

God said, 'Let there be light!' Lo! it is created¹. He made darkness, and it became night. Observe! It is made². 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 life³, opens his mouth to speak concerning everything. Whoso hateth himself, and would not circumscribe God, holds it great impiety that one should think himself otherwise. And if he thinks he has said the last thing he has reached heathenism. Oh, Bardaisān, 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 Monastery¹. 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 church², 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 apse³, 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 lh in De B.'s plan.

³ lk 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 11.)

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 style¹—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 determine². We further obtain information regarding several heads of the monastery, while two texts (A 1 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 building³. Whether by the 'keep' (جوسق), mentioned by Abû Şâlih, this room is intended we cannot tell⁴. A three-shelved book-chest stood, according to the same writer⁵, 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).

² 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 franç.* 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.

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

A 1.

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

EN ONOAAAI TOT PATPOC K,
[TOT TIB] K, TOT AICB ΠAΤPOC*

- TAH. ZIOW EΠI[C]XHNEA ETOTA[AB] O
H KOTIAKH H. [COT]Z KTOBE [] . 2
5 ЖОН Ф ПРОЕ[ΠΕ Ζ]ΠΤΕΥΑΕ*. . ΠΕΠ
ΠΩΤ ΑΠΑ [ΠΩ]Λ ΕΝΑΠΑ ΠΩΟ[Ι] ΑΤ†
ΕΕΠΣΧΗΝΕΑ ΕΤΟΤΑΑΒ [ΑΤ]Ω ΑΤΧΡΟΤΟΠ
[Ε]ΕΠΟΥ ΕΠΡ^{sic}* ΑΤ ΠΑΡΧΗΝΕΑΤΡΙΤ[ΗC] ΖΙΤΗ
[ΤΣΙΧ] ΠΑΠΑ ΚΕΡΤΛΛΟC ΠΑΡΧΗΝΕΠΙCΚΟΠ[ΟC]
10 [Η]ΠΠΟΛΙ ΡΑΝΟΤΕ* ΖΗΠΠΟΠ[ΟC] ΠΡΑ[Α]ΠΙΟC
[ΘΕΟΑ]ΟΡΟC ΠΕCΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤ[ΗC] ΖΗΠ[Π]ΙC
K[ΩC]ΤΑΠΖΗΠΟCΠΟΛΙC ΠЖОН ΕΕ . . . ΡΟΕΠΕ
. . . . *Ж Ж ΑΤΩ ΑΤΚΩΤ Ε[Π . . .] ΕΕΕΟ
ΠΑCΤΗΡΙ ΕΕΠCΟΟΤΟΥ ΕΤΟ ΠΠΟC ΑΤΩ
15 [Α]ΤΡΑΠΙΑΖΕ ΕΕΕΟC ΖΗΠΠΕ ΕΚCΟ ΠΡ[ΟΕ]
ΠΕ . Ε. ΖΕΠΥΑΕ* ΑΤΩ ΑCΥΕΤΟΠ ΕΕ[ΕΕ]ΟΥ
[ΠCΟΤ] Z ΕΠΕΒΟΤ ΕΠΠΗ Ж Ж
. . . ΑΤΩ ΤΕΠΕ ΕΠΥΑΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ
[ЖИΠ]ΠΕΥЖΠΟ ШАТΕУАНАΠ[ΑΤCIC]
20 [Ε]ΠΕΒΟΤΕ CΠΑΤ ΕΡ[Ε]Π[.
] . . . [Ε]ΤΥΑΑΒ ШОΠ.ΠΕCΡ
] . . . ΠΠΠ*
] . . [ΕΕ]ΡΠΟΤΡ[Ι Ζ]ΩΠ[ΡΑ]ΦΟC
]ΤΙ ΕΠΠΕΟΠΑCΤΗΡΙΟΠ
25]ΟΥ ΕΕΠΠ*

[τ]αεϛϣοαιετε ηχοτ
 [αιη]τι ραιπεχροκος
 η[αι]αια[ρ]τερ[ο]ς ατω
 [τ]αηαστας εντροαιε
 [ετ]ααιαατε σοτχοτ αιεϣαιοτη
 [αιπαρ]αιοτ[ε] ατω ενταϣ
 [αιτοη αιιοϣ] ρ[η]ταεϛϣβε
 [αιηϣε] η[ροαι]ηε ηαιοηλε
 [ησοτ ζ αιη]εβοτ ιεπηη
 [ατω ατο]αιεϣ ενσοτ σα[ϣϣ]
]ηοηε[
]η[

'And our holy father Apa Shenoute was born in the sixty-fifth (year), in the era (χρ.) of the Martyrs (μαρ.)¹. And Easter (ἀνάστασις) 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 Ιερῆρ², [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.

A 3.

Beside the large painting of Christ in the dome of the central apse. As the text is accessible⁴, I give only a translation.

'Theodore, painter (ζωγράφος), of Terbebibe⁵:—May the Lord, Jesus,

¹ 'Fifth' is uncertain; but there seems no space for ηροαιηε. 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 ηαιετϣηε.

³ v. Leipoldt *Schenute* 42 ff.

⁴ In de Bock *Matériaux* 58, and Turaief *Mater. po archeol. christ.* 1902, No. 52.

⁵ Terbe may be Ar. طرفية, a village west of Kolosana (Abū Šāliḥ 74 b). 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 ερηε έπαυλις. Αηηε is obscure; cf. ? Αηηε 'cave.' Presumably the Armenian artist resided there.

the Christ, bless and preserve the life of our God-loving, charity (ἀγάπη)-loving brother, the archdeacon Shenoute, the monk of this monastery (μοναστ.), the son of the late (μακάριος) Papnoute. For he it was did provide for this picture (λιμὴν¹), in the days of our father, Abba Paul², the archimandrite; my father Zekiël being the second³ (in authority), Jesus (?) the Christ being king over us⁴. Era (χρόνος) of the Martyrs (μαρτύρων) 840' = A. D. 1124.

On the opposite side of the painting, an Armenian text forms a pendant to this⁵. 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 Catholicos of 1065-1105; the nephew the bishop of the then numerous Armenian colony in Egypt, mentioned by the patriarchal chronicler⁶ and by Abû Şâlih⁷.

A 4.

In niche β.

αὐτῶ πᾶσι | ἐροῦν ἐπι[] | μοναστήριον | ἐπιστ
 ποστ[τ]α | ἔτε μπιεβοτ | ἱεππὶ ρηφρο[μπε] | ται Ϟ εφ
 ζητ | εἰ. οὐ . . | παῖστε πε | δατεῖα | πῦνρε εκ |
 ρεπεθελλ[α] | πρεμσα | αλλοτ | ερετ . . | πῦνρε |
 αἰκα . | 1 line illegible.

'And I entered this . . . monastery (μοναστ.) on the 24th day of the month Iepêp⁸, in this year of the era (χρ.) of the Martyrs (μαρτ.) 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. 1112, Brit. Mus. Or. 3581 B. 69.

³ i. e. δευτεράριος.

⁴ Reading, in Turaief's copy, 14. αϕητ, 20. παῖστ ζηηνλ ω, 22. ερετ πεχς, 23. ερρα εχοπ. I use a photograph kindly lent by Prof. Strzygowski.

⁵ Translated by Dashian in Strzygowski's *Kleinasiën* p. 202; v. also his *Dom zu Aachen* 42.

⁶ Renaudot *Hist.* 460, 491.

⁷ Ff. 2 a note, 47 b.

⁸ This spelling is characteristic; v. No. A 2.

⁹ Perhaps here a translation of 'Theodore'.

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

A 5.

In niche β.

[αυ]ω ανταπιακαθου | [ωο]οπ [ριτ]ηη[ροου]ω μενειοτ
 παρχνεπισκο | ποσ αββα κυριλλοσ ερεχυρις[τ]οτολ-
 λου | ο πεπισκοπος ετπολις σιοουτ ρηφρομεπε | ται
 χροουτ μαρτοροτ ^{sic} ζητ̄ αω εν | ταπειουτ ει επι-
 ταλπερχε ηπαλ | καρσαρ εντπολις σιοουτ ενσοτ ιτ̄ |
 εεπειβοτ ιεπηη αω ατι επηκοτι | ενφαιε τροηχε
 κσοτ μενταυτε εεπειβοτ | ιεπηη αω ταπαστασις
 εντρομεπε | εταμεαυτε σοτ χουταυτε εεπειβο[τ] |
 παρμεουτε αω μενε[ς]οσ ταπαστασις | σοτ ψις
 εεπαρμεουτε αω μενεσοσ σοτ[α] | εεπαρμεουτε
 αω μενεσοτ ^{sic} χουτ ε[επαρ] | μεουτε αω μενεσοσ
 σοτ τιτ εεπαρ[ε]ουτε | αω μενεσοσ σοτ χουτ[ε]ε
 τιτ εε[π]α[ρ]μεουτε | αω μενεσοσ σοτ με[ητ]ε[α]ωυ
 [εεπαρμεουτε] | αω μενεσοσ σοτ ωε[μεουη εεπαρ-
 μεουτε] | αω μενεσοσ σοτ χου[τοτε]

‘And this good-work (*ἀγαθόν*) was done by the care of our father the archbishop, Abba Cyril¹, Christodulus being bishop of the city (πολ.) Siut, in this (*sic*) year of the era (χρ.) of the Martyrs (μαρτ.) 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 (*ἀνάστασις*) of that year (was on) the 24th day of the month Parmoute⁵. And afterwards’—here follows a list of Easter dates, in successive years⁶: 9th Parmoute, 1st Parm., 20th 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. Laqlaq, 1235-43.

² *بركة* preceded by *ῑ η̄πῑ*.

³ ‘Castles’ *قصور*, whatever that may here mean; or (less likely) *قياسر* ‘bazars’, a word used by Ibn Duqmâk (v 23) in describing Siut.

⁴ Udrunkah, 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.

'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 (?)¹, finishing the canopies (*or* ceilings²) in the two tabernacles (*σκηνή*³) and the chambers (*κύπη*⁴) that are beside them. The first he finished on the 29th day of this same (?) month Thoth; the other in this [year,] era (*χρ.*) of the Martyrs (*μαρτ.*) . . . , in the days of our father, Abba Athanasius, the Patriarch (*πατρ.*) of Alexandria⁵, the most saintly (*δσιώτατος*) 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 (*τούργος*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*)⁷. And he was first a monk in the monastery (*μον.*) of Apa Moses⁸. Afterwards God called him (?), in (?) the days of our father, Abba Cyril⁹; for he it was [made? him] priest (*πρεσβ.*) and director (*ἀρχηγός*) for the congregation (*συν.*) of our father, the prophet (*προφ.*), Apa Shenoute. After that the earthquake¹⁰ had swallowed the buildings (*or* rooms *or* dwellings) and [the] . . . , they found the place uncovered¹¹; 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'

¹ 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', *الأعلى*. In Zoega 618, referring to the hangings of the Tabernacle, it may be 'curtain'. The primary meaning is 'to cover'; *cf.* Ps. civ 2.

³ Here probably the space wherein an altar stands; *cf.* Abū Šāliḥ 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 franç.* 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 this.

⁴ *v.* von Lemm, *Bull. de l'Ac. Imp.* xiii 159. *Cf.* Arab. قَبْوَة (also قَبْوَة), as in Abū Šāliḥ 2 a.

⁵ Athanasius III, 1250-61.

⁶ *i.e.* the Bahri Mamluks. An inscription of A. D. 1173 (*Rec. de Trav.* vii 218) refers to the Ayyūbid rule in the same words.

⁷ *Cf.* A 7.

⁸ At Belyanā; *v.* my notes on the graffiti there in M. A. Murray *The Osireion*, 1904.

⁹ The notorious Cyril b. Laqlaq, 1235-43.

¹⁰ A new word, *fem.* like other compounds of *στωαε*. A great earthquake in 1112 is recorded (*Synax.* Tūt 3; Renaudot *Hist.* 490).

¹¹ *Cf.* Leyden *MSS coptes* 443 *ⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲗⲉⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ*.

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 .

пнотте роєис епонѡ мепениѡт | пархнматритис ·
 абба ѿѡѡ | жентоу пентаѡѡ роотш | мнпесннѡ
 тнрот епсннѡт | нѣснте нектнн · мнпсалѡлп |
 евол мнпсѡарен · поѡ ѿ хс † наѡ | поѡаре мнн-
 ннон мнпесннѡ тнрѡ | мнн поот пай ѡ мншнр |
 ✠ ꙗꙗ ѿѡе,

'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 (σκηνή), after the uncovering of their¹ canopies (or ceilings). Lord Jesus Christ, give unto him a peaceful (εἰρηνικόν) life and (unto) all the brethren. Amen. To-day is the 7th of Emshir, era (χρ.) of the Martyrs (μарт.) 975² (= A.D. 1259).'

Apparently records the same work as that in A 6.

A 8.

In niche δ .

мнннн | с · н ешжестатѡмпе стрепнѡрт тоѡ
 мнпмо ан | отатѡме же ѡмпе стретроте мн-
 пнотте | тоѡ мнптеотис мнпѡмеа · от[ої] пай анон |
 жешареотѡеш ѡмпе пашооп ан | песѡаї палеотн
 евол · мнпснн тарѡ | ѡмнпѡѡс · арї палеет^{sic}
 патапе пайоте | мнпсннѡ анон певннн петтелс |
 мнпѡѡѡ ѡмнпѡѡс патапша | мнпран жерѡме
 мнпсннѡ же[аї] [анон] | a line erased | прс нтн^о мнпсннѡ

¹ Reading мнпсннѡ.

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

ⲁ[ⲉⲁ]ⲓⲁ, . ⲓⲟⲗⲁⲛⲛⲉⲥ | ⲡⲩⲛⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲉⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲣⲁⲫⲁⲛⲗ |
 ⲡⲣⲉⲛⲧⲣⲟⲛⲡⲓ · ⲛⲥ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ | [ⲥⲓ]ⲟⲟⲧⲧ ⲟⲧⲟⲓ [ⲛ]ⲁⲓ ⲫⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲧ
 ⲣⲉⲟⲧⲱⲛⲩⲱ | ⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲧ[ⲛⲁⲩⲱⲟⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ] ⲩⲱⲣⲉⲡⲉⲥⲟⲗⲓ] ⲙⲉⲟⲧⲛ
 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛⲧⲧⲓⲫ ⲧⲁⲫⲟ [

‘Remember me in kindness (*ἀγάπη*), me, the poor in grace, the rich in sin, that am not worthy to be called deacon, John, son of the late (*μακάριος*) Raphael, the inhabitant of Tronpês¹ of the city (*πολ.*) 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’.

ⲡⲟⲥ ⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲭⲥ ⲉⲥⲉ | ⲟⲗⲣⲉⲗ ⲉⲡⲱⲛⲟⲗ | [ⲙ]ⲛⲡⲧⲁⲟ ⲉⲣⲁ |
 ⲧⲉⲥ · ⲙⲉⲛⲛⲱ[ⲧ] | ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲛⲧ ⲁⲃ | ⲃⲁ ⲫⲓⲃⲁⲙⲙⲟⲛ | ⲛⲉⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲟⲧⲧ
 ⲧⲉ | ⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲧⲱ ⲡⲙⲉⲟ | ⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲓ | ⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲥⲧⲛⲏⲗ[ⲣ]ⲁ | ⲫⲉⲧⲥ ·
 ⲁⲧⲱ ⲡ | ⲥⲁⲟ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲧ · | ⲡⲩⲛⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲁ | ⲥⲁⲣⲗ ⲙⲉⲡⲁⲣ[ⲭⲓ] |
 ⲁⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛ · ⲭ[ⲁⲛⲗ] | ⲡⲩⲛⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲉⲡ[ⲛⲁⲡⲁ] | ⲃⲓⲛⲧⲱⲣ ⲡⲣⲉⲧⲥ |
 ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲙⲙⲁⲓⲭⲣⲥ | ⲩⲱⲙⲓⲛ ⲫⲉⲛⲧⲟⲥⲣ ⲟ[ⲙ] | ⲡⲉⲥ[ⲙ]ⲉ
 ⲉⲣⲟⲧⲛ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲧ[ⲧⲉ] · ⲟⲥⲣ | ⲁⲥⲓ ⲣⲟⲟⲧ[ⲩ] · ⲙⲉⲡ[ⲓⲗⲓⲙⲉⲛⲛ
 ⲙ | ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲛⲁⲧⲧⲉ[ⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲛⲗ] | ⲫ[ⲉⲥ]ⲉⲥⲟⲛⲥ ⲉⲫ[
 ⲣⲙⲉ . ⲛⲟ [| ⲛⲥⲫ[| ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲟⲛⲛⲥ [| [ⲛⲱⲧ]
 ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲩⲱⲡⲉⲟⲧⲧⲉ [|] ⲧⲁⲥ ⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ · ⲙⲙⲉⲟⲛ[ⲁⲥⲧⲏⲧⲏ
 ⲣⲓⲟⲛ] |] ⲩⲟⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲥ · ⲁⲙⲛⲓ [|]

‘May the Lord Jesus Christ watch over the life and firm establishment of our honoured father, Abba Phaebammon, the priest (*πρεσβ.*) and perfect (*τέλειος*) monk, the writer (*συγγραφεὺς*³) and master builder⁴, the son according to the flesh (*κατὰ σάρξ*) of the archdeacon (*ἀρχιδ.*) Chaël (?), 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.

³ In the Paris *scala* 44, p. 2 h b, this (= *الكتاب*) occurs among ecclesiastical officers, between *καλλιγράφος* (*الناسخ*) and *ζωγράφος*.

⁴ Cf. ⲥⲁⲟ ⲛⲁⲛⲗⲏⲉ Zoega 549, ⲧⲉⲭⲛⲧⲓⲛⲥ ⲛⲉⲥⲟⲗ Rossi *Papiri di Torino* II i 70.

(πολ.) Shmin (Panopolis). For he, in his love toward God . . . , provided [this picture of] the archangel (ἀρχαγγ.) [Michael?]; that [he might?] pray for . . . [father], Abba Shenoute . . . holy (ἅγιον) monastery . . . Amen.'

A II.

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

κ̄ε μ̄η δ[π̄ο̄ς̄ρ̄ψ̄ῡτ̄ε̄τ̄ · ο̄να
 τ̄ο̄τ̄ π̄ρο̄σο̄πο[τ̄] σο̄τ̄ ἀπ[ο]
 τ̄ο̄τ̄ δ̄ο̄τ̄λο[τ̄] σο̄τ̄
 π̄ δ̄ισ̄λο̄ῑσ̄μ̄ . π̄
 μ̄ε̄τ̄ . ο̄τ̄αι

Apparently an inexact quotation from a Psalm¹.

B.

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

B 12. ΠΕΤΡΑΕΤΑΝΤΕ | ΛΙΟΝ ΤΕΤΕΠΗ | . ΠΘ ΠΚΟΤΙ
 ΜΗΝΗΟΣ | ΠΙΩΤΚΕ ΠΠΑ ΚΛΑΤΤΕ | ΤΤ ΠΑΛΗΤ ΚΟΤ ΚΑΙ
 ΕΒΟΛ, 'the Four-gospels². Their number, -59, the small and large
 (together). The poor παπα Claudius, son (υἱός) of Palêu³; forgive
 me.' The first numeral is illegible. So large a number of gospels is
 remarkable.

B 13. ΤΡΑΕΤΑΝΤ^{sic}ΛΙΟΝ ΠΚΟΤΙ | ΠΚΟΣ Π̄ ΚΑΤΚΟΕΙΩ · Ἰ,
 'The Four-gospels, the small and the large (together), 50; those
 without bindings (?)⁴, 10.'

B 14. ΠΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΟΝ ΜΗΝΠΕΡΑΖΙΣ — ΠΑΙΝΕ ΠΕΡΑΖΙΣ
^{sic}ΚΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ, 'The Catholic (Epistles) and the Acts—These are
 the Acts of the Apostles'.

East wall: B 15. ΠΛΟΚΟΣ ΚΑΡΧΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΜΕΜΕΛΕΔΗΝΟ-

¹ Cf. Ps. xxvi (xxvii) 9.

² Τετραεναγγέλιον.

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

⁴ Generally 'sheaths'. I do not know of evidence that Coptic like Ethiopic books were ever encased in leathern slip-cases.

Claudius, son (*viós*) of Miskin¹: Apa Bêsa², the patriarch Severus³, Apa Pisenthus⁴, John Colobus, Apa Pamin, Archellides⁵, Apa Elias⁶, Apa Abraham⁷, the . . . of Apa . . ., Apa Zenobius⁸, Apa Matthew⁹, Cyril and . . ., the . . . our father (?) Shenoute 8 (copies), Apa Apollo¹⁰, the Apostles¹¹, Apa Matthew the Poor.⁷

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

B 23.

κβίος κ[η]νετοταβ^{sic} απα παρω[α] η απα επ. . . απα
 μαρκος απα μεωενης η απα σιμων απα κερριανος
 απα σαμουηλ απα θεωτορο[ς] απα ρερεμια^{sic} απα
 ρωα^{sic} κερρορ[ς]ιος κηθεοτορος πεχοταβτε κερρ-
 βητηρος απα βησα ετβε[η]τοτηκωαα εγραι κη-
 [η]κιωτ απα σηνουτε^{sic}

'The Lives (*βίος*) of the Saints: Apa Pachôm 20 (copies), Apa Ep . . .¹², Apa Marcus, Apa Moses¹³ 2 (copies), Apa Simon¹⁴, Apa Cyprianus¹⁵, Apa Samuel¹⁶, Apa Theodorus¹⁷, Apa Hermime¹⁸, Apa Pahôm with Horsiesius and Theodorus¹⁹, The twenty-four Elders²⁰,

¹ مسكين. 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 Pboou.

⁸ One of Shenoute's disciples and (?) successors; Frags. 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.

¹³ 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 Şâlih 82 a).

¹⁵ Of Antioch. Frags. *ed.* von Lem.

¹⁶ Of Kalamôn.

¹⁷ † Stratelates or Anatoleus.

¹⁸ † Herminos; *v.* Abû Şâlih 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 Frags. 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 (σῶμα), and our father Apa Shenoute¹.

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. **κῆβιος [π]απα μωϋσης**, 'The Lives of Apa Moses'. Does this refer to various biographies or merely to the number of copies?

B 26. **δαυειδ περρο · ιϛ**, 'King David, thirteen (copies)'. If this is the Psalter, it is an unusual way of designating it.

B 27. **καὶνε κκοστῳ**, '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 (*ἀγάπη*), my fathers and my brethren, every one that shall read (*σίε*). I, the sinful' [

B 29, 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 (**αδρος** &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 l. 2 perhaps his 'curse' occurs². I cannot discern against what intruders the incantation is directed; in l. 2 perhaps 'the worm' and 'die' are to be read. In l. 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 **[π]κοτ κπεσωμα εγρα μ[πε]πιωτ**, 'The decease of our father &c.', which might refer to Bêsa'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 h . u seems to be represented by x , as in the Cambridge fragment¹. c corresponds clearly to c ², while z , which represents it in the Cambridge frag., does not occur. n represents b as usual, and o occasionally w .

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 n and 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 c seems practically identical with those of t and n .

B 29. $\text{a z i m e r e z n i m o t c h x e l l n i e c e s e a l e r a t}$

B 30. $\text{a n} \quad \quad \quad \text{e e} \quad | \quad \quad \quad \text{i}$

B 31. $\text{a i e} \quad \text{a} \quad \quad \quad \text{n} \quad \quad \quad \text{a}$

29. $\text{t i} \cdot \text{i x n n} \cdot \text{o t a a c s r e m o t c h} \cdot \cdot \text{e i n a i e t o t t} \cdot \text{o t}$

30. $\text{i n x} \quad \cdot | \quad \text{a s a r e} \quad \text{n z e e i} \quad \quad | \quad \text{m o t o}$

31. $\text{i n x} \quad \cdot | \quad \text{a s} \cdot \text{a e e} \quad \text{n z e e i c r a i} \quad \quad \text{m o t t}$

29. $\text{p e r a a n e l r e e i e l l e f l e i e m o t a s p r o s e n}$

30. $\quad \quad \quad \text{n a i l e} | \text{i e e} \quad \quad \quad \text{e n r e}$

31. $\quad \quad \quad \text{n} \quad \quad \text{i} \quad \text{e f l i e e} \quad \quad \quad \text{e n r e}$

29. $\text{t e e l e n z e l o t e e i l l e a s p r a i c o e i c a t e}$

30. $\quad \quad \quad \text{a} | \text{e i} \quad \quad \text{e a n o e n o m e}$

31. $\quad \quad \quad \text{a} | \text{e} \quad \quad \quad \text{e i c o e n o t e}$

¹ عليهم عظيم موسى.
² كلم فجعله.
³ وخرم موسى سيقى الدود.
⁴ موت.
⁵ بحق.
⁶ للمي الذي لا يموت.
⁷ اخرج من هذا المنزل.

29. ΠΕΝΑΡΕΠΟΤΕΙΣΟΤΡΤΕΡΕΙΝΗΝΣΟΤΕΙΛ . ΙΣΑ . . ρ

30. Π | ΕΚΟΤΤΕΡΕΙΝ Τ . . ρ . ΣΑΡΕΡ |

31. Π | ΕΙΣΟΤΤΙΡΕΙΝ ΤΕΕΛΓΙΣ ρ

29. ΧΟΤΥΧΙΓΙΤΑΙΕΨΧΙΤΑΙΕΨΧΙΤ | ΑΣΡΟΣΑΣΡΟΣΑΣΡΟΣ

30. ΧΟΤΥΤΑΙ ΙΤ | ΙΤ

31. ΧΙΥ ΕΕ . Ι Τ |

كف كفيت⁴ . والحجارة³ . الناس² . والى آخرك تقم بنا¹ .
 اخرج⁶ . شقذ⁵ ! From

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 plentiful. 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 dome². 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 west. 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.