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God said, 'Let there be light!' Lo! it is created1. He made darkness, and it became night. Observe! It is made?. Fire in stones. water in rocks, The Being created them. There is one Power who raised them from nothing. Behold, even to-day, fire is not in a storehouse in the earth. For lo! it is continually created by means of flints. It is the Being who ordains its existence by means of him who holds it. When He wishes He lights it, when He wishes He quenches it by way of appeal against the obstinate. In a great grove by the rubbing of a stick fire is kindled. The flame devours, it grows strong, at last sinks down. If fire and water are Beings and not creatures, then before the earth (was), where were their roots hid? Whoso would destroy his life, opens his mouth to speak concerning everything. Whoso hateth himself, and would not circumscribe God, holds it great impiety that one should think himself overwise. And if he thinks he has said the last thing he has reached heathenism. Oh, Bardaisan, whose mind is liquid like his name!

A. S. Duncan Jones.

1 Lit. 'a created thing'.

2 Lit. 'a made thing'.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM SHENOUTE'S MONASTERY.

The following texts—only, I am told, a small part of the number still unstudied—were copied during the past spring by Canon W. T. Oldfield on two visits to the White Monastery 1. As Canon Oldfield disclaims any knowledge of Coptic, the accuracy of his copies is very remarkable, especially considering the dirty condition of the inscriptions and the bad light in which some of them stand.

The inscriptions may be described in two groups: (A) those in or beside the five niches of the north apse of the church 2 , and upon one of the small walls between this and the central apse, and upon the domed roof of that apse; (B) those in the small room to the north of the central apse 3 , entered from the north apse by a narrow passage, and called by Canon Oldfield 'the Secret Chamber'. I here number the five niches α to ϵ , counting from the most eastern. The inscriptions here are upon either the plastered facing of the interior of the niche or on the intervening brickwork. They are written partly in black,

¹ The best published account and plan of the building: W. de Bock *Matériaux* pour servir à l'archéologie &c. (1901) 39 ff; also, Gayet L'Art Copte 142. For Shenoute, v. Leipoldt's book (cf. this JOURNAL V 129).

² Ih in De B.'s plan.

³ Ik in De B.'s plan.

partly in red; some apparently with a reed pen, others with a brush. Where the plaster has been chipped off there are signs of earlier lettering. It is much to be hoped that the government commission charged with the restoration of the Christian buildings in Egypt, will find means to examine and record these texts, which may well be of importance for the history of the monastery. (One of these earlier inscriptions appears below as A II.)

Several of those in group A are dated, actually or by implication, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As I have no palaeographical evidence, I can merely hazard the conjecture that the remainder are of the same period. From these dated texts we learn that the frescoes in the domes of the three apses—for all are, apparently, of one style —were executed at the beginning of the twelfth century, and that certain structural restorations were carried out about the middle of the thirteenth, though what exactly the latter were it is not easy now to determine 2. We further obtain information regarding several heads of the monastery, while two texts (A I and 2) shew the tradition as to the facts of Shenoute's career then officially accepted.

Group B, combined with Canon Oldfield's account of his interviews with the monks, establishes one fact of interest: namely, that the famous library of the monastery, the source of so great a part of the remains of Sa'idic literature, was stored in the 'secret chamber', in the north-east corner of the building s. Whether by the 'keep' (جوسق), mentioned by Abû Şâliḥ, this room is intended we cannot tell . A three-shelved book-chest stood, according to the same writer s, in the church in the eighth century, but not necessarily, of course, in this room. The lists of books inscribed on the several walls (B 12 to 27) may indicate the relative positions once occupied by special chests or shelves. Thus it would seem that the New Testament MSS were ranged along the north side of the room, the homiletic and historical works along the east, the biographical along the west. Against the south wall, where only one text is legible, may have stood the Old Testament MSS.

In printing the texts I indicate tentative completions of gaps by square brackets, probable misreadings in the copies still requiring emendation by sic, letters doubtful in the copies and my suggested readings of such by dots below them. The copies do not allow of the exact

¹ De Bock questions the age of the apses themselves (op. cit. 56).

³ Cf. Mr. Peers's note, appended to this article.

³ Not, as De B. thought, the room in the south-east corner. It is clearly to this 'secret' room that Maspero's description (Mission franc. vi p. 1) refers.

⁴ Fol. 82 b. The 'keep' was used elsewhere as library; v. Horner's Bohairic Gospels vol. i, lx. Sacristy, vestry, and library are sometimes one; v. Can. Basil. No. 96.

⁵ Fol. 83 b.

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length of the gaps being estimated; the brackets therefore enclose only approximate spaces.

А 1.

Between niches a and β . Enclosed in a simple line border. Red and black ink, alternating at asterisks. Ll. 1, 2 in ornamental lettering, red.

ен ономат тох патрос н, [тох тів] н, тох ачів пратос*

lagiz] upup keblyyoc upbXheurchoù[oc]
[ve]veod veubc* plant upbXhevelhit[hc] διιμ ενόμις hvog elorapp [ya]m paxboloui
νει μιση μασ]y veupup umo[i] φά.
ποκ θ ubove[ue δ]μιεσφδε*· ueu
η να η μαρίσκη μ΄ [coa]ζ μίσφε [] να
πα κατίσης και εἰοινε[σρ]··· ο

- 15 [a] τρατιάζε παιος δημε πίπου μα[ασ] ή

 [ποσ] ζ πιεβοτ επημ χ φ

 ... ατω τεπε πίπαρε τηρη

[Σιη]πεψπο ψατεψαπαπ[ατειε]
20 [21]πεβοτε επατ ερ[ε]π.[

-]...[е]тўлай шоплеср
-]··· iដែមក្នា_{*}
 -]..[see]dhoad[1 2]mh[by]doc

25]Ч женп*

] μτομο από μοου σ[μ] [ος]μ.[ε]βολ οτοι ποι σποκ μ σε μπο στοι ποι σποκ μ σε μπο στοι ποι στοι μοι μ σε μπο στοι ποι στοι μ σε μπο στοι μ σε μ σε μπο στοι μ σε μ σε μπο στοι μ σε μ σε

'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

.... upon him the holy σ_{χ} ημα¹.... Sunday (κυριακή).... the 7th (?) day of Tôbe, [when he had] completed nine years of his life 2.... Our Father Apa Pgol and Apa Pshoi did give [him?] the holy σχημα and he was ordained (χειροτονείν) priest (πρεσβ.) and archimandrite at the hands of Apa Cyril, the archbishop of the city (πολ.) Alexandria, in the $\tau \circ \pi$ of saint ($\tilde{a}\gamma \circ s$) Theodore Stratelates, in the city ($\pi \circ \lambda$.) Constantinople 4, (at) the end of ... years ... 5, era (χρόνος) of the Martyrs (µapr.). And [this holy?] monastery and the great place-ofassembly were built and consecrated (ἀγιάζειν) in the 106th year... of his life. And he went to rest on the 7th day of the month Epêp6, (year)..., era $(\chi \rho)$ of the Martyrs (μ) . And the number (of years) of his whole life, from his birth till his death (ἀνάπαυσις), ... [years 7] and] two months.' Ll. 23-5 commemorate the artist (ζωγράφος), Mercurius, possibly the same as he who in A.M. 1017 = A.D. 1301 inscribed his name in the neighbouring Red Monastery 8. Ll. 26-8 shew the beginning of a text similar to No. A 8.

This repeats the received tradition as to Shenoute's career, except as to the place of his ordination. But cf. the next number.

A 2.

In (?) niche β .

аты птатапо п[n1]от етотаав апа щепотте 9n

^{1]}aπssa could be read.

² v. Leipoldt Schenute 40 n. 5.

³ Op. cit. 132 n. 5.

^{*} Beyond the frequent mention of this τόπος in the spurious 'Sermon of Cyril' (Zoega 28, Miss. franç. iv 165), I can only find one reference to it: v. Marin Moines de Constantinople 15. For Cyril's and Shenoute's alleged visit to Constantinople, before the Council, v. Miss. franç. iv 173.

⁵ This should be A. M. 147 = A.D. 431, the year of Shenoute's visit to Ephesus.

⁶ Leipoldt 44.

⁷ But there is hardly space in l. 20 for the year. This age seems to be that given by the Arab. Life (*Mission* iv 467): 109 years, 2 months. Ladeuze and Leipoldt (*Schenute* 47) regard this as erroneous.

v. De Bock Matériaux p. 65.

jul

juoue[

[vam valo]vicd eucoa cv[md]

[ucoa 2 vau]epoa ieuhu

[vaume] u[bova]ue uviouye

[vaume] u[bova]ue uviouye

[vaume] u[bova]ue uviouye

[vaume] varood] õ[u]avvõmpe

[vauvb]vvole[e] vam eurod

[vauvb]vvole[e] vam eurod

[lauvb]vvole eurbovoue

[vau]vi õvouekeloje vam

[vau]li õvouekele uvoa

'And our holy father Apa Shenoute was born in the sixty-fifth (year), in the era $(\chi \rho_1)$ of the Martyrs $(\mu a \rho_1)^1$. And Easter $(\partial \nu a \sigma \tau a \sigma \iota s)$ of that year was the 28th day of Parmoute. And he went to rest in the [1]70th (?) year of Diocle(tian), [on the 7th day of] the month Iepêp?, [and he was] buried (?) on the 7th day '

These data as to S.'s birth confirm one another: A.M. 65 = A.D. 349, when Easter did in fact fall on April 23 = Parmoute 28. But it is difficult to reconcile this with any of the calculations based upon older, though less precise, texts³.

А 3.

Beside the large painting of Christ in the dome of the central apse. As the text is accessible 4, I give only a translation.

- 'Theodore, painter (ζωγράφος), of Terbebibe :-- May the Lord, Jesus,
- ¹ 'Fifth' is uncertain; but there seems no space for **nposenc.** For the system of numeration ('the 3d twenty and 5') v. Piehl in Aeg. Z. xxxiii 130. In Clar. Press frag. 65 also 'eightieth' is expressed thus.
 - ² Copy has тыстще. ³ v. Leipoldt Schenute 42 ff.
 - 4 In de Bock Matériaux 58, and Turaief Mater. po archeol. christ. 1902, No. 52.
- * Terbe may be Ar. طرفة, a village west of Kolosana (Abū Ṣâliḥ 74b). But طرفية الجديد near Ashmunain occurs in the Acts of Ptolemy (Paris, Arabe 150 f. 102). In Coptic Terbe is found once but cannot be localized (Amélineau Géogr. 492). It contains the element ephe émauls. Ashe is obscure; cf. ! Ash 'cave.' Presumably the Armenian artist resided there.

the Christ, bless and preserve the life of our God-loving, charity $(\partial \gamma \hat{\alpha} \pi \eta)$ -loving brother, the archdeacon Shenoute, the monk of this monastery ($\mu o \nu a \sigma \tau$.), the son of the late ($\mu a \kappa \hat{\alpha} \rho \iota o s$) Papnoute. For he it was did provide for this picture ($\lambda \iota \mu \hat{\eta} \nu^1$), in the days of our father, Abba Paul², the archimandrite; my father Zekiêl being the second 3 (in authority), Jesus (?) the Christ being king over us 4. Era ($\chi \rho \hat{\rho} \nu \varphi$) of the Martyrs ($\mu a \rho \tau \hat{\nu} \rho \omega \nu$) 840' = A. D. 1124.

On the opposite side of the painting, an Armenian text forms a pendant to this ⁵. It too commemorates Theodore, 'painter and scribe', native of Kesun in Armenia, and states that the work was executed in the time of Bishop Gregory, 'nephew of Gregory called Vahram'. The uncle here is the Catholicus of 1065-1105; the nephew the bishop of the then numerous Armenian colony in Egypt, mentioned by the patriarchal chronicler ⁶ and by Abû Şâlih ⁷.

A 4.

In niche β .

auna. | 1 line illegible.

auna. | 1 line illegible.

auna. | 1 line illegible.

'And I entered this... monastery ($\mu o \nu a \sigma \tau$.) on the 24th day of the month Iepêp⁸, in this year of the era ($\chi \rho$.) of the Martyrs ($\mu a \rho \tau$.) 953 (= A. D. 1237)... my fathers David, son of Hibat Allâh⁹, the man of Samalot (?) 10, ... son of Mina being'

The year mentioned is the same as in the next.

¹ Cf. von Lemm in Bull. de l'Acad. imp. 1900, 57.

² Was in office twelve years earlier; v. the colophon of A.D. III2, Brit. Mus. Or. 3581 B. 69.

³ ε. ε. δευτεράριος.

⁴ Reading, in Turaief's copy, 14. ατρί, 20. παιοτ ζικικλ ω, 22. ερεις πεχς, 23. ερραι εχοπ. I use a photograph kindly lent by Prof. Strzygowski.

[•] Translated by Dashian in Strzygowski's Kleinasien p. 202; v. also his Dom zu Aachen 42.

⁶ Renaudot Hist. 460, 401. ⁷ Ff. 2 a note, 47 b.

^{*} This spelling is characteristic; v. No. A 2.

Perhaps here a translation of 'Theodore'.

¹⁰ Fifteen miles north of Minyeh; but the reading is doubtful.

A 5.

In niche β .

'And this good-work $(\dot{a}\gamma a\theta \acute{o}\nu)$ was done by the care of our father the archbishop, Abba Cyril¹, Christodulus being bishop of the city $(\pi o\lambda.)$ Siut, in this (sic) year of the era $(\chi o.)$ of the Martyrs $(\mu a\rho\tau.)$ 953 (= A. D. 1237). And the water (i.e. the inundation) reached the lake (?)² of the . . . ³ of the city of Siut on the 13th day of the month Iepêp; and it reached our little village of Tronche⁴ on the 14th day of the month Iepêp. And Easter $(\dot{a}\nu \acute{a}\sigma\tau a\sigma\iota s)$ of that year (was on) the 24th day of the month Parmoute⁵. And afterwards'—here follows a list of Easter dates, in successive years ⁶: 9th Parmoute, 1st Parm., 2oth Parm., 5th Parm., 25th [Parm.], 17th [Parm.], 8th [Parm.], 21st [Parm.].

The practical object of thus recording the dates of coming Easters is not clear.

¹ Cyril b. Laklak, 1235-43. γ preceded by † ἐπί.

^{3 &#}x27;Castles' قياسر, whatever that may here mean; or (less likely) قياسر 'bazárs', a word used by Ibn Dukmâk (v 23) in describing Siut.

durunkah, Doronka, about two-and-a-half miles south-west of Siut. Cf. A 9.

⁵ i. e. April 19, which is correct.

⁶ These correspond to Apr. 4, Mar. 27, Apr. 15, Mar. 31, Apr. 20, 12, 3, and 16, which are the correct dates for 1238 to 1245.

A 6.

On small wall S. of entrance to 'secret chamber'.

[n]Te.n[]?

5

]۾ ھِ[

po moch nociotatoc o nenichonoc et[noyic]

 \mathbf{r} имево интольсос \cdot улм инчигаров томе бил \mathbf{r} ин[bo] \mathbf{r} : томе \mathbf{r} инос \cdot бинобос \mathbf{r} его \mathbf{r} постива \mathbf{r} постива

ресратерос \cdot уам иурхноос ефсанчомин тепеніма тепебоой тепеніма урру наріууос жендой пеная [eq π u] льно и ичи \cdot темасно \cdot тенисмо упиодде дубт[ed π u] санчомин \cdot ти ит ит ит урру \cdot протие и ирхноос \cdot теби \cdot иротие и ирх \cdot протие \cdot протие

 π [рофнтнс]

sic σωχα εφού · ntoch σε τεμμιοτέ τεμ[u] εςμ[ης ξ σως muore · δτεμβετολοτείνος ολωτε μμιτές τεμ[μ]

25 δ[σδ] δ πης οπ · ερεπηοστε ππε 4σομ που ης η πδ[ς] ποσδε]

] ueclboeic éuecuta [$uibhuirou \cdot ucloppio uueclassa[e$

'And by the foresight (πρόνοια) and love (ἀγάπη) of God Almighty (παντοκ.), it seemed good to [NN,..., the] and archimandrite For he it was, in his zeal (σπουδή), did provide these four columns (?). finishing the canopies (or ceilings 2) in the two tabernacles $(\sigma \kappa \eta \nu \dot{\eta}^3)$ and the chambers $(\kappa \dot{\nu} \pi \eta^4)$ that are beside them. The first he finished on the 29th day of this same (?) month Thoth; the other in this [year,] era $(\chi \rho.)$ of the Martyrs $(\mu \alpha \rho \tau.)$..., in the days of our father, Abba Athanasius, the Patriarch (πατρ.) of Alexandria 5, the most saintly (ὁσιότατος) Abba Joseph being bishop of the city (πόλις) Panos (Achmim). And he it was (sc. Joseph) assisted him with all [the brethren], till they had constructed them, in the evil (lit. perverted) days of the kingship of the Turks (τοῦργος 6). And this good-work (ἀγαθόν) was done in the twenty-fourth year that our father Abba John was director (ἀρχηγός) of this congregation (συναγωγή). And he was first a monk in the monastery (µov.) of Apa Moses 8. Afterwards God called him (?), in (?) the days of our father, Abba Cyril 9; for he it was [made? him] priest ($\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta$.) and director ($d\rho \chi \eta \gamma \phi s$) for the congregation (σvv .) of our father, the prophet ($\pi \rho o \phi$.), Apa Shenoute. After that the earthquake 10 had swallowed the buildings (or rooms or dwellings) and [the] ..., they found the place uncovered 11; and he and the fathers and the brethren did [make] them again. May the God of heaven strengthen him and give him a peaceful (εἰρηνικόν) life and subdue his enemies . . . he watch over the brethren '

The fem. pronoun, if correct, forbids στῦλος. Perhaps στήλη.

² A rare word; v. Ps. cxvii 27 = πυκάζων, which the Triadon (ed. von Lemm, p. 26) translates 'the heights', الأعالى. In Zoega 618, referring to the hangings of the Tabernacle, it may be 'curtain'. The primary meaning is 'to cover'; cf. Ps. civ 2.

Here probably the space wherein an altar stands; cf. Abû Şâlih ff. 2 a, 27 b (dome over it), 30 b (altar in it), 31 a (north and south s.), 33 a (its threshold), 61 b (= sanctuary). In Mission franc. iv 458 it is the sanctuary, shut in by doors. The northern and southern apses suggest themselves, as the side-altars may have stood there, and Zoega pp. 107, 108 (lessons read in the southern σκηνή) supports

- * v. von Lemm, Bull. de l'Ac. Imp. xiii 159. Cf. Arab. قبو (also قبو), as in Abû Sâlih 2 a.
 - ⁵ Athanasius III, 1250-61.
- i.e. the Bahri Mamluks. An inscription of A.D. 1173 (Rec. de Trav. vii 218) refers to the Ayyûbid rule in the same words.
 - 7 Cf. A 7.
- At Belyana; v. my notes on the graffiti there in M. A. Murray The Osireion,
 - The notorious Cyril b. Laklak, 1235-43.
- 10 A new word, fem. like other compounds of οτωι. A great earthquake in 1112 is recorded (Synax. Tût 3; Renaudot Hist. 490).
 - ¹¹ Cf. Leyden MSS copies 443 wa ετσολεπ εĥολ.

Assuming that A 7 is of the same year as this text, the date of John's instalment as director (?abbot) would be 1235, the first year of Cyril's patriarchate. Presumably John is also the archimandrite commemorated in the first lines here.

A 7.

Between niches α and β .

X & $\underline{\zetaoe}$ ($\underline{\zetaoe}$) with the property of the property o

'God, watch over the life of our father the archimandrite, Abba John. For he it was did, with all the brethren, provide for the building of the (or these) two tabernacles $(\sigma \kappa \eta \nu \eta)$, after the uncovering of their canopies (or ceilings). Lord Jesus Christ, give unto him a peaceful $(\epsilon i \rho \eta \nu \iota \kappa \delta \nu)$ life and (unto) all the brethren. Amen. To-day is the 7th of Emshir, era $(\chi \rho)$ of the Martyrs $(\mu a \rho \tau)$ 975 2 (= A.D. 1259).'

Apparently records the same work as that in A 6.

A 8.

In niche δ .

анпіри $| c \cdot n |$ ещжеотаторипе етрепнюрт тор мипро ап $| c \cdot n |$ отатори де рибпе етретроте мипроте $| c \cdot n |$ отатори де рибпе етретроте мещиоте $| c \cdot n |$ отатори де рибреотиени щипе панцооп ап $| c \cdot n |$ памеет папан папан $| c \cdot n |$ памеет папан папан $| c \cdot n |$ памеет папан $| c \cdot n |$ папан $| c \cdot n |$ пистооб рипспрадіс піатрища $| c \cdot n |$ пістооб рипспрадіс пістооб ріпспрадіс пістооб ріпспра

¹ Reading nnev-.

² The printed sign for 900 but distantly resembles that written.

Then eight lines, very imperfect. The first contains οντοφος, the third ονρωμε αγραωθε, the fifth επιστολμ.

'.... If it be impossible that fire should mix with water, so is it also impossible that the fear of God should mix with the pleasure of the body $(\sigma \hat{\omega} \mu a)$. Woe is me! For a time will be when I shall not be. The writing shall endure; the hands shall perish in the tombs². Remember me in kindness $(\dot{\alpha}\gamma\dot{\alpha}\pi\eta)$, my fathers and my brethren, me, the poor and vile (εὐτελής), that is feeble in his deeds (πρᾶξις), unworthy of the name of man, much more (μάλιστα) of deacon priest $(\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta)$ of the Christ-loving city $(\pi \circ \lambda)$ Latôn which is Snê (Esneh). So (δέ) now I do entreat you and make to you a thousand obeisances (μετάνοια) many times, my fathers and my brethren and every one who shall read 3, that he say with kindness (\dot{a}_{γ}) of heart and good thoughts: God, do thou shew Thy mercy upon him, through the prayers of our holy father the prophet $(\pi\rho\circ\phi)$. Apa Shenoute. Say with us, all ye together: Amen 21 (times) 4, 99 (= Amên), so be it. To-day is the 7th of the month Epêp, era $(\chi \rho)$ of the Martyrs $(\mu \alpha \rho.)$ 9...

The date falls between 1184 and 1284.

A 9.

In niche β .

api namere nara | ne anor nigere | gamna atw

¹ This line may end a former text.

² This formula in a scribe's colophon of A.D. III2, from this monastery, Brit. Mus. Or. 3581 B. 69; and something similar in Arabic, Hyvernat Album p. 16.

⁸ ? στῦλος.

⁴ Ka or K,. Cf. de Bock Matériaux p. 65, and Turaief Materialie No. 55.

евоу енталх туйо [
beormeim | mone ит[питооп уп] mabenec $\delta[y_1]$ толи
претьони не итпоуге | [сі]оолт олог [и] \dot{y} і жету- $\mathbf{z}[\mathbf{e}\overline{y}]y'$ гобуписе | итнье титучурісь рафуну |

'Remember me in kindness ($\mathring{a}\gamma \acute{a}\pi\eta$), me, the poor in grace, the rich in sin, that am not worthy to be called deacon, John, son of the late ($\mu a\kappa \acute{a}\rho \iota os$) Raphael, the inhabitant of Tronpês ¹ of the city ($\pi o\lambda$.) Siout. Woe is me! For a time will be when I shall not be. The writing shall endure, the hands shall perish ²'

A 10.

Beside a much-begrimed painting, over the door leading to the 'secret chamber'.

'May the Lord Jesus Christ watch over the life and firm establishment of our honoured father, Abba Phaebammon, the priest $(\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta.)$ and perfect $(\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\varsigma)$ monk, the writer $(\sigma\nu\gamma\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\epsilon\dot{\sigma}\varsigma^3)$ and master builder the son according to the flesh $(\kappa\alpha\tau\dot{\alpha}\ \sigma\dot{\alpha}\rho\dot{\xi})$ of the archdeacon $(\dot{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\delta.)$ Chaêl (?), son of the papa Victor, inhabitant of the Christ-loving city

¹ Cf. A 5, Tronche. Presumably the copy here is in error. ² Cf. A 8.

s In the Paris scala 44, p. A b, this (= الكاتب) occurs among ecclesiastical officers, between καλλιογράφος.

⁴ G. cao nanzhhe Zoega 549, τεχπιτης πεαο Rossi Papiri di Torino II i 70.

($\pi o \lambda$.) Shmin (Panopolis). For he, in his love toward God ..., provided [this picture of] the archangel ($\mathring{a}\rho \chi \eta a \gamma$.) [Michael?]; that [he might?] pray for [father], Abba Shenoute holy ($\mathring{a}\gamma \iota o \nu$) monastery Amen.'

A 11.

Between niches δ and ϵ , on a space where the upper, later plaster has fallen away.

πεά· ο σει
μ···· γιεχοισά· υ
ποε σοεχο[ε] σοε
ποε προσομο[ε] σοε γμ[ο]
κε πτη γ[υ]οἐδειβεέε. ουσ

Apparently an inexact quotation from a Psalm 1.

В.

The following numbers are in the 'secret chamber'. North wall.

B 12. NETPAETANTE | λίου τετευμ | . NO υκοτι ALUNHOO | ΠΙΣΤΚΕ ΠΠΑ ΚλΑΤΤΕ | ΤΤ ΠΑλΗΤ ΚΟΤ ΠΑΙ Choλ, 'the Four-gospels'. Their number, -59, the small and large (together). The poor παπᾶ Claudius, son (viós) of Palêu's; forgive me.' The first numeral is illegible. So large a number of gospels is remarkable.

B 13. TPAETANTAION MROTI | MNOS TO MATROEIQ · T,
'The Four-gospels, the small and the large (together), 50; those without bindings (?) ', 10.'

B 14. NRAGONIRON MENNENPAZIC — NAME NENPAZIC NAMOCTOROC, 'The Catholic (Epistles) and the Acts—These are the Acts of the Apostles'.

East wall: B 15. ndoroc napxeenicronoc aenasisano-

¹ Cf. Ps. xxvi (xxvii) 9.

² Τετραευαγγέλιον.

³ Presumably the writer of these inscriptions or the librarian. Cf. B 20.

^{&#}x27; Generally 'sheaths'. I do not know of evidence that Coptic like Ethiopic books were ever encased in leathern slip-cases.

con [a line erased] [RO] or not enox, 'The discourses (λόγος) of the archbishops and the . . . Forgive me'.

B 16. παρχηεπισκοποτ, '(The writings of) the Archbishops' 1.

B 17. NAPXHETICHOTOC TY THE Archbishops'. The remainder unintelligible. Perhaps begins with figures indicating the number of volumes.

В 18. паше | потсашры | пепістодн | папа фа-

B 19. ngopoc | [n] hornplanoc. By combining these two—I have no information as to their sequence on the wall—we might read, 'The Book of Ordinances (ὄρος), The History of Cyprian (of Antioch), The Epistles of Apa Epiphanios (?)'.

В 20. арі памете панапе піртне ппа ндатте]тт паднт мі]ісхіп

Commemorates Claudius, son of Palêu, as in B 12. But here it would seem that Miskin is his grandfather. Or perhaps nothing is wanting and Miskin is (as in B 22) another name of Palêu.

West wall: B 21. On the right of B. 22. Little is legible. Lives of saints: 'Apa Paul', 'Apa Bêsa', 'Apa Shenoute' can be read.

Β 22.

παπε πβιο[c] ππ[πε]τοταβ ποτ παι εβο[λ] | πιστπε ππαπα κλαττε το εξειοχιπ | απα βητα ππατριαρχο εξερος απα πιςηποιος ιωραπητε πωλοεεβος απα πακιπ αρχελλι[της] απα στλιας απα [α]βραρα[εξ] πες παπα παπα [α]βραρα[εξ] απα τοποβιος [απ]α εξειοκος περιλλος εξειοκος [απ]α εξειοκος κεριλλος εξειοκος [απ]α εξειοκος κεριλλος εξειοκος [απ]α εξειοκος εξειοκος [απ]α εξειοκος εξειοκος απα εξειοκος [απ]α εξειοκος εξειοκος [απ]α ε

'These are the Lives (β los) of the Saints—Forgive me, the poor $\pi a \pi \hat{a}$

¹ Perhaps the Festal and other Letters of the Alexandrine patriarchs.

Claudius, son (viós) of Miskin 1: Apa Bêsa 2, the patriarch Severus 3, Apa Pisenthius 4, John Colobus, Apa Pamin, Archellides 5, Apa Elias 6, Apa Abraham 7, the ... of Apa ..., Apa Zenobius 8, Apa Matthew 9, Cyril and ..., the ... our father (?) Shenoute 8 (copies), Apa Apollo 10, the Apostles 11, Apa Matthew the Poor.'

A book list similar to the next. Fragments of several of them are preserved.

В 23.

'The Lives (βίος) of the Saints: Apa Pachôm 20 (copies), Apa Ep...¹², Apa Marcus, Apa Moses ¹³ 2 (copies), Apa Simon ¹⁴, Apa Cyprianus ¹⁵, Apa Samuel ¹⁶, Apa Theodorus ¹⁷, Apa Hermime ¹⁸, Apa Pahôm with Horsiesius and Theodorus ¹⁹, The twenty-four Elders ²⁰,

مسكيس. The same scribe probably in B 20, though the father's name there is different.

2 No life of B. is known.

³ Perhaps the work, complete in Ethiopic, of which there are Coptic fragments. v. this JOURNAL v 130 note.

⁴ Fragments of a Sa'id. Life, but on papyrus (Crum Copt. Ostr. xiii note). No parchment fragments are known.

⁵ No life as yet recognized (cf. Synax. 14th Tubeh).

⁶ I cannot identify this. ⁷ Abraham of Phoou.

⁸ One of Shenoute's disciples and (1) successors; Fragts. Paris MS. 12913 ff. 9-11.

⁹ Not M. the Poor; v. below. ¹⁰ ! Of Bawit. No life known.

^{11 ?} Apocryphal Acts.

¹² Epime (martyr) would fill the gap. A Bohairic Passio, Zoega p. 22.

¹⁸ Of Abydos or Belyanâ (v. my notes in M. A. Murray The Osireion, 1904).

^{14?} The Canaanite, whose body was said to lie in the White Monastery (Abû Sâlih 82 a).

¹⁵ Of Antioch. Fragts. ed. von Lem.

s. ed. von Lem. ¹⁶ Of Kalamôn.

^{17 ?} Stratelates or Anatoleus.

^{18 !} Herminos; v. Abū Ṣâliḥ 73 b note. An anchorite so named occurs in some Apophthegmata, Brit. Mus. Or. 6004.

¹⁹ Presumably this is the combined version of the Lives; v. Ladeuze Pakhome 48; Butler Lausiac Hist, I 291.

²⁰ Fragts. of Encomia by Proclus and (Cyril?) of Jerusalem, *Mission franç*. I 404, Clar. Press No. 42, Brit. Mus. Or. 3581 A. 93.

Apa Bêsa concerning the resurrection of the body $(\sigma \hat{\omega} \mu a)$, and our father Apa Shenoute 1.

Almost all these works are still partly extant among the fragments brought from the White Monastery.

- B 24. On the left of B 23. Little is legible. Apparently a list of Lives or possibly Encomiums. '... the ship (?)', 'Raphael', 'Za[charias] the priest' can be read.
- B 25. Nhoc [n] and sewethe, 'The Lives of Apa Moses'. Does this refer to various biographies or merely to the number of copies?
- B 26. AATEIA neppo · IC, 'King David, thirteen (copies)'. If this is the Psalter, it is an unusual way of designating it.
- B 27. **NAINE NCOOTS**, 'These are the Synods'. But the word has not usually this meaning. It is often used by Shenoute for 'congregation', συναγωγή.
- B 28. Commemorates perhaps the scribe or librarian. 'Remember me in charity $(\dot{a}\gamma\dot{a}\pi\eta)$, my fathers and my brethren, every one that shall read (sic). I, the sinful' [

B 20, 30, 31 are the protective charms, above alluded to: traces of another copy are recognizable on the south wall. The copies are intended to be identical; certain divergences in orthography may shew that they were written from dictation, by different scribes. That they are in Arabic, though in Coptic characters, is clear from the one phrase which can be transcribed and translated with certainty (aspos &c., ll. 3, 4). In l. 1 Moses appears to be either adjured or (as often in such texts) to be the narrator, and in 1. 2 perhaps his 'curse' occurs². I cannot discern against what intruders the incantation is directed; in 1. 2 perhaps 'the worm' and 'die' are to be read. In 1. 3 the words 'the living, who dieth not' might be an allusion to Mk. ix 48. They are followed immediately by a new sentence: 'Go forth from this house'. At the end of l. 4 the being addressed is committed to the flames. L. 5 ends perhaps with 'men and stones.' L. 6 consists of imperatives (and perhaps vocatives). bidding the unwelcome visitor be gone.

¹ Or read $[\pi]$ ROT RHECWARA EXPAI AL $[\pi\varepsilon]$ RIWT, 'The decease of our father &c.', which might refer to Besa's Life of S.

² In a colophon from the White Monastery (Brit. Mus. Or. 3581 B. 70) a remover of the volume is threatened with all the curses of Moses and the Law.

Little can be said of the system of transcription followed until more as to the exact value of the words has been ascertained. Three aspirates are employed, including noticeably the Bohairic b. \Box seems to be represented by χ , as in the Cambridge fragment b. \Box corresponds clearly to b, while b, which represents it in the Cambridge frag., does not occur. b represents b as usual, and b occasionally b.

The text of B 29 is here given, with all variants from the others below it. The division of lines is that of B 29; the other texts divide where vertical strokes are here inserted. There are a few doubtful points in Canon Oldfield's readings, due to ambiguity in the script, notably where R and I c are confused.

1 Ed. Casanova in Bull. de l'Inst. franç. (Cairo) I 1.

² This recalls the transcriptions in Stern's alchemistic tract (Aeg. Z., 1885, 102), which likewise came from Achmim. It will be remembered that, in the mouth of Shenoute—or rather, of his copyists—the sound of σ seems practically identical with those of ∇ and κ .

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Β 29. αΣιμερεπημιοτεήχελλημιεμεσεαλερατ
     λн
                                .
В 30.
В 31.
     216
                           н
  29. ті іхні отаабермотен. Еїнаї стотт от
                 asapse
                              нтееі
                 as. au Hzeeiceai
                                             LLOTT
  20. περαλκέλρεειελλε λειεμοστάφροσμη
                       нъцує цет
                                           3 grill
  30.
                     e+yiem
                                           ∓n9€
  31.
  29. TEERUNZEROTEEIRREASPAAICOEICATU
               λlėï
                           9
                               акоекопц
  30.
                                ICOCKOTAL
  31.
      يَّقَى الدود * كلم فجعلهُ * .عليم عظيم موسى .
لمنزل * . الحيِّ الذي لايموت * . بحق * . مود
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29. Πεπαρεποτεισοτρτερεππικόστειλ . نجم . . و عموده المعتادة الم
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Mr. C. R. Peers, who has made on the spot an architectural study of the White Monastery, the results of which he will shortly publish (in Archaeological Journal, 1904), has kindly sent me the following observations upon the two inscriptions A 6 and 7:- 'The texts seem to refer to the building and not the fittings: the work is clearly something fairly large. An earthquake shook down the roof of the church—not the canopy of an altar—and a new roof had to be provided. Timber of sufficient size was probably unattainable; but bricks were always So the new roof took the form of brick domes—the 'canopies' or 'ceilings' of the texts. And, in order to lessen the diameter of the domes, they were made to spring from piers and arches of brick, built within the lines of the old walls. The four 'columns'1 mentioned in A 6 are probably to be identified with the four massive brick piers which carry the dome over the eastern bay of the church. The inscription in question appears to be upon the north-eastern of these piers. Whether the work finished on the 29th of Thoth was this pier or the dome over the eastern bay is not clear; it seems more likely that it was the dome?. The two σκηναί would be the two bays of the church then roofed in: that is, the eastern bay and that next it to the These are still thus covered, and are the only part of the building still in use as a church."

W. E. CRUM.

¹ I must emphasize the uncertainty of the reading here.—[W. E. C.]

² Such a small affair as the leg of an altar canopy would not have been worth recording.