

Chronicon Orientale Patriarchs of Alexandria

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A Latin translation of what came to be known as the *Chronicon Orientale* was first published in the West in 1651 by Abraham Ecchellensis,¹ a Lebanese Maronite scholar who taught Oriental languages at Rome and Paris. His work was revised, with additional texts known as *Dissertationes* by Joseph Assemani, يوسف ابن سمعان السماني, another Lebanese Maronite scholar, and published in 1731. The text contains chapters 48-50 of a much longer universal history published in 1257 and known as the *Book of Histories*, the author of which was a Copt, whose name was Abû Shakîr ibn Râhib.²

What follows is a translation of the extracts on the patriarchs of Alexandria, the Latin text of which is in Assemani (pp. 73-99)³ and the Arabic of which is in L. Cheikho *Chronicon Orientale* vol. 45 of *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (1903) pp. 101-142.

The list comprises 76 patriarchs from Mark to Athanasius. Inevitably, it covers the same material as the work known in Arabic as 'Book of the Fathers and patriarchs' and often cited as *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria (HPA)*.⁴ But whereas the latter presents a history of Coptic patriarchs with the intention of presenting information about the personalities concerned, the *Chronicon* contains often only sketchy information about the patriarchs.

The information is arranged in 5 columns:

1. information about the patriarch
2. length of patriarchate
3. year AD
4. secular ruler and length of rule
5. world chronology, from the creation of Adam, sometimes known as *Anno Mundi*.

1 إبراهيم الحافلاني

2 According to the study of A. Sidarus in 'Coptic Arabic Universal Chronography' *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 11 (2014) pp. 241-250. There is a reference to him in E. Renaudot *Historia patriarcharum Alexandrinorum* (1713) p. 600 as the uncle of an unsuccessful candidate for the patriarchate in AD 1261 (AM 978).

3 Appendix 2 of this work (pp. 120-159) claims to be more accurate than the account in the *Chronicon* and a continuation of that work until the death of John XVII in 1730. I have not translated it.

4 The work is traditionally ascribed to Severus Bishop of Ashmunein, but recent research shows that Severus may have had little or nothing to do with the compilation of the work. There are fragments of the work in Coptic and for a useful conspectus of the complete text in English, cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Patriarchs_of_Alexandria

A list of the Coptic dates months and their equivalent modern Western (Julian) date.

Tût = 29 Aug.	Baramhât = 25 Feb.
Bâbah = 28 Sept.	Barmûdeh = 27 March
Hatûr = 28 Oct.	Bashons = 26 April
Kihâk = 27 Nov.	Ba'ûnah = 26 May
Tûbi = 27 Dec.	Abîb = 25 June
Amshîr = 26 Jan	Mesôre = 25 July

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The Patriarchs of Alexandria ⁵

With the help of God, we will try to give the names of the patriarchs of the Egyptian Copts of the See of Alexandria, from Mark the apostle and evangelist to our own time, that is Year of Martyrs (AM 955=AD 1279), which corresponds to Anno Hegira 657. We will note how many years each one held the office and the day he died. We will also indicate what happened during the office of each one.

At the time of the dispensation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, after His ascension to heaven, when the provinces were divided among the apostles in which they were to preach the holy Gospel, it fell to Mark to go to Egypt, Alexandria, the western Pentapolis,⁶ Ethiopia and Nubia. His first stop on leaving Rome was Pentapolis. In every district he made public the Gospel, performed many miracles, healed the leprous, expelled demons and cured the sick. Many believed him and were baptized. The Holy Spirit said to him: "Arise and go to Alexandria, that you may sow the good seed there, that is the Word of God." Thus the disciple of Christ arose and, strengthened by the Holy Spirit, and said: "Lord, make the brothers strong until I return to them,"

⁵ The Arabic text of the *History of the Patriarchs* by Severus was published with English translation by B.T.A. Evetts in various volumes of the *Patrologia Orientalis*: the text concerning Mark can be found in vol. 1 (1907) pp. 137ff. Occasional reference is made to it.

⁶ Of this particular group the best known city was probably Cyrene.

and he set off for Alexandria in year 7 of Nero. As he was about to enter the city, his sandals came apart." He said: "Now I know that God is guiding me." And he went to a cobbler to repair his sandals. The cobbler took them and, just as was about to drill holes with his awl, he drilled a hole in the palm of his hand and exclaimed: "God is One." When Mark heard the cobbler saying the name of God, he rejoiced and said: "Lord, make my way straight." He then spat on the ground, took up the mud and put it in the hand of the cobbler, saying: "In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, let your hand be healed." The hand was healed straightaway, as if nothing had happened to it. In amazement the cobbler asked St Mark to accompany him home for rest and refreshment. When he entered his house, he prayed and ate. Mark then encouraged the man, who with his entire family and neighbours was a Christian. His name was Anianus. The number of those believing in Christ began to grow. Mark consecrated Anianus Bishop of Alexandria, with three presbyters and seven deacons. Having done this, he set off for Pentapolis, where he spent two years preaching the Gospel and ordaining priests. He then returned to Alexandria to find that the number of brothers had grown and he confirmed them in the faith. After adding to this number, he withdrew. In year 35 after the ascension of Our Lord, Mark was present at the martyrdom of Peter and Paul and returned to Alexandria.⁷ When the idolaters learned that he had returned (they had already been looking for him) on the Lord's day of the glorious Easter festival, which in that year fell on 29 Barmûdeh, while St Mark was saying Mass⁸ in the sanctuary. They seized him, took him outside and put a rope around his neck, dragging him through the city from morning until evening, saying. "Put the goat in the cowshed !" His flesh was torn from his body and stuck to the stones on the roads. His blood flowed onto the earth. At nightfall they threw him into prison. The following day they took him outside and treated him as they had the day before until he died and received the martyr's crown on the last day of Barmûdeh, which is 24 Nisan of the Jews, 67 AD, in the middle of month eight.

Name, years and deeds	Years in office	Year AD	Emperor	World Year
1. Mark the Evangelist, whose deeds have been narrated in an earlier table before, obtained the martyr's crown in year 67 and a few months	8 years 230 days	67 230 days	Galba 7 months	5567 230 days
2. Anianus, who was consecrated by St Mark, is the cobbler who repaired his sandal. He died on Sunday 20 Hatûr. After Mark he occupied the see for 18 years and 216 days	18 years 216 days	86 80 days	Vespasian 9 and a half years	5586 80 days
3. Milius. The following is an extract from his Life: A man named Milius was taken up and	12 years 286 days	99 1 day	Titus 15 years	5599 1 day

⁷ Not in the HPA.

⁸ Not in the HPA. Ar. يقدّس على الهيكل . . . كان and Latin *in templo sacrum faceret*.

consecrated patriarch. The number of faithful in Egypt, the Pentapolis and Africa grew. There was peace in the Church during his patriarchate. He died on Monday 1 Tût. The see was vacant for three years because of the destruction of Jerusalem. The three years of the vacant see are added to the total

4. Cerdo acceded in year 1 of Trajan. He died on Saturday 11 Ba'ûnah. He was modest and unassuming throughout his life.	10 years 280 days	09 28 days	Domitian 15 years	5609 281 days
5. Primus was appointed and died on Sunday 3 Mesôre.	12 years 52 days	124 353 days	Aurelian 22 years	5264 333 days
6. Justus was appointed and died on Saturday 12 Ba'ûnah. He was pleasing to God.	10 years 325 days	135 185 days	Antoninus and Commodus 22 years	5635 and 283 days
7. Eumenius was appointed and died on Sunday 10 Bâbah. In his tenure of office St Sophia was martyred with her three daughters.	10 years 122 days	146 40 days	Pertinax and Julian 12 years	5646 40 days
8. Marcian, an outstanding man worthy of admiration. He held office for nine and one quarter years. He died on Sunday 10 Tûbi in the reign of Antoninus.	9 years 86 days	155 26 days	Severus 13 years and son Antoninus 6 years	5655 126 days
9. Claudian was much loved by the people. He held office for 14 years and a half and died on Thursday 9 Abîb.	14 years 183 days	169 309 days	Macrinus 2 years and Antoninus 3 years	5669 309 days
10. Agrippinus died on Friday 5 Amshîr.	11 years 211 days	181 115 days	Alexander 13 years and Maximinus 3 years	5681 155 days
11. Julian. After him no bishop could remain at Alexandria, but he ⁹ would leave in secretly and ordain priests in all places. Julian, in the night when he was to die, saw the angel of the Lord, who said: "The one who approaches you with a bunch of grapes will be patriarch." At that time there was a married man named Demetrius who, while he was preparing his grapes in the winter, had a bunch left over and said to himself that he would offer it to Julian. The entire population had gathered for Julian's death, and they asked him who his successor would be. He said: "He who brings a bunch of grapes." The people said: "Now, where ¹⁰ can grapes be found in winter? The patriarch is gravely ill and does not what he is saying." Again they asked him: "Is it clear who will protect us?" He replied: "I have already told you. The one who brings me a	10 years 33 days	191 108 days	Pupienus 3 months and Gordian 4 years	5691 288 days

9 The text reads *exibant*, a typographical error: the Arabic is singular.

10 *Utinam* is presumably a typographical error for *ubinam*. Ar. من أين

bunch of grapes, he will be patriarch." While he was speaking, Demetrius appeared with the grapes and was immediately detained by the people.

12. Demetrius, the one who brought the grapes to Julian, was pronounced patriarch by Julian before he died: "This is your patriarch, as told to me by the angel of the Lord." So they seized him and constrained with iron chains because he was preparing to flee and made him patriarch. The people rejoiced, saying: "He is the 12th patriarch since Mark and all the others were unmarried." They were astonished at this. Demetrius had the God-given ability to detect the secret sins of people, for which he reprimanded them in private. Many of the faithful stopped sinning, afraid that he would know their sin and declare it in public. But they also said. "How is that a married man can rebuke us ? Especially since no-one who has ever sat on this throne has been married." That night an angel of the Lord appeared to him, saying: "Demetrius, do not care only for your own salvation and neglect that of your neighbour. Remember the words of the Gospel: 'The good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep.' The patriarch said: 'Tell me what this means, Lord.' The angel said: 'What was secret between you and your wife, declare it to the people.' So, on the following day, the feast of the Great Thursday, ¹¹ he told his archdeacon to tell the priests and the people that no-one was to leave the Church but should all gather around the throne. When they were all there, he ordered wood to be brought and kindled it. He then summoned his wife to appear before the people, while he himself stood in the middle of the flames and said to her: "Spread out the woollen cloak you are wearing." She did so and he, throwing burning coals on it, said: "Arise. Let us pray." At the same time, he added incense to the coals on his wife's cloak, together with all the priests. He turned to his wife and told her to walk around the church that she might purify the entire congregation with the incense. He then said to the people: "Do not wonder or be astonished. He who can overcome the flames of nature cannot be overcome by the flames of the senses." ¹² I am 63 today. My wife, whom you see before you, is the daughter of my uncle, who died when she was a girl. We were brought up in the same house. When she became an adult, my father gave her to me as a wife. After the nuptials, we retired to our chamber, She said: "I have been brought up with you as a sister. How am I now to be a wife to you ? It is now 48 years since she became my wife, and we have slept in the same bed. Nevertheless, as God knows, we have never known each other in the worldly sense. When we lay down, we saw the form of	32 years 219 days	224 42 days	Decius 1 year	5724 42 days
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11 Pentecost

12 The story in *HPA* is, of course, much longer, but it does not contain this neat 'axiomatic' formulation.

an eagle, with its wings outspread over us, the left wing over her and the right wing over me, until morning when it disappeared. Do not think that I have told you this for reasons of vainglory but because I have been instructed by Him who wishes all to be saved and arrive at a knowledge of the truth, Christ the Saviour." At the end of this speech, he withdrew with his wife.

Demetrius removed a certain Origen, who had secured his priesthood by deceit from the Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, and Demetrius refused to let him return to Alexandria because he was a heretic.

13. Heraclas was the first to be called Pope. ¹³ SS Sergius, Bacchus and Barbara were martyred during his patriarchate. His see was vacant for a year. The vacant year is added to the total.	16 years 56 days	240 98 days	Valerian 2 years	5740 98 days
14. Dionysius was from Saba'. ¹⁴ His knowledge was outstanding and his family wealthy. His conversion to Christianity came about through reading a letter of St Paul. He went to Demetrius, who received and baptized him. When Demetrius died, Heraclas appointed him his chief advisor because of his extraordinary learning and erudition. It was at the time of Paul of Samosata and St Mercurius, who was martyred at Rome under Decius. It was also at this time the seven noble youths went to sleep at Ephesus and many others received the martyr's crown.	19 years 281 days	261 13 days	Claudius 1 year	5761 13 days
15. Maximus. Mani, who was flayed by the Persian King and thrown to the wild beasts lived during his pontificate. His followers were buried head down in the ground. The see was vacant for a year. He died on Sunday 14 Barmûdah. The vacant year has been added to his total.	12 years 211 days	273 224 days	Aurelian 6 years	5773 224 days
16. Theonas. During his patriarchate Cosmas and Damian were martyred, together with their brothers and mother. The Emperor was the impious Diocletian. Theonas died on Wednesday 8 Tûbi,	9 years 263 days	284 122 days	Probus no year	5784 122 days
17. Peter the holy martyr became head of the Church in year 10 of Diocletian, who in year 20 of his reign ordered Peter to be beheaded and become worthy of the martyr's crown. It was to Peter that the woman of Antioch brought her two children to be baptized. The baptism water froze and Peter was unable to baptize them. When the mother was asked why this should happen, she said: 'There was a storm at	10 years 333 days	295 89 days	Diocletian the infidel 21 years	5795 89 days

13 No reference to this in *HPA*.

14 No mention of this in *HPA*.

sea and, when there was a danger of shipwreck, I gave birth. I made the sign of the Cross over them with my blood and baptized them with sea water." The patriarch told her that they had been baptized by her faith. Peter excommunicated Arius by order of God. He was martyred on Friday 29 Hatûr.

18. Achillas was consecrated but held office for only six months. The reason for his death was that he unwisely received Arius, so his death was inflicted upon him by God. He died on Tuesday 19 Ba'ûnah.	200 days	295 289 days	Maximinian his son 1 year	5795 289 days
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19. Alexander. The Council of the 318 bishops was held in his pontificate at Nicaea. Arius was anathematized and a creed formulated. Lent was moved and an Epact ¹⁵ was made. Athanasius bore witness to his patriarchate: 'When my father was reading the Gospel in his modest cell, he did so standing, with the lamps burning. He never sat and never broke fast until after sunset.' He died on Monday, 22 Barmûdah.	22 years 208 days	318 232 days	Constantine the believer 32 years	5818 232 days
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20. Athanasius the Apostolic. During his patriarchate the Council of Galatia took place, attended by Basil, which declared Arius to be anathema. Athanasius was vexed sorely with great tribulations and was removed from his see, it is said, three times. His contemporaries were Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil the Great, his brother Gregory, the Alexandrian Macarius the Great, Anthony in the eastern desert and Pachomius in Upper Egypt. He died on Thursday 7 Bashons. ¹⁶	46 years 15 days	364 247 days	Constantine the younger, son of Constantine 24 years	5864 247 days
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21. Peter. He suffered much tribulation at the hands of Arius, which is why he fled and returned after some time to his see, which he occupied for a year. He died on Thursday 26 Abîb.	5 years 200 days	370 170 days	Julian the infidel 1 year	5870 170 days
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22. Timothy the brother of Peter. During his patriarchate the second Council of Constantinople took place, in which Macedonius the enemy of the Holy Spirit was condemned. The Creed was completed, with the words <i>We believe in the Holy Spirit etc.</i> Sabellius was also anathematized for saying Father Son Holy Spirit, affirming that the Holy Trinity is one person and rejecting the copulative particle. Apollinaris was excommunicated too for saying <i>Great Greater Greatest</i> , referring to the Holy Spirit, the Son and the Father, respectively. He died on Sunday 20 Abîb. A council was convened on 3 Ab (August) in Year of	6 years 156 days	376 362 days	Valentinian and Gratian the infidels 1 year	5876 326 days
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15 Formula for determining Easter.

16 A remarkably terse account of arguably the most celebrated patriarch whose life occupies pp. 403-423 of Evetts' edition and translation of *HPA*. The *HPA* date of his death is 8 Bashons.

Alexander 692.¹⁷

23. Theophilus. He was in agreement with Epiphanius Archbishop of Cyprus that St John Chrysostom patriarch of Constantinople should be driven into exile. During his patriarchate seven young men woke up after having slept for 149 years in a cave. He died on 18 Bâbah.	27 years 87 days	404 48 days	Theodosius the faithful king 17 years	5904 48 days
24. Cyril the Great was the nephew of Theophilus. His contemporaries include St Isaac, disciple of St Ephrem the Syrian, and Simeon Stylites. He was responsible for calling the two hundred bishops to the Council of Ephesus against Nestorius patriarch of Constantinople, where he deposed him and anathematized all his followers. He was the first to introduce 'stations' ¹⁸ into the Church. He died on Tuesday 3 Abib.	31 years 155 days	435 303 days	Arcadius the faithful son 13 years	5935 303 days
25. Dioscorus was the disciple of Cyril and accompanied him to the Council of Ephesus against Nestorius. He was much and severely persecuted by the Emperor Marcian with his wife Pulcheria. He was driven from his see because he refused to accept the findings of the 630 bishops at the Council of Chalcedon. Consequently, he was exiled to an island in the west, ¹⁹ where he stayed for seven years and died on 7 Tût, the reason being as follows: There was a priest at Constantinople named Eutyches, ²⁰ who maintained the body of Christ was something fine and different from our bodies. For this he was excommunicated by Flavian the patriarch of Constantinople. So he went to Theodosius the Emperor and complained that he had been condemned unjustly. The Emperor summoned the Council of Ephesus to assemble and enquire into the matter. 130 bishops, at the head of whom was Dioscorus of Alexandria. Flavian of Constantinople and Juvenal of Jerusalem. Eutyches begged to be pardoned and openly admitted that the use of these words had been imprudent. He said that he confessed the same truth as the fathers. And by stealth he obtained absolution and departed from them, restored to his rank. But not long afterwards he reverted to his blasphemous utterances. This Council is not numbered among the general councils. It is celebrated on 25 of 1 Tishri, Year of Alexander 763.	14 years 69 days	450 7 days	Theodosius the younger 42 years	5950 7 days
26. Timothy was elected after the death of Dioscorus. He was subjected to much abuse from the opposing faction, which drove him and his brother Anatolius into exile. But, thank	22 years 330 days	472 337 days	Marcian the Chalcedonian, husband of Pulcheria.	5972 332 days

17 Quite unlike the *HPA* text. The dating formula (Year of Alexander/Year of the Greeks) shows Syrian influence, beginning as it did in 312 BC with re-conquest of Babylon by Seleucus I. The Council of Constantinople was held in 381 AD.

18 اقام القومة I am not sure what this means but it may refer to his Paschal Table, with a Metonic 19-year cycle, which he dedicated to Theodosius.

19 The only exile period known to me is that on the island of Gangra in Paphlagonia, where he died.

20 Not mentioned in the *HPA*.

God, he was restored nine years later. He died on Friday 7 Mesôre.²¹

6 years

27. Peter. ²² After his election his opponents elected in his place Timothy Ansûs, then John of Tabennese, who followed Ansûs, then Peter returned to his see and died on Sunday 4 Hatûr.	8 years 9 days	481 62 days	Leo the Great Chalcedonian 16 years	5981 62 days
28. Athanasius. With Peter he was the caretaker of the Alexandrian Church. He died at Alexandria on Tuesday 20 Tût.	6 years 223 days	488 20 days	Leo father of Zeno the faithful One year	5988 20 days
29. John spent his time in peace and quiet because of Zeno the orthodox Emperor, who supplied the monks of the monastery of Macarius with all their needs annually, such as wheat, wine, oil and things of that sort. He died on Friday 4 Bashons. The see was vacant for a year, and this has been added to his total.	8 years 224 days	496 244 days	Zeno the faithful king 17 years	5996 24 days
30. John the Recluse, ²³ a contemporary of Severus patriarch of Antioch. The two regularly exchanged correspondence on the unity of the orthodox faith. He died on Monday 27 Bashons.	21 years 23 days	518 267 days	Anastasius the faithful 27 years Justinian the Chalcedonian 9 years	6018 267 days
31. Dioscorus, when elected, wrote to Severus of Antioch about the orthodox faith, and Severus replied on receipt of it. He died on Tuesday 10 Bâbah.	2 years 146 days	520 47 days	Justinian 39 years	6020 47 days
32. Timothy. The orthodox Emperor Anastasius was succeeded by the Chalcedonian Justinian, who removed Timothy in favour of Apollinaris in an effort to bring over all Christians to the faith of Chalcedon. This is why he summoned a council at Constantinople, which was attended by Vigilius of Rome, Apollinaris, Eutychius of Constantinople, Severus and eastern bishops, to agree with him, but they did not. So he inflicted great vexation on the orthodox. He threw Severus into prison, but soon afterwards the empress interceded with him on Severus' behalf, for she shared the latter's faith. Severus was released and left Antioch with his bishops for Egypt, where he visited ²⁴ monastery after monastery and city after city, sometimes secretly	17 years 196 days	538 163 days	Justinian the Chalcedonian 13 years	6038 163 days

21 Pulcheria endeared herself to Egyptians by her strong condemnation of Nestorius at Ephesus in 431.

22 Peter is the Monophysite Mongus, who was replaced by the Chalcedonian Salophaciolus, here called أنصوص. Assemani understands John as 'Tabennesiot', but he is more often known as John Talaia. There seems to be a certain amount of confusion with respect to these names.

23 The term *inclusus* translates الحبيس. HPA calls him the 'monk' (الراهب).

24 Ar. uses دور 'to move around', whereas the equivalent passage in HPA uses هرب 'flee'.

and sometimes openly strengthening the orthodox. At the same time Apollinaris came to Egypt with documents concerning the adoption of the faith of Chalcedon, which many, the faithful and the monks, were forced to agree with him, except seven of the monks of the monastery of Macarius, of whom two were killed while the remaining five, by the grace of God, prevented the other monks from accepting the doctrine.²⁵ Of the Jacobite splendour²⁶ two hundred thousand were slain, with women and children, in the churches. Though Justinian long made great efforts to bring Severus to the Chalcedonian faith, he was unable to induce him in any way and he decreed that Severus should be removed from among the living. When Theodora heard this, she advised Severus to flee. He escaped in secret, not because he was afraid of death but because God was keeping him to save many others, especially in Egypt where corrupt doctrines were rife. Severus, disguised as a monk, travelled around the entire region, strengthening the hearts of the orthodox. When he was in the monastery church of St Macarius, an angel appeared to him to the priest celebrating Mass and said: "How do you dare to burn incense when there is a patriarch present?" The priest replied: "Where is he?" The angel said: "He is in a corner of the church among the poor." Timothy died on Saturday 13 Amshîr.

33. Theodosius. After his election, dissidents ordained another patriarch, Gaianus by name, who was the archdeacon of the Church of Alexandria, in the house of a priest named Theodore. The latter was of the worst character: with his party he deposed Theodosius and wrote to the Emperor Tiberius attacking him. The Emperor's wife, Theodora, was orthodox and she asked her husband to delay this, to which he agreed. She ordered an enquiry about who was the first to be elected. When she had found that it was Theodosius, she restored him to his rank. Theodosius was then asked to receive Gaianus and restore him to the ranks of archdeacon, and he agreed to this. Some time later the Emperor wrote the Prefect of Alexandria and Theodosius to agree to accept the Council of Chalcedon, and if Theodosius refused, he would be deposed and could go wherever he wanted. Theodosius left the Church lest he betray the 318 fathers. The Emperor became afraid that the entire people would follow him, he summoned Theodosius and bestowed many honours upon him. But when he refused them all, the Emperor angrily sent him into exile and replaced him with Paul the Theban, who was consecrated by the patriarch of Constantinople. But when Paul arrived in Alexandria, he was accepted by nobody. So all the doors of Coptic churches were closed. In AM 248 the Copts built two	31 years 131 days	559 298 days	Tiberius the Chalcedonian 3 years	6059 298 days
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25 The word used is the same as that for Pope Leo's document: Tome. The form used in *HPA*, which has a slightly different presentation of the material in general, is 'Tomarion'.

26 Arabic زهاء .

churches in Alexandria when Theodosius went into exile, where he died.

34. Peter. The Chalcedonian Emperor died during his patriarchate. Paul died an unpleasant death, and he was replaced by the imperial appointee Apollinarius the Prefect and the same patriarch who closed the churches, killed more than 200,000 Jacobites, men, women and children, and promulgated the Melkite faith. When the Antiochenes accepted the Alexandrians had done, they appointed a certain person who assumed the name Theophilus patriarch in place of the blessed Severus. Peter died on Thursday 25 Ba'ūnah. The see was vacant for a year, which has been added to the total	1 year 362 days	561 295 days	Maurice the Chalcedonian 20 years	6061 295 days
35. Damian. During his patriarchate the monasteries of the desert of Abba Macarius were devastated. He died on Monday 18 Ba'ūnah. During his office Maurice was murdered by Phocas.	35 years 357 days	598 288 days	Phocas the Chalcedonian 8 years	6098 288 days
36. Anastasius. He established many churches at Alexandria and many others occupied by Melkites he restored to the Jacobites. He died on Wednesday 27 Kihāk.	12 years 190 days	611 112 days	Heraclius the Chlacedonian 11 years	6111 112 days
37. Andronicus. He was wealthy and donated to the poor. He was patriarch when Muslim rule began in year 11 of Heraclius. Choroës the Persian King invaded the Roman empire and occupied Egypt and Syria. He built a palace at Alexandria known as the Persian Palace. ²⁷ He was a contemporary of John the Almoner. He died on Friday 8 Tūbi.	6 years 16 days	617 128 days	Appearance of the Muslims Abu Bakr al-Sadiq Two years	6117 128 days
38. Benjamin. During his tenure of office the Persians occupied Egypt and held it for ten years. Heraclius killed the Emperor Phocas and took complete control of the empire. He overcame the Persians and laid waste their territory. He recovered Egypt and made Cyrus governor of it. When he arrived in Alexandria, an angel told Benjamin to hide until God's anger had subsided, which took ten years. Heraclius saw someone in a dream saying to him: "It will happen that a certain circumcised people will invade and occupy your empire." He thought that this meant the Jews. He had all the Jews and Samaritans in the empire baptized. But not long afterwards the Muslims emerged. So Heraclius gathered all his troops from Alexandria to Aswan and paid the Muslims tribute for eight years until his treasury was empty. In AM 357 on 12 Ba'ūnah Amr ibn al 'As arrived in Egypt and occupied it. Three years later he occupied Alexandria. He then wrote a document of safe passage ²⁸ for Benjamin, who returned to his	39 years	656 128 days	Umar bin al-Khattāb One year Uthmān bin Afwān 11 years Alī bin Abī Tālib 11 years and a half	6156 128 days

²⁷ Also mentioned in *HPA*, cf. Evetts in *Patrologia Orientalis* 1 (1904) p. 485, where the Persian name 'Tarāwus' is also given. It was still standing when *HPA* was written.

people after an absence of 13 years with great joy.

39. Agatho was elected after the death of Benjamin and died on Thursday 16 Bâbah	16 years 273 days	673 39 days	Al-Hasan 6 months Mu'awiya head of the Ummaya 3 years and 6 months	6173 36 days
40. John. He built the church of St Mark at Alexandria in three years. During his office corn became very expensive for three years. Each day he would distribute money and bread to the poor. He died on Saturday 1 Kîhâk.	8 years 55 days	681 91 days	Yazîd bin Mu'awiya 3 years and 6 months Mu'awiya A month and a half	6181 91 days
41. Isaac was appointed by the caliph Abd al Malik. He died on Tuesday 9 Hatûr.	2 years 336 day	684 62 days	Abdallah bin al-Zubayr Marwân bin al-Hâkim 1 year and a half	6184 62 days
42. Simon. As recorded in his Life, he resurrected a corpse and drank poison three times after communion without suffering harm. He died on his fourth draught, when he succumbed and was burned. He received an Indian ambassador, who asked him to ordain bishops and priests for them, but without authorization of the Egyptian ruler he was unwilling to do so. The ambassador went to someone else who did what he wanted. But because of this Christians suffered much harm. He died on Sunday 24 Abîb. The see was vacant for 3 years, which have been added to the total.	7 years 262 days	691 324 days	Abd al-Malik Marwân 21 years	6191 324 days
43. Alexander was elected in AM 410. He had many problems: tribute was exacted from him twice, on each occasion 3,000 gold pieces. For 'Abd al-Malik son of Marwan had made his brother 'Abd al-'Azîz prefecr of Egypt, who taxed the monks and received tribute from them, a gold piece from each. Once, on the Saturday of Lights, that is Holy Saturday, he went to a monastery at Helwan, where he saw an image of Our Lady with the Lord in her lap, spat at it and said: "If I have enough time, I will eliminate Christians from these areas." The following night he had a terrifying dream. The next morning, Easter Sunday, he approached his father and said before many: "Last night I was tortured by wicked demons. I saw someone sitting on a very large throne, frightening and very majestic, surrounded by many thousands, I was bound in chains with you behind it. When I asked who it was, I was told: 'It is Jesus Christ whose image you spat at yesterday.' At which someone pierced me with a lance until I gave up my spirit." After his story, he became deaf and dumb and gave up his spirit. Forty days later his father also died.	24 years 183 days	720 157 days	Umar bin Abd al-Azîz Two years and a half	6220 157 days
44. Cosmas was elected reluctantly and unwillingly. He prayed to the Lord	1 year 143 days	721 300 days	Hishâm Abd al-Malik	6221 300 days

unceasingly until he was taken after a year. He died on Saturday 1 Ba'ûnah.

19 years

45. Theodore spent his entire office in peace and tranquillity, without any enemy in the Church. He was a good man, gentle, handsome and of good character.

11 years
222 days

735
157 days

Al-Walîd bin
al-Yazîd 15 months 6235
157 days

The see was vacant for a year and this is added to the total.

46. Michael was elected in AM 460, the feast day of the Cross, after having suffered many hardships under Marwan al-Ja'adi, in the prefecture of 'Abd al-Malik son of Moses, who had converted to Islam from Judaism. Some bishops accused the patriarch and brought many charges against him. So he was arrested and incarcerated, heavily fined and much persecuted. He therefore asked for the chance to make a tour of cities and towns to raise money from the faithful, in which he was successful. But the people were taxed so heavily and so frequently that all were reduced to poverty. That night God showed his anger and there was a terrible earthquake that destroyed many cities and no-one escaped ruin. In addition, many ships were sunk in the night. The tremors were strong that the wood in doors and walls was dislodged. The disaster happened in the reign of Marwan. When an account was made of all the damage caused in the east that night, it was found that 600 castles, towns and cities and innumerable people and animals had perished. When 'Abd al-Malik saw God's anger, he dismissed his men.

23 years
180 days

758
196 days

Ibrahîm al Walîd
2 months 6257
Marwân al-Ja'adi
4 years 9 months 196 days

AM 461. Cyprian ruler of Nubia invaded Egypt when he learned that the patriarch was being detained in prison. His army was 100,000 men with 1,000 cavalry and 100,000 camels. It is said that the horses fought more ferociously than their riders. They were relatively small in size, like donkeys. When he approached Egypt, 'Abd al-Malik sent to the patriarch to ask him to write a placatory letter to Cyprian. Michael did so, with many blessings on the ruler. He managed to avert war. The Nubians retreated, overjoyed by the blessing of the patriarch. When Marwan arrived in Egypt he undertook an expedition against the Bashmurites, who had successfully become independent of him. They killed an almost infinite number of Marwan's army. The result was that the patriarch suffered much distress because of the Bashmurites and was often threatened with death. When the people of Khorasan, under the leadership of Saffâh, marched against Egypt, Marwan retreated to and set fire to Giza, a suburb of Misr, with its granaries and corn supply, but he did not release the patriarch from prison until the Khorasanites overcame the forces of Marwan and occupied the city.

47. Mîna suffered many great difficulties: for example, he wove tow ropes with the bishops

8 years
320 days

767
150 days

Abu'l-Abbâs
al-Saffâh 6262
150 days

and caulked the ships with pitch in the arsenal at Egypt, exposed to the sun.²⁹ He died on Friday the last day of Tûbi.

4 years 9 months

48. John was elected on 16 Tûbi, his birthday. 22 years
He died on the 10th day of the same month. 1 day
During his period of office there was great food shortage. He distributed food to the poor and it seemed that they wanted for nothing.
The see was vacant for fifteen days, and these have been added to the total.

790
136 days

Abu Ja'far 6290
al-Mansûr 136 days
21 years 9 months
Muhammad al-Mahdi
10 years

49. Mark. In his period office there was a group in Egypt called Barsanufians,³⁰ who consecrated for themselves two bishops in the days of Peter the patriarch and Zeno the emperor. Their two successor Bishops approached Mark. When they heard his teaching, they asked him to receive them and include them in his flock. He received them and, wishing to test them, said: "Know that you will by no means remain in the office you currently hold." In all modesty they replied: "We know that we are not worthy of this office and will not remain in it. But in the meantime we ask your forgiveness for our sins." They wrote an agreement, subjecting themselves to anathema if they corrupted the bishopric or the priesthood. He blessed them and straightaway ordained the Bishops and instructed them to stay with him until two Bishops died and there was a vacancy for them. Following their example everybody returned to obeying the patriarch and they were re-admitted by him with joy and grace. African barbarians devastated monasteries of the Wadi Habib, the population of which scattered or were killed and churches and cellars burned. The area remained unpopulated for forty years.
Alexandria and other cities were occupied by rebels, who consigned everything to the flames and everyone to the sword and looted the areas, as is told at great length in the history of Egypt. The patriarch left Alexandria for fifteen years. He died on Sunday 22 Barmûdah.

821
232 days

Harûn al-Rashîd 6321
22 years 232 days
Muhammad al-Amin
4 years 6 months

50. James. In his period of office the monasteries were restored and the monks returned to them. There was a certain prince, Macarius, who once asked the patriarch to bless his house. He had a single child, who had been ill and died. The father took the child to the patriarch, who embraced him on his lap and prayed for a long time. The boy came back to life and opened his eyes and moved his hands and feet. The patriarch then gave the boy back to his father and told him that he had not died but was only sleeping. Macarius became very frightened and donated a third of his wealth to the poor. James died on Tuesday 14 Amshîr.

821
164 days

Muhammad al-Amin 6321
4 years 6 months 164 days

51. Simeon. In his period of office the Church 234 days

822

Abdallah al-Ma'mûn 6322

²⁹ This somewhat curiously isolated detail may be better understood from the fuller account in *Patrologia Orientalis* 10 (1915) p.374, from which it is clear the patriarch and the bishops were ordered to do this work.

³⁰ An acephalic monophysite splinter group that took shape in the reign of Zeno (474-491).

was at peace. He died of gout on Friday 3 Bâbah.		33 days	Muhammad al-Mu'tasim 8 year 6 months	33 days
The see was vacant for a year, and this has been added to the total.				
52. Joseph. He deposed the bishop of Cairo and the bishop of Tinnis, because they had been accused by the people and reprehended by the patriarch, but had not come to their senses. At the same time the Bashmurites ³¹ had revolted against the ruler and were unwilling to heed the warnings of the patriarch. 'Abdallah Ma'mûn in Baghdâd was informed and marched on Egypt, arriving in the early hours of Friday 1 Muharram in 217, ³² accompanied by Dionysius the patriarch of Antioch. He sent both patriarchs to them, but they were unable to change their minds either with prayers or arguments. Ma'mûn declared war on them and set off with his army and almost entirely erased them. Moved by so much slaughter and by turns taking pity on them, he ordered the survivors to be taken prisoner. Those who had been deposed by the patriarch went to the ruler and blamed Joseph for the rebellion, and he was condemned to death. But Ma'mûn discovered that they had lied, released the patriarch and at the same issued him with a pardon ³³ him that he might be held in honour and esteem by all and that no-one would dare oppose him in his judgements, ordinations or depositions. At this time, the metropolitan of Ethiopia, who had been installed by Jacob, was driven into exile by the queen and nobles after the ruler had gone to war. There was no rain that year, and disease spread rapidly. The metropolitan was sent to Egypt and uncanonically replaced by another. On his victorious return from battle the ruler of Ethiopia was extremely angry and sent envoys to ask God and the patriarch for pardon. The metropolitan was sent back to Ethiopia. Joseph died on 23 Bâbah.	17 years 338 days	841 53 days	Harûn al-Wâthiq 4 years 6 months	6341 53 days
The see was vacant for 30 days, and this has been added to the total.				
53. Michael, priest of St John's monastery. was the first patriarch to be buried in the monastery of Macarius. Some were buried at Alexandria, others at Cairo. He died on Friday 22 Barmûdah. The see was vacant for 81 days, which have been added to the total.	1 year 149 days	842 332 days	Muhammad al-Muntasir 6 months	6342 232 days
54. Cosmas. Deacon in the monastery of Macarius. In his period of office walls were built at Tanis, Damietta, Alexandria, Burullus Parallae, Al-Ashium, Tinae, Rosetta and Nastrûh, The Caliph Mutawwakil forbade Jews and Christians to wear white garments, only	7 years 133 days	850 81 days	Al-Mu'tasir 3 years 4 months	6350 81 days

31 Rebellions in the Delta region of Bashmûr during the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties largely because of excessive taxation

32 Anno Hegirae.

33 Ar. سجلا باكرامه

coloured ones. He died on Thursday 23 Hatûr and was buried at Danushar in the diocese of Sakha.

The see was vacant for 51, and this period has been added to the total.

55. Shenoute, the steward of the monastery of Macarius. During his patriarchate Ahmed ibn Tûlûn built underground aqueducts in Egypt to transport water from the Nile to Alexandria and fill up the cisterns. He died on Saturday 24 Barmûdah.	11 years 132 days	861 132 days	Muhammad al-Mahdi 1 year Ahmed al-Mu'tamid 23 years	6361 132 days
56. Michael. He suffered much under Ahmed ibn Tûlûn: he was taxed heavily by him and forced to sell a furth part of churches of Alexandria and Ethiopia to the Jews, part of Mu'allaqa, to pledge monasteries, with individual Christians redeeming one part in twenty-four in any given year. He sold the property of the monks to pay half of the tax, namely 10,000 gold pieces. When Ahmed died, the patriarch with the help of God was released from this obligation. The see was vacant for 14 years, which have been added to the total.	25 years 39 days	886 171 days	Ja'far al-Muqtadar 24 years and 4 months	6386 171 days
57. Gabriel. He ordered single men and women to pay 8 dinars and 1 dinar, respectively, to the patriarch each year. He died on Wednesday 21 Amshîr.	21 years	921 171 days	Muhammad al-Qahar Year and a half	6411 171 days
58. Cosmas died on Tuesday 5 Baramhât.	12 years 12 days	933 183 days	Ahmed al-Radi 6 years and 6 months	6423 183 days
59. Macarius. In his patriarchate Egypt was occupied by Muhammad ibn Taqag the Ikhshîd. He died on Saturday 2 Tûbi.	20 years 21 days	943 204 days	Ibrahîm al-Muttaqi 3 years and 9 months	6443 204 days
60. Theophanius. ³⁴ This patriarch denied Christ. The Bishops attacked him and killed him in a boat and drowned him. He died a horrible death on Saturday 10 Kihâk.	4 years 261 days	948 100 days	Abd al-Malik al-Mustaqfi Year and a half	6448 100 days
61. Mina died 15 Hatûr, a Wednesday. The see was vacant for a year, and this has been added to the total.	17 years 340 days	966 75 days	Abd al-Mutti' Abbâs 28 years and a half	6466 75 days
62. Abraham. ³⁵ He was Syrian. In his term of office Severus was Bishop of Ashmunein. He was poisoned by a certain Scriba, whom he had excommunicated for having concubines. After the patriarch's death, Scriba's hands were cut off and he died instantly. The life of this father was outstanding. He eliminated simony. ³⁶ He was	3 years 75 days	970 155 days	Al-Mu'izz Mu'ad 22 years and 9 months	6470 150 days

34 Theophilus II. I can find no more information about him.

35 For a version of the story cf. https://www.roger-pearse.com/weblog/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Abraham-the-Syrian_Alcock.pdf and a study of it cf. J. Heier 'Apologetic elements in Coptic-Arabic historiography' in Kh. Samir (ed.) *Christian apologetics* 750-1228 (1994) pp. 192ff. The Biblical allusion is Mk. 4, 21ff.

36 شريطونية (χειροτονία). The English word is formed from the name of Simon Magus, who in Acts 8, 14 offers the apostles money for their healing power of 'laying on of hands'.

frequently invited by Mu'izz to his residence and was greatly regarded by the Caliph. Once, when a leading Jew was moved by envy, he said to Mu'izz: "He who does not have faith the size of a mustard seed, how can he attend the Caliph?" Mu'izz then told him to move a mountain. as in the Gospel, or abandon his faith. Abraham prayed for three days and went down to the Mu'allafa church with all his people and they fasted that night and the patriarch spread ashes. Our Lady appeared to him next to a column, saying: "Go to Turner Way ³⁷ in Qasr al Sham'a, and the person you meet carrying a large burden on his shoulders will be your salvation. (Since this is a well-known story, we will leave it out here). Abraham found him and took him with him. The Muslims, Jews and Christians were gathered at the foot of the hill next to the Elelphant Lake.³⁸ While they were praying, the mountain fractured and fell in the presence of Mu'izz and all the people. This is merely a summary of a well-known event. The see was vacant for 61 days, and these have been added to the total.

63. Philotheus. In his time 'Aziz, lord of Egypt, died and in his time lived Wâdih al-Muntasir, known as Ibn Raga the witness, whom Mercurius the martyr carried from the plain of Mecca to his church in one night.³⁹ He wrote four books: the first, <i>Wâdih</i>; the second <i>Select doctrine of commentators and corrupt practices of heretics</i>; the third, <i>Discovery of the hidden</i>. The fourth book is autobiographical. Philotheus was fond of money: he indulged himself with food, drink, bathing and incense: he also accepted money for conferring orders. Once, when mass being celebrated at St Mark's, he saw a hand coming out of the ciborium, which made the sign of the cross on the host and it immediately split into two in his hands. This frightened him and he was unable to stop trembling until he dies on Saturday 3 Hatûr. The see was vacant for 67 days, and these have been added to the total.	24 years 226 days	995 72 days	Al-Azîz Turâr no time	6495 72 days
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64. Zachary was elected in AM 728. He was cruelly persecuted by the governor, so that in the seventh year he was forced to go into hiding. At some point he was thrown to wild beasts which had been starved for several days, but they refused to touch him. The churches were closed for a long time under him, and nobody dared celebrate Mass, except in the monastery of Macarius. The governor inflicted much hardship on Christians: he ordered Christians to wear crosses around their neck and Jews a calf's head. He ordered court scribes and leading Christians to be arrested and given the option of conversion to Islam or death by the sword. They replied: "We follow Sheikh Abu Nagâh, for he is the	27 years 354 days	1023 128 days	Al-Hâkim bin al-Mu'izz 24 years 6 month	6523 128 days
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37 Ar. درب الخراطين, Called *Darb al Hadid* in *HPA* (see above). My translation refers to wood-turning.

38 بركة الفيل Not in *HPA*. For a drawing cf. S. Lane-Poole *Story of Cairo* (1918) p. vii

39 Ibn Raga converted to Christianity from Islam.

greatest among us." He was summoned by the caliph, who told him about Islam. The sheikh asked for time to consider before replying. He went home, took his leave of his wife and children and told them to give alms to the poor after his death and to pray for him and spent the night in prayer. At daybreak he presented himself to the ruler, who asked him what he had decided. The sheikh replied that he was firm and constant in his resolve to remain in the religion of his fathers. The governor ordered him to receive a thousand lashes without interruption. After 700 lashes, he said: "I am thirsty". The governor told his men to give him water if he converted. They repeated this to the sheikh, but he told them that he no longer need water: "My Lord Christ has given me water." At the same time the governor's men saw water dripping from his beard and lips. Thereupon he gave up his spirit. When the governor was told, he told his men to continue beating him until he had received the complete tally of lashes, and he received 300 post-mortem blows. Zachary died on Tuesday 8 Tûbi and was buried in the Church of the Abyssinians.⁴⁰

The see was vacant for 74 days, and these have been added to the total.

65. Shenoute was given to the accumulation of wealth and the receipt of payments for the laying on of hands. He died on Wednesday 2 Hatûr, The see was vacant for 1 year 148 days, and this has been added to the total.	14 years 225 days	1038 62 days	Al-Tâhir his son 15 years	6538 62 days
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66. Christodoulos. He decided to make the Church St Mercurius in Misr (Old Cairo) and the Church of Our Lady in the Roman Quarter (New Cairo). ⁴¹ He died in the church known as Mu'allaqa on Sunday 14 Kihâk. The see was vacant for 72 days, and these have been added to the total.	29 years 259 days	1069 104 days	Al-Mustansir 57 years and a half	6569 104 days
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67. Cyril. After his consecration at Alexandria, he was summoned to Cairo by Mustansir and brought his mother and brothers to him, and he blessed them and they rejoiced and anointed him. ⁴² And he departed pleased and rejoicing. When he consecrated the oil in the church of Macarius, the oil jar in his hands overflowed, a great miracle. He instituted the pallium for patriarchs and anathematized the acceptance of gifts for the laying on of hands. He died in Mukhtâr in the island of Misr ⁴³ on Sunday 2 Ba'ûnah. The see was vacant for 124 days, and these have been added to the total.	14 years 106 days	1083 282 days	Al-Mustansir 57 years and a half	6583 282 days
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40 B.T.A Evetts *Churches and monasteries of Egypt*, by Abu'l Makkaram (1895) speaks of the district of al-Habash as the burial site of Monsophysite bishops and specifically mentions the burial of Zachary.

41 I cannot identify this church.

42 I am not sure of the translation.

43 Perhaps the island of Roda.

68. Michael. He was a hermit in Singâr. ⁴⁴ He died on Pentecost Sunday, the last day of Bashons, in the Mu'allaqa church in Cairo, AM 818. The see was vacant for 167 days, and these have been added to the total.	9 years 229 days	1093 270 days	Al-Must'ali 7 years	6593 270 days
69. Macarius. In his time, AM 818 3 Tût, there was a huge earthquake. In the night Afal the military Prefect demolished the church of Mukhtâr on the island, because it was in the middle of his garden, and spread the rumour that it been destroyed by the earthquake. The patriarch abolished several rites: for the children of Christians: previously they were baptized and then circumcised. The new ruling was that children should first be circumcised and then baptized. Similarly, marriages previously contracted at home with prayers and incense were now to be performed in Church at the time of the crowning. ⁴⁵ He died in Mu'allqa on Wednesday 20 Kihâk. The see was vacant for two years and 45 days, and these have been added to the total.	26 years 41 days	1120 113 days	Al-Amr 27 years	6620 113 days
70. Gabriel. Son of Tarîk Abu'l 'Ala Sâ'ad, deacon of St Mercurius in Cairo, was elected on Tuesday 9 Amshîr AM 847 at the start of the caliphate of Hâfiz, when he was fifty. He died on Thursday 10 Barmûdah, in Palm Week in St Mercurius, Cairo. The see was vacant for 90 days, and these have been added to the total.	14 years 62 days	1136 220 days	Al-Hâtaf 19 years Al-Zâfar 6 years and a half Al-Fâ'iz 6 years and a half	6636 220 days
71. Michael ibn Duqâq, a monk in the desert, was elected on Thursday 11 Abîb AM 861, year 15 of Hâfiz. He died on Friday of the Crucifixion. The see was vacant for 1 year 70 days, and this has been added to the total.	9 days	1137 310 days	Al-'Âdad 11 years The victorious king Salâh al-Dîn 21 years and 6 months	6637 310 days
72. John ibn Abu'l Fatah. He was elected in Mu'allaqa in Cairo on Pentecost Sunday 14 Ba'ûnah AM 863. He died on Friday 14 Bashons. The see was vacant for 43 days, and these have been added to the total.	18 years 326 days	1157 244 days	Al-Malik (King) al-Azîz 4 years and 6 months Al-Malik al-Mansûr and Nûr al-Dîn the Excellent 2 years	6657 244 days
73. Mark Abu'l Farag ibn Zara'a was elected on Pentecost Sunday, 18 Ba'ûnah AM 882. In his tenure of office Abba Mark ibn Qunbar went over to the Melkites and took with him a number of Bashmurite magnates. Shortly afterwards he repented, but the patriarch was unwilling to re-admit him into his former community. Every day the patriarch provided a table full of food attended by Christian dignitaries. In AM 885 18 Hatûr a fire broke out in Cairo, a fire caused by Shâwar ⁴⁶ . The church	22 years 205 days	1180 126 days	Al-Malik al-'Âdil 19 years Al-Malik al-Kâmal 19 years and 6 months	6680 126 days

44 The only place of this name known to me is in the Upper Mesopotamian province of Jazira.

45 تكليل of both partners symbolizing that they are king and queen of their own kingdom.

46 شاور the vizier of the Fatimid caliph, who ordered the fire to stop the advance of Amalric the Latin king of Jerusalem in 1169.

of Mercurius and others were burned. He died on Sunday 6 Tûbi.
The see was vacant for 17 days, and these have been added to the total.

74. John Abu'l Magd ibn Abu Ghâlib was elected in Cairo on Sunday 4 Amshîr AM 905. He died at the 9th hour on Thursday 11 Tûbi during the Feast of the Epiphany. His funeral was celebrated in Mu'allaqa and he was buried in the Abyssinian church. Before the patriarchate he was a merchant and travelled often to India on business. When he became patriarch, he is said to have had a fortune of 17,000 gold dinars, which he distributed to the Christian poor to take care of their needs. He died encumbered by the debt of his nephews. ⁴⁷ As long as he lived he did not consume anything belonging to a Christian or receive gifts from them. He stopped the practice of confession. ⁴⁸ He was a proponent of circumcision, advocating the practice of it and working hard to confirm it. The see was vacant for 19 years and 5 months, and this has been added to the total.	26 years 343 days	1208 131 days	Al.Malik al- 'Âdil Two years	6707 131 days
75. Cyril ibn Laqlaq was elected on Sunday 23 Ba'ûnah AM 951. He died on Tuesday 14 Baramhât AM 959 in Qasr al Sham'a, where he is buried. He was learned, wise and very skilful, but was fond of money and practised simony. And so, some, who held him in great contempt, engineered a plot against him and took him before a tribunal consisting of the Sultan's deputy, justices and the vizier, Ma'în al Dîn (Hasan) ibn Sheikh, and fined him the sum of 12,000 gold pieces in various districts. ⁴⁹ The see was vacant for seven years and seven months minus three days, and this has been added to the total.	7 years 269 days	1234 194 days	Al-Malik al-Sâlah No time	6734 194 days
76. Athanasius ibn Kalîl, head priest of Mu'allaqa in Cairo, was elected on Sunday 5 Bâbah AM 967. He was just, good and humble.	11 years 55 days	1235 249 days	No data	6745 249 days

47 I can find no other evidence of this

48 Which had until then involved the practice of simony.

49 Arabic على التفريق.

