.

The Mihráb of Mu'áwiyah.—This is said to be the beautiful Mihráb, which is, at the present time, enclosed within the Maksárah (the part railed off) for the preacher of the Kbutbah (or Friday sermon).⁵ Between it and the great Mihráb comes the beautiful pulpit aforementioned.

Within the Aksa Mosque, and also without the same in

¹ In the Muslim legend "Zacharias, the son of Baruchias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar" (Math. xxiv. 35), and Zachariah, the son of Jehoiada, the priest who was "stoned with stones at the commandment of the king in the court of the house of the Lord" (II. Chron. xxiv. 22), and Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, are all one. The Mihráb Zakariyyá is still pointed out at l. on the Plan.

² See Plan, p.

³ See Plan, h.

⁴ See Plan, k.

⁵ That is to the west of i. on the Plan.

the Haram Area, but still within the boundary-wall, are many other Mihrābs. These have been erected by people of various ranks, to mark venerated spots. As, for example, where a certain person may have seen in his dream that one of the Prophets had made his prayer, or where perchance some one of the Saints had appeared. All these are worthy of visit. Among them is the spot cleft by the angel Gabriel, and where he tied up the steed Al Burāk. It lies outside the Bâb an Nabî (the Prophet's Gate).¹ . . . There are, too, the stones which lie in the after (or northern) part of the Haram Area, in the neighbourhood of the Bâb al Asbât (the Gate of the Tribes); and near these is the place called Solomon's Throne, where he prayed when he had brought to completion the building of the Temple—as has been described in a former chapter²—and Allah there was wont to grant his prayers. Verily it is very worthy to make visitation of all these Mihrābs and places.

Now as regards the gates in the walls of the Noble Sanctuary.

The *Bâb ar Rahmah* (the Gate of Mercy).—This lies to the east of the Aksa Mosque, and is in the wall of which Allah has made mention in the words³—“But between them (the Hypocrites and the Believers on the judgment day) shall be set a wall with a gateway, within which shall be the Mercy, and in front, without it, the Torment.” The valley which lies beyond this gate is the Wâdi Jahannum.⁴ The Gate of Mercy itself is inside the wall which encloses the Haram Area;⁵ and the gate referred to in the above verse of the Kuran, as on the Wâdi Jahannum, is now closed,⁶ and will only be opened at some future time and by the will of Allah—be He exalted.

¹ Plan, K.

² Plan, V, and see above, p. 259, Chapter II.

³ Kurân lvii. 13.

⁴ The Muslim Wâdi Jahannum is not the Jewish Valley of Hinnon, or Gehenna, for that is the valley to the south-east of Jerusalem, which the Arabs call Wâdi ar Rabâbî. The Wâdi Jahannum is the Kédron or Valley of Jehoshaphat, and according to Muslim tradition will be the place of the Last Judgment. This agrees with the Jewish traditions about the Valley of Jehoshaphat derived from Joel iii. 2.

⁵ Plan, O.

⁶ Plan, P.

And as to *Bab at Taubah* (the Gate of Repentance), it joins and makes one with the Gate of Mercy,¹ but through neither of them at the present day do men pass. Near the Gate of Repentance, and thus between the Gate of Mercy and the Gate of the Tribes, is the House (Maskin) of Al Khidr and Ilyás.² . . .

Bab al Asbât (the Gate of the Tribes) is in the hinder (or northern) part of the Haram Area, not far from the House of Al Khidr and Ilyás. In the work called *Faḍāil Bait al Mukaddas* (The Excellences of the Holy City) by the Hāfīd Abu Bakr al Wāsiti, the Khatib, there is mention made of the Bāb Maskin al Khidr (the Gate of Al Khidr's House), as standing here, but the author of the *Muthir al Gharām* gives no indication of any such gate having existed, although he mentions the House of Al Khidr when enumerating the saints who entered and dwelt in the Holy City. The author of the *Kitāb al Uns*, on the authority of Shahr ibn Jaushab, states that the House of Al Khidr is in the Holy City at a spot between the Gate of Mercy and the Gate of the Tribes; and he continues that Al Khidr was wont to pray every Friday in five different mosques, namely, in the Mosque of Mekku, and the Mosque of Medina, and the Mosque of Jerusalem, and the Mosque of Kubā, and on every Friday night in the Mosque of Sinai.³ . . .

¹ The two Gates of Mercy and Repentance together form the great tower in the east wall of the Haram Area, generally known as the Golden Gate (Plan, N. and O.). According to M. de Vogüé (*Le Temple de Jérusalem*, p. 68), the architecture of this building shows it to date from Byzantine times only, in fact probably as late as the sixth century A.D. The denomination of the Golden Gate does not occur apparently before the thirteenth century (Sawalt), and the name *Porta Aurea* is due to a misunderstanding by mediæval pilgrims whose knowledge of Greek was rudimentary of *εἶσα ἄψα*, the gate called "beautiful," mentioned in Acts iii. 2, as the spot where St. Peter healed the lame man. The site of this miracle, which must in point of fact have taken place at one of the inner gates of the Temple, the early pilgrims and the Crusaders, proceeding in their usual arbitrary manner, saw fit to locate at this Byzantine structure.

² St. George and Elias. Plan, W.

³ Kubā is the name of a village two miles distant from Medina, on the road towards Mecca, where there is a mosque celebrated as being the first in Islām to have been called *Masjid at Takwā*, *the Mosque of Piety*. Reynolds (p. 127) translates "and the Mosque of Kisa (near Larissa) and the Mosque of Tyre." Kisa is certainly a false reading, all the MSS. giving *Kubā*, and though *Masjid at Tūr* may be taken to mean either the Mosque of Sinai or the Mosque of Keft Tūr, the village crowning the Mount of Olives, 'Tūr' is certainly not 'Tyre,' which is called 'Sūr' by the Arabs.

*Bâb Hittah*¹ (the Gate of Remission), so called because the Children of Israel were directed to enter their House of Prayer thereby, saying, 'Remission, O Lord, for our sins.' . . . The following is given on the authority of 'Ali ibn Sallâm ibn 'Abd as Sallâm,—who was told by his father that he had heard Abu Muhammad ibn 'Abd as Sallâm state as follows, namely, that the brazen gate (al bâb an nahâs), which is in the (Aksa) Mosque, is the Bâb al Hamal al Ausat (the middle Ram Gate), and is of the workmanship of the Chosroes; and that the brazen gate which closes the (main) gateway² of the Haram Area is the Gate of David through which he was wont to go from Sion to Solomon's Market Place; while the gate of the gateway known as the Bâb Hittah (Gate of Remission) was formerly at Jericho, which city having come to ruin, the gate was transported thence to the Noble Sanctuary. . . .

*Bâb Sharaf al Anbiyâ*³ (the Gate of the Glory of the Prophets) is that now called Bâb ad Dawidâriyyah.⁴ It opens from the northern side of the Haram Area.

Bâb al Ghawânimah (the Gate of the men of the family of Ghânim),⁵ is that adjoining the Lieutenant's Palace (the Dâr an Niyâbah). It is the first (or northernmost) on the western side of the Haram Area. Anciently, it is said, this gate was called Bâb al Khalil (the Gate of Abraham).

Bâb an Nâthir (the Gate of the Inspector).⁶—This is a gate that is said never to have been restored. Anciently it was called Bâb Mikâil (the Gate of Michael), and according to report it is the gate to which Gabriel tied the steed Al Burâk on the occasion of the night journey.⁷

¹ Reynolds, p. 132. Plan, B.

² Plan, I F.

³ Reynolds, p. 134.

⁴ Plan, C. The Dawidâriyyah is the house of the Dawidâr, or Secretary, a Persian word meaning literally 'He who carries the inkstand.'

⁵ Plan, D. Descendants of Shaikh Ghânim ibn 'Ali, who was born near Nablûs in A.H. 562 (A.D. 1167), and died in A.H. 632 at Damascus. Saladin made him chief of the Khânkah Salûhiyyah, the Derwish house founded by him at Jerusalem.

⁶ Plan, E.

⁷ See, however, above, p. 265.

Báb al Hadid (the Iron Gate).¹—This is one that has been restored. Anciently it was called after Arghûn al Kâmili,² who founded the Madrasah (College) of the Arghûniyyah, which lies on the left hand as you go out through it.

Báb al Kaṭṭānīn (the Gate of the Cotton Merchants).³—It is one of those that has been restored. Al Malik an Nāsir ibn Kalāûn was the prince who first built it, but it afterwards fell into complete ruin and disuse. When the late Nāib (Lieutenant) of Syria, Tankiz an Nāsiri,⁴ built the Colonade (riwāk) which runs all along the western wall of the Noble Sanctuary, and the Sûk al Kaṭṭānīn (the Cotton Market), he rebuilt at the same time this gate with the high portal seen here at the present day.

Báb as Sikkāyah (the Gate of the Reservoir).⁵—It is said to be an ancient gate, but it had come to be destroyed. When the late 'Alā ad din Al Buṣīri constructed the Tank of Absolution, which he gave the people, he rebuilt too this gate. May it not be allowed to fall again into ruin!

Báb as Saktinah (the Gate of the Shechinah or Divine Presence).—This lies near the Gate of the Madrasah (College), called Al Baladiyyah;⁶ and close by it also is the Southern Minaret. The royal College, called Al Madrasah al Ashrafiyyah,⁷ lies to the north of it.

Báb as Silsilah (the Gate of the Chain) and the *Báb as Saktinah* are side by side.⁸ The *Báb as Silsilah* was anciently called the *Báb Dâûd* (David's Gate).

¹ Plan, F.

² Arghûn al Kâmili was Lieutenant of Syria. He died in A.H. 758 (A.D. 1357).

³ Plan, G.

⁴ Tankiz al Hisâmi or an Nāsiri was Lieutenant of Syria under An Nāsir Muhammad ibn Kalâûn, Mamlûk Sultan of Egypt. Tankiz died in A.H. 741 (A.D. 1340).

⁵ Plan, H P

⁶ The Madrasah al Baladiyyah was founded by the Amir Mankali Bughâ al Ahmadi, Governor of Aleppo. He died in A.H. 782 (A.D. 1380).

⁷ The Madrasah Ashrafiyyah was founded by the Mamlûk Sultan Kaït Bey in A.H. 885 (A.D. 1491). It stood apparently within the wall of the Haram Area.

⁸ *Muttahidîn*, some MSS. may read *Mustajidîn*, which would mean 'restored.' It would appear, however, that the first is the better reading, and that the two portals, that of the Chain and that of the Shechinah, were so close to one another as to form but a single gateway; as is the case at the present day at I. in the Plan.

Bâb al Maghâribeh (the Gate of the Mogrebins or Westerns).¹—So called from its being in the neighbourhood of the gate of the Mosque of the Mogrebins,² where they have their prayers. And the quarter named from this gate lies at the south-eastern corner of the Haram Area. This gate is also called *Bâb an Nabi* (the Gate of the Prophet).³

Now as to what has been said on the subject of the Noble Sanctuary, and its length and its breadth, the author of the *Muthîr al-Gharâm* has devoted thereto one of his chapters, giving therein all that is known as to what the Khalif 'Abd al Mâlik and others built in the Haram Area, and the same is his seventh chapter.⁴ 'It is stated by Ibn 'Asâkir that the length of the Haram Area is 755 ells (*dhirâ'*), and its breadth 465 ells, the ell being the royal ell (*dhirâ' al Malik*).⁵ And,' continues the author of the *Muthîr al Gharâm*, 'so also writes Abu'l Ma'âlî al Musharrâf⁶ in his book. Now I myself, in old times, have seen in the northern wall of the Haram Area, above the gateway⁷ which adjoins the Dawidâriyyah, and on the inner side of the wall, a slab on which was inscribed the length and the breadth of the Haram Area, and it differed from what these two have stated. And what was inscribed on it

¹ Plan, K.

² Plan, T.

³ These paragraphs, showing how the gates of the Noble Sanctuary stood in the middle of the fifteenth century A.D., are not without interest, and Suyûti's account has been copied by subsequent compilers; as, for instance, *Mujîr ad Din*. To show how little Mr. Reynolds' translation can be relied on, I copy his version of the foregoing paragraphs (p. 134): "The Gate of the Glorious Prophets is now called the Gate al Dawidâri (the Gate of the Templars); it is on the western side, but itself is in a northern direction. The Gate of the Sheep is west of the Gate of the Guard, on the front side of the Mosque. This gate is called the Antechapel of Abraham. The Gate of the Conqueror is said to be the same as the Gate of the Jealousy-search; it is now called Angel's Gate, because Gabriel is said to have bound Al Burâk there." And in a note to this arrago of nonsense he adds: "Several gates are enumerated in the original, which, as possessing no interest, are omitted."

⁴ The text of this chapter of the *Muthîr* is given in extenso, p. 303.

⁵ The *Dhirâ' al Mâlik*, the royal ell or cubit, differs from the *Dhirâ' al 'Amm* or common ell, in that the latter contains six *Kabdah* (or fists), while the royal ell contains seven. The royal ell was instituted by one of the ancient Chosroes of Persia (Lane, s.v. *Dhirâ'*).

⁶ See p. 253.

⁷ Plan, at C.

was: length 784 ells, breadth 455 ells.' The author of the Muthir continues: 'it gives in the inscription the indication of the ell used, but I am not sure whether this is the ell mentioned above (*i.e.* the royal ell) or some other, for the inscription has become indistinct.' The author of the Muthir further states that 'the Haram Area was measured in his days with a rope, and that along the eastern wall it measured 683 ells, and along the western wall 650 ells, while in the breadth (*i.e.* along the northern and the southern walls) it measured 438 ells. These measurements being exclusive of the width of the outer walls.' So ends the account of the author of the Muthir.¹

Now as to the Tradition about the Leaves (of Paradise), there are many and various accounts thereof. In the first place from Abu Bakr ibn Abi Maryam, through 'Utayyah ibn Kais, comes the tradition that the Prophet said, "Verily a man from among my people shall enter Paradise, walking upon his two feet (and come back again), and yet shall live."

¹ The text of this passage from the Paris MSS. of the Muthir will be found on p. 305. Reynolds (p. 134), has given us a translation that reads nonsense. The identical slab, with the inscription mentioned by the author of the Muthir, was discovered by Mons. Clermont-Ganneau in 1874, in the north wall of the Haram Area. Part of the inscription, however (as noted also by our author), has become damaged. It runs as follows: "In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful; the length of the Masjid is seven hundred and four and . . . ty ells, and its breadth four hundred and five-and-fifty ells, the ell being the ell of . . ." According to Mons. Ganneau's view, the space for the word representing the tens in the enumeration of the length, will only allow of the word being either 'eighty' or 'thirty.' The Persian traveller, Nâsir-i-Khusrau, who visited Jerusalem in A.H. 438 (A.D. 1047), states that he saw the inscription and read it thus, "length 704 gez, breadth 455; the gez (ell = dhirâ') being the royal gez." Ali of Herât, who wrote about the year A.D. 1200, read the numbers of the inscription as "700 and 455." The earliest notice of this measurement, however, that I have met with in Arab writers is that given in the work of the Spanish traveller, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (who died in A.H. 328 = A.D. 940). Without any mention of the inscription on the slab, he states the length and breadth of the Haram Area to be respectively 784 and 455 ells, the ell used being the *Imâm* ell. Thus in his figures he agrees with the author of the Muthir; and his 'Imâm' ell, which is probably that of the Imâm Ali, is possibly the same as the Malik or royal ell. Lastly, and without any reference to Mons. C. Ganneau's discovery, Mons. Schefer, on the authority of M. Abrie Chancelier du Consulat de France à Jerusalem (p. 72 of his edition of Nâsir-i-Khusrau's Travels), states that on the stone which may still be seen in the northern wall of the Haram Area, may be read quite clearly, "length 750 ells, breadth 455 ells, of the royal ell." Mons. Ganneau, however, is of opinion, that whatever else it be, the designation of the 'ell' in the inscription cannot be read, as the word 'al Malik' or royal, on account of the space and also of the number of strokes, yet distinguishable. So much then is the diversity of opinion, ancient and modern, about this very simple matter.

Now during the Caliphate of Omar a caravan of men arrived at the Holy City to make their prayers there. And one of them, a man of the Bani Tamim, named Shuraik ibn Habâshah, went off to get water (from the well). And his bucket falling down into the well, he descended to get it up. In the well he found a door opening into gardens, and passing through the door into the gardens, he walked therein. Then he plucked a leaf from one of the trees, and placing it behind his ear, he returned to the well and mounted up again. And the man went to the Governor of the Holy City and related to him of what he had seen in these gardens, and how he had come to enter therein. So the Governor sent men with him to the well and they descended, many people accompanying them, but they found not the door, neither did they attain to the gardens. And the Governor wrote to the Caliph Omar concerning it all, recalling how it was reported on tradition that one of the people of Islâm should enter the Garden of Paradise and walk therein on his two feet and yet live. Omar wrote in answer: "Look ye to the leaf; whether it be green and do not wither. If this be so, verily it is a leaf of Paradise, for naught of Paradise can wither or change; and it is recorded in the aforesaid Tradition of the Prophet that the leaf shall not suffer change."

Another version of the tradition runs as follows: Shuraik ibn Habâshah al Tamimî came into the Holy City to get water for his companions, and his bucket slipped from his hand, so he descended (into the well) to fetch it up. And a person called to him in the well saying, "Come thou with me," and, taking him by the hand, he brought him into the Garden of Paradise. Shuraik plucked two leaves, and the person then brought him back to where he had first found him. Then Shuraik mounted up out of the well, and when he rejoined his companions, he told them of all that had happened. The affair reached the ears of the Caliph Omar, and it was Ku'ab who remarked how it had been said (by the Prophet) *A man of this people of Islâm shall enter the Garden of Paradise and yet live*, adding, "Look ye to the

leaves; if they suffer change, then are they not of the leaves of Paradise, and if they change not, then must they verily be of the leaves of Paradise." And 'Utayyah asserts that the said leaves never after did suffer change.

According to another tradition (coming from Al Walid), Abu-n-Najm, who was Imâm (leader of prayer) to the people of Salamiyyah (Salaminias), and their Muezzin in the year 140, and died in the year 150, related that the people of Salamiyyah, many of whom were of the desert tribes, told him how they had themselves been well acquainted with Shuraik ibn Habâshah when he was living at Salamiyyah. And they were wont to inquire of him concerning his entrance into the Garden of Paradise, and what he saw therein, and of how he had brought leaves therefrom. And these people continued: We inquired further whether there yet remained by him any one of the leaves which he had plucked there; and when he answered us affirmatively, we asked to see the leaf, and the man called for his Kurâu, and took from between its pages a leaf that was entirely green and gave it into our hands. When we had returned it to him, after laying it over his eyes, he placed it back again between the pages of his Kurân. And when he was at the point of death, he enjoined that we should put this leaf on his breast under the shroud, and his last words were to conjure us that this should exactly be done. Al Walid continues: I inquired of Abu-n-Najm whether he had heard a description given of the leaf; he replied 'yes, that it was like the leaf of a peach tree (*Durâkin*), of the size of the palm of a hand, and pointed at the tip . . .'¹ Now the mouth of the Well of the Leaf is by the Aksa Mosque, on the left hand as you enter by the door facing the Mihrâb.²

¹ Many other similar accounts of the same tradition, follow, for a mass of legendary story has gathered round all that relates to the great water tanks excavated in the rock which underlies the Haram Area.

² Plan, n. I quote the last sentence as translated by Mr. Reynolds (p. 138), as a specimen of his method: "This well of the Leaves is situated at the entrance of the Mosque al Aksa, on the left of the gate of the courtyard of the towers." Mr. Reynolds always translates *Mihrâb* by "Tower."

CHAPTER VIII.

Account of the Spring of Silwân (Siloam) and of the other spring that was near thereto, and the Well which is called after our lord Job, and concerning the Pools. Also an account of the wonderful events which have taken place in the Holy City, and of what happened there at the time of the murder of 'Ali ibn Abu Tâlib and his son Al Husain, and of him who said that it was a place of refuge, and how he yearned for the people thereof. Also a description of the Talisman against serpents. Also the Mount of Olives, and the Plain called As Sâhirah, and the Holy Mountains, with an account of Jabal Kâsiyân in particular, and what is to be met with there.¹

. . .² The author of the *Kitab al Uns* gives the following account of the Well (Bir) which goes by the name of the Prophet Job;—'I have read a paper in the handwriting of my cousin Abu Muhammad al Kâsim,—who gave me permission to make use thereof—which states that he read in a certain book of history how once the water ran scarce among the people of the Holy City, and in their need they went to a well in the neighbourhood, which they descended to a depth of eighty ells. At its mouth the well was ten or more ells, by four ells across, and its sides were lined with masonry of large stones, some of which might measure even five ells, but most of those in the depth of the well were one or two ells only in length. A wonder was it how these stones had been set in their places. The water of the well was cold and wholesome to drink, and the people used thereof during all that year, getting it at a depth of eighty ells. But when the winter was come, the water rose abundantly in the well, till it overflowed the brink, and ran over the ground in the bed of the Wâdî, and turned mills for grinding flour. Now once (says Abu Mubammad), when there was scarcity of this water and of that in the 'Ain Silwân, I descended with some workmen to the bottom of the

¹ Reynolds, p. 139. The chapter opens with an account of the various traditions connecting the Virgin Mary with the 'Ain Silwân..

² Reynolds, p. 141, and see above, p. 252.

well to dig there, and I saw the water flowing out from under a rock the size of which was a couple of ells by the like in height, and there was a cavern the entrance of which was three ells high by an ell and a half across. From this cavern there rushed out an extremely cold wind, which made the lights nearly go out, and I perceived that the roof of the cavern was lined with masonry. On entering a short distance within it, the torches could not be kept alight by reason of the force of the wind which blew therefrom. This well is in the bed of the Wādī, and the cave is in its bed too, and above and all around are high steep hills, which a man cannot climb except with much fatigue. This also is the well of which He spake to His prophet Job, saying, "Stamp," said we, 'with thy foot. This (fountain) is to wash with; cool and to drink.'"¹ And so the account ends. . . .

Regarding now the pools that are in the Holy City.² On the report of Damrah from Ibn Abi Sūdāh, it is related that a certain king of the Kings of the Children of Israel named Ḥazqīl (Hezekiah) constructed six pools for the Holy City, namely, three within the city which are the Birkat Bani Isrā'īl, the Birkat Sulaimān, and the Birkat 'Iyād; and three without the city which are the Birkat Māmīlā and the two Birkats of Al Marjī'. And these he made to store the water for the people of the city.³

¹ Kurān xxxviii. 41. The overflowing of the waters of Job's Well, down the Kedron Valley, is of yearly occurrence. Whether this Well be the Fuller's Spring, En Rogel,—mentioned by Joshua (xi. 7) as on the boundary-line between the Tribes of Judah and Benjamin,—is still a matter of dispute. Robinson (*Biblical Researches*, 2nd ed. i. 332) asserts this to be the case without doubt; while Conder (*Handbook to the Bible*, p. 335) advocates the identification of En Rogel with Virgin's Fountains, higher up the Valley under the walls of Jerusalem.

² Reynolds, p. 145.

³ The Birkat (Pool) of the Children of Israel lies to the north of the Haram Area. Which the Birkat of Solomon may be, is matter of question, as also is the identification of the Pool of 'Iyād. This last takes its name from 'Iyād ibn Ghanam, a celebrated Companion of the Prophet (who died in A. H. 20 = A. D. 641), and has nothing to do with "Gad," as writes Mr. Reynolds (p. 145). The Pool of Mamilla lies a short distance west of the Jaffa Gate of Jerusalem. The Pools of Al Marjī' are those known as Solomon's Pools, some miles from Hebron; from these Pilate's Aqueduct brought the water to the city.

CHAPTER IX.

Account of the Conquest of the Holy City by the Commander of the Faithful 'Omar ibn al Khattáb, and what he did there in uncovering the Noble Rock from the dirt and dung thrown thereon. An account also of 'Abd al Malik ibn Marwán's building, and what he accomplished there. Also an account of the unique pearl that was hung over the middle of the Rock, and the two horns of Abraham's ram, and the crown of the Chosroes, all of which were transported thence to the Noble Ka'abah, at the time when the Caliphate passed to the House of 'Abbas. Also an account of the Conquest of the Holy City by the Franks, whereby it was taken from the hands of the Muslims, after 'Omar's Conquest; and how long it remained in the hands of the Christians. Further, the account of the Conquest thereof by the Sultan, the victorious king, Saláh ad Din Yusúf ibn Ayyúb, whereby it was taken back out of the hands of the Franks, and how he obliterated all trace of their sojourn there, and how he restored the Masjid to what it had been before, and to the condition in which it has remained even unto this day, and please Allah will so remain to the Day of Resurrection.¹

. . . ² The following is related as coming from Shadád ibn Aus, who accompanied Omar when he entered the Noble Sanctuary of the Holy City on the day when Allah caused it to be reduced by capitulation. And Omar entered by the Gate of Muhammad,³ crawling on his hands and knees, he and all those who were with him, until he came up to the Court (of the Sanctuary). There he looked around to right

¹ Reynolds, p. 154.

² Reynolds, p. 174. Suyúti has copied the whole of this part verbatim out of the Muthir, the text of which, from the Paris MSS., will be found on p. 227. From what sources this very curious account of Omar's proceedings in the Holy City was taken, I am unable to state. But I must repeat that there is nothing of all this in the works of the older annalists, from Tabari to Ibn al Athir. The greater portion of this chapter has already been given in English by the late Professor Palmer in the fourth chapter of his and Mr. Besant's joint work on "Jerusalem—the City of Herod and Saladin." I make no apology, however, for giving it again, for I am able to supply a better text than that on which Professor Palmer worked. Extracts from Suyúti's text, with a Latin version, had previously appeared, edited by P. Lemning, under the title *Commentatio philologica. Specimen libri Ithaf etc., auctore Kemálotoddino Muhammede etc. Hannie M.D.CCCXVII.*

³ Plan, K.

and to left, and, glorifying Allah, said, "By Allah, verily this, by Him in whose hands is my soul! must be the Mosque of David, of which the Apostle spake to us saying, 'I was conducted thither in the night journey.'" Then Omar advanced to the fore (or southern) part of the Haram Area and to the western side thereof, and said, "Let us make this the place for the Mosque."

On the authority of Al Walid ibn Muslim,¹ it is reported as coming from a Shaikh of the sons of Shadâd ibn Aus, who had heard it from his father, who held it of his grandfather, that Omar, as soon as he was at leisure from the writing of the Treaty of Capitulation made between him and the people of the Holy City, said to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, "Conduct us to the Mosque of David." And the Patriarch agreed thereto. Then Omar went forth girt with his sword, and with him 4000 of the Companions who had come to Jerusalem with him, all begirt likewise with their swords, and a crowd of us Arabs, who had come up to the Holy City, followed them, none of us bearing any weapons except our swords. And the Patriarch walked before Omar among the Companions, and we all behind the Khalif. Thus we entered the Holy City. And the Patriarch took us to the Church which goes by the name of the Kumâmah,² and said he, "This is David's Mosque." And Omar looked around and pondered, then he answered the Patriarch, "Thou liest, for the Apostle described to me the Mosque of David, and by his description this is not it." Then the Patriarch went on with us to a Church called that of (Sihyûn) Sion, and again he said, "This is the Mosque of David." But the Khalif replied to him, "Thou liest." So the Patriarch went on with him till he came to the Noble Sanctuary of the Holy City, and reached the gate thereof, called the Gate of Muhammad. Now the dung which was

¹ Al Walid ibn Muslim, the celebrated traditionist, was a freedman of the Omeyyads, and a native of Damascus. According to Nawâwi (ed. by Wüstenfeld, text. p. 618), he died in a.n. 191 or 195, aged 73.

² Al Kumâmah, literally, 'the Dung-hill.' This is a designed corruption on the part of the Muslims of 'Al Kavâmah,' 'Anastasis,' the name given to the Church of the Resurrection (the Holy Sepulchre) by the Christian Arabs.

then all about the Noble Sanctuary had settled on the steps of this gate, so that it even came out into the street in which the gate opened, and it had accumulated so greatly on the steps as almost to reach up to the ceiling of the gateway. The Patriarch said to Omar, "It is impossible to proceed and enter except crawling on hands and knees." Said Omar, "Even on hands and knees be it." So the Patriarch went down on hands and knees, preceding Omar, and we all crawled after him, until he had brought us out into the Court of the Noble Sanctuary of the Holy City. Then we arose off our knees and stood upright. And Omar looked around, pondering for a long time. Then said he, "By Him in whose hands is my soul! this is the place described to us by the Apostle of Allah."

And it is reported on other authority to the last, namely, from Hishâm ibn 'Ammâr, who had it from Al Haitham ibn Omar ibn al 'Abbâsi, who related that he had heard his grandfather, 'Abd Allah ibn Abu Abd Allah, tell how, when Omar was Khalif, he went to visit the people of Syria. Omar halted first at the village of Al Jâbiyah,¹ while he despatched a man of Jadilah to the Holy City, but shortly after he became possessed thereof by capitulation. Then Omar himself went thither, and Ka'ab was with him. Said Omar to Ka'ab, "O Abu Ishak, knowest thou the position of the Rock?" and he answered, "Measure from the wall which is on the Wâdi Jahannum so and so many ells; there dig and ye shall discover it," adding, "At this present day it is a dungheap." So they dug there, and the Rock was laid bare. Then said Omar to Ka'ab, "Where sayest thou we should place the Mosque, or rather the Kiblah?" Ka'ab replied, "Lay out a place for it behind the Rock, whereby you will make one the two Kiblahs, that, namely, of Moses, and that of Muhammad." But Omar answered him, "Thou hast leanings still towards the Jews, O Abu Ishak. The Mosque shall be in front of the Rock (not behind it)." And so the Mosque was erected in the fore part of the Haram Area.

¹ In Jaulân.

And on the like authority as the foregoing, and as an addition to what has been said above on the warranty of Ibrahim ibn Abu 'Ablah al Mukaddasi, who had it of his father, saith he: Omar then came to the Holy City, and encamped on the Mount of Olives. And afterwards he descended therefrom, and he entered the Noble Sanctuary by the Gate of the Prophet. Now, when he came to stand erect therein, he gazed to the right and to the left, and exclaimed, "By Him than whom there is no other God! this is the Mosque of Solomon the son of David, of which the Apostle of Allah related to us that he had been brought thereto by night." Then he went to the western part of the Noble Sanctuary and said, "Let us place the Mosque for the Muslims here, to be a place of prayer for them to pray in." And on the authority of Sa'id ibn 'Abd al 'Aziz it is related: When Omar conquered the Holy City, he found on the Rock great quantities of dung that the Greeks had thrown down here for an insult to the Children of Israel. And Omar spread his cloak, and began to sweep together all that dung, and so did also the Muslims who accompanied him. . . .

Further, Al Walid adds, on the authority of Sa'id ibn 'Abd al Aziz, that the Letter of the Prophet had come to the Kaisâr (Cæsar) while he was sojourning at the Holy City.¹ Now at that time there was over the Rock of the Holy City a great dungheap, which completely masked the Milrâb of David, and which some the Christians had put here in order to offend the Jews, and further even, the Christian women were wont to throw here their cloths and clouts, so that it was all heaped up therewith.² Now when the Cæsar had perused the letter of the Prophet,³ he

¹ In the year of the Hijrah 7, the Prophet despatched envoys to the Chosroe of Persia, and to the Cæsar of Byzantium, calling on them to acknowledge his mission as Allah's Apostle.

² The text here appears to me to be corrupt. The general sense, however, is plain enough.

³ As a specimen of Mr. Reynolds' method of translation, the following may be quoted from p. 170, representing the above passages:

"We are also informed by Al Walid that Sa'id Ibn-Abdul-Aziz said, A letter (an epistle) of the Prophet of God (upon whom be the mercy and peace of God!) came to Al Kais; and this it is — In the Bait-ul-Mukaddas, and upon the

cried and said, "O ye men of Greece, verily Ye are the people who shall be slain on this dungheap, for that ye have desecrated the sanctity of this Mosque. And it shall be with you even as it was with the Children of Israel who were slain for the sake of the blood of Yahyâ ibn Zakariyyâ (John the Baptist)." Then the Cæsar commanded them to clear the place, and so they began to do, but when the Muslims invaded Syria only a third part thereof had been cleared. So when Omar had come to the Holy City and conquered it, and saw how there was a dungheap over the Rock, he regarded it as horrible, and ordered that it should be entirely cleared. And to accomplish this they forced the Nabathæans of Palestine to labour without pay. On the authority of Jabir ibn Nafir it is related that when Omar first exposed the Rock to view, by removing the dungheap, he commanded them not to pray there until three showers of heavy rain should have fallen. Al Walid further relates, as coming from Kulthûm ibn Ziyâd, that Omar asked of Ka'ab, "Where thinkest thou that we should put the place of prayer for Muslims in this Holy Sanctuary?" Said Ka'ab, in answer, "In the hinder (or northern) portion thereof, in the part adjoining the Gate of the Tribes," but Omar said, "Not so; seeing that, on the contrary, to us belongs the fore part of the Sanctuary," and he then proceeded to the fore part thereof. Al Walid again relates—on the authority of Ibn Shaddâd, who had it of his father—"Omar proceeded to the fore part of the Sanctuary Area to the side adjoining the west (*i.e.* to the south-west part), and there began to throw the dung by handfulls into his clonk, and we all who were with him did likewise. Then he went with it—and we following him to do the same—and threw it into the Wâdi which is called

Sakhrâ of the Bait-ul-Mukaddas, there shall be a great sewer, whereby the tower of David (on whom be salutation!) is spoiled by the injurious abuse of the lying Christians, in order to hurt the Jews, until those changing times shall come that the cities be stirred up to wrest the precinct from Greece. Then shall the Sakhrâ be met with. Therefore said Al Kais, when he read this epistle of the Prophet of God," etc., etc.

There is here a specimen of nearly every kind of blunder. A whole passage is interpolated, the very common word *Kaisar*, Cæsar, is read twice over as an Arab proper name, Al Kais.

Wādī Jahannum. Then we returned to do the like over again, and yet again,—he, Omar, and also we who were with him,—until we had cleared the whole of the place where the Mosque now stands. And there we all made our prayers, Omar himself praying among us. . . .

. . . .¹ Now when Omar made the capitulation with the people of the Holy City, and entered among them, he was wearing at that time two long tunics (kamīs) of the kind called Sumbulānī.² He prayed in the Church of Mary, and when he had done so he spat on to one of his tunics. And it was said to him, "Dost thou spit here, because that this is a place in which the sin of polytheism has been committed?" and he answered, "Yea, verily the sin of polytheism hath been committed herein, but now in truth the name of Allah hath been pronounced here." It is further reported that Omar did carefully avoid praying near the Wādī Jahannum. . . .

³The Khalif 'Abd al Malik it was who built the Dome of the Rock and the (Aksa) Mosque of the Holy City, and according to report he devoted to the expenses of the same the revenues (kharāj) of Egypt for the space of seven years. The historian Sibṭ al Jauzī states in his work, the *Mirāt az Zamān*, that 'Abd al Malik began the building here in the year 69 of the Hijrah, and completed the same in the year 72. (A.D. 687-690). But others say that he who first built the Dome (of the Rock) of the Holy City was Sa'id the son of the Khalif 'Abd al Malik, and that he afterwards too restored it. Now on the authority of Rijā ibn Hayāh, and of Yazīd ibn Sallām,⁴ 'Abd al Malik's freedman, it is reported

¹ Reynolds, p. 182. The text of this passage is not from the *Muthīr*, and where Suyūṭī obtained it I do not know.

² Lane, in his great Dictionary (v. sub voce) says that the *Kamīs Sumbulānī* is a shirt ample in length, so as to reach down to the ground, and adds that it is so called in relation to a town or district in the Greek Empire. The Church of Mary (Kani-ah Maryam), here mentioned, may be the Church of the Virgin described by Procopius.

³ This is the beginning of the sixth chapter of the *Muthīr* (see p. 309 for the text). Reynolds, p. 184.

⁴ Abu'l Mikdam Rijā ibn Hayāh ibn Jarūl, of the Kemlah tribe, was a man celebrated for his learning, and a great friend of the Khalif Omar (II.) ibn 'Abd al Azīz. Yazīd ibn Sallām, his colleague, was a native of Jerusalem.

that on the occasion of the building the Dome of the Rock of the Holy City and the Aksa Mosque, the Khalif came himself from Damascus to Jerusalem, and thence despatched letters into all the Provinces, and to all the Governors of cities, as follows: "'Abd al Málík doth wish to build a Dome over the Rock in the Holy City, whereby to shelter the Muslims from heat and cold; as also a Mosque. But he wisheth not to do this thing without knowing the will of his subjects. Therefore let his subjects write to him their desires and whatever may be their will."¹ And letters came back to him from the governors of the Provinces which assured the Commander of the Faithful of the full approval of all men, and that they deemed his intention a fitting and pious one. And said they: "We ask of Allah to give completion to what the Khalif doth undertake in the matter of building in the Noble Sanctuary, and the Dome therein and the Mosque; and may it succeed under his hand, for it is a noble deed both for him and for those who follow after him." Then the Khalif brought together craftsmen from all parts of his empire, and commanded that they should set forth the proportions and elevation of the building before they began to build the Dome itself. So they laid out the plan thereof in the Court of the Haram Area.² And he commanded them to build a Treasure House on the east side of the Rock, and the same is the building which stands close beside the Rock.³ So they began to build: And the Khalif set apart great sums of money, and instituted to be overseers thereof Rijā ibn Hayāb, and Yazid ibn Sallām, commanding them to spend the same, and giving

¹ The text as given in the Muthīr (p. 300) is, I think, corrupt; but there can be no doubt of the general import.

² I am by no means sure of my translation of this passage. If we read *Suffat-al-Kubbat*, it would mean "the porch of the Dome," i.e. one of the porches at the four gates. I prefer, however, to read *Sifat*, and to translate as I have done. Mujir ad din in the corresponding passage (p. 241 of the Bulāq text, printed in A.H. 1283) gives quite a different reading. What he says is: "And 'Abd al Málík carefully described to the artificers what he wished to be built, and how it should stand. And while he remained in the Holy City, the architects built for him the small Dome which stands to the east of the Dome of the Rock, and is now called the Dome of the Chain. And this he so much admired that he ordered the Kubbat as Sakhrāh (the Dome of the Rock) to be built like it."

³ Now called the Dome of the Chain, Plan, c.

them authority therein. So they made expenditure for digging the foundations, and building up the structure, until the moneys were near to be all expended. Now when the edifice was complete and solidly constructed, so that not a word could be said for improvement thereto, they wrote to the Khalif at Damascus: "Allah hath given completion to what the Commander of the Faithful commanded concerning the building the Dome over the Rock of the Holy City, and the Aksa Mosque also. And no word can be said to suggest improvement thereto: And verily there remaineth over and above of what the Commander of the Faithful did set apart for the expense of the same,—the building being now complete and solidly built,—a sum of 100,000 (gold) dinârs. Let the Commander of the Faithful expend the same in whatever matter seemeth good to him." And the Khalif wrote to them in reply: "Let this then be a gift unto you two for what ye have accomplished in the building of this noble and blessed house." But to this they sent in answer:—"Nay rather, first let us add to this the ornaments of our women and the superfluity of our wealth, and then do thou expend the whole in what seemeth best to thee." So the Khalif wrote to command them to melt down the sum and apply it to the adornment of the Dome. And all this sum was melted down and laid out to adorn the Dome of the Rock, to such an extent that it was impossible by reason of the gold thereon for any one to keep the eye fixed and look at it.

They prepared also two coverings to go over the Dome, of felts and of skins of animals, and the same was put over it in the winter to preserve it from the rains and the winds and the snows. Rijâ ibn Hayâh and Yazid ibn Sallâm also surrounded the Rock with a lattice-screen of Sâsim (or ebony wood), and outside the screen they hung between the columns curtains of brocade.¹ Each day fifty-and-two

¹ Mr. Reynolds' translation (p. 187) of the foregoing passages is so remarkable that I quote it, in further proof of my assertion that his work needs emendation. 'Then he [the Caliph] wrote to them, "A great sum hath been expended and paid by the public for the chapel; therefore I will spend and lay out upon it (money for the purchase of) that which every one may look at—gold work, and ornament

persons were employed to pound and grind down saffron, working by night also, and leavening it with musk and ambergris, and rose-water of the Jûri rose. At early dawn the servants appointed entered the Bath of Sulaimân¹ ibn 'Abd al Malik, where they washed and purified themselves before proceeding to the Treasure Chamber (al Khazânah), in which was kept the (yellow perfume of saffron called) Khulûk. And, before leaving the Treasure Chamber, they changed all their clothes, putting on new garments made of the stuffs of Marv and Herât, also shawls (of the striped cloths of Yaman) called 'Aşb, and taking jewelled girdles they girt them about their waists. Then bearing the jars of Khulûk in their hands, they went forth and anointed therewith the stone of the Rock, even as far as they could reach up to with their hands, spreading it all over the same. And for the part beyond that which they could reach, having first washed their feet, they attained thereto by mounting on the Rock itself, anointing all that remained thereof, and by this the jars of Khulûk were completely emptied. Then they brought censers of gold and of silver filled with aloes wood of Kimâr (in Java), and the incense called Nadd, compounded with musk and ambergris, and letting down the curtains between the columns, they swung to and fro the censers, and the incense would rise into all the space between the columns and the Dome above by reason of the quantity thereof. Which done and the curtains again drawn up, the censers were carried outside the building, whereby the sweet smell went abroad, even to the entrance of the market beyond, so that all who passed therein could scent the perfume. After this the censers were extinguished. Proclamation then was made by criers from before the screen,—“The Sakhrâh, verily, is

a sort of common part (which all may be permitted to behold), of mosaic, outside; and there also, a second, to be a covering against rain and wind and snow.” But Rijab-ibn-Haywah and Yazid ibn Salâm had already surrounded it with a screen of lattice-work, with small interstices, and a curtain of silk hanging loosely between pillars.

¹ The MSS. of Suyûti give “Hammâm Sulaimân” only, as though it were King Solomon. I have found no notice of this bath elsewhere. The Jûri rose is named from the town of Jûr or Gûr, in Persia, afterwards called Fairûzâbâd, which was so celebrated for its roses as to be surnamed *Dalud al Ifarâ*, the City of Roses (see Yakût, ii. 147).

open for the people, and he who would pray therein, let him come." The people hastened to come and make their prayer in the Sakhrâh, the most of them performing two Rika'ahs,¹ while some few acquitted themselves of four. And after, he who had thus said his prayers had gone forth again, they would perceive on him the perfume of the incense, and say, "Such a one has been in the Sakhrâh." (After the prayer-time is over, the servants) wash off with water the marks left by the people's feet, cleaning everywhere with green myrtle (brooms), and drying with cloths.² Then the gates are closed, and for guarding each were appointed ten chamberlains, since none might enter the Sakhrâh, except the servants thereof, on other days than the Monday and the Friday.

On the authority of Abu Bakr ibn al Hârith, it is reported that during the Caliphate of 'Abd al Malik the Sakhrâh was entirely lighted with (oil of) the Midian Bân (the Tamarisk or Myrobalan) tree, and oil of Jasmin,³ of a lead colour. And the chamberlains had said to the Khalif, "O Abu Bakr, command for us candelabra with lamps (kandil) in which we may put oil, for the same would be more agreeable unto us." And the Khalif granted them their request. Such are the matters which pertain to the days of the Caliphate of 'Abd al Malik.

Saith Al Walid, it hath been related to me by 'Abd ar Rahman ibn Mansur ibn Thâbit, who said, I have it of my father, who had it of his father, and he from his grandfather,

¹ Prayer prostrations.

² What *Mashûk* or *Masûk* mean I do not know; the word is omitted in the MSS. of Suyûfi. Mr. Reynolds has completely misunderstood these paragraphs. I quote a single passage (p. 189), that, namely, which is supposed to give the translation of the above sentence. "Then the men went out; and whosoever smelt the smell of their incense said, This is from some one who has entered the Sakhrâ; and they washed the soles of their feet, and slightly passed a moistened hand over their face, at the threshold of St. George, and napkins were wetted, and gates were split open (i.e. although they only slightly wetted their faces, and then wiped them with a napkin, yet, from the number who did this, the napkins were entirely wet, and from the rush of their entrance the gates were split open). Also at every gate were ten beads," etc. I need hardly point out that the commentary introduced with "i.e." is as much beside the mark as the remainder of the translation. The text of all this may be seen on p. 302.

³ The MSS. read, some *Zambak*, which is 'Oil of Jasmin,' and some *Zibak*, which is 'Quicksilver.' If the latter be right, and it concurs better with *ar-rasîsî* 'of lead,' I fail to comprehend how the Mosque was lighted with 'Quicksilver of lead.' Mr. Reynolds offers no solution, for he leaves these words out.

that in the days of 'Abd al Malik there was suspended from the chain hanging down in the middle of the Dome of the Rock a single unique pearl, also the two horns of the Ram of Abraham, and the Crown of the Cosroes. But when the Caliphate passed to the Abbasides, they had all these transported to the Ka'abah, which may Allah preserve.

On the authority of the Hâfidh ibn 'Asâkir, the testimony going back to Abul Ma'âli Al Mukaddasi,¹ it is related how 'Abd al Malik built the Dome of the Rock and the Aksa Mosque; which, further, is inserted by the author of the Muthîr al Gharâm in his seventh chapter,² citing 'Ukbah as his authority, and continuing to the following effect: Now in those days there were in use in the Mosque 6000 beams of wood for the ceilings, besides the beams for the wooden pillars. And the doors were 50 in number. There were 600 pillars of marble, and seven Mibrâbs, and of chains for suspending the candelabra 400 minus 15 (i.e. 385), of which 230 were in the Aksa Mosque, and the remainder (i.e. 155) in the Dome of the Rock. The length of all these chains put together was 4000 ells, and their weight 43,000 Syrian (pounds or) ratls.³ There were 5000 lamps, and in addition to these they were wont to light 2000 wax candles on Friday nights, and on the middle nights of the months of Rajab, Sha'aban, and Ramadhân, as also on the nights of the Two (Great) Festivals. (In the various parts of the Haram Area) are 15 (small) Domes, besides the (Great) Dome of the Rock, and on the Mosque roof there were 7700 sheets of lead, each sheet weighing 70 ratls, Syrian measure, and this did not include what was on the roof which covered the Dome of the Rock. All this was of that which was done in the days of 'Abd al Malik. And this Khalif appointed for the perpetual service of the Noble Sanctuary 300 servants, who were (slaves) purchased with moneys of the Royal Fifth from the Treasury; and as these servants in time died off, each man's

¹ See above, p. 253.

² See p. 303.

³ The ratl (from the Greek λίτρα) is of about 6 lbs. English.

son, or his son's son, or some member of his family, was appointed in his place. And so the service has continued on for all time, generation after generation; and they receive their rations from the public treasury. In the Haram Area there are 24 great water cisterns, and of minarets 4, to wit, three in a line on the west side of the Noble Sanctuary, and one that rises above the Báb al Asbát (Gate of the Tribes). And among the servants of the Haram there were Jews, from whom was exacted no poll-tax; originally there were ten men, but their families increasing the number rose to twenty, and it was their business to sweep up the dust left by the people at the times of visitation both in summer and in winter, and also to clean the places of ablution that lay round the Aksa Mosque. There were also ten Christian servants of the Noble Sanctuary, whose office went by inheritance likewise. These made and likewise swept the mats of the Mosque. They also swept out the conduits which carried the water into the cisterns, and as well attended to the keeping clean of the cisterns themselves, and other such service. And among the servants of the Sanctuary, too, were another company of Jews who made the glass plates for the lamps, and the glass lantern bowls, and glass vessels and rods. And it was appointed that from these men also no poll-tax was to be taken, nor from those who made the wicks for the lamps, and this exemption continued in force for all time, both to them and their children who inherited the office after them, even from the days of 'Abd al Malik, and so for ever.

On the authority of 'Abd ar Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn Mansur ibn Thâbit from his father, who had it from his grandfather, it is reported that in the days of 'Abd al Malik all the gates of the Mosque were covered with plates of gold and of silver. But during the reign of Abu'Ja'far al Mansûr, in the year 130 (A.D. 746), both the eastern and the western portions of the Mosque fell down, and it was reported to the Khalif, saying, "O Commander of the Faithful, the earthquake hath thrown down the eastern part of the Mosque and the western part thereof also, now therefore give orders

to rebuild the same and raise it again." And the Khalif replied that as there were no moneys in his treasury, (to supply the lack of coin) they should strip off the plates of gold and of silver that overlaid the gates. So they stripped these off and coined therefrom dinârs and dirhems, which were expended on the rebuilding of the Mosque, even till it was completed. Then occurred the second earthquake, and the building that Al Mansûr had commanded to be built fell to the ground. In the days of Al Mahdi, who succeeded him, the Mosque was still lying in ruins, which, being reported to him, he commanded them to rebuild the same, adding that the Mosque had been (of old) too narrow, and of too great a length,—and for this reason it had not been used by the people,—so now in rebuilding it they were to curtail its length and increase its breadth. The restoration of the Mosque was completed on this plan during his reign. In the year 452 (A.D. 1060) the Great Lantern (Tannûr) that hung in the Dome of the Rock fell down, and there were in it 500 lamps. Those of the Muslims who were there augured evil therefrom, saying, "Of a surety there will happen some portentous event in Islâm."

Al Walid further writes, on the warranty of Abu 'Amir ibn Damrah, who said it on the authority of 'Atâ, who had it of his father, that in early days it was the Jews who were appointed to light the lamps in the Noble Sanctuary, but that when Omar ibn 'Abd al Aziz¹ came to reign, he deprived them of this office, and set in their place servants who had been purchased with moneys of the Royal Fifth. And a certain man of these servants, a slave bought of the Royal Fifth, came once to him and said, "Give me manumission, O Khalif!" but Omar answered, "How then! for verily I cannot emancipate thee! but shouldst thou depart (of thine own accord), behold I have no power over a hair even of the hairs of thy dog!"²

¹ The Omeyyad Khalif, who reigned at Damascus A.H. 99-101 (A.D. 717-720).

² The remainder of this chapter is devoted to an account of the taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, and its re-conquest by Saladin: the details of which being matters of history, and fully treated of in other works, need not detain us here.

CHAPTER X.

An account of those who have entered the Holy City, of the various Prophets, and also of the Companions of the Prophet and of their Followers, and others besides. Further, an enumeration of such of them as have died and been buried in the Holy City. Also how all nations—with the exception of the Samaritans—do hold in honour the Holy City.¹

CHAPTER XI.

Concerning the excellences of our lord Abraham the Friend, and the excellences of visitation to his abode. And an account of his birth, with the story of how he was thrown into the fire. Also of his hospitality and generosity. Also how he is the Friend of Allah, and how this title is peculiar to him. Account of his circumcision, and of his wearing breeches, and of the greyness of his hair; also of his kindness and goodness to all men, and of his benevolent ways and agreeable manners, such as none before him had ever shown forth, and which may be as an ensample and rule of conduct to all who come after him. Also an account of his life and the story of his death, and of the garment he shall put on on the Day of Resurrection.²

CHAPTER XII.

Concerning Abraham's temptation in the matter of the Sacrifice, and of his own son who was the victim. Also the life of Isaac, and the age that his father and mother had attained at the time of his birth. An account of his mother Sarah, and the exception in her favour as to her prophesying, and as to her being able to prophesy; also notice of such other women beside her who did so. The story of Jacob and his life, also incidents from the history of his son Joseph, his appearance, and how many years he was parted from his father Jacob, and how long he was estranged from him. And of his sepulture, and what time elapsed between him and Moses.³

¹ Reynolds, p. 250.

² Reynolds, p. 320.

³ Reynolds, p. 354.

CHAPTER XIII.

Description of the Cave in which Abraham and his children were buried; and how the same was bought from the king of that country by name 'Afrîn (Ephron the Hittite). And who was the first to be buried in that cave, and what are the monuments over the graves therein, and what proof there is of the genuineness of the graves. How Solomon built the Sepulchre that is there, and of the advantages to be derived from visiting the above-mentioned tombs. The discovery of the place of Joseph's sepulture; also how the place around the tombs came to be a Mosque, and of permission to enter therein, and how it was called the Haram. Also of the lands given in fief by the Prophet to Tamîm ad Dâri and those of his tribe who came with him, and the deed which the Prophet wrote for them in witness thereof.

. . .¹ It is reported by Ibn 'Asâkir, on a chain of tradition going back to Ka'ab al Ahbar, that the first person who died and was buried at Hebron was Sarah. . . . Then Abraham himself died and was buried at her side. Then Isaac's wife Rebecca died and was buried there, and Isaac himself later was buried beside his wife. When Jacob died, he was buried at the mouth of the cave, and when his wife Likâ (Leah) came also to die, she was buried beside him. Then the sons of Jacob met together, and also Esau and his brethren, and they said, "Let us leave the entrance of the cavern open, so that when any die he may be buried therein." But afterwards a dispute arose among them, and one of the brothers of Esau, or, as some say, one of the sons of Jacob, raised his hand and struck Esau a blow that caused his head to fall off and roll into the cave. And they carried forth his body and buried it without the head, for the head remained within the cave. And the cave they closed by a wall. Then over each grave they erected a monument, inscribing on each severally "This is the tomb of Abraham," "This is the tomb of Sarah," and so forth, after which they all departed, closing the gates. . . .²

¹ Reynolds, p. 359.

² The following curious account of a visit to the Cave of Machpelah has been copied by Suyûti verbatim from Chapter XV. of Ishak al Khatîb's "History of Hebron," mentioned above, p. 252.

Muhammad ibn Bakrân ibn Muhammad al Khatib, who was Khatib (Preacher) of Abraham's station, has reported as having heard Muhammad ibn Ahmad the grammarian relate the following; and it is given in his own words: Once I went with the Kâdi Abu 'Amr 'Othmân ibn Ja'far ibn Shâdhân to visit the tomb of Abraham—upon him peace. We had sojourned there for the space of three days, when, on the fourth, the Kâdi approached the inscription which is facing the tomb of Rebecca, Isaac's wife, and ordered it to be washed, that the writing thereon might be made clear; and he set me to copy all that was on the stone, in exact facsimile, on a roll of paper that we had brought. And after this he returned to Ar Ramlah;¹ where he brought together men of all tongues to read what was thereon, but no one among them was able to interpret it; but they agreed that the same was in the language of the ancient Greeks, and that if any one there were who knew how to read it, it would be a certain Shaikh of Aleppo. So the Kâdi Abu 'Amr sent expressly to this Shaikh requesting his presence at Ar Ramlah, and when he had arrived he caused me also to be present. And behold he that was come was a very ancient man; and this Shaikh from Aleppo dictated to me as follows, being the translation of what I had copied: "In the divine and adored Name, the sublime, the mighty, the well-directing, the strong, the powerful! Verily the mound which is facing this is the Tomb of Rebecca, the wife of Isaac, and that which lies near thereto is the Tomb of Isaac. The great mound over against this is the Tomb of Abraham the Friend, and the mound which faces it on the eastern side is the Tomb of Sarah his wife. The further mound, which lies beyond that of the Tomb of Abraham the Friend, is the Tomb of Jacob, and the mound adjoining it is the Tomb of Îliyâ (Leah), Jacob's wife. And Esau wrote this with his own handwriting."

² [Further, Muhammad ibn Bakrân speaks of another

¹ At that time the capital of Filastin.

² This second account is omitted by Suyûfi.

account, and that the copy of the inscription cut on the above-mentioned stone, lying to the east, stated that the head of Adam—peace be on him—was therein, the interpretation thereof being as follows:—"In the divine and adored Name, the high, the mighty, the victorious, the strong, the puissant—this mound which lies near this inscription is the Tomb of Rebecca, the wife of Isaac, and the mound thereto adjacent westwards is the Tomb of Isaac. The great mound which lies on the opposite side, and corresponding thereto, is the Tomb of Abraham, and the mound which is facing this to the east thereof is the Tomb of his wife Sarah. The mound that lies farthest off, but in a line with the Tomb of Abraham the Friend, is the Tomb of Jacob, and the mound adjacent thereunto and to the east thereof, is the Tomb of his wife Iliyâ—the benediction of Allah and His mercy and His blessing be upon them all, for purity lieth in His grace."

These then are the two accounts.] Muhammad ibn Bakrân Al Khatîb notes that the name of (Leah) Jacob's wife is Iliyâ, but that in some books her name is written Layâ (or Liyâ), and she is known also as Liqa, but Allah knows alone the truth thereof. The Kâdi mentioned in the first account—Abu Amr 'Othman ibn Ja'afar ibn Shâdhân—was a judge of high renown and well known; the narrator of the account, however, was not certain as to the exact name of his father; I have reason to believe that he was 'Othman son of Muhammad ibn Shâdhân. He was Kâdi (Judge) of Ar Ramlah during the Khalifate of Ar Râdi billah, in the year 320 and odd (A.D. 932), and the years following. He is an authority for Traditions, which he held at many hands, and a great number of very learned Traditionists also cite him as their authority.

The Hâfiz Ibn 'Asâkir writes: In a certain book of Traditions I read and copied the following: 'Muhammad ibn Bakrân ibn Muhammad al Khatîb—who was Khatîb of the Masjid of Abraham the Friend—states (having heard it from Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Ali ibn Ja'afar al Anbari, who himself had heard Abu Bakr al Askâfi give the

account), as follows: "With me it is of a surety that the Tomb of Abraham is at the spot now shown as the same, for I have looked on it and seen it with my own eyes. And it was after this manner:—I had expended great sums, amounting to nearly 4000 dinârs, on the Holy Place and its Guardians, hoping thereby to obtain favour of Allah—may He be exalted—and I wished also to convince myself of the exactitude of what was reported concerning (Abraham's tomb). So when the hearts (of the Guardians of the Holy Place) were won by all that I had done there in the way of pious deeds and generous giving, and in the making of presents, and honourably entreating of them, and other such bounties, I proposed to get at the root of the truth which my heart desired to know. So, on a certain day, I said to the Guardians, when we were all assembled together, 'I would fain ask of you to conduct me to the door of the Cave, that I may descend therein and be a witness for myself (of the tombs) of the Prophets. The Benediction of Allah and His mercy be upon them.' The Guardians answered me, 'We would certainly agree to do this for thee, for thou hast put us greatly in thy debt, but at this present time the matter is impossible, for travellers are constant in arriving,—but do thou have patience till the winter shall have come.' And when the month of the II. Kanûn (January) was entered, I went to them again, but they said to me, 'Remain with us yet awhile until the snow falls.' So I remained with them till the snow fell. Now when the travellers had ceased coming, the Guardians brought me to where was the stone which lies between the Tomb of Abraham the Friend and that of Isaac,—Peace be on them both,—and they raised this slab, and one of them, a man of the name of Sa'ûk, a just man, who did many pious works, prepared to descend to guide me. And he descended, and I with him and following him. We went down seventy-two steps, until we came to a place on the right as it were a great bier built of black stones—even like a merchant's stall in the bazaar—whereon lay the body of an aged man, on his back, long-bearded and hairy of cheek, with clothes of a green colour upon him. Said

Sa'lûk to me, 'This is Isaac—peace be on him!' Then we went a little further, and came to a yet larger bier than the first, and upon it extended on his back lay an aged man, the hair on his breast already whitened with age, and his head and beard and eyebrows and eyelashes white also. Under his white hair there appeared green garments, which covered his body and also the greater part of the bier, and the wind blew about his white locks to right and to left. Said Sa'lûk to me, 'This is Abraham the Friend,' and I threw myself upon my face glorifying Allah—may He be praised and magnified—for what He had vouchsafed to me. Then we continued on yet again and came to a smaller bier, on which lay an old man, with a face much browned by the sun, and a thick beard. On his body there were green clothes, which covered him over. Said Sa'lûk to me, 'This is Jacob, the Prophet—on him be Peace!' Then we turned to go to the right, as though to go to the Harem." "At this point (says Muhammad al Anbari) Abu Bakr al Askâfi swore to me that his story must end. So I arose from beside him, the time of the visit and his telling me of all this having drawn to a close. But at my convenience I went later to the Masjid Ibrahim (Hebron), and, coming to the Mosque, inquired for Sa'lûk. Said they to me, 'In an hour he will be here.' And when he came, I went to him, and sitting down beside him, began to tell him part of the story. But he looked on me with an eye that would have denied all knowledge of the circumstances related by me. Then I turned towards him to gain his favour, and showed him that I was free of evil intent, for that Abu Bakr al Askâfi was as my paternal uncle, whereby he began to incline to me. And I said to him, 'O Sa'lûk, by Allah! when ye did turn as though to go towards the Harem, what happened, and what was it that ye saw?' And he said to me, 'But did not Abu Bakr tell thee thereof?' I answered, 'I desire to hear of it from thee.' Then said he, 'We heard, as coming from out near the Harem, a voice of one crying—*Depart ye from the Harem! and Allah have mercy on you*—and we fell down and lost all sense. After a time we came to ourselves again

and arose, but we despaired of life, and our companions (above) had despaired of us also.'

The Shaikh further told me that Abu Bakr al Askâfi lived on but a few days after he had related to him this account, and Sa'lûk also died shortly after—Allah have mercy on them both."¹

¹ I have given this curious account in extenso, for it has been copied by many later Arab historians and abridged. The following version of this and also a notice of another visit to the Cave has appeared to me worth translating from the pages of Yakût's great Geographical Dictionary (ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. ii. p. 468, s.v. Al Khalil).

The place is called Al Khalil; originally, however, it was named Habrûn, and also Habrâ; and in the Books of Moses it is written how Al Khalil (the Friend of God, Abraham) bought a piece of ground from Afrûn ibn Sûhâr al Haithi (Ephron the son of Zoehar the Hittite) for four hundred dirhems of silver, and buried therein Sarah. Many of the Traditionists are of this town; and it is a pleasant, wholesome, and agreeable place, wherein many blessed sights are to be seen. It is said that its fortress was built by Solomon the son of David. Al Harawi relates as follows: "I went to Jerusalem in the year 567 (A.D. 1172), and both there and at Hebron I made the acquaintance of certain Shaikhs, who informed me that in the year 513 (A.D. 1119), during the reign of King Bardawil (Baldwin II.) a certain part over the Cave of Abraham had given way, and that a number of the Frauks had, by the King's permission, made their entrance therein. And they found (the bodies of) Abraham and Isaac and Jacob—peace be upon them—their shrouds having fallen to pieces, lying propped up against a wall. Over each of their heads were lamps, and their heads were uncovered. Then the King, after providing new shrouds, caused the place to be closed once more." Al Harawi continues: "I once read, when attending the lectures of As Sufî, that a certain man, who is called the Armenian, being of a mind to make his visitation at Hebron, gave large sums in presents to the Guardians (of the shrine), and had asked one of them whether it were not possible for him to take him down to see the (body of the) Patriarch—on whom be peace. The man replied that at that time it was not possible, but that if he would wait till the press of pilgrims was over, that he could do it. And so (when the time of the pilgrimage) was passed, he raised up a stone flag (in the floor of the Mosque), and taking a lamp with him, he and the other descended some seventy steps to a spacious cavern. The air here was blowing freely, and there was a platform on which lay extended (the body of) Abraham, peace be on him, clothed in green garments, and the wind as it blew tossed about his white locks. At his side lay Isaac and Jacob. And the guide went on with him to the walls of the cavern, telling him that behind the wall lay Sarah, and he had in intention to show him what was beyond the wall, but lo! a voice cried out, saying, 'Dewarre, for it is the Haram!' The narrator adds that he returned and came up by the way he had gone down."

The person quoted by Yakût is Abu'l Hasan Ali al Harawi (of Herât), who died in A.H. 611 (A.D. 1215) at Aleppo, and wrote a book describing the Holy Places of Palestine, of which work a MS. exists in the Bodleian Library. In Ibn al Athîr's Chronicle, under the events of the year 513 (A.D. 1119), that is in the very year mentioned by Al Harawi, there is the notice "That in this year was opened the Tomb of Abraham, and those of his two sons Isaac and Jacob, at a place near the Holy City. Many people saw them. Their limbs had nowise been disturbed, and beside them were placed lamps of gold and of silver."

All the extant notices of visits to the sepulchres of the Patriarchs at Hebron are ably brought together and discussed by Comte Riand, in a paper inserted at p. 411 of the Archives de l'Orient Latin, vol. ii. 1854. On Hebron in general, the note given by M. Quatremère in the Appendix (p. 239) to vol. i. part ii. of his Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks (one of the most useful of the Oriental Translation Fund Publications), may with advantage be consulted.

CHAPTER XIV.

Concerning the birth of Ishmael and how he went to Mekkah, also how our lord Abraham rode thither on the steed Al Burák to visit him and his mother Hagar. Also of Hagar's death and burial, and Ishmael's age and his burial, and how many were the years that elapsed between his death and the birth of the Prophet Muhammad.¹

CHAPTER XV.

The story of Lot, and the place of his sepulture. Also description of the Cave which is below the Old Mosque, and facing it on the west. And of the Mosque al Yakin, and the Cave which lies to the west thereof.²

The Shaikh Abu 'Ukbah 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad, the Hanafite, of Marv, says, I have read in certain of the Lives of the Prophets that Lot lies buried in a village called Kafar Barik, lying about a farsakh from Masjid al Khalil (Hebron); and that in the cave to the west, beneath the Old Mosque, lie 60 Prophets, of whom 20 were also Apostles. And Lot's tomb has been a place of visitation and veneration from ancient times, the men of the age succeeding those who have gone before.

The author³ of the Kitáb al Badi' fi Tafsíl al Mamlakat al Islám, says that at a distance of a farsakh from Hebron is a small mountain which overhangs the Lake of Zughar. This is the site of Lot's Villages, and a Mosque has been built here by Abu Bakr as Sabáhi, in which is preserved Abraham's bedstead; it is sunk in the earth to the depth of an ell. It is related that when Abraham perceived the Villages of Lot before him in the air, he stood still there (or lay down), and cried out, "I testify that He is the Truth, the Certain (Al Yakin)." Hence this Mosque was named Masjid al Yakin.

At Tadmûri,⁴ however, states that he never found any one whose works he had read, among the writers of history, who

¹ Reynolds, p. 370.

² Reynolds, p. 377.

³ That is, the well-known geographer Al Mukaddasi.

⁴ At Tadmûri, the Palmyrene, is Abu'l Fidâ Ishák al Khabili, mentioned above, p. 252.

mentioned aught of Lot's death, or of his life, or of his tomb. Here ends the account. . . .

CHAPTER XVI.

*As to what is related concerning the burial-place of our lord Moses, and concerning his life, and his prayer at his place of sepulture. Also his benevolence to the people and his compassion for them. And mention of certain of his miracles and why he was called Moses, besides other matters.*¹

CHAPTER XVII.

*Concerning the excellence of Syria, and what has been said thereon of old and in the chronicles. Also the reason of its being called Ash Shâm (Syria), and the delineation of its frontiers. Also the Traditions of the Prophet relating to this land and its inhabitants, and its being the home of true believers and the centre pillar of Islâm. Also the prayer of the Prophet in favour of this land, and an account of all the places therein that are desirable places for visitation and holy places where prayers are granted. Also a general and particular advertisement of all that concerns the same.*²

¹ Reynolds, p. 378.

² Reynolds, p. 391. Suyûti's description of Damascus, and his account of the building of the Mosque by the Khalif al Walid is too lengthy to insert here. Besides, Suyûti is not an original authority on these points, and nearly all the information he gives may be found, in a slightly different form, translated into French, and inserted by Quatremère in a long note (vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 262) to his *Histoire des Sultans Mamelouks*. It may, however, be worth while to give what Suyûti writes of the political divisions of Syria, noting that on this subject he merely copies word for word what the author of the *Muthîr* had written in A.D. 1351. Mr. Reynolds has given not a few misreadings (p. 394, et seq.). The first town of Syria, says the *Muthîr*, is Bâlis (not Bayâs, as in R.), and the last Al 'Arish of Egypt. Syria is divided into five districts, namely—1. Filastîn, whose capital is Ilivâ (Elia), eighteen miles from Ar Ramlah, which is the Holy City, the metropolis of David and Solomon. Of its towns are Ascalon, Hebron, Sebastiah, and Nâbulûs. 2. Haurân, whose capital is Tiberias, with its lake, whereof mention occurs in the Traditions asent Gog and Magog; and 'tis said that at the time of the birth of him (i.e. the Prophet), whom Allah bless and keep in peace (*fi wahtî wilâdatihî sallâ Allahu 'alaihi wa salûm*), which Mr. Reynolds renders, "in the time of Walâlat"), the Lake overflowed. Of its territories are those of the Ghôr, the Yarmûk (Hieromaxi), and of Boisân (Bethshean, Scythopolis), which is the town of whose palm trees the Antichrist (ad Dajjâl) will enquire (Reynolds has, "from whose palm trees pitch is sought, whence its name Al 'Mijjalat, the Tigris"). Also the Jordan, more often called Ash Shari'ah. 3. The Ghûtah. Its capital is Damascus; Tripoli is on its coast. 4. Hims (Emessa); the name of the province, and of its chief town). Of its dependencies is the city of Salamaniah (Salamias. Reynolds writes 'Salamit'). 5. Kinnasrîn (not 'Kinnarin' as in Reynolds). Its chief town is Aleppo, and of its dependencies are Sarmin (not 'Samwil,' as in Reynolds) and Antioch.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MUTHÎR AL GHARÂM.¹

From the Fifth Chapter of the Muthîr al Gharâm.

² روى عن شداد بن اوس انه حضر مع عمر بن الخطاب رضى
حين دخل مسجد بيت المقدس يوم فتحها الله جل ثناؤه بالصلح
فدخل من باب محمد صلعم حبرا هو ومن معه حتى نظروا الى
صحنه ثم نظروا يمينا وشمالا ثم كبر ثم قال هذا والله او هذا والذى
نفسى بيده مسجد داود عم الذى اخبرنا رسول الله صلعم انه اسرى
به اليه وتقدم الى مقدمة مما يلي الغرب وقال نتخذ هاهنا مسجدا
قال الوليد ايضا اخبرنى ابن شداد عن ابيه عن جده ان عمر
لما فرغ من كتاب الصلح بينه وبين اهل بيت المقدس قال
لبطريقيا دلنى على مسجد داود عم قال نعم قال فخرج عمر متقلدا
بسيفه فى اربعة آلاف من اصحابه الذين قدموا معه متقلدين سيوفهم
وطايفه منا ممن كان عليا ليس عليا من السلاح الا السيوف
والبطريق بين يدي عمر فى اصحابه ونحن خلف عمر حتى دخلنا
مدينة بيت المقدس فدخلنا الكنيسة التى يقالون ليا كنيسة القمامة
وقال هذا مسجد داود قال فنظر عمر رضى وتامل فقال كذبت ولقد
وعتف لى رسول الله صلعم مسجد داود بسنة ما هى هذه قال فمضى
الى كنيسة يقال ليا صهيون فقال هذا مسجد داود فقال كذبت
فانطلق به الى مسجد بيت المقدس حتى انتهى به الى بابه

¹ The text is taken from the following MSS.:

Muthîr al Gharâm: A. Paris MS. Arab. 716
B. " " " 541
C. " " " 142
Collated with Suyûti's Ithâf: S. a. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 7326.
S. b. " " " 23339.
S. c. Paris MS. Suppl. Arab. 919.
S. d. " " Arab. 536.
S. e. " " 838.

² The translation of the following will be found on p. 275 *et seq.*

³ S. a. b. عليا

الذى يقال له باب محمد وقد انحدر ما فى المسجد من الزبالة على درج الباب حتى خرج الى الزقاق الذى فيه الباب وكثر على الدرج حتى كاد ان يلقى بسقفه¹ فقال له لا تقدر على ان تدخل الا حبراً قال عمر ربه ولو حبراً فحسبى بين يدي عمرو وحبونا خلفه حتى افضينا الى صخرة بيت المقدس واسترنا² فيه قياماً فنظر عمرو تامل ملياً ثم قال هذا والذى نفسى بيده الذى وصفه لنا رسول الله صلعم *

وعن هشام بن عمار عن البيهق بن عمر بن العباسى قال سمعت جدى عبد الله بن ابي عبد الله يقول لما ولى عمر بن الخطاب ربه زار اهل الشام فنزل الجابية وارسل رجلاً من جديلة الى بيت المقدس فانفتحها صلحاً ثم جاء عمرو معه كعب فقال يا ابا اسحاق اتعرف موضع الصخرة فقال اذرع من الحائط الذى يلى وادى جينم كذا وكذا ذراعاً ثم احفر فانك تجدها قال وهى يومئذ مزبلة فحفروا فنظرت لهم فقال عمر لكعب اين ترى ان يجعل المسجد او قال القبلة فقال اجعله خلف الصخرة فتجتمع القبلتين قبلة موسى وقبلة محمد صلعم فقال فاحيت اليهودية يا ابا اسحاق خير المسجد مقدمها قال فبناها فى مقدم المسجد * * *

وعن ابراهيم بن ابي عتبة المقدسى عن ابيه قال قدم عمر بن الخطاب ربه بيت المقدس وعسكر فى طور زيتا ثم انحدر فدخل من باب النبي صلعم فلما استوا فى المسجد نظر يمينا وشمالاً ثم قال هذا والذى لا اله الا هو مسجد سليمان بن داود الذى اخبرنا به رسول الله صلعم انه اسرى به اليه ثم اتى غربى المسجد وقال يجعل مسجد المسلمين هاهنا وعلى يطلون فيه *

¹ بثف الزبان
² استرنا

³ من مسجد
⁴ باب د.

وعن سعيد بن عبد العزيز قال لما فتح عمر بن الخطاب رفة بيت المقدس وجد على الصخرة زبلا كثيرا مما طرحتم الروم شيئا لبنى اسرائيل فبسط عمر رفة رآه فجعل يكنس ذلك الزبل وجعل المسلمون يكنسون. معه * وقال الوليد قال سعيد بن عبد العزيز جاء كتاب رسول الله صلعم الى قيصر وهو ببیت المقدس و على صخرة بيت المقدس مزبلة قد حاذت محراب داود مما القته النصارى عليا مشاركة للبيوت حتى ان المرأة لتبعث بخرق دمهيا من رومية فتلقى عليا فقال قيصر حين قرا كتاب رسول الله صلعم انكم يا معاشر الروم لخلقنا ان تقتلوا على هذه المزبلة بما انتبكم من حرمة هذا المسجد كما قتلت بنو اسرائيل على دم يحيى بن زكريا فامر بكشفها فاخذوا بذلك فقدم المسلمون الشام ولم يكشفوا منها الا ثلثيا فلما قدم عمر رفة بيت المقدس و فتحها و رآى ما عليا من المزبلة اعظم ذلك فامر بكشفها وسخر لها انباط فلسطين و روى عن جبير بن نفير قال لما جلى عمر المزبلة عن الصخرة قال لا تصلوا فيها حتى تصيبا ثلاث مطرات

قال الوليد وحدثنى كلثوم بن زياد ان عمر بن الخطاب رفة قال لكتب ابن تری ان يجعل على المسلمين من هذا المسجد قال فى موخره مما يلى باب الاسباط فقال كلا ان لنا مقدم المسجد قال فمضى الى مقدمه * قال الوليد وحدثنى ابن شداد عن ابيه ان عمر رفة مضى الى مقدمه مما يلى الغرب فمضى فى ثوبه من الزبل وحثونا فى ثيابنا و مضى و مضينا معه حتى التينه فى الوادى الذى يقال له وادى جيتهم ثم عاد و عدنا بمثلها حتى صلينا فيه فى موضع مسجد يصلى فيه جماعة فصلى عمر بنا فيه * * *

¹ ان كانت S. d. c. d. e. : C. ان كان S. a.

² حيفا S. a. e.

The Sixth Chapter of the Muthir al Gharám.

الفصل السادس* فى ذكر بنا عبد الملك بن مروان قبة الصخرة
ومتى كان ذلك البنيان *

وقال العلما بنى عبد الملك بن مروان رحمه الله مسجد
بيت المقدس سنة سبعين من الحجارة و حمل الى بنايه خراج
مصر سبع سنين وقال سبط بن الجوزى فى كتاب مرآة الزمان
ابتدا بنيانه فى سنة تسع وستين و فرغ منه سنة اثنى عشر
سبعين قال المصنف رحمه الله و يقال ان الذى بنا قبة بيت
المقدس و جدها سعيد بن عبد الملك بن مروان* روى عن
رجا بن حيوة و يزيد بن سالم مولى عبد الملك بن مروان ان عبد
الملك حين هم ببنا صخرة بيت المقدس و المسجد قدم من
دمشق الى بيت المقدس و بث الكتب فى جميع عمله الى
جميع الامصار ان عبد الملك قد اراد ان يبنى قبة على الصخرة
صخرة بيت المقدس تكن للمسلمين من الحرو البرد و المسجد فكرة ان
يفعل ذلك دون رأى رعيته فلتكتب الرعية اليه برايم و ما هم
عليه فوردت الكتب عليه يرى امير المؤمنين رايه موافقا. رشيدا
نسال الله تعالى ان يتم له ما نوى من بنا بيته و صخرته و مسجده
و يجرى ذلك على يديه و يجعله مكرمة له و لمن مضى من ملته
فجميع الصانع من جميع عمله كله و امرهم ان يصفوا له صفة القبة
و سميتها من قبل ان يبنيا فكرست له فى سخن المسجد و امران
يبنى بيت المال فى شرقى الصخرة و هو الذى فوق على حرف
الصخرة فاشحن بالاموال و وكل على ذلك رجا بن حيوة و يزيد

* The translation will be found on p. 250.

قبة الصخرة و مسجد النصى S.

حتى S.r.

سببها S.r.

بن سلام و على النفقة عليا و القيام باسرها و امرهم ان يفرضوا المال عليا افرانجا دون ان ينفقوه انفاقا و اخذوا فى البناء و العمارة حتى احكم و فرغ من البناء ولم يبق لمتكلم فيه كلام و كتب اليه بدمشق قد اتم الله ما امر به امير المؤمنين من بنا صخرة بيت المقدس و المسجد الاقصى و لم يبق لمتكلم فيه كلام و قد يبقى مما امر به امير المؤمنين من النفقة عليه بعد ان فرغ البناء و احكم ما به الف دينار فيصرفها امير المؤمنين فى احب الاشيا اليه فكتب اليهما قد امر بها امير المؤمنين لكما جائزة لما وليتما من عمارة ذلك البيت الشريف فكتبا بحن اولى ان نزيد من حلى نساننا فضلا عن اموالنا فاصرفنا فى احب الاشيا اليك فكتب اليهما تسبك و تفرغ على القبة فسبكت و افرغت على القبة فما كان احد يقدر ان يتاملها مما عليا من الذدب و هى لها جلالان من ليلود و من ادم من فوقه فاذا كان الشتا البسته ليكتبا من المطر و الرياح و الثلج * وكان رجا بن حيوة و يزيد بن ملام قد حفا الحجر بدرابزين من ساسم من فوق الدرابزين ستون ديباج مرخاة بين العمدة و كان كل يوم اثنين و خمسين يامرون بالزعفران ان يدق او يطحن ثم يعمل من الليل بالنسك المعنبر و الما ورد الجورى و يخمر من الليل ثم يامر الخدم بالغداة فيدخلون حمام سليمان بن عبد الملك يغتسلون و يتطيرون ثم ياتون الى الخزانة التى فيها الخلق فيلقون اثوابهم ثم يخرجون اثوابا جددا من الخزانة مرويا و هرويا و شيا يقال له العصب و يخرجون مناطق محلاة يشدون بها اوساطهم ثم ياخذون بقول الخلق ثم ياتون بها حجر الصخرة فيلطيحون ما قدروا ان تناله ايديهم حتى يغمروه كله فما لم تناله ايديهم غسلوا اقداءهم ثم يصعدون على

خلف C.

الصخرة حتى يلطخوا ما بقى منها ثم يرفع انية الخلق ثم ياتون
 مجامر الذهب والفضة و العود التمارى والند المطرى بالمسك و
 العنبر فترخى الستور حول الاعمدة كلها ثم ياخذون البخور حولها
 يدورون به حتى يحول بينهم وبين القبة من كثرته ثم تشمر الستور
 فيخرج البخور يفرج من كثرته حتى يبلغ الى راس السوق فيشم
 الريح من شمه وينقطع البخور من عندهم ثم ينادى فى صف
 البرازين¹ وغيرهم الا ان الصخرة تد فتحت للناس فمن اراد الصلاة
 فيها فليات فيظل مبادرين الى الصلاة فى الصخرة و اكثر الناس من
 يدرك ان يصلى ركعتين و اقلهم اربعا ثم يخرج الناس فمن شموا
 رائحته قالوا هذا ممن دخل الصخرة و تغسل اثار اقدامهم بالماء و
 تمشح بالاس الاخضر و تنشف² بالمشانى و المناديل و تغلق الابواب
 و على كل باب عشرة من الحجبة و لا تدخل الا يوم الاثنين او الخميس
 و لا يدخلها فى غيرهما الا الخادم * و عن حارث قال كنت اسرجها
 خلافة عبد الملك كلها بالبان المدينى و الزينق الرصاص³ قال و
 كانت الحجبة يقولون يا ابا بكر مر لنا بقنديل فندهن⁴ به و نطيب
 فكان يجيبهم الى ذلك فهذا ما كان يفعل. بيا خلافة عبد الملك
 كلها * و عن الوليد قال عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن منصور بن ثابت
 حدثنى ابنى عن ابيه عن جده قال كان فى السلسلة التى فى
 وسط القبة على الصخرة درة يتيمة و كرنا كبش ابراهيم و تاج كسرى
 معلقات فيها ايام عبد الملك فلما صارت الخلافة الى بنى هاشم
 حولها الى الكعبة حرجنا الله تعالى *

¹ سطر S. r.

² S. المرازين

³ بالمشانى C. بالمانى B.

⁴ الزينق الرصاصى نا. الزينق الرصاصى B.

⁵ H. and C. ندهن

The Seventh Chapter of the Muthir at Gharâm.¹

الفصل السابع * فيما اثره عبد الملك وغيره فى المسجد الاتصى
 و فى طوله و فى عرفه مستوفيا مستقصا *
 روى الحافظ ابن عساكر رحمه الله بسندة الى ابى المعالى المقدسى
 فذكر حديث بنا عبد الملك قبة الصخرة و المسجد الاتصى و قال
 عقبه و كان فيه فى ذلك الوقت من الخشب المسقف سوى اعمدة
 خشب ستة الاف خشبة و فيه من الابواب خمسون بابا و من العمد
 ستمائة عامود رخام و فيه من المحاريب سبعة و من السلال للقناديل
 اربعماية سلسلة ال ا خمس عشرة متبا مائتا سلسلة و ثلثون سلسلة
 فى المسجد و الباقى فى قبة الصخرة و ذرع السلال اربع الاف
 ذراع و وزنبا ثلاثة و اربعون الف رطل بالشامى و فيه من القناديل
 خمسة الاف قنديل و كان يسرج فيه مع القناديل الثا شعة فى
 ليالى الجمع و فى رجب و نصف شعبان و فى ليالى العيد و فيه
 من القباب خمس عشرة قبة سوى قبة الصخرة و على سطوح
 المسجد ملبس من شقات الرصاص سبعة الاف شقة و سبعمائة وزن
 الشبقة سبعون رطلا بالشامى غير الذى على قبة الصخرة و كل ذلك
 عمل فى ايام عبد الملك و رتب له من الخدم القوام ثلثمائة
 خادم اشترى له من خمس بيت المال كلما مات منيم ميت
 تام مكانه ولده و ولد ولده او من اهلهم يجرى عليهم ذلك ابدا ما
 تناسلوا و تقبضون بايديهم من بيت المال و فيه من الصاريح
 اربعة و عشرين غير حيا كبارا و فيه من المنابر اربع ثلاث متبا صف
 واحد غربى المسجد و واحد على باب الاسباط و كان له من الخدم
 اليتود عشرة رجال لا يوخذ منيم الجزية و تولدوا فصاروا عشرين

¹ The translation of this chapter will be found on p. 285.² A.B. المتابع، but C. and S. always المتابع

رجال كنس اوساج الناس فى المواسم والشتا والصيف ولكنس المظاهر
التي حول الجامع وله من الخدم النصارى من الرجال عشرة
اهل البيت يتوارثون خدمته لعمل الحصر وكنس حصر المسجد
وكنس القنى التي تجرى الى صبارج الماء وتنظيف الصبارج وكنسها
ايضا وغير ذلك وله من الخدم اليهود جماعة يعملون الزجاج
للتناديل والاتداج والبراقات وغير ذلك لا يبوخذ منهم جزية
وكذلك لا يبوخذ جزية من الذين يقومون بالسراقة للفتيل التي
المصاييح جاريا عليهم وعلى اولادهم ابدا ما تناسلوا من احد عبد
الملك بن مروان الى الان * وعن عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن منصور
بن منصورين ثابت قال حدثني ابي عن ابيه من جده ان الابواب
كانت ملبسة ذهباً وفضة صنايح للابواب كل ذلك فى خلافة
عبد الملك كلياً فلما قدم ابو جعفر المنصور وكان شرقي المسجد
وغربة قد وقع فرفع اليه يا امير المؤمنين قد وقع شرقي المسجد
وغريبه زمان الرجفة سنة ثلاثين ومائة وقالوا اليه لو امرت ببناء
هذا المسجد وعمارته فقال ما عندي شى من المال فامر بالقلع
الصنايح الفضة والذهب التي كانت على الابواب فصرمت دنانير
ودراهم وانفق عليه حتى فرغ منه ثم كانت الرجفة الثانية فوق
البناء الذي امر به ابو جعفر ثم قدم الميذى من بعده وهو خراب
فرفع اليه ذلك فامر ببنائه فقال دق هذا المسجد وطال وخال من
الرجال انتقوا من طوله وزيدوا فى عرضه فتم البناء فى خلافة
وفى سنة اثنين وخمسين واربعماية سقط تنور قبة بيت المقدس
فيه خمسمائة فتبدل فطير المؤمنون المقيمون ببيت المقدس
وقالوا ليكون فى الاسلام حادث عظيم * وروى عن الوليد قال حدثني

¹ الفل. B.C.

ابوعمير بن ضمرة عن ابن عطا عن ابيه قال كانت اليهود تسرق بيت المقدس فلما ولي عمر بن عبد العزيز رحمه تعالى اخرجهم وجعل فيه من الخمس فاته رجل من اهل الخمس فقال اعتقني فقال كيف اعتقك ولو ذهبت انظر ما كان لي شعرة من شعر كلبك * قال الحافظ ابن عساكر وطول المسجد الاتى سبعمائة ذراع وخمسة وخمسون ذراعا بذراع الملك وعرضه اربعماية ذراع وخمسة وستون ذراعا بذراع الملك قال المصنف رحمه الله وكذا قاله ابوالمعالى المشرف فى كتابه ولكن رايت قديما بالحايطة الشمالى فوق الباب الذى يلى الدوادرية من داخل السور بلاطة فيها طول المسجد وعرضه وذلك مخالف لما ذكره فالذى فيها ان طوله سبعمائة ذراع واربعه وثمانون ذراعا وعرضه اربعماية ذراع وخمسة وخمسون ذراعا قال المصنف رحمه الله ووصف فيها الذراع لكنى لم اجد ذلك شل هو الذراع المذكور ام غيره لتسعت الكتابة قال رحمه الله وقد ذرع بالحبال عرضه وطوله فى وقتنا هذه فجاه قدر طوله من الجبة الشرقية ستمائة وثلاث وثمانون ذراعا ومن الغربية ستمائة وخمسون ذراعا وجاه قدر عرضه اربعماية وثمان وثلاثين ذراعا خارجا عن عرض اسواره *

¹ The translation of this concluding paragraph is that given on p. 269.

NOTICES OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK AND OF THE
 CHURCH OF THE SEPULCHRE BY ARAB HIS-
 TORIANS PRIOR TO THE FIRST CRUSADE.

TRANSLATED BY GUY LE STRANGE.

"No Mohammedan writer of any sort, anterior to the recovery of the city from the Christians by Saladin, ventures to assert that his countrymen built the Dome of the Rock."¹

The object of the present paper is to show how utterly incorrect is this statement made by the late Mr. Fergusson in support of his theory that the Dome of the Rock (and not the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre) represents the Basilica erected by Constantine.

Whatever may be the arguments based upon the architectural style of the Dome of the Rock, it may be hoped that the passages here to be quoted, once and for all, will show that the historical evidence runs exactly counter to Mr. Fergusson's ingenious theory.

Within less than two centuries of the building of the Dome of the Rock by the Caliph 'Abd al Malik we have an account (Al Yakúbi) detailing the circumstances that led to its erection.

Thirty years later there is a minute description of the building (Ibn al Fakih), showing that the present edifice is almost intact, that of 'Abd al Malik; and a work written by a Spanish traveller of about the same date proves that many of the other buildings occupying the Haram Area were displaced neither during the Crusaders' occupation, nor at the restoration under Saladin.

¹ Article *Jerusalem*, in "Smith's Dictionary of the Bible," vol. i, p. 1030.

Passages from the writings of Mas'ûdi, who lived a century and a half before the first Crusade, prove that in his days the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was, as now, the scene of the so-called miracle of the Holy Fire. The short description of the Holy City by Ibn Haukal-upon-Istakhri (A.D. 978) closes the series of my present translations, for Mukaddasi's account, written a decade later, has already been published by the "Palestine Pilgrims," and part of the *Journal of Nâsiri Khusrâu*, half a century after him again, is very shortly to appear in a volume of the same series.

PLAN.

References to the Plan of the Haram Area at Jerusalem as it exists at the *present day* :—¹

- A. Bâb al Asbât (Gate of the Tribes).
- B. Bâb Hittah (Gate of Remission).
- C. Bâb Sharaf al Anbiyâ (of the Glory of the Prophets), also called Bâb ad Dawâdariyyah (of the Secretariat); and Bâb al Atm (of the Darkness).
- D. Bâb al Ghawânimah (of the Ghânim family), anciently called the Bâb al Khalîl (of Abraham, the Friend).
- E. Bâb 'Alâ ad Din al Bustri, also called Bâb an Nathir (of the Inspector), and anciently Bâb Mikâil (of Michael).
- F. Bâb al Hadid (of Iron).
- G. Bâb al Kattânin (of the Cotton Merchants).
- H. Bâb al Mutawaddâ (of the place for Ablution), also called Bâb al Matâra (of rain).
- I. Bâb as Silsilah (of the Chain); ancient, the Bâb Dâûd.
- K. Bâb al Maghâribah (of the Mogrebins), also called Bâb Mohammed or An Nabi (of the Prophet).
- L. City Gate, called Bâb al Maghâribah; and by the Franks the Mogrebin, or Dung Gate.
- M. City Gate, called Bâb Sitti Maryam (of Our Lady Mary); also Gate of St. Stephen, or Gate of Jericho.
- N. Bâb al Taubah (of Repentance).
- O. Bâb ar Rahmah (of Mercy). These two form the Golden Gate, long since closed.
- P. Bâb al Burâk, or Al Janâiz (of the Funerals); long since closed.
- Q. Pillar in the Wall marking the place of the Bridge as Sirât.
- R. Jâmi' al Aksâ.
- S. Madrassah al Farsiyyah.
- T. Jâmi' al Maghâribah.
- V. Aksa al Kadîmah (ancient Aksa), also Al Baka'at al Baidâ, said to have been built by the Templars, and used as their armoury.
- V. Kursi Sulaiman (Solomon's Throne).
- W. Makam (Station) of Iliyâs (Elias), or Al Khidr (St. George, the Green One).

¹ Reduced from the Ordnance Survey and added to from M. de Vogüé's "Histoire de Jérusalem."

X. Kursi Isá (Throne of Jesus).

x.x.x. Platform of the Rock.

a. Kubbat al Alwah (Dome of the Tablets), or K. al Arwah (D. of the Spirits).

b. The Rock.

c. Kubbat as Silsilah (Dome of the Chain).

d. Kubbat al Mi'rāj (D. of the Ascension of Mohammed into Heaven).

e. Kubbat Jibrail (of Gabriel).

f. Kubbat al Khidr (of St. George).

g. Mihráb Dáúd (Oratory of David).

h. Great Mihráb of the Aksa Mosque, showing the direction of the Kiblah, Mekka.

i. Mimbar (Pulpit).

k. Ancient Jāmi' (Mosque of) Omar.

l. Mihráb Zakariyyah, (Prayer-niche of Zachariah).

m. Eastern door of the Mosque.

n. Well of the Leaves.

o. Great central Gate of the Mosque.

p. Mahd 'Isa (Cradle of Jesus).

The earliest account, by an Arab writer, that I have been able to discover of the building of the Dome of the Rock, is the passage referred to above, in Al Yakūbī's History, written about the year 260 A.N., corresponding to 874 A.D. Al Yakūbī was not a contemporary, but lived nearly two centuries after the event; his testimony, however, among a people who pay such attention to the transmission of oral tradition, is in a far higher degree worthy of reliance than would be, say, an account written at the present time, descriptive of the events that took place in the reign of Queen Anne. Al Yakūbī, or, as he is more correctly named, Ibn Wadhih, is one of the earliest of Moslem writers on history and geography. He was a contemporary of the sons of Hārūn ar Rashīd, and other matters connected with his biography may be found set forth in the Latin preface which the learned Dutchman, M. Houtsma, has prefixed to his excellent edition of the Arabic text of the *Historia* (from a Cambridge MS. he it noted, for the climate of our Universities is not favourable to the cultivation of Oriental scholarship among native Britons).

In order to make clear to my readers how matters stood at the date of the building of the Dome of the Rock, and what were the political exigencies which induced the Caliph 'Abd al Malik, as the text states, to erect a Dome over the Rock at Jerusalem, I cannot do better than quote a passage from the writings of my friend, the late Professor Palmer, whose words are the more remarkable in their precision when it is remembered that he had not Yakūbī's text before his eyes in writing his account of "the Mohammedan Conquest":—"In 684 A.D., in the reign of

¹ P. 78, chap. iv, of "Jerusalem the City of Herod and Saladin," by W. Besant and E. H. Palmer. 1871.

'Abd el Melik, the ninth successor of Mohammed, and the fifth Caliph of the house of Omawiyah, events happened which once more turned people's attention to the City of David. For eight years the Mussulman Empire had been distracted by factions and party quarrels. The inhabitants of the two holy cities, Mecca and Medina, had risen against the authority of the legitimate Caliphs, and had proclaimed 'Abd Allah Ibn Zobeir their spiritual and temporal head. Yezid and Mo'awfyeh had in vain attempted to suppress the insurrection; the usurper had contrived to make his authority acknowledged throughout Arabia and the African provinces, and had established the seat of his government at Mecca itself. 'Abd el Melik trembled for his own rule; year after year crowds of pilgrims would visit the Ka'abah, and Ibn Zobeir's religious and political influence would thus become disseminated throughout the whole of Islam. In order to avoid these consequences, and at the same time to weaken his rival's prestige, 'Abd el Melik conceived the plan of diverting men's minds from the Pilgrimage to Mecca, and inducing them to make the Pilgrimage to Jerusalem instead."

What Al Yakûbt says is as follows :—¹

"Then 'Abd al Malik forbade the people of Syria to make the Pilgrimage (to Mekka): and this by reason that 'Abd Allah Ibn az Zubair did seize on them during the time of the Pilgrimage, and did force them to pay him allegiance. Which, 'Abd al Malik having knowledge of, forbade the people to journey forth to Mekka. But the people murmured thereat, saying, "How dost thou forbid us to make the pilgrimage to Allah's House, seeing that the same is a commandment of Allah upon us?" And the Khalif answered them, "Hail not Ibn Shihâb az Zuhri² told you how the Apostle of Allah did say—*Men shall journey to but three Masjids* (Mosques, namely), *Al Masjid Al Harâm* (at Mekka), *my Masjid* (at Medina), and *the Masjid of the Holy City* (which is Jerusalem). So this last is now appointed for you (as a place of worship), in lieu of the Masjid al Harâm (of Mekka). And this Rock (the Sakhrah of Jerusalem), of which it is reported that upon it the Apostle of Allah set his foot when he ascended into Heaven, shall be unto you in the place of the Ka'abah."

"So 'Abd al Malik built above the Sakhrah a Dome, and hung it around with curtains of brocade (Dibâj), and he instituted doorkeepers for the same. And the people took the custom of circumambulating the Rock (as Sakhrah of Jerusalem), even as they had paced round the Ka'abah (at Mekka), and the usage continued thus all the days of the dynasty of the Omneyyads."

The earliest topographical account, by a Moslem, of Jerusalem and the

¹ "Ibn Wadhîh Historiæ," editit M. Th. Houtsma. Brill. Lugd., Batav., 1883, ii, p. 311.

² A celebrated Traditionist who was personally acquainted with many of the Prophet's companions. He died in A.H. 124 (A.D. 742), being seventy-two or more years old. His life is given by Ibn Khallikân (de Slane's Translation), vol. ii, p. 581.

Haram Area dates, if I mistake not, from about thirty years later than when Yakûbi wrote his History. Yakûbi himself, it is true, mentions Jerusalem in his geographical work, but gives no description of the city, and it is to the pen of Ibn al Fakih, who wrote in A.D. 903 (A.H. 290), that we are indebted for the very curious and exact description of the Dome of the Rock which I have translated from the text lately edited by the learned Professor of Arabic at Leyden. Unfortunately Ibn al Fakih's work has not come down to us in its entirety, but only in the form of an Abridgment by a certain 'Ali Shaizari. Internal evidence, however, goes to prove that in pruning somewhat rudely the fair proportions of the work of his predecessor, Shaizari added little or nothing of his own. Hence the work in its present form may still be held to date from the year 290 A.H.; but for further details of the author, his work, and the Abridgment, I may refer my readers to the Latin preface of the edition, from which I translate the following paragraphs:—

"It is said that the length of the Noble Sanctuary at Jerusalem is 1,000 ells, and its width 700 ells. There are (in its buildings) 4,000 beams of wood, 700 pillars (of stone), and 500 brass chains. It is lighted every night by 1,600 lamps (*kandil*), and it is served by 140 slaves (*khâdim*). The monthly allowance of olive oil is 100 kists,² and yearly they provide 800,000 ells of matting. There are also 15,000 water jars. Within the Noble Sanctuary are 16 arks (*tabût*) for the volumes of the Kurân set apart for public service, and these manuscripts are the admiration of all men. There are four pulpits (*mimbar*) for voluntary preachers, and one set apart for the salaried preacher; and there are also four tanks for the Ablution. On the various roofs (of the Mosque, and domes), in the place of clay, are used 45,000 sheets of lead. To the right hand of the Mihrâb (or niche towards Mekka in the Aksa Mosque³) is a slab on which, in a circle, is written the name of Mohammed—the blessing of Allah be upon him!—and on a white stone behind the Kiblah (wall, to the south) is the inscription, "In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate Mohammed is Allah's Apostle. Hamzah⁴ was his helper." Within the Mosque (Arena) are three maksûrahs (or railed spaces) for the women, each maksûrah being 70 ells in length. There are within and without (the Sanctuary) in all 50 gates (and doors)."

"In the middle of the Haram Area is a platform, measuring 300 ells in length by 140 ells across, and its height is 9 ells.⁵ It has six flights of stairs leading up to the Dome of the Rock. The Dome rises in the middle of this platform. (Its ground plan) measures 100 ells by 100, its height

¹ "Ibn al Fakih," *édit de Geogje*; Lugh. Bat., 1885; p. 100.

² Kist (from the Greek *εἰσθηρῆ*, and the Roman *Sextarius*) was equivalent to about a quart and a half of our measure.

³ Plan at H.

⁴ The Prophet's uncle, who fell at the Battle of Ohod.

⁵ x, x, x, x, of the Plan. Taking the ell at 1½ feet, this gives 450 feet by 225 feet, which is considerably less than the size of the present platform.

is 70 ells, and its circumference is 360 ells.¹ In the Dome every night they light 300 lamps. It has four gates roofed over; and at each gate are four doors; and over each gate is a portico (*dukkánah*²) of marble. The stone of the rock measures 34 ells by 27 ells; and under it is a cavern in which the people pray. This is capable of containing 62 persons. (The edifice of) the Dome is covered with white marble, and its roof with red gold. In its walls and high in (the drum) are 56 windows (*báb*)³ glazed with glass of various hues; each window measures 6 ells high by 6 spans across. The Dome which was built by 'Abd al Malik Ibn Marwán is supported on 12 piers (*rúkn*) and 30 pillars (*amúd*).⁴ It consists of a dome over a dome (i.e., an inner and an outer), on which are sheets of lead, and sheets of copper gilt. The walls, both within and without, are faced with white marble. To the east of the Dome of the Rock stands the Dome of the Chain. It is supported by 20⁵ marble columns, and its roof is covered with sheets of lead. In front of it (again to the east) is the praying station of Al Khidr (St. George or Elias).⁶ The platform occupies the middle of the Haram Area (*al Masjid*). In its northern part is the Dome of the Prophet,⁷ and the station of Gabriel; near the Sakrah is the Dome of the Ascension.⁸ Among the gates (of the Haram Area) are Báb

¹ The figures given are, considering they represent round numbers, fairly exact. Taking the ell (*dhirá'*) at an average of 18 inches, this gives circumference 540 feet (round the present octagon measures about 528 feet), and height 105 feet (87 feet is the exact measurement up to the pinnacle).

² In my translation of Mukaddasi (p. 45, line 4) the word (Suffah) rendered *Balustrade* should be *Porch*. Mukaddasi's *suffah* and Ibn al Fakih's *dukkánah* both denote the peristyle built at each of the four gates of the Dome.

³ In the present edifice (judging from the plan in De Vogüé's "Jérusalem") there are 15 windows in the drum under the Dome, and 5 in each of the 6 walls that form the octagon below. This (5 × 8 + 16) makes up exactly 56, the number given.

⁴ In the present edifice, as may be seen in the accompanying Plan, the 12 piers,—4 in the inner circle (by which the Dome is supported), and 8 marking the angles of the octagon, still exist. The arrangement and number of the pillars appear, however, to have been altered. To judge by De Vogüé's plan there are between each of the 4 piers of the inner circle 3 pillars, and between each of the 8 outer piers 2 pillars (4 × 3 + 8 × 2), making 28 pillars in all, instead of 30 as given by Ibn Fakih. The difference, however, is not very material.

⁵ Plan C. There are (to judge from De Vogüé's plan) only 17 columns in the present edifice, 6 in the inner, and 11 in the outer circle. However, though in the plan he draws 6 columns in the inner circle supporting the Dome, he writes of it in the text as a *pentagon*.

⁶ Plan W.

⁷ Plan X?

⁸ From this it would appear that the Dome of the Prophet was distinct from the Dome of the Ascension. Suyúti, writing in 1470 A.D., did not know which was the Dome of the Prophet, and imagined it to be the Dome of the Chain. In the enumeration which follows of the Gates, the Mikrábs and other notable places standing near are mentioned along with the gates.

Dáúd,¹ Báb Hittah,² Báb an Nabí (of the Prophet),³ Báb at Taubah (Gate of Repentance),⁴ and there is here the Mihráb Maryam (Prayer Niche of Mary), Báb al Wádi,⁵ Báb ar Rahmah (Gate of Mercy), with the Mihráb Zakariyyá, Abwáb al Asbât⁶ (the Gates of the Tribes), with the Cave of Abraham,⁷ the Mihráb of Jacob, and Báb Dár Umm Khálid (the Gate of the House of Khalid's Mother). Outside the Haram Area (Al Masjid) at the City Gate to the west, is the Mihráb Dáúd (David's Prayer-niche).⁸ The place of the tying up of (the steed) Al Burak is in the angle of the southern minaret.⁹ The Spring of Siloam ('Ain Sulwán) lies to the south of the Haram Area. The Mount of Olives overlooks the Haram Area, being separated therefrom by the Wády Jahannum. From it (the Mount ?) Jesus was taken up, across it (the Wády ?) will extend the bridge As Sirát,¹⁰ and there too is the Place of Prayer of the Khalif 'Omar, also the tombs of the prophets. Bait Lahm (Bethlehem) lies a farsakh (or league) distant from the Holy City, it is the place where Jesus was born."

"Masjid Ibrahim (Hebron) is about 15 miles away. There are here the tombs of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and Sarah. The Prophet (Mohammed's) shoe (un¹) lies to the front (of these)."

My next notice of the buildings in the Noble Sanctuary is taken from the account written by the Spanish Arab, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, who has left us a curious historical work of very varied contents called "*Al Ikd al Farid*," *The Necklet of Unique Pearls*. He flourished about the same time as Ibn al Fakih, and though the exact date of his visit to Jerusalem is not known, the date of his death, A.H. 325 (corresponding to the year 940 A.D.)

¹ The present Báb as Silsilah, Plan I.

² Plan B.

³ Plan K.

⁴ Plan A.

⁵ Báb al Wádi, the Gate of the Valley, must be the Báb al Janáiz, the Gate of Funerals (Plan P), now walled up, to the south of the Golden Gate. This last is here mentioned under the names of its two halves, the Gate of Mercy (Plan N), and the Gate of Repentance (Plan O).

⁶ Plan A.

⁷ I am unable to identify these last two places and the last gate mentioned.

⁸ In later times David's Prayer Niche was shown (as at the present day) at a spot in the south wall of the Haram Area (Plan G). Anciently it was identified with a building in the castle. A generation later the historian Mas'udi writes (Vol. I, p. 109, of the edition published by M. Barbier de Meynard): "David built a House of Worship in Kúr Salám, which is the Holy City, and it is the same building which exists in our own day, in the year 332 (A.D. 943), and is called the Mihráb Dáúd. In all the Holy City, at the present time, there is no building higher than it, and from the summit thereof you may see the Stinking Lake (Dead Sea) and the River Jordan."

⁹ Shown here at the present day. Plan K.

¹⁰ Plan Q.

would show that he is describing the Holy City as it existed during the first half of the tenth century of our era. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih is quoted by Mujir ad Din (in the sixteenth century A.D.) under the name of Al Kurtubi, the Cordovan.

Good MSS. of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's work are unfortunately lacking, and for my translation I have been obliged to rely on the text printed at Boulak, near Cairo, presumably from an Egyptian MS. which leaves much to be desired in the matter of scholarly editing.

"Description of the Mosque of the Holy City, and what therein is of Holy Places of the Prophets."

The length of the Haram Area is 784 ells, and its breadth 455 ells, of the ells of the Imám.² They light the Noble Sanctuary with 1,500 lamps, (kandil); and in its structures have been employed 6,900 beams of wood. Its gates are 50 in number, and there are 684 columns ('Amúd). Within the Sakhrāh (Dome of the Rock) are 30 columns, and the columns which are outside the Sakhrāh (*Khūrij as Sakhrāh*) are 18 in number.³ The Dome is covered by means of 3,392 sheets of lead, over which are placed plates of brass, gilded, which number 10,210. The total number of the lamps that light the Sakhrāh is 464, which hang by hooks and chains of copper. The height of the Sakhrāh of the Holy City (in ancient days) when it reached heavenward was 12 miles, and the people of Jericho (to the east)

¹ Vol. iii, p. 366 *et seq.*, of the Cairo edition printed in A.N. 1293.

² If the reading *Imám* be correct, the Imám in question is doubtless the Caliph Ali, who inaugurated many novelties besides the standard of the ell. At the present day the Haram Area measures, in round numbers, 1,500 feet by 900; or in ells, 1,000 ells by 600.

Various other Arab writers have given the dimensions, and it may be worth tabulating them for the convenience of reference.

	Length.	Width.
	in ells.	in ells.
Ibn al Fakih (A.D. 903), and Mukaddasi (A.D. 985) ..	1,000	700
Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (A.D. 940)	784	455
Inscription in northern wall of Haram Area, as read by Nasiri Khusrau (A.D. 1047)	750	455
Ditto as read by the author of the "Muthir al Ghirām" ..	784	455
Ditto as read by Ali of Herat in A.D. 1200	700	455
Ditto as read by M. C. Ganneau in 1874	{ 784 } or 734	455
By the measurement of the author of the "Muthir al Ghirām" (A.D. 1350)	Eastern wall 683 Western wall 650	455

³ See note¹, p. 95. It must be observed that *As Sakhrāh* (the Rock) is used to denote both the Dome and the Rock itself; just as *Al Masjid* means the whole Haram Area, and sometimes more particularly the Mosque (or Masjid) Al Aksa in its southern part.

profited by its shadow, as did also those of 'Amwás (to the west); and there was set over it a red ruby which shone giving light even to the people of the Balká, so that those who lived there were able to spin by the light thereof.

In the Noble Sanctuary (Al Masjid) are three Maksúrahs (enclosed spaces) for the women,¹ the length of each Maksúrah being 80 ells, and its breadth 50. In the Mosque are 600 chains for the suspending of the lamps, each chain being 18 ells in length, also 70 copper sieves² (*ghirbál*) and 7 cone-shaped stands (*sannubarát*) for the lamps. Further, 70 complete copies of the Koran and 6 copies of great size, each page of which is made out of a single skin of parchment; these last are placed on desks (*kursi*). (The Noble Sanctuary) contains 10 Mihrábs, 15 Domes, 24 wells (*jubb*) for water and 4 minarets from whence they make the call to prayer. All the roofs, that is, of the Mosque, the Domes and the Minarets, are covered with gilded plates. Of servants appointed to its service there are,—together with their families, 230 persons,— Mamlúks (slaves), all of whom receive their rations from the Public Treasury. Monthly there is allowed (for the Noble Sanctuary) 700 Kists Ibrahimí, the weight of the kist being a rail and a half of the large weight.³ The allowance yearly of mats is 8,000 of the same. For the hanks of cotton for the wicks of the lamps they allow yearly 12 Dinárs; for lamp glasses 33 Dinárs, and for the payment of the workmen who repair the various roofs in the Noble Sanctuary there is 15 Dinars yearly.

Of Holy Places of the Prophets in Jerusalem are the following.—Under the corner of the Masjid is the spot where the Prophet tied up his steed, Al Burák.⁴ Leading into the Noble Sanctuary are the Báb Dáúd,⁵ the Báb Sulaimán, and the Báb Hittah, which last is intended by Allah when He saith,⁶ "Say ye Hittah" (Forgiveness), and there is no God but Allah; but some men say "Hintah" (Wheat), making a jest thereof, for which may Allah curse them in their impiety!

Also there are the Báb Muhammad (the Gate of the Prophet); and Báb at Taubah (the Gate of Repentance); where Allah vouchsafed repentance to David.

¹ Much the same is stated by Ibn al Fakih. I am not at all sure whether "Al Masjid" here refers to the Aksa Mosque or the whole Haram Area. It would seem difficult to accommodate three railed-in spaces, each measuring 120 feet by 75 feet, within the Aksa building, though what follows would seem to imply that this is what is meant.

² What these were for I know not.

³ What the Kist of Ibrahim exactly denotes I am unable to state. The Syrian Ratl weighed about 6 lbs.; for the Arabs, like the Romans, estimated their measures of capacity by the weight of oil or wine. The Dinár mentioned a few lines later may be taken roughly as worth 10s. English.

⁴ Plan at K.

⁵ Gate of David, now called Báb as Siisilah, Gate of the Chain. Plan J.

⁶ Kurán, II, 55.

⁷ Plan K.

And the Báb ar Rahmah (Gate of Mercy), of which Allah has made mention in His Book, saying,¹ "A gate within which is Mercy, while without the same is Punishment," alluding to the Wády Jahannum which lies on the east of the Holy City.

And the Abwáb al Asbát (the Gates of the Tribes),² the tribes being the Tribes of the Children of Israel,—and the Gates are six in number.

Also the Báb al Walid, the Báb al Hâshimî, the Báb al Khidr³ (Elias or St. George), and the Bâb as Sakinah (the Gate of the Shechina).⁴

In the Noble Sanctuary further are the Mihráb of Mary (mother of Jesus) the daughter of 'Amrân, whither the Angels were wont to bring to her the fruits of winter during the summer time, and summer fruits in the winter time.

Also the Mihráb of Zakariyya (father of the Baptist),⁵ where the Angels gave him the good news (of the birth) of John, at a time when he was standing praying therein. Also the Mihráb Ya'kûb (Jacob) and the Kurî Sulaiman (Throne of Solomon)⁶ where he used to pray to Allah; and the Minaret of Abraham, the Friend of The Merciful, whither he was wont to retire for worship. There are likewise here the Dome of the Apostle (Muhammad), from whence he made his ascent into Heaven; the Dome over the spot where the Apostle prayed with the (former) Prophets; also the Dome where, during the times of the Children of Israel, there hung down the Chain that gave judgment (of truth or lying) between them.⁷ Further the Praying place of Jibrâil (Gabriel) and the Praying place of Al Khidr (Elias).⁸

Now when thou enterest the Sakhrah (Dome of the Rock) make thy prayer in the three corners thereof; and also pray on the Slab which rivals the Rock itself in glory, for it lies over a gate of the gates of Paradise.

The birth-place of Jesus, the son of Mary, is (at Bethlehem) about three miles distant from the Noble Sanctuary; Abraham's Mosque (which is Hebron), wherein is his tomb, is 18 miles from the Holy City. The (Mâlikite) Mihráb of this Mosque lies on the western side.

Among the Excellent Views of the Holy City are these. The place of the Bridge As Sirât⁹ is in the Holy City, and from Jahannum (Hell)—may Allah keep us therefrom!—it will reach even unto the Holy City.

On the day of Resurrection Paradise will be brought as a bride to the Holy City, and the Ka'abab also shall come along with her, so that they

¹ Kurân, LVII, 13.

² Plan A.

³ These three gates I cannot identify; they are also mentioned by Mukaddasî.

⁴ Plan J.

⁵ Plan I.

⁶ Plan F.

⁷ The Dome of the Chain. Plan c.

⁸ Plan e and W.

⁹ Plan Q.

shall cry "All hail to those who come as pilgrims! and all hail to her to whom pilgrimage is made!" And the Black Stone shall be brought, in bridal procession, to the Holy City, and the Black Stone on that day shall be greater in size than the Hill of Abu Kubais.¹

Among the Excellencies of the Holy City are that Allah did take up His Prophet into Heaven from the Holy City, as likewise Jesus, the son of Mary. And verily at some time the Antichrist shall conquer Christ in all and every part of the earth, excepting only in the Holy City. And Allah has forbidden Gog and Magog ever to enter the Holy City.

Lastly, that all the Saints and Holy Men of God are from the Holy City, and Adam and Moses and Joseph, and the great company of the Prophets of the Children of Israel all left by testament the command that they should be buried in the Holy City.

The labours of the French Orientalist, M. Barbier de Meynard, and the patronage of the *Société Asiatique*, have made the most amusing of Arab chronicles, the "Meadows of Gold" of Mas'ûdi, accessible to all. In nine octavo volumes of moderate size we have on every page the text, and below it the French translation, so that all who run may read. Mas'ûdi penned his "Meadows of Gold" in the year 943 after Christ (A.D. 332), and though he has given no detailed description of Jerusalem, or the Temple Area, there are some incidental notices of the buildings here, which are of capital importance in our investigations. In the following extract we have, if I mistake not, the earliest reference by an Arab author to the Church of the Resurrection, or Holy Sepulchre, which the Muslim by a designed corruption of the word Kayâmah (*Anastasis*) called the Kanisâh al Kumâmah, "the Church of the Sweepings," or "Dunghill." The well-known imposture which is called the Miracle of the Holy Fire, is first noticed by the Christian Pilgrim, Bernard the Wise, in A.D. 807. Mas'ûdi's testimony, therefore, some eighty years later, that the miracle took place in the *Church of the Holy Sepulchre* of the Christians, a well-known place, quite distinct from the Dome of the Rock (which last Mr. Fergusson would have us believe was, at that period, known as the *Holy Sepulchre*), seems to me to overturn the foundations of the theory that Constantine's Basilica is the Dome of the Rock. Mas'ûdi was sceptical as to the miraculous origin of the Fire; his account is as follows:—

"On the 5th day of the (Syrian) month Tishrin I (October) is the festival of the Kanisâh al Kumâmah (Church of the Sepulchre) at Jerusalem. The Christians assemble for this festival from out all lands. For on it the Fire from Heaven doth descend among them, so that they kindle therefrom the candles. The Muslims also are wont to assemble in great crowds to see the sight of the festival. It is the custom also at this time to pluck olive leaves. The Christians hold many legends there anent; but the Fire is produced by a clever artifice, which is kept a great secret."

¹ Overhanging Mekka on the west.

² Mas'ûdi, iii, p. 405.

Another passage from the same work is curious as showing what were the Churches in the hands of the Christians in Jerusalem, in A.D. 943, and also what were according to Muslim traditions the buildings, afterwards the Aksa Mosque and the Church of the Resurrection, in ancient Jewish days. After relating the history of the reign of Solomon, Mas'ûdi concludes his chapter with the following paragraph :—¹

"It was Solomon who first built the Holy House, which same is now the Aksa Mosque—may Allah bless its precincts! When he had completed the building thereof, he set about building a house for his own use; this last is the place that in our own day is called the Kanisah al Kumâmah (the Church of the Resurrection); it is the largest Church in Jerusalem belonging to the Christians. They have also in the Holy City other greatly honoured churches besides this one, as for example the Kanisah Sihyûn (the Church of Zion), of which David has made mention (in the Psalms); and the Church known as the Jismâniyyah.² This last, they say, encloses the tomb of David."

From the latter half of the tenth century after Christ, and onwards to the date of the taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, the descriptions of the Holy City by Arab authors become more numerous, and fuller in detail. I propose to translate the short notice left us by the Geographer Ibn Haukal (A.D. 978 = A.H. 367). This personage re-edited and somewhat enlarged the work of his predecessor, Istakhri (A.D. 951 = A.H. 340), who had written a work to elucidate the charts or maps of the countries of Islam (unfortunately no longer extant) of one Balkhi, drawn in the year 309 A.H., corresponding to 921 of our era. Ibn Haukal furnishes not an uncommon example of the method employed in the East for the writing of books. To save yourself the trouble of original composition you take an earlier author, annotate and add commentary to his work, and bring out the plagiarism under your own name. It is as though, instead of editing Boswell, Mr. Croker had given us the "Life of Johnson" as his own work, suppressing all mention of the original author.

Thanks to the researches of the learned Dutch orientalist, M. de Goeje, Ibn Haukal and Istakhri and Balkhi are all now set in their proper places, and we have the two first edited in Arabic separately (although Ibn Haukal includes for the most part, and is a repetition merely, with augmentations, of Istakhri), in the "Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum," Vols. I and II.

The description of Jerusalem is as follows :—³

"The Holy City is nearly as large as Al Ramlah (the capital of the

¹ Mas'ûdi, i, p. 111.

² Jismâniyyah is the Arabic corruption of the name Gethsemane. The original name has the meaning of *Garden of the Olive-press*, while Jismâniyyah in Arabic has the signification of "*the Incarnation*," and commemorates a different incident in our Lord's history.

³ Vol. II, Ibn Haukal, p. 111, corresponding to the section in vol. I, p. 57, of Istakhri.

province of Filastin). It is a city perched high on the hills, and you have to go up to it from all sides. There is here a Mosque, a greater than which does not exist in all Islám. The main building (which is the Aksa Mosque) occupies the south-western angle of the Mosque (Area, or Noble Sanctuary), and covers about half the breath of the same.¹ The remainder of the Haram Area is left free, and is nowhere built over, except in the part around the Rock. At this place there has been raised a stone (terrace) like a platform, of great unhewn blocks, in the centre of which, covering the Rock, is a magnificent Dome. The Rock itself is about breast high above the ground, its length and breadth being about equal, that is to say, some ten ells and odd, by the same across. You may descend into its interior by steps as though going down to a cellar (*sardáb*), through a door measuring some five ells by ten. The interior is neither square nor round, and is above a man's stature in height.

"In all Jerusalem there is no running water, excepting what comes from springs, that can be used to irrigate the fields, and yet it is the most fertile portion of Filastin.

"In the City² is the Mihráb of the Prophet David, a tall edifice built of stone, which, by measurement and calculation, I should say reached a height of fifty ells, and was thirty ells in the breadth. On its summit is an erection like a cell (*hujrah*), which is the Mihráb mentioned by Allah—may he be exalted! (in the words of the Kuran, 'Hath the Story of the two pleaders reached thee, when they mounted the walls of David's Mihráb?') When you come up to the Holy City from Ar-Ramlah this is the first building that catches the eye, and you see it above the other houses of the town. In the Noble Sanctuary, too, are many other venerated Mihrábs dedicated to other of the celebrated prophets."

Of far greater importance, however, than the short notice of Ibn Haukal—Istakhri, are the two very complete descriptions left by the Arab geographer, Mukaddasi (A.D. 985) and the Persian traveller, Nasiri-Khusrau (A.D. 1046) who wrote, respectively, a century, and half a century before the first Crusade. The account left us by the first of these, Mukaddasi, I have already translated for the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, and that given by the Persian will, I believe, very shortly appear in English dress, published under the same auspices. I need, therefore, only refer my readers to the rapidly increasing numbers of the "Pilgrims" for all details; but an incidental notice in Mukaddasi, seems to me sufficiently important to justify my quoting the passage from my translation. I conclude these notes with this passage which proves beyond a doubt that

¹ See *R* and *U* of the Plan.

² Ibn Haukal says, "In the Haram Area (Al Masjid)," but this is an oversight, or an addition by a later hand.

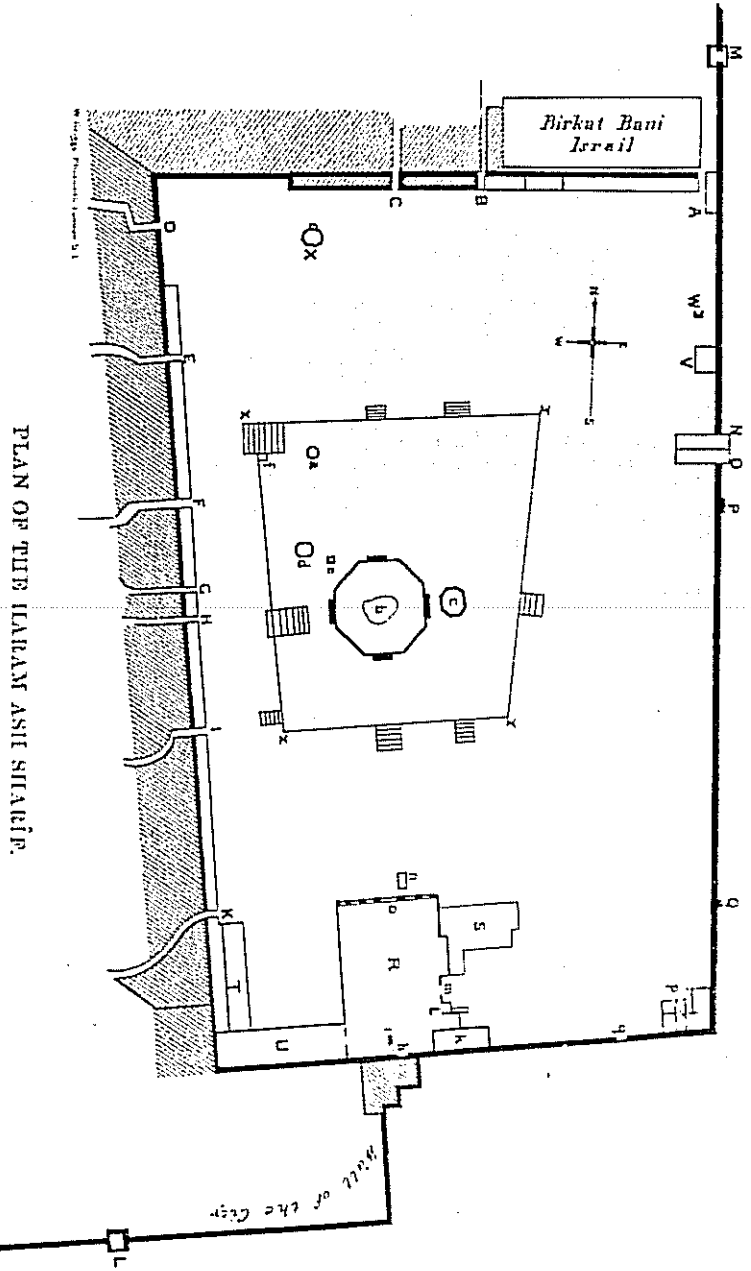
³ Chapter XXXVIII, 20.

⁴ P. 22 of my translation; p. 159 of the Text edited by M. de Goeje.

the Arabs of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries of our era had before their eyes both the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Dome of the Rock, two perfectly distinct buildings, one Christian, one Muslim, totally distinct in position, in plan, and in purpose.

After giving a long description of the great Omeyyad Mosque at Damascus, Mukaddasi has the following remarks:—

"Now one day I said, speaking to my father's brother, "O my Uncle, verily it was not well of the Khalif Al Walid to expend so much of the wealth of the Muslims on the Mosque at Damascus. Had he expended the same on making roads, or for Caravanserais, or in the restoration of the Fortresses, it would have been more fitting and more excellent of him." But my uncle said to me in answer, "O, my little son, you have not understanding! Verily Al Walid was right, and he was prompted to do a worthy work. For he beheld Syria to be a country that had long been occupied by the Christians, and he noted herein the beautiful churches still belonging to them, so enchantingly fair, and renowned for their splendour; even as are the Kumâmah (the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) and the Churches by Lydda and Edessa. So he sought to build for the Muslims a Mosque that should prevent their regarding these, and that should be unique and a wonder to the world. And in like manner is it not evident how the Khalif 'Abd al Malik, noting the greatness of the Dome of the Kumâmah and its magnificence, was moved lest it should dazzle the minds of the Muslims, and hence erected, above the Rock, the Dome which now is seen there?"



PALESTINE ACCORDING TO THE ARAB
GEOGRAPHERS AND TRAVELLERS.

DURING the course of the present year, it is hoped to bring out a work containing all the information to be found in the books of the Arab Geographers and Travellers who have written about Palestine and Syria. My original intention was to have limited the translations to Palestine proper, but the boundary line was not easy to fix. Palestine is but a province of Syria in the Muslim administration, and further remembering that the description left us by the Arab geographers of the various cities in the northern province of Syria is of great interest for the Crusading period, of which some of them were contemporaries, I have deemed it advisable to include in my work everything that had to do with Syria (As Shâm), in its widest sense, from Tarsus and Malatia on the north to

Rafh and the Tih Desert on the south. The eastern and western limits are fixed naturally by the Mediterranean and the great sand-sea of the Arabian desert.

As is well known, the Muslims did not begin to write books till fully two centuries had elapsed after the Era of the Flight; and our earliest geographer (who is, by the way, of Persian nationality) composed his book in the year 250 A.H., or about the middle of the ninth century A.D. From this period, however, down to the end of the fifteenth century of our reckoning, the names of authors follow each other at very short intervals, and we have over a score of writers, all Muslim, and nearly all writing in Arabic, who have undertaken to describe for us the various provinces of Syria and Palestine.

The accompanying list will give an idea of the mass of material that is available. It must, however, be premised, that in every case we have not to do with the result of personal observation and original information. The Arab writers plagiarised each from his predecessor to a very remarkable degree. Each tried to make his work as complete as possible by incorporating therein all he could gather from previous reading, as well as from personal observation when he had himself visited the places described; and this constant plagiarism, though it decreases the amount of fresh information, is very valuable for purposes of comparison, and for rectifying mistakes of copyists and filling in lacunæ.

LIST OF GEOGRAPHERS AND TRAVELLERS.

	A.D.
1. Ibn Khurdádbih, wrote about	864
2. Beládhuri....	869
3. Kudamah....	880
4. Ya'kúbi	891
5. Ibn al Fakth	903
6. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih....	<i>circa</i> 913
7. Mas'údi	943
8. Istakbrl	951
9. Ibn Haukal	978
10. Mukaddasi	985
11. Násiri Khusrau	1052
12. Idrisi	1154
13. 'Ali of Herat	1173
14. Ibn Jubair	1185
15. Yakút	1225
16. Dimashki	<i>circa</i> 1300
17. Abu 'l Fidá	1321
18. Ibn Barútah	1355
19. The author of the "Muthir"	1351
20. Shams ad Dín Suyúti "	1470
21. Mujir ad Dín	1496

It may perhaps be interesting to give a cursory note on each of the above mentioned writers, that our readers may have some idea of what manner of men they were, and of the nature of the work each performed.

1. Ibn Khurdádbih the first name on the list, was, as before noted, a Persian by birth; as in fact his father's name shows, for *Khurdád-bih* signifies in old Persian "Good gift of the Sun," or as the Greeks would have said, "Heliodorus." Ibn Khurdádbih was born about the commencement of the third century of the Hejrah (corresponding to the ninth of our era) and flourished at the court of the Abbaside Caliph Al Mu'tamid at Bagdad. Under his government Ibn Khurdádbih held the office of Chief of the Post in the province of Jibál, the ancient Media, and with a view, doubtless, of instructing his subordinates, compiled the Handbook of Routes and Countries which has come down to us as one of the earliest of Muslim geographical treatises.

2. The work of Beládhuri is of an entirely different order, and only in a very secondary sense geographical. His is the earliest historical account we possess of the "Conquests" of the Muslims. He was born at Bagdad, and receiving his education there during the days of the great Al Mamún, lived to enjoy the favour of the Caliphs Al Mutawakkil and Al Musta'in. He wrote his great "Book of the Conquest" about the year 869 A.D., and died in 892. His work is unfortunately almost barren of geographical description, the names of the places only being given and nothing more; all detail is confined to the ordering of the battles and the accounts of those who took part in the action.

3. Kudámah, who wrote a small book on the Revenues of the Muslim Empire about the year 880 A.D., was of Christian origin, but like most of his compeers found it to his advantage to embrace Islam. He occupied the post of accountant in the Revenue Department at Bagdad, and we know nothing further of him but that he died in 948. His work on the revenue contains some interesting geographical notes.

4. Ya'akúbi (also called Ibn Wádhil) was both historian and geographer. In his history, which was written as early as the year 871 A.D., he clearly states that the Dome of the Rock was the work of the Caliph 'Abd al Málík, and gives the reason that prompted him to construct it.¹ His geography was written some twenty years later than his first work, or about the year 891. It unfortunately has not reached us in a perfect state, but the section relating to Syria is in tolerably good preservation. The work is curious, for it gives notes on the settlements made by the various Arab tribes who had migrated into Syria, otherwise it is little more than a bare list of provinces with their chief cities, and only interesting for the information of what were great towns in those days.

Of Ya'akúbi's biography but little is known. It would appear that he was born in Egypt, passed the earlier part of his life in Khurasán and

¹ A translation of this passage and of some others giving early notices of Jerusalem will be found in my paper in the *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1887.

the further east, and came back to spend his latter years on the banks of the Nile in the land of his birth.

5. Ibn al Fakih, the author of a very curious geographical miscellany, was a native of Hamadán, in western Persia, and flourished during the Caliphate of Al Mo'tadhid at Bagdad. He wrote his work about the year 903 A.D., but unfortunately we only possess it in the form of a somewhat arbitrary abridgment made by a certain 'Ali Shaizari, of whom little more is known than his name. Ibn al Fakih gives us a careful description of the Haram Area at Jerusalem, and is also, so far as I know, the first Arab author who notices the great stones at Baalbek, of which he notes the measurements.

6. The next name on the list is that of a Spanish Arab, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, born at Cordova in 860, and died in the same city in 940. He composed an extremely interesting historical work, extending to three volumes in the Cairo printed edition, giving us details that are found nowhere else of the life and manners and customs of the pre-Islamic Arabs and others. The book is named "The Collar of Unique Pearls," and in it there is a chapter describing in great detail the appearance of the Haram Area at Jerusalem. Whether or not the author ever visited the Holy City I have been unable to discover; but if his description is not from his own observations he must at least have borrowed it from someone who was capable of making good use of his eyes.¹

7. Mas'ûdi is the author of the most entertaining historical work to be found in the whole range of Muslim literature.—His "Meadows of Gold" begin with the Creation, and tell us all the Arabs knew of universal history down to the year 943, when the work was written. Mas'ûdi was born in Bagdad towards the end of the eighth century of our era. In his youth he travelled widely, visiting Multán and India, and passing through Persia a second time on his way to India and Ceylon, whence he returned to Bagdad via Madagascar. He travelled through Palestine in 926, and spent some time at Antioch; then went and settled in Egypt about the year 955, where he died a year later, at Fostat, now called Old Cairo. Spread up and down his numerous volumes of historic lore are many geographical notes, which are of considerable value, especially when it is remembered the early period at which the author wrote, his powers of observation, and his great learning.

8, 9. The names of Istakhri (wrote 951) and Ibn Haukal (wrote 978) must be taken together, for the latter, who is by far the better known of the two, only brought out an emended and somewhat enlarged edition of the work of the former, giving it his own name. We have here to deal with the first systematic geography of the Arabs. It is not a mere road book, such as was Ibn Kurdábil's, or a revenue list, as Kudamah's, but a sober description of each province in turn of the Muslim Empire, with its chief cities and notable places. Istakhri, a native of Persepolis, as his name implies, wrote his book to explain the maps that had been drawn

¹ See the translation in *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1857.

up by a certain Balkhi, about the year 921, which maps are unfortunately not extant. Of Istakhrî and Ibn Haukal all that we know is that they were both by trade merchants, and that they travelled far and wide in the pursuit of commerce. All further biographical details are wanting.

10. Of Mukaddasi I need say little here, having already given details of his life and work in the preface to my translation of his account of Syria and Palestine, recently published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society. He wrote in 985, and his description of the Holy Land and its cities is the more valuable from his being himself a native of Jerusalem, as indicated by his name, Al Mukaddasi, the Hierosolymite.

11. Rather more than half a century later than Mukaddasi, and about half a century before the first Crusade, the Persian traveller, Nâsir-i-Khusrau, passed through Palestine on his way to Mecca. He was in Jerusalem in 1052, and his description of the Holy City and the Haram Area is most minute, and extremely valuable, as being the last we have of the holy places before the coming of the Crusaders. Further details I need not give here, since before long I hope to bring out a translation from the Persian original of the Palestine section of his diary, to be included in the same series that has published Mukaddasi. The British Museum possesses a minute but very beautiful MS. of his work, and by its aid I have been able, I think, to emend many of the obscure passages in the edition of the French *savant*, M. C. Schefer.

12. The geographer, Idrisi, is perhaps better known in the west than any other Arab writer on this subject. As long ago as 1592 the text was printed in Rome. His geography was written in 1154, at the request of the Norman king, Roger II, of Sicily, at whose court he resided. Idrisi was born at Ceuta, but of Spanish Arab parents. He travelled much, for he relates that he has seen the English and French coasts, and has lived at Lisbon. His description of Palestine is excellent, and that of Jerusalem in particular is interesting, for he wrote of it as it was during the occupation of the Crusaders. It would not, however, appear that he himself visited the Holy Land, and his information, therefore, must have been derived from the accounts that he obtained at the Court of Roger from books, and from those who had travelled in that country.

13. Another Muslim who has left us a description of sites in Palestine during Crusading times is 'Ali of Herat, who wrote in 1173 a small work on "The Places of Pilgrimage." Its most interesting section is that describing Hebron, wherein he gives an account of a visit to the Cave of Machpelah.¹ 'Ali of Herat, though of Persian origin, wrote in Arabic. The text of his work has not, as far as I know, ever been printed; but the Bodleian possesses a good MS. copy. 'Ali died at Aleppo in 1215.

14. In 1185, two years before Saladin reconquered Jerusalem, the northern part of Palestine was visited by the traveller Ibn Jubair, a Spanish Arab, born at Valencia in 1145. Ibn Jubair set out on his

¹ I have given a translation of Yakût's version of the story in my paper on Suyûti.—J.R.A.S., vol. xix, 1887, April.

travels from Granada in 1183; he came first to Egypt, went up the Nile, and then across the desert to Aidhab, on the Red Sea, whence he reached Mecca, and subsequently Medina. Thence he crossed Arabia to Kufah and Bagdad (of which he has left a most interesting account), and travelling up the Tigris bank, crossed from Mosul to Aleppo, travelled down to Damascus (of which he has also given a detailed description), and thence on to Acre, where he took ship, and ultimately landed again on Spanish soil at Carthagenia in 1185. Unfortunately for us he did not visit Jerusalem. He made two other journeys to the East subsequent to the one above mentioned, and on the return journey died at Alexandria, in Egypt. His description of the places he saw is lively and exact, although from the ornate style in which he wrote a literal translation of his diary would be tiresome reading.

15. For the immense extent of his labours and the great bulk of his writings Yakût has certainly the first rank among Muslim geographers. By birth a Greek and a slave, he was brought up and received a scientific education at Bagdad, in his master's house, who was a merchant. The details of his biography would take too long to recount here; suffice it to say that at various periods of his wandering life he sojourned at Aleppo, Mosul, Arbela, and Marv, and that he fled from this latter city (in those days renowned for its numerous libraries) in 1220 on the advent of the armies of Jenghis Khân. Travelling across Persia and through Mesopotamia, he ultimately reached Syria, and settled down at Aleppo, in which city he died in 1229. His great geographical lexicon, which describes in alphabetical order every town and place of which Yakût could obtain any information throughout the many kingdoms of the Muslims, was completed in the year 1225. It is a storehouse of geographical information, the value of which it would be impossible to over-estimate, and since no translation has ever been attempted of the articles therein relating to Palestine and Syria I hope to bring to light much that is new by giving an English version of what the great geographer has to say about the cities and sites of the Holy Land.

After the days of Yakût there is indeed very little new to be learnt from the Arab geographers.

16. Dimashki, born in 1256 at Damascus (as his name implies), wrote about the year 1300 a very jejune description of his native land. He was a contemporary of Sultan Bibârs, and his work is of some value in connection with the Crusading Chronicles. He died at Safed in 1327.

17. His contemporary, Abu 'l Fidâ, some time Prince of Hamâh, and a collateral descendant of the great Saladin, is a geographer of far higher merit. His chapter on Syria and Palestine is for the most part not copied from books, for as he is describing his native country he writes from personal observation. The work was completed in 1321. Abu 'l Fidâ himself was born at Damascus in 1273. He lived under the Mamlûk Sultans Kalaun, Lajûn, and Malik en Nâsir, and was made Governor of Hamâh in 1310, in which city he died in 1331.

18. Ibn Batûtah, the Berber, may well take rank with the Venetian,

Marco Polo, for the marvellous extent of his journeyings. He was born at Tangiers about the year 1300, and at the age of twenty-five set out on his travels.

Of these he has left us a full description, written in the year 1355. His route in the barest outline is all that can be indicated in this place. Starting from Morocco he visited in succession Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt; going up through Palestine and Syria, he accompanied the Hajj to Medina and Mecca, went thence on through Mesopotamia to Persia, and returning, spent some months, first at Bagdad, and subsequently at Mosul. From Mosul he went again to Mecca, and from there travelled through Yemen, and so back to Egypt. From Egypt he took ship for Asia Minor, and afterwards visited Constantinople, the Crimea, Astrakhan, Khárizm, Tartary, Transoniann, Afghanistan, and finally reached India, where he spent a considerable time at Delhi. From India he sailed to the Maldivé Islands and Ceylon, taking them on his way to China; and on the return journey visited Sumatra. After long voyaging he again found himself at Mecca, and from the Holy City took his way home to Fez *via* the Sudan and Timbuctoo. He subsequently visited Spain; and died at Fez, at an advanced age, in the year 1377.

Ibn Batútah's account of what he saw in Palestine is extremely curious, and his description of Jerusalem goes into considerable detail. Possibly it might be worth while to translate his Palestine route *in extenso*, and give it in the form of one of the "Pilgrims."

19, 20, and 21. The last three names on the list are those of the Jerusalem Topographers. The earliest of them, the author of the much quoted "Muthír al Ghirám"—which only exists in MS.—wrote in the year 1351.

His work forms the foundation of the description of Jerusalem, written in 1470 by Shams ad Dín Suyútti,¹ and lastly, Suyútti *plus* the "Muthír" has been incorporated by Mujír ad Dín, chief judge of the Holy City, in the detailed description he has given us of Jerusalem, written a quarter of a century later than Suyútti, in the year 1496. From a topographical point of view these three taken together correct one another, and the last of them describes the sites of Jerusalem very much as they stand at the present day.

A few words must now be added in conclusion to indicate the method it is proposed to follow in the work I hope, before very long, to lay before the subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund. A first chapter therein will be devoted to a general account—as found in the various Arab geographers—of Palestine and Syria; giving the political divisions of the country at various epochs, its products and peculiarities, its commerce, and, in short, all details that are of a general order. Next in place, as being by far the most voluminous, I propose to give the article on Jerusalem. It will contain a careful translation, with the needful notes,

¹ See J. R. As. Soc., April, 1887, for a full account and translation of the more important parts of his work.

of all that the Arab geographers have reported of the Holy City and its buildings. The descriptions of such travellers as Násir-i-Khusrau and Ibn Batútah, as found in their diaries, will be here translated *verbatim*.

Special attention will, of course, be paid to the due arrangement in chronological order of the descriptions that have come down to us, of the buildings of the Dome of the Rock, and Aksa Mosque, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in order that the history of these buildings, *during the last thousand years*, may, by the testimony of contemporary writers, once and for all, be set at rest.

Following the chapter on Jerusalem will come one that will give the various accounts of Damascus. After these two, I propose to arrange under the place names in alphabetical order everything that I have been able to gather from the above enumerated authors, concerning each of the several towns and sites in Palestine and Syria. Some of the articles will naturally be confined to a few lines; others, such as those dealing with Hebron, Tiberias, the Dead Sea, the Sea of Galilee, &c., will contain a considerable amount of translation.

Lastly, I propose to add a classified "road book" of the distances between the various towns, as given by the geographers (citing the authority for each), since by this means we are often enabled to identify sites of places now gone to ruin, and further, we gain an idea of the extent of traffic along these high roads during all the centuries of the middle ages. A full index will, as a matter of course, be added, and as an introduction, a chronological table, for reference, of the various dynasties that have held sway in Palestine, from the first Arab conquest down to its last conquest by the Turkish Sultan, Selim I, in 1518.

Maps and plans of the various edifices described will also be inserted, as required, to elucidate the text.

Of the translations from the Arabic, I should say that in every case they will have been made by myself from the original texts, printed or MS. Among the score of authors enumerated above, some few have been already translated (in part or in whole) into Latin, French, or German. Of previous translations I shall of course make my use, and take profit at the same time by the notes the editor, or translator, may have added to his text. A full bibliographical list of the texts used will be given, and in this it will doubtless be a matter of surprise for some, to note that of these score of Arab geographers, only one has been edited (untranslated, in the Arabic text) by an Englishman, and only one has been translated into English, and that, unfortunately, after a fashion that renders it utterly unreliable for any purposes whatsoever.

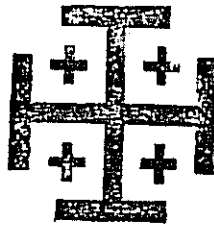
GUY LE STRANGE.

Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.

DIARY OF A JOURNEY THROUGH
SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

BY
NÂSIR-I-KHUSRAU,
IN 1047 A.D.

TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN AND ANNOTATED BY
GUY LE STRANGE.



LONDON:
24, HANOVER SQUARE, W.
1893.

P R E F A C E.

ABU MU'IN NASIR, the son of Khusrau, was born at a village in the neighbourhood of Balkh in the year 1003 A.D. (394 A.H.), and claimed to be descended, in the eighth degree, from Imâm Ali ar Rizâ, whose tomb, at the present day is shown in the Shrine at Mash-had.

During the earlier years of his life, Nâsir-i-Khusrau, it would appear, travelled through the northern provinces of India, and visited Multân, possibly in the service of Sultan Mahmûd of Ghazni, or of his son, Mas'ûd; for he alludes in one of his works to having attended the court of these princes. For a number of years, however, subsequent to these early travels, Nâsir-i-Khusrau stayed at home, and occupied a post of some importance in the administration of Ja'afar, or Jughri Beg—elder brother of the celebrated Tughrul Beg, founder of the Saljûkî dynasty—who was then governor of Khurasân.

From his own confession, Nâsir-i-Khusrau had all his life been somewhat addicted to the pleasures of the wine-cup. One night, however, as he was travelling on a tour of inspection, connected with the affairs of his office, in the provinces lying between Balkh and Marv, there

appeared to him in his sleep the vision of a holy personage, who admonished him to repent of his iniquities while there was yet time; and, at his question, indicated the pilgrimage to Mecca as the path most likely to conduce to his spiritual regeneration. This was in the year 1045 A.D. (437 A.H.), when Násir was aged forty-two. The vision made such an impression on his mind that he started immediately for Marv, made known his desire to set out on the pilgrimage, and after giving in his accounts, obtained his dismissal from the Beg's service. A few months later, in the spring of 1046, Násir—accompanied by his brother, and attended by a young Indian slave—set out from Marv on his pilgrimage to the Holy Cities.

In the middle of the eleventh century A.D., the power of the Fatimite Khalifs at Cairo was at its height. Mustansir billah was master of all the land of Egypt, as well as westward along the north African coast, and in Sicily; while his lieutenants governed not only the Hijjáz, with the two Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, but also the greater part of Syria and Palestine, with the third Holy City of Jerusalem.

At Baghdad the Abbáside Khalif ruled, but the government was entirely in the hands of the Buyide princes, whose authority was recognised throughout Mesopotamia and Southern Persia. In Khurasán and the East, the Saljúk power was on the rise. Tughrul Beg had already defeated the Sultan of Ghuzni, and was now turning his arms against the Bani Murwán, and other princes who held semi-independent state in the north-western provinces of Persia, and in Upper Mesopotamia.

Such, then, in brief outline, was the condition of things political when our Pilgrim set out on his journey west. From Marv, going by the highroad through Sa:akhs, he reached Nishapúr, at that time the seat of Tughrul Beg's government, and after a short stay set forth again, this time in company with the Sultan's secretary, who had business in the western provinces of the Saljúk Empire. They passed through Kumis to Damghán, and thence skirting the southern spurs of the great mountain-chain of the Elburz, and with the desert lying on the left hand, came to Ray (Rhages), the ruins of which may yet be seen a few miles south of the modern Tehrán. From Ray the route lay still along the mountain-skirts to Kasvín, and thence crossing to Shemirán, the capital of the Tarim province, they went on to the great city of Tabríz, in Azerbaiján, the ancient Media. Toward the end of September, after spending some three weeks in the capital of Azerbaiján, Násir set out again, and, travelling along the southern shore of the Van Lake, reached Bitlis, in Armenia, having experienced some trouble in the mountain passes on account of the heavy falls of snow that had recently occurred. From Bitlis they journeyed on, passing through the pine forests that clothe the mountain-slopes in these parts, and by the last days of November reached Miyáfarikín, the chief town of the province of Diyar Bakr. Nine leagues from Miyáfarikín lay the fortress of Amid, by which our Pilgrim went, and thence took the caravan route across the fertile plains of Mesopotamia to Harrán, the chief town of Diyár Modhar, which was reached in the last days of December, 1046. A day's journey from

Harrân brought him to Sarûj, and two days later, in the first days of January, 1047 A.D., he crossed the Euphrates to enter the province of Syria. The account Nâsir-i-Khusrau gives of his travels through Syria and Palestine is translated in full in the following pages. He remained four months in Syria and Palestine, and in the first days of May left Jerusalem for Mecca to be present at the Arafat ceremonies. Two months later, however, by the end of the first week of July, he was back again in Jerusalem, and shortly after set out by the land route for Egypt, arriving there in the first week of August, 1047. Nâsir-i-Khusrau's description of Egypt under the Fatimite Khalif, Al Mustansir, forms one of the most interesting sections of his work, but space forbids our entering into details. He stayed in Egypt eight months on his first visit, and in the middle of April, 1048, set out from Cairo at the season of the pilgrimage, and going down the Red Sea by boat, landed at Al Jâr, whence, after four days' march, he reached Medina. Being pressed for time, he only halted here a couple of days, and then took the road south to Mecca, where he accomplished the pilgrim rites, and returned with least possible delay to Egypt, since the whole of the Hijjâz was at this time suffering from the scourge of pestilence and famine. Two years later, in April, 1050, he finally left Egypt on his return journey to Persia, and, going up the Nile to Asiût, took the road to Aidhab, where he stayed for three months before crossing the Red Sea to Jiddah. This time he journeyed so leisurely that it was only in September that he once more reached Mecca. His description of this city is detailed and most interesting,

and he took part a second time in the pilgrim rites, sojourning there till May, 1051, when he set out across the great desert of Arabia for Lahsa, on the Persian Gulf. He was, however, detained during four months at Falaj, in Yamamah, and thence, passing hurriedly through Lahsa, went on to Basrah, which was reached in December, 1051. Here Násir-i-Khusrau remained a couple of months to repose after the fatigues of his desert journey, and in the latter days of February, 1052, took ship for Mahrubán, off the coast of Fars. Our Pilgrim's route, from the coast up to Isfahán, lay through Erraján and the mountain passes of Western Fars. Setting out from Ispahan, in the last days of June, Násir-i-Khusrau, despite the heat and the lack of water, took the desert route by Nain, Tabûs, Tûn, and Kain, reaching Sarakhs by the 1st of October, and Marv on the 15th of the same month.

Without stopping more than a couple of days at Marv, Násir-i-Khusrau, accompanied by the brother who, it would appear, had kept with him during all the seven long years of his pilgrimage, set out hurriedly for Balkh, for he had heard that his third brother, Khâjih 'Abd ul Jalíl, of whom he had had no news during all these years, was now living there in the service of Jughri Beg, the Amir of Khurasán.

'It was Saturday, the 26th day of Jumádi al Akhir, of the year 444 (that is, the 23rd of October, 1052), that we three brothers found ourselves once again united, and rejoiced in the sight each of the other. Oft had we abandoned all hope, and from manifold dangers experienced had despaired of life. But now we gave thanks to

God—be He praised and glorified!—for all that He had brought to pass; and that same day we all once again entered Balkh together.'

So ends the account of Násir-i-Khusrau's pilgrimage. But little is really known of his subsequent history, and we need not here enter into the discussion of whether or no the erotic and pantheistic poetry that was current under his name was actually written by him, or by some different person bearing somewhat the same name.

The MSS. used by me for this translation are two, both in the British Museum. Add. 18,418 is a small and beautifully written MS. in a neat Shikastah handwriting, which, however, is not very easy to read on account of the lack of the diacritical points. This MS. was copied in A.D. 1691 (Ramadán, A.H. 1102). Or. 1991, the other MS., is only a very meagre epitome of the foregoing, taken from a copy in the library of Nawwáb Ziyá ad Din Khán, of Dehli; it has proved, however, useful for discovering the true reading of some of the proper names. The Persian text of the whole work, with a French translation, was published some years ago by the learned Orientalist, M. Ch. Schefer.* I make no apology for having used his text (printed from one or two other MSS.) for the emendation of that afforded by the British Museum copies. The English translation now published is my own, and differs in many important points from his French version. In translating into a

* 'Sefer Nameh : Relation du Voyage de Nassiri Khosrau,' publié, traduit et annoté par Ch. Schefer, Membre de l'Institut,' etc. Paris, 1881. An English translation of our Pilgrim's description of Jerusalem was published in vol. vi., N.S., p. 142, of the J. R. A. S. For archaeological purposes, however, this translation is almost useless.

Western tongue the description of buildings and places given us by a mediæval and Oriental pilgrim, a knowledge of the language merely does not suffice, and the translator has need, if possible, to be intimately acquainted with the buildings and places described, in order, from his personal recollections, now and again to add (in brackets) the few words of explanation needful to make the ancient description comprehensible. Further, I have thought it well to add such notes as were sufficient to identify the various proper names, and call attention to matters of more particular importance.

A few words may be said, in conclusion, regarding the measures and weights used by the Pilgrim in his Diary. The day's march he estimates at so many *Farsakhs*, which is the Greek *Parasang*, and is a distance varying between three and four miles (according to the road and the country), being what a caravan horse will walk in the hour. I have translated *Farsakh* by 'league,' and as the day's march is always reckoned by hours, this term is sufficiently exact for practical purposes. In his measurements of buildings our Pilgrim makes use of two units of length: namely, *Gez* and *Arsh*. The latter is the equivalent of the Arabic *Dhira'*, the cubit; while the *Gez* is generally reckoned to be longer than the cubit, and is given in the dictionaries as roughly equivalent to the English 'yard.' A careful comparison of the many passages in which our Pilgrim has used these terms has, however, shown me that with him they are synonymous terms, corresponding to a measure of somewhat under two English feet.* I have been careful in my translation

* See p. 29, n. †; p. 45, n. *; p. 46, n. †.

to keep to the word 'cubit' for the Persian *Arsh*, while *Gar* is always rendered by our etymologically synonymous word 'ell.' The only measure of weight used is the *Mann*, which is equivalent to about $3\frac{1}{2}$ lb. avoirdupois, and one hundred of them go to the *Kharwar* or Ass-load. The coin in which the Pilgrim notes the price of various articles he comes across is the Maghribi, or Fatimite gold *Dînâr*, struck in Egypt, and current in all the western Muslim lands; its value may be roughly estimated at ten shillings.

In conclusion, I would express my grateful thanks to Col. Sir C. Wilson for the many valuable suggestions he has sent me, with permission to use them in the notes to the present Pilgrim. In Appendix C will be found a long note by him on the identification of the Gates of the Haram Area, in conformity with which I have written the notes to my translation.

G. LE S.

46, CHARLES STREET, MAYFAIR,
June, 1888.

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DIARY OF A JOURNEY THROUGH SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

SATURDAY,* the 2nd of Rajab of the year 438 (January 2, 1047 A.D.), we reached Sarûj, and the second day thence, having crossed the Euphrates, came to Manbij.† This is the first of the towns of Syria. It was now the month Bahman (January) of the ancient (Persians),‡ and the

* According to Dr. Wüstenfeld's Tables, this day fell on a Friday.

† The ancient Hierapolis.

‡ As a good Muslim, our author, of course, dates his journal according to the Year of the Flight (with the Arabic months), which is lunar, and, therefore, fails to correspond with the seasons. The ancient Persian year of the Era of Yazdagird was, however, in use among his countrymen. It was solar, consisted of twelve months, of thirty days each (with five days intercalary), and began on the 21st of March of each year (Naurûz—New Year's Day), when the sun enters Aries.

The Persian months are :

1. Farwardîn (corresponding generally with April, but beginning on the 21st of March).
2. Ardîbihisht (May).
3. Khûrdâd (June).
4. Tir (July).
5. Murdâd (August).
6. Shahriwâr (September).
7. Mihr (October).
8. Âbân (November).
9. Azur (December).
10. Dai (January).
11. Bahman (February).
12. Isfandârmuz (March).

The Era of Yazdagird is dated from the first year of the reign of that king (A.D. 632), the last of the Sassanians.

I

weather in these lands was extremely pleasant. There are no buildings without the town of Manbij. Thence we journeyed to the city of Aleppo (Halab). From Miyáfárikín* to Aleppo is a hundred leagues (farsakh).

Aleppo appears a fine city. It has great walls, whose height I estimate at twenty-five cubits (ársh); also a strong castle, entirely built on the rock, which I consider to be as large as the castle at Balkh. All the houses and buildings of Aleppo stand close one beside the other. This city is the place where they levy the customs (on merchandise passing) between the lands of Syria and Asia Minor, and Diyár Bakr and Egypt and 'Irák, and there come merchants and traders from out all these lands to Aleppo. The city has four gates, namely, Báb al Yahúd (the Jews' Gate), Báb Allah (the Gate of Allah), Báb al Jinán (the Gate of Paradise), and Báb Antákiyah (the Gate of Antioch). The weight used in the bazaars of this place is the Dháhiri Ratl (or pound),† which contains 480 dirhams weight.

Leaving Aleppo, and going south, after twenty leagues you reach Hamá (Hamath), and then Hims (Emessa), after which Damascus, which last lies fifty leagues distant from Aleppo. From Aleppo to Antioch is twelve leagues, and to the city of Tarábulus (Tripoli) is a like distance; and they say that to Kustantiniyyah (Constantinople) is two hundred leagues. We left the city of Aleppo on the 11th of Rajab (January 11), and, after marching three leagues, came to a village called, in particular, Kinnasrín;‡

* The chief city of the province of Diyár Bakr, in Upper Mesopotamia.

† The Dháhiri Ratl (from the Greek *λίτρα*) is the pound weight instituted by the Fatimite Khalif Dháhir li Izázi Dīn Allah, who reigned from 1020 to 1035 A.D. Counting the dirham at 47½ English grains, this gives 22,800 grains, or about 3½ pounds.

‡ The ancient Chalcis. This is the reading of the Elliot Epitome

and the next day, after six leagues more, reached Sarmin, a town that is without walls.

Six leagues further we came to Ma'arraḥ an Nu'mán,* which has a stone wall, and is a populous town. At the city gate I saw a column of stone on which something was inscribed in a writing other than Arabic. One whom I asked concerning it said it was a talisman against scorpions, and thereby no scorpion could ever come into or abide in the town; and even were one to be brought in, and then set free, it would flee away and not remain in the place. The height of this column, according to my estimation, might be ten cubits. The bazaars of Ma'arraḥ an Nu'mán I saw full of traffic. The Friday Mosque is built on a height, in the midst of the town, so that from whatever side it may be you would enter the Mosque, you go up thereto by thirteen steps. The arable land belonging to the town is all on the hillside, and is of considerable extent.† There are here also fig-trees and olives, and pistachios and almonds and grapes in plenty. The water for the city is from the rains, and also from wells.

There was living here (at this date) a certain personage called Abu 'l 'Alā Ma'arrī, who, though sightless, was the chief man of the city. He possessed great wealth, and slaves, and very numerous attendants; for it was as

and the B. M. MS. Kinnasrīn was also the name of the whole district. For *Khāssah Kinnasrīn*, 'Kinnasrīn in particular,' M. Schefer's text reads *Jund Kinnasrīn*, i. e., 'the province of Kinnasrīn'; but *Jund Kinnasrīn* cannot be the name of the town; and the reading of our MS. is certainly to be preferred.

* So called after Nu'man ibn Bashīr, a Companion of the Prophet, to distinguish it from the other Ma'arraḥs.

† Thus in the B. M. MS. M. Schefer's text reads 'Their arable land grows wheat.' (*Gandum-ast* instead of *Kūh-ast*.) But the above is more likely to be the correct reading, since wheat is in no way peculiar to Ma'arraḥ, and the town does stand on a height surrounded by hills. (See Baedeker, 'Syria and Palestine,' 1876, p. 559.)

though all the inhabitants of the city were of his people. As for himself, he had adopted the way of the ascetics, being clothed in a rug (*gilim*), sitting quiet in his house, and taking for his daily bread half a *Mann* (or about one and a half pound) of barley bread, and beyond this eating nothing more. As I heard, the gate of his house is ever open, and his lieutenants and servants do regulate the affairs of the city, but in all matters take reference to him for orders. He refuses of his goods to no man, and, the while, himself remains fasting by day and constant in prayer by night; for he is occupied in no worldly affairs (of his own). This personage, too, has attained such renown as poet and writer that the learned of Syria, Maghrib and Irák, all agree that no one of these days is his equal, nor can be. He has written a book under the name of 'Al Fusúl wa-l Ghâyat' (The Divisions and Conclusions), wherein enigmatical words are employed, with such wonderful and eloquent conceits and similitudes that it is only a very small part thereof that one can understand, and that only when one may have perused the work under the author's direction. (So enigmatical and wonderful is this book) that they even calumniate him by averring that he has attempted therein to rival the Kurân itself; There are continually with him some two hundred persons, come from all parts of the world, to attend his lectures on poesy and diction; and I heard that he had himself written over 100,000 couplets. A certain one inquired of him why, since God—may He be praised and magnified!—had endowed him with all this wealth and goods, was it that he thus gave all to other men and used none for himself. The answer was, 'No more than what I must eat, can I take.' Now when I passed through Ma'arrâh this Abu 'l 'Alâ was still living.*

* Abu 'l 'Alâ was born in A.D. 973, and died in 1057. His biography is given in Ibn Khallikân's 'Biographical Dictionary' (trans-

Rajab, the 15th of the year 438 (January 15th, 1047), we came from Ma'arrah an Nu'mân to Kafar Tâb;* and thence on to the city of Hamâ (Hamath), which is a well-populated city on the bank of the river 'Asi (Orontes). This stream is called the 'Asi (meaning, 'the Rebel'), for the reason that it flows towards the Greek territory; that is to say, it is a Rebel to go from the Lands of Islâm to the Lands of the Infidel. They have set up numerous waterwheels on its banks.

From Hamâ onwards there are two roads; one towards the sea-coast, lying through the western parts of Syria; and one directly south, going to Damascus. We went by the coast-road, and in the mountains saw a spring which, they say, flows with water once a year, when the middle day of the (lunar) month of Sha'abân is past. It continues running for three days, after which it gives out not a single drop of water more until the next year.† A great many people visit this place in pilgrimage, seeking propitiation whereby to approach God—may He be praised and glorified!—and they have constructed here a building and a water-tank. When we had passed by this place, we came to a plain‡ that was everywhere covered with

lated by De Slane, vol. i., p. 94) : and Dr. Rieu, of the British Museum, has published his life and works under the title of *De Abûl Ala Poeta Arabici Vita et Carminibus, etc.*, Bonnæ, 1843.

* The name is plainly written in the B. M. MS. The Elliot Epitome has Kûmât, and M. Schefer's text *Kuwaimât*, which he rightly conjectured to be a clerical error for the above-mentioned town.

† This is the source of the Sabbatical River of antiquity, visited by Titus (Josephus' 'Wars,' vii. 5, 1). It is at the present day called *Fawwârah ad Dair*, 'The Fountain of the Convent,' i.e. of Mar Jirjis (St. George), alluded to by our author in the lines following. Josephus asserts that the spring ceases to flow on Saturdays. The Muslims of the present day say Fridays.

‡ The Bukai'ah, called in Crusading chronicles *La Boquie of Krak des Chevaliers*, Kal'at al Husn (and not to be confounded with the Bik'a plain of Cælo-Syria).

narcissus flowers in bloom, and the whole plain appeared white thereby; and from their very profusion had we to ride on, coming at last to a town called 'Arkah.* After we had passed 'Arkah two leagues, we came to the shore of the sea, and taking our way southward along the coast, after five leagues, reached the city of Tripoli (Tarâbulus).

From Aleppo to Tripoli is forty leagues, and, by the way we marched, we reached the latter city on Saturday, the 5th of Sha'abân (February 6th). The whole neighbourhood of the town is occupied by fields, and gardens, and trees. The sugar-cane† grows here luxuriously, as likewise orange and citron trees;‡ also the banana, the

* The city of the Arkites (Gen. x. 17), and the 'Arcados' of the Crusaders.

† The cultivation of the sugar-cane in the West spread from Khuzistân in Persia, and throughout the Middle Ages Shuster (the ancient Susa) was renowned for its manufacture on a large scale. The art of sugar-refining was very extensively practised by the Arabs, and under their rule the growth and manufacture of the cane spread far and wide, from India to Morocco, and was introduced to Europe through the Muslim dominions in Spain and Sicily.

‡ The careful researches of Guallesio have proved that India was the country from which the orange spread to Western Asia, and eventually to Europe. From remote antiquity the orange has been cultivated in Hindustan, and before the close of the ninth century the bitter variety seems to have been well known to the Arabs, who had introduced it into the countries of South-western Asia. The Arab historian, Mas'ûdî, who wrote in the year 943 A.D. (332 A.H.), has the following account of the introduction of orange and citron trees. The translation is from vol. ii., p. 43E, of M. B. de Meynard's text, published by the Société Asiatique :

'The orange-tree (*Shajar an nâranj*) and the tree bearing the round citron (*al'utraj al mudawwar*) were brought from India, since the year 300 A.H. (912 A.D.), and were first planted in 'Omân. Thence they were carried to Al Basrah into 'Irâk and Syria, whereby they have become very numerous in the houses of the people of Tarsûs and other of the Syrian frontier towns: also in Antioch and in all the

lemon, and the date. They were, at the time of our arrival, extracting the juice of the sugar-cane. The town of Tripoli is so situate that three sides thereof are on the sea, and when the waves beat, the sea-water is thrown up on to the very city walls. The fourth side, which is towards the land, is protected by a mighty ditch, lying eastward of the wall, in which opens an iron gate, solidly built. The walls are all of hewn stone, and the battlements and embrasures are after the like work. Along the battlements are placed balistæ (*arrádah*), for their fear is of the Greeks, who are wont to attempt the place in their ships. The city measures a thousand cubits long, by the like across. Its hostelrys are four and five stories high, and there are even some that are of six. The private houses and bazaars are well built, and so clean that one might take each to be a palace for its splendour. Every kind of meat and fruit and eatable that ever I saw in all the land of Persia, is to be had here, and a hundred degrees better in quality. In the midst of the town is the great Friday Mosque, well kept, and finely adorned, and solidly constructed. In the Mosque court is a large dome, built over a marble tank, in the middle of which is set a brazen fountain. In the bazaar, too, they have made a watering-place, where, at five spouts, is abundant water for the people to take from; and the overflow, going along the ground, runs into the sea. They say there are twenty thousand men in this city, and the place possesses many adjacent territories and villages. They make here very

Syrian coast towns, with those of Palestine and Egypt, where, but a short time ago, they were unknown. The fruits, however, have lost their original perfume and flavour, as also the fine colour they have in India, and this is because of the change from their own peculiar soil, and the climate and the water.'

good paper,* like that of Samarkand, only of better quality.

The city of Tripoli belongs to the (Fatimite) Sultan of Egypt. The origin, as I was told, of this is that when, a certain time ago, an army of the Infidels from Byzantium had come against the city, the Muslims from Egypt came and did fight the Infidels, and put them to flight. The Sultan of Egypt has remitted his right to the land-tax (*kharaǰ*) in the city. There is always a body of the Sultan's troops in garrison here, with a commander set over them, to keep the city safe from the enemy. The city, too, is a place of customs, where all ships that come from the coasts of the Greeks and the Franks, and from Andalusia, and the Western lands (called *Maghrib*), have to pay a tithe to the Sultan; which sums are employed for the rations of the garrison. The Sultan also has ships of his own here, which sail to Byzantium and Sicily and the West, to carry merchandise. The people of Tripoli are all of the Shi'ah sect. The Shi'ahs in all countries have built for themselves fine mosques. There are in this place houses like Ribâts (which are caravanserais, or watch-stations), only that no one dwells therein on guard, and they call them Mash-hads (or places of martyrdom). There are no houses outside the city of Tripoli, except two or three of the Mash-hads that are above described.

And after this, leaving the city of Tripoli, we journeyed along the seashore, our faces towards the south; and after a league or so of the way I saw a fortress called Kalamûn,†

* This is the *Charta Damascena*, or *bombycina*, of the Middle Ages—cotton-paper, which the Arabs had first learnt to make after taking Samarkand in A.D. 704. Although as early as the tenth century (A.D.) *bombycinum* was used at Rome, cotton-paper did not come into general use in Europe much before the middle of the thirteenth century, and *linen*-paper was first made in the fourteenth century.

† The village of Kalamûn exists at the present day, and represents

within which there is a spring of water. From here we came on to the town of Tarâbarzan,* which lies five leagues distant from Tripoli; which passed, we went on to the town of Jubail.† This last is a city built in the form of a triangle, one angle lying out to sea, and surrounding it are high, well-built walls. All round the town are date-palms, and other trees of a warm region. I met a boy there who had in his hand two roses, one red, one white, and both already full-blown, though it was still but the 5th day of the month Isfandârmuz (or March) of the ancient Persians, being in the Persian era (of Yazdagird) the year 415.‡

From Jubail we came on to Bairût. Here I saw an arch of stone so great that the roadway went out through it; and the height of the arch I estimated at fifty ells (Ges).§ The side walls of the arch are built of white stone, and each block must be over a thousand Manns (or about a ton and a half) in weight. The main building is of unburnt brick, built up a score of ells high. Along the

the *Calamos* of Pliny, and the *Calamon* which, according to Polybius, was destroyed by Antiochus. The B. M. MS. has *Bâ Kalamûn*.

* This name, which is very clearly written in identically the same way in all the MSS., is possibly, as M. Schefer suggests, a mistaken reading in the author's note-book for *Batrûn* (the classical *Botrys*), which, for position, would agree with the distances given. I should, however, be disposed (considering now *all* the MSS. give *Tarâbarzan*), perhaps, to consider the name in the MSS. as a corruption of *Theouprosofon*, the Greek name for the promontory (N. of *Batrûn*), now known as *Râs ash Shakkah*. *Theouprosofon*, written in Arabic characters (*Tûbarsabûn*), might more easily become *Tarâbarzan* than this last be a corrupt reading for *Batrûn*, which was a perfectly well-known town.

† The Hebrew *Gebal*, the Greek *Biblos*, and the *Giblet* of the Crusading chroniclers.

‡ See *ante* (p. 1, note ‡).

§ This must have been the remains of one of the baths or theatres with which Herod Agrippa embellished Berytus; or, possibly, of the celebrated College.

top of the same are set marble columns, each eight * ells tall, and so thick that with difficulty could two men with their arms stretched embrace the circumference. Above these columns they have built arcades, both to right and to left, all of stones, exactly fitted, and constructed without mortar or cement. The great centre arch rises up between, and towers above the arcades by a height of fifty cubits. The blocks of stone that are used in the construction of these arches, according to my estimate, were each eight cubits high and four cubits across, and by conjecture each must weigh some seven thousand Manns (or about ten tons). Every one of these stones is beautifully fashioned and sculptured after a manner that is rarely accomplished, even in (soft) wood.

Except this arch no other (ancient) building remains. I inquired in the neighbourhood what might have been the purpose thereof; to which the people answered that, as they had heard tell, this was the Gate of Pharaoh's garden; also that it was extremely ancient. All the plain around this spot is covered with marble columns, with their capitals and shafts. These were all of marble, and chiselled, round, square, hexagonal, or octagonal; and all in such extremely hard stone that an iron tool can make no impression on it. Now, in all the country round there is apparently no mountain or quarry from which this stone can have been brought; and, again, there is another kind of stone that has an appearance of being artificial, † and, like the first stone, this, too, is not workable with iron. In various parts of Syria there may be seen some five hundred thousand columns, or capitals and shafts of

* The B. M. MS. may read 'twenty Gez,' but this is doubtless a clerical error.

† Referring doubtless to basalt or granite, of which ancient columns are frequently found.

columns, of which no one now knows either the maker, or can say for what purpose they were hewn, or whence they were brought.

From Bairût we came on to the city of Sidon (Saidâ), likewise on the seashore. They cultivate here much sugar-cane. The city has a well-built wall of stone, and four gates. There is a fine Friday Mosque, very agreeably situated, the whole interior of which is spread with matting in coloured designs. The bazaars are so splendidly adorned that, as I first saw them, I imagined the city to be decorated for the arrival of the Sultan, or in honour of some good news. When I inquired, however, they said it was customary for their city to be always thus beautifully adorned. The gardens and orchards of the town are such that one might say each was a pleasure laid out at the fancy of some king. Kiosks are set therein, and the greater number of the trees are of those kinds that bear fruit.

Five leagues from Sidon we came to Tyre (Sûr), a town that rises on the shore of the sea. They have built the city on a rock (that is in the sea), after such a manner that the town-wall, for one hundred yards only, is upon the dry land, and the remainder rises up from out the very water. The walls are built of hewn stone, their joints being set in bitumen in order to keep the water out. I estimated the area of the town to be a thousand (cubits)* square, and its caravanserais are built of five and six stories, set one above the other. There are numerous fountains of water; bazaars are very clean; also great is the quantity of wealth exposed. This city of Tyre is, in fact, renowned for wealth and power among all the maritime cities of Syria. The population for the most part

* *Arsâ* is, I suppose, to be understood. None of the MSS. give the measure employed.

are of the Shi'ah sect, but the Kádi (or judge) of the place is a Sunni. He is known as the son of Abu 'Akil, and is a good man, also very wealthy. They have erected a Mash-had (a shrine, or place of martyrdom) at the city gate, where one may see great quantities of carpets and hangings, and lamps and lanterns of gold and silver. The town itself stands on an eminence. Water is brought thereto from the mountain; and leading up to the town-gate they have built arches, (for the aqueduct), along which the water comes into the city. In these mountains is a valley,* over against this city, and running eastward, through which, after eighteen leagues, you come to the city of Damascus.

After leaving Tyre, we travelled seven leagues, and came to the township of Acre ('Akkah), which, in official documents, is named Madinat 'Akkah. The city stands on an eminence, the ground sloping, but in part level; for all along this coast they only build towns where there is an elevation, being in terror of an encroachment of the waves of the sea. The Friday Mosque at Acre is in the centre of the town, and rises taller than all the other edifices. All its columns are of marble. To the right hand, outside the mosque, and towards the Kiblah (south), is the tomb of the Prophet Sálîh †—peace be upon him!

The court of the mosque is partly paved with stone, and the other part is sown with green herbs; for they say it was here that Adam—peace be upon him!—first practised husbandry. I made a measurement of the city; its length is two thousand ells, and its breadth five hundred ells. Its walls are extremely strong, and to the west and

* This must be the valley of the Baitáf, along which ran the road from Acre to Damascus.

† According to the Kurán (ch. vii., ver. 71), Sálîh was the prophet sent to convert the tribe of Thamûd. He is variously identified with the Peleg of Gen., ch. xi., ver. 16, or the Schelah of ver. 13.

south is the sea. On the southern side is what is called the *Miná* (or Port). Now, most of the towns upon this coast have a *Miná*, which same place is constructed for the harbouring of ships. It resembles, so to speak, a stable, the back of which is towards the town, with the side-walls stretching out into the sea. Seaward, for a space of about fifty ells, there is no wall, but only chains stretching from one wall's end to the other. When they wish to let a ship come into the *Miná*, they slack the chains until they have sunk beneath the surface of the water sufficient to let the ship pass over them (into the harbour); then they tighten up the chain again so as to prevent any strange vessel coming in to make an attempt against the ships.* Outside the eastern gate, and on the left-hand, is a spring, to which you descend by twenty-six steps before reaching the water. This they call the '*Ain al Bakar* (the Ox Spring),† relating how it was Adam—peace be upon him!—who discovered this spring, and gave his oxen water therefrom, whence its name of 'the Ox Spring.'

When you leave this township of Acre and go eastwards, you come to a mountain region,‡ where there are various places of martyrdom of the prophets—peace be upon them!—and this region lies aside from the road of him who would travel to Ramlah. It had ever been my intention to visit these holy sepulchres, and seek to obtain thereby a blessing before God—may He be exalted and glorified! and since the people of Acre told me that there were in those parts along the roads disorderly men, who set upon any-

* For a description of the Port of Acre and the method of its construction, see p. 30 of '*Mukaddasi*.'

† This '*Ox Spring*' was a place held sacred by Jews, Muslims, and Christians alike, and was a place of visitation. The Muslims had built a mosque here, dedicated to 'Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, the eastern part of which the Crusaders made into a church.

‡ The mountainous region of Lower Galilee.

one whom they saw to be a stranger in order to rob him of everything that he had, I therefore deposited the money I had with me in the mosque of Acre before setting out from that city by the eastern gate on Saturday* the 23rd of Sha'abân, of the year 438 (22nd February, 1047). The first day I went and visited the tomb of 'Akkah,† who is the founder of the city of Acre ('Akkah), a very pious and great personage. Now, I had no guide with me who knew the road, and I became somewhat bewildered, when suddenly by the mercy of God—may He be exalted and glorified!—on that first day I met a Persian of the province of Azerbaijân,‡ who, already once before having made the visitation to these blessed sepulchres, had now come into those parts a second time with a like intention. In thankfulness for the favour that God—may He be exalted and glorified!—had thus vouchsafed to me, I made a prayer of two prostrations (*rik'ahs*), beseeching Him in my orisons that He would grant to me grace to fulfil all the pious intentions that I had formed.

So proceeding, we came to a village named Birwah,§ and I made my visitation of the tombs, which are seen there, of 'Ish (Esau), and Sham'un (Simeon)—peace be on them both! From Birwah we went on to Dámún,|| where there is a small cavern; here I also made visitation, for they say it is the sepulchre of Dhu'l Kif¶—peace be on him!

* A Sunday, according to the Tables.

† M. Schefer's text reads 'Akk; the two MSS. of the B. M. give the name as above.

‡ The North-western province of Persia, corresponding to the ancient Media.

§ The B. M. MS. reads 'Barzan' in error. Birwah and Tell Birwah lie about three miles to the east of Acre.

|| Due south of Birwah. The B. M. MS. reads in error *Dámi'* for Dámún, which last is found in M. Schefer's text.

¶ The prophet, Dhu'l Kif, according to Muslim tradition, was the son of the patriarch Job.

Thence we passed to another village, called A'bilin,* where there is the tomb of Húd—peace be upon him!—which I visited. Within the enclosure here is a mulberry-tree;† and there is likewise the tomb of the prophet 'Uzair‡—peace be upon him!—which I visited. And thence, going in a southerly§ direction, we came to a village called Hadhīrah; and opening to the west of this village is a valley. In this valley is a spring of clear water gushing out from a rock, and over against the spring, and upon the rock, they have built a mosque. In this mosque are two chambers built of stone, with the ceiling likewise of stone; the door of the same is so small that a man can only enter with difficulty. Within there are two tombs, placed close side by side, one of which is that of Shu'aib|| (Jethro)—peace be upon him!—and the other that of his daughter, who was the wife of Musa

* This name in the B. M. MSS. is corrupted to Akhir 'Anān. A'bilin lies south of Dāmūn. Guérin considers A'bilin to represent the ancient Zabulon, destroyed by Cestius. The Muslim prophet Húd is the Biblical Eber. He was sent to convert the ancient 'Adites, who, refusing to listen to him, were destroyed by a burning wind ('Kurān,' ch. vii., ver. 63).

† *Khartāl*. M. Schefer reads *Kharnīb*—the carob, or St. John's Bread.

‡ Ezra, or Esdras. 'Kurān,' ch. ix., ver. 30, 'Moreover, the Jews say, "Uzair is the Son of God."' According to Muslim tradition, Ezra was raised to life after he had been a hundred years dead, and dictated to the scribes (from memory) the whole Jewish law, which had been lost during the Captivity.

§ The direction is, I think, mistaken, and we should read 'eastward.' There are several places in these regions north and west of Irbid that have at the present day the name of Hadhīrah (Hazūr, Hazīreh), which, meaning merely an 'enclosure' (the Biblical 'Hazereth'), is applicable to many sites.

|| See 'Kurān,' ch. vii., ver. 83. The tomb of Shu'aib (Jethro) is now shown on the Mountain of Hattīn, so celebrated in tradition as the Mount of the Beatitudes, and also in history as the battle-field where the Crusaders were defeated by Saladin.

(Moses)—on him, too, be peace! The people of the village are assiduous in keeping the mosque and the tombs swept clean, and in the setting here of lamps and other such matters. From this place we went on to a village called Irbil,* on the south side of which rises a mountain; and on the mountain is an enclosure, which same contains four graves—those of the sons of Ya'kúb (Jacob)—peace be upon him!—who were brothers of Yúsuf† (Joseph)—upon him, too, be peace! And going onward I came to a hill, and below the hill a cavern, in which was the tomb of the mother of Moses—peace be upon him!—and I made my visitation there also.

Leaving this place, we came down a valley, at the further end of which were visible the lake and the city of Tabariyyah (Tiberias), upon the shore of the same. The length of the lake (of Tiberias) I would estimate at six leagues, and its breadth may be three. The water of the lake is sweet and of good flavour. The town lies on the western shore. The waters from the hot springs near by, and the drainage water of the houses, all flow into the lake; and yet the population of the city, and of the places along the shores of the lake, do none the less all of them drink of the waters thereof. I heard that once upon a time a certain governor of the city gave orders that they should prevent the refuse of the city and the sewerage from draining thus into the lake. But (after his orders were carried out) the water of the lake itself became fetid, so as to be no longer fit for drinking; and on his ordering that the sewers should again be allowed to open therein, the lake water became once more sweet as afore-

* Now generally called Irbid. It is the site of the ancient Arbela.

† Yakût, in his 'Geographical Dictionary' (Text, i. 184), mentions these tombs, and states them to be those of Dan, Issachar, Zebulon, and Gad.

times. The city has a strong wall, that beginning at the borders of the lake goes all round the town; but on the water side there is no wall. There are numberless buildings erected in the very water, for the bed of the lake in this part is rock; and they have built pleasure-houses that are supported on columns of marble, rising up out of the water. The lake is very full of fish. The Friday Mosque is in the midst of the town. At the gate of the mosque is a spring, over which they have built a hot-bath, and the water of this spring is so hot that until it has been mixed with cold water you cannot bear to have it poured over you. They say this hot-bath was built by Solomon, the son of David—peace be upon them both!—and I myself did visit it. There is, too, on the western side of the town of Tiberias a mosque known as the Jasmine Mosque (*Masjid-i-Yâsmin*). It is a fine building, and in the middle part rises a great platform (*dukkân*), where they have their *Mihrâbs* (or prayer niches). All round those they have set jasmine shrubs, from which the mosque derives its name. In the colonnade, on the eastern side, is the tomb of *Yûsha' ibn Nûn* (Joshua the son of Nun), and underneath the great platform aforesaid are shown the tombs of the Seventy Prophets—peace be upon them!—whom the children of Israel slew. South of Tiberias lies the (Dead Sea, or) Lake of *Lût* (Lot). The waters of this last lake are salt, although the (fresh) waters of the Lake of Tiberias flow down into it. The cities of Lot were along its borders, but no trace of them remains. A certain person related to me that in the salt waters of this lake there is a substance which gathers itself together from the foam of the lake, and is black, with the likeness in form to a bull's (carcass floating). This stuff (which is asphalt) resembles stone, but is not so hard. The people of the country gather it and break it in pieces, sending

it to all the cities and countries round. When the lower part of a tree is covered with some of this (asphalt), no worm will ever do the tree a harm. In all these parts they preserve the roots of the trees by this means, and thus guard against the damage to the gardens that would arise from worms and things that creep below the soil. The truth, however, of all this rests on the credibility of the word of him who related it to me. They say, too, that the druggists also will buy it, for they hold that a worm, which they call the 'Nuktah,' attacks their drugs, and that this (asphalt) preserves therefrom. In the town of Tiberias they make prayer-mats of reeds, which sell in the place itself for five Maghribî Dînârs (or over £2) a piece. On the west of the city rises a mountain, upon which has been built in hewn stone a castle,* and there is there an inscription in Hebrew characters, stating that, at the time it was cut, the Pleiades stood at the head of the zodiacal sign of the Ram. The tomb of Abu Hurairah (the Prophet's companion) lies † outside the

* These must be the ruins of Herod's Castle, now called 'Kasr Bint al Malîk' (the Palace of the King's Daughter), lately visited and described by Herr Schumacher in the P.E.F. *Quart. State.* of April, 1887.

† The celebrated Abu Hurairah, one of the Prophet's companions, died in A.H. 57 (A.D. 677), at 'Akik. His body was taken into Madfnah and buried in the well-known cemetery of Al Baki'—so say the Arab historians. (Cf. Ibn Khallikan's 'Biographical Dictionary,' translated by De Slane, i. 570.) In confirmation of our Pilgrim's account that his tomb was in old times shown at a village near Tiberias, is 'a stone of 'Ajiûn marble,' measuring 2 feet 7 inches by 2 feet, lately discovered in this neighbourhood by Herr Schumacher. It bears on its face an Arabic inscription to the following effect (see *Quart. State.*, P.E.F., April, 1887, p. 89): 'In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Say: He is one God—God the Everlasting! He begetteth not, and He is not begotten, and there is none like unto Him ("Kurân," ch. cxii). This is the Tomb of Abu Hurairah, the companion of Allah's apostle: upon whom be Allah's peace and His blessing.—In the place where this stone was discovered Herr

city, towards the south, but no one can go and visit it, for the people who live here are of the Shi'ah sect, and as soon as anyone comes to make the visitation, the boys begin a tumult, and raise a disturbance about him that ends in stone-throwing, wherefrom some injury results. This was the cause that I did not make my visitation to this place; but turning aside I proceeded on to a village that is called Kafar Kannah.* To the southward of this village is a hill, on the top of which they have built a fine monastery. It has a strong gate, and the tomb of the Prophet Yûnis (Jonas)†—peace be upon him!—is shown within. Near by the gate of the monastery is a well, and the water thereof is sweet and good. When I had made my visitation at this place, I came on thence to Acre, which is four leagues distant, and remained in that city for a day.

And afterwards, leaving Acre, we went on to a village called Haifâ, the road all the way lying over the sands, the sand here being of the kind that the goldsmiths of Persia make use of in their business, and know under the name of 'Mekkah sand.' This village of Haifâ lies on

Schumacher noted traces 'of an ancient mosque;' unfortunately, however, he does not state anything concerning the appearance and age of the characters used in this interesting epitaph. Yâkût, writing about the year A.D. 1225, in his great 'Geographical Dictionary,' at the end of the article on *Tiberias* (Text, vol. ii, p. 512), likewise notes that 'on the slope of the hill of Tabariyyah is a tomb which they say is the tomb of Abu Hurairah—Allah accept him!—though his tomb is also (found) at Al Baki' and at Al 'Akk (at Madinal.)' In his article on (Jabneh or Jabneel) *Yubnâ* (op. cit., vol. iv., p. 1007), Yâkût, however, again notes that in this town also is a tomb said by some to be that of Abu Hurairah.

* One of the rival sites identified by ecclesiastical tradition with the Cana of Galilee (St. John ii. 1-11). The ruins of a church are still shown in the neighbourhood, and probably formed part of the monastery (*Sîmi'ah*), referred to by our Pilgrim.

† The name of the prophet is omitted in both the B. M. MSS.

the seashore, and there are here palm-gardens and trees in numbers. There are in this town shipbuilders, who build very large craft; the sea-going ships of this place are known under the name of 'Júdí.' Leaving Haifá, we proceeded on to a village called Kanisah,* and beyond this the road leaves the seashore and enters the hills, going eastward through a stony desert place, which is known under the name of Wádi Tamásih (or the Valley of Crocodiles).† After passing two leagues, however, the road turns back, and goes once more along the sea-beach, and in these parts I saw great quantities of the bones of marine monsters, set in the earth and clay, and become, so to speak, petrified by the action of the waves that beat over them. Passing these, we arrived at the city named Kaisariyyah (Cæsarea), which lies seven leagues distant from Acre.

Cæsarea is a fine city, with running waters and palm-gardens, and orange and citron trees. Its walls are strong, and it has an iron gate. There are fountains that gush out within the city; also a beautiful Friday Mosque, so situated that in its court you may sit and enjoy the view of all that is passing on the sea. There is preserved here a vase made of marble, that is like to Chinese porcelain, and it is of a size to contain a hundred Manns weight of water (or about thirty-four gallons).

On Saturday, the last day of the month of Sha'abán (29th February), we set forth again, travelling over the sand that is of the kind aforesaid, called 'Mekkah sand,' and coming, after a time, to a place where I saw many fig-trees and olives; for all the road here lies through a

* Kunaisah (the Little Church), or Tell Kanisah, a few miles N. of Athlit. The Crusaders considered this to be the site of Capernaum.

† This is the valley of the Crocodile River (Pliny), now known as the Nahr Zarká, or 'Blue River.'

country of hills and valleys. After travelling thus for several leagues, we reached a city called Kafar Sâbâ, also Kafar Sallâm.* From this city on to Ramlah is but three leagues, and all along the way are trees of the kinds above described.

Sunday, the day of the new moon of the month of Ramadân (the 1st of March), we came to Ramlah. From Cæsarea to Ramlah is eight leagues. Ramlah is a great city, with strong walls built of stone, mortared, of great height and thickness, with iron gates opening therein. From the town to the sea-coast is a distance of three leagues. The inhabitants get their water from the rainfall, and in each house is a tank for storing the same, in order that there may always be a supply. In the middle of the Friday Mosque, also, is a large tank; and from it, when it is filled with water, anyone who wishes may take. The area of the mosque measures two hundred paces (*Gâm*) by three hundred. Over one of its porches (*suffah*) is an inscription stating that on the 15th of Muharram, of the year 425 (10th of December, 1033 A.D.), there came an earthquake† of great violence, which threw down a large number of buildings, but that no single person sustained an injury. In the city of Ramlah there is marble in plenty, and most of the buildings and private houses are of this material; and, further, the surface

* Our Pilgrim is, of course, mistaken in writing of Kafar Sâbâ and Kafar Sallâm as one and the same place (the MSS. all read as in the text). Kafar Sâbâ still exists. Kafar Sallâm has entirely disappeared from the present maps, but its site is probably that of *Râs al 'Ain*, the Antipatris of Acts xxiii. 31, and Josephus. Mukaddasi mentions both towns separately (see p. 60 and note 5 of the 'Translation'), and gives their respective distances from Ramlah as in each case one day's march.

† This earthquake is mentioned by the Arab annalists, who state that a third of Ramlah was thrown down, the mosque in particular being left a mere heap of ruins.

thereof they do most beautifully sculpture and ornament. They cut the marble here with a toothless saw, which is worked with 'Mekkah sand.' They saw the marble in the length, as is the case with wood, to form the columns; not in the cross; also they cut it into slabs. The marbles that I saw here were of all colours, some variegated, some green, red, black, and white. There is, too, at Ramlah, a particular kind of fig, than which no better exists anywhere, and this they export to all the countries round. This city of Ramlah, throughout Syria and the West, is known under the name of Filastin.*

On the 3rd of Ramadân (3rd March) we left Ramlah, and travelled to a village, called Latrûn(?)†, and from there on to another village, called Kariat-al-'Anab.‡ By the wayside I noticed, in quantities, plants of rue (*Sadâb*), which grows here of its own accord on these hills, and in the desert places. In the village of Kariat-al-'Anab there is a fine spring of sweet water gushing out from under a stone, and they have placed all around troughs, with small buildings contiguous (for the shelter of travellers). From this village we proceeded onward, the road leading upward, and I had imagined that we should come to a mountain; and then, going down on the further side, that we should arrive at the Holy City. But after we had continued our

* Ramlah was the Arab capital of the province of Filastin (Palestine), and as such was often referred to under the name of its province. The same is the u-age with regard to Shâm (Damascus or Syria), Misr (Cairo or Egypt), and other places. Major Fuller begins his translation (J.R.A.S., vol. vi., N.S., p. 142) at this point.

† In M. Schefer's text and the B. M. MSS. this name is written Khâtûn, a mistake, doubtless, as the French savant remarks, for Latrûn, which is *Castrum boni Latronis*, the village of the penitent thief, according to the Crusading chronicles.

‡ 'The Village of Grapes.' It is said to be the Biblical 'Baalath, which is Kirjath-jearim,' which Mukaddâsi (p. 54 of the 'Translation') calls *Bâli'ah*.

upward road some way, a great plain opened out in front of us, part of which was stony, and part of it good soil; and here, as it were, on the summit of the mountain, lay before our view Bait al Mukaddas (the Holy City). From Tripoli, which is by the seashore, to the Holy City is fifty-six leagues; and from Balkh to the Holy City, eight hundred and seventy-six leagues. It was the 5th of Ramadán, of the year 438 (5th March, 1047 A.D.), that I thus came to the Holy City; and the full space of a solar year had elapsed since I set out from home, having all that time never ceased to travel onward, for in no place had I yet sojourned to enjoy repose. Now, the men of Syria, and of the neighbouring parts, call the Holy City (Bait al Mukaddas) by the name of Kuds (the Holy); and the people of these provinces, if they are unable to make the pilgrimage (to Mekkah), will go up at the appointed season to Jerusalem, and there perform their rites, and upon the feast day slay the sacrifice, as is customary to do (at Mekkah on the same day). There are years when as many as twenty thousand people will be present at Jerusalem during the first days of the (pilgrimage) month of Dhu-l Hijjah; for they bring their children also with them in order to celebrate their circumcision.

From all the countries of the Greeks, too, and from other lands, the Christians and the Jews come up to Jerusalem in great numbers in order to make their visitation of the Church (of the Resurrection) and the Synagogue that is there; and this great Church (of the Resurrection) at Jerusalem we shall describe further on in its proper place.

The country and villages round the Holy City are situated upon the hillsides; the land is well cultivated, and they grow corn, olives, and figs; there are also many kinds of trees here. In all the country round there is no (spring) water for irrigation, and yet the produce is very

abundant, and the prices are moderate. Many of the chief men harvest as much as 50,000 Manns weight (or about 16,800 gallons) of olive-oil. It is kept in tanks and in pits, and they export thereof to other countries. It is said that drought never visits the soil of Syria. I heard from a certain person, on whose word I can rely, that the Prophet—peace be upon him, and the benediction of Allah!—was seen in a dream by a saintly man, who addressed him, saying, 'O Prophet of God, give me assurance for ever of my daily bread;' and the Prophet—peace be upon him!—replied: 'Verily it shall be warranted unto thee, even by the bread and oil of Syria.'

I now purpose to make a description of the Holy City. Jerusalem is a city set on a hill, and there is no water therein, except what falls in rain. The villages round have springs of water, but the Holy City has no springs. The city is enclosed by strong walls of stone, mortared, and there are iron gates. Round about the city there are no trees, for it is all built on the rock. Jerusalem is a very great city, and, at the time of my visit, there were in it twenty thousand men. It has high, well-built, and clean bazaars. All the streets are paved with slabs of stone; and wheresoever there was a hill or a height, they have cut it down and made it level, so that as soon as the rain falls the whole place is washed clean. There are in the city numerous artificers, and each craft has a separate bazaar. The mosque lies at the (south) east quarter of the city, whereby the eastern city wall forms also the wall of the mosque (court). When you have passed out of the mosque, there lies before you a great level plain, called the *Sáhirah*,* which, it is said, will be the place of the

* The B. M. Epitome is the only MS. that spells this name right. Other MSS. have *Sámírah*. As *Sáhirah*, 'the Plain' is the level space occupying the northern portion of the Mount of Olives.

Resurrection, where all mankind shall be gathered together. For this reason men from all parts of the world come hither to make their sojourn in the Holy City till death overtakes them, in order that when the day fixed by God—be He praised and exalted!—shall arrive, they may thus be ready and present at the appointed place.

O God! in that day do Thou vouchsafe to Thy servants both Thy pardon and Thy protection! Amen. O Lord of both worlds!

At the border of this plain (of the Sâhirah) there is a great cemetery, where are many places of pious renown, whither men come to pray and offer up petitions in their need. May God—be He praised and glorified!—vouchsafe unto them their desires. Grant unto us also, O God, our needs, and forgive our sins and our trespasses, and have mercy upon us, O most Merciful of the merciful!

Lying between the mosque and this plain of the Sâhirah is a great and steep valley, and down in this valley, which is like unto a fosse, are many edifices, built after the fashion of ancient days. I saw here a dome cut out in the stone, and it is set upon the summit of a building. Nothing can be more curious than it is, and one asks how it came to be placed in its present position. In the mouths of the common people it goes by the appellation of Pharaoh's House.* The valley of which we are speaking is the Wâdî Jahannum.† I inquired how this name came to be applied to the place, and they told me that in the times of the Khalif Omar—may Allah receive him in

* The building alluded to is the so-called Tomb of Absalom, down in the Kedron Valley, just below the S. E. angle of the Haram Area. At the present day also it goes by the name of *Tantûrah Fira'ûn*, or Pharaoh's Cap.

† It is Valley of Gehenna is not the Jewish valley of that name, but the Valley of Kedron or Jehoshaphat (see note 4 to p. 49 of *Mukaddasî*).

grace!—the camp (of the Muslims, who had come up to besiege Jerusalem) was pitched here on the plain called Sâhirah, and that when Omar looked down and saw this valley, he exclaimed, 'Verily this is the Valley of Jahannum.' The common people state that when you stand at the brink of the valley you may hear the cries of those in Hell which come up from below. I myself went there to listen; but heard nothing.

Going southward of the city for half a league, and down the gorge, you come to a fountain of water gushing out from the rock, which they call the 'Ain Sulwân (the Spring of Siloam). There are all round the spring numerous buildings; and the water therefrom flows on down to a village, where there are many houses and gardens. It is said that when anyone washes from head to foot in this water he obtains relief from his pains, and will even recover from chronic maladies. There are at this spring many buildings for charitable purposes, richly endowed; and the Holy City itself possesses an excellent Bîmâristân (or hospital), which is provided for by considerable sums that were given for this purpose. Great numbers of (sick) people are here served with potions and lotions; for there are physicians who receive a fixed stipend, and attend at the Bîmâristân.*

The Friday Mosque (which is the Aksâ) lies on the east side of the city, and (as before noticed) one of the walls of the mosque (Area) is on the Wâdi Jahannum. When you examine this wall, which is on the Wâdi, from the outside of the mosque, you may see that for the space of a hundred cubits it is built up of huge stones, set without mortar or cement. Inside the mosque (Area) it is level all along the summit of this wall. The (Aksâ) mosque occupies

* The MS. of the Epitome breaks off here, leaving out the remainder of the description of Jerusalem.

the position it does because of the stone of the Sakhrāh. This stone of the Sakhrāh is that which God—be He exalted and glorified!—commanded Moses to institute as the Kiblah (or direction to be faced at prayer). After this command had come down, and Moses had instituted it as the Kiblah, he himself lived but a brief time, for of a sudden was his life cut short. Then came the days of Solomon—upon him be peace!—who, seeing that the rock (of the Sakhrāh) was the Kiblah point, built a mosque round about the rock, whereby the rock stood in the midst of the mosque, which became the oratory of the people. So it remained down to the days of our Prophet Muhammad, the Chosen One—upon him be blessings and peace!—who likewise at first recognised this to be the Kiblah, turning towards it at his prayers; but God—be He exalted and glorified!—afterwards commanded him to institute, as the Kiblah, the House of the Ka'abah (at Mekkah).* The description of the rock will be given below, in its proper place. Now, it was my desire to obtain the measurements of the (Haram Area round the) mosque; and I said to myself, First I will come exactly to know the place in all its aspects, and see the whole thereof, and afterwards will I take the measurements. But after passing some time in the Noble Sanctuary, and examining it, I came on an inscription upon a stone of an arch in the north wall (of the Haram Area), not far from the Dome of Jacob (Kubbat Ya'kūb)†—on whom be peace! In this inscription the length of the Haram Area

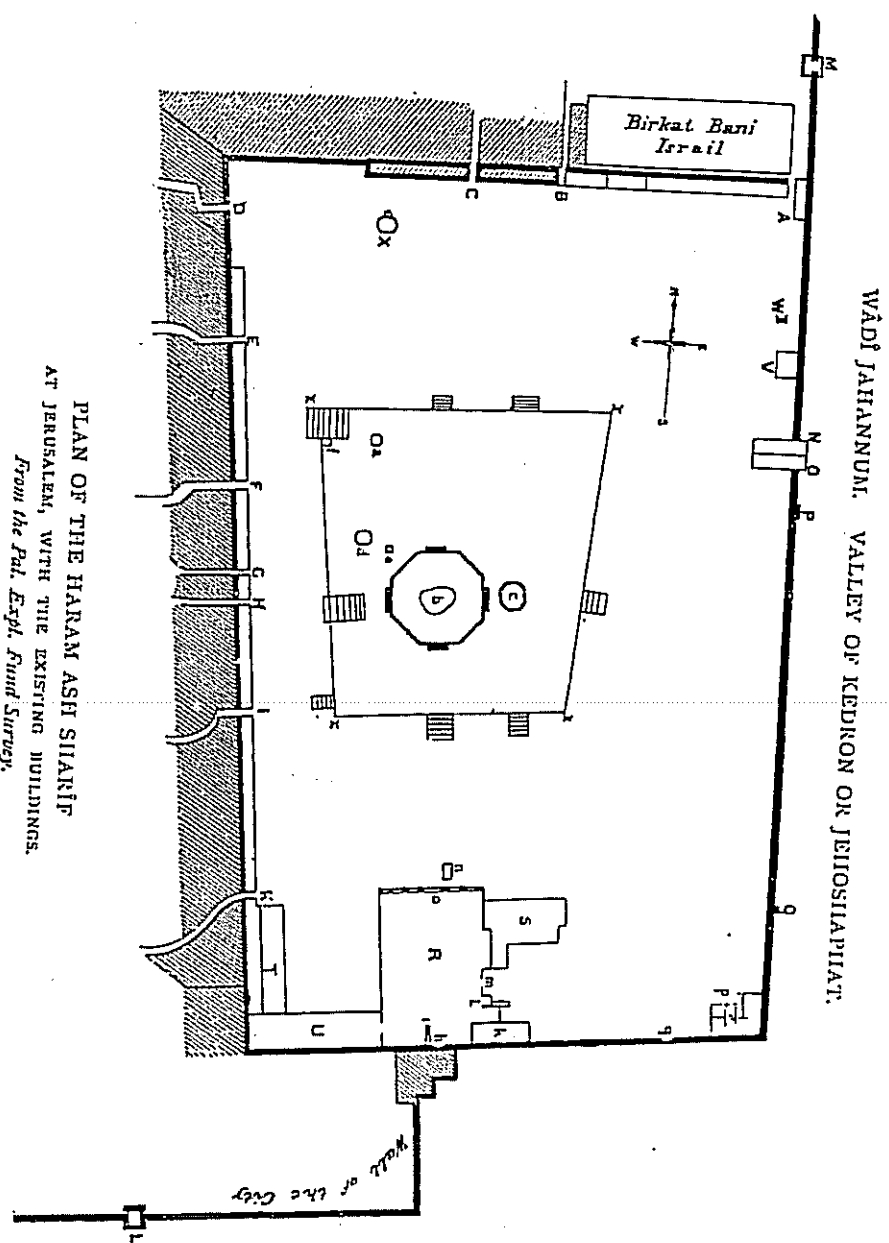
* In the early days of the Hijrah, when the Prophet had fled to Medinah, and for a time had thoughts of abandoning Mekkah and its Ka'abah, he directed his followers to pray facing in the direction of Jerusalem. It was only in Rajab, A.H. 2, that the Ka'abah was definitely instituted as the Muslim Kiblah.

† The small building to the south of the present Bāb al 'Atm (Plan, C).

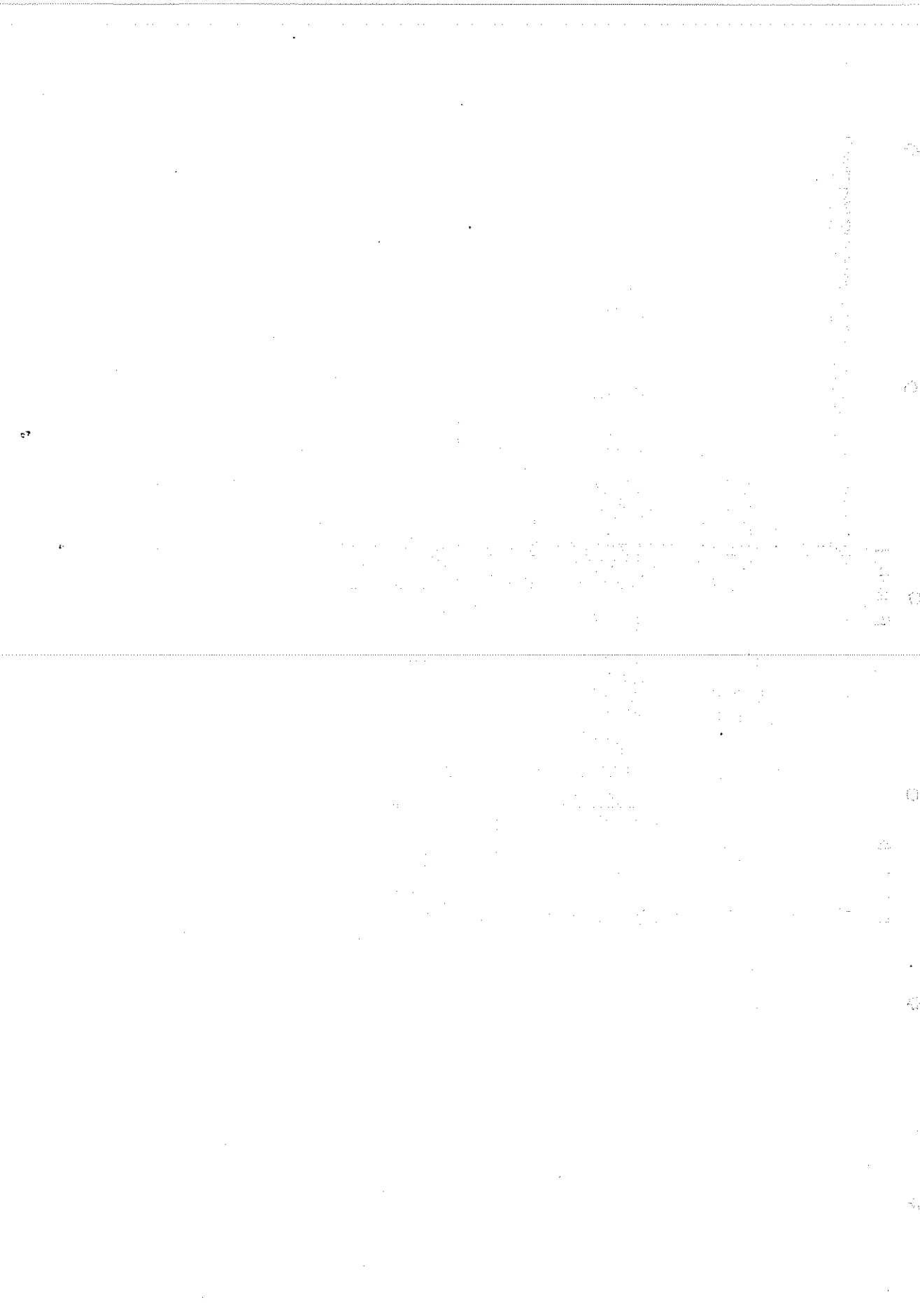
REFERENCES TO THE PLAN.*

- A. Bâb al Asbât (Gate of the Tribes).
 B. Bâb Hittah (of Remission).
 C. Bâb Sharaf al Anbiyâ (of the Glory of the Prophets) or Ad Dawâdariyyah (of the Secretariat), or Al 'Atm (of Darkness).
 D. Bâb al Ghawânimah.
 E. Bâb an Nâdhir (of the Inspector), later of 'Alâ ad Din al Busiri.
 F. Bâb al Hadid (of Iron).
 G. Bâb al Kattânin (of the Cotton Merchants).
 H. Bâb al Mutawaddâ (of the Place for Ablution).
 I. Bâb as Silsilah (of the Chain), or As Sakinah (of the Shechinah).
 K. Bâb al Maghâribah, or An Nabi (of the Mogrebins, or of the Prophet).
 L. City Gate, called Bâb al Maghâribah; and by the Franks the Dung Gate.
 M. City Gate, Bâb Sitti Maryam; and by the Franks the Gate of St. Stephen.
 N. Bâb at Taubah (of Repentance) } Golden Gate.
 O. Bâb ar Rahmah (of Mercy) }
 P. Bâb al Burâk or Al Janâiz (of the Funerals).
 Q. Pillar in the Wall, marking the place of the Bridge As Sirât.
 R. Jâmi' al Aksâ.
 S. Madrasah al Farsiyyah.
 T. Jâmi' al Maghâribah.
 U. Aksa al Kadimah (ancient Aksa).
 V. Kursi Sulaimân (Solomon's Throne).
 W. Makâm Iliyâs or Khidr (Station of Elias or St. George).
 X. Kursi 'Isâ (Throne of Jesus).
 x, x, x. Platform of the Rock.
 a. Kubbat al Alwâh (Dome of the Tablets).
 b. The Rock.
 c. Kubbat as Silsilah (D. of the Chain).
 d. Kubbat al Mirâj (of the Ascension).
 e. Kubbat Jibrail (Gabriel).
 f. Kubbat al Khidr (St. George).
 g. Mihrâb Daûd (David's Prayer-niche).
 h. Great Mihrâb of the Aksa Mosque.
 i. Mimbar (Pulpit).
 k. Jâmi' 'Omar.
 l. Mihrâb Zakariyyah (Prayer-niche of Zachariah).
 m. Eastern Door of Mosque.
 n. Well of the Leaves.
 o. Great Gate of the Mosque.
 p. Mahd 'Isâ (Cradle of Jesus).

* This represents the Haram Area as it exists at the present day; and is reduced from the Plan of the Ordnance Survey (Pal. Expl. Fund), with additions from the work of M. de Vogüé.



PLAN OF THE HARAM ASH SHARIF
 AT JERUSALEM, WITH THE EXISTING BUILDINGS.
From the Pal. Expl. Field Survey.



was set down at seven hundred and four cubits (*arsħ*), and the breadth at four hundred and fifty-five cubits, of the royal measure.* The royal ell (*gez-i-malik*) is the same as that which is known in Khurasán as the *Gez-i-Sháigán* (the King's Ell), and is equivalent to one and a half of the (common) cubits (*arsħ*), or a fraction the less.† The area of the Noble Sanctuary is paved with stone, the joints being set in lead.

(As we have said before) the Haram Area lies in the eastern part of the city; and through the bazaar of this (quarter) you enter the Area by a great and beautiful (*Dargáh* or) gateway, that measures thirty ells in height, by twenty across. This gateway has two wings, in which open halls, and the walls of both gateway and halls are adorned with coloured enamels (*Míná*), set in plaster, cut into patterns, so beautiful that the eye becomes dazzled in contemplating them. Over the gateway is an inscription, which is set in the enamels, giving the titles of the Sultan (who is the

* The identical slab with the inscription mentioned by the Pilgrim was discovered by M. Clermont-Ganneau, in 1874, in the north wall of the Area, a little west of the Bâb al 'Atm. Part of the inscription, however, has become damaged. It runs as follows: 'In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful; the length of the Masjid is seven hundred and four and . . . ty ells, and its breadth is four hundred and five and fifty ells, the ell being the ell of . . .' According to M. Ganneau's view, the space for the Arabic word representing the tens in the enumeration of the length will only allow of the number having been originally 'eighty' or 'thirty.' M. Schefer (on the authority of M. Alric, Chancelier du Consulat de France à Jerusalem) states that the inscription may still be clearly read—'length 750 ells, breadth 455 ells, of the royal ell.' All the MSS. of our Pilgrim agree in the numbers—704 and 455—for the length and breadth. The author of the 'Muthir al Ghirâm,' who saw the inscription in A.D. 1351 (and whose text is copied by both Suyûti and Mujir ad Dîn), gives the figures as 784 and 455. For further notices of this inscription see a paper in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1887, p. 270.

† In this passage *gez* (ell) and *arsħ* (cubit) are used as synonymous terms.

Fatimite Khalif) of Egypt, and when the sun's rays fall on this it shines so that the sight is bewildered at the splendour thereof. There is also a great dome that crowns this gateway, which is built of squared stones.* Closing the gateway are two carefully-constructed doors. These are faced with Damascene brass-work, which you would take to be gold, for they are gilt, and ornamented with figured designs. Each of these doors is fifteen ells in height, by eight ells across. The gateway we have just described is called the Báb Dâúd (the Gate of David)†—peace be upon him! After passing this gateway (and entering the Haram Area), you have on the right two great colonnades (*riwák*),‡ each of which has nine-and-twenty marble pillars, whose capitals and bases are of coloured marbles, and the joints are set in lead. Above the pillars rise arches, that are constructed of masonry, without mortar or cement, and each arch is constructed of no more than five or six blocks of stone. These colonnades lead down to near the Maksúrah (or main building of the Aksa Mosque).§ On your left hand (as you enter the Gate of David), and towards the north, there is likewise a long colonnade, with sixty-four arches, supported by marble pillars. In this part of the wall there is also a gate called Báb as Sakar (the Gate of Hell)||

* M. Schefer's text here and in several other places gives *Munhádim* ('destroyed') for *Mukandam* ('squared by the rule'), as the word is correctly written in the margin of the B. M. MSS.

† This is the gate which is now called *Báb as Silsilah*, the Gate of the Chain (Plan, I).

‡ These colonnades go along the western wall of the Haram Area.

§ The main building of the Aksa Mosque is often referred to by our Pilgrim under the denomination of the 'Maksúrah,' which more properly is the name given to the railed oratory for the Sultan which the mosque contains.

|| *Báb as Sakar*, the Gate of Hell, is probably the present Báb an Nâdhir (Plan, E).

The greater length of the Haram Area extends from north to south, but if the space occupied by the Maksûrah (or Aksa Mosque) be deducted, the shape of the court is square, with the Kiblah point lying towards the south.

In the north part (of the Haram Area) is a double gateway, the gates of which are side by side, each being seven ells across by twelve high. This gateway is called the Bâb al Asbât (the Gate of the Tribes). When you have passed this gateway, there is still another great gateway in the breadth of the Haram Area (which is the north wall) in the portion running eastward.* There are here three gates side by side, of a like size to the Bâb al Asbât, and they are each fashioned in iron, and adorned with brass, than which nothing can be finer. These (three) gates they call the Bâb al Abwâb (the Gate of Gates), for the reason that, whereas elsewhere the gateways are only double, there is here a triple gateway. Running along the north part of the Haram Area, and between the two gateways just mentioned, is a colonnade, with arches that rest on solid pillars; and adjacent thereto a dome that is supported by tall columns, and adorned with lamps and lanterns. This is called Kubbat Ya'kûb (the Dome of Jacob) †—peace be upon him!—for at this spot was his place of prayer. And further, along the breadth (or northern wall) of the Haram Area is a colonnade, in the wall of which is a gate that leads to two cloisters (*daryñzah*), belonging to the Sûfis, who have

* From our Pilgrim's description (and the texts of all the MSS. agree in this passage), the gateway he calls 'the Gate of the Tribes,' would be that now known as Bâb Hittah (Plan, B); while the present Gate of the Tribes at the N. W. angle (Plan, A) is named by him 'the Gate of Gates.' See Appendix C.

† This building still exists close to the south of the Bâb al 'Atm (Plan, C), which last must be the gate said by our Pilgrim to lead to the cloisters of the Sûfis.

their place of prayer here, and have built a fine Mihráb (or oratory). There are always in residence a number of Súfis, who make this (oratory) the place of their daily devotions, except on Friday, when they go into the Noble Sanctuary, in order to attend the service of prayer therein. At the north (west?) angle (*rukn*) of the Haram Area is a fine colonnade, with a large and beautiful dome. On this dome there is an inscription, stating that this was the oratory (Mihráb) of Zakariyyá,* the prophet—peace be upon him!—for that he was wont to continue ceaselessly in prayer at this spot. In the eastern wall of the Haram Area there is a great gateway† skilfully built of squared stones, so that one might almost say the whole was carved out of a single block. Its height is fifty ells, and its width thirty; and it is sculptured and ornamented throughout. There are ten beautiful doors (*dar*) in this gateway (set so close), that between any two of them there is not the space of a foot. These doors are all most skilfully wrought in iron and Damascan brass work, set in with bolts and rings. They say this gateway was constructed by Solomon, the son of David—peace be upon him!—to please his father. When you enter this gateway facing east, there are on your right-hand two great doors. One of them is called Báb ar Rahmah (the Gate of Mercy), and the other Báb at Taubah (the Gate of Repentance); and they say of this last that it is the gate where God—be He exalted and glorified!—accepted the repentance of David—upon whom be peace! Near this gateway is a beautiful mosque.‡ In former times it was only a hall

* Zachariah's Mihráb is at present shown at a niche in the eastern wall of the Aksa Mosque (Plan, I). It is impossible to identify the place mentioned in the text with any building at present standing.

† This is the so-called Golden Gate (Plan, N and O).

‡ This I understand to refer to a building occupying the position of what is now known as Kursi Sulaimán, the Throne of Solomon (Plan, V).

(*dahliz*), but they turned the hall into a mosque. It is spread with all manner of beautiful carpets, and there are servants especially appointed thereto. This spot is greatly frequented of the people, who go to pray therein, and seek communion with God—be He exalted and glorified!—for this being the place where David—peace be upon him!—was vouchsafed repentance, other men may hope to be turned likewise from their sinfulness. They relate that David—peace be upon him!—as he crossed the threshold to enter this building, had, through divine revelation, the joyful news that God—glory and praise be to Him!—accepted of his repentance; and thereupon David halted at this spot and worshipped. And I, Násir, also stationed myself to pray here, and besought of God—be He praised and glorified!—to give me grace to serve Him and repent of my sins.

May God—be He exalted and glorified!—grant grace to all His servants whom He hath received in favour; and for the sake of Muhammad and his family, the Pure Ones, vouchsafe to all repentance of their sins!

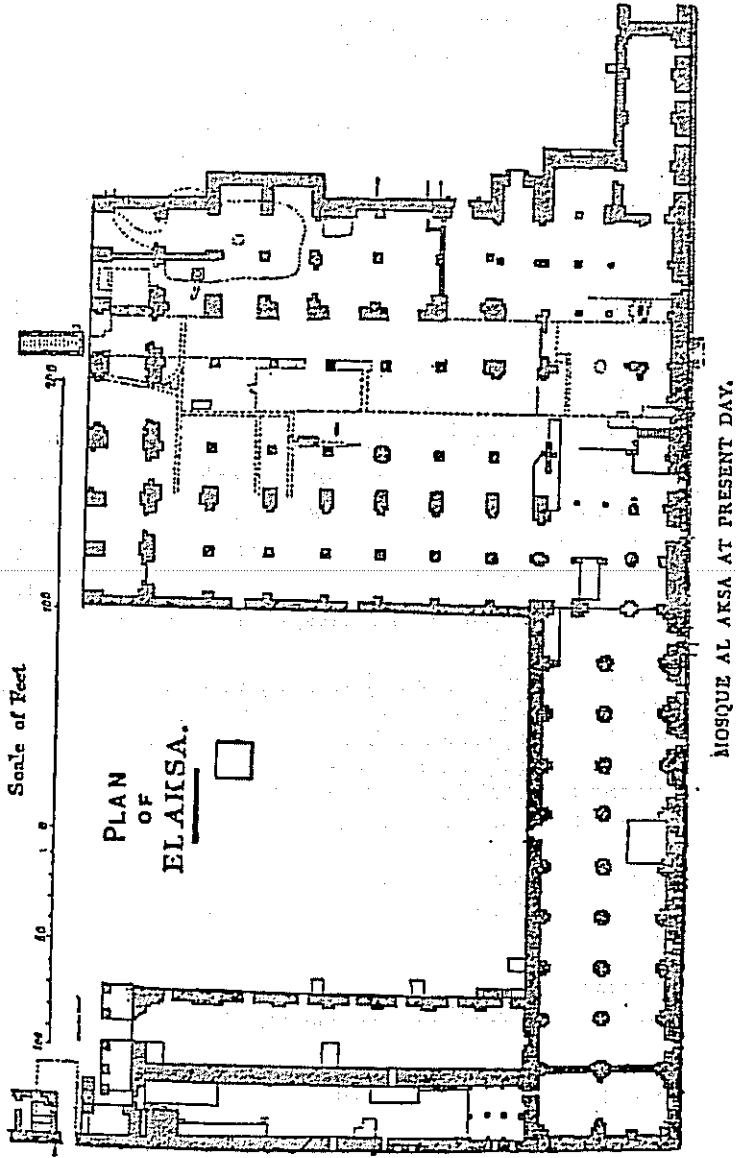
Adjacent to the east wall, and when you have reached the south (eastern) angle (of the Haram Area)—the Kiblah point lying before you, south, but somewhat aside—there is an underground mosque, to which you descend by many steps.* It is situated immediately to the north of the (south) wall of the Haram Area, covering a space measuring twenty ells by fifteen, and it has a roof of stone, supported on marble columns. Here was the Cradle of Jesus. The cradle is of stone, and large enough for a man to make therein his prayer prostrations. I myself said

* These substructures at the S. E. angle of the Noble Sanctuary are on the foundations of what appears to have been an old corner tower, and lie adjacent to what were known to the Crusaders under the name of Solomon's Stables. At the present day they are still shown as the 'Cradle of Jesus' (Plan, p).

my prayers there. The cradle is fixed into the ground, so that it cannot be moved. This cradle is where Jesus was laid during his childhood, and where He held converse with the people. The cradle itself, in this mosque, has been made the Mihráb (or oratory); and there is likewise, on the east side of this mosque, the Mihráb Maryam (or Oratory of Mary); and another Mihráb, which is that of Zakariyyá (Zachariah)—peace be upon him! Above these Mihrábs are written the verses revealed in the Kurán that relate respectively to Zachariah and to Mary. They say that Jesus—peace be upon Him!—was born in the place where this mosque stands. On the shaft of one of the columns there is impressed a mark as though a person had gripped the stone with two fingers; and they say that Mary, when taken in the pangs of labour, did thus with one hand seize upon the stone. This mosque is known by the title of Mahd 'Isá (the Cradle of Jesus)—peace be upon Him!—and they have suspended a great number of lamps there, of silver and of brass, that are lighted every night.

After passing the entrance to this mosque, near by the (south-east) angle of the east wall (of the Haram Area), you come to a great and beautiful mosque, which is other than that called the Cradle of Jesus, and is of many times its size. This is called the Masjid al Aksá (or the Further Mosque), and it is that to which Allah—be He exalted and glorified!—brought His chosen (Apostle) in the night journey from Mekkah, and from here caused him to ascend up into Heaven, even as is adverted to in the words of the Kurán, 'I declare the glory of Him who transported His servant by night from the Masjid al Haram' (the Sacred Temple at Mekkah) 'to the Masjid al Aksa' (the temple that is more remote at Jerusalem).*

* 'Kurán,' ch. xvii., ver. 1.



spot they have built, with utmost skill, a mosque. Its floor is spread with beautiful carpets, and special servants are appointed for its service, to serve therein continually.

From the (south-east) angle, and along the south wall (of the Haram Area) for the space of two hundred ells, there is no building, and this is (part of) the court (of the Haram Area). The main building (of the Aksa Mosque)* is very large, and contains the Maksúrah (or space railed off for the officials), which is built against the south wall (of the Haram Area). The length of the western side of the main building (of the Aksa) measures four hundred and twenty cubits, and the width of it is one hundred and fifty cubits.† The Aksa Mosque has two hundred and eighty marble columns, supporting arches that are fashioned of stone, and both the shafts and the capitals of the columns are sculptured. All joints are riveted with lead, so that nothing can be more firm. Between the columns measures six ells, and the mosque

* The Persian word, *Púshish*, 'covered part,' corresponds with the Arabic term, *Mughatta*, which has the same signification. The 'covered part' of a mosque is the main building over the great Mihráb, and the pulpit, in front of which public worship is performed, and is so-called to distinguish this part from the mosque court with its minor chapels and colonnades, all of which, however, are considered to form a necessary part of the mosque (Masjid), and to be included under the general term.

† These are the figures in the B. M. MS., which are also those of M. Schefer's translation. His text, however, runs as follows, and differs both from his translation and the text of the B. M. MS.: 'The main building of the (Aksa) mosque is very large. Its length is four hundred and *eight* cubits, and the Maksúrah lies to the right hand against the south wall. The western side of the main building measures *four* hundred and fifty cubits in the width.' The figures, however, in both versions are much in excess of the true measurements. (See Appendix A.)

is everywhere flagged with coloured marble, with the joints likewise riveted in lead. The Maksûrah is facing the centre of the south wall (of the Mosque and Haram Area), and is of such size as to contain sixteen columns. Above rises a mighty dome * that is ornamented with enamel work, after the fashion to be seen in other parts of the Noble Sanctuary. In this place there is spread Maghribî matting, and there are lamps and lanterns, each suspended by its separate chain.

The great Mihrâb (or prayer niche towards Mekkah) is adorned with enamel work,† and on either side the Mihrâb are two columns of marble, of the colour of red carnelian. The whole of the low wall round the Maksûrah is built of coloured marble. To the right (of the Great Mihrâb) is the Mihrâb of (the Khalif) Mu'âwiyah, and to the left is the Mihrâb of (the Khalif) Omar—may Allah grant him acceptance!—The roof of the (Aksa) Mosque is constructed of wood, beautifully sculptured. Outside the doors and walls of the Maksûrah, and in the parts lying towards the court (of the Haram Area) are fifteen gateways (*dargâh*), each of which is closed by a finely-wrought door, measuring ten ells in height by six ells in the breadth. Ten of these doorways open in the (east) wall (of the mosque), which is four hundred and twenty cubits in length, and there are five in the width (or north wall) of the mosque, that measures one hundred and fifty

* In 425 A.H. (1033), the dome of the Aksa Mosque had been seriously damaged by a shock of earthquake. It was restored next year by order of the Fatimite Khalif of Egypt, Ad Dhâbir, the work, according to the extant inscription in the Dome, having been terminated in the month Dhû l Ka'adah, 426 A.H. (September, 1035), that is, less than eleven years prior to our Pilgrim's visit.

† The present Mihrâb only dates from the time of Saladin, who restored the whole of the Aksa Mosque, after retaking the Holy City from the Crusaders.

cubits.* Among these gates there is one of brass, most finely wrought and beautiful, so that one would say it was of gold set in with fired-silver (niello?) and chased.† The name of the Khalif Al Mamûn is upon it,‡ and they relate that Al Mamûn sent it from Baghdâd. When all these gates of the mosque are set open the interior of the building is light, even as though it were a court open to the sky. When there is wind and rain they close these gates, and then the light comes from the windows.

Along all the four sides of the main building (of the Aksa Mosque) are chests (*sandûk*) that belong each to one of the various cities of Syria and 'Irâk, and near these the Mujâwirân (or pilgrims who are residing for a time in the Holy City) take their seat, even as is done in the Harâm Mosque at Mekkah—may Allah, be He glorified! ennoble the same.

Beyond the main building (of the Aksâ), along the great (south) wall (of the Haram Area) afore mentioned, rises a colonnade of two and forty arches, the columns being all of coloured marble. This colonnade joins the one that is along the west (wall of the Area).§ Inside the main building (of the Aksa) there is a tank in the ground which,

* The fifteen gates are mentioned by Mukaddasi (Translation, p. 42), who, however, states that these were *all* on the *north* side of the mosque, adding that eleven others opened on the *east* side. (See Appendix A.)

† This is 'the Great Brazen Gate,' mentioned by Mukaddasi *loc. cit.*

‡ M. Schefer is, I believe, incorrect when he states in a note to his Translation (p. 81, note 2), that this inscription of Al Mamûn is extant. It is certainly not reproduced by M. de Vogüé in his work on *Le Temple de Jérusalem* (p. 86), which is the reference given by M. Schefer, and I can find no mention of it elsewhere.

§ See above (p. 30). This is in the place afterwards occupied by the hall erected by the Knights Templars for their armoury, and which at the present opens from the Aksa Mosque, and is called Bakâ'at al Baidha, or Aksa al Kadînah (Plan, U).

when the cover is set on, lies level with the floor, and its use is for the rain water, which, as it comes down, drains therein. In the south wall (of the Haram Area) is a gate leading to the places for the ablution, where there is running water.* When a person has need to make the ablution (before prayer), he goes down to this place and accomplishes what is prescribed; for had the place (of ablution) been set without the walls, by reason of the great size of the Haram Area, no one could have returned in time, and before the appointed hour for prayer had gone by.

The roofs of all the buildings in the Haram Area are covered with lead. Below the ground-level are numerous tanks and water-cisterns hewn out of the rock, for the Noble Sanctuary rests everywhere on a foundation of live rock. There are so many of these cisterns that, however much rain falls, no water flows away to waste, but is all caught in the tanks, whence the people come to draw it. They have constructed leaden conduits for carrying down the water, and the rock cisterns lie below these, with covered passages leading down therein, through which the conduits pass to the tanks; whereby any loss of water is saved, and impurities are kept therefrom.

At a distance of three leagues from the Holy City I saw a great water-tank, whereinto pour all the streams that flow down from the hills.† From thence they have

* This gate does not, I believe, exist at the present day. The present Báb al Mutawadda (the Gate of the Place of Ablution) opens on the west side of the Haram Area (Plan, H), and has nothing to do with the one here mentioned, which I take to have been in the southern part of the Aksa. The Ablution-place was just within the northern entrance to the Double Passage close to the 'Well of the Leaf'; there are still the remains of water-pipes here, and of chambers. Ibn Batûlah, in A.D. 1326, states that, 'in the south wall (of the Haram Area) is a single gate, that by which the Imâm enters.' (Edition by B. de Meynard, vol. i., p. 121). (See also below, p. 41, note.)

† Solomon's Pools in Wâdi Urtas.

brought an aqueduct that comes out into the Noble Sanctuary. Of all parts of the Holy City this is where water is most plentiful. But in every house, also, there is a cistern for collecting the rain water, for other than this water there is none, and each must store the rain which falls upon his roof. The water used in the hot-baths and other places is solely from the storage of the rains.

The tanks that are below the Haram Area never need to be repaired, for they are cut in the live rock. Any place where there may have been originally a fissure or a leakage, has been so solidly built up that the tanks never fall out of order. It is said that these cisterns were constructed by Solomon—peace be upon him! The roofing of them is like that of a baker's oven (*tannūr*). Each opening is covered with a stone, as at a well-mouth, in order that nothing may fall down therein. The water of the Holy City is sweeter than the water of any other place, and purer; and even when no rain falls for two or three days the conduits still run with water, for though the sky be clear and there be no trace (of cloud), the dew causes drops to fall.*

As I have written above, the Holy City stands on the summit of a hill, and its site is not on level ground. The place, however, where the Noble Sanctuary stands is flat and on the level; but without the Area the enclosing wall varies in height in different places, by reason that where the fall is abrupt, the Haram wall is the highest, for the foundation of the wall lies at the bottom of the declivity; and where the ground mounts, the wall, on the other hand, has, of need, been built less high.

Wherever, in the city itself and in the suburbs, the

* Mukaddasi (Translation, p. 84) remarks on the plentiful dew-fall in Palestine, and says that 'every night when the south wind blows, the gutters of the Aksa Mosque are set running.'

level is below that in the Haram Area, they have made gateways, like tunnels (*nakab*), cut through, that lead up into the court (of the Noble Sanctuary). One such as these is called Báb an Nabí (or the Gate of the Prophet)—peace and blessing be upon him!—which opens towards the Kiblah point, that is towards the south.* (The passage-way of this gate) is ten ells broad, and the height varies by reason of the steps; in one place it is five ells high, and in others the roof of the passage-way is twenty ells above you. Over this passage-way has been erected the main building of the (Aksa) Mosque, for the masonry is so solidly laid that they have been able to raise the enormous building that is seen here, without any damage arising to what is below. They have made use of stones of such a size, that the mind cannot conceive how, by human power, they were carried up and set in place. It is said, however, that the building was accomplished by Solomon, the son of David—peace be upon him! The Prophet—peace and blessing be upon him!—on the night of his Ascent into Heaven (*Mi'ráj*), passed into the Noble Sanctuary through this passage-way, for the gateway opens on the road from Mekkah. Near it, in the wall, is seen the imprint on the stone of a great shield. It is said to be that of Hamzah ibn 'Abd al Mutallib, the Prophet's uncle—peace be upon him!—who once seated himself here with his shield on his back, and leaning against the wall, left the mark of the same thereon. This gateway of the Haram leading into the tunnelled passage-

* From its orientation *south*, this gate cannot be the present 'Gate of the Prophet,' otherwise called Báb al Maghâribah, or of the Moghrebins, which opens *west*, at the south extremity of the west wall (Plan, K). Nâsir's Gate of the Prophet most probably opened at the place in the south wall originally occupied by either the 'Double Gate' or the 'Triple Gate,' both of which at the present day are closed. (See Appendix C.)

way, is closed by a double-leafed door, and the wall of the Haram Area outside it is of a height of near upon fifty ells. The reason for the piercing of this gateway was to enable the inhabitants of the suburb lying obliquely beyond to enter the Haram Area at their pleasure, without having to pass through other quarters of the city. To the right of this gateway there is in the wall a block of stone eleven* cubits high and four cubits across, and this is larger than any other of the stones of the wall, although there are many others that measure four and five ells across set in the masonry at a height of thirty and forty ells.

In the width of the Haram Area there is a gate, opening towards the east, called Bâb al 'Ain † (or the Gate of the Spring); passing out from which you descend a declivity to the Spring of Silwân (Siloam). There is also another gate (the passage-way of which) is excavated in the ground, and it is called Bâb al Hittah (the Gate of Remission). ‡ They say that this is the gate by which God—be He exalted and glorified!—commanded the Children of Israel to enter the Noble Sanctuary, according to His word—be He exalted!—(in the Kurân), § 'Enter ye the gate with prostrations, and say (Hittah), "Remission!" and We will pardon you your sins, and give an increase to the doers of good.'

There is still another gate (to the Haram Area), and it is called Bâb as Sakinah (the Gate of the Shechínah, or

* M. Schefer's text reads 'fifteen.' Referring apparently to the stones in the 'Great Course.'

† The 'width' (*ṣahā*) would seem to imply the *south* wall of the area, and in this case the walled-up 'Single Gate' is probably the one referred to. But if the Bâb al 'Ain was in the *east* wall it must then be identified with the gate sometimes called Bâb al Janâiz (the Gate of the Funerals), long since walled up (Plan, P).

‡ The present Bâb an Nabi (Plan, K).

§ Chapter ii. 55.

Divine Presence),* and in the hall (*dahliz*) adjacent thereto is a mosque that has many Mihrābs (or prayer niches). The door at the entrance thereof is barred, so that no one can pass through. They say that the Ark of the Shechinah, which God—be He exalted and glorified!—has alluded to in the Kurān, was once placed here, but was borne away by Angels. The whole number of gates, both upper and lower, in the Noble Sanctuary of the Holy City, is nine, and we have here above described them †

In the middle of the court of the Haram Area is the platform ‡ (*dukkān*), and set in the midst thereof is the Sakhrāh (or Rock),§ which before the revelation of Islam was the Kiblah (or point turned to in prayer). The platform was constructed by reason that the Rock, being high, could not be brought within the compass of the main-building (of the Aksá Mosque). Wherefore the foundations of this platform were laid, measuring three hundred and thirty cubits by three hundred,|| and the height thereof twelve ells. The surface of the same is level and

* The Gate of the Shechinah (according to Suyûti) stood close beside the Bâb as Silsilah, the Gate of the Chain (Plan, I), and both gateways opened apparently into the same street. The present Bâb as Salâm

† Ten gates in all have been mentioned, viz. : 1. Al Hittah; 2. An Nabî; 3. Al 'Ain; 4. Ar Rahmah and At Taubah; 5. Bâb al Abwâb; 6. Al Asbât; 7. To Süfi Cloisters; 8. As Sakar; 9. Dâûd; 10. As Sakinah. (See further Appendix C.)

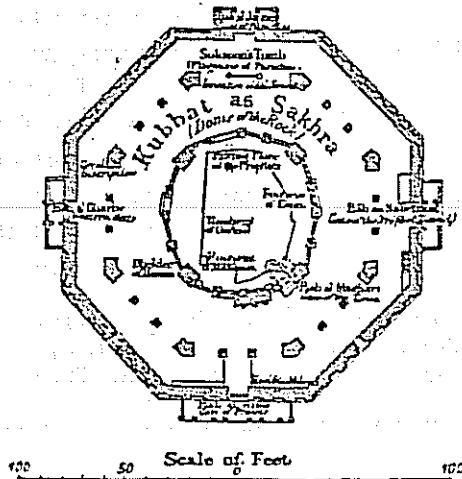
‡ Plan, x x x x.

§ Plan, b.

|| The dimensions of the width ('300 cubits') are omitted in the 6. M. MS., and are inserted from M. Schefer's text. The platform at the present day measures roughly :—North side, 530 feet; south side, 435 feet; east side, 550 feet; west side, 560 feet. Three hundred and thirty cubits for the length north to south gives 660 feet, and three hundred cubits (?) for the breadth east and west gives 600 feet, which, if exact, would show that in our Pilgrim's days the platform was larger than it is at present.

beautifully paved with slabs of marble, with walls the like, all the joints being riveted with lead. Along the edge of its four sides are parapets of marble blocks, that fence it round, so that, except by the openings left for that purpose, you cannot come thereto. From up on the platform you command a view over the roofs of the (Aksa) Mosque. There is an underground tank in the midst of the platform, whereto is collected, by means of conduits,

PLAN
OF
ES SAKHRA.
(Dome of the Rock.)



From the U.S. Plan of Jerusalem 1854-5

PLAN OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK.

all the rain-water that falls on the platform itself; and the water of this tank is sweeter and purer than is the water of any other of the tanks in the Haram Area.

On the platform rise four domes. The largest of them is the Kubbat as Sakhrah (the Dome of the Rock), which Rock was of old the Kiblah. This dome is so situate as to stand in the middle of the platform, which itself occu-

pies the middle of the Haram Area. The edifice is built in the form of a regular octagon, and each of its eight sides measures three-and-thirty cubits.* There are four gates facing the four cardinal points, namely, east, west, north, and south; and between each of these is one of the oblique sides of the octagon. The walls are everywhere constructed of squared stones, and are twenty cubits (in height). The Rock itself measures a hundred ells round; it has no regular form, being neither square nor circular, but is shapeless, like a boulder from the mountains. Beyond the four sides of the Rock rise four piers of masonry that equal in height the walls of the (octagonal) building, and between every two piers, on the four sides, stand a pair of marble pillars, which are like to the height of the piers. Resting on these twelve piers and pillars is the structure of the dome, under which lies the Rock; and the circumference of the dome is one hundred and twenty cubits.† Between the walls of the (octagonal) building, and the circle of piers and pillars—and by the term ‘pier’ (*sutân*) I understand a support that is built up, and is square; while the term ‘pillar’ (*ustuwânah*) denotes a support that is cut from a single block of stone, and is round—between this inner circle of supports, then, and the outer walls of the edifice, are built eight ‡ other piers

* Each of the sides of the octagonal building measures rather over sixty-six feet, giving roughly two feet for the size of the cubit.

† From the very exact plans in M. de Vogüé's ‘Jérusalem,’ the full diameter of the drum of the Dome is twenty-three metres or seventy-five and a half feet. This gives a circumference of two hundred and thirty-seven feet, which agrees very well with the hundred and twenty cubits (two hundred and forty feet) of the text.

‡ The B. M. MS. and M. Schefer's text both give ‘six’ as the number of piers in the outer circle, but this neither corresponds with what follows some lines below (where the total number of the piers in outer and inner circles is stated to be twelve, *i.e.*, four *plus* eight), nor with the actual condition of the Dome of the Rock, which apparently

of squared stones, and between every two of them are placed, equidistant, three columns in coloured marble. Thus, while in the inner circle between every two piers there are two columns, there are here (in the outer circle) between every two piers, three columns.* On the capital of each pier are set four volutes (*shákh*), from each of which springs an arch; and on the capital of each column are set two volutes; so that at every column is the spring of two arches, while at every pier is the spring of four.

The great Dome, which rises above the twelve piers standing round the Rock, can be seen from the distance of a league away, rising like the summit of a mountain. From the base of the Dome to its pinnacle measures thirty cubits, and this rises above the (octagonal) walls that are twenty ells high—for the Dome is supported on the pillars that are like in height to the outer walls—and the whole building rises on a platform that itself is twelve ells high, so that from the level of the Court of the Noble Sanctuary to the summit of the Dome measures a total of sixty-two ells.† The roofing and the ceiling of this

never had more than four piers in the inner, and eight in the outer circle.

* Thus in all MSS., but possibly our Pilgrim has made a mistake. To agree with the present arrangement of piers and columns he should have said: 'Between each of the four piers of the inner circle are three columns, and between each of the eight outer piers are two columns,' *i.e.* (4+8) twelve piers, and (4 × 3 plus 8 × 2) twenty-eight columns. See however, Al Ya'kúbi's description (*circa* 874 A.D.), as given in the *Quart. State.*, for April, 1887 (p. 95), who says there are twelve piers and thirty columns.

† I note this as the principal passage for proving that Násir-i-Khusrau uses the terms 'gez' (ell) and 'arsh' (cubit) synonymously. On a previous page he has said that the platform is twelve *arsh* high; here he says it measures twelve *gez*, and this added to twenty *gez* (walls) and to thirty *arsh* (dome) makes sixty-two *gez*. The height of

edifice are in woodwork, that is set above the piers, and the pillars, and the walls, after a fashion not to be seen elsewhere. The Rock itself rises out of the floor to the height of a man, and a balustrade of marble goes round about it in order that none may lay his hand thereon. The Rock inclines on the side that is towards the Kiblah (or south), and there is an appearance as though a person had walked heavily on the stone when it was soft like clay, whereby the imprint of his toes had remained thereon. There are on the rock seven such footmarks, and I heard it stated that Abraham—peace be upon him!—was once here with Isaac—upon him be peace!—when he was a boy, and that he walked over this place, and that the footmarks were his.

In the house of the Dome of the Rock men are always congregated, pilgrims and worshippers. The place is laid with fine carpets of silk and other stuffs. In the middle of the Dome, and over the Rock, there hangs from a silver chain a silver lamp; and there are in other parts of the building great numbers of silver lamps, on each of which is inscribed its weight. These lamps are all the gift of the (Fatimite Khalif, who is) Sultan of Egypt, and according to the calculation I made, there must be here silver utensils of various kinds of the weight of a thousand Manns (or about a ton and a half). I saw there a huge wax taper that was seven cubits high, and three spans (*shibr*) in diameter. It was (white) like the camphor of Zibâj,* and (the wax) was mixed with ambergris. They

the Dome of the Rock at the present day, measuring from floor to summit of Dome, is, roughly, one hundred and twelve feet. Our Pilgrim estimates it (deducting the height of the platform) at fifty ells or cubits, *i.e.*, one hundred feet.

* Zibâj or Zâbij—according to the author of the 'Marâsid al Ittilâ'—is the name of the country in the further parts of India, on the frontiers of China, *i.e.*, Cochin China (?).

told me that the Sultan of Egypt sent hither every year a great number of tapers, and among the rest, the large one just described, on which the name of the Sultan was written in golden letters.

The Noble Sanctuary is the third of the Houses of God—be He exalted and glorified!—and the doctors of religion concur in saying that a single prayer offered up here, in this Holy City, has vouchsafed to it the effect of five-and-twenty thousand prayers said elsewhere; just as in Medinah, the City of the Prophet—peace and benediction be upon him!—every single prayer may count for fifty thousand, while each that is said in Mekkah, the Venerable—God, be He exalted, ennoble the City!—will pass for a hundred thousand. And God—be He exalted and glorified!—give grace to all His servants, that they may one day acquit themselves of such prayers!

As I have said before, all the roof and the exterior parts of the Dome of the Rock is covered with lead, and at each of the four sides of the edifice is set a great gate, with double folding-doors of Sáj-wood (or teak). These doors are always kept closed.

Besides the Dome of the Rock there is (on the platform) the dome called Kubbat as Silsilah (or the Dome of the Chain).* The 'chain' is that which David—peace be upon him!—hung up, and it was so that none who spoke not the truth could grasp it, the unjust and the wicked man could not lay hand on it, which same is a certified fact, and well known to the learned. This Dome is supported on eight marble columns, and six stone piers;† and on all sides it is open, except on the side towards

* Plan, c.

† The present Dome of the Chain has six columns in the inner circle supporting the cupola, and eleven columns in the outer circle (counting the two built in on either side the Prayer-niche).

the Kiblah point, which is built up, and forms a beautiful Mihráb.

And again, on the platform, is another Dome, that surmounts four marble columns. This, too, on the Kiblah side, is walled in, forming a fine Mihráb. It is called Kubbát Jibráil (the Dome of Gabriel);* and there are no carpets spread here, for its floor is formed by the live rock, that has been here made smooth. They say that on the night of the Mi'ráj (the ascent into heaven), the steed Burák was tied up at this spot, until the Prophet—peace and benediction be upon him!—was ready to mount. Lastly, there is yet another Dome, lying twenty cubits distant from the Dome of Gabriel, and it is called Kubbát ar Rasúl (or the Dome of the Prophet)—peace and benediction be upon him!† This Dome, likewise, is set upon four marble piers.

They say that, on the night of his ascent into heaven, the Prophet—peace and benediction be upon him!—prayed first in the Dome of the Rock, laying his hand upon the Rock. And as he came forth, the Rock, to do him honour, rose up, but the Prophet—peace and benediction be upon him!—laid his hand thereon to keep it in its place, and there firmly fixed it. But, by reason of this uprising, even to the present day, it is here partly detached (from the ground below). The Prophet—the peace of Allah be upon him, and His benediction!—went on thence and came to the Dome which is now called after him, and there he mounted (the steed) Burák; and for this reason is the Dome venerated. Underneath the Rock is a large cavern, where they continually burn tapers, and they say that when the Rock moved in order

* Plan, e.

† Plan, d. Now generally known as the Kubbát al Mi'ráj, the Dome of the Ascension.

to rise up (in honour of the Prophet), this space below was left void, and that the Rock became fixed, and so it has remained, even as may now be seen.

Now, regarding the stairways that lead up on to the platform of the court of the Noble Sanctuary, these are six in number, each with its own name.

On the side (south) towards the Kiblah, there are two flights of steps that go up on to the platform. As you stand by the middle of the retaining wall of the platform (on the south), there is one flight to the right hand and another to the left. That lying on the right is called Makâm an Nabî (the Prophet's Station)—peace be upon him!—and that lying on the left is called Makâm Ghûri (or the Station of Ghûri). The stairway of the Prophet's Station is so called for that on the night of his ascent the Prophet—upon him be peace and blessing!—went up to the platform thereby, going thence to the Dome of the Rock. And the road hither from the Hijjâz comes by this stair. At the present day this stairway is twenty cubits broad, and each step is a rectangular block of carefully chiselled stone in one piece, or sometimes in two. The steps are laid in such a fashion that it would be possible to ride on horseback up on to the platform thereby. At the top of this stairway are four piers (*sutûn*) of marble, green, like the emerald, only that the marble is variegated with numberless coloured spots; and these pillars are ten cubits in height, and so thick that it would take two men to encompass them. Above the capitals of these four pillars rise three arches, one opposite the gate, and one on either side; and (the masonry) crowning the arches is flat-topped and rectangular with battlements (*kangurah*) and a cornice (*shurfah*) set therein. These pillars and the arches are ornamented in gold and enamel work, than which none can be finer.

The balustrade (*dâr-âfrîn*) round the (edge of the) platform is of green marble variegated with spots, so that one would say it was a meadow covered with flowers in bloom.

The stairway of Makâm Ghûrî consists of a triple flight, and the three lead up together on to the platform, one in the middle and two on either side, so that by three ways can people go up. At the summit of each of the three flights are columns supporting arches with a cornice. Each step is skilfully cut, of squared stone, as noted above, and each may consist of two or three blocks in the length. Over the arcade above is set a beautiful inscription in gold, stating that it was constructed by command of the Amîr Laith ad Daulah Nûshtakîn Ghûrî, and they told me that this Laith ad Daulah had been a servant of the Sultan of Egypt, and had caused these steps and gangways to be built.*

On the western side of the platform there are, likewise, two flights of steps leading up thereon, and constructed with the same skill as those I have just described. On the east side there is but one flight. It is built after a like fashion to the foregoing, with columns and an arch with battlements above, and it is named Makâm Sharkî (or the Eastern Station). On the northern side (of the platform) there is also a single stairway, but it is higher and broader than are any of the others. As with those, there are here columns and arches built (at the top of the flight), and it goes by the name of Makâm Shâmi (that is,

* Anûshtakîn Amîr al Juyûsh (Generalissimo), originally a Turk slave from Khoten, was Governor of Syria, under the Fatimite Khalîf Ad Dhâhir, from 419 A.H. (1028 A.D.) to 433 (1041). It would appear that this stairway was destroyed during the Frank occupation, or later, for at the present day there is no *triple* flight of steps leading up on this side of the platform. There are, however, two separate stairways, as of old, but each is of a single flight (see Plan).

the Syrian or Northern Station). According to the estimate I made, these six flights of steps must have had expended upon them one hundred thousand dinârs (or £50,000).

In the court of the Haram Area, but not upon the platform, is a building resembling a small mosque. It lies towards the north side,* and is a walled enclosure (*hadhîrah*), built of squared stones, with walls of over a man's height. It is called the Mihrâb Dâûd (or David's Oratory). Near this enclosure is a rock, standing up about as high as a man, and the summit of it, which is uneven, is rather smaller than would suffice for spreading thereon a (prayer) rug (*zilî*). This place, they say, was the Throne of Solomon (Kursi Sulaimân), and they relate that Solomon—peace be upon him!—sat thereon while occupied with building the Noble Sanctuary.

Such, then, are the sights I saw in the Noble Sanctuary of the Holy City, and noted down in the diary that I wrote; and, lastly, among other wonders that I saw in the Sanctuary of the Holy City was the Tree of the Houris.†

Now, it was my intention to go down from the Holy City and make my visitation (at Hebron, to the tomb of) Abraham, the Friend of the Merciful—peace and benediction be upon him!—and on Wednesday, the first day of the month of Dhû-l Ka'adah, of the year of the Flight 438 (29th April, 1047 A.D.); I set out. From the Holy City

* This Mihrâb Dâûd, which is said to be in the northern portion of the Haram Area, and near the Kursi Sulaimân (Plan, V), can hardly be the place named at present 'the Oratory of David,' which is a niche in the great *south* wall of the Area (Plan, g). It is probably the Kubbat Sulaimân of Mujîr ad Dîn, near the Bâb al 'Atm, and lying south-west of that gate.

† According to Muslim tradition, the Houris appeared to Muhammed under some trees, not far from the Platform of the Rock, when he came hither on the night when he went up to heaven on the steed Burâk.

to Hebron is six leagues, and the road runs towards the south. Along the way are many villages with gardens and cultivated fields. Such trees as need little water, as, for example, the vine and the fig, the olive and the sumach, grow here abundantly, and of their own accord. A couple of leagues from the Holy City is a place where there are four villages; and there is here a spring of water with numerous gardens and orchards, and it is called Farâdis (or the Paradises), on account of the beauty of the spot.* At the distance of a league from the Holy City is a place belonging to the Christians, which they hold in greatest veneration, and there are always numerous pilgrims of their people who come hither to perform their visitation. The place is called Bait al Lahm (Bethlehem). The Christians hold a festival here, and many will come for it all the way from Rûm (or the Greek Empire). The day I myself left the Holy City I passed the night at Bethlehem.

The people of Syria, and the inhabitants of the Holy City, call the Sanctuary (or Mash-had at Hebron) Khalil (that is, 'the Friend' of Allah, Abraham)—His blessing be upon him!—and they never make use of the real name of the village, which name is Matlûn.† This Sanctuary has belonging to it very many villages that provide revenues for pious purposes. At one of these villages is a spring, where water flows out from under a stone, but in no great

* These must be in the valley of Urtâs, which runs down to Jabal Faradis—the ancient Herodium, and at the present day vulgarly called Frank Mountain. In the name *Urtâs*—where are the so-called 'Pools of Solomon'—M. Schefer would see a corruption of the Latin *Hortus*, with the same meaning as *Firâits* (Plural, *Furâdis*), which is the original Persian word for a paradise or park.

† Hebron in the early Arab annals is divided into four quarters or villages—Habrûn, Marthûn, Bait 'Ainûn, and Bait Ibrâhîm. Mathlûn is doubtless a corruption of the second of these names (see Yakûb's 'Geographical Dictionary,' text, vol. ii., p. 195).

abundance; and it is conducted by a channel, cut in the ground, to a place outside the town (of Hebron), where they have constructed a covered tank for collecting the water, so that none may run to waste, and that the people of the town, and the pilgrims, may be able to supply their wants. The Sanctuary (*Mash-had*) stands on the southern border of the town, and extends towards the south-east.* The Sanctuary is enclosed by four walls, built of squared masonry, and in its upper part (the area) measures eighty cubits long by forty cubits across.† The height of the (exterior) walls is twenty cubits, and at their summit the width of the walls is two cubits. The Mihráb (or niche) and the Maksúrah (or enclosed space for Friday prayers) stand in the width of the building (at the south end).‡ In the Maksúrah are many fine Mihrábs. There are two tombs occupying the Maksúrah, laid so that their heads lie towards the Kiblah (point, south). Both these tombs are covered by cenotaphs, built of squared stones as high as a man. That lying on the right hand (to the west) § is the grave of Isaac, son of Abraham; and that on the left (or to the east) || is the grave of his wife (Rebecca)—peace be upon them! Between the two graves may measure the space of about ten cubits. In this part of the Sanctuary the floor and the walls are adorned with

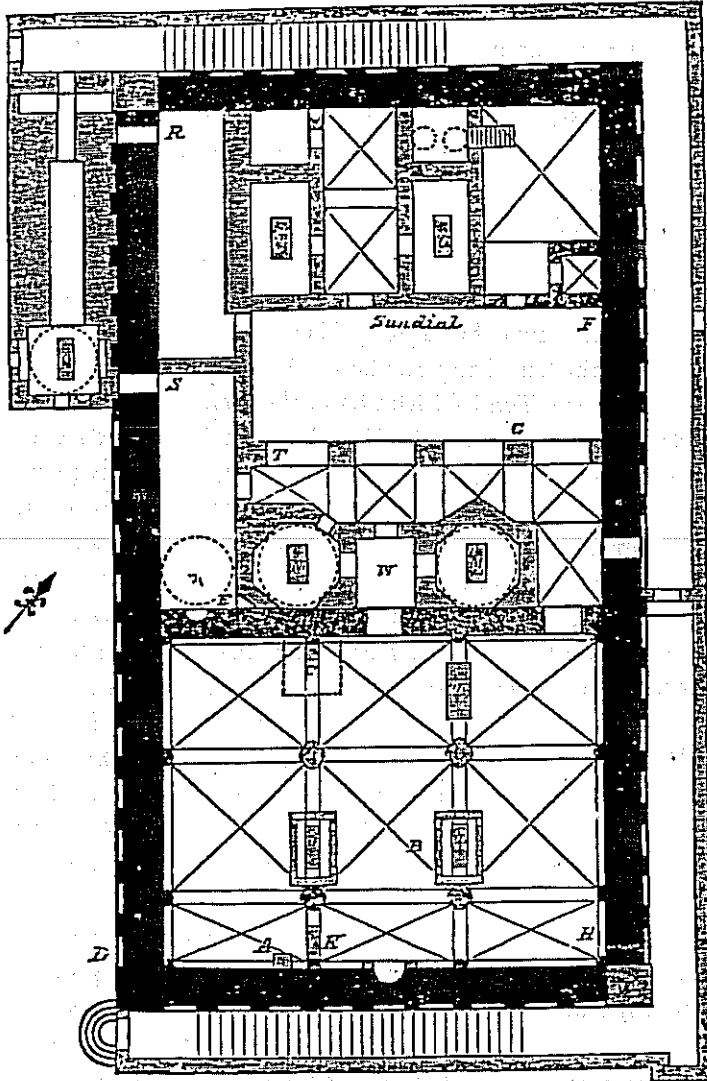
* The exact orientation of the quadrangle is fifty degrees true bearing, and consequently the great Mihráb of the Kiblah point lies almost exactly south-east.

† The exact dimensions *externally* of the Haram Walls, as measured by T.R.H. Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales during their visit (1882), are one hundred and ninety-seven feet by one hundred and eleven feet. Our Pilgrim's measurement is considerably under the real size. The average outside height of the ancient (or Herodian ?) walls is forty feet, or twenty cubits, as in the text.

‡ The present building, known as the church, is of the time of the Crusaders. The building Násir saw has disappeared.

§ J in the Plan.

|| I in the Plan.



HARAM AT HEBRON.

precious carpets and Maghribi matting that is more costly even than brocade stuff (*dibā*). I saw here a piece of matting, serving as a prayer-rug, which they told me the Amír al Juyûsh (or Captain-General), in the service of the Sultan of Egypt, had sent hither, and they said that at Cairo (*Misr*) this prayer-rug had been bought for thirty gold Maghribi dinárs (or about £15). Now, the same quantity of Rûmî (or Greek) brocade would not have cost so much, and the equal of this mat I never saw elsewhere.

Leaving the Maksûrah, you find in the court of the Sanctuary two buildings. Facing the Kiblah (point, south), the one lying on the right hand (or to the west),* contains the Tomb of Abraham, the Friend of Allah—His blessing be upon him! This building is of such a size that inside it is another building which you cannot enter, but which has in it four windows, through which the pilgrims, who stand about it, may look and view the tomb that is within. The walls and the floor of this chamber are covered with brocade stuffs, and the cenotaph is made of stone, measuring three ells (in length), with many silver lamps and lanterns hung above it. The other edifice, lying on the left hand as you face the Kiblah (or on the eastern side),† has within it the Tomb of Sarah, the wife of Abraham—peace be upon him! Between the two edifices is the passage-way that leads to both, and this is like a hall (*dahliz*), and here also are suspended numerous lamps and lanterns.

After passing by these two edifices, you come to two other sepulchral chambers lying close one to another, that to the right (or on the west side)‡ containing the Tomb of the Prophet Jacob—peace be upon him!—and that to the left (or east side)§ the Tomb of his wife (Leah).

* Plan, N.

† Plan, M.

‡ Plan, P.

§ Plan, O.

Beyond this again are other buildings, where Abraham—the blessing of Allah be upon him!—was wont to dispense his hospitality; but within the Sanctuary there are these six tombs only. Outside the four walls (of the Sanctuary) the ground slopes away, and here on the (west) side* is the Sepulchre of Joseph, the son of Jacob—peace be upon them both!—over whose gravestone they have built a beautiful dome.

On this side, where the ground is level—that is, beyond the Sepulchre of Joseph and the Sanctuary—lies a great cemetery, whither they bring the dead from many parts to be buried. On the flat roof of the Maksûrah, in the (Hebron) Sanctuary, they have built cells for the reception of the pilgrims who come hither; and their revenues for this charity are considerable, being derived from villages and houses in the Holy City. They grow at Hebron for the most part barley, wheat being rare; but olives are in abundance. The pilgrims, and voyagers, and other guests (of the Sanctuary), are given bread and olives. There are very many mills here, worked by oxen and mules, that all day long grind the flour; and, further, there are slave-girls who, during the whole day, are baking the bread. The loaves they make here are each of them of a Mann weight (or about three pounds), and to every person who arrives they give daily a loaf of bread, and a dish of lentils cooked in olive-oil, also some raisins. This practice has been in usage from the days of (Abraham) the Friend of the Merciful—peace be upon him!—down to the present hour; and there are some days when as many as five hundred pilgrims arrive, to each of whom this hospitality is offered.

It is said that in early times the Sanctuary (at Hebron) had no door into it, and hence that no one could come

* Plan, Q. See also Appendix B.

nearer to (the tombs) than the outer porch (*iwān*), whence, from outside, they performed their visitation. When, however, the (Fatimite Khalif) Mahdi came to the throne of Egypt,* he gave orders that a door should be opened (into the Sanctuary), and he provided utensils and carpets and rugs, besides causing many (convenient) edifices to be built. The entrance door of the Sanctuary is in the middle of the northern wall,† and is four ells high from the ground. On either side of it are stone steps, one stairway for going up, and one for coming down, and the gateway is closed by a small iron door.

From Hebron I came back to the Holy City, and thence set out on foot with a company of people whose intention it was to make the journey to the Hijjáz. Our guide was a certain man, Abu Bakr Hamadāni by name, who was of a pleasant countenance and sturdy, and he walked afoot. We started from the Holy City on the 15th of Dhū-l Ka'adah, in the year 438 (14th May, 1047 A.D.); and, after three days, reached a place called Ar'ar,‡ where there is running water and trees. Thence we came on to a further stage,§ called Wādi-l Kurá, from which place in ten days' journey we reached Mekkah. No (pilgrim) caravan

* 'Ubaid Allah al Mahdi, the founder of the Fatimite dynasty, who, in the year 306 A.H. (918 A.D.), was for some time Master of Egypt.

† The only doorway that pierces the Haram walls at the present day is at about the centre of the eastern wall (Plan, 7). As, however, the Kiblah point is really south-east—though our Pilgrim always speaks of it as *south*—the long wall of the Haram on the left hand (facing the Kiblah) is in truth the north-east wall, and a door in it might be said to face *north*, for north-east.

‡ So in all the MSS., including the Epitome, which begins again at this point. M. Schefer's translation gives 'Izra,' but he adds in a note that the reading of the name is uncertain. Ar'ar or Ar'air is probably Aroer, on the Arnon. (Wādi Mōjib). Wādi-l Kurá lies on the limit of the territory of Medinah.

§ The B. M. MS. breaks off here, and, leaving out a page, continues with the words translated at note (7) on p. 61. My translation is from M. Schefer's text.

had arrived there that year from any quarter, and provisions were scarce, for everybody was in fear of the (bedawin) Arabs. At Mekkah we alighted in the street of the perfume-sellers, which is by the Gate of the Prophet—peace be upon him!—and on the Monday were present at 'Arafât. When I had come back from the ceremony, I remained but two days longer at Mekkah; and then took the road towards Syria, returning to (Jerusalem) the Holy City, which I entered again on the 5th of Muharram, of the Lunar year (of the Flight) 439 (2nd July, 1047). I shall not now give a description of Mekkah and the Pilgrimage there, but shall reserve all mention thereof till I come to speak of my subsequent visit.

In the Holy City (of Jerusalem), the Christians possess a church which they call Bai'at-al-Kumâmah* (which is the Church of the Resurrection), and they hold it in great veneration. Every year great multitudes of people from Rûm (the Greek Empire) come hither to perform their visitation; and the Emperor of Byzantium himself even comes here, but privily, so that no one should recognise him. In the days when (the Fatimite Khalif) Al Hâkim-bi-amr-Allah was ruler of Egypt, the Greek Cæsar had come after this manner to Jerusalem. Al Hâkim having news of it, sent for one of his cup-bearers, and said to him, 'There is a man of so and such a countenance and condition whom thou wilt find seated in the mosque (Jâmi') of the Holy City; go thou, therefore, and approach him, and say that Hâkim hath sent thee to him, lest he should think that I, Hâkim, knew not of his coming; but tell him to be of good cheer, for I have no evil intention against him.'

* Literally, 'the Church of the Dunghill,' for the word *Kumâmah* is a designed corruption on the part of the Muslims of *Kuyûmah*, the Arabic name of the church, meaning *Anastasis*, or Resurrection.

Hákim at one time ordered the church (of the Resurrection) to be given over to plunder, which was so done, and it was laid in ruins.* Some time it remained thus; but afterwards the Cæsar of Byzantium sent ambassadors with presents and promises of service, and concluded a treaty in which he stipulated for permission to defray the expenses of rebuilding the church, and this was ultimately accomplished.

At the present day the church is a most spacious building, and is capable of containing eight thousand persons. The edifice is built, with the utmost skill, of coloured marbles, with ornamentation and sculptures. Inside, the church is everywhere adorned with Byzantine brocade, worked in gold with pictures. And they have portrayed Jesus—peace be upon Him!—who at times is shown riding upon an ass. There are also pictures representing other of the Prophets, as, for instance, Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob with his sons—peace be upon them all! These pictures they have overlaid with a varnish of the oil of Sandaracha (*Sandarûs*, or red juniper); and for the face of each portrait they have made a plate of thin glass, which is set thereon, and is perfectly transparent. This dispenses with the need of a curtain, and prevents any dust or dirt from settling on the painting, for the glass is cleaned daily by the servants (of the church). Besides this (Church of the Resurrection) there are many others (in Jerusalem), all very skillfully built; but to describe them all would lead into too great length. In the church (of the Resurrection) there

* The church was laid in ruins in the year 1009 A.D. by the mad Khalif Hákim's orders, and was not rebuilt till 1037, under Al Mustansir, who granted this privilege to the Emperor Michael IV., the Paphlagonian, on consideration of his setting free five thousand Muslim captives.

is a picture divided into two parts, representing Heaven and Hell. One part shows the people of paradise in Paradise, while the other shows the people of hell in Hell, with all that there is therein; and assuredly there is nowhere else in the world a picture such as this. There are seated in this church great numbers of priests and monks* who read the Evangel and say prayers, for both by day and by night they are occupied after this manner.

Now, it was my intention to have left the Holy City, and gone by sea to Egypt—before returning from thence to Mekkah—but the wind was so contrary as to make a sea-voyage impossible. I set out, therefore, by the land-road; and, after passing Ramlah, came to the city called 'Askalân (Ascalon). The bazaar and the mosque are both fine; and I saw here an arch, which they told me was ancient, and had been part of a mosque. The arch was built of such mighty stones that, should any desire to throw it down, he would spend much money before he could accomplish it. On the road beyond Ascalon I saw many villages and towns, to note each of which would be wearisome; so I omit the mention of the places I passed before coming to the town called Tinah, which is a harbour with many ships; and from Tinah I took passage in a ship going to Tinnis (in Egypt).

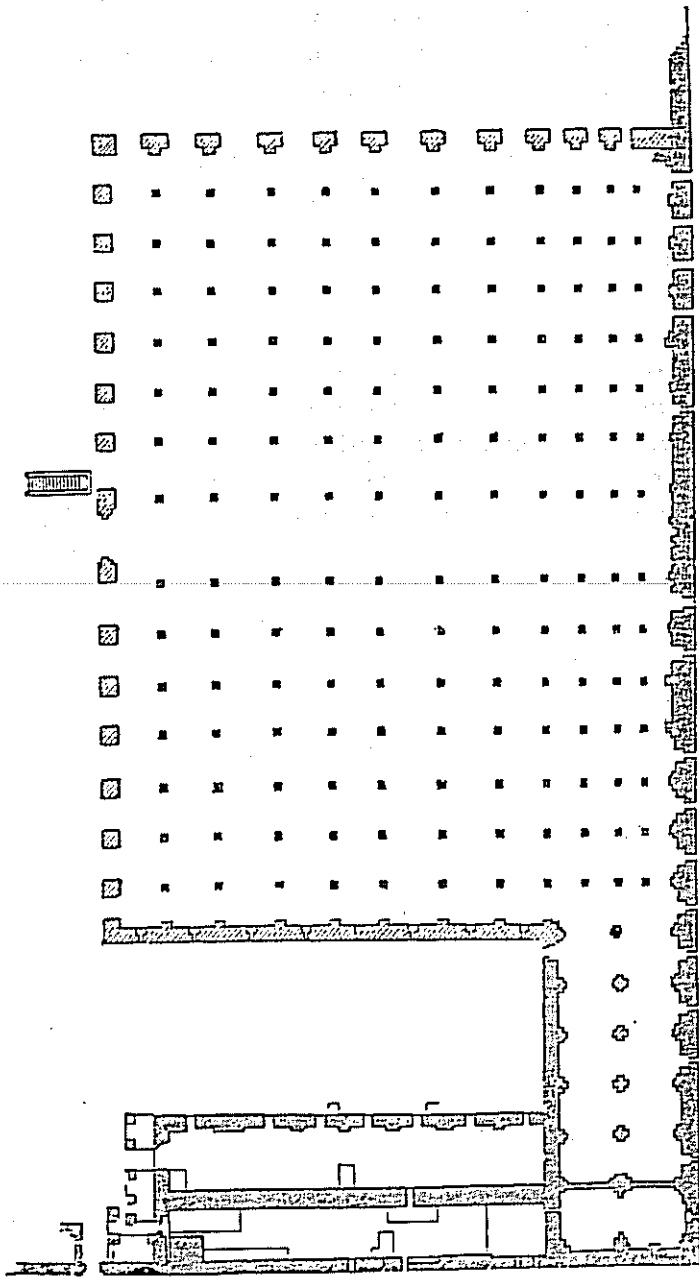
* See note §, p. 58.

APPENDIX A.

MUKADDASI, who wrote his description of Jerusalem in 985 A.D., describes the Aksa Mosque of his day as having *fifteen* doorways opening to the north, and *eleven* opening to the east (see p. 42 of my translation). The plan of the Aksa Mosque must then have been very different from what it now is, and Professor Hayter Lewis's restoration (reproduced here from his paper in the *Pal. Expl. Fund Quart. Stat.* for January, 1887) shows what the plan of the building must have originally been.

In A.D. 1033 (A.H. 425) the great earthquake occurred (see above, p. 37, note *) which, half a century after Mukaddasi's time, threw down a great part of the edifice.

From Násir-i-Khusrau's description, dating from A.D. 1047 (438 A.H.), or thirteen years after this earthquake, it would appear that the Aksa, when rebuilt, had been greatly curtailed in the *width* (east and west), while the length remained much the same. The *plan* of the mosque visited by Násir-i-Khusrau, with *five* gateways to the north and *ten* to the east, could not have been very different from that of the building as it at present exists (see Plan, p. 35). It must, however, be confessed that by eno nsmie recsi orthdhded Násir-i-Khusrau—east wall (length) 420 cubits, or about 840 feet, and north wall



THE MOSQUE EL AKSA AS IT WAS IN MUKADDASI'S TIME, A. D. 985.

(width) 150 cubits, or about 300 feet*—are greatly in excess of those of the present edifice, since the Masjid al Aksa of to-day measures only about 260 feet in the length, north to south, with 190 feet in the width (of the seven aisles, side by side) east to west. Násir's measurement of the length would indeed make the porch of the Aksa stand *beyond* (north of and covering) the Dome of the Rock. The figures given, therefore, must be corrupt, and for cubits 420 and 150, I imagine we ought to read, cubits 120 and 100; which would roughly agree with the present measurements. This alteration, however, is entirely arbitrary, and I have left the figures to stand in the translation as found in the MSS. The figures of M. Schefer's *Text* (see p. 36, note †), 408 cubits by 450, are even more ridiculously in excess than those of the B. M. MSS. Násir's measurement of the open space between the south-east corner of Haram Area and the east wall of the Aksa, 'two hundred ells' (see p. 36), is, on the other hand, exact, for the actual measurement is as near as may be 400 feet.

* These figures are twice repeated (p. 36 and p. 37).

APPENDIX B.

THE following account of the 'Invention' of the Tomb of Joseph is found in the 'Description of Jerusalem and of Hebron' written by Mujir ad Din, in the year 1496 A.D. I have translated it from p. 64 *et seq.* of the Arabic text printed at Cairo in A.H. 1283 (1866):

'The Tomb of Joseph is in the plot of ground lying outside Solomon's enclosure (the Haram). It stands opposite the Tomb of Jacob, and is near that of his forefathers Abraham and Isaac. Now, Ibrahim ibn Ahmad al Khalanji states that he was requested by one of (the Khalif) Al Muktadir's* women—Al 'Ajûz by name—who was sojourning at the Holy City, to proceed to the place where, according to the tradition, Joseph was buried, and having discovered the sepulchre, to erect over it a building. So Al Khalanji set forth with workmen, and they found the place where, according to tradition, Joseph was buried, namely, outside the Enclosure (of Solomon), and opposite the Tomb of Jacob; and they bought the field from its owner, and began to lay it bare. In the very place indicated by the tradition they came on a huge rock; and this, by order of Al Khalanji, was broken

* Reigned 295-310 A.H. (908-932 A.D.).

into. They tore off a portion, 'and,' says Al Khamanji, 'I being with the workmen in the trench, when they raised up the fragment, lo! below it lay (the body of) Joseph—peace be upon him!—beautiful and glorious to look on, as he is always represented to have been. Now, first there arose from the place an odour of musk; following it, however, came a strong wind; so I caused the workmen to set down into its place again the fragment of rock to be as it had been before.'

And afterwards they built over this place the Dome which can be seen there to this day, in proof that the tradition is a true one, and that the Patriarch is buried beneath. This Dome stands without the walls of Solomon's Enclosure, and to the west of it, being within the Madrasah, called after Al Malik an Násir Hasan; * which at the present day is called Al Kala'ah (the Castle). You enter it through the gate of the mosque which opens towards the market, and leading to the Eunuch's Spring ('Ain at Tawáshi). It is a place much frequented (by pilgrims, who are shown) here the grave (of Joseph). One of the Guardians of Hebron, Shaháb ad Dín Ahmad al Yaghmúri † by name, pierced a gateway in the western wall of (the Haram, which is) Solomon's Enclosure, and this opens opposite to the Tomb of our Lord Joseph. He also set a monument (*ishárah*) over this lower tomb, to mark the same, and to be similar to monuments that are over the other graves that lie in the Mosque (or Haram) of Abraham. This was done during the reign of Sultán Barkúk. ‡

* One of the Mamlúk Sultans of Egypt. He was assassinated in 762 A.H. (1361 A.D.).

† He was Governor of Jerusalem and Hebron in 796 A.H. (1394 A.D.).

‡ The Mamlúk Sultan of Egypt, who reigned 784-801 A.H. (1382-1399 A.D.).

APPENDIX C.

THE GATES OF THE HARAM AREA.

BY

COL. SIR C. W. WILSON, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., R.E.

IN the note on the Gates of the Haram Area, which I contributed to Mr. Guy le Strange's translation of Mukaddasi, I was misled by the statements of Mujir ad Din, and modern tradition which follows that author. A comparison of the descriptions of Mukaddasi (985 A.D.), and Násir-i-Khusrau (1047 A.D.) with each other, and with the description of Mujir ad Din (1496 A.D.) and existing remains, enables me to correct in great measure the errors in my former note, to identify many of the gates with some degree of certainty, and to show that a change took place in the Arab nomenclature of the gates between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries; possibly when Jerusalem was captured by Saláh-ad-Din.

Násir describes (p. 41) the Báb an Nabí (Gate of the Prophet), beneath the Mosque al Aksá, in such terms as to leave no doubt of its identification with the double gateway and passage leading upwards from it beneath

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the Mosque to the Haram Area. He also mentions (p. 42) another gate, Bâb al Hittah (Gate of Remission), as being excavated in the ground: and the only known gate of the Haram of this character is the closed Gate of Muhammad, or of the Prophet, beneath the Bâb al Maghâribah (Plan, K). If now we turn to Mukaddasi's list of gates, we find that he commences with Bâb Hittah, that his second gate is 'the two Gates of the Prophet,' and that he ends with the Gate Dâûd, which is, without dispute, the Bâb as Silsilah (the Gate of the Chain) of the present day (Plan, I). The inference I draw from this is that Mukaddasi named the gates in order, commencing with the Bâb Hittah, and ending with the Bâb Dâûd, and not, as I supposed in my former note, at hap-hazard.

In attempting to identify the gates with those which now exist, it is necessary to bear in mind that the Haram Area, with its buildings and the approaches to it, have been much altered at various periods, as, for instance, during the Latin kingdom; after the recapture of the city by the Saracens; and when the walls were rebuilt by Sultan Sulaiman in the sixteenth century.

Following Mukaddasi's list, we have:

1. Bâb al Hittah (Gate of Remission). The Bâb al Hittah of Nâsir, which was excavated in the ground. This is the present closed gate, Bâb al Burâk, or Bâb an Nabî Muhammad, beneath the modern Bâb al Maghâribah (Plan, K). It is called Bâb an Nabî by Mujîr ad Dîn, who places the Bâb al Hittah in the north wall of the Haram.

2. The two Gates of the Prophet (Mukaddasi); the 'Gate of the Prophet' in the south wall and beneath the Mosque al Aksâ, of Nâsir. The present double gate, the Arab name of which is 'the Gate of the Old Aksâ,' as given by Mujîr ad Dîn.

3. The 'Gates of the Mihráb Maryám' (Mukaddasi). These gates must have been close to the Mihráb Maryám (Muk., p. 34), in the south-east corner of the Haram, from which they take their name. They apparently correspond to the Báb al 'Ain, of Násir (p. 42), and are represented either by the closed 'Single Gate,' in the south wall, or by the 'Triple Gate.'

4. The 'two Gates Ar Rahmah' (Mukaddasi). The Báb ar Rahmah, and Báb at Taubah, of Násir, so called by Mujír ad Dín, and at the present day (Plan, N and O). The double gateway known as the Golden Gate.

5. The 'Gate of the Birkat Bani Isráil' (Mukaddasi). The eastern gate in the north wall is called by Násir the Báb al Abwáb (Gate of Gates). It is now called, as in Mujír ad Dín, the Báb al Asbát (the Gate of the Tribes) (Plan, A), and opens to the road over the dam at the east end of the Birkat Isráil.

6. The 'Gates al Asbát,' of the Tribes (Mukaddasi). It corresponds to the Báb al Asbát of Násir (p. 31), which was in the north wall to the west of the 'Gate of Gates.' It is now called Báb al Hittah (Gate of Remission) (Plan, B), and was known by this same name to Mujír ad Dín, who gives with reference to it the legend applied by Násir to Gate No. 1.

7. The 'Háshimite Gates' (Mukaddasi). These appear to be the gate leading to two cloisters (*daryúzah*), belonging to the Sútís, said by Násir (p. 31) to have been in the north wall, to the west of the Báb al Asbát. It is apparently the modern Báb al 'Atm (Plan, C), which is called by Mujír ad Dín, Báb ad Dawátir (or Dawádariyyah), from a school of the same name, and said by him to be the gate by which Omar entered on the day of conquest.

8. The 'Gate of Al Walíd' (Mukaddasi) is possibly the Báb al Ghawánimah, in the north-west corner of the

Haram Area (Plan, D); it is given the latter name by Mujir ad Din, who says it was formerly called the 'Gate of Abraham.'

9. The 'Gate of Ibráhím' (Mukaddasi) is perhaps the same as the Báb as Sakar (Gate of Hell), which is the only gate that Násir mentions in the west wall, to the north of the Báb Dáúd (p. 30). It is apparently the modern 'Báb an Nádhir' (the Gate of the Inspector) (Plan, E), which, according to Mujir ad Din, was formerly called the 'Gate of Michael,' and was an ancient gateway. The street 'Akabat at Takiyah, which runs westward from the Báb an Nádhir, is supposed to follow the line of an ancient street, which supports the view that this gateway is on the site of a much older one.

10. The 'Gate of Umm Khálid' (Mukaddasi). Either the modern Báb al Hadíd (the Iron Gate) (Plan, F), or the Báb al Kattanin (Gate of the Cotton Merchants) (Plan, G), which, according to Mujir ad Din, was in his time, as it is now, near the Gate of the Bath.

11. The 'Gate Dáúd' (Mukaddasi) is the same as the Báb Dáúd (Gate of David) of Násir. It is now the Báb as Silsilah (the Gate of the Chain) (Plan, I), and the adjoining Báb as Salám (Gate of Peace) is the Báb as Sakinah of Násir (p. 42). Mujir ad Din mentions this double gate under the names Báb as Sakinah, and Báb as Silsilah, and says that the latter was formerly called the Báb Dáúd.

One gate mentioned by Mujir ad Din, the 'Gate of Burák,' appears to have been completely destroyed when the walls were rebuilt by Sultan Sulaimán in the sixteenth century. He says that the east gate of the Dome of the Rock, called the 'Gate of Israfil,' led to the steps of Burák, which were opposite the Dome of the Chain; and that opposite the steps was the 'Gate of Burák' (Plan, P),

so called because the Prophet entered by it on his night journey. It was named also the 'Gate of Funerals,' because they went out by it. This is the 'Gate of Jehoshaphat' of the Crusaders, but it does not appear to have been in existence when Mukaddasi and Násir wrote their descriptions.

The table on the next page shows concisely the proposed identifications.

MURADDASĪ, 985 A.D.	NĀSIR-I-KHUSRAU, 1017 A.D.	MUJR AD DĪN, 1496 A.D.	MODEEN, 1888 A.D.
1. Bāb al Hittah.	Bāb al Hittah.	Bāb an Nabi.	Bāb an Nabi, below Bāb al
2. Bawāb an Nabi.	Bāb an Nabi.	Gate of the Old Aksā.	Maghāribah (Plan, K). Gate of the Old Aksā (Double Gate).
3. Gates of the Mihrāb Maryām.	Bāb al 'Ain (?) (Gate of the Spring).	Bāb ar Rahmah, and Bāb al Taubah.	Single Gate (?), or Triple Gate (?).
4. Gates ar Rahmah.	Bāb ar Rahmah, and Bāb at Taubah.	Bāb ar Rahmah, and Bāb at Taubah.	Bāb ar Rahmah, and Bāb at Taubah (Golden Gate).
5. Gate of the Birkat Dani Isrāil.	Bāb al Abwāb.	Bāb al Asbāt.	(Plan, N and O.) Bāb al Asbāt (Plan, A).
6. Bāb al Asbāt.	Bāb al Asbāt.	Bāb al Hittah.	Bāb al Hittah (Plan, B).
7. Hāshimīe Gates.	Gate to the Sāfi's Cloisters.	Bāb al Dawātir.	Bāb al 'Aim (Plan, C).
8. Gate of al Walid.	Bāb as Sakar (?).	Bāb al Ghawānimah.	Bāb al Ghawānimah (Plan, D).
9. Gate of Ibrahim.	Bāb DAŪD, Bāb as Sakinah.	Bāb an Nādhir.	Bāb an Nādhir (Plan, E).
10. Gate of Umm Khālid.		Bāb al Hadid, or Bāb al Kattānin.	Bāb al Hadid (Plan, F), or Bāb al Kattānin (Plan, C).
11. Bāb DĀŪD.		Bāb as Silsilah, Bāb as Sakinah.	Bāb as Silsilah (Plan, I), Bāb as Salām.

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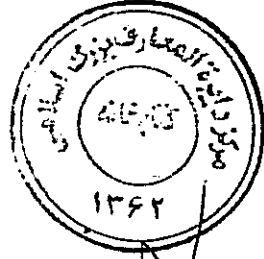
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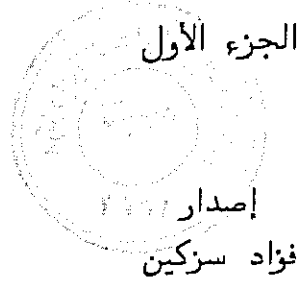
طبع في ۸۰ نسخة

نشر بمعهد تاريخ العلوم العربية والإسلامية
بفرانكفورت - جمهورية ألمانيا الاتحادية
طبع في مطبعة شتراوس، هيرشبرج، ألمانيا الاتحادية

الجغرافيا الإسلامية

المجلد الثالث والسبعون

نصوص ودراسات
حول جغرافية وطوبوغرافية فلسطين
جمع وإعادة طبع



بالتعاون مع
كارل إيرج - إيجرت، مازن عماوي، إيكهارد نويباور

١٤١٢ هـ - ١٩٩٢ م
معهد تاريخ العلوم العربية والإسلامية
في إطار جامعة فرانكفورت - جمهورية ألمانيا الاتحادية

منشورات
معهد تاريخ العلوم العربية والإسلامية

يصدرها
فؤاد سزكين

الجغرافيا الإسلامية
المجلد ٧٢

نصوص ودراسات
حول جغرافية وطوبوغرافية فلسطين
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الجزء الأول

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منشورات
معهد تاريخ العلوم العربية والإسلامية

سلسلة الجغرافيا الإسلامية

المجلد ٧٢